

Acculturation Strategies and Dance: Identity Construction Through the Example of “Zonaradikos or Omouslamas” Dance of The Gagauz of Thrace, Greece

Eleni Filippidou¹

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to study the different manifestations of the dance practice of the Gagauz of Inoi of Evros in Greece as tactics in search of their ethnic identity. In particular, with reference to the analysis of the main dance of the repertoire of the Gagauz and all of Thrace, Zonaradikos or Omouslamas and based on the fluid nature of identity formation, this paper aims to investigate the attitudes with which members of this ethnic group, self-identify, construct and reconstruct their ethnic identity, depending on the circumstances. Data was gathered through ethnographic method as this is applied to the study of dance, while its interpretation was based on the theoretical perspective of constructivism under the analytical terms of "acculturation" according to the multicultural model proposed by Berry. From the data analysis, it is showed that Zonaradikos or Omouslamas is danced in the same way on stage and in the social events of the community and the only parameter that differs is the musical accompaniment. In conclusion, the Gagauz use the dance selectively to shape their ethnic identity. So, through dance, choose on the one hand to have a Greek-Thracian ethnic identity and on the other Gagauz ethnic identity and on a third level they identify themselves as Greek Thracian Gagauz, experiencing a social reality which seeks to have multiple identities at the same time.

Keywords: ethnography, dance, identity, acculturation.

In the study of culture, the term identity is often used, a term that is at the center of modern thought and reflects through the different meanings and uses that have been attributed to it from time to time, many of the ideas, conditions and experiences that defined the physiognomy of the modern world (Filippidou, 2011; Sarri, 2007). As for the concept of identity, it is not easy to define, the term "identity" on the one hand signifies the similarity, that is the identification between individuals or groups (Cohen, 1982; Erikson, 1959) and on the other the otherness, that is the difference (Billig, 1995; Kellner, 1992; Larrain, 1994; Weeks, 1990).

The impasse created by these different approaches is solved by Royce based on the "double limit" model (Koutsouba, 1997; Royce, 1982). According to this model, the identity is formed in combination by the way others perceive us, but also by the way we see ourselves. Therefore, the formation of the collective identity is not a consequence of a spontaneous act, but is a conscious choice in the effort to legitimize and differentiate it from the "others" (Paschalidis, 2000).

¹ Corresponding Author: Postdoctoral researcher, at the School of Physical Education and Sports Science of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens / Lecturer College IdEF, University Sorbonne Paris13.
E-Mail: filipele@phed.uoa.gr

As far as the nation-state is concerned, this requires unique and exclusive identities (Angelopoulos, 1997; Filippidou, 2022a), because it needs homogeneity in order to govern its territory more effectively and to justify its existence (Gellner, 1983). However, within the nation-states, various populations live, which compete in terms of their contribution to the formation of the one and only identity of the nation-state, the national identity. However, the predominance of a single identity leads to the emphasis on the diversity of those who failed to impose their own identity as dominant, but also to the formation of their ethnocultural identity, that is the special identity of their group.

Ethnocultural identity, therefore, is also an identity of similarity and difference. Similarities with the ethnic group and difference with the "other" groups inherent in a state. Ethnocultural identity, that is, is established through ethnocultural interaction (Banks, 2008), as the activity of 'significant others' is as important as the efforts of members of a particular group to determine their identity (Barth, 1969).

The phenomenon of cultural interaction or otherwise of acculturation is a two-dimensional process of change (Berry, 1997), which occurs when ethnocultural groups come into constant primary contact and refers to the process of "borrowing" features from one culture to another (Filippidou, 2011). This results in the creation of new mixed models that incorporate elements from both cultures. In other words, there is a mixture of the two cultures (Madianos, 1980).

However, after a period of rapid acculturation, members of such an acculturated group may feel the need to return to their cultural heritage and then selectively try to revive aspects of their traditional culture in a move against acculturation (contra-acculturative) (Filippidou, 2011, 2021a, 2022b; Filippidou, & Koutsouba, 2020b; Keesing, 1966). The above leads to a "political" view of culture, in the context of which the politics of identities promotes the notion that cultural categories, such as ethnic ones, can be both a source of coercion and a means of war against of this coercion (Gefou-Madianou, 1999; Dirks et al., 1994).

The research field of this paper is the area of Evros, in which people from various ethnic groups coexist for almost a century, such as natives, refugees from Bulgarian Thrace and Turkish Thrace, Cappadocians, Pontians (from Pontus and the former USSR), Sarakatsani, as well as Turkish-born Muslims, Pomaks and Gypsies (Chtouris, 1999; Dalegre, 1997; Filippidou, 2010, 2011, 2018; Pallis, 1925, 1964; Simpson, 1939). Most of these ethnic groups moved to the area, after voluntary migrations, after the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. The newcomers were classified as "refugees", but apart from the stigmatized identity and the various and negative or derogatory adjectives that given to them, were considered as co-religious and Greeks. However, despite the sense of common identity based on religion, there was discrimination among the inhabitants of the region, because they came from areas that now belong to neighboring countries, but also because of their different dialects and cultural practices. One of these populations that was treated negatively was the Gagauz (Filippidou, 2011).

The Gagauz are located mainly in southern Moldova, where they also have an independent state, Gagauzia, but also in Romania, Ukraine and Bulgaria. A large part of the Gagauz lives in Greece with the majority of them being located in the area of northern Evros and especially in communities in the area of Trigono, Didymoteicho and mainly in Orestiada. One of the communities of the area of Orestiada is Inoi (Filippidou, 2011).

The Gagauz of Inoi joined the urban fabric of the city of Orestiada early and were rapidly acculturated, but were never fully assimilated. However, in order to look like the Greek-speakers of the area and to rise socially, they put aside their Turkish-speaking language and consequently their songs and dances and adopted the music-dance repertoire of the Greek-speaking residents of the area (Filippidou, 2011). However, nowadays, after their acceptance by the "others" and after their acculturation expressed through the tactics of their social

integration (Berry, 1997), they try to promote their Gagauz identity by dancing Gagauz dances and singing the Gagauz songs. Nevertheless, in the socio-dance gatherings between them, they dance the dances of the homogenized pan-Thracian repertoire (Filippidou, 2011, 2018), which are accompanied by Greek songs (Filippidou, 2011).

