Gypsy categories of men: lexicon and attitudes

Werner Cohn[1]

Abstract
The paper addresses itself to the problem of how Gypsy attitudes relate to Gypsy vocabulary. Gypsy attitudes toward ten categories of men are explored by studying reactions of informants to 13 hypothetical situations in an interview. Using a Smallest Space Analysis, the results of the interview yield a clustering of the categories of men. These clusters are then compared to those which would have been predicted on the basis of the Gypsy lexicon.

This paper seeks to throw some new light on Gypsy life by addressing itself to a problem of language-and-culture: the extent to which categories of thought and behavior might correspond to categories named by the lexical apparatus of the language. Partly because the study was conceived within a more general interest in how and why Gypsies maintain their separation from others, it deals with the domain of categories of men.

I.

Gypsies are originally migrants from India who have by now lived among European peoples for several centuries. They have inspired a considerable popular literature, but scholarly treatments are relatively few and meagre (but see references listed in Cohn 1969; 1970). There are noteworthy differences between the various Gypsy groups, both linguistically and considering style of life. While almost all groups have retained at least some vestige of the Indic Gypsy language, some — particularly the Gypsies of Great Britain and Spain — have drastically altered this language in the direction of the language of the country.

But this cannot be said of the North American Gypsies, whose linguistic integrity, demonstrated particularly by the inflected nature of their language, is stronger than that of most European groups. Moreover, the style of life of these *Rom* ("Gypsies") sets them apart from their non-Gypsy neighbors more clearly than is the case in many European instances. It is these North American *Rom* who form the subject matter of this article. (For previous work on these people, see the references cited above; the most comprehensive is still that of Cotten, 1950).

II.

The procedures of this study may be outlined as follows:

1. The basic terms which Gypsies use to characterize men, and the relationships among these terms, were learned in the course of regular field work and general language-learning over a period of several years. In addition, three more formal procedures were employed. The first consisted of a request from my principal informant for "a list of the various kinds of people that there are" for purposes of an interview schedule. (The results are the numbered terms of *Table I*). The second procedure was a request made of twelve other informants, as part of the interview schedule, to supply further terms of the same sort. Finally, these results were discussed and worked through with a second principal informant. The presentation below (Section III) is the result of all these procedures.
2. Together with the first principal informant, thirteen social situations were formulated which are believed to be representative of occasions on which differential attitudes toward various categories of men come into play. These situations are discussed in Section IV (below), and, for convenience, they are also listed in the *Appendix* together with a glossary of the Gypsy terms employed in this paper.
3. A formal interview was conducted with a total of thirteen Gypsy informants in four North American cities (Vancouver, B.C., Montreal, New York, and Seattle). All the informants were adults, ten were men, three women. All were perfectly bi-lingual in Gypsy and English, and the typical interview was conducted in a mixture of the two languages (which is how younger Gypsies frequently converse with one another). Eight of the interviews were conducted by myself, the other five by Mr. Larry Lutzker of New York, a social worker who has had extensive contacts with the Gypsies of that city. Most of the interviews which I conducted myself were tape-recorded, and many were later discussed with my principal informant.

The heart of the interview schedule consisted of 130 questions, relating each of the ten categories of men to each of the thirteen situations. The first question which each informant was asked was "Would you allow the *matSvaia* [one of the Gypsy 'tribes'] to go to a *kris* [internal Gypsy 'court']?" He was next asked the same question for all the other nine categories of men. After this, he was asked a question concerning the second situation about each of the categories, and so on for a total of thirteen situations and ten categories, resulting in 130 questions. Not all informants answered all questions. In particular, the question about the *pomana* ('feast for the dead') proved to be too depressing for some elderly informants, and some younger informants felt themselves to be insufficiently familiar with one or two categories to venture opinions.

The questioning was always preceded by the introduction "Now I am going to ask you a whole lot of questions, which can generally be answered with either yes, no, or maybe. I'd like you to try very hard always to come up with yes, no, or maybe." Occasionally, a respondent would say "yes" with what seemed to be a question mark in his voice. The interviewer would then discuss with him whether "maybe" might not express his feelings better. The respondent usually agreed to this suggestion in such

cases, but it was always the informant's judgement which was entered as the final answer and which was used for the analysis of the results.

These results, which constitute our findings of Gypsy attitudes toward categories of men, are reported in Section V. Section V as well as Section VI consider the extent to which these differential attitudes coincide with the linguistic categories described in Section III.

III.

An overview of the lexemes[2] of Gypsy categories of men is presented in *Table I*. They can be seen to form a taxonomy with the following properties: with one exception (Box C), each taxon is labelled by a single lexeme, and each lexeme is restricted to a single taxon.[3] The terms are grouped into a total of five boxes. There are two levels of contrast, which provide us with a convenient organization for our discussion.

I	A	'Gypsies'	C	'Half-breeds'	D	'Outsiders'
		Rom		** 8. <u>boiaS</u> 9. gipsuria***		** 10. <u>gaZe</u>
II	B	** 1. matSvaia			E	'Orthodox-Christian'
		2. kalderaS				'Jews'
		3. Rusulia				'Blacks'
		4. minierSti				'Chinese'
		5. meksikaia				—
		6. kinierSti				— [others]
		7. boiaS				—
		—				—
		— [other 'tribes']				
		—				
		—				

('tribes' (vitsi) is written vertically in box B)

TABLE I. Gypsy Categories of Men — Overview
* Here and throughout this paper, English glosses for Gypsy terms are given in single quotes, while Gypsy terms themselves are given in italics.
** The terms shown in boxes B, C and D appeared on the interview schedule in the order indicated by the numerals preceding them here. These numbers also serve to identify the terms on Figure I (below).
*** Terms 8 and 9 are synonymous in this context. See text.

