

Translation and Translators in Romani Context

Professional paper

Hedina Tahirović-Sijerčić

Council of Europe - Committee of Experts for the European Charter for
Regional or Minority Languages

France

hedina.sijercic570@gmail.com

Abstract: *Since the area presenting former Yugoslavia has no mandatory Romani language classes and consequently no officially recognized translation classes, nor does it provide training for Romani translators, this paper deals with the experience and the current situation of Romani translation and translators. Theoretical background of Polysystems, Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), Skopos and non-systems oriented 'Cluster concept' provide support for a better approach to translation in the Romani context. 'Cluster concept' allows the possibility to create a definition of Translation Romani as a new approach to Translation Studies. As translation represents one of the ways to preserve and develop linguistic vitality in the minority languages, reassuring its speakers, activating the creation of new vocabulary, and strengthening domains of language use that are under-used, it also applies as a way for creating translation strategies for teaching Translation Romani. This research is grounded in personal experience, and presents the beginning of the research on Translation Romani (TR).*

Keywords: *translation, Romani language, Roma, Romani translator, Romani translation, training*

Article History

Submitted: 18 Decemeber 2018

Accepted: 30 January 2019

1. INTRODUCTION

Romani language/čhib¹ is the common language of Roma, Sinti, Kale and other European groups pejoratively known as “gypsies”. It “is the only new Indo-Aryan language spoken exclusively outside of the Indian subcontinent (Zatreanu & Halwachs 2013, p. 3)” by about 10-15 million Roma throughout the world, and “comprised of almost 80 dialects”² of the Romani language. As stated by Halwachs, Klinge and Schrammel (2013) Romani “may be described as a heterogenous cluster of varieties with a homogeneous core – a common morphology and a common lexicon- but without any generally accepted homogenizing standard” (p. 5).

Even though the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages has been signed by eight (8) countries³ and ratified by twenty five (25) countries⁴, fifteen (15)⁵ “have officially recognised Romani as a minority language traditionally present on their territory” (Tahirović-Sijerčić, 2018, p. 36), the development of Romani čhib is given an inadequate opportunity.⁶ In the situation where discrimination and racism against Roma and Romani exist in their visible and invisible forms, the speakers’ identity and the identity of the language disappear. Such a situation, according to Hughes (2013), warrants “intervention from governments to protect Romani language, as it is considered an important, but vulnerable facet of the Roma peoples identity” (p. 19).

It is obvious that, as stated by Pym “political dimension [is] involved [in the languages], especially in situations where translation policies are associated with the defence and development of minority languages” (2002, p. 4). A political dimension is also present in the situation of the Romani language, and consequently in Translation Romani. There are, unfortunately, no educational programs where both the Romani language and Translation Romani are

¹ Denomination of Romani language in Romani is Romani čhib. In further text will be used as Romani.

² Translation Romani. See: <http://www.translationromani.net/en/romani/language>

³ Azerbaijan, France, Iceland, Italy, Malta, Republic of Moldova, Russian Federation, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

⁴ See: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/148/signatures>

⁵ As Part II language signed by Austria, Finland, Germany, Norway, Netherlands, Romania, Sweden, Slovenia, and as Part III language signed by Bosnia and Herzegovina, Czech Republic, Hungary, Montenegro, Poland, Serbia, Slovakia, and Germany in Hesse.

⁶ “This is the highest number of ratifications for a single language under the Charter and it reflects, among others, the status of Romani as a European language.” Statement adopted by the Committee of Experts of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) on 5 November 2015 on the occasion of the International Romani Language Day.” (Tahirović-Sijerčić, 2018, p. 36).

mandatory, and there are no trained Romani translators nor interpreters.⁷ The Romani language is a complex linguistic issue of translation process in Romani context.

