

Marginal Multilingualism and Its Potential in Fighting the Xenophobia/Romaphobia

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Abstract. Exploring the Roma's marginal multilingualism leads to the following three main conclusions. First, the Roma – being present in entire Europe and being largely connected as families practicing the same professions (many times professions for surviving, including those dishonest and dirty) speak almost all the active languages of Europe. That is a) in a traditional multilingual context, temporarily settled Roma spoke fluently all the languages of the context; b) in a new multilingual context, the Roma in mobility speak the languages needed there – the local languages plus the others mobile groups' languages. Secondly, in the Bihor-county they practiced the languages of the loci (Hungarian, Romanian and some variety of Romani). They select only the economically necessary languages. Thirdly, their linguistic abilities are not due to their musical competences, but to the practical reasons: they earn their living due to the linguistic interactions with Others – the speakers of different languages. That is why they acquire rapidly new languages, no matter, how many those languages are and to which family they belong to. The need to survive is the first explanatory factor of their active interest and effectiveness in multilingualism. What we believe it became extremely significant, it is to explore – interpret - the political significance of the Roma marginal multilingualism in the context of the new extreme xenophobia that targets them. Does the Roma's marginal multilingualism carry out a socio-political potential? Does the multilingualism play a role in curving the millennial xenophobia against them? Could it lead to dismantling the Romaphobia in Europe? Answering such questions, we plead for intensively communicate in the scientific milieu on the Roma marginal multilingualism, and to underline constantly its socio-political potential. It is to valorize this positive Roma feature in fighting the stigma on Roma and Romani languages, in curving the xenophobia and to encourage them to contribute to a cohesive Europe.

Keywords: *Roma, Roma marginal multilingualism, sharing the multilingualism as way to fight Romaphobia*

Introductory considerations

The traditional Roma are prone to multilingualism because they must interact and do interact with the Others- speakers of different languages - to earn their living. Multilingualism, therefore, is the mark of their identity [Sarău, 1998, p. 129, Pop, 2016; Horvath, 2017; Pop, 2018], just as much as their own language is.

The European Roma's marginal multilingualism is a fact easy to be

experienced by anyone in direct interactions with their mobile groups alongside Europe. It is simply to scientifically prove it, as this paper is trying to do, by developing estimations on the Roma's multilingualism European geography and by investigated it in the delimited European areas.

We propose here a European panorama on it and a concrete investigation on the Roma marginal multilingualism in the Bihor county, Romania.

To go further and to articulate a theory on it, it is much more complicated. In this phase, we postpone the attempt to articulate a coherent general theory on the Roma's marginal multilingualism. We just strive to

- a) prove it scientifically - by using, personal, cultural and sociological methods;
- b) describe concretely how many languages the Roma groups in Europe acquired;
- c) explain it and to explore its meanings in fighting Romaphobia.

That is, the core chapters of our study are:

1. Proves on the European Roma marginal multilingualism
2. How many languages the Roma groups speak?
3. Roma marginal multilingualism: explanations and perspectives

In the *Conclusions* we focus on the Roma's marginal multilingualism socio-political potential. We see it as an effective tool in fighting the Romaphobia. For us, the Romaphobia or the Anti-tsiganism is the most extended form of the xenophobia, from the geographical, historical or cultural point of view. By revealing real positive facts on Roma – as their marginal multilingualism is – we draw the scientific community attention that the xenophobia against them is possible to be curved, by communicating on them as possible contributors to an inclusive society. Also, we underlined the idea that sharing the courage to practice the non-scholar multilingualism it is to contribute to a cohesive Europe.

1. Proves on the European Roma marginal multilingualism

1.1 Common experience regarding the Roma multilingualism

The Roma multilingualism is simply to be noted. In the multicultural areas of Central Europe, anybody knows that the Roma speak all the languages active there. Nobody doubts on it, but nobody mentions it as a special feature, just because it is so common. Commenting on their trilingualism, two non-Roma students in Journalism in the University of Oradea, who, for twelve years have lived in areas with

trilingual Roma – at Valea lui Mihai, Bihor and Carei, Satu Mare county – affirmed independently: “Only they can speak Romanian and Hungarian too”! (obviously apart from their own language.) The conclusion comes with some surprise for the two of them.