2   "Any utterance whose signification does not follow from the signification and arrangement of its parts we shall hereinafter call a *lexeme*." (Goodenough, 1956: 199). See also Conklin 1962: 121.

3   „Taxon" refers to a category in a taxonomy, while a lexeme is a label which may (or may not) be applied to it, Cf. Black, 1969:179.

First Level

The distinction between "Gypsy" and "Outsider" plays a very important role in ordinary conversation. Unless one considers comparatively unusual words, there are no neutral terms for „man": one must specify whether one talks about a Gypsy or a non-Gypsy (cf. Cohn, 1969:477–8). These terms are shown, respectively, in Boxes A and D of *Table I*. This distinction is probably the most fundamental and culturally important of all the distinctions discussed in this paper.

Box C represents the only instance in this system in which we have a category without a clear-cut single term. In some contexts, Gypsies talk about *boiaS* as people originally from Rumania, with some Gypsy "blood", leading a Gypsy style of life, but unable to speak the Gypsy language. *Gipsuria*, in corresponding contexts, are thought of as people originating in Great Britain, having pretensions of being Gypsy, leading a style of life in some way similar to that of the *Rom*, but differing sharply from them as evidenced by their inability to speak the Gypsy language properly. But in ordinary conversation these two terms are confounded and used synonymously to refer to people who are somehow, but not quite, Gypsy. One woman, for instance, whose background is doubted because she is thought of as having non-Gypsy „blood," was described to me by the same informant at one time as being *boiaS*, but at another time as one of the *gipsuria*. It is for such reasons that I interpret Box C as representing a single, essentially residual category of men, named in the Gypsy language by either of two synonymous terms both of which I gloss "Half-breed."

Second Level

There are no sub-divisions for "Half-breeds," a situation which the foregoing may already have led us to expect. On the other hand, Box E shows sub-divisions among "Outsiders," but these are not very important in Gypsy conversation or Gypsy life. Serbian and Greek Orthodox Christians are sometimes singled out as knowing more about religious festivals than others, some Gypsy rituals being similar to those of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Blacks are sometimes given special attention because of their reputed greater susceptibility to fortune telling. Jews, often termed "Unbaptized" (*bibolde*), are frequently perceived according to common North American stereotypes, as are Blacks and other minorities.

The subdivisions among Gypsies which are listed in Box B are referred to as *vitsi* (singular *vitsa*), which I gloss here as "tribes." These particular categories of men play a very large role in the day-to-day life of Gypsies, and need to be considered in some detail.

The Gypsy word *vitsa* comes into this dialect from the Rumanian *vita*, which may be glossed as 1) "vine plant", and 2) "branch", "family", "race", "line of ancestry". The second group of glosses seems to circumscribe fairly accurately the semantic space occupied by this term in certain Gypsy contexts. For instance, one of my informants used the term in talking about talent for violin playing, which, he thought, had come to a boy through his *vitsa*, i.e. through his family background.

However, there is a more common meaning attached to *vitsa* in ordinary Gypsy conversation, and it is in this context that Gypsies themselves often translate the

term by "tribe." In making either complimentary or disparaging comments about other Gypsies, reference is very frequently made to *vitsa*. It was in this sort of context that my first principal informant produced the list of *vitsi* of Box B. (This list, by the way, in no way exhaust the *vitsi* known to North American Gypsies. In discussing the *vitsa* of any given individual, informants will frequently volunteer other terms, sometimes borrowing from European Gypsy traditions. In the present study, each of the informants was asked for additional *vitsi*, i.e. *vitsi* which did not appear on the interview schedule. Most of them were able to produce two or three additional ones.)

Which *vitsa* does a man belong to? At the end of the interview schedule, each informant was asked with which *vitsa* he would identify himself. All were able to answer with a single term (These self-identifications are reported and discussed in Section V, below). But identifications of this sort, either of self or of others, are to some extent unstable. I am at the moment involved in a study of genealogies, discussing various family linkages with my present principal informant. In this context, in which a great deal of thought is given to *vitsa* affiliations, almost nobody is identified as belonging unambiguously to a single *vitsa*. Even in casual conversation with Gypsies, it occurs much more frequently than not that a person will say "On my father's side I am such-and-such, but on my mother's I am so-and-so." If the conversational setting allows, further details are added through discussion of grandfathers, grandmothers, and the various affiliations of the informant's spouse. Certain aspects of the context of the conversation seem to determine the complexity of *vitsa* identifications: if the context calls for a quick reply, a single *vitsa* name can be given; if the context is more leisurely, there will be more complexity.

A further determinant of self-identification has to do with the particular relationship a speaker has to another person. My former principal informant, for instance, habitually spoke of himself as a *matSvano*, unless he happened to discuss certain Gypsies in another town whom he did not particularly care for, and who are generally known as *matSvaia*. When these people figured in the conversation, my informant would refer to himself as a *kalderaS*.