Therefore, in this community there are two different music-dance repertoires, one Greek-speaking and one Turkish-speaking. This fact is not found in any other community in the area. So, what is the reason for the existence of two different music-dance repertoires in the same community? To answer this question, the Gagauz ethnic identity must be studied, not on the basis of the concept of culture, but on multiculturalism, that is, on the basis of the interaction of this group with the dominant groups in the region. Thus, the aim of this paper is to study the different manifestations of the dance practice of the Gagauz of Inoi of Evros as acculturation strategies in search of their ethnic identity. In particular, with reference to the analysis of the main dance of the repertoire of the Gagauz and all of Thrace, Zonaradikos or Omouslamas and based on the fluid nature of identity formation, this paper aims to investigate the attitudes with which members of this ethnic group, as subjects of social action, self-identify, constructing and reconstructing their ethnic identity, depending on the circumstances.

In the study of dance, the phenomenon of acculturation has been studied since the 1940s (Kaeppler, 1972; Kurath, 1949). However, the research papers that have dealt with this phenomenon have studied primitive rather than modern societies and have dealt with the influences that dances received and not with the reasons that pushed them to accept these influences. This fact is a research gap that this paper comes to fill through the example of the Zonaradikos dance of the ethnic group of Gagauz.

Methodological Remarks

The methodological process consisted of three steps, namely data collection, analysis and interpretation. Data was gathered through the ethnographic method (Gkefou-Madianou 1999; Lydaki, 2001) as this is applied to the study of dance (Buckland, 1999; Giurchescu & Torp, 1991; Koutsouba, 1997; Sklar, 1991). According to Buckland (1999), the term "dance ethnography" focuses on the study of dance through field research. The ethnographic studies of dance employ various scientific disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, folk studies, ethnology, cultural studies and history, and together with ethnomusicology, ethnographers draw the most important data from field research. It could be said that for an anthropologist of dance and movement, field research or ethnographic research is essentially that of the solitary observer, who aims to become competent and knowledgeable of the respective culture after ethnographic research. The anthropologist tries to understand the conception of kinetic systems through the eyes of society, in order to reveal more information about the society itself that is researching (Buckland, 1999).

In this paper, the ethnographic method is based on primary and secondary sources. Primary sources refer to data gathered through in situ research that was carried out at the region of Thrace and, particularly, at the community of Inoi from December 2007 up to July 2018. Primary sources refer to the data coming from in-situ research, through interviews (open-type questions for semi-structured interview and unstructured interview), and the participant observation combined with simultaneous audio and video recording of the inhabitants of the community. In addition, oral history was used as a method, through which everyday memory is projected as a quest of social history (Thomson, 2002). The overall course of field research was performed by the dual experience of the local culture with reference both to the habitants of this particular community (carriers of the local culture), as well as to the researchers (Erikson, 1967). Secondary sources refer to the review and use of the existing literature and were based

on the principles of archival ethnography (Gkefou-Madianou, 1999; Stocking, 1992) and historical research (Adshead & Layson 1986).

For collection, presentation and data analysis Geert's model of "thick description" (Geertz, 2003) was adopted, while for recording of Zonaradikos or Omouslamas dance, the dance notation system of Laban was used (Labanotation) (Hutchinson, 1977; Koutsouba, 2005) as well as the Laban System of Effort. For the comparisons, comparative method was used (Holt, & Turner, 1972; Ogurchov, 1983).

The interpretation of the research data in order to approach the ethnic identity of the Gagauz of Inoi, will be based on the theoretical perspective of cultural and social construction or constructivism (Anderson, 1991; Hobsbawn, & Ranger, 1983). This theory, in order to highlight the ethnic identity of the Gagauz of Inoi of Evros, will be used under the analytical terms of "acculturation." More specifically, the term "acculturation" will be used according to the multicultural model proposed by Berry (1997), which although used by him to investigate the psychological adjustment of immigrants who move to live in another country, in this case will be used to study the attitudes that apply the ethnic group of the Gagauz of Inoi through the dance during its contact with the Greek speakers of the area, to construct its ethnic identity after settling in the area of Evros.

Berry's Theoretical Model of Acculturation

The theory of cultural interaction or better known as acculturation was developed by Redfield and colleagues and Beltran (Aguirre Beltran, 1957; Herskovits, 1938; Redfield et al., 1936) and refers to the tendency of some particular ethnic groups, who are in contact, to "borrow" cultural elements from each other. From time to time, various definitions of acculturation have been formulated, a common point of which is the concept of change, of alienation, that is of the particular cultural elements of the groups that come in contact.

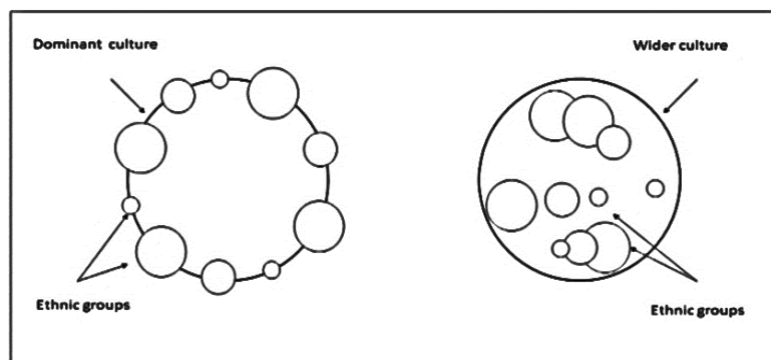
Acculturation can be either mandatory through the social demands of the new cultural environment or the official policy of the state (Jeness, 1974; Murphy, 1965) or voluntary, when minority ethnic groups accept those elements of culture that will allow them social acceptance and rise (Richardson, 1967). Social rewards also contribute to the success of voluntary acculturation, a fact that has been proven by research by Bandura and Huston (1961). As a result, ethnic groups, no matter how they interpret their actions, change their minds or become foreigners, if they realize that these actions bring them certain profits, that is, for reasons of usefulness. Thus, they slowly begin to resemble the dominant group and are eventually accepted into its circles, in other words they are acculturated and finally culturally assimilated. Of course, this assimilation may not be complete. Most of the time the two cultures coexist, with the dominant group adopting new cultural elements, but also maintaining, if not all, some of the existing ones.

