



III. 1
Migration of Sepečides
from Greece to Turkey and
places of their settlements



3.9

The Sepečides from Izmir and surroundings

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The Sepečides 'basket weavers' in the area of Izmir on the Western coast of Turkey are a group of several hundred Roma who until a few decades ago had their traditional profession of weaving and selling baskets. They spoke a variant of Romani typical of the Romani dialects spoken in the Southern Balkan countries and Greece. Their ancestors originally lived in the area of Thessaloniki in Greece and migrated east when the Turkish Republic was founded after the Greco-Turkish War in the 1920s. After years of migration they eventually settled in the region of Izmir, where they kept their profession and traditions until the 1970s. In the urban area of Izmir an assimilation process started among the generation of today's 40 year old Sepečides. Most of them gave up their old profession, a language change took place from Romani to Turkish as the mother tongue, and recently many Sepečides have grown enthusiastic about their Muslim faith, which had never been of much importance to their families before. Nonetheless young Sepečides still regard themselves as a group with Romani identity and stand their ground within the Turkish majority population and culture.

INTRODUCTION

The *Sepečides* 'basket weavers' from Izmir (Turkey) stem from a widespread group of Roma who all lived originally in today's Greece and kept their traditional profession of weaving and selling baskets until a few decades ago. This old profession shaped the basket weavers' everyday life and their social structure. During the 1920s a part of the group migrated into the then newly founded Turkish Republic and settled in several towns of Turkey, eventually in Izmir and surrounding villages, whereas many families stayed in Greece [III. 1]. The in-group names of their extended families refer to outstand-

ing ancestors from the great-grand- or grandparents' generation, e.g. the family group of *Sejfodes* from a famous forefather *Sejfo*, or the *Bare Bajengere* (literally 'Wide Sleeves'), a name derived from their ancestors who wore traditional dresses with wide sleeves. Their self-denomination *Sepečides* derives from Turkish *sepetçi* 'basket weaver', the agent noun from Turkish *sepet* 'basket'; they also call themselves 'Sevlengere Roma', meaning 'basket weavers' as well, but employing not the Turkish, but the old Romani word *sevli* 'woven basket'. The Greek and the Turkish Sevlengere Roma / Sepečides share a common language belonging to the loose group of Southern Balkan variants of the *Romani čhib* 'Ro-

III. 2

A view of central İzmir

(photo by Tarik Gundur, used under CC BY)



III. 3

The steep streets of Ballıkuyu in Izmir

(photo by Mozes F. Heinschink)



mani language'. In 1999 this dialect was codified in a linguistic publication with grammar, glossary and a selection of transcribed texts, published in Germany. This language description is based on approximately 120 hours of audio recordings of around 50 Sepečides speakers from the Izmir region and Volos, archived in the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Until recently the Sepečides' cultural and historical heritage was handed over to the next generation solely by oral tradition.

ORIGIN AND MIGRATION

The Sevlengere Roma / Sepečides originally lived in the Greek area of the Osman Empire. Some family in-group names of today's Sepečides still reflect former Greek settlements, such as *Tralangere* meaning 'from Trala', a village in the surroundings of Thessaloniki, or *Kardičakere* 'from Karditsa', a village in northern Greece. Roma of this group still live in Karditsa and spoke Romani until recently. Their dialect is similar to that of today's Sepečides.

Until approx. 1920 some of the families lived in the area of Thessaloniki, called 'Selânik' in Osman times. Their traditional profession was the production and selling of baskets. In the summer season they moved around the area in tents, in winter they had settlements. They all spoke Greek, some of them also Turkish fluently. A legend among the Sepečides of Izmir reports that their ancestors had a friendship with the boy Kemal Mustafa, later Kemal Atatürk, who is said to have lived close to Romani winter settlements, paying frequent visits to his Romani friends. In fact Kemal Mustafa was born and educated in Thessaloniki, but at the age of seven (in 1878) he moved to the country with his mother after his father's death. There he stayed for two years before he was sent back to Thessaloniki. Thus there is a certain possibility that this legend is true. It is reported that the friendship with young Atatürk prevailed and later prompted some of the families to migrate to the newborn Turkish Republic after the Greco-Turkish War ended in 1923 with the Treaty of Lausanne.