An excellent linguist, R. H. wrote privately to Lia Pop:

“Btw, I was thinking of your work recently when I was in Belfast, as I was approached by some gypsy ladies in the street selling me flowers, I replied to them in Romanian after which point, they refused to believe I was English! Then, when I politely declined their flowers, they went to the next guy in the street who happened to be Canadian, and they spoke to him in (very broken) French!”

The experience is available to anyone, anywhere in Europe, because the Roma move anywhere, and are anywhere, and the groups' multilingualism is the necessary ingredient in any new spot. That is their multilingualism is extended as their mobility is.

Looking for scientific confirmations of the Roma's multilingualism we look for scientific direct and indirect proves.

1.2 Direct confirmations of the Roma marginal multilingualism

The reality of Roma marginal multilingualism is beyond any doubt. It is confirmed in direct observations – repeatable anytime – and from experiments conducted with such a purpose.

Such proves were collected in Bihor county, Romania. Indeed, the Roma marginal multilingualism is a common experience in many zones of Bihor county¹, and also, in the municipality of Oradea, Romania. Day by day and all over, the Roma – specifically dressed, (and thus unmistakably) can be heard speaking their language, as well as Romanian, Hungarian² and switching between the languages naturally. The same group of Roma address Romanians in Romanian, Hungarians in Hungarian and speak among themselves in their own language. Anytime, a visit to the marketplace, at the railway stations, to the hospitals or a simple ride on a tram provides observers with the experience on their multilingualism.

For the sake of methodological correctness, the RCIMI team – in the context

¹ A village monograph confirms the general Roma bilingualism. [Cordova, 2012.]

² According to a local philosopher, of Transylvania of the XIX century, there was active another Romani variety: that influenced by the German. (These days, it is not active any more). [von Wlisko, 1887, 1998, p. 20.]

of the MIME project- organized two specific experiments, in Bihor county: a focus group on Romani and multilingualism and investigations on the linguistic competences of the Roma people, attested by others and claimed by the Roma themselves.

The focus-group proving the multilingualism. The 10 Roma leaders from different local communities of the Bihor county were involved in a focus group on Roma multilingualism and Romani language organized at the headquarter of the Bihor prefecture, June 22, 2016, 12-14. They were engaged in a discussion concerning the languages spoken by their group members and on an evaluation of the social utility of each of them. All of them assumed the Roma identity, due to the fact that they speak Romani, is their mother tongue. The discussion was conducted in the Romanian language, that is all of them were bilingual, at least. They all confirmed personally and all their group's members speak Romani and Romanian. They actually asserted and proved their oral bilingualism. None of them claimed that they can also write in Romani. The ones living in the localities with Hungarian speakers as the majority confirmed they can speak all the three languages, asserting their oral tri-lingualism. The interest in keeping Romani alive was only partly reaffirmed. Some of them underlined explicitly. The Romani competences do not offer opportunity for a career or for a better life. (They pleaded for English!) It comes in total contradiction with the Romanipen imperatives. They punish – corporally included – those who lost their mother tongue: Romani. A Kashtale man told in an interview, that in the prison, he was severely bitten – bitten to death, he said - because he cannot speak Romani.

Direct confirmations based on the participatory observations. Such investigations were conducted by the RCIMI team in the classroom with the Roma pupils. They confirmed again the general bilingualism of the Roma. To the general question addressed in Romanian to the Roma children: “Who can speak Romani?”, the large majority of the group raised their hands and voices: “I do! I do!”. When the question for confirmation came: “Who cannot speak Romani?”, they all pointed out the two children with Kashtale origins: “They cannot!”.

