

Finnish Romani dialectology

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Introduction

- Roma have been documented in Finland since 1559.
 - An earlier migration from Estonia in the early 1500s has suggested by Fraser (1992a).
- According to **the consensus classification grid of Romani dialects**, Finnish Romani (FR) belongs to the NW dialect group (together with Sinti) of the meta-group of Northern Romani dialects (Bakker 1999).
- FR shares conservatisms and innovations that characterize even other Northern Romani dialects.

Introduction (cf. Bakker 1999)

Feature	In FR?	Examples
1. prothetic <i>j-</i> in 3-person pronouns: <i>jov/joj/jon</i>	✓	<i>jou/joj/joon</i>
2. a distinct set of quantificatory pronouns: <i>čici</i> 'nothing', <i>čimoni</i> 'something', <i>kuti</i> 'a little', <i>keti</i> 'how much'	Partially	<i>tšitši</i> 'nothing', <i>kutti</i> 'a little'; but <i>čimoni</i> 'something' lost during the 19 th century, <i>keti</i> never documented
3. location deictics <i>adaj/odoj/akaj</i> (opposed to <i>kate/kote</i> or <i>katka/kotka</i>)	✓	<i>dai, doi, kai</i>
4. demonstratives in <i>-va/-ja/-la</i> for Masc./Fem./PL vs. <i>-o/-i/-la</i>	✓	<i>douva, koola</i> ; but no feminine for attested
5. long forms of genitives and possessives: <i>-kir-</i> vs. <i>-k-</i>	✓	<i>divisakiiro</i> 'dinner'; <i>diiv-es-ko</i> 'day-OBL.SG-GEN'
6. <i>kek</i> as a negator	✓	<i>tšek</i>
7. prothetic <i>v-</i> in <i>vaver</i> 'other'	✓	<i>vauro</i>
8. loss of <i>-r-</i> in <i>kokoro</i> < <i>korkoro</i> 'alone'	✓	<i>kokaro</i>
9. <i>/vr/</i> > <i>/r/</i> in <i>raker-</i> < <i>vraker-</i> 'to speak'	✓	<i>rakkav-</i>

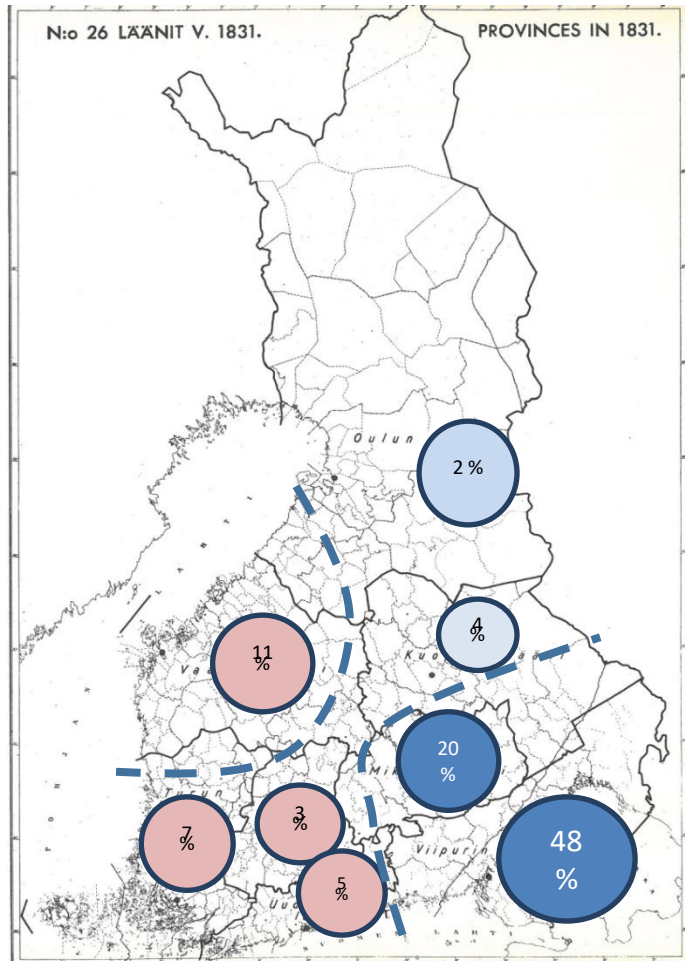
Introduction

- Nevertheless, Finland constitutes a geographically isolated periphery, far away from the innovation center of the dialect group in the German-speaking areas of NW Europe
 - Many northern innovations are not found/ or late attested in FR (Granqvist 2010);
 - In addition, many **changes induced by contact** with Finnish as well as **FR-specific innovations** (Granqvist 2010, 2013a).
 - **Language shift in 19th century.** The true mother tongue of the Finnish Roma has been Finnish since the end of the 20th century (Thesleff 1899);
 - **Highly attrited**, speakers permit lot of variation (Pirttisaari 2002; Granqvist 2013b). "Every speakers has a grammar of his/her own."

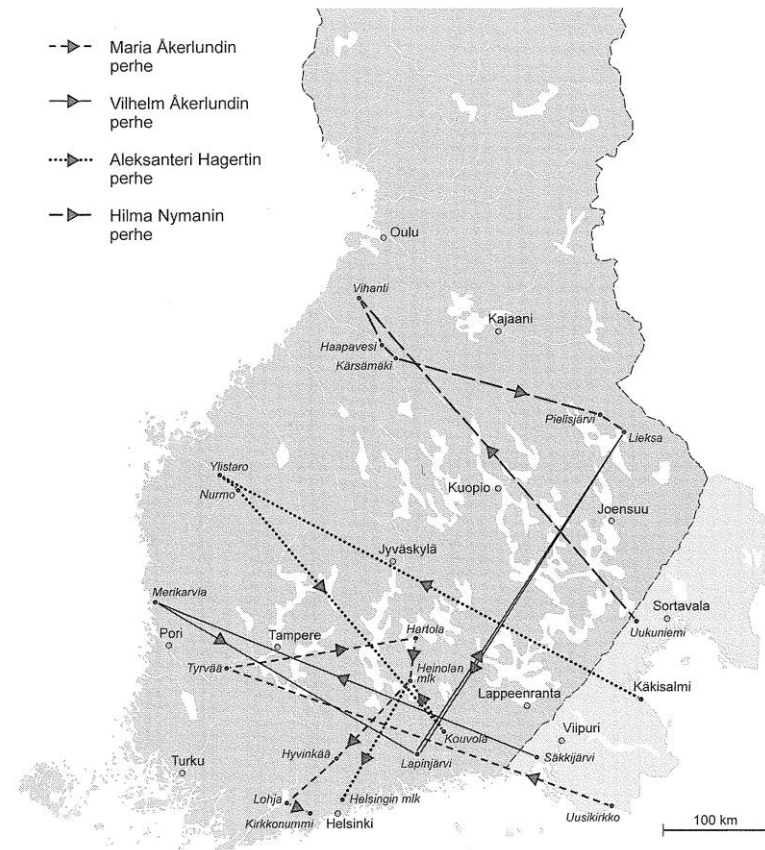
Previous studies on FR subdialects

Account	Notes
Ganander (1779)	Pointed out the existing of subdialects, but provided misleading examples
Thesleff (1901)	Based his dictionary on the Western subdialect, but provided lexemes in the Eastern subdialect
Jalkio (1913)	Mentioned the existence of subdialects
Vehmas (1961)	Mentioned the existence of subdialects
Valtonen (1968)	Listed a number of linguistic features distinguishing the subdialects
Textbooks of FR: Koivisto (1987), Hedman (1996)	Listed a number of linguistic features distinguishing the subdialects
Granqvist (2002, 2007)	The first dialectological maps of FR, based on a spoke language corpus

History of Roma settlement and dialect subdivision



Map 2. Roma in Finland in 1799
(Tuula Rekola, p.c. July 20, 2010).



Map 3. Migration routes of four Roma families in 1939-1943
(Pulma 2012: 193).