Towards the end of that war (1919-1922) the former uniform group split up. According to the Treaty of Lausanne a population exchange – Turkish *Mübadele* 'the Exchange' – was organized between Greece and Turkey. All Muslims (with the exception of Turks in Thrace) had to leave Greece, while orthodox Christians (mostly Greeks) had to leave Minor Asia and resettle in Greece. The treaty also legalized former expulsions of the religious groups from both countries during the war. It was probably one of these expulsions when the Sevlengere Roma left their homeland. Some families of them were Muslims and had to leave. Some were either orthodox or they were Muslims but preferred to change their religion and rather stay in Greece. They finally settled in Volos, where their descendants are still living. The others moved to today's Turkey. The exact date is not known, but the war was still on: The oldest informants commented on their migration as "*our sons were circumcised*" and "*there was war and they made us leave*", showing that the Roma suffered from the war and from persecution of Muslim groups by the Greeks. The groups staying in Greece however must have been at least willing to adopt the religion of the majority. Those moving to Turkey could not keep their Greek names. They had to undergo a complicated renaming procedure. In Volos, however, Sevlengere Roma still have Turkish first names even now: Hanife, born 1935 in Volos; her sisters Rubije, Nešibe, all born in Volos. These are direct relatives of Sepečides from Izmir. As two grandmothers of some old Roma from Izmir and Volos were identified as sisters 40 years later, the group must have split up within families. Apart from the religious reasons there may have been different motives for emigration. In the case of the two grandmothers who were sisters, they were probably already married when the expulsion took place. If a husband's family decided to stay in Greece, his wife had to stay with her husband's family, even if her own parents and sisters moved to Turkey.

For the ones who preferred to leave Greece, the knowledge of the Turkish language proved to be an advantage during their journey. The group partly used the railroad,

III. 4

Sepečides in Ballıkuyu (Izmir)
(photo by Mozes F. Heinschink)



III. 5

Basket weaver in Çırpıköy – *ko purane thana* 'at the old places'
(photo by Mozes F. Heinschink)



avoided the regions engaged in the war and posed as either Greek or Turkish people, according to the situation. Informants report that they even had two flags – a Greek one and a Turkish one – and used them alternatively. In this manner, they migrated far into the east. The Turkish population called them *Mübadele mahacı* 'Exchange immigrants'. They set out for the town Samsun on the coast of the Black Sea. In 1919 Kemal Mustafa was stationed there in the course of the war against Greece. Another legend tells about police rounding up the Roma accusing them of devouring "children", as the locals had seen "babies' hands" lying on the site of the Sepečides' camp. All males of the group were threatened to be hanged, and the desperate families tried to deliver a message to Kemal Atatürk. They succeeded, and just before the police were ready to start the massacre, Atatürk made a phone call and ordered the prisoners to be freed: "*The 'babies' they ate, I eat too! What you mistook for the babies' little hands, are hedgehogs' paws!*" With these words Kemal Atatürk is said to have saved the whole group's lives.

After Samsun, the Roma reached the town of Malatya; after a short stay they were expelled by the locals and moved on south to Mersin where they stayed for about three years before the group split up again. Sepečides settled in the area of Mersin in Adapazar, Tarsus and Adana. In Mersin and Adana there are still groups of several hundred speakers. They share their self-denomination *Sepečides* and their Romani dialect with their far relatives in Izmir.

From Mersin, one part of the group went to Izmir by ship. They settled in Çırpıköy, Araçıköy and Çıplaköy, villages in the farther vicinity of Izmir, approximately one and a half hours' bus ride from Izmir. In Çırpıköy they lived close to the river, a settlement referred to in oral history as *ko purane thana* 'at the old places'. In the beginning of the 1950s many families moved to Izmir to find better economic conditions in the city, where they settled in the districts Gültepe and Ballıkuyu. "*For the first time we had houses ('khera') instead of huts ('khalives')!*" [III. 4]

EVERYDAY LIFE UNTIL THE 1970S

The old profession of basket weaving was passed on from generation to generation well into the 1970s. It structured the life of Sepečides for a long time. The group in the vicinity of Thessaloniki had their settlements near or in the villages and moved around in the area with tents during summer. The Sepečides in the region of Izmir, however, lived permanently in their villages. During certain times of the year the men left their families and went on tour to cut giant reed rods appropriate for basket weaving. This was men's work, whereas household was the women's duty. When the reed bundles were brought home, both men and women engaged in the production of the baskets. The selling of the baskets in the villages was the women's business. They mainly sold in the markets, but also moved from house to house. Men and women alike contributed to the family's income.