Until the twentieth century, the Romani was a spoken language only and even today, as stated by Tahirović-Sijerčić,

[d]ominant ideology and culture erroneously understand Romani as an oral language and not as written, and Romani literature as a folk literature with no focus on contemporary creation. However, international Romani authors do, in fact, write in Romani and publish in its different dialects, and the written language is used in Romani networks, email, and chatrooms. (2017, p. 14)

At the present time, Romani as a mandatory subject is only taught within Romistika in the frame of graduate studies at the Department of Indology and Far Eastern Studies, Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb. In a frame of elective courses, Romani is taught at the College of Professional Studies for Educators “Michael Palov” in Vršac, and at the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade. Romani is taught occasionally through short training courses, thanks to the small grants and educational projects, within the Romani and non-Romani NGO circles. These organizations are dealing with different issues in the areas of language, politics, economics, history etc. for and about Roma. The main issues of such education are not only Romani čhib and majority⁸ official language/s, but also Romani culture and majority culture/s of the countries where the Roma live.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Within his theoretical framework of polysystems, Even-Zohar, cited in Pym (2010, 72), sees translation playing an innovative role when: “(a) a polysystem has not yet been crystallized, that is to say, when a literature is ‘young,’ in the process of being established; (b) a literature is either ‘peripheral’ (within a large group of correlated literatures) or ‘weak,’ or both; and (c) there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature” (Tahirović-Sijerčić, 2018, p. 10).

⁷ There is an individual initiative since 2016. Translator is not a professional translator, and does not have any translation training but has translation experience. „Romany Interpreting and Translations (RIT) is registered trademark and sole trading business based in Manchester, UK.
<https://www.romanyinterpretingandtranslations.com/resume>

⁸ The “majority society language” refers to dominant and powerful society and language which is in contact with Roma as minority people or ethnic groups, and with Romani as minority language.

It accounts for bilingual and multilingual communities.

The literature of Roma and written by Roma is ‘young’, ‘peripheral’ and ‘weak’. As already stated, it started first to be published in the 20th century, and its invisibility has been reflected by the history of Roma (Tahirović-Sijerčić, 2018, p. 10), and their historical and current socio-economic situation.

In their difficult socio-economic situation Romani translators were engaged because of different project needs related to human rights issues. On that way, translation in Romani has been seen only as the need for “the ‘aim’ or ‘purpose’ (‘skopos’)⁹ that guides the production of a translation. According to this perspective, it is the target culture which “defines [a translation’s] adequacy” (Vermeer *in* Venuti, 2000, p. 222)” (Tahirović-Sijerčić 2018, p. 16).

It means that source text, depending of goals or purposes, could have many different translations, also with possibility that the source text does not meet meaning of the context in the target language and the source text is destabilized, and does not have its function in the target culture.

The Skopos rule thus reads as follows: translate/interpret/speak/write in a way that enables your text/translation to function in the situation in which it is used and with the people who want to use it and precisely in the way they want it to function (Pym, 2010, p. 45), (Tahirović-Sijerčić, 2018, p. 16).

Within the Romani translation using the concept of Skopos theory, there are, also, the other problems such as: directionality of languages (majority – Romani or Romani – majority); contact language effect including existence of loanwords and neologisms in Romani; Romani readers and their different dialects; acceptance of translation; and fulfillment of the needs (Tahirović-Sijerčić, 2018, p. 17).

It is important to state that a need for, and interest in, Romani translators and interpreters was awakened during the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015.¹⁰ The funding provided for the projects of different institutions also covered activities to bring Romani language to the forefront and thus to become more visible. The issues that have been most translated are in the domain of human rights and law, with special emphasis on housing, health, employment, and education for Roma.

Diverse institutional and NGO reports on law and human rights have been translated into Romani and have spawned many types of translation. Translation

⁹ “Skopos theory” is a concept of translation studies from the 1980s.

¹⁰ The Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005-2015) was an initiative of 12 European countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia and Spain), to improve the socio-economic status and social inclusion of the Romani people across the region. An observer status had Slovenia and United States.

and interpretation for different cultural events are also widespread, and found in the form of flyers, guidelines and advertisements. Almost all of the official Decade of Roma Inclusion conferences used Romani interpreters.

When looking for a Romani translator or interpreter, the institutions and non-Romani NGOs mostly have recourse to certain individuals within certain Romani NGOs. Once eligible for these institutions and NGOs, the translator/interpreter, after gaining his/her first job, the translator/interpreter is engaged with clients and is always called for the next engagement. Clients are not aware of the specific challenges that inadequate translation and/or their choice of translator/interpreter can cause.