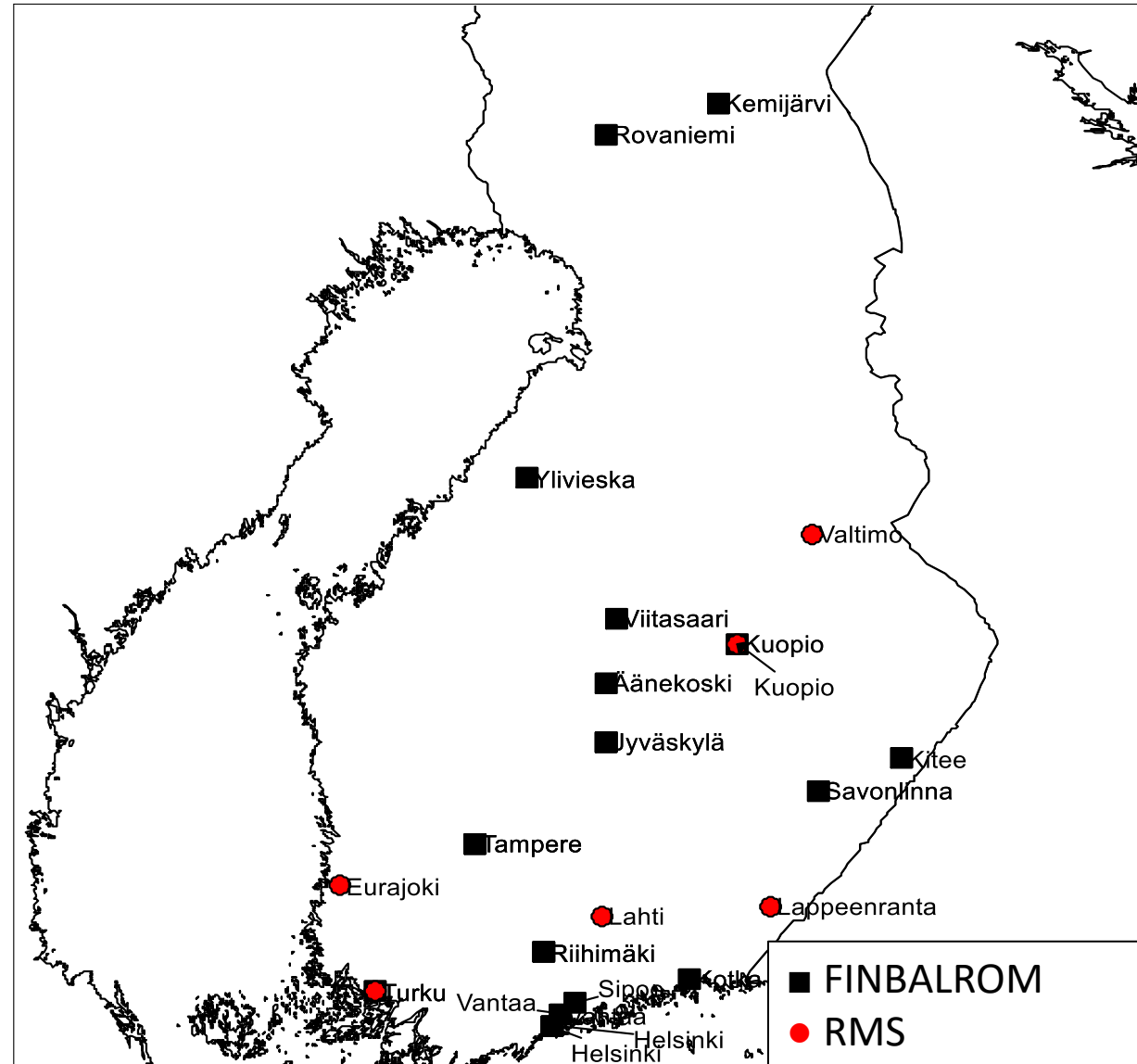
Data

- **A subset of Finnish Romani samples collected as part of project "Finnish Romani and other Northern dialects of Romani in the Baltic Sea area" (FINBALROM, 2013-2016)**
- 21 samples collected in 2013-2014 using the RMS questionnaire.
- Data collection carried out by two fieldworks assistants: Maruska Lindeman (2013) and Sari Hedman (2014), transcriptions by Maruska Lindeman and Mirkka Salo
- **All published RMS (<http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/rms/>) samples of Finnish Romani**
- 6 samples collected in 2002-2005
- Data collection and transcriptions carried out by Katrin Hietam and Helena Pirttisaari.

Data points

FINBALROM: 14

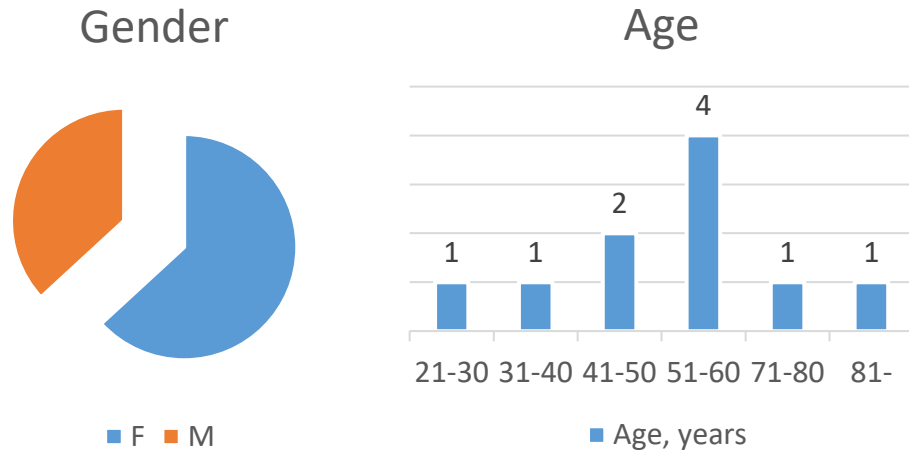
RMS: 6



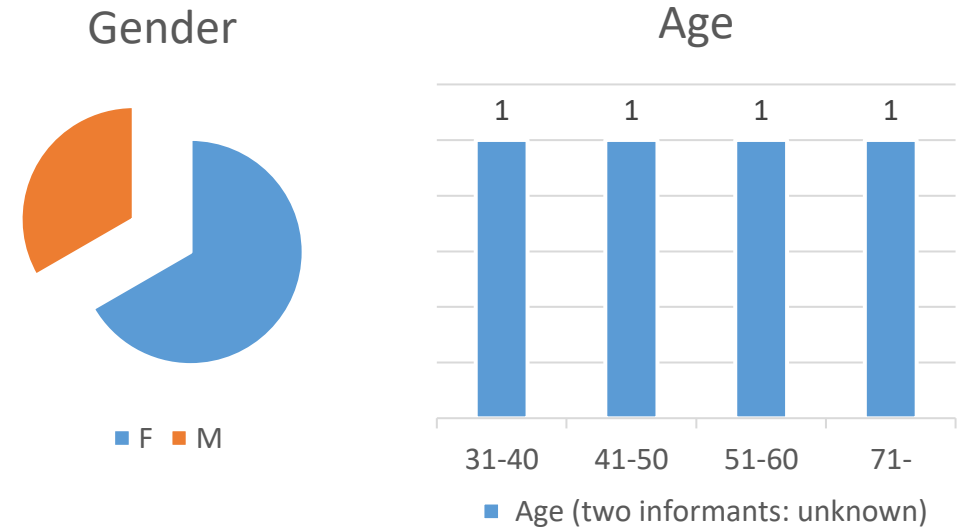
Map 2. Data points.

Informants

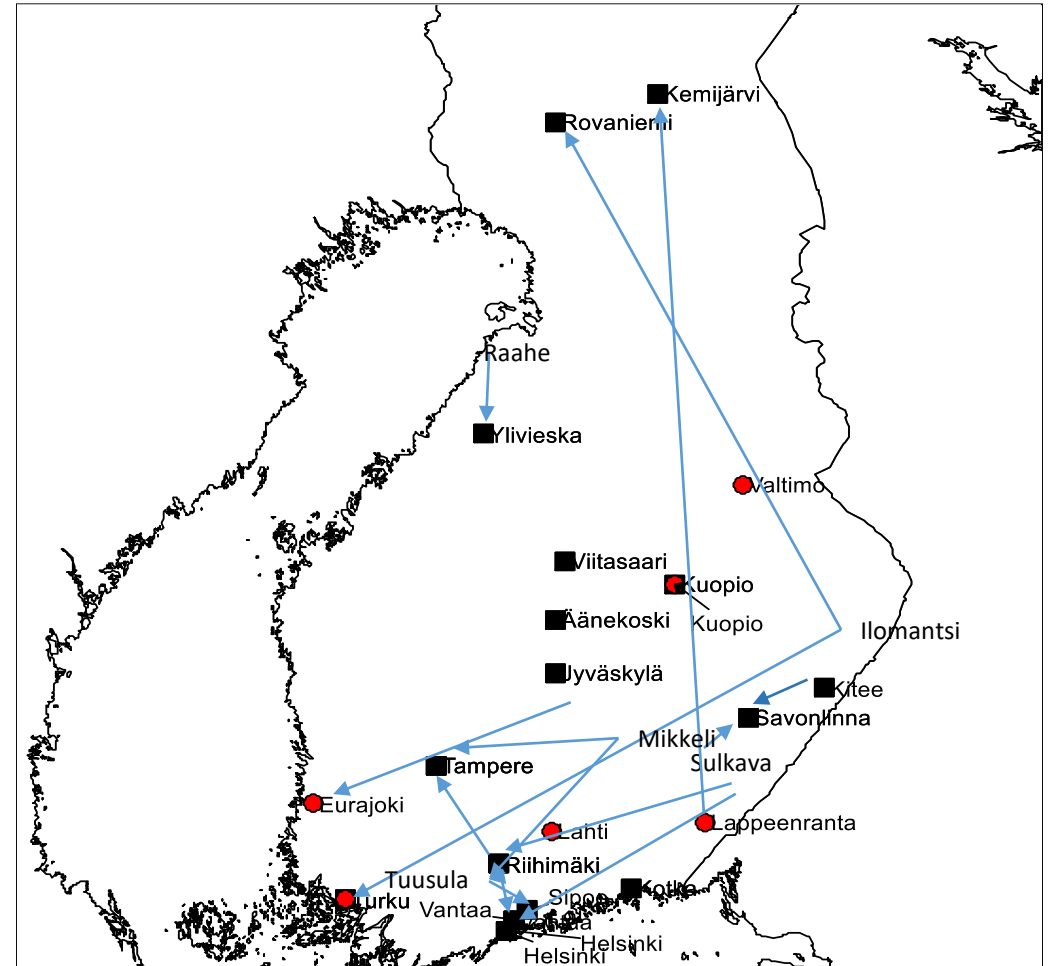
- **FINBALROM samples**



- **RMS samples**



Problems of FR dialectology: Informants and recent migration



Map 3. Known migration routes of the informants.

