Finnish Romani during the 1800s

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Background(1)

- Roma had arrived to Finland in small groups from the mid of the 16th century onwards.
 - At the turn of 16th and 17th century, a fairly stable number of Roma has been documented.
 - attempts to settle them during the 17th century.
 - by end the 17th century, the Roma had spread out from the coastal regions into the entire region from Ingermanland to Ostrobothnia (Panu Pulma, p.c. June 15, 2011).
 - a large-scale movement of Roma to Karelia (Eastern Finland) took place at the end of the 18th century (Miika Tervonen, p.c. July 20, 2010).
 - A few families are known to have arrived from Sweden at the turn of the 19th century (Miika Tervonen, p.c. July 20, 2010).
- Their migration routes have been under debate:

 - all Finnish Roma migrated to Finland via Sweden? (Thesleff 1901, 1904).
 they came from Russia? (Miklosich 1872–1880 iii:36; Vehmas 1961: 53).
 - several migration routes? (Kopsa-Schön 1996: 60).
 - there is evidence that some Roma families have their roots e.g. in Russia, Poland and Hungary.

Background(2)

- Grand Duchy of Finland (1809-1917)
- Part of the Russian empire

(http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/7b/Meyers_b14_s0080 a.jpg)

> visits of Roma from Eastern and Central Europe almost yearly between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of 20th century



Background(3)

- Signs of attrition were present as early at the end of the 18th century:
 - > errors in numerals (ennia 'seven', desso jek 'nine') (Valtonen 1968: 22).
- Dramatic changes during the 19th century:
 - Early Romani option selections (s > h, loss of vare- and čimoni)
 - Language-internal erosion (many examples)
 - Structural influence of Finnish language on Romani is visible since the latter half of the 19th century:
 - ➤ No other close contact language has had such a deep influence on FR as Finnish:
 - Phonological imposition
 - replication of Finnish morphosyntactic patterns (pattern transfer):
 - Finnish has supplied most of the abstract grammatical structure such as the syntax including the word order and the principles of case licensing. Contact with Finnish has caused a number typological changes FR.
 - categories and oppositions not found in Finnish have been lost.
 - Germanic influence has been predominantly phonological (quantity-sentivity, $\dot{s} > x$ ($\dot{s}eel > xeel$ 'hundred') and lexical.
 - Finnish was the linguistically dominant language of the Roma.
 - At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, Romani was not anymore the true colloquial language of the Roma; their actual mother tongue was already Finnish (Thesleff 1899: 472).
 - Active knowledge of Swedish of largely forgotten, but Swedish loan-words remained in use (Thesleff 1899: 472).
 - Not many Roma children acquired Romani naturally in their childhood, but as they group up. All the adults still mastered Romani. (Thesleff 1899: 472; Vuorela & Borin 1998: 60; Borin 2000: 75).

Early sources of Finnish Romani

Year	Source	
1780	Kristfrid Ganander's (1741-1790) prize essay <i>Undersökning om De så kallade TATTERE eller</i> Zigeuner, Cingari, Bohemiens, Deras Härkomst, Lefnadsätt, språk m.m. Samt om, när och hwarest några satt sig ner i Swerige?	
1817	Adolf Ivar Arwidsson's (1791-1858) notes (published in Bugge 1858)	
appr. 1830	Klaus Juhana Kemell's (1805-1832) word-list (published in Thesleff 1901)	
appr. 1860	Data conveyed to Miklosich by Jürgensen and Schiefner (published in Miklosich 1872-1880)	
appr. 1860	Henrik August Reinholm's (1819-1883) notes (partly published in Thesleff 1901)	
1890-	Arthur Thesleff's (1871-1920) collections of Roma songs	
1897	Adam Lindh's (1864-1902) abc-book manucsript	
1899	Arthur Thesleff's article Finlands zigenare. En etnografisk studie. <i>Finsk Tidskrift</i> 46: 386–398, 466–477.	
1900	Arthur Thesleff's rejection letter to Adam Lindh	
1901	Arthur Thesleff's dictionary Wörterbuch des Dialekts der finnländischen Zigeuner. Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae XXIX:6. Helsinki: Finnische Litteratur-Gesellschaft.	