The weaving work was done in the yards [III. 5] between or in front of the houses or tents by both, men and women. For a skilled and experienced weaver, basket making was routine and did not require permanent concentration. The work did not produce much noise and people could work together in groups and talk. Thus they could tell stories during their manual work. The younger people absorbed the stories and learned the oral heritage of their group: behaviour codex, social demands, principles and gender specific tasks were taught to the young by parables, anecdotes and exemplary stories about group members. Youths learned the profession from their parents by watching and listening to them. They also heard about their ancestors' history, biographies of relatives, legends and experiences. And, last but not least, fairy tales were told as well as spooky tales about the dead.

In the 1950s, for those families who moved to Izmir, basket weaving ceased to be the main profession subsidising a family. In the streets of Ballıkuyu Roma opened up shops or started selling vegetables or fish from small trucks moving around in town. Women started to work as cooks or cleaning personnel. Work in a Jewish household or in an American one at the NATO-base is a well-paid job even now, contributing more to the

III. 6

Zurna and davul – the traditional band at a süneti
(photo by Mozes F. Heinschink)

III. 7

A zurna maker in Gültepe
(photo by Mozes F. Heinschink)

family's income than the husband's profession. The majority of Sepečides were illiterate, especially women. But moving into the urban Izmir enabled them to send their children to school – or enabled the authorities to make the parents send their children to school, respectively.

CULTURE AND TRADITIONS

Being Christian or Muslim influenced the mode of the peoples' celebrations. Important festivities are weddings, death ceremonies and, for Muslims, the circumcision of their sons. Whereas marriage and death rites of the Turkish Sepečides correspond to that of most Romani groups living in the Balkans, circumcision is celebrated mainly in the way the Turkish majority does or did. A major feature of all these occasions is live music played by the Roma themselves. In the Izmir region the band comprised at least a *zurna* 'flute' and a *davul* 'drum' to be played at circumcisions [III. 6]; at weddings different instruments were used: besides *tarabuka* as percussion there had to be at least a clarinet, sometimes *zurna* and other wind instruments. *Kemane* 'violin' was also involved, but wind instruments dominated, especially

the clarinet. Many Sepečides are musicians and some are instrument makers [III. 7], but making music is not a main profession in the sense of a job you can live on. Musicians play at weddings and festivities for a side income, not as their main job as in other Romani communities, e.g. in Hungary.

For marriage, the virginity of the bride is the main concern of the community. No matter if two young people wish to marry or parents have negotiated their children's marriage, the rites of wooing and giving in marriage have to be observed. The bridegroom's parents or relatives pay a visit to the bride's parents and ask for the girl's hand for their son or relative. If the father agrees, this proposal is followed on a special day by a ritual involving the negotiation of presents, a price and the bride's dowry in the presence of many guests. After a general talk about everyday matters these negotiations start loudly and seemingly in an agitated manner, beginning at a high price to signalize the high value of the bride. By and by this bargaining ends with a reasonable amount of presents, and money to be paid as the bridegroom's contribution to the costs of the feast. If negotiations are successful, the wedding day is determined. Guests are invited with letters and a for-

III. 15

About the Sepečides in Izmir and surroundings

Sare o Roma, amare Roma avile Selanikistar. Amare Roma sevla kerena. Bazi akharena, hamali vakerasa lenge. I gadžengere šeja akharena. Isi Roma ko mazas kerena buti, ko tütüni. So buti te arakhen, o Roma kerena, ama daha but sevla kerena. Sevla kerasa, chorachanes Sepečides vakerena amenge. Jani o zanati na mulo, ko gava ama, ko Izmiri andre na kerena sevla. Çir-piköys, Araçiköys, Çaybaşıs sare o Roma sevla kerena. Ama isi Roma, džana pampuki gidena ko tarlades. Isi Roma hurbuze egtinena, hurbuze biknena, ama daha but Roma sevla kerena. Isi

Roma bašnen da ušakerena. Mej bašnen ušakerava, miro zanati da, miro kova muklom o sevla, akana bašnen ušakerava. Ko Izmiri andre mo phral, o čhave, o murša kerena teracha. Neve teracha kerena, Konduradžides vakerena lenge. O čhaja so kerena, o Romna? Džana ismetčiliki kerena, ko madames kerena buti. Isi Roma džana tütüni, ko tütüni, ko mazas buti kerela. Isi čhave, bojadžiluki kerela, terachengiri boja. Bazi isi čalgčides, čalgčiluki kerena. Ake i romani buti adikal isi ko Izmiri andre.