Direct confirmations based on the interviews. In the RCIMI's interviews with Roma people of Bihor on their multilingual skills, out of the 20 illiterate or limitedly literate Roma (with no more than a fourth-grade education), all 20 were fluent and correct in the Romanian language, the second language for them. Their phonetics was similar to that of other speakers in Bihor county. (The interviews were

conducted in Romanian.) Only one single person, a Roma-Kashtale declared he is monolingual, as his entire Kashtale group is. (It is a group known as Roma who lost their mother tongue. This peculiar sub-group can speak only Romanian.) That is, 19 out of 20 interviewees are bilingual.

Seven individuals declared that they are fluent in Romanian and also Hungarian, beside their own languages. They are trilingual, speaking Romani, Romanian and Hungarian.

Those people involved in the circulatory migrations declared they can get by speaking in the language/s of migration place/s. French and English were the languages most frequently mentioned.

One person out the 20 Roma interviewed - a trader - stated that he can speak all three languages plus German, Croatian, Polish, Estonian, Russian, Ukrainian and can manage in Kazakh. These are the languages of the countries where he conducted business for a while. He also spoke about his son who speaks 11 languages and other family members, also polyglots.

The interviewed Roma individuals also claimed they speak many Romani dialects. Three, out of 20, insisted they (and their groups) cannot speak the Gabors' language. (The Gabors from Romania adopted the endonym Gaborian for themselves as defining another linguistic identity. In Bihar Hungary, there is a village with a similar name suggesting that there are several areas where the language is spoken. After discussions with the elders, the Gabor informants told us the endonym for their language. *"In our language, the language's name was Shataroshi."* – one told us.)

Some claimed they can speak plus one or more Western European languages. Once the special finding was that the Roma in migration from the Western Countries declared that in the "platz" of Lyon - the word that they used for the Roma migrants' camps - they can understand the languages of the Roma coming from Hungary, Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Syria and other countries. They confirmed a progressive form of their multilingualism.

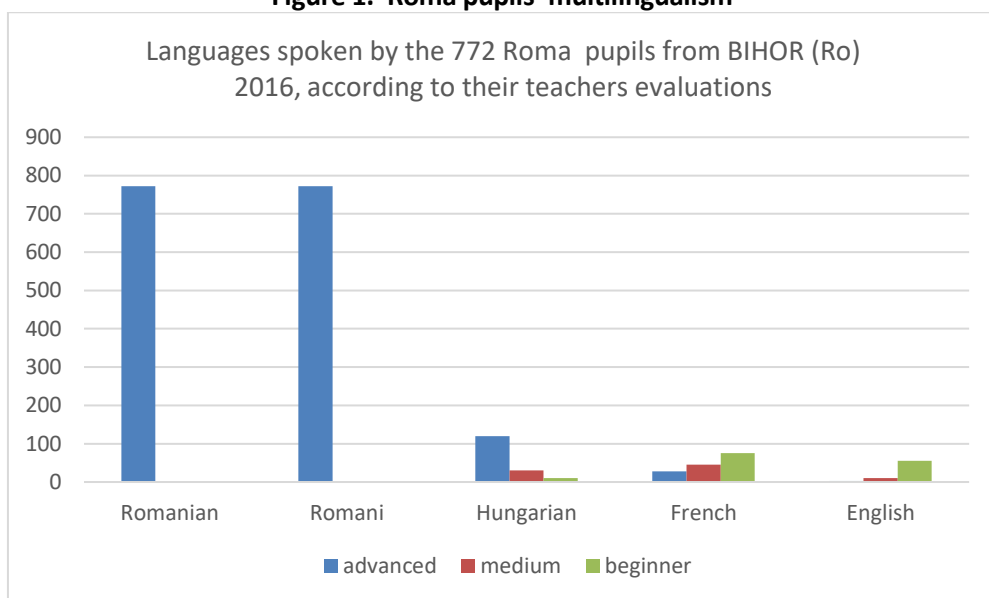
1.3 Indirect confirmations of Roma's multilingualism

Indirect confirmations of Roma multilingualism based on the school teachers' estimations on what language the Roma primary and secondary school children speak and at what level.