Problems of FR dialectology: language attrition (1)

- When still used, FR is predominantly an **oral language** of the Roma community used within the family (as elsewhere in Europe, and as a secret language (Hedman 2004);
 - ⇒ Late and limited written usage (Granqvist 2009).
 - ⇒ Late and limited functional expansion (cf. Halwachs 2012).
 - ⇒ Late and slowly progressing codification; rapid language change (Granqvist 2013).

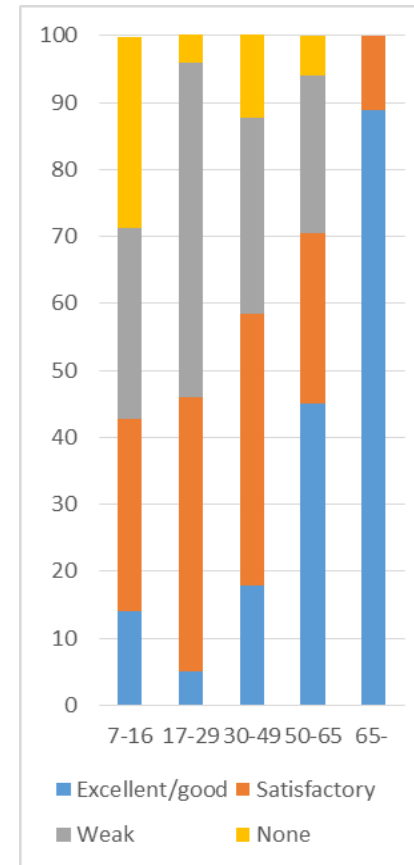


Figure 1. Insights into FR by age-group (data: Hedman 2009).

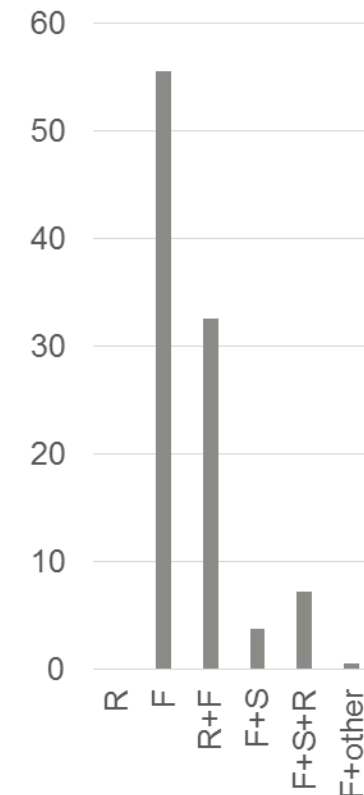
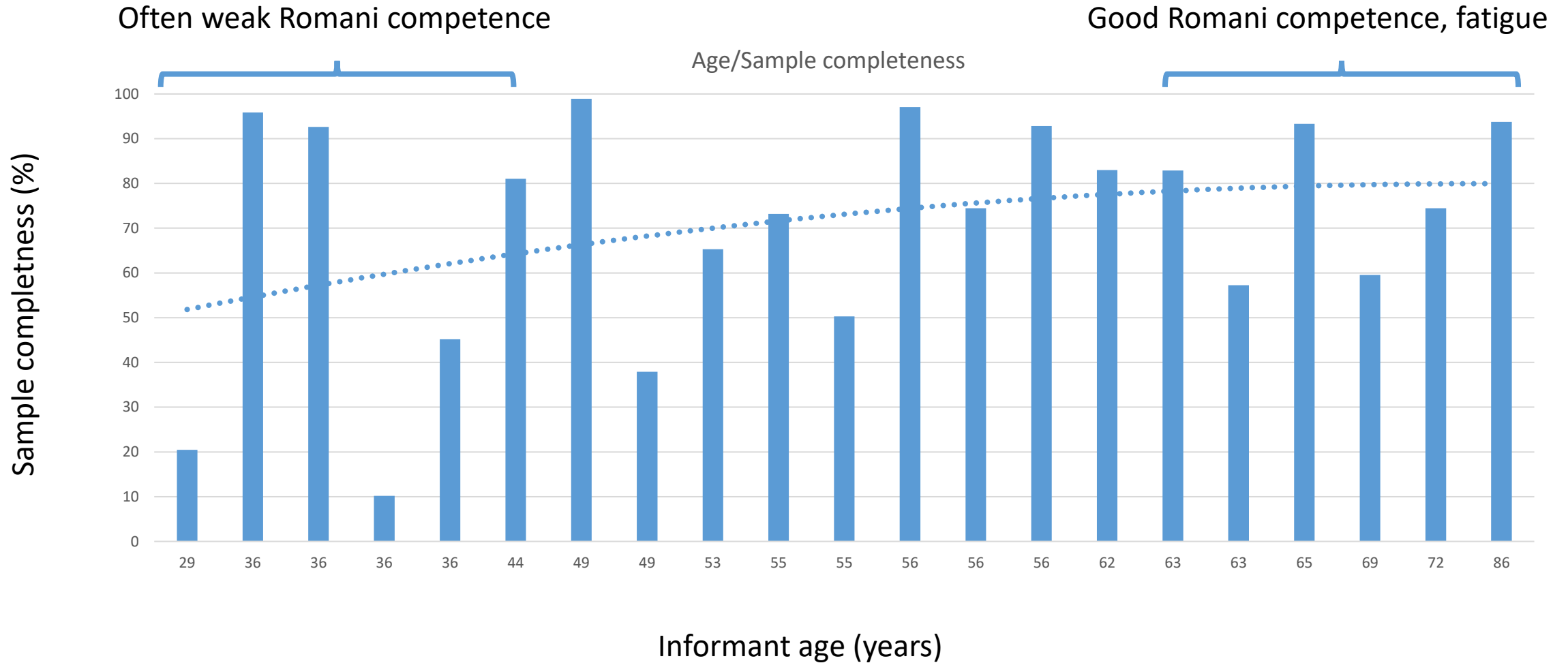
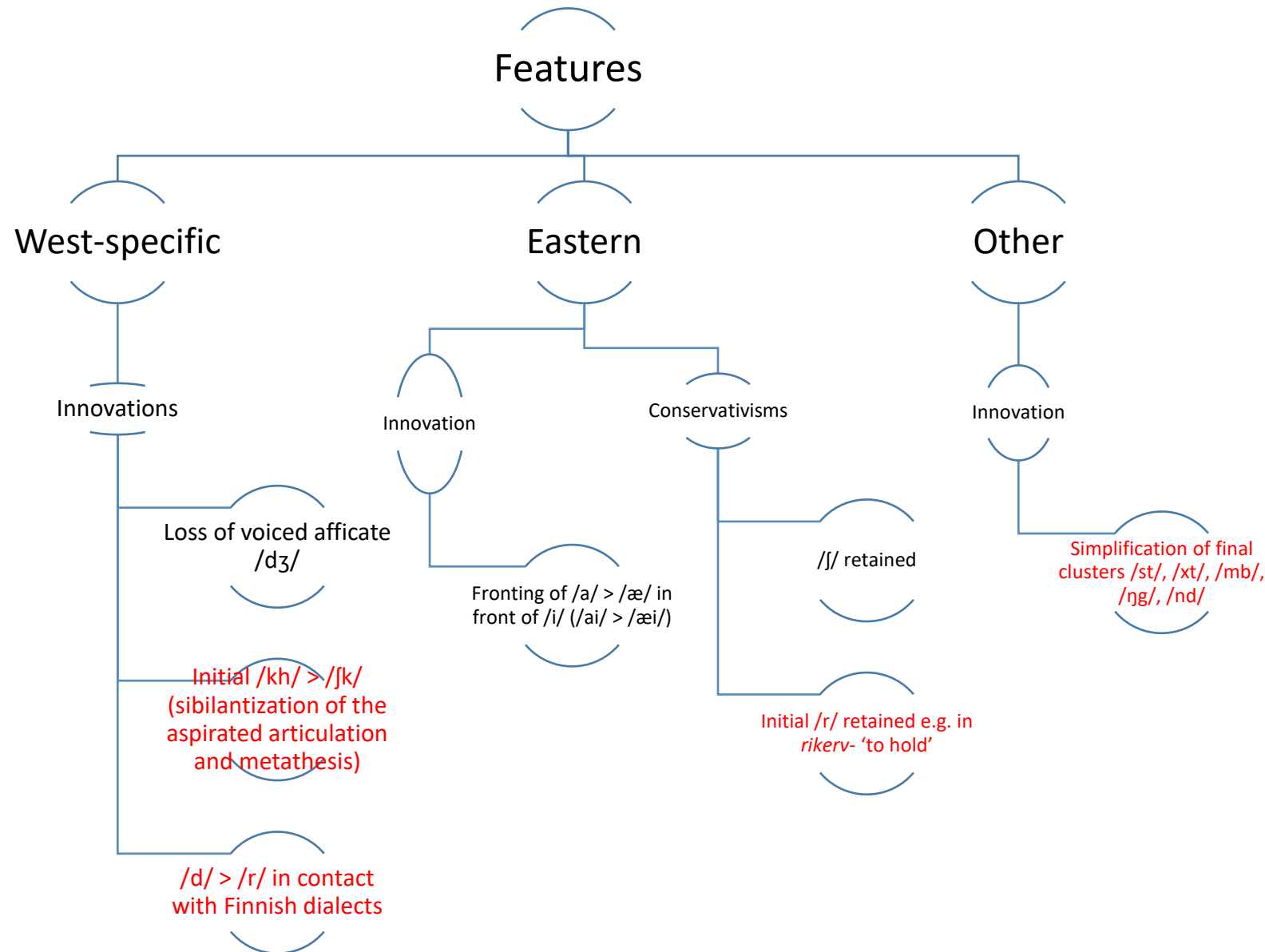