All our Roma came from Thessaloniki. Our Roma weave baskets. Some carry loads, we call them 'Hamali'. They carry the loads of Gadže. There are also Roma who work in the tobacco fields. Whatever job the Roma find, they do it, but we mainly

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III. 8

Dress of a boy at a *sūneti*
(photo by Mozes F. Heinschink)

III. 9

Boy with pinned money at a *sūneti*
(photo by Mozes F. Heinschink)

mal invitation. On the day of the wedding it is a tradition that a delegation of the bridegroom's family comes for the bride to the parents' home accompanied by a band playing continuously.

If two young Sepeçides want to marry against their parents' will, it is sufficient for the couple to leave and spend a single night together outside their parents' homes. The claim for the virginity of the bride at marriage automatically means that a girl who has spent a night outside her home with a young man cannot be a virgin any more – thus the couple is considered “married” and the parents have to agree to their matrimonial state. In former times, when marriages were mostly arranged by parents, and often not to the bride's or bridegroom's esteem, these “run-away-weddings” were quite common.

A wedding lasted three days and nights traditionally with a feast, music and dance. In historical times wrestling competitions were held by professional wrestlers, so-called *pehlivanja* ‘wrestlers’. Another special ceremony was the *henna*-celebration a day before the wedding, where only women took part. Men were only accepted as musicians. The bride's and the participants' hands, face and feet were painted in dif-

ferent patterns with henna: a Near East custom widespread in the Osman influenced countries of the Balkans, but also an old custom of India.

In the first night the bride and bridegroom are urged into a matrimonial chamber somewhere apart from the celebrating guests, while the feast continues on the wedding site in expectation of the proclamation of the bride's state. Traditionally the bride's virginity had to be proved and the bride's and the bridegroom's mothers were in charge of testimony. In modern times the virginity of the bride is usually proclaimed. The shirt of the young husband's father is torn apart as a sign of the wedding's success. A bride can be sent back to her parents when it turns out that she has not been a virgin.

The bride leaves her parents' home to live with her husband, and often the young couple in the beginning do not have a home for themselves, but live with the husband's parents in one household. In this case in former times it was a tradition that the young wife was subordinate to her mother-in-law. With increasing prosperity or number of children the couple moved into a home of their own and thus gained independence from their parents.

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produce baskets. We weave baskets and therefore we are called in Turkish ‘Sepeçides’. This profession has not died out in the villages. However, in the city of Izmir baskets are not woven any more. Baskets are woven by the Roma of Çirpiköy, Araçpiköy and Çaybaşı. There are also Roma who use to pick cotton in the fields or grow melons and sell them. But still many Roma are basket weavers. There are also Roma who organize cockfights. I also organize cockfights. I have given up my job as a basket weaver and now I am doing cockfights. In the city of Izmir the boys and men including my brother make shoes. They make new shoes and they are called ‘Konduradžides’. And what are the girls and the women doing? They work as servants; they work at the fine ladies. There are Roma who work in the tobacco fields.

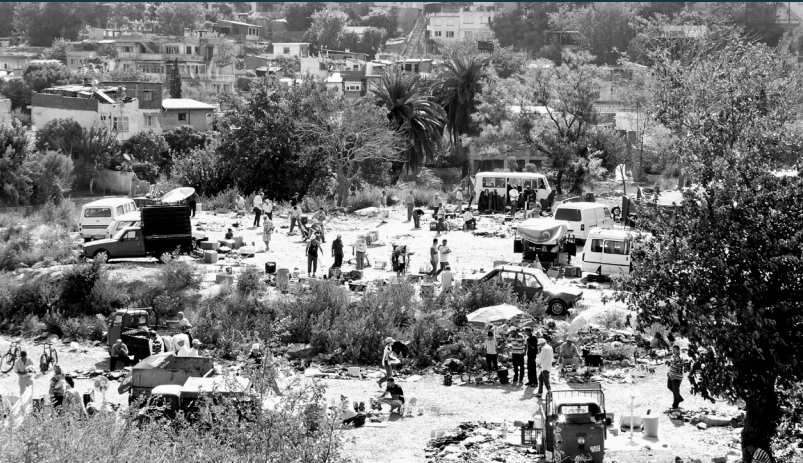
Some Romani boys work as shoe polishers. There are also some ‘Çalgıçides’ who make music. So this is what the Roma do in Izmir.

Told by Osman Zambakli

English translation based on the Romani excerpt published at: <http://rombase.uni-graz.at/cgi-bin/res.cgi?lang=de&filename=data/ethn/work/basket.res.xml&id=10>, Radio Romano Centro No. 16, produced by the association Romano Centro (Vienna), broadcast on 30th July 1998, ORF-Radio 1476 (Broadcast excerpt); recorded by Mozes Heinschink among Sepeçides in Izmir, Turkey.