The traditional Roma multilingual abilities were confirmed by the Roma

pupils’ linguistic skills. (A questionnaire on the Roma children’s linguistic abilities applied in 2016 -2017, by team member Mona Stănescu, in Bihor county, Romania - and in other two regions, for comparison – proved the multilingual skills of Roma children. The questionnaire was not evenly distributed and answered in the zones with Hungarian majority speakers. That is why the data on the Roma-Ungrika speakers seems to be skewed.) According to their educators in the classrooms, all the Roma pupils enrolled in pre-schools and primary schools – in Bihor (Ro) areas - are bilingual. To the questionnaires distributed among the educators and teachers with Roma pupils in their classrooms, out of 772 children, all 772 were reported as bilinguals. Among them, 160 were trilingual (being competent in the Hungarian language too).

Figure 1. Roma pupils’ multilingualism³



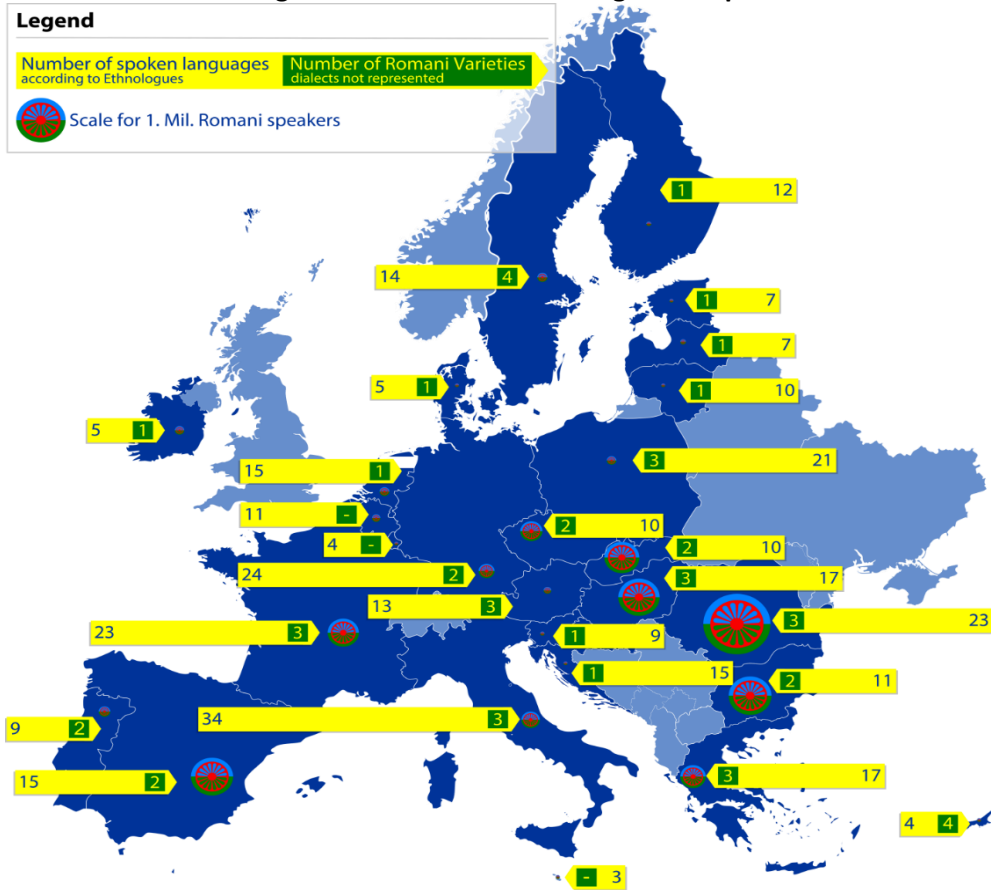
Source: The table synthetizes the work done by Mona Stănescu – in the context of MIME project. Mona conducted investigations among the teachers of Romani in the Bihor County.