Based on the above, it should be noted that there are two proposed theoretical models for acculturation, those that consider acculturation as a one-dimensional process and those that consider it as a two-dimensional process. The first category includes the assimilative models and the second the multicultural models (Figure 1).

Multicultural models recognize the possibility of coexistence of two independent dimensions (for this reason they are also called two-dimensional models), that is, the preservation of existing cultural elements and the adoption of new cultural elements (Mpezevegkis, Pavlopoulos, & Georganti, 2010). One of the most well-known and widely used multicultural models is that of John Berry (1997), which takes the view that the result of intercultural contact between groups is not an unavoidable, prescribed process. According to him, acculturation is a two-dimensional process, which takes place during the contact of two or more different cultures and which refers to the changes that result from this contact (Berry,

2006). Berry, therefore, recognizes the possibility of coexistence of two independent dimensions: (a) maintaining contact with members of the in-group, that is, maintaining existing cultural elements; and (b) the desire to have relationships with members of the out-group, that is, the adoption of new cultural elements.

Figure 1
Assimilative and Multicultural Model of Acculturation



Note. Assimilative (left) and multicultural model (right) of acculturation based on Berry (2006)

According to Berry, the combination of the above two dimensions results in four forms of acculturation, four different intercultural strategies used by different groups. These strategies reflect attitudes and behaviors (Berry, 1980a, 1980b, 1992, 2003, 2006). These strategies are: (a) marginalization, which consists in the loss of ethnic identity without, however, replacing that loss by joining the dominant group; (b) separation, which refers to alienation from the dominant group and the preservation of ethnic identity; (c) assimilation, which refers to the limited interest in preserving existing cultural elements, increased interaction with the dominant group and ultimately assimilation by it, and (d) integration, which results from the coexistence of the cultural elements of two different groups (Giles, 2005; Rudmin, 2003) (Figure 2).

Figure 2
Berry's Two-Dimensional Model of Acculturation

		Cultural Adaptation (relationship sought among groups)	
		Low	High
Maintenance of heritage culture	High	Separation	Integration
	Low	Marginalization	Assimilation

Note. Berry's two-dimensional model of acculturation adapted from Giles (2005, p. 358)

More specifically, marginalization is characterized by feelings of isolation and loss of identity. The groups in this case lose their cultural and psychological contact, both with their own group and with the wider community (Papastylianou-Akalestou, 1992). This model, when imposed by the wider community, is tantamount to genocide or otherwise cultural genocide. When this attitude occurs consistently in a subgroup, it constitutes the classic case of marginalization (Stonequist, 1935). When there are no positive relations with the wider society and this attitude is accompanied by an obsession with preserving the ethnic identity and tradition, then the resulting formula is that of separation (Papastylianou-Akalestou, 1992). Assimilation refers to the minimization of differences between the two groups to the point where the dominant group is not at all distinguished from the group that accepts domination. This means embracing the most important aspects of the culture of the dominant group, such as language, religion, values, etc. (Price, 1979). At the group level, assimilation is attributed to the phrase "melting pot", where groups with different cultural characteristics tend to merge in order to create a new society (Papastylianou-Akalestou, 1992). Finally, with integration or harmonization, the group becomes an integral part of society, while various ethnic groups while maintaining their ethnic identity collaborate in a wider social system (Berry, 1985; Bochner, 1985). Thus, according to Papastylianou-Akalestou (1992), integration "...is the most rational form of acculturation, because the synthesis of the elements of the cultural tradition of the individual / group with that of the dominant social group, pushes the individual to social-psychological balance" (p. 62).

Therefore, Berry's model considers that the result of intercultural contact between groups is not an unavoidable, prescribed process, but it can be the subject of selection and management. According to Berry's terminology, acculturation is nothing more than a "strategic reaction" of the ethnic minority group to its constant contact with the ruling group, which may offer it some options. These options include assimilating into the dominant group culture, defending the ethnic minority group culture, marginalizing it, or even mixing the two cultures interculturally (Child, 1970; Lewin, 1948). The latter parameter incorporates the importance of the Berry's model, which allows for multiculturalism by affirming that different cultures can coexist in one society (Phinney et al., 2001).

The Zonaradikos or Omouslamas Dance and Its Route Through Time

The dance Zonaradikos or Omouslamas is danced both in social events and in the public dance of the festival. It is a mixed circular dance, especially loved by men and is danced with a number of songs that make it one of the main dances of the dance repertoire of the community after Syrtos. Before reaching its current form, this dance went through various stages, which correspond to different time periods (Table 1).

More specifically, from the 1920s to the 1960s, this dance called Omouslamas, followed the local idiom of the community of Inoi (Figure 3) and was accompanied by Turkish songs, while the musical instruments that accompanied it were the bagpipe and the kaval, the drum, as well as the zournas (pipe) and the daouli (drum with two sticks) in street rituals (Filippidou, 2011; Filippidou et al., 2014). However, the linguistic heterogeneity of the Gagauz questioned their "Greekness", leading them to be considered by the Greek-speakers of the region as a group potentially identical to the neighboring state of Turkey, that is the "national adversary", giving them a stigmatized and inferior identity. (Filippidou, 2011, 2018). This fact acted as a deterrent to the development of relations between the groups and resulted in the formation and maintenance of distances between the Greek-speakers of the region and the Turkish-speaking Gagauz, with the result that the latter are hindered by an upward mobility (Filippidou, 2011, 2018).

The consequence of the above was the gradual abandonment of their Turkic-speaking, as the insistence on the Gagauz language was considered a remnant of the Ottoman Empire and was considered as a negative trait to integrate into the Greek state, especially during the oligarchic regimes (Filippidou, 2011, 2018). However, the Gagauz themselves contributed to the decline of linguistic communication between them, gradually and linguistically identifying with their Greek-speaking compatriots (Filippidou, 2011).