In order to make readers aware of problems “of identity politics, to experiences shrouded in silence, and to forms of representation that deepen our to empathize with people who are different from us (Ellis & Bochner, 2000)” (Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011, par. 3), it is important that client institutions and NGOs as clients have translators/interpreters who identify themselves as Romani, and as the speakers of the Romani language. These are the only criteria. Of no interest to clients are the quality of the translator’s educational background; the dialect/s he/she uses; the levels of his/her Romani as the target language, the majority language as the source language; the quality of her/his translation/interpretation; or the knowledge of cultural differences. Above all, the cheapest price for translation would be appreciated. With Romani identity and work being done at the cheapest rates possible, the client’s expectations are fulfilled.

In such situations, clients and translators could experience problems with the final product – the translation into Romani čhib. According to Rosemary Mackenzie, it is not just because they “ [h]a[v]e insufficient information about the situation or about the subject matter in hand” (1998, p. 202), but also because they are “ in the game” and they have an opinion to hold a monopoly over translation for NGOs and institutions (Mackenzie, 1998, p. 202). These translators would not generally or readily confess that they do not know the grammar of the language pair they translate. In fact, they will do the ‘work’ despite its bad quality and despite a low understanding of the source text.

In fact, not just the Romani language but also its translation suffers from a cultural, economic, political and educational pressure of the majority languages in which they have been in contact. This unequal relationship of power between minority and majority languages, their linguistic and cultural differences led me to the postcolonial approach where question on power hierarchy came to attention.

Since there is no translation theory nor approach that could be used to all translations, Tymoczko’s ‘cluster concept’ as the most acceptable concept,

especially in the context of Translation Romani makes and “allow[s] for self-definition of translation by all cultures thus far been dominated by Western logocentrism (2007, 2010, 2014, p. 105) ” (Tahirović-Sijerčić, 2018, p. 22).

This approach provides a space for creation and self-definition of Translation Romani.

3. TRANSLATION ROMANI AND ROMANI TRANSLATORS – DEFINITION

Romani, as a minority language,¹¹ has been constantly influenced by neologisms and loanwords and creates an obstacle for communication between various groups of Roma, as does the different use of writing style and script, likewise a difficulty for translation. This situation of complex linguistic and cultural differences leads to the importance of translation in Romani context, i.e. Translation Romani.

Translation Romani as a new approach to Translation Studies, is translation in and from the Romani language involving different dialect groups, cultures, customs, religions, different geographical areas and nationality languages where Roma live. In other words, Translation Romani is a cluster of translation produced by Romani translators in diverse domains in and from different Romani dialects, which preserve and still live in different Romani and non-Romani cultures.

Following this definition, the Romani translator is any individual who has been educated about both cultures and both languages, and has a very good language knowledge in TL and SL, i.e. a majority language and Romani language.

Romani translators, despite their bilingualism and multilingualism, have different levels of knowledge of national language/s and of Romani, which also creates difficulties in Translation Romani. The biggest problem is insufficient and incomplete translators' education in national language/s and their national culture/s colored with particularities in expressions.

In the domain of literary translation, Translation Romani is produced mostly by Romani poets who are self-translators.¹² Without institutional support or access

¹¹ According to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages “regional or minority languages means languages that are: (i) traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and (ii) different from the official language(s) of that State; it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants;” Retrieved from <https://rm.coe.int/168007bf4b>

¹² My PhD dissertation which seeks -through the optic of translation studies - to address some preliminary questions with regard to Romani literature and self-translation. My readings of Romani poetry, in particular, have led me to make some initial observations worthy of analysis: poems are written bilingual and

to mainstream publishers, these poets and writers publish their own work through their Romani NGOs.