As we shall see below, *vitsa* distinctions are also associated with certain differences in dialect. In discussing the *vitsa* identification of a particular individual, for instance, I recently indicated surprise to my informant at the judgement he expressed. „But I thought that X is a *matSvano*," I said. My informant then explained to me that I must have gained this impression from the person's pronunciation, and added that this is a very valid way of dealing with the problem of *vitsa* identification. But if one looked into it more, he said, if one examined the family tree of the individual concerned, one would be inclined to identify him with a different *vitsa*.

Despite these difficulties and perplexities, Gypsies do make *vitsa* identifications habitually, confidently, and unambiguously. It is only when they are confronted with the ambiguity of contrasting criteria (and this can happen in spontaneous conversation) that complexity enters. But this complexity must not lead to the conclusion that a *vitsa* identification is ever haphazard. Certain *vitsa* identifications are held to be impossible for any given individual. In the case of my principal informants, for instance, there is no way in which they could relate themselves — through family,

language, marriage, or any other way — to either the *bimburia* or the *meksikaia*; I have never heard them identify themselves as such in any situation, nor have I heard them so identified. This would be considered altogether preposterous.

Since the major aim of this study is to compare the distinctions made in attitudes with the distinctions made in the lexicon, an attempt was made to discover lexical distinctions which would group the *vitsi* in a manner corresponding to the distinctions in attitude. (As we shall see in Section V, below, no such correspondence could be established.)

In talking about the various *vitsi*, Gypsies often volunteer opinions concerning differential attributes of these categories. These attributes may be classified into a) those which can be described but not named by discrete lexemes; and b) those which do correspond to discrete lexemes. Only the latter group need concern us for our present purposes, but a few remarks about the former may help to provide insight into how *vitsi* are seen by the native speakers.

Any leisurely discussion with a Gypsy about the attributes of the various *vitsi* will elicit a wealth of evaluative material. Obvious reasons prevent me from identifying the groups to which the following descriptions have been applied, but I can list the views of one informant as follows:

Vitsa X is particularly rich; *vitsi* Y and A are very dirty, God is to be thanked for not making him one of theirs; *vitsi* X and Z are particularly good at parties, their people are wonderful dancers and singers; *vitsi* A and D are known to consist of pickpockets and gangsters; the women of *vitsi* A and B can make much more money than others in fortune telling; *vitsa* C is particularly strict in making young daughters-in-law toe the line.

There is undoubtedly variation among Gypsies in such opinions, but on the other hand these views are more common and less idiosyncratic than one might expect. (They largely coincide, also, with my own observations of members of the *vitsi* concerned). But this material is not part of the lexical system with which we are here concerned; it is something to be kept in mind in interpreting the attitudes to be examined in Section V, below.

We come now to the only lexemes which I have been able to discover as capable of grouping *vitsi*. They fall into two sets of contrasts:

a. The distinction between "travelling" (*dromeske*) and "sedentary" (*thaneske*) Gypsies. To an outside observer, this distinction is very relative, since all North American Gypsies do a great deal of travelling, while at the same time settling for longer or shorter periods in the principal cities. But there are some people who seem to be on the move all the time (frequently using airplanes instead of the wagons of their forebears), while other people have more of a tendency to return to a given city. My present principal informant grouped the *vitsi* in accordance with this distinction, placing two of them into an intermediary category of having both "travelling" and "sedentary" members. The resulting grouping may be read on the paradigm presented as *Table II*.

	Language(s) spoken			
	matSvansko	Rusitska	kalderaSitska	Rusitska and kalderaSitska
'travelling'			kinierSti bimburia	
'sedentary'	matSvaia	Rusulia	meksikaia	
both 'travelling' and 'sedentary'			kalderaS	minierSti

TABLE II. 'Tribes' as Grouped by Lexemes

b. Dialect differences. As we have already indicated, there are certain differences in dialect which are associated with differences among the *vitsi*. (It is customary among Gypsy scholars to group all the variations which we discuss here into what is known as the *vlax* [from Wallachia, a Rumanian region] dialect, and from that point of view these distinctions would be spoken of as sub-dialects.) My informant calls these different dialects "languages" (*Siba*), although everyone understands everybody else perfectly, with only an occasional puzzlement or bit of amusement. These "languages" are named with terms derived from the names of three of the *vitsi*, as follows: *matSvansko, Rusitska, kalderaSitska*. The differences among these dialects are relatively minor, but involve both vocabulary and pronunciation. The first-named dialect has more loan words from Serbo-Croatian than the other two; the second-named has borrowed more from Russian. All three have borrowed very extensively from Rumanian. The differences in pronunciation may be illustrated with one of the few words — 'understand' — which has a distinct form in each dialect: *hatSarav, haliarav, hakiarav*. It is quite usual for the same speaker to use more than one form on different occasions.[4]

Table II includes the manner in which my informant groups the *vitsi* by the 'languages' which they speak. (Again, one *vitsa* could not be clearly classified, and is shown in a special category as speaking two 'languages.') The paradigm indicates the ways in which Gypsy lexemes group *vitsi*. These groupings may now be compared with those formed by the attitudinal distinctions (Section V, below).

4   The best guide to this group of dialects is still Gjerdman and Ljungberg, 1963, which, however, does not indicate the dialect distinctions here discussed. The authors show the different forms as variants in their corpus. The emphasis in the book is on the pronunciation and vocabulary of what in North America would be called *Rusitska* among the Gypsies. For an authoritative description of a very closely related dialect, see Calvet, n.d.

IV.

In this section, we shall very briefly discuss the hypothetical "situations" which were presented to the informants (they are listed again, with a glossary of Gypsy terms, in the *Appendix*; for a description of the procedure of presenting them, see Section II, above).