(Source: Phonogrammarchiv, Austrian Academy of Sciences, SD 5162)

III. 10

Flea-market in the outskirts of Izmir
(photo by Mozes F. Heinschink)

III. 11

Mobile marketing with a small truck
(photo by Mozes F. Heinschink)

Burial rites were equally important in the community of Sepečides and were similar to those of many Romani groups all over Europe. The dead person was laid out in his or her house, and a death wake was kept by men and women for one night. Some close relative usually improvised a long dirge on the basis of standardized exclamations and text moduls. Laments expressed sorrow, deep grief and misery and could take half an hour or even longer. During the wake stories were told all night, and informants stress the fact that these stories were partly humorous, sometimes even rude. The deceased was buried in the following morning. Memorial celebrations were held seven days, 40 days, and a year after the day of death, and every year after.

Circumcision is a typical Muslim tradition and thus celebrated in the Turkish way by the Sepečides of Izmir. The boy is dressed up in a white, prince-like dress with a crown [Ills. 8, 9]. Traditionally a horse is sent to pick him up in company of a continuously playing Romani duo of zurna and davul. In the narrow and steep streets of Ballıkuyu in Izmir [III. 3] the appearance of a decorated horse carrying a white little ‘prince’ is quite an outstanding sight. The horse is not used often today, but the music as described above is essential.

At *süneti* ‘celebration of the circumcision’ at night the little boy is given gifts. The guests pin banknotes on a special stole-like band of cloth worn around the neck when congratulating [III. 9]. This is also the custom at weddings with bride and bridegroom. A relative or friend stands next to the celebrant holding a bowl with needles for pinning and soon the bride is covered in money.

A typical custom is to pay the band by throwing banknotes over the dancing bride and bridegroom on the dance floor. These are picked up by boys and girls and given to the musicians as payment or tip.

Independent of the official religion of the people, life in the community was also influenced by concepts of folk belief in former times. The dead, especially revenants who came back and stayed with their families, were dangerous. Many stories are told about appearances of corpses, girls married to

dead “vampires”, or encounters with revenants. Even today for a newborn child, the “Evil Eye” is a permanent threat, and a woman in childbed is in danger of evil spirits. A large set of amulets and charms used to be applied for newborn babies and mothers until some decades ago. One charm was to bury the first used diaper of the newborn under the doorstep of the house door.

The biggest annual celebration of Turkish and Balkan Roma in general is held on the sixth of May – St. Goeorge’s Day for Christians of Southeastern Europe, and *Hederlez* in the Muslim tradition. It is celebrated with a feast with music and dance and a reunion of widespread families. *Herdelezi* as it is called by Roma, is one of the biggest festivals of the year where thousands of people gather in the large open space of the Izmir *kültür park* ‘fair park’.

MODERN TIMES

The generation of today’s 70 to 80 year old Sepečides still work in the old basket weaving profession, especially in the rural areas. But in fact these are only a few people. Settling in Izmir has entirely changed the lives of Sepečides. With the oldest generation passing away the old profession is dying out. Plastic has replaced reed, and baskets are hardly produced manually. The following generations have quit basket weaving. The men are employed in service industries, e.g. at filling stations, or trade with food and dry goods in small shops or in the markets. Quite a number of them work in small regional shoe factories as manual workers, or they sell goods at flea-markets [III. 10]. Very few can be seen in the streets as shoe polishers nowadays, but selling fruit and other food from small trucks moving around through the streets is a typical job of young and middle aged Sepečides [III. 11]. Women work as cleaning personnel or in gastronomy. Around 2005 some were still selling textiles and cloth in the markets and door-to-door, carrying their goods in huge bundles [III. 12]. Many of them move to the popular town of Çeşme on the coast in summer to work in hotels and restaurants. One problem is that

III. 12

Textile selling Sepečides in traditional clothes
(photo by Mozes F. Heinschink)

III. 13

A young Sepečis in the office of his “Candan’s print shop”
(photo by Mozes F. Heinschink)

in their easily available jobs that don’t require higher education, Sepečides face a strong competition by Kurdish people moving into town and also by migrants and refugees seeking work and pushing them out of their economic niches. Some young Sepečides manage to adapt to the changing challenges and open up more elaborated shops and enterprises, such as printer’s shops [III. 13].