Figure 2. Home languages of the Roma (data: Hedman 2009).

Problems of FR dialectology: language attrition (2)



Features studied: Phonology



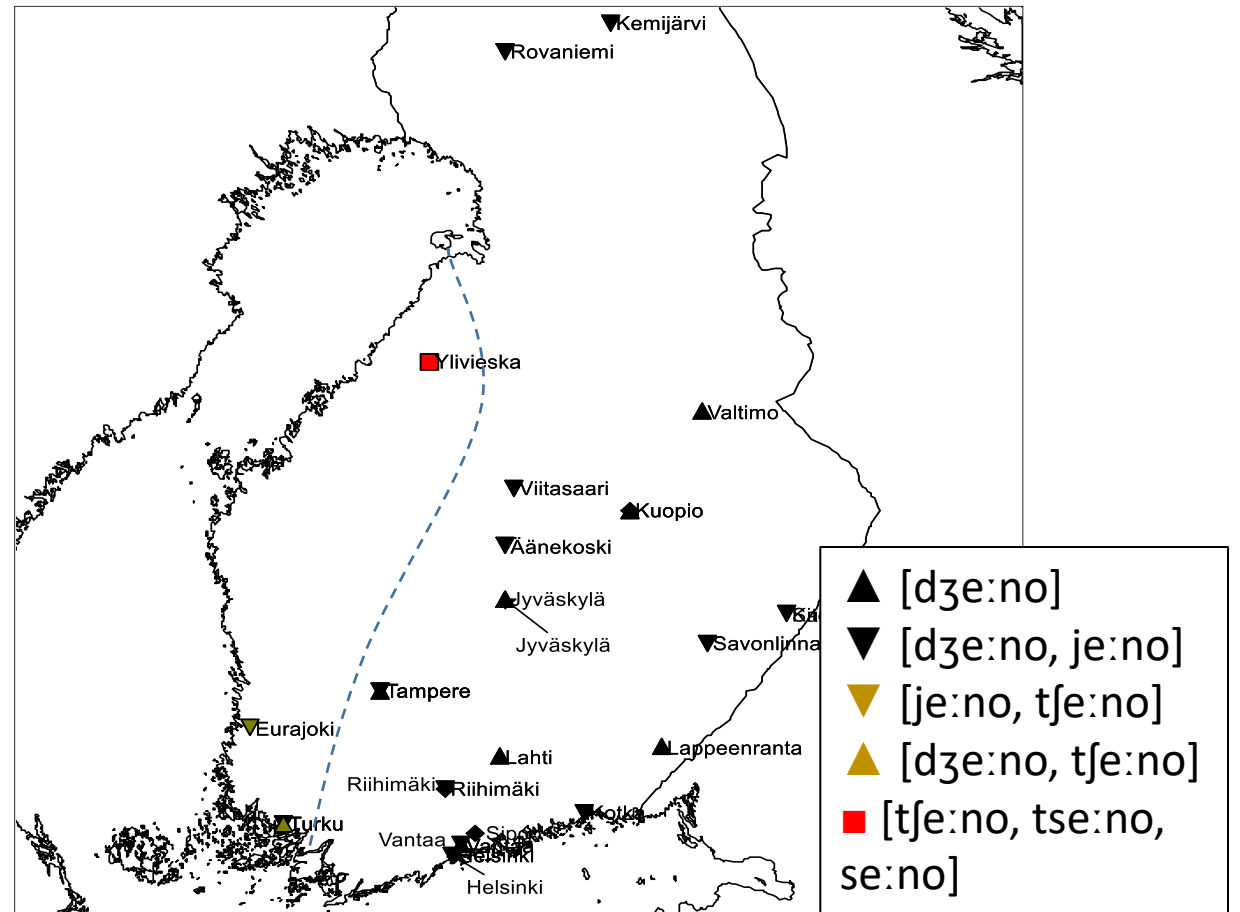
Not studied:

- Long vowel diphthongization
 - occurs all over the country, rather in free variation with long vowels
- Svarabhakti vowel
 - induced by in contact with both West and East Finnish dialects, in both cases mostly a similar vowel copy process

Phonology: West-specific innovations (1)

Loss of voiced affricate /dʒ/

- In West, further polarized and simplified in contact with Finnish: [tʃe:no] > [tse:no] > [se:no].
- A number of realizations in the East, under similar principles
- Documented: Valtonen 1968; Koivisto 1987; Hedman 1994; geographical distribution Granqvist **2002**, 2007.

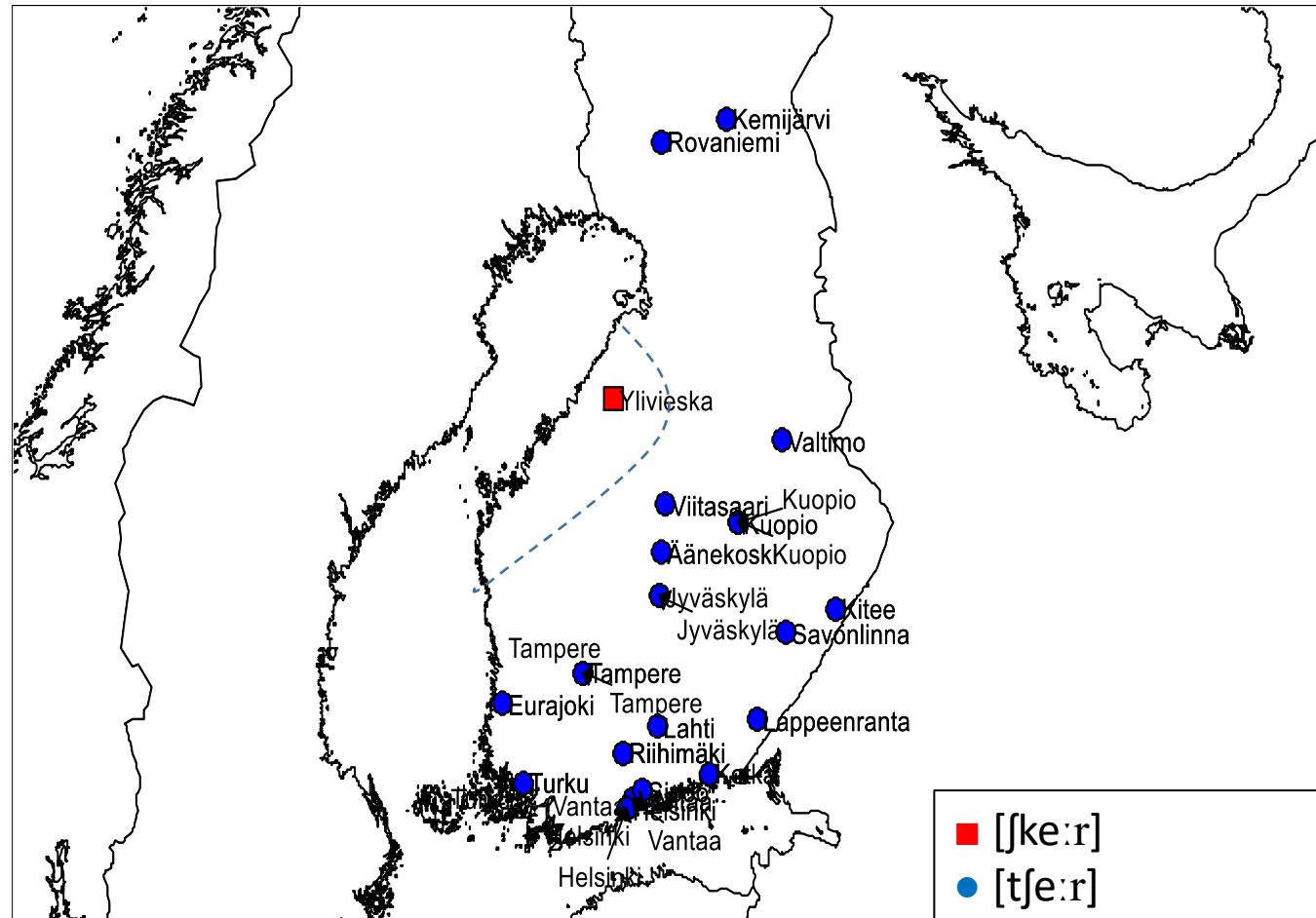


Map 4. /dʒ/ in *dženo* 'man'.