1. The Gypsy *kris* ("court") is a special meeting of Gypsy men to settle disputes. It is perhaps the only institution of Gypsy society which might be called political in the sense of exercising authority beyond the confines of a family. I have been greatly aided in understanding its traditional importance by the description in a tale of the French Gypsy writer Maximoff (1946), and by further descriptions in the boyhood memoirs of Yoors (1967). In the opinion of my informants, the *kris* is now used primarily to settle disputes which frequently arise over bride-price. The *kris* is always regarded as an event of considerable gravity.

2. and 3. *bori* is a "daughter-in-law." To "give" one's daughter as a *bori* to another man involves receiving a considerable bride-price, which under current conditions can range from about $2000 to about $8000. The bride-price practice is a very fundamental aspect of Gypsy culture, and many other features can only be understood in connection with it. (As we have already seen it is closely related to the *kris*.) Gypsies are not eager to "give" their daughters to just anyone; a very high bride-price, according to concerns frequently voiced, would not compensate for an unsuitable household for the girl to enter. (The girl usually, but not always, will live with her husband within the household of the husband's father). In choosing a daughter-in-law, the considerations deal with such factors as the girl's attractiveness, her knowledge of Gypsy ways, her skill in earning money at fortune telling, and the reputation of her whole family. (On "daughters-in-law," cf. Cohn 1969: 478–81).

4. A *slava* is a feast given in honor of a saint. It is one of several types of feasts which form such an important part of Gypsy life. Generally a hall is hired, considerable quantities of food are ceremoniously prepared and are consumed together with suitable quantities of alcoholic beverages. Gypsies will often say that all *Rom* are welcome to these events, and none in fact can easily be excluded. However, since a *slava* often develops into an arena in which antagonisms among Gypsies are played out — cutting remarks and fights are considered quite common — there is reluctance to go to the *slave* of antagonists, and an equal reluctance to publicize one's own among unfriendly Gypsies. "Outsiders" can often be seen at *slave*; they are there by special invitation, and are invariably people tied to the Gypsies through one or another aspect of Gypsy business: policemen, used-car dealers, social workers. (Cf. Cohn 1970:6–10).

The word *slava*, as well as some features of the practice, is borrowed from the Serbian.

5. and 6. *kirvo* means "godfather." To be asked to become a godfather is an honor, but since godfatherhood establishes certain life-long obligations, as well as marriage taboos, Gypsies are often reluctant to enter into this relationship with one another. It is for this reason that non-Gypsies are often selected to perform this function for Gypsy infants, in which case no further obligations are recognized on the Gypsy side.

7. A *pomana* is a feast for the dead. The word, and features of the practice, are borrowed from the Rumanian. When a person dies, a small and somber wake (*po-*

mana) is held for him after three days, another one, more elaborate, after six weeks, a still more elaborate one after six months, and a great (though still somber) feast is held approximately a year after death. There is some variation in the spacing of these feasts, and it is very common nowadays for the 6-months and the one-year *pomani* to be combined into a single event. It is generally held among Gypsies that the more people who can attend these feasts the better, and there is much less fear of trouble than there is in the case of a *slava*.

8. Hospitality of Gypsies toward other Gypsies is generally taken as a sacred obligation. A Gypsy is also expected to visit other Gypsies, and expects to be served food and drink when he does. Some Gypsies hold that there is an obligation of hospitality even toward non-Gypsies.

9. Because of certain traditions of ritual purity, many Gypsies will not allow "Outsiders" to drink out of the cups which they themselves use. In certain cases, they even feel uneasy about letting Gypsies of unfriendly *vitsi* drink out of their cups. Most people have special cups in their homes for the use of non-Gypsy visitors.

10. Willingness to eat at someone's house is often an indication, among Gypsies, of how much esteem this person is given. One has more choice in whom to visit than in whom to accept as a visitor. This situation again brings into play feelings toward ritual purity and ritual pollution.

11. and 12. Traditionally, Gypsies who arrive in a given locality will ask those already established there for permission to engage in fortune telling. This situation sometimes involves considerable conflict and tension, since there are localities in which strongly-established Gypsies will resist newcomers.

Very frequently, Gypsies will also see the need of establishing contacts with the local police in order to be able to carry on with fortune telling. When Question 11 was asked concerning "Outsiders", it was almost invariably taken to mean the police. There are non-Gypsy and "Half-breed" fortune tellers, but these did not figure when this question was answered affirmatively by the informants.

13. One question in the interview schedule read „Would you call the [name of people] *Rom* ['Gypsy']?". This question was used to check my understanding of the use of the terminology, to see how much unanimity there is in it, to see how it applies to "Half-breeds," etc. (For answers to these questions, consult *Table III*). Some implications of including this question in the analysis will be discussed below in Section V.

There can be no question but that the selection of these "situations" is in some ways arbitrary. Nevertheless, as will be shown in the next two Sections, at least some of these hypothetical situations revealed interesting relationships between terminology and attitude.

V.