However, this incrimination of Turkophony was also reflected in the various music and dance circumstances of the community. Thus, the Turkish song ceased to be performed and ceased to be used completely, both in the "mahalades" (neighborhoods) and in the public dance of the festival, contributing to the separation of the Turkish song from the Gagauz dances (Filippidou, 2011; Filippidou et al., 2014). As a result, the dance Omouslamas, for a very short time, was accompanied only by organic music with the same musical instruments.

But dance has a three-dimensional structure that is it consists of speech, music and physical movement. If one of the three dimensions disappears, the dance has no completion, it is incomplete, as only through the coexistence of the three dimensions does it find its full expression (Filippidou, 2011, 2018). On this basis, this strange situation lasted for a while and immediately after, in the mid-1960s, Turkish songs were replaced by Greek songs, which were "borrowed" from neighboring Greek-speaking communities, as a sign of social integration and in order to acquire social rise (Filippidou, 2011; Filippidou et al., 2014). At that time the dance was called Zonaradikos, a name that was also borrowed from neighboring local Greek-speaking communities. So, after the removal of the Turkish song and the inevitable split of the three dimensions of dance in music and movement, it was reconstituted (Filippidou, 2011). Thus, the under-study dance acquired a trivial structure.

Nevertheless, it is a common fact that the elements of tradition, including dance, in their long way do not remain constant but over time change, influenced by the respective historical, religious, political, and social developments (Filippidou, & Koutsouba, 2020a; Filippidou et al., 2019). Thus, over time, a standardized dance repertoire was formed in the area, which characterized the area's inhabitants as Thracians and distinguished them from the non-Thracians, the "foreigners" (Filippidou, 2011). So, the ethnic groups of the region, which had a different repertoire from the established "Thracian," were forced to adapt it to this acceptable standard to be accepted in the region and not to stand out from the "others" (Filippidou, 2011). On this basis, the dance Zonaradikos adopted the dance form of the homogenized Thracian repertoire (Figure 4). At that time, the dances of the Gagauz were accompanied by the so-called "parees" (companies), consisting of clarinet, oud, and violin, while later, the drum or darbuka (Arabic tabla) entered, mainly from the dance departments of the newly formed clubs of the wider area (Filippidou, 2010).

Despite this fact, from 2000 onwards, whenever the hostile attitude of the Greek speakers to the Gagauz began to decline (a point to which both the abandonment of their language and the adoption of the homogenized Thracian repertoire contributed), the Zonaradikos dance in Inoi returned to its old form. Through the Inoi cultural club of Women, Gagauz dances and Turkish-speaking songs of the community began to be performed on stage, accompanied by the musical instruments of the first stage. However, the inhabitants of Inoi continue to dance in their dance events, the homogenized Thracian repertoire, accompanied by Greek songs and musical instruments that constitute the "parees," but also more modern, such as keyboards and drums (Filippidou, 2011; Filippidou et al., 2014). Therefore, after the disintegration of its triadic existence, in music and dance movement and the subsequent change of its form with the replacement of the Turkish song with a Greek one, the Zonaradikos dance returned to its first form with the return of the Turkish song, which this time did not replace the Greek language but went "hand in hand" with it.

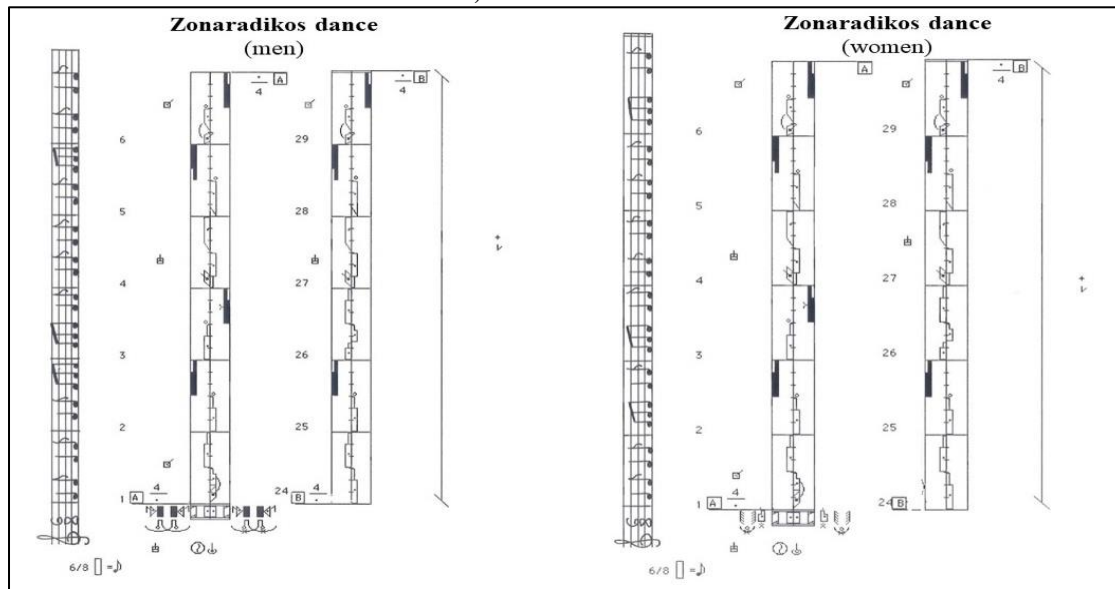
Though, since 2011, the cultural club of the community of Inoi, after reactions to the promotion of Gagauz dances and especially Turkish songs, proceeded to merge the two repertoires, Turkish and Greek, creating a new "dance formation," that is a new dance construct (Filippidou, 2011; Filippidou et al., 2014). Thus, today the dance has the name Zonaradikos or Omouslamas and is danced according to the local dance idiom of the Gagauz but is accompanied by Greek songs (Filippidou, 2011).