Indirect scholarly confirmations. The Matras [Matras, 2013] and Horvath studies [Horvath, 2017] confirm that in the same proximity live people self-identified as Roma that are bilingual and also speak different dialects. The speakers are interacting on the basis of the mutual command of each dialect, especially when they

³ The field researches reflected in the graphic were done by the assistant researcher Mona Stanescu.

are influenced by the same language spoken by the majority, Romanian or Hungarian). A unique Roma common language is in progress, but there are obstacles to its standardization. [Matras, 2005.]

Figure 2. The romani in multilingual Europe



2. How many languages the Roma groups speak?

Briefly answering the question, it is to say: a) there is not any limit in the number of languages that the Roma groups considered all together speak in Europe; b) one single group could be able to speak over ten languages, regularly, due to some intrepid persons who are hyperpolyglot. They are practicing the same languages learned from one to another.

2.1. Panorama of languages spoken by Roma groups in Europe

A detailed view on the Roma positions toward the languages is revealing that the settled and isolated groups are monolingual, but any group living nearby a non-Roma community is, at least, bilingual. Those living in the multicultural zones are trilingual, and those engaged in trans-border mobilities are multilingual.

Looking to the entire EU, the Roma groups considered all together are the most multilingual groups speaking at least the number of languages represented in the map below. The affirmation is supported by the International Databases on languages.

The Map in Figure 2 shows how many languages the mobile Roma speak in today's EU. The number of the mastered languages/group is proportional with the number of linguistic areas that they crossed in their recent history. (The linguistic accuracy is out of their interest. They practice the marginal multilingualism.)

2.2. History and Roma's marginal multilingualism

Historically, they were small mobile groups forced to become inserted into many new linguistic contexts and, socio-economically, totally dependent on their good command of the language spoken *in situ*. They have thus rapidly become bilingual in any place where they moved. When a Roma group limited itself to the poor linguistic abilities⁴ (some formulae learned by heart) and to too superficial individual interactions with the indigenous population, its members got into harsh conditions, as clients of charity, police or even worse. Advances in the language/s of the context resulted in their success to get inserted in the new context and, moreover, to get promises of inclusion.

Any Roma group – deprived of the free movement beyond the borders of the state where the majority of the groups' members were born - is at least a trilingual group. They speak a Romani variety, the language of the majority and one (or more) language/s practiced by the minority/ies with which they interact or a special invented *pogadialect*, which mixes the Romani with the language of a specific minorities. (Such a language was current in Transylvania of XIX century. It mixes Romani and German. Now it is extinct.) [Wislocki, 2000].

⁴ Some illiterate Roma consider that the abilities to use several linguistic formulas and some standard answers represent a fair language command because it leads to their temporary socio-linguistic insertion.

2.3. Recent Roma's mobilities and migration and their marginal multilingualism

Nowadays, the traditional Roma – inheritors of the oral marginal multilingualism - are engaged in new large circulatory mobilities and migrations to the prosperous EU countries. During such “expeditions”, they interact with speakers of new languages for them, the local or migrants’ languages active there. As a consequence, any mobile Roma group speaks at least:

- a) Romani, a variety or more, plus dialects, pogalects, cryptolects of interest for its surviving
- b) the language/s active at home,
- c) the language/s required in the new location.

With the new language acquired, those who are trilingual at home are already speaking 4 languages. Those groups, that are speaking besides the native Romani variety other varieties of Romani too, become speakers of, at least, 5 languages. Some groups – due to their polyglot members - can get by in 6 or 7 languages.

When, during their mobilities, the Roma groups live in “international” camps – as they did in the Camps nearby Napoli, Marseilles, Lyon or the ex-jungle of Calais, or Berlin – the most linguistically qualified add to the above-mentioned patrimony of 6/ 7 other languages spoken, the languages of some migrants’ group living there. When the newcomers are the Roma from Albania, Anatolia, Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, ex-Serbia, Syria (Gurbets or Narwars), learning is a natural process. Nevertheless, even when the migrants’ languages are distanced from the European family and have arrived in EU from Asian, African countries the learning of their languages is not avoided *ab initio* by the Romani speakers. Some of these languages are picked up [Pop, 2018], for the Roma to be able to interact with them, to sell them services and merchandise.