Before discussing the results of the formal interview, it is important to consider how the informants identified themselves when asked, as part of the interview procedure, "Could I ask you which *vitsa* you yourself are in?" Responses were as follows:

matSvaia	2
kalderaS	3
Rusulia	1
minierSti	4
kinierSti	1
other *vitsi*	2

The informant who identified herself as of the *Rusulia* is married to a man related to the *minierSti*. The informant who identified himself as of the *kinierSti* has close family among the *matSvaia*. Of the thirteen informants, then, it is known that at least eleven can be identified as being related to the *matSvaia*, the *kalderaS*, or the *minierSti*. The *minierSti* in this group of informants, further, are all closely interrelated with the *kalderaS* and the *matSvaia* through a variety of family connections. These three groups are identified by the numbers 4, 2, and 1 in *Tables I* and *III* and on the figures to be presented below; it is this group of *vitsi* which will hereafter be referred to as Gypsies I.

All findings of the formal interviews are summarized on *Table III*. The figures in the body of the table report the total number of responses given by all the 13 informants on all questions. Since each informant had a chance to answer each question in one of three ways, the thirteen columns (i.e., the thirteen situations) are sub-divided into sub-columns Y (for yes) M (for maybe), and N (for no). Thus twelve informants would allow the *matSvaia* to go to a *kris*, one thought that maybe he would do so, and none said "no" to this question. Since some respondents did not answer all questions, the total in some boxes is lower than 13.

		1 Allow to kris			2 Give bori			3 Take bori			4 Allow to slava			5 Become kirvo			6 Take kirvo			7 Allow to pomana			8 Extend hospitality			9 Lets use regular cup			10 Eat at house			11 Ask permission			12 Give permission			13 Call Rom		
		Y	M	N	Y	M	N	Y	M	N	Y	M	N	Y	M	N	Y	M	N	Y	M	N	Y	M	N	Y	M	N	Y	M	N	Y	M	N	Y	M	N	Y	M	N
1	matSvaia	12	1	0	7	5	1	13	0	0	13	0	0	11	1	1	7	2	4	12	0	0	13	0	0	11	0	2	10	2	0	11	0	2	5	1	6	13	0	0
2	kalderaS	13	0	0	10	2	1	12	1	0	12	1	0	11	1	1	9	4	0	12	0	0	13	0	0	11	0	2	10	2	0	10	1	2	6	2	4	13	0	0
3	Rusulia	13	0	0	4	5	4	6	4	3	12	1	0	11	1	1	7	5	1	12	0	0	13	0	0	11	0	2	8	3	1	9	1	3	6	2	4	13	0	0
4	minierSti	12	0	0	9	2	1	11	0	1	11	0	1	11	1	0	8	4	0	11	0	0	11	1	0	10	0	2	9	3	0	9	2	1	7	1	4	12	0	0
5	meksikaia	9	1	2	2	1	9	3	3	6	8	0	4	5	3	4	6	2	4	10	1	0	11	0	1	9	3	0	6	3	3	6	1	5	3	2	7	12	0	0
6	bimburia	7	5	1	2	1	10	6	1	6	10	2	1	8	2	3	3	3	6	11	1	0	12	1	0	10	0	3	9	3	0	7	1	5	2	2	8	13	0	0
7	kinierSti	10	1	0	3	2	6	8	2	1	9	0	2	8	2	1	6	1	3	9	1	0	10	1	0	9	0	2	8	2	2	8	2	1	5	1	5	11	0	0
8	boiaS	5	3	5	0	0	13	2	3	8	8	2	3	6	4	3	5	4	3	11	1	0	8	5	0	9	2	2	6	5	1	5	1	7	2	3	6	2	3	0
9	gipsuria	5	3	6	0	0	12	2	3	7	8	1	3	6	4	2	3	3	5	11	0	1	8	3	1	7	2	3	6	3	2	3	0	8	2	2	6	2	1	0
10	gaZe	2	1	10	0	1	12	1	2	10	6	3	4	5	2	6	6	5	2	11	0	1	9	2	2	3	4	6	5	6	1	5	1	5	2	0	7	0	0	0

TABLE III. Responses of 13 Informants

A preliminary inspection of this table shows that there is a great deal of agreement on some questions, with considerable disagreement on others. There was no disagreement whatever, for instance, on the fact that the first seven categories of men are to

be called Rom. Nor was there any disagreement that the *gaZe* ("Outsider") cannot be called Rom. As was to be expected, there was some uncertainty on whether or not categories 8 and 9 ("Half-breeds") could be designated Rom.

In order to analyze how the informants group categories of men through the totality of their responses to the thirteen hypothetical situations, a Smallest Space Analysis (cf. Bloombaum, 1968, 1970) was undertaken of the data presented in *Table III*. The result is shown in Figure I, with hand-drawn lines to show my interpretation of resulting groupings.

The analysis began with averaging the responses in each of the 130 separate boxes by the following procedure: the frequency of „yes" responses was multiplied by two, this product was added to the „maybe" responses, and the resulting sum was divided by the total number of responses contained in the box. (This is equivalent to assigning a value of 2 for "yes", 1 for "maybe", and 0 for "no"). The next step was to correlate each row (category of man) with every other row in the resulting matrix. Finally, the SSA I computer program plotted each category of man as a point in a two-dimensional space so that the distance of each point to every other point is determined by their relative correlations with one another. This was accomplished with very little distortion, as evidenced by a coefficient of alienation of .045.
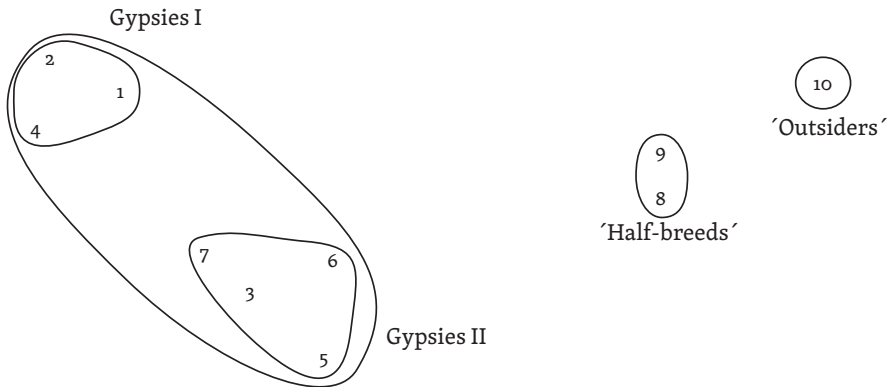

FIGURE I.