In the community of Volos (Greece), in the late 1990s women worked in carpet factories and were paid partly in goods. Men drove around with small trucks selling the carpets. This brought considerable wealth to the families, and they built large and comfortable houses in the outskirts of Volos [III. 14]. Their old tents their ancestors had lived in during summer were set up on the flat tops of their houses. Cooking, washing and everyday life took place mainly outside and in the tents on the roofs during the summer season.

Life in Izmir has not alienated the families from their relatives in the villages. Contacts remain close, bonds are tight and trips to and fro are frequent. Intermarriage between rural and urban families is common – mostly the bride or bridegroom, however, moves into town when married to someone from Izmir. At *Herdelezi* the family members from the different villages or town *mahalas* unite in Izmir and celebrate together as a group. Family bonds between city and country are strong. Nowadays smart phones and mobiles make contacts even easier than before.

Romani customs, rituals and traditions are declining in the community of Sepečides around and in Izmir. Weddings, circumcisions, burials and *Herdelezi* are still celebrated, but in a rather simplified manner. The complicated rites of honoring the guests at their arrival at the site of celebration have vanished. Either an external organizer is employed or the guests organize themselves. A large hall is rented or the street is blocked for the event, professional companies supply tables and seats, and hundreds of people participate. The “bands” consist of a single or two musicians with a keyboard, replacing the traditional instruments. The custom of paying the musicians by throwing the money has developed into a ritual

with cheap fake dollars. The actual fee is payed normally just like any other service. Newly married couples have a home of their own from the beginning. The customs are mostly entirely “Turkish” nowadays.

LANGUAGE

As most other Romani dialects, Sepečides Romani has a vocabulary consisting partly of several hundred old, indigenous words of Indian, Iranian and Armenian origin, and partly of lexemes originating from other contact languages such as Greek and Slavic languages. These different parts of the word inventory according to age and origin are treated differently in grammar, a rule kept strictly in the dialect of the Sepečides. In its linguistic characteristics Sepečides Romani fits into the loose group of the so-called Southern Balkan dialects of Romani. Common features of this dialect group are e.g. the formation of future tense with a prefix *ka-* which derives from an old word for ‘want’ (*ka-dikhas* – ‘we will see’), or a shared set of demonstrative pronouns with *-kha* (*akavkha* ‘this one’). Apart from the common features of Southern Balkan dialects, Sepečides Romani is especially characterized by a large number of Greek and Turkish loan words and Turkish influences in grammatical structures.

Until the 1970s the Sepečides still spoke their Romani dialect as their mother tongue and in everyday communication. Most children born in the 1960s attended school regularly, which favoured their originally second language, Turkish. Children were confronted more and more with the Turkish media such as TV and radio. This slowly caused a declining use of Romani among young people, and within two generations of the community a general language change from Romani to Turkish took place. People older than 60 are still competent in Romani, but don’t use it at all, not even within their own generation. People under 50 years of age cannot talk Romani any more, although they still understand it. Illiteracy, however, has died out among people younger than 40. Everyone has a primary education, although higher education

III. 14

Houses of Greek Sepečides in Nea Ionia, Volos
(photo by Mozes F. Heinschink)

III. 15

Modern times
(photo by Mozes F. Heinschink)

is rare within the community of Sepečides in Izmir and surrounding villages.

Especially among the young men, frequent contact with the majority population leads to an increasing number of exogamic marriages. Because of these tendencies, the young Roma are undergoing an assimilation process that seems irreversible; Turkish is their mother tongue now. There is no information about the Sepečides groups living in Mersin and Adana, but a similar situation may be expected.

CONCLUSION

During the last years, Muslim faith and religion has taken the place of vanishing traditional beliefs and rites. Many of the young women have started to wear a hijab. This separates religious families from others who disapprove of this new “fash-

ion”. Burial rites have turned entirely “Turkish”. The deceased is directly transported to the graveyard from the place of his death, mainly from hospitals; a *müezzín* must call out the person’s death to enable the soul to approach God. The *hadj*, the pilgrimage to Mekka and Medina, has become an almost compulsory undertaking.

Although life has turned “Turkish” almost entirely, and the *xoraxaja* ‘Turks’ are valued higher by Sepečides than the Roma and all other *gadje* ‘non-Roma’, young Sepečides still have a sense of self-esteem and identity as Roma. NGOs have been founded during the last decade by Sepečides to help their own people in social emergencies and education.

The Sepečides of Izmir and surroundings still perceive themselves as Roma, but they are more and more rooted in the Turkish culture and have found their cultural-spiritual home in the Muslim faith.

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