Table 1
Three-Dimensional Existence of the Zonaradikos Dance in Inoi, Greece

	MELODY/MUSIC	LYRICS/SONG	MOVEMENT/DANCE
Decade '20 - Decade '60	Bagpipe Kaval Zournas (Pipe) Daouli (Drum with two sticks)	Turk-phone song	Gagauz dance idiom
1965	Bagpipe Kaval Zournas (Pipe) Daouli (Drum with two sticks)	_____	Gagauz dance idiom
1965-2000	Clarinet Udi Violin Darbuka (Arabic Tabla)	Greekphone	Pan-Thracian dance repertoire
2000-2020	Bagpipe Kavali Daouli (Drum with two sticks)	Turk-phone song	Gagauz dance idiom
	Clarinet Udi Violin Darbuka (Arabic Tabla)	Greekphone	Pan-Thracian dance repertoire

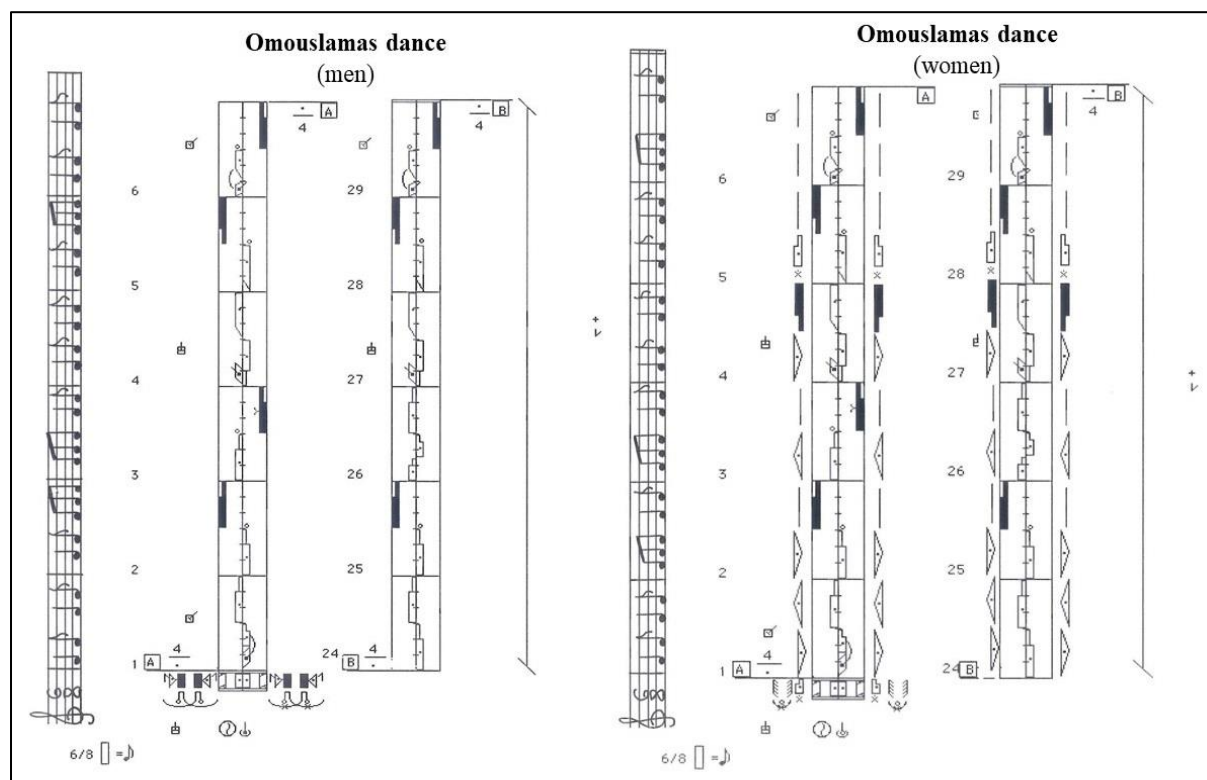
The Dance Forms of Zonaradikos or Omouslamas

Figure 3
Zonaradikos Dance Notation in Inoi, Greece



Note. Zonaradikos dance notation in Inoi, Greece based on Filippidou (2021b)

Figure 4
Omouslamas Dance Notation in Inoi, Greece



Note. *Omouslamas* dance notation in Inoi, Greece based on Filippidou and Karfis (2022)

Table 2
Concise Table of the Component Elements of Omouslamas and Zonaradikos

PARAMETERS	OMOUSLAMAS	ZONARADIKOS
Choreography	Two basics dance phrases that are repeated.	Two basics dance phrases that are repeated.
Kinetic unit	Basic dance phrase constantly repeated.	Basic dance phrase constantly repeated.
Steps	Moderate with supports on the sole.	Moderate with supports on the sole.
Handle	T, W (from the shoulders for men, from the palms with bent elbows for women, with movement left-right)	T, W (from the shoulders for men, from the palms with bent elbows for women)
Use of space	Circular shape, open circle with direction to the right. Group dance characterized by the participation of many people.	Circular shape, open circle with direction to the right. Group dance characterized by the participation of many people.
Dancers' position and gender	Men in front, women following	Men in front, women following
Rhythmic pattern	6/8	6/8
Rhythmic organization	Moderate and stable.	Moderate and stable.
Musical accompaniment	Turkish song accompanied by music	Greek song accompanied by music
Method of interpretation	Moderate movements.	Moderate movements.
Dance form model	Bilateral dance form	Bilateral dance form