As a result of these procedures, Figure I may be taken as a picture of how the categories of men are grouped in the minds of the informants, using their attitudes toward the thirteen hypothetical situations as the grouping criterion. Gypsies as a whole are quite clearly segregated from others, and "Half-breeds" are clearly segregated from "Outsiders." Within the Gypsy group, as I suggest by the broken lines, there is a distinction between the groups which we have called Gypsies I and the other *vitsi*, which we shall now call Gypsies II.

The question now arises whether the Gypsy lexicon contains terms which would parallel this distinction between Gypsies I and Gypsies II. The material of Section III above, and the summary of the lexical distinctions among *vitsi* presented in *Table II*,

indicate that the attitudinal distinctions here discovered have no counterparts in the lexicon. I made special attempts at eliciting such counterparts by showing Figure I to my present principal informant, requesting him to find words for the clusters within the Gypsy group. While the clustering itself appealed to him as representing his differential attitudes toward *vitsi*, no suitable lexemes could be found to match them.

We may conclude then that while the solid lines in Figure I are in accord with the Gypsy lexicon, the broken ones are not. *Hence, Figure I gives a graphic answer to the question of degree of correspondence between Gypsy attitudes and Gypsy lexicon in the domain of categories of men.*

Figure I as a whole is an analysis of how categories are grouped by the criterion of attitude. But one may argue whether Question 13 ("Would you call the …….. Rom?") should have been included as a "situation" in such an analysis. The argument in favor rests on the consideration that "*Rom*" is not merely a term of reference but also, in a special sense, a term of address. In conversing with another man, the term crops up when, for instance, one has to refer to one's interlocutor's wife as either *Romni* ("wife-who-is-Gypsy") or *gaZi* ("wife-who-is-not-Gypsy"). For reasons of this kind, I prefer to regard Question 13 as an important indicator of attitude and belonging with the other questions.

But there is at least a formal argument against such inclusion. Since we would like to study the relationship between lexical and non-lexical behavior, it might be best to leave out of the analysis of the non-lexical a question which is at least partially lexical. Fortunately, we can have it both ways, and Figure II presents the Smallest Space Analysis of the same data as before with the exception of Question 13. (The coefficient of alienation in this case is .073, again showing a high degree of success in representing the complex of interrelationships in this graphic form).
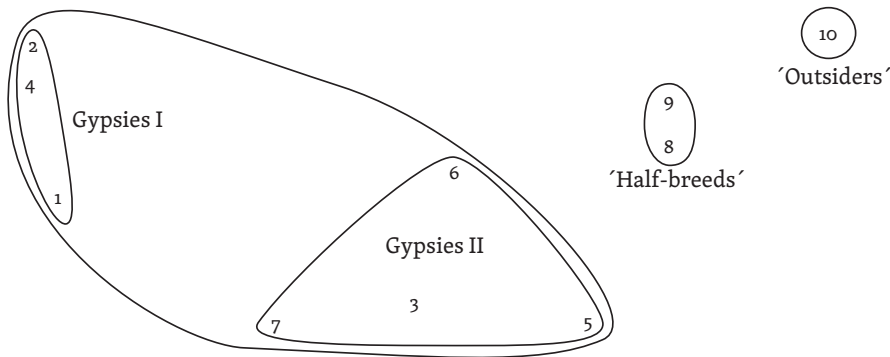

FIGURE II.

The analysis of Figure II does not alter the basic interpretation. The various Gypsy categories are more dispersed, as was to be expected, add some of the Gypsy II groups lie closer to "Half-breed"s than they do to those *vitsi* to which the informants belong. To put the matter another way, we may say that without the criterion of Question 13,

the groups of categories circumscribed by the term *Rom* is less cohesive. Neverthe-less, the same groupings suggest themselves as before: Gypsies I appears as a cluster-ing distinct from Gypsies II, and "Half-breeds" and "Outsiders" each remain separate from either.

VI.

The analyses of the previous section considered the problem of how lexical distinc-tions compare with distinctions in attitudes, but they considered the attitudes toward the various situations *simultaneously*. In this section we shall explore how the lexical equipment of our informants relates to their attitudes when we consider the hypo-thetical situations one at a time. The question of this section is to locate those hypo-thetical situations in which attitudes correspond most to the lexicon, as well as those in which they correspond least.

In order to facilitate this analysis, we have arranged the data from the formal in-terviews into two further tables:

Table IV presents combined scores assigned to categories as clustered in Fig-ures I and II. With 200 representing a "yes" response, 100 a "maybe" one, and 0 rep-resenting "no", the scores in *Table IV* show the combined average judgements of our informants for the groupings indicated.