Phonology: West-specific innovations (2)

Initial /kh/ > /ʃk/

- sibilantization of the aspirated articulation and metathesis
- Documented: Granqvist 2002, 2007; geographical distribution not studied.
- Cf. for NE dialects, Tenser 2008.

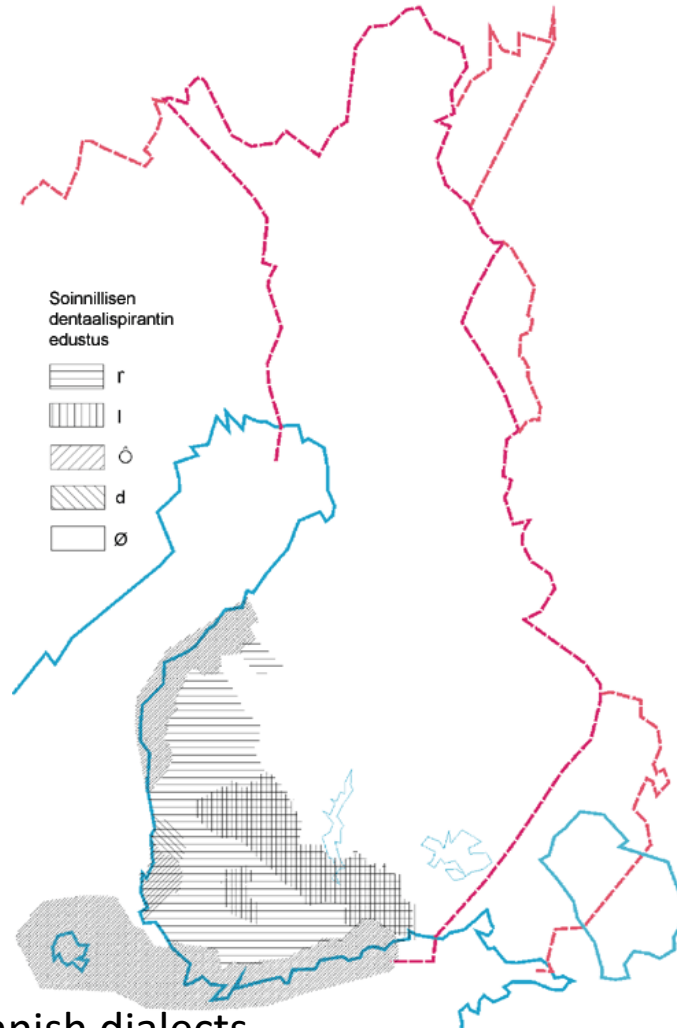


Map 5. Initial consonant in *kher* 'house'.

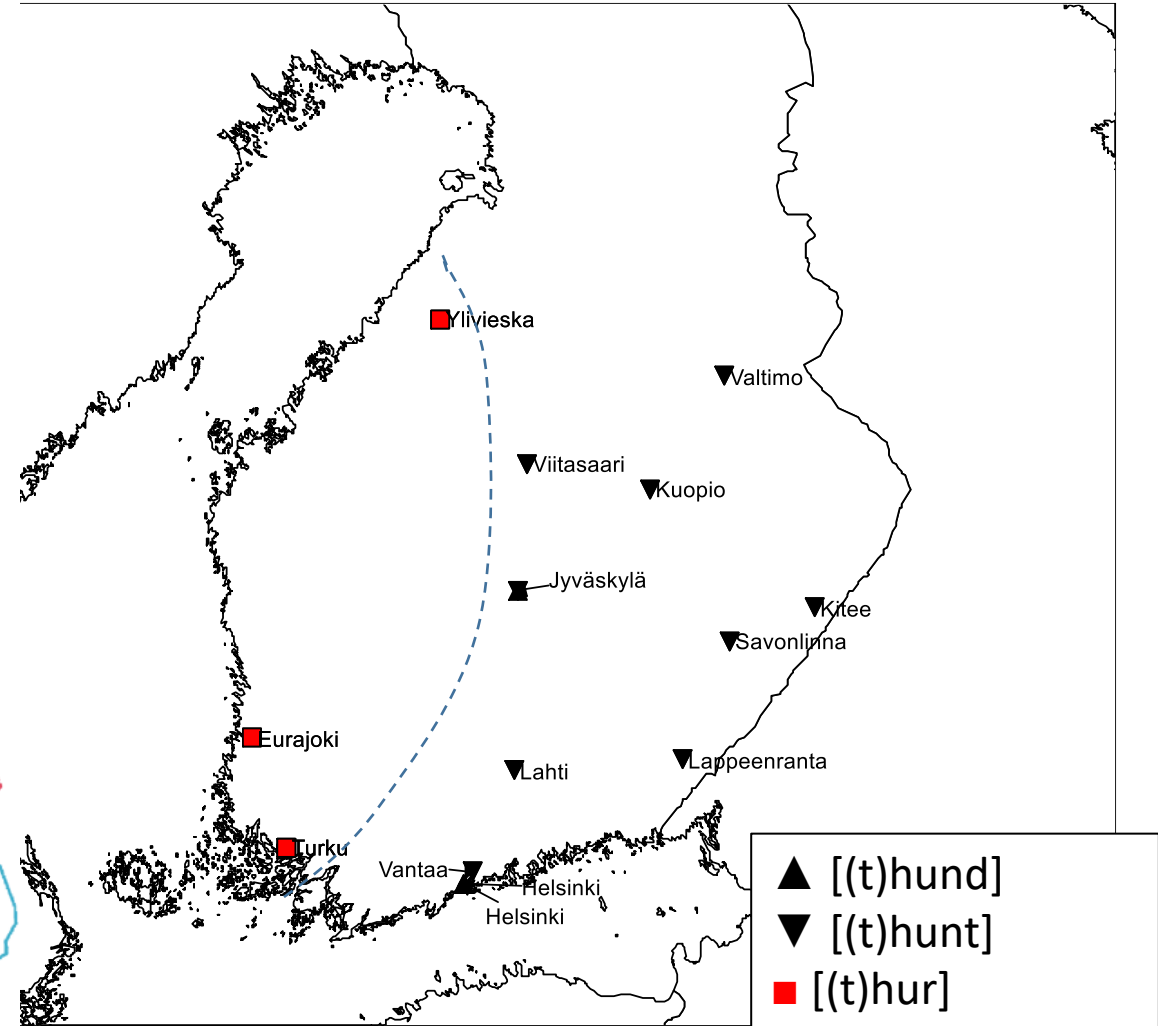
Phonology: West-specific innovations (3)

Final /d/ > /r/, in contact with Finnish dialects

- Documented: from dialectological point of view Granqvist 2002; 2007



Map 6. Realizations of /d/ in Finnish dialects (<http://www.kotus.fi/files/580/dentaalispirantti.gif>)