Early Romani option selections (1)

- I. s in morphological paradigms -> s/h alternation
 - FR has undergone a diachronic change from mostly having forms in s into a dialect, in which s and h alternate:
 - 1. in the present tense of the copula *s-/h-*
 - Mostly s e.g. Ganander (1780) Api kulwasin joh 'he is on the floor', Fedider so sint telo boliba 'the best that is under the sky', Ochaben sin arre ja chaa 'the food is inside, go to eat', but Mo dad hi molo 'my father is dead'; Reinholm (ca. 1860) Sin Raj apo boliba 'There is a king in the heaven';
 - > Only h: cf. Thesleff's (1901) verb paradigms: only hin. All later sources have hin.
 - 2. paradigms of lexical verbs
 - Mostly s: Ganander (1780): tu drapaweisa 'you read' and so louwesa? 'why do you cry?'; Arw. (1817) tu bachhesa 'you want', ame bachhasa 'we want'; forms in h were rare: Ganander (1780) ame drapaweha 'we read'.
 - Only h Cf. Thesleff's (1901) verb paradigms: only forms with h in both his future (phurjuvēha 'get old-pres.2.sg-fut', phurjuvāha 'get old-pres. 1.plk-fut') and I potential (phurjuvēhas 'get old-pres.2.sg-cnd', phurjuvāhas 'get old-pres. 1pl.-cond').
 - 3. instrumental cases of nominals
 - the change is far from completed.
 - > s tends to be retained in the instrumentals of abstract nouns and often in pronouns.
 - 4. not in the preterite of s-/h- and interrogative pronouns

Early Romani option selections (2)

- II. loss of *čimoni*:
 - Reinholm (ca. 1860): lial vimuni 'have you got anything?', but no later text sources.
- III. at the beginning of the 20th century, loss *vare-*
 - Reinholm (ca. 1860): ap o drom layames vare yén 'we met each other on the way', rítade vareyén bál 'tore each other from the hair', Jalkio (1914); häärni api himla dilkle puhte vareĉeen 'the stars in the heaven looked, asked each other'. vare- is listed in later dictionaries, but not in text sources.

Language-internal erosion(1)

- I. Nominal morphology
- a) Locative-dative merger \rightarrow loss of locative:
 - Reinholm (ca. 1860): angla mange 'in front of me'
 - Devel phenias peske sikkiboske чāvene jakkes 'God told so to his disciples', nōdi gudādar = déolene 'by the grace of God'
 - Reinholm's paradigms:

mande	dudde	lesde	ladde
(mange)	(tukke)	(lesgo)	(lakke)

- b) Vocative-nominative merger \rightarrow loss of vocative
- c) Loss of oblique case of adjectives:
 - Reinholm (ca. 1860) save oldraha, 'at which age', douva yerr me minsiboske 'do this to my memory'
 - Jalkio (1914): dilo čaaveske 'to the crazy guy', cihki gintaha 'with a good feeling'
- d) Simplified demostrative system: loss of *kava*:
 - Reinholm (ca. 1860) **akala** kouvesta 'about this thing', Th. song texts: lovavena kale dakke bujderja 'they promise to hit, the lovers', Cajenge kale bruna phoua 'the brown eye-brows of the girls', no later sources.
- e) Loss of subject clitics
 - Reinholm (ca. 1860): *kaj djala lo?* 'where does he go?' ', no later sources.

Language-internal erosion(2)

II. Verb morphology

- a) imperfect-conditional merger → conditional
 - Imperfect: Arwidsson (1817) bachhavas, Reinholm (ca. 1860) harahal djabbás 'sang for a long time'.
 - Conditional: Reinholm (ca. 1860) josko djánás 'if I knew', jou djabbelas te minsilas 'He would sing, if he remembered', jommas 'if would have gone'; I potential in Thesleff's (1901) verb paradigms.
- b) Pluperfect-perfect-preterite merger → preterite + new analytical past tenses:
 - Pluperfect: Reinholm (ca. 1860) dīas karrié tingaris 'had shot dead a beggar ', yuddas 'had put clothes on', pies peski vetta 'had boozed his mind'.
 - Perfect: Reinholm (ca. 1860) me presadommas bút 'I have paid a lot'; lial vimuni? 'have you got anything?', väntadammas bari día 'we have been waiting for a long time', mangiomas 'I have prayed', piiomas 'I have drunk'.
 - Preterite: Reinholm (ca. 1860) *me djánidomas* 'I knew' , *me djeijomas* 'I went', *puschtommas* 'I asked'.
- c) Loss of the remotness marker -ahe:
 - Reinholm (ca. 1860): sommas ~ sommahe 'I was'; -ahe is found in no later source.