Situations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All Gypsies	182	103	149	177	162	132	195	193	163	163	147	93	200
Gypsies I	198	156	192	192	182	153	200	194	168	181	166	108	200
Gypsies II	170	63	116	165	147	117	191	192	163	149	133	81	200
'Half-breeds'	88	0	56	140	128	95	183	160	144	134	70	62	48
'Outsiders'	38	8	31	115	92	131	183	154	77	123	100	44	0

TABLE IV. Scores by Attitudinally-determined Categories

Table V lists differences in *Table IV* scores according to four types of distinctions: A) between all Gypsies and "Outsiders"; B) between Gypsies I and Gypsies II; C) be-tween all Gypsies and "Half-breeds"; and D) between "Half-breeds" and "Outsiders". (The figures in *Table V* were obtained by performing the appropriate subtractions in *Table IV*; the maximum distinction thus obtained is 200, the minimum 0.) It should

be noted that the attitudinal distinctions indicated as A, C, and D in *Table V* parallel distinctions in the lexicon, while type B distinctions do not.

	Situations												
Type of Discrimination	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
A All Gypsies vs. 'Outsiders'	144	95	118	62	70	1	12	39	86	40	47	49	200
B Gypsies I vs. Gypsies II	28	93	76	27	35	36	9	2	5	32	33	27	0
C All Gypsies vs. 'Half-breeds'	94	103	93	37	34	37	12	33	19	29	77	31	152
D Half-breeds vs. 'Outsiders'	50	8	25	25	36	36	0	6	67	11	30	18	48

TABLE V. Discriminating Power of the Situations

Type A and type B distinctions are the most interesting, and we shall focus our discussion on these. Type A parallels the most usual lexical distinction made in Gypsy conversation about categories of men; type B is, as we have shown, a distinction without lexical parallel. By scanning the first two rows of *Table V*, we can see which situations most evoke distinctions of either type; and what is perhaps even more interesting, we can discover situations which do not evoke either or both of these distinctions.

If we adopt a criterion of 70 as indicating a high degree of discrimination, we get the following results:

High on discrimination A:	Situations 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 13
High on discrimination B:	Situations 2, 3

These results may be interpreted as follows: our informants are in accord with their own lexical distinctions between "Gypsy" and "Outsider" while considering situations involving the internal Gypsy court, marriage, acting as godfather, the use of dishes, and, of course, the appellation "Rom". In addition, when it comes to considering marriage, they make further distinctions within the large Gypsy group which the lexicon would not have led us to expect.

If we now use the criterion of 10 as indicating very low discrimination, we get the following results:

Low on discrimination A:	Situation 6
Low on discrimination B:	Situations 7, 8, 9, 13

These results suggest that when it comes to choosing a godfather, the lexical distinction between "Gypsy" and "Outsider", so important in most other situations, will not help us in predicting the choice. The results also suggest that while in most situations there is some differentiation made within the larger Gypsy group, this is not so in sit-

uations involving the feasts for the dead, in extending the usual courtesies of hospitality, and in allowing access to the family's dishes.

In order to study aspects of *Table V* which did not become apparent from this kind of inspection, the matrix was subjected to a Smallest Space Analysis so that each situation appeared as a point in a two-dimensional space, ordered by similarity with respect to the four kinds of discrimination. The resulting print-out (not shown here) produced a clustering of eleven situations with two standing clearly separate, see Situations 6 and 9. These situations, the Smallest Space Analysis suggests, are in some way different from the rest.

Situation 6 differs from the others in that it shows almost no discrimination between "Gypsies" and "Outsiders," while at the same time showing moderate magnitudes on the other discriminations. The unusual aspect of the situation of choosing a godfather lies precisely in the fact that Gypsies will often prefer an "Outsider" to a Gypsy, for reasons already discussed in Section IV.

Situation 9 is unusual mainly in that it makes a type D distinction almost equal in magnitude to that of type A; this suggests that when it comes to ideas of ritual cleanliness, the "Half-breeds" are regarded as more truly intermediary between the major categories than they are in other situations.

*   *   *

We started the investigation with the aim of exploring the relationship between language and culture among Gypsies. On the language side, we can hope that we have succeeded in determining a very small portion of the lexicon with a fair degree of rigor. But on the culture side, there is no comparable guarantee of definitiveness in our findings. If we had chosen different situations, would the results have been the same? If we had been able to question more informants, would the results have been the same? All we can say is that the results of the formal interviewing "make sense" within a context of several years' experience of field work, and that they "made sense", also, to a Gypsy informant who inspected them with me.

Finally, we have been careful throughout to speak of "attitudes" when we would have preferred to speak of "behavior". Obviously, what people say they would do is not the same thing as what they in fact do. The next step in this investigation will be an exploration of the degree to which the attitudes described here are in accord with observed (and reported) behavior.

APPENDIX

List of Situations, and Glossary of Gypsy terms

1. Allow to go to a *kris.* ("Court")
2. Give a daughter as a *bori.* ("Daughter-in-law")
3. Take a *bori* from. (See above)
4. Allow to *slava.* ("Feast for a saint")

5. Become a *kirvo* for. ("Godfather")
6. Take a *kirvo* from. (See above)
7. Allow to a *pomana*. ("Feast for the dead")
8. Extend hospitality to.
9. Let use regular cup.
10. Eat at house of.
11. Ask for permission to do business.
12. Give permission to do business.
13. Call Rom. ("Gypsy")

Other Terms

vitsa (plural *vitsi*): "tribe" (Sub-group among Gypsies)
gaZo (plural *gaZe*): "Outsider" (non-Gypsy)

Other Gypsy terms in this article are proper names of *vitsi*. These terms originate either in occupational titles (*kalderaS* = "coppersmith"), putative places of origin, or proper names of ancestors.