Similarly, when some Roma groups are engaged in mobilities with long duration (two years or more) and with diverse destinations they add new languages to their linguistic patrimony. In terms of the languages spoken, such travelers, their vast majority, become polyglots and some hyperpolyglots, speaking 9 languages. All of them are promoters, speakers and beneficiaries of marginal multilingualism. They are also its promoters. The inferences proposed above were confirmed in the field researches, directly and indirectly. The indirect confirmations resulted from the claims articulated in the Romani speakers’ interviews and from the Romani classrooms teachers’ estimations on what language the Roma primary and secondary school children speak and at what level. The other related researches also confirm it.

2.4. Roma of Bihor and their marginal multilingualism

Our own data collected in the field correlated with the other sources specifically focused on the Roma in Bihor and their languages result in a panorama of the Roma’s multilingualism in the contemporary Bihor county.

Table 1. Categories of the Roma’ traditional multilingualism in Bihor

LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS SPOKEN BY THE ROMA				NEW LANGUAGES ACQUIRED IN MOBILITIES (reported in the researches)		
Context’s L A N G U A G E S	Mother tongue	Official and National Majority language	Official minority language	Languages acquired in the circular mobilities in EU	Languages acquired in the extra-EU mobilities)	Languages learned in the schools by children
	Romani, Shataroshi, Rom-Ungrika	Romanian	Hungarian	Croatian, English, German, French, Italian, Latvian, Polish, Spanish	Serbian, Albanian, Macedonian, Greek, Turkish, Kazakh, Russian.	L 1. English, French, German L 2. English, French, German
Context’s D I A L E C T S	Mother tongue’s dialects with historical roots	Mother tongue’s dialects with Romanian influences	Mother tongue’s dialects with Hungarian influences	Dialects of the EU languages recently acquired plus mixed forms	Dialects of the non-EU languages plus mixed forms	No information.
	Influenced by the languages spoken in the civilizations, that they crossed ⁵ .	Romani professional dialects (Roma-Lingurari, Ćurari Kərəmidari and so one)	Rom-Ungrika dialects defined by professions (Kalderasha, Lovari, Teglas, etc)	not determined in the field studies	Not determined by the researchers	No information.

⁵ An estimated group of such languages depicts some lines of continuity from the Indian sub-continent, Iran, Arabian zones, Armenia, Turkish, Kurdish & Latin and Greek of the Byzantine Konya -; Greece, to Western Europe.

Logically, the linguistic lines of influences must be multiple and generative of multiple dialects. The ancestors of today’s population identified as Roma could have migrated West in historical waves – crossing civilisations with different dominant languages and acquiring such influences. They could have migrated also on multiple and sinuous routes – crossing civilisations based on different languages. (At least, five such routes are obvious: the terrestrial North-Western one toward Russia, Finland, and the Baltic states; the Western central toward the North of the Caspian Sea and Black Sea; the “silk route” central toward Turkey; the terrestrial to South Est, crossing historical Persia, Armenia and Syria; the maritime one to West-South arriving at today Eritrea and following the Nile North and populating the South-Mediterranean coastal regions, from Egypt to Morocco, and continued their routes to Spain and Wales and further.) The varieties of the Roma endonyms in Europe

Such competences lead us to compile the Table above to offer a synthetic view on the dimensions of their multilingualism. The Table maintains only the samples of Romani varieties (without dialects or cryptolects). It left out the newly acquired languages confirmed by three independent sources.

Some dialects – considered as languages by their speakers - are not sufficiently confirmed as independent languages. There are the cases of those spoken by the so-called ‘Rom de Mătase’ [Silky Roma] RO-049; by the Luti/Luri. Similarly, the dialects (languages?) spoken by musicians, dancers and professional entertainers [POP, 2013, and the publications of the Dom Center]; *forró zsebek* [pickpockets] are not included in the Table.