The situation of translation and interpretation is in an unrivaled position for both minority and majority languages, especially in the countries of Western Balkans, having in mind that

[t]here are no translator training institutions as such in BiH. Most people who engage in translation/interpreting hold a degree in modern languages and many do translation/interpreting part time. Companies which offer translation or interpreting services are very rarely found in BiH. The only professional association of translators/interpreters in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the Association of Translators of BiH (Udruženje prevodilaca Bosne i Hercegovine). (Jurida & Pavlović, 2016, p. 73)

In the case of Romani, both, the language and translation education is lacking, and only a small percentage of Roma are fluent and literate in Romani. Educational institutions that are responsible for supporting Romani programs, and Romani language programs in particular, face difficulties in teaching Romani and consequently in teaching Translation Romani.

4. ANALYSIS: CHALLENGES FOR CLIENTS, ORGANIZATIONS, NGOS

As an illustration of the problems in Translation Romani, we will briefly analyze an excerpt of the *Akcioni plan Bosne i Hercegovine za rješavanje problema Roma u oblasti zapošljavanja, stambenog zbrinjavanja i zdravstvene zaštite* [*Akcijako plano Bosne thaj Hercegovine pala pandime e romenge problemura ande oblast bućaripe čerako zbrinime thaj sastimake zaštita/Action plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina for addressing Roma Issues in the field of employment housing and health care*] which was published by the Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2009. The publication is written in Bosnian as the source language and translated into Romani as the target language by a Romani translator. The translation in English is made by a professional English translator.

multilingual – in Romani and majority language/s; poems are self-translated by their writers; all versions of the poem are complementing each other; versions of the poem are read ‘together’, “stereoscopically”, in the sense that textual meaning is obtained through a reading of one in relation to another – bilingually or multilingually.

Table 1. Translation Romani in 2009.

BOSNIAN	ROMANI	ENGLISH
Akcioni plan Bosne i Hercegovine za rješavanje problema Roma u oblasti zapošljavanja, stambenog zbrinjavanja i zdravstvene zaštite (title page)	Akcijako plano Bosne thaj Hercegovine pala pandime e romenge problemura ande oblast bučaripe čerako zbrinime thaj sastimake zaštita (2009, 72)	Action plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina for addressing Roma issues in the field of employment housing and health care (2009, 133)
Zaključak (...) Očekivani rezultati u planu postižu se kroz jasno definirane mjere Akcionog plana koje obuhvataju niz aktivnosti koje treba poduzeti i koje moraju imati u vidu i uzeti u obzir postojeće stimulativne mjere i aktivnosti u oblasti zapošljavanja koje su dale određene rezultate . (2009, 47)	Zaključko (...) Očekuvime rezultatura an planpostignin pe krezo jasno definišime mjere Akcionone planoha save obuhvatin nizo aktivnosturengo save trubuj te poduzmin pe i save mora te aven an uvid i te lol an obzir već postojime stimulativni mjere te aktivnostura an oblastura zapošljavanjeko save <i>dje</i> određeni rezultatura . (2009, 112)	Conclusion (...) The results anticipated by the Plan are achieved through the clearly defined measures of the Action Plan that include a series of activities which need to be undertaken and which must also take into account the already existing incentives and activities in the area of employment, which have already produced certain results. (2009, 171)

Example 1. *The words in bold in the Bosnian source text have influenced the Romani target text.

As stated by Munday, Vinay and Darbelnet's translation strategy is the "orientation of the translator [...]" and procedures are specific techniques or methods which are used "by a translator at a certain point in a text" (2012, p. 57), on the basis of the appropriate translation procedure chosen by the translator (Tahirović-Sijerčić, 2018, p. 93).

In this example, even though unconsciously, the Romani translator uses word for word translation procedure. Translator does not pay attention to the style of the text, but to the grammar and idioms keeping the meaning in the target language. This procedure is "the most common procedure when translating between two languages of the same family [...], and even more so when they also share the same culture (Vinay & Darbelnet 2000, p. 86)" (Tahirović-Sijerčić, 2018, p. 96). It is the fact that Romani and Bosnian are not of the same language family, but Romani uses Bosnian grammar, orthography and morphology. Contact effect language, loanwords and neologisms, provide characteristic of Romani, hybridity and mimicry.

Romani čhib, such as other minority languages, is constantly under the pressure from dominant, majority languages, and therefore it can very easily, as Cronin stated, “become mirror-image of the dominant language” (1998, p. 147), which is obvious in this example.