REFERENCES CITED

Black, M. B. 1969. „Eliciting Folk Taxonomy in Ojibwa." Pp. 165–189 in Stephen A. Tyler (ed.). *Cognitive Anthropology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Bloombaum, M. 1968. „Tribes and Traits: a Smallest Space Analysis of Cross-Cultural Data." *American Anthropologist* 70: 328–330.

Bloombaum, M. 1970. „Doing Smallest Space Analysis." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 14: 409–416.

Calvet, G. n.d. *Description d'un dialecte tsigane du Banat*. These. Paris: Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études, IVe Section.

Cohn, W. 1969. „Some Comparisons between Gypsy (North American Rom) and American English Kinship Terms." *American Anthropologist* 71: 476–482.

Cohn, W. 1970. „La persistance d'un groupe paria relativement stable: quelques reflexions sur les Tsiganes nord-américains." *Etudes Tsiganes* 16 (2 et 3): 3–20.

Conklin, H. C. 1962. „Lexicographical Treatment of Folk Taxonomies." Pp. 119–141 In F.W. Householder, S. Saporta (eds.) *Problems in lexicography. International Journal of American Linguistics* 28 (2) Part II supplement, Publication 21. Bloomington: Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics.

Cotten, R. M. (now Rena C. Gropper) 1950. *The Fork in the Road: A Study of Acculturation among the Kalderas Gypsies*. Ph.D. thesis. New York: Columbia University.

Gjerdman, O., Ljungberg, E. 1963. *The Language of the Swedish Coppersmith Gypsy Johan Dimitri Tailcon*. Uppsala: A-B Lundequistska.

Goodenough, W. H. 1956. „Componential Analysis and the Study of Meaning." Language 32: 195–216.

Maximoff, M. 1946. *Les Ursitory*. Paris: Flammarion.

Yoors, J. 1967. *The Gypsies*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

A LIST OF WRITINGS OF WERNER COHN ON GYPSIES[5]

1969

"Some Comparisons Between Gypsy (North American rom) and American English Kinship Terms," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 71, no. 3, pp. 476–82.

1970

„La persistance d'un group paria relativement stable: quelques reflexions sur les tsiganes nord-américains," *Etudes Tsiganes*, vol. 16, nos. 2–3, pp. 3–23.

1972

„Mariage chez les rom nord-américains: quelques conséquences du ,prix de la mariée," *Etudes Tsiganes*, vol. 18, no. 2–3, pp. 4–11.

„Marko and Moso, A Gypsy Tale from Canada told by Biga," *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, vol. 51, nos. 1–2, pp. 13–27.

1973

The Gypsies, Addison-Wesley (available at: http://www.wernercohn.com/Resources/The_Gypsies.pdf).

1976

Review of „Gypsy Politics and Social Change," by Thomas Acton, *Contemporary Sociology*, vol. 5, no. 1, p. 56.

1983

Marko und Moso, in: *Zigeunermärchen aus aller Welt, Erste Sammlung*, Heinz Mode, ed. Insel-Verlag, Leipzig, pp. 156–61; [an abridged German translation of 1972b].

1993

„The Myth of Gypsy Nationalism," *Nationalities Papers*, vol. XXI, no. 2 (Fall 1993), pp. 281–286; available at: http://www.wernercohn.com/Gypsymyth.html

2007

Příbuzenská terminologie a cena za nevěstu, in: Budilová, Lenka & Jakoubek, Marek /eds./ — *Cikánská rodina a příbuzenství*, Plzeň: Vydavatelství a nakladatelství Vlasty Králové / Dryada, 2007, str. 193–198; [a translation of chapters 6 a 7 from 1973; translated by Marek Jakoubek].

2008

Mýtus cikánského národnostního hnutí, in: Jakoubek, Marek (ed.), *Cikáni a etnicita*, Praha, Kroměříž: Triton, str. 134–143; [a translation of 1993; translated by Marek Jakoubek].

2009

Cikáni, Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON); [a translation of 1973; translated by Marek Jakoubek].

Werner Cohn (born 1926 in Berlin, Germany) is a sociologist who has written on the sociology of Jews and of Gypsies, and political sociology. He is a Professor Emeritus at the University of British Columbia.

Werner Cohn received his BSS in Sociology from City College (New York) in 1951. He completed his MA (1954) and PhD (1956) at the New School for Social Research. He joined the University of British Columbia's Department of Anthropology and Sociology in 1960 and remained there until taking early retirement in 1986. Cohn's research focused on the sociology of Jews and small political movements. In particular, Cohn developed an interest in researching Gypsies. He began his research on this topic in 1966/67 during a sabbatical in France. He continued with his studies of the Gypsy culture and language and returned to Europe meeting with Gypsy groups and with many well-known scholars of the Gypsies. Over the years Cohn wrote numerous articles on the Gypsies in various scholarly journals and in 1973 he wrote *The Gypsies* which summarized his findings in the field.[6]

....

5   Full list of writings by W. Cohn up to 2009 available at: http://www.wernercohn.com/pers-bib.html.

6   http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/u_arch/cohn.pdf.