Secret languages are also omitted. Neither the relations between the argot spoken by the Manouches’ and those reminding the Tuggees’.

As completeness the table is amendable. New elements could be added, possible new categories related by the stigmatised secret languages.

As principle, it is to be continued with investigations in other multilingual areas. The hypothesis is that the Roma are marginal multilingual anywhere. For us, their competences are one of the major elements that describes them and their language positively, that attract respect for them. Or such a respect in an age when the world is trapped in an emerging, but accelerate xenophobia is the main ingredient in a strategy in fighting the xenophobia. For a group repeatedly victimised in history, to gain cultural respect is a matter of surviving. For Europe, it is a matter of enforcing its space of Freedom, Security and Justice.

The Gabors’ way of speaking – categorized in the experts Databases as a dialect, RO-010 – is *de facto* a different language, according to the Romani speakers and the Gabors’ claims.]

The classification of the Romani varieties is – according with our understanding – in need to be unified and correlated with the linguistic reality. (It is now under an accelerate dynamic, which push some varieties on extinction, other on renewal or reinventing process.)

The well-known gypsologists, from the Romantic generation – Grellmann, Kogălniceanu, Vaillant, Pott, Paspati, Miklosich, Josef of Habsburg (The Archduchy) Colocci and many others - to the contemporary ones - Courthiade, Friedmann,

allows the researchers to look for their different routes of arriving here and from different historical influences in the languages that they spoke.

Gheorghe, Grigore, Hancock, Hubschmannova, Kendrick, Marushiakova, Matras, Popov, Sarău⁶ - proposed several classifications of Roma languages and dialects, scholarly coherent. The existing classifications of Romani varieties and of its related languages are impossible to operationalized in Bihor and it relativized the line between a language and a macro-language till the impossibility to use it. Similarly, in the case of the border language dialect. The mentioned classifications are even impossible to reconcile with the reality. That is why we did not appeal to them.

For the study on the Roma multilingualism in today Bihor we took the speakers' linguistic self-identifying.

3. Roma marginal multilingualism' explanations and perspectives

3.1. Explaining the Roma multilingualism

From a socio-linguistic perspective, the Roma marginal multilingualism composes a complex image. The image of the Roma marginal multilingualism, as it was illustrated above, comprises the sets of languages practiced group by group, in a certain period of time, in a particular zone.

It encompasses also multiple elements, with different functions plus the relations among them. The main elements, that we identified are a) the communicational practices of the talented groups for multilingualism; b) those groups' cultural strategies in becoming multilingual and in valorizing this cultural capital in earning their lives; c) the Roma's special methods and techniques in acquire new languages (Learning all from all, and Learning by doing); d) the specific ways of practicing multilingualism, as a simplified use of any language within this patrimony; as a totally oral use of languages, and as a "fluid" language. (A set of language competences that "easily comes, easily goes", as a professor in socio-linguistic portraited it).

Roma marginal multilingualism - in spite of its simplifications - is effective. It ensures their early insertion in a new area, no matter which language/s the area speaks.

This multilingualism is really amazing because it is so largely spread in Europe and so largely scholarly un-analyzed. Its dimensions lead to transforms Roma mobile groups - considered altogether - in the most multilingual people in Europe. They

⁶ Sarău was trying to compile a repertoire of them. [Sarău, 1998, pp. 129-149.]

speak almost all the active languages of Europe. Such a condition of groups of people able to acquire rapidly any language deserves some explanations. How do they succeed?

De facto any group selects only the economically necessary foreign languages and focus on them. The "necessary language" is the key concept in the development of their multilingualism. For them, the necessary languages do not mean a prestigious language. In a traditional multilingual context, temporarily settled Roma spoke fluently all the languages of the context, because they need to interact with that language speakers. They try to sell to the Others (non-Roma) merchandises or services. Fortune telling, charming, witchcraft, or healings with ayurvedic practices or fake ayurvedic are the most common services. The necessity to interact with Others – to adapt to the context for economic reasons – is explaining why in a new multilingual context, the Roma in mobility spoke the languages needed there, the local languages plus the others mobile groups languages.