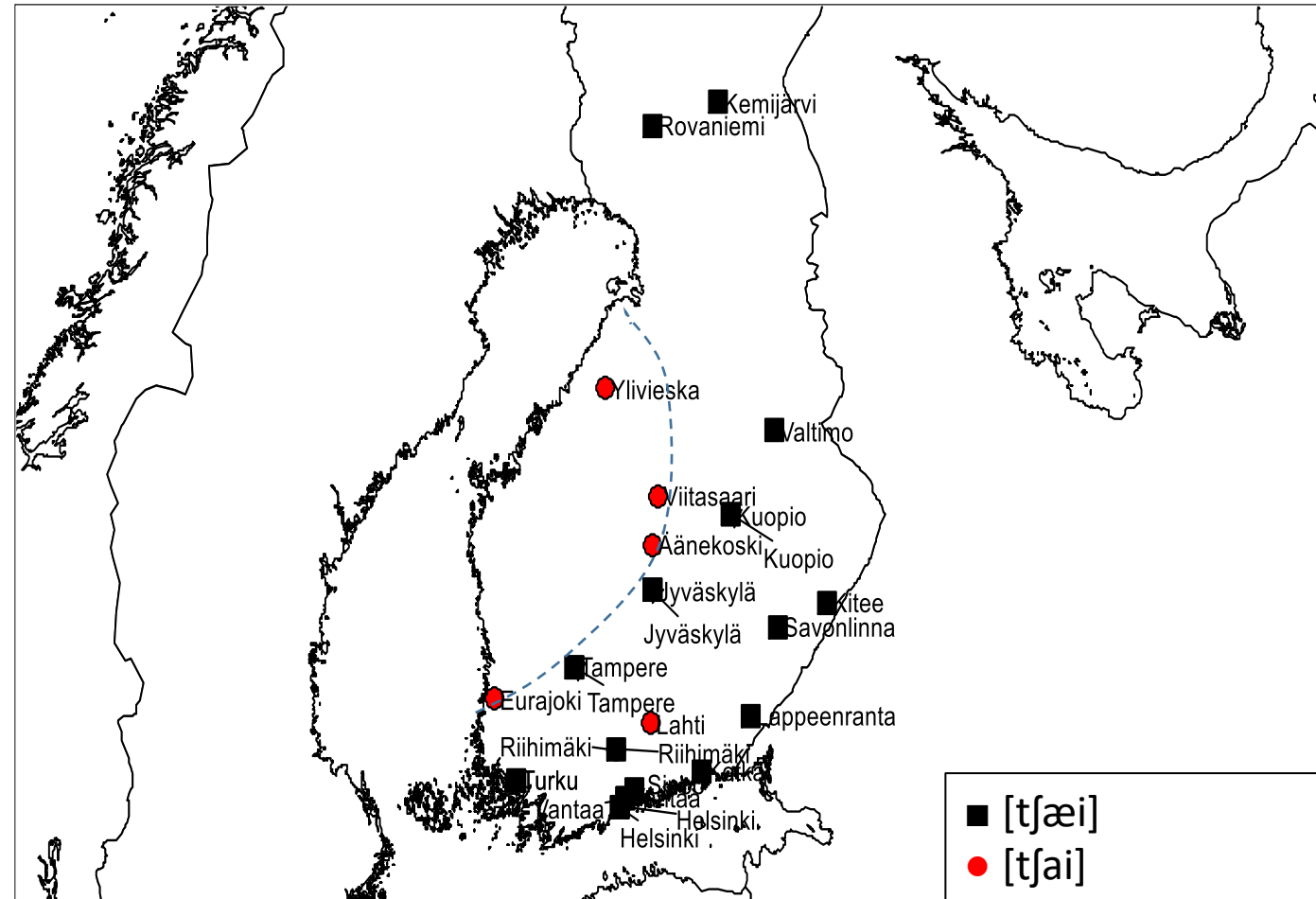


Map 7. /d/ in *thud* 'milk'.

Phonology: Eastern innovation

Fronting of /a/ > /æ/ in front of /i/ (/ai/ > /æi/)

- Perhaps a regressive assimilation similar to vowel harmony, cf. also *čhej*, *dej* in other Romani dialects.
- Documented: Valtonen 1968; Pirttisaari 2002; geographical distribution Granqvist 2002, 2007

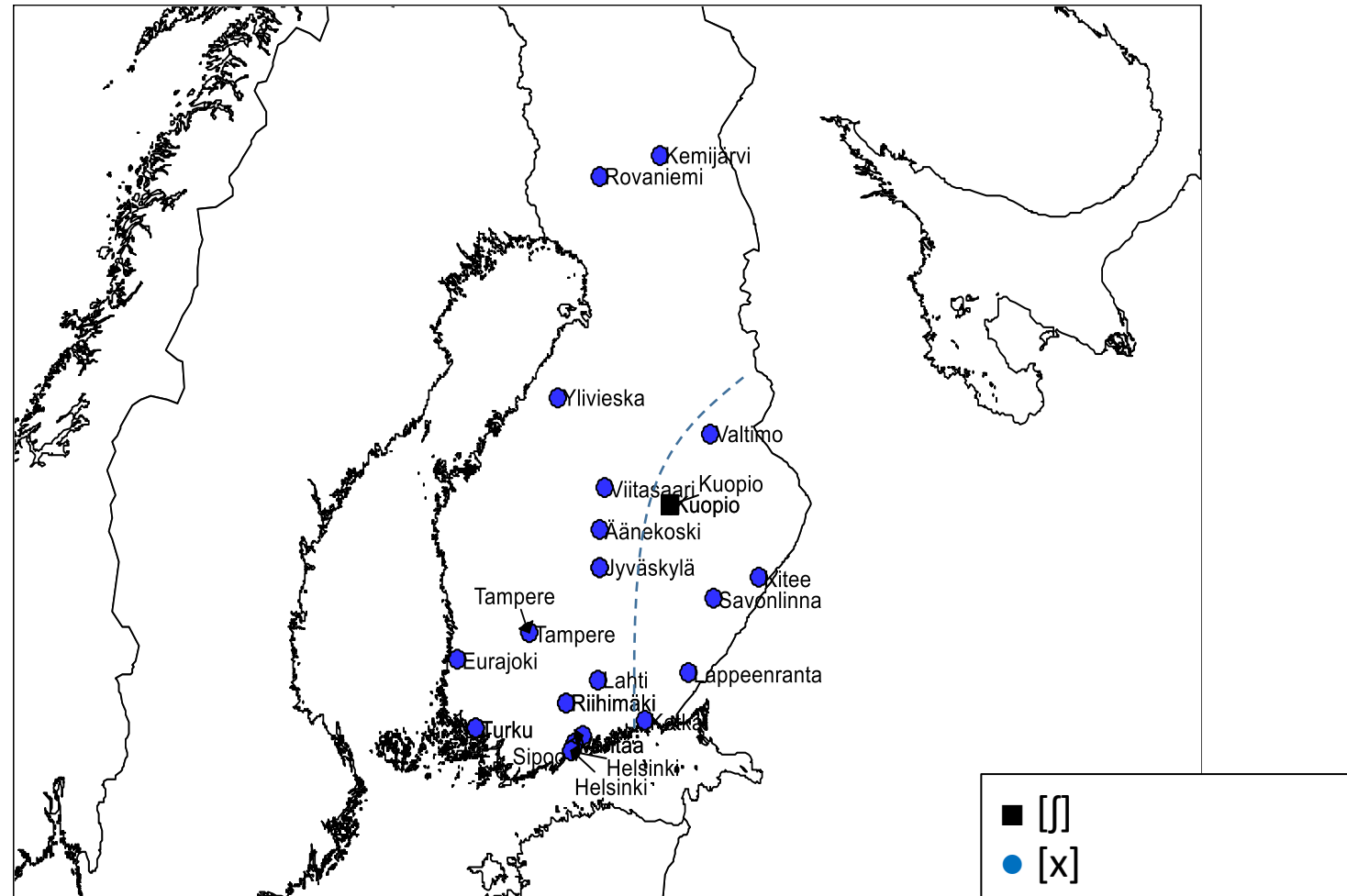


Map 8. /ai/ in *čhaj* 'girl'.

Phonology: Eastern conservativisms (1)

/ʃ/ retained

- Sound change /ʃ/ > /x/ possibly induced by contact with Swedish (Matras 2002: 52).
- Sound change /ʃ/ > /x/ started during the 18th-19th centuries; **currently /ʃ/ is retained sporadically in Eastern Finland**
- Documented: Jalkio 1913: 6; (Valtonen 1968: 98); geographical distribution Granqvist 2002, 2007