Contact-induced changes(1)

I. Contact with Germanic languages/Swedish

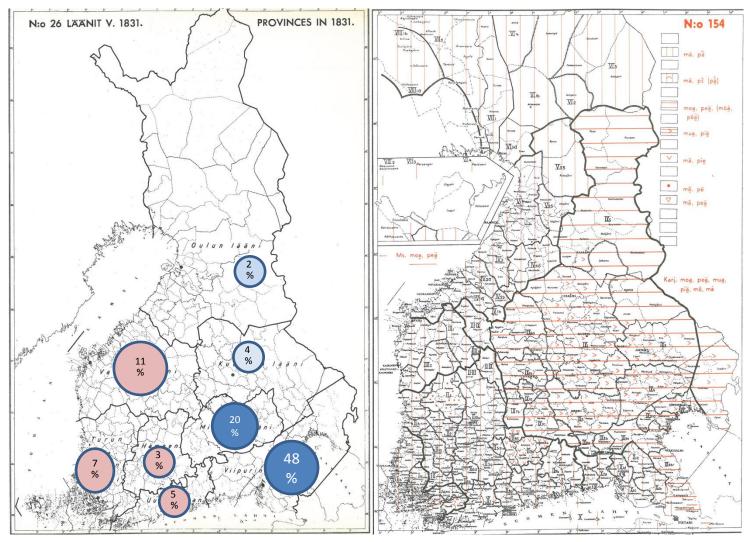
Š > X: Gradual eastward spread since the 19th century: Arwidsson (1817): tuchni 'jug', bachhen 'they beg'; Kemell (ca. 1830): kachte 'woods', chelo 'rope'; in modern FR, x dominates expect for a the most concervative idiolects in south-eastern Finland)

II. Contact with Finnish

1. Phonology:

- a) Long vowel diphthongization
- aa > ua: Ganander (1780) raani > ruani 'lady',
- ee > ie: Kemell (ca. 1830): o djiskiero 'hearts', scheliskiero 'captain', zantakiero 'sergeant', stopakiero ' corporal', schielo ' cold', i Diechtani 'sister-in-law' etc.; Reinholm (ca. 1860) aptiekka 'farmacy', sarrakiero 'breakfast', sterdibongiere 'harness', traadiboskiero 'driver' etc. (but Ganander (1780) moschero ~ moscheero 'rural police chief', Reinholm (ca. 1860) eego 'own', eegiba 'property')
- > oo > uo: Reinholm (ca. 1860): o tschuoro 'poor', fuorta 'soon', kuoro 'blind', gruopa 'grave', puorta 'gate' (but Reinholm (ca. 1860) gropos 'hole')
- öö > yö: Reinholm (ca. 1860): byöni 'prayer', i hyösta 'autumn', työmi 'reins' (but Reinholm (ca. 1860) löörda 'Saturday').

Contact-induced changes(2)



Roma in Finland (1799, Tuula Rekola, p.c. July 20, 2010). Long vowel diphthongization in Finnish dialects (Kettunen 1940).

Contact-induced changes(3)

b) Švarabakhti vowel

- Not in Ganander (1780), Arwidsson (1817); Reinholm (ca. 1860): barvalo > baravalo 'rich', barvuv- > baravadiom' I became rich', balval > balava 'wind', apruni berga > apruni belega 'ascent', barkatiko kašt > baraketiko kacht 'pine'.
- Similarly in later sources.

c) Vowel harmony

- Not in Ganander (1780), Arwidsson (1817); Kemell (ca. 1830): o byggös 'barley', riinä 'fart') and Reinholm (ca. 1860): deulesko hamyörä 'picture of God', hyästä 'autumn', lyiä 'voice', pärnäsä 'pillow', ämrä 'pail').
- Disharmonic forms were still dominant: Reihnolm (ca. 1860) e fläta 'braid', löörda 'Saturday', niöda 'temptation', prössa 'sorry', stykkos 'weapon', vördya 'waggon', ja öija 'island'.
- Similarly in later sources.

d) Devoicing of voiced stops

All sources since Ganander (1780) gulva > kulwa 'floor', grai > krai 'horse'

Contact-induced changes (4)

Morphology:

- a) Loss of definite determiners:
 - Determiners (o, i, e) were regular in Ganander (1780), Arwidsson (1817), Kemell (ca. 1830), and almost regular in Reinholm (ca. 1860); but sporadical in Th. song texts. (ca. 1890).
 - Mostly lost according to Bourgeois (1911), likewise in Oskari Jalkio's texts in *Kiertolainen* (1907-1914); documents however in a number of idiolects still in the 1960s, sporadically still in some of the most conservative idiolects: *o drom* 'the way', *o džis* 'the heart', *o tšetli* 'the containers', *o vare tšaije* 'the other girls'.
 - Relics in the prepositions (o) apo 'on(to), aro 'in(to)' and kajo 'towards'; in literary use only: (i) api, ari, (e) ape, are.