Practically, each group pays attention to the language/s spoken in the context where they live for a while. This language is seen as the first requirement for the interactions with the locals.

It is also to see as an explanatory factor the attitude that they take to the language' learning. They look to a language acquirement as the tool to access an opportunity. Not a burden or an obstacle to be overcome.

Their learning is a group's activity, accomplished with the intense support the most gifted of its members, but encompassing all the group members. The gifted members explore the resources of learning, valorize them, develop the strategy to manage with the new language and call all the people to contribute and to share their accomplishments.

Their linguistic abilities are not the results of their musical competences. They are the outcomes of practical reasons: they earn their living due to the linguistic interactions with Others – the speakers of different languages. That is why they acquire rapidly new languages, no matter, how many those languages are and to which family they belong to. The need to survive is the first explanatory factor of their active interest and effectiveness in multilingualism.

The concrete explanations are those related to their success in doing it. Their success comes from the group learning; the method and techniques developed; historical experiences of language practicing.

3.2. The meanings of Roma's marginal multilingualism

For the Roma groups, foreign languages acquirement is undoubtedly an added value. A new language means new ways to access a new market. Is such a linguistic asset value for the general society too? Answering such question, we like to underline that, in the economically globalized world, the multilingualism per se is and will be the first cultural capital. It is prestigious and productive, and its prestige develops exponentially. That is why, a form of multilingualism, accessible to anybody interested in, constitutes a society's asset. The Roma abilities to rapidly become multilingual is highly encouraging. To reveal it is in the general society's benefits.

We plead for intensively communicate in the scientific milieu on the existence of the Roma marginal multilingualism, and on its methods and techniques.

Going further it is to look for answers to socio-political questions. Does the Roma marginal multilingualism carry out a socio-political potential? Could the revealing of their multilingualism play a role in curving the millennial xenophobia against them? Could it lead to dismantling the Romaphobia in Europe?

We do believe it. To underline the very existence of the Roma's multilingualism it is to attach to them a positive feature. It comes from the prestige of the multilingualism, but it is not enough. The peculiarity of the Roma's multilingualism is to related to a positive feature. Or it really exists! It unveils that nearby the elites' multilingualism, sophisticated and exclusivist, there is one largely available to anybody. Indeed, the nucleus of positivity here is that the multilingualism's strategy is available to be largely shared.

At a deeper level, the sharing accompanied by the acknowledgment that it is a Roma contribution could fight the stigma on Roma and Romani languages. It could curve the xenophobia as Romanophobia.

Finally, it could heal the society by tendencies to blame, stigmatize, exclude or send to crematories the excluded. It could lead to rational behavior and to human solidarities in hard times.

Conclusions

We consider that the evidence confirms that the Roma are multilingual and developed a special form of multilingualism: the marginal multilingualism. The marginal multilingualism provides them with competences to interact with the speakers specific to any multicultural context.

The field studies in Bihor county describes traditional categories of languages spoken by the Roma: a) the languages that are traditionally spoken *in situ* (Romani's varieties, Romanian and Hungarian) b) and the languages newly acquired in the recent mobilities.

The meaning of the Roma multilingualism is positive. It confers prestige to the speakers and groups able to practice it. It encourages ordinary people to acquire the new language/s. The non-Roma could be convinced to inhibit their own tendencies of xenophobic behaviors or even to prevent or cut the elements of Romanophobia in their milieu if they acknowledge the Roma linguistic abilities. The Roma respected for their qualities gain the self-esteem and the sense of duty toward the community where they live. Even more, the conscience on Roma positive features opens the way to mobilize the Roma potential to contribute to the developing a Europe able to directly communicate too at the lower levels.

Due to their multilingualism the Roma could consider to be an original contributive part in a cohesive Europe.

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