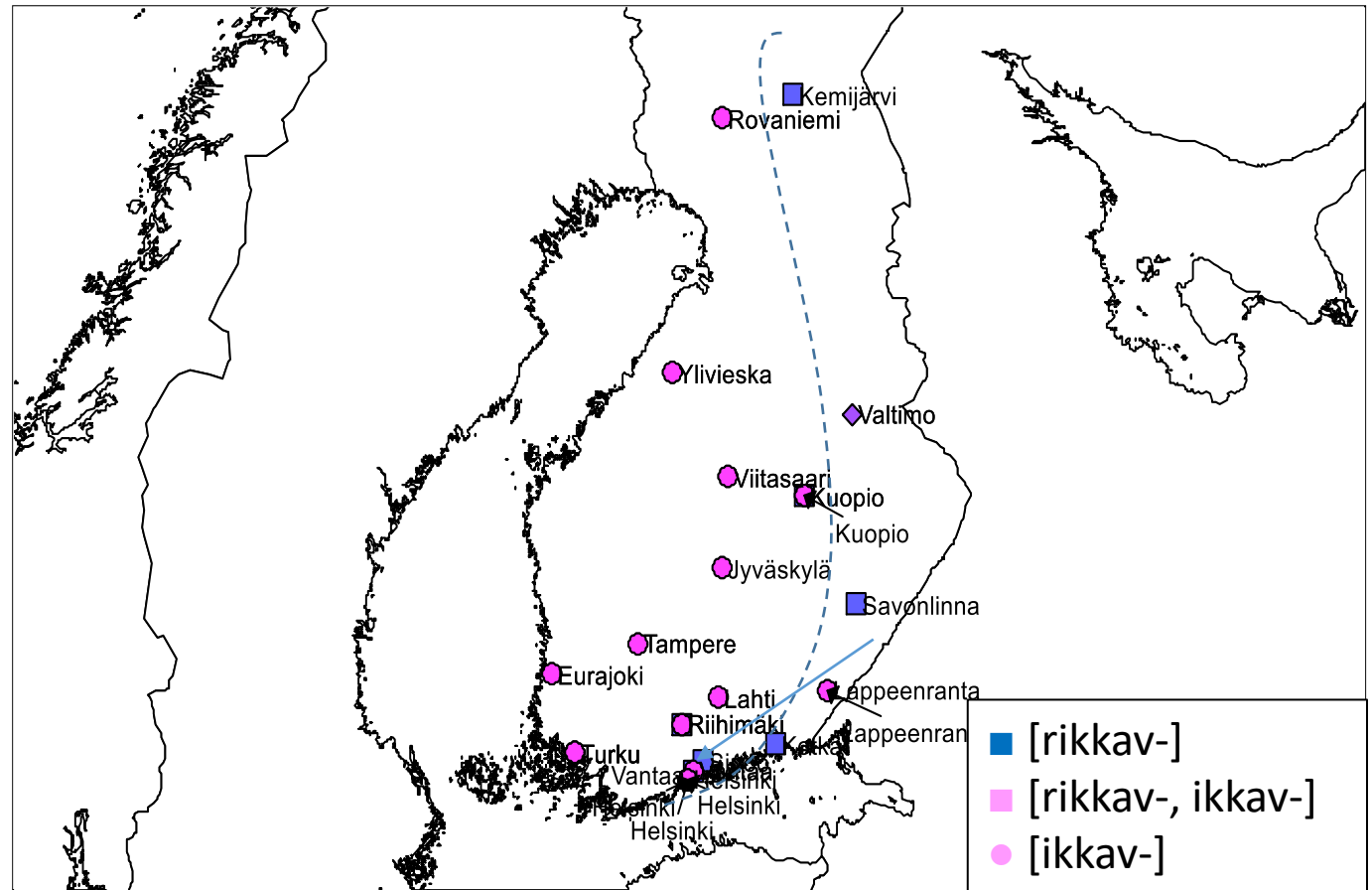


Map 9. /ʃ/ > /x/.

Phonology: Eastern conservativisms (2)

Initial /r/ retained

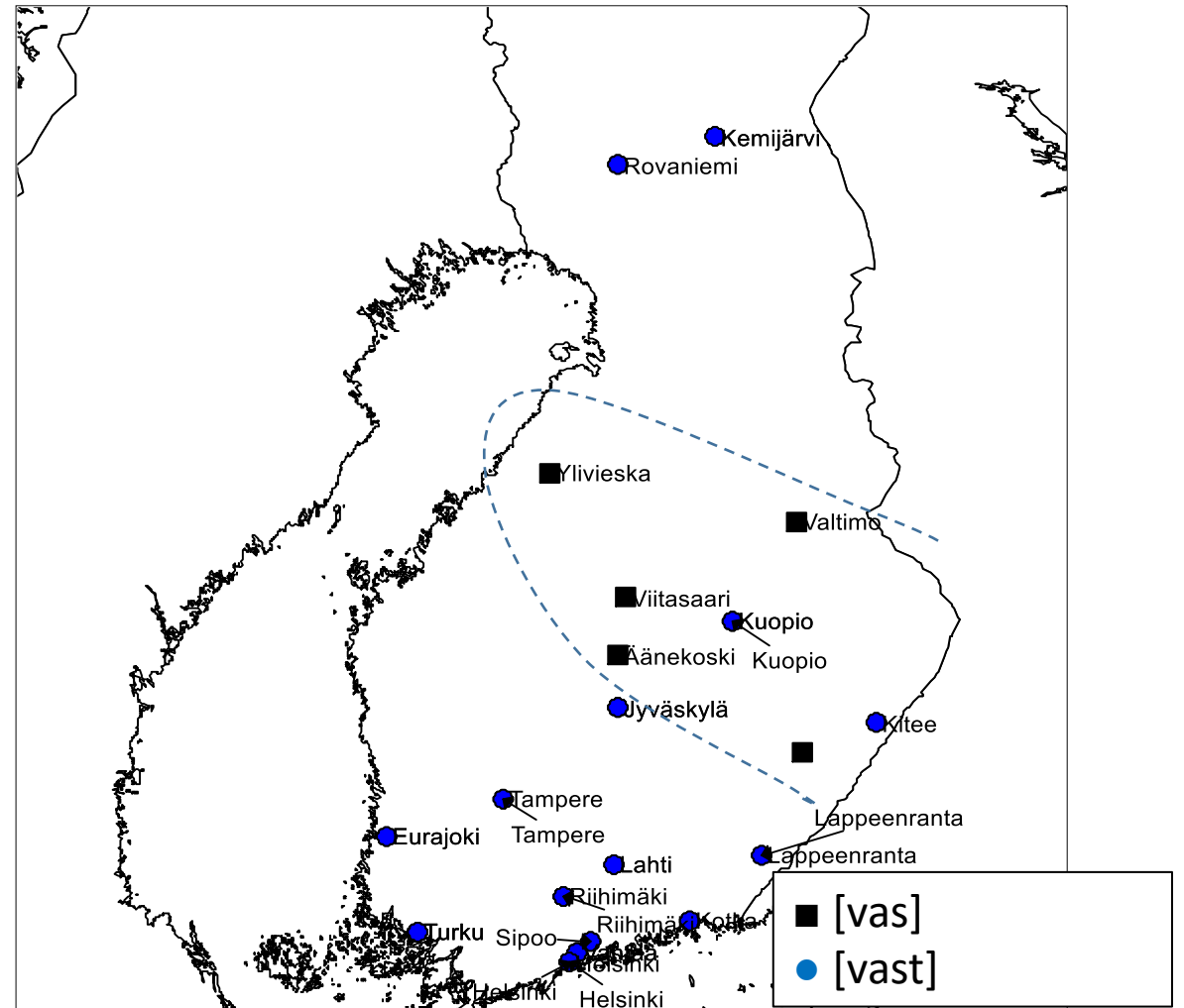
- Documented: Granqvist 2002, 2007; **geographical distribution not studied**
- The loss of /r/ is limited to a few lexemes/roots: *rakk-av-* 'to speak', *rikk-av-* 'to hold', *rig-av-* 'to transport'



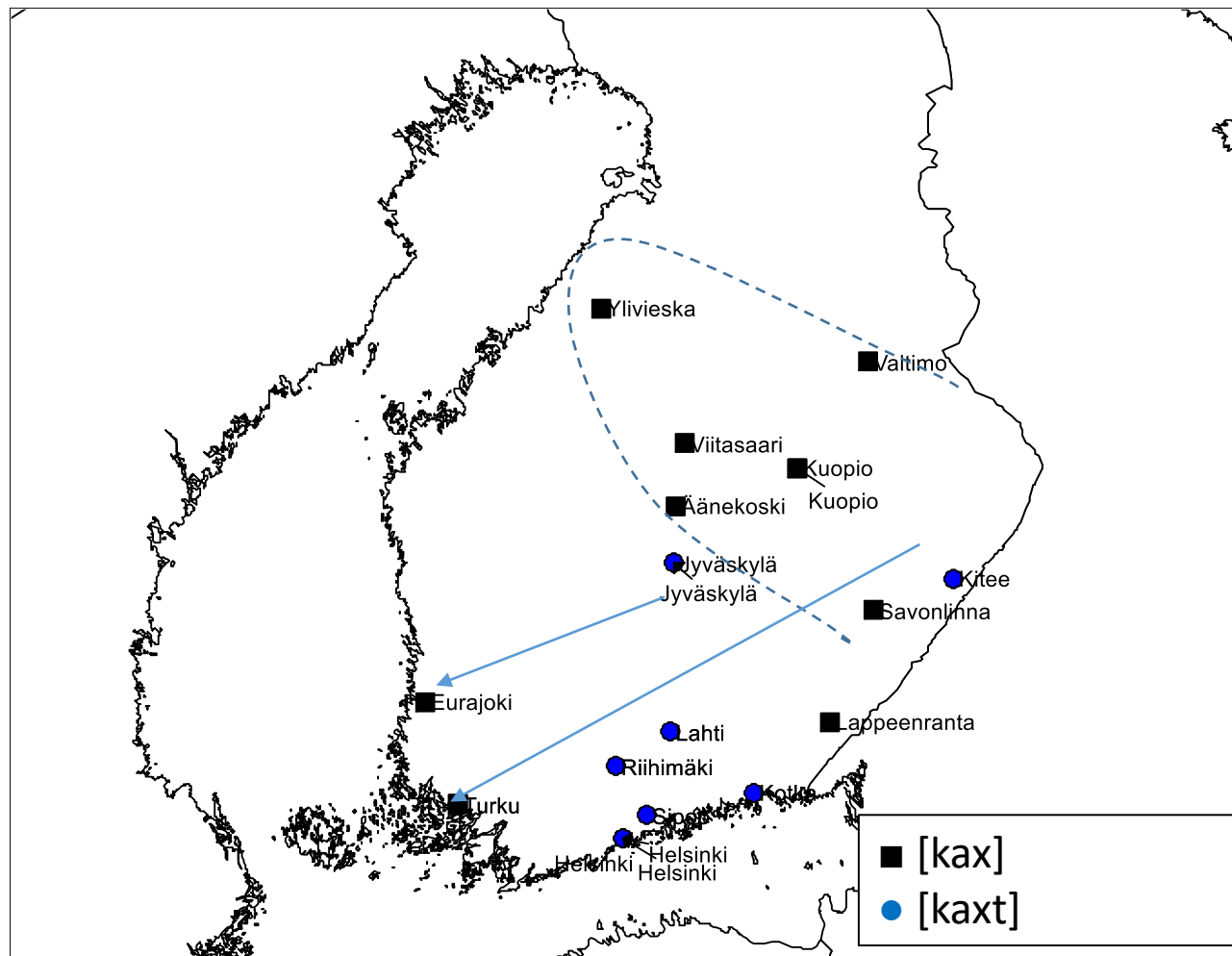
Phonology: another areal feature? (1)

Simplification of final clusters /st/, /xt/, /mb/, /ŋg/, /nd/

- Documented: Granqvist 2007, **geographical distribution not studied**
- Cf. also Boretzky 2002.