In the example of the Romani translation provided, several problems are identified:

1. Translators seem to be very heavily influenced by the source text.
2. Compatibility between Bosnian / Serbian / Croatian / Montenegrin / Macedonian and Romani is more than obvious.
3. Neologisms and loanwords dominate in the Romani translation.
4. Translators do not have enough knowledge about Romani language grammar, about dialects and their differences. Their knowledge depends on the second language grammar level which they learn in schools as a mandatory subject.
5. The translator does not pay attention to punctuation or proper use of uppercase letters. There is no uniformed textual use of the nouns Rom, Roma, and adjective Romani/o/e, even though these nouns and adjectives in the source text are correct.
6. Translators do not use translation technologies or tools, and they are mostly unaware of the existence of Romani dictionaries.
7. The degree of translators’ textual awareness or use of textual knowledge is limited. This might be attributed to the following: a) the translator does not understand the text i.e. the meaning in the source language; b) the translator imports the words from the source language into the target language because he/she is not aware of their existence in the target Romani language; c) in importing the source language words, the translator builds, creates and self-invents ‘new Romani words’ (clumsy hybrids) adding to SL words Romani suffixes; and d) the translator is not aware of the existence of Romani dictionaries and grammars.
8. The revision phase is not done.

As another example in *Revidirani Akcioni Plan Bosne i Hercegovine za rješavanje problema Roma u oblastima zapošljavanja, stambenog zbrinjavanja i zdravstvene zaštite 2013-2016. godine* published by Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2013, a translation shows how a Romani translator produces Translation Romani when the translator is well educated, uses language books, grammar and dictionaries, and has good knowledge in both, the Bosnian and Romani language and culture.

Table 2. Translation Romani in 2013.

BOSNIAN	ROMANI	ENGLISH
<p>Revidirani Akcioni Plan Bosne i Hercegovine za rješavanje problema Roma u oblastima zapošljavanja, stambenog zbrinjavanja i zdravstvene zaštite 2013-2016. godine (title page)</p>	<p>Bosnako thaj Hercegovinako Revidirano Akciono Plano pala čhinavipe e Romenge problemura ande pašipende pala bući, čheresko ažutipe thaj sastipesko arakhipe 2013. - 2016. (title page)</p>	<p>Revised Action Plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina for addressing Roma issues in the field of employment, housing and healthcare 2013-2016 (title page)</p>
<p>Položaj pojedinaca i/ili ove manjinske grupe udaljava Rome od mogućnosti obrazovanja i zaposlenja, te smanjuju njihovu mogućnost za ostvarivanje prihoda, tako da su mnogi od njih isključeni i ne učestvuju u društvenim mrežama ili drugim aktivnostima u zajednici. (1)</p>	<p>E peravneski situacija jal situacija pala gova nacionalno minoriteto ćerel lungo drom e Romendar koring edukacija, bući thaj ćeren lengo bišajipe jal cikno šajipe pala bućako poćinipe jal bućako therdipe, thaj pe gova drom but katare lendar si ačhavne thaj na den participacija ande amalipeske inzardende jal ande aver aktivitetura ande amalipeste. (1)</p>	<p>This position of individual Roma and/or this minority group alienates Roma in terms of educational and employment opportunities and hence restricts their ability to generate revenue. It is for this reason that many members of the Roma national community are excluded and do not participate in social networks or other community activities. (1)</p>

Example 2. (neologisms and loanwords in bold)

In this translation, the Romani translator uses Vinay and Darbelnet' (2000) sense by sense translation procedure taking into consideration Romani grammar, Romani dictionaries Romani writing, and Romani everyday communication.

In the final observation we would refer to Newmark who states that, "[i]n communicative as in semantic translation, provided that equivalent effect is secured, the literal word-for-word translation is not only the best, it is the only valid method of translation" (1981, p. 39), and disagree in the case of Translation Romani. Even though both examples are equivalent, the translation in Example 1 (one) does not work for revitalization activities: education of and in Romani¹³, the development of written standards, vocabulary development, and learning

¹³ The Romani alphabet consists of 34-38 letters, two genders (feminine and masculine no middle genus), two numbers (singular and plural), and eight cases: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, instrumental, locative, and ablative. Romani does not have infinitive (Tahirović-Sijerčić, 2018, p. 44). The effect of contact language enabled the exchange, acquisition, adaptation and creation of a large number of loanwords and neologisms from majority and other minority languages which influence Romani in every country where Roma live.

materials to serve Romani translators' training and Translation Romani. In both examples, invisibility of translator/s is lacking.