Table 3
Enriched Kinetic Type of Omouslamas and Zonaradikos Dance

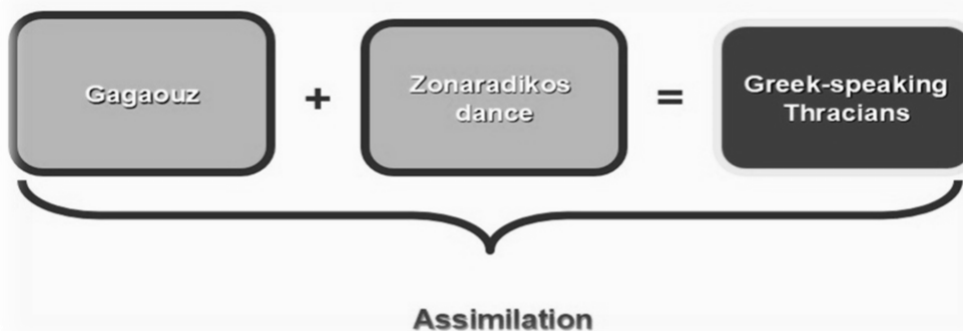
DANCE	ENRICHED KINETIC TYPE
TWD.1 Omouslamas AB, A/ev Φ λ~400 6/8 (λ λ λ λ) U AAIT Ip. Iμ. Πμ. Dym. PM.	$T,WD.1a = T,W1 [\delta^{3/8} + \alpha^{3/8}] + T,W2 [\delta^{3/8} + (\delta)\alpha^{3/8}] + T,W3 [\alpha^{3/8} + (\alpha)\delta^{3/8}] + T,W4 [\delta^{3/8} + \alpha^{3/8}] + T,M5 [\delta^{3/8} + (\delta)\alpha^{3/8}] + T,W6 [\alpha^{3/8} + (\alpha)\delta^{3/8}]$
	$T,WD.1b = T,W1 [\delta^{3/8} + \alpha^{3/8}] + T,W2 [\delta^{3/8} + (\delta)\alpha^{3/8}] + T,W3 [(\alpha^{3/16} \delta^{3/16}) + \alpha^{3/8}] + T,W4 [\delta^{3/8} + \alpha^{3/8}] + T,W5 [\delta^{3/8} + (\delta)\alpha^{3/8}] + T,W6 [\alpha^{3/8} + (\alpha)\delta^{3/8}]$
TWD.2 Zonaradikos A/OΦ, λ~380 6/8 (λ λ λ λ) U AAIT Ip. Iμ. Πμ. Dym. PM.	$TWD.2a = T1 [\delta^{3/8} + \alpha^{3/8}] + T2 [\delta^{3/8} + (\delta)\alpha^{3/8}] + T3 [\alpha^{3/8} + (\alpha)\delta^{3/8}] + T4 [\delta^{3/8} + \alpha^{3/8}] + T5 [\delta^{3/8} + (\delta)\alpha^{3/8}] + T6 [\alpha^{3/8} + (\alpha)\delta^{3/8}]$
	$T,WD.2b = T,W1 [\delta^{3/8} + \alpha^{3/8}] + T,W2 [\delta^{3/8} + (\delta)\alpha^{3/8}] + T,W3 [(\alpha^{3/16} \delta^{3/16}) + \alpha^{3/8}] + T,W4 [\delta^{3/8} + \alpha^{3/8}] + T,W5 [\delta^{3/8} + (\delta)\alpha^{3/8}] + T,W6 [\alpha^{3/8} + (\alpha)\delta^{3/8}]$

From the recording, analysis and comparison of the dance forms Zonaradiakos or Omouslamas, it is observed that this dance, is danced in the same way on stage and in the social itself, but also in other parameters of the dance, such as the models of the dance form, the position and gender of the dancers, the rhythmic shape and the rhythmic organization, the use of the space, as well as the way of interpretation. The only parameter that differs is the musical accompaniment. Specifically, on stage, the dance is accompanied by a Greek song, while at the Gagauz social events by a Turkish song. Finally, it is found that the Omouslamas dance (on stage) is similar to the Zonaradikos dance (social events) in movement and music and differs only in the lyrics and in the name of the dance (Omouslamas-Zonaradikos).

Zonaradikos or Omouslamas Dance as an Acculturation Strategy for Shaping the Gagauz Identity

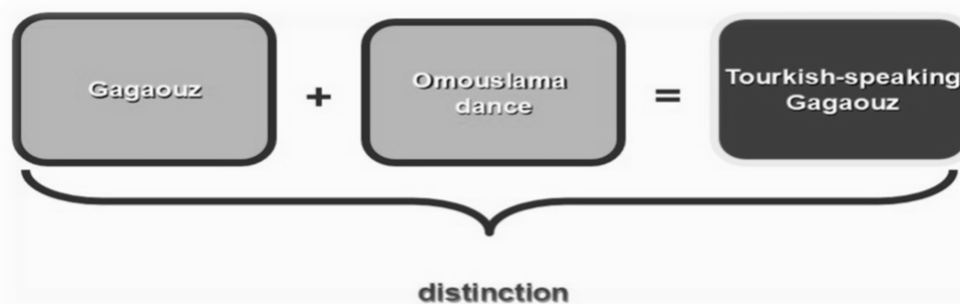
Based on what has been said, it is established that the Gagauz of Inoi today use dance selectively to identify themselves. Thus, on the one hand, they dance the dance phrase of the Zonaradikos dance of the homogenized pan-Thracian repertoire, therefore choosing the cultural strategy of assimilation. This strategy promotes their Greekness, making their "self" look like the "others." As a result, the strategy they follow integrates them with the Greek speakers of the region, a fact that offers them social recognition and rise. In this way, by embracing the most important aspects of the culture of the Greek speakers of the region, one of which is dance, they minimize their differences. Thus, they self-identify and hetero-identify as Greek-speaking Thracians. However, this definition directly connects the people who carry it with Greekness (see Figure 5) (Filippidou, 2011).

Figure 5
Acculturation Strategy of Assimilation



On the other hand, they try to be re-tribalized (Cohen, 1969), choosing the acculturation strategy of separation, projecting their Gagauz identity. They achieve this by presenting their Turkish songs and Gagauz dances, one of which is Omouslamas, which they had set aside on the altar of their upward mobility and social inclusion. Then, projecting the local dance idiom of Omouslamas accompanied by a Turkish song, they display their Gagauz identity, thus distinguishing themselves from the others. In this way, they distance themselves from the Greek-speakers of the region and insist on preserving their ethnic identity, seeking to demonstrate through dance their Thracian origin. Thus, they identify and redefine themselves as Turkish-speaking Gagauz (see Figure 6). However, this definition classifies the people who bring it to the "opposite bank", separating it nationally and not only ethnically (Filippidou, 2011).