Phonology: another areal feature? (2)



Map 12. Final cluster simplification in *kaxt* 'tree'.

FR dialectology and lexicon (1)

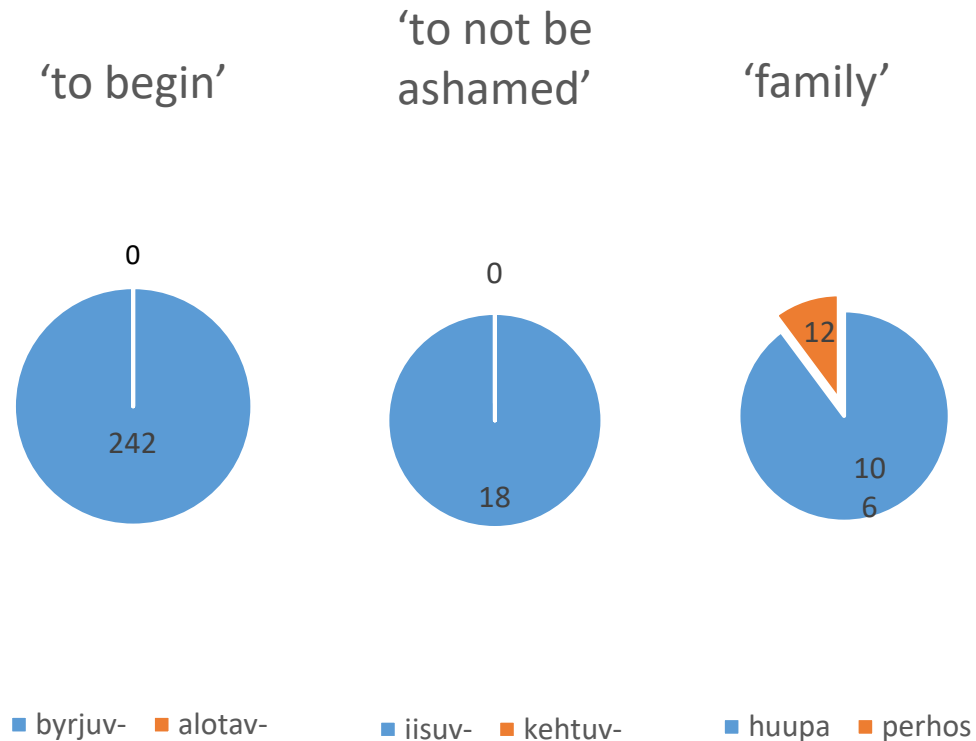
- (cf. Valtonen 1968: 246-250):



	West (etymologies Valtonen 1972)	East
'to begin'	<i>bürjuv-</i> < Sw. dial (Finn.) <i>byri</i> (~ old Sw. <i>byria</i> , Mod. Sw. <i>börja</i>)	<i>alotav-</i> < Finn. <i>aloittaa</i> and <i>alkaa</i> 'to begin'
'not to be ashamed'	<i>i:suv-</i> < Sw. dial. (Sw.; Finn.) <i>is, iss</i> , Mod. Sw. <i>idas</i> (a new borrowing).	<i>kehtuv-</i> < Finn. <i>kehdata</i> 'not to be ashamed'
'to knit'	<i>ve:vav-</i> < Germ.; ~ Middle Low German <i>weve</i> , Mod. Dan. <i>væv</i> , Mod. Sw. <i>väv</i> tissue'	<i>kutav-</i> < Finn. <i>kutoa</i> 'to knit'
'family'	<i>hu:pa</i> < Mod. Sw. <i>hop</i>	<i>perhos</i> < Finn. <i>perhe</i> 'family'
'agreement'	<i>xømsiba</i> < Mod. Sw <i>sams, sämjas</i>	<i>sopiba</i> < Finn. <i>sopia</i> 'to agree'

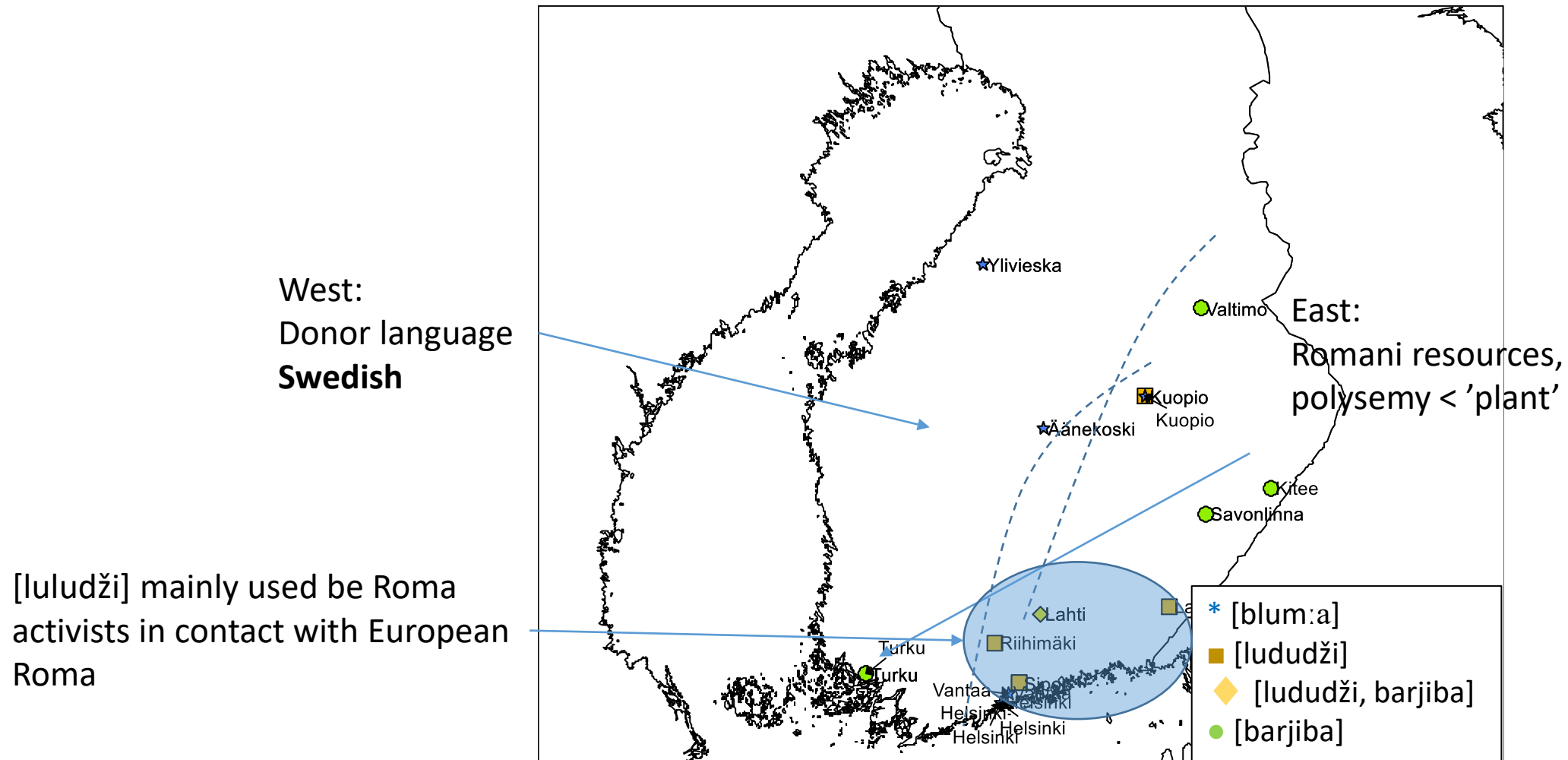
FR dialectology and lexicon (2)

- However, the Finnish-based Western lexemes are today rarely used; mostly not followable. Many of the Swedish-based lexemes are in use even in the East, lexical leveling.



Source: Spoken Romani corpus at the Institute for the Languages of Finland, 168 000 words.

Lexicon (1)