Accordingly, as Venuti stated "linguistics remained a basic component in the curricula of translator training programs" (2012, p. 391). As translation is one of the ways to preserve and develop linguistic vitality in minority languages,¹⁴¹⁵ reassuring its speakers, activating the creation of new vocabulary, and strengthening domains of language use that have remained under-used (Toury, 1985, p. 7), it applies also for the development of linguistic vitality in the case of Romani (Tahirović-Sijerčić, 2018a), although at the same time, it could cause a threat to its distinctiveness (Cronin, 1995, p. 89).

5. TRAINING RECOMMENDATIONS

Taking into consideration the position of Romani as a minority language, as well as general situation of Romani, Translation Romani and Romani Translators, the models found in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Jurida & Pavlović, 2016, pp. 74-82), Montenegro (Lakić & Pralas, 2016, pp. 98-109) or other models in the Western Balkans or Europe would not be applicable in the Romani context. Therefore, it is necessary to create a course which complements language, translation and translators training.

Since each student has a different cultural, social and linguistic background (different dialects, customs and religion), and in order to avoid the common generalization about Roma, we should state that "[...] no individual is a typical example of the culture within which they live [*and keep*] in mind that all individuals are unique" (Garant, 1997, p. 26). Therefore, the mean goal is to make students aware about "*Rromanipe(n)/Romanipe(n)* [as] the common denominator of [what] is considered or believed to make up the essential characteristics of [the world] Roma/Rroma. [*Romanipe(n)* is] the feeling of belonging to the same people, to the same history, culture, and habits despite the differences" [specific to each group and their linguistic and cultural sub-groups] (Tahirović-Sijerčić, 2017, p. 18).

In order to get professional teachers of Romani and thus professional translators, it is necessary to develop Translation Romani as a university curriculum program to provide training for professional Romani Translators specializing in certain domains. These courses should inspire students to speak

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¹⁵ (European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, European Treaty Series - No. 148, Strasbourg, 5.XI.1992, pg. 1-2.

and cooperate in a group, to exchange, discuss and share their knowledge and ideas of possible strategies employed for their work in translation. The course would also help Roma and non-Roma students to eliminate anti-Roma prejudices and stereotypes.

For example, we would suggest introducing an elective course for two semesters *Translation Romani within Romani Studies*.¹⁶ The objective is to facilitate student learning of relevant Romani linguistic and cultural traits and issues (history, language, literature, migration, minority) through the concept of cultural translation, using multi-modal content (text, image, audio-visual) in Romani and other languages as examples for analysis and discussion. Through lectures, reading assignments, discussions and practical exercises in small groups students will learn about cultural translation in the unique context of the Romani language and culture, with a special emphasis on the Romani identity.

Students will have opportunities to practice cultural translation in three specific contexts: literary expression (poetry, short story); film; and advertising and marketing. They will learn how language is used creatively in translation to express Romani cultural identity and representation for reception in diverse domains. The contents for this class would be presented at the introductory level, and eventually at an intermediate level class with increased difficulty in reading assignments and practical exercises. Oral presentations, discussion, individual and collective textual analysis, manipulation of audio and video material with subsequent analysis and demonstration would serve teaching methods and would be used.

The basic themes for two semesters are: Introduction to Translation Romani and Introduction to Romani Studies, Romani language and translation history, Romani bilingualism and multilingualism within translation, and Translational tools: Romani grammar and dictionaries, Special problems in Romani translation, Translation Romani within Romani culture, Translating Romani identity (self-perspective), and Self-translation in Romani context. Also, included might be themes such as Terminology studies and Romani translation, Translation Romani and Romani translators, Romani literary expression and translation, Romani media and translation, Romani film and translation, and Translation Romani and advertising/marketing.