Figure 6
Acculturation Strategy of Separation

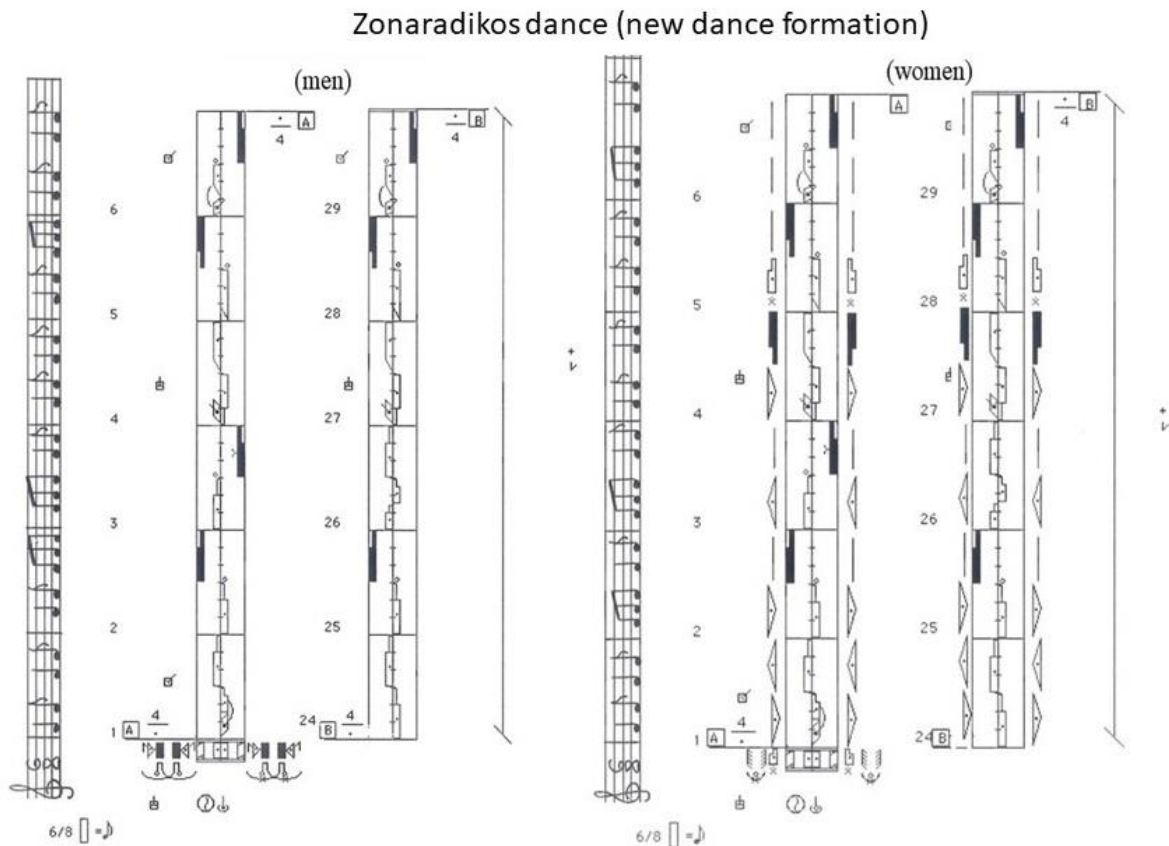


By attempting to reconcile these two conflicting collective identities, the Gagauz of Inoi become more tolerant and harmonize them. Thus, they remove the Turkish language from the Omouslamas dance, in order to promote their special identity, but also to be accepted by the "others" by stopping being treated as "foreigners". From this combination emerges a new "dance formation". This new "dance formation" includes the movements of the Omouslamas dance of the Gagauz repertoire with the name, however, Zonaradikos. Therefore, this new "dance formation" created by the Gagauz of Inoi, is a mixture of the two repertoires, a mixture of the two cultures that coexist in the settlement, as it includes a Greek name, Gagauz dance movement and is accompanied by Greek songs (Figure 7) (Filippidou, 2011).

This dance practice, that is the acculturation strategy of integration, adopted by the Gagauz of Inoi, enables them to combine social recognition and social rise with the promotion of their Gagauz identity, while projecting their similarities with the Greek speakers in the area. In this way they seek to demonstrate, through dance, their Greekness and Thracian origin. With harmonization, their ethnic group becomes an integral part of society, while allowing them to collaborate in a wider social system while maintaining their ethnic identity (Filippidou, 2011).

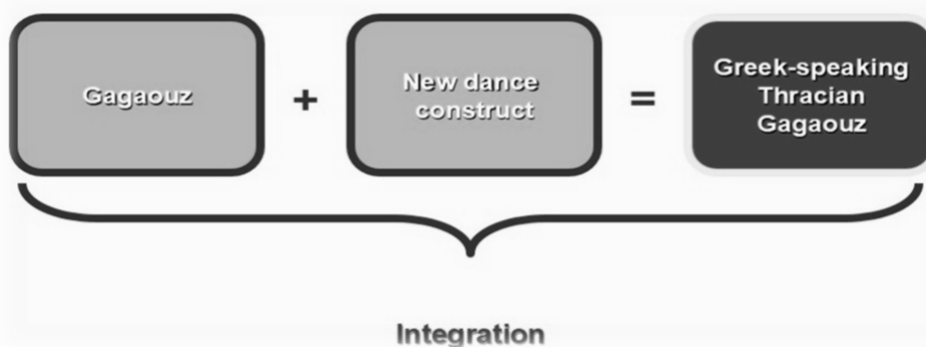
Therefore, the above dance practice functions as a factor of cohesion between the various ethnic groups, thus contributing to the reconstruction of the local community. In this way, showing the bond of their common linguistic identity, in combination with that of the common religion, the opposite dipole "we" / "others" ceased to apply, resulting in the unification of all the inhabitants of the region of Evros in the sense of "us" and "commonly belong". In other words, their common religious belief and their linguistic relevance became an identical element of homogeneity. The result of this process was the "construction" of a new identity, that of the Greek-speaking Thracian Gagauz, which clearly correlates the person who brings it with Greekness (Figure 8) (Filippidou, 2011).

Figure 7
The Dance Notation of the New Dance Formation in Inoi, Greece



Thus, the acceptance of the acculturation strategy of integration forced the Greek-speaking groups of the region, which also maintained their dominance, to accept the dance repertoire of the Gagauz. This happened because now with the change of the song, from Turkish to Greek, all the groups are given the opportunity to coexist in the dance, singing the Greek songs together. However, when the Gagauz choose to stand out, singing their Turkish-speaking songs, automatically their social environment sets the dividing line between "us" and "others" (Filippidou, 2011).