b) Use of Finnish cases:

Reinholm (ca. 1860): *Khamatcshurjia hin buut ar sakko ahoss'* 'There are much strawberries on every meadow', *Me som dukade daanehin* 'I teeth heart'; very frequently in 20th century sources.

c) Comparatives in -mpi (< Finnish -mpi, e.g. nuorempi 'younger')

Reinholm (ca. 1860): *ternekha mpi = ternēder koni* 'youngest?'; more frequently in 20th century sources.

d) Finnish clitics:

Reinholm (ca. 1860): sar me kin 'like we, too'

Contact-induced changes(5)

e) Prepositions to postpositions:

Prepositions only in Ganander (1780), Arwidsson (1817), Kemell (ca. 1830); in Reinholm (ca. 1860) still mostly prepositions, but dā mo duībe **vaki eestä** 'I give my life for the girl'. (cf. Finnish *tytön edestä*). Postpositions were generalized during the 20th century.

Other changes

I. Fortition vs. lenition of final v

- A Sinti-like fortition v > b (ov > job 'he', abijav > bijab 'wedding') has been attested in FR: Reinholm (ca. 1860) nab 'name'
- \triangleright Arwidsson's (1817) notes suggest that a fortition v > f might have occurred in some idiolects: tschaf 'son'.
- In some 18th and 19th century sources v remained unchanged: Ganander (1780) tschaw tschawes 'son', me chammateh chaw 'I want to eat'; Kemell (ca. 1830) o tschav 'son'; Jürg. & Schiefner (ca. 1830) šov '6'.
- Lenition v > u has been documented in FR since the latter half of the 19the century: Reinholm (ca. 1860) laau 'word'.
- A similar lenition is described in all modern sources: ov > jou, abijav > bjau.
- II. Loss of final -r in Abl. -tar > ta and comparatives -ider/-eder > ide
 - Arwidsson (1817) *djeinestar* 'from the man'; Reinholm (ca. 1860) *khangariatta* 'from the church'
 - Ganander (1780) barwalider 'richer', fedider 'better'; Reinholm (ca. 1860) ternēder koni 'youngest', but also phuuride 'parents'
- III. Loss of refl. pron. po > pesko Reinh. soske sikjavéla pess te rakkavel i roma pi чіbb
- IV. Changes in Preterites: ma mukte > mukle/mukne, jos kána ranniomas > rannidommas.

Summary: From "Proto" Finnish Romani towards modern Finnish Romani(1)

Lost feature	Last source	First source	Modern Finnish Romani
s in morphological paradigms: s-/h- Present tense of lexical verbs Instr.Sg. of nouns	Reinholm (ca. 1860) Reinholm (ca. 1860) (Still in use)	Ganander (1780) Ganander (1780) Reinholm (ca. 1860)	h in morphological paradigms: s-/h- Present tense of lexical verbs Instr.Sg. of nouns
Š	(Still in use in conversative idiolects)	Arwidsson (1817)	x, š still in use in conversative idiolects
Ablative in -tar, comparative in -ider/-eder	Arwidsson (1817), Reinholm (ca. 1860)	Reinholm (ca. 1860), Reinholm (ca. 1860)	-ta, -ide
vocative			nominative
locative	(Still in use in conversative idiolects)	Reinholm (ca. 1860)	nominative, locative still in use in conversative idiolects
oblique of adjectives	Temo (1970s?)	Jalkio (1907-1914)	nominative
demonstrative pronoun kava	Thesleff's song texts (1890-)		
čimoni	Reinholm (ca. 1860)		
vare-	Jalkio (1914)		
prepositions	Valtonen (1968)	Reinholm (ca. 1860)	postpositions
synthetic imperfect	Reinholm (ca. 1860)	Reinholm (ca. 1860)	synthetic conditional
synthetic pluperfect	Reinholm (ca. 1860)	Jalkio (1907-1914)	analytical perfect and pluperfect

Summary: From "Proto" Finnish Romani towards modern Finnish Romani(2)

First source	Innovation	
Kemell (ca. 1830)	diphthongs from long vowels	
Arwidsson (1817)	švarabakhti vowel	
Arwidsson (1817)	vowel harmony	
Thesleff (ca. 1890)	loss of definite determiners	
Reinholm (ca. 1860)	use of Finnish cases	
Reinholm (ca. 1860)	comparatives in -mpi	
Reinholm (ca. 1860)	Finnish clitics	