Also, terminology classes are a necessity, and should include ongoing exercises which deal with different types of interference and 'false friends'. In most translation, as well as in Romani translation, interference and interlanguage forms are present and they are, as Toury stated, "likely to occur whenever one language is used in some contact with another" (1978, p. 224). According to Havlásková, "the seriousness of mistake caused by interference can be diverse-from

¹⁶ when possibility approved

“mistakes” which cause that the text is clumsy, but which preserve the meaning of the original, to errors which completely change sense of the source text” (2010, p. 39).

Learning from one’s own errors and mistakes awakens ideas for creation of terminology lists and glossaries, of use to all translators and interpreters in and from Romani čhib. They could help in the creation of more uniform sets of words missing or forgotten in Romani through their translation, and would provide better understanding, communication, translation and interpretation.

In order to establish requirements and expectations for Romani translators while being in training¹⁷ it is essential that theoretical discussions are promoted in conjunction with a hands-on practice of translation (Pym, 2009, pp. 6-7).

6. CONCLUSION

It appears impossible to write about translation in the Romani context, about creation of syllabuses of Translation Romani, along with training for translators, without the knowledge of the Romani language, cultures and identities of Roma and Romani translators.

This knowledge constitutes Translation Romani as a new approach to Translation Studies. Translation Romani is a cluster of translations produced in

¹⁷ The translators should understand the text as readers better than even the author at the moment of writing; they should investigate the problems they have while translating, and think about processes and the methods which would be the most appropriate for this translation. Further, they should be aware of the language and readership (source and target text) specificities, highlight the importance of the length of time devoted to the translation of text, and consider the number of hours or days needed for quality translation. This may include consultation with other translators about certain terminology problems in Romani. They may require time for self-revision and revision by others, and think about realistically meeting the client’s deadlines. They may need to think about the degree of their awareness or use of textual knowledge, and reflect on the importance of self-confidence (advantages and disadvantages in the Romani case). In addition, they must recognize the significance (and importance) of the text as a whole and what is the interest of Translation Romani, and find the ways to develop Romani čhib and increase its value as a language.

diverse domains in and from different Romani dialects, which preserve and still live in different Romani and non-Romani cultures, done by Romani translators.

The biggest problem that faces Translation Romani is training of professional teachers and trainers. A trainer of Romani must always have in mind one important question: Which dialect/which Romani is the most correct and most appropriate for the class teaching translation? When working with the educational mediators in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the best way to approach students is to establish good atmosphere, provide students with available literature (different dictionaries, grammars, language text books etc.), and teach them how to use these tools. After discussion about the accessibility of educational and translational tools, students could work in groups to translate a short text from Bosnian into Romani. In that way, both languages, of the source and target text are taught. These classes should be mostly interactive and practical, with translations discussed with students in detail so that

[i]ndividually and in groups students develop their own glossaries, learning the basics of terminology and creating at the same time a solid basis for their future activities in translation and interpreting. (Lakić & Pralas, 2016, p. 100)

The use of different Romani dialects could be of great challenges not just for students but also for trainers who should have knowledge and experience to explain the differences between them. Creating and building terminology must be a challenge especially in case of Romani where terminology is lacking. A need for the establishment of the program and designing curriculum, as the situation imposes, should start “from the idea that the goal of the entire course was to meet the needs” (Lakić & Pralas, 2016, p. 115) of the speakers in the countries where translation programs are supported and approved.

An important issue of translation, and especially of Translation Romani, is intracultural and intercultural diversity along with cross-cultural knowledge and skills that help development of communication skills (Yang, 2015, p. 249) and provide people from “different cultural background an opportunity to observe and analyse the differences, thus to understand them better and approach them positively” (Yang, 2015, p. 250).

Finally, there is the problem of the evaluation/revision phase in translation. How should revision be done, and who should provide a revision? Who should validate Romani translation and validation, for certain translation choices? These and many other questions should be a part of creating strategies for teaching Translation Romani using “different Romani dialects to try to preserve [vitality] of Romani čhib and its translation through intra-dialect exchange” (Tahirović-Sijerčić, 2018, p. 87).

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