Figure 8
Acculturation Strategy of Integration



Consequently, dancing in the community of Inoi in northern Evros in Greece, as a cultural element that is constantly evolving, shapes and reshapes the ethnic identity of the Gagauz group. The inhabitants of Inoi selectively use the Zonaradikos or Omouslamas dance, at the base of the triptych music-song-dance, in order to shape their ethnic identity, depending on the circumstances of their environment.

Conclusion

The present research paper refers to the relationship between dance and ethnic identity, as it appears in the case of the ethnic group of Gagauz of Inoi in Greece. In this community there is the fact that two distinct music-dance repertoires coexist, as the Gagauz in their trying to demonstrate their ethnic identity present on stage their dance repertoire, but in the socio-dance gatherings between them, they dance the dances of the homogenized pan-Thracian repertoire, that all resident of the wider area dance.

The aim of this paper was to study the different manifestations of the dance practice of the Gagauz of the community of Inoi in Greece, as tactics in search of their ethnic identity. In particular, with reference to the analysis of the main dance of the repertoire of the Gagauz and all of Thrace, Zonaradikos or Omouslamas and based on the fluid nature of identity formation, this paper aimed to investigate the attitudes with which members of this ethnic group, as subjects of social action, self-identify, constructing and reconstructing their ethnic identity, depending on the circumstances.

In order to achieve the aim of the paper and to work out its theoretical issues, a combination of two different parameters was adopted. First, the analytical concept of acculturation was used as a theoretical background, as well as the way it is defined through theoretical models, such as that of John Berry, and second, the analysis and study of dance itself was considered a precondition for the elaboration of theoretical issues of research. The combination of these two formed the basis on which this research was initiated and shaped.

From the analysis of the two dance forms, Omouslamas and Zonaradikos, it was found that they have similar characteristics and differ only in the language (that is in the name of the dance and in the lyrics of the songs). Specifically, the dance form that is danced on stage includes a name in the Gagauz dialect (Omouslamas) and is accompanied by Turkish songs. On the contrary, the dance form that is danced in the various social events of Inoi includes a Greek name (Zonaradikos) and is accompanied by Greek songs.

Then, based on the results of the dance analysis, it was examined how this analysis can highlight theoretical issues. Thus, the music, song and dance in this paper functioned as symbols, clearly rendering the cultural image of today. Therefore, from the study of the music-dance repertoire during the various dance events, through the dance forms themselves, it turned out what the dance has to say about the "construction" of the ethnic identity of the Gagauz group of Inoi, as well as and for the practices and strategies it applies in space and time.

Therefore, the analysis of the data showed that dance in the community of Inoi, as a cultural element that is constantly evolving, shapes and reshapes the ethnic identity of the Gagauz group, who use it to construct and reconstruct their collective identity, accordingly with the capabilities provided them by "significant others". Thus, on the one hand, they try to re-tribalize themselves by projecting their Gagauz identity, thus separate their "selves" from the "others". On the other hand, they try to assimilate by projecting their Greekness, making their "selves" similar to the "others". However, in a third case, they try to reconcile these two conflicting identities and integrate with the "others", removing the Turkish-speaking language from the Gagauz dances, in order to promote their particular dances, but also to be accepted by the "others", stopping being treated as "strangers".

Therefore, the formation of the ethnic identity of the Gagauz of Inoi is a fluid process, in the remodeling of which an important factor is the degree of its acculturation. The interaction of this group with other ethnic groups active in the same area, results in the falsification of specific cultural characteristics, due to its adaptation to the constraints of this area and the adoption of new ones, but also the preservation of some of the existing ones (Filippidou, 2011).

One of these cultural characteristics is the triptych music-dance-song, the indivisible unity of Greek traditional dance, which is integrated in social, economic, political, and cultural contexts contributes to the formation of identity. Dance, then, as can be seen from the above, not only represents identity but is also one of the characteristics that shape it. The Gagauz of Inoi is a living example of confirmation of this theory, as through dance, they self-identify, communicating both what they are or what they want to be and renouncing what they are or do not want to be. In this way, they form their collective identity, choosing each time and depending on the circumstances in which group they wish to join (Filippidou, 2011).

Thus, the Gagauz of the Inoi community, experiencing a social reality time that seeks to have multiple identities simultaneously, change the meanings of their actions always about their social environment. Depending on their circumstances and feelings, they also choose a different ethnic identity, verifying the view that identity does not have a perpetual character but is more of a "construction," which depends on the circumstances and the context in which it takes place and appears. As a result, the Gagauz, through dance, choose on the one hand to have a Thracian ethnic identity; on the other, Gagauz ethnic identity, and on a third level, they identify themselves as Greek Thracian Gagauz. Therefore, if a person considers himself a member of a particular ethnic group and if others recognize this identification, whether they are members of that group or not, then that person is a member of that ethnic group (Filippidou, 2011).

As can be seen from the above, Berry's theoretical model of acculturation in the case of the Gagauz of Inoi applies precisely, showing that it is valid even in the case of the ethnic groups living in Greece. Specifically, of Berry's four acculturation strategies, the Gagauz of Inoi use three, in particular, assimilation, separation and integration. Therefore, although this model has not been used so far in the study of dance, through the example of the Gagauz it is found that it can be applied in this case as well. Combining the analytical tools of dance with this model of acculturation gives the opportunity to explore issues related to the construction and reconstruction of the collective identity of a group, which is not something natural and irreversible, but is more of a "construction" formed within from long and complex historical, social, economic, political and cultural processes (Filippidou, 2011).

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Notes on Contributors

Eleni Filippidou is a postdoctoral researcher at the School of Physical Education and Sport Science of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens with a scholarship from the Hellenic State Scholarship Foundation and Lecturer in the Department of Physical Education and Sport Sciences and Techniques of the French College Idef-Universite Paris13. She is a graduate of the Department of Physical Education and Sport Science of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and holds a Postgraduate and Doctoral Degree in Folklore-Anthropology of Dance at the same university. E-mail: filipele@phed.uoa.gr; <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0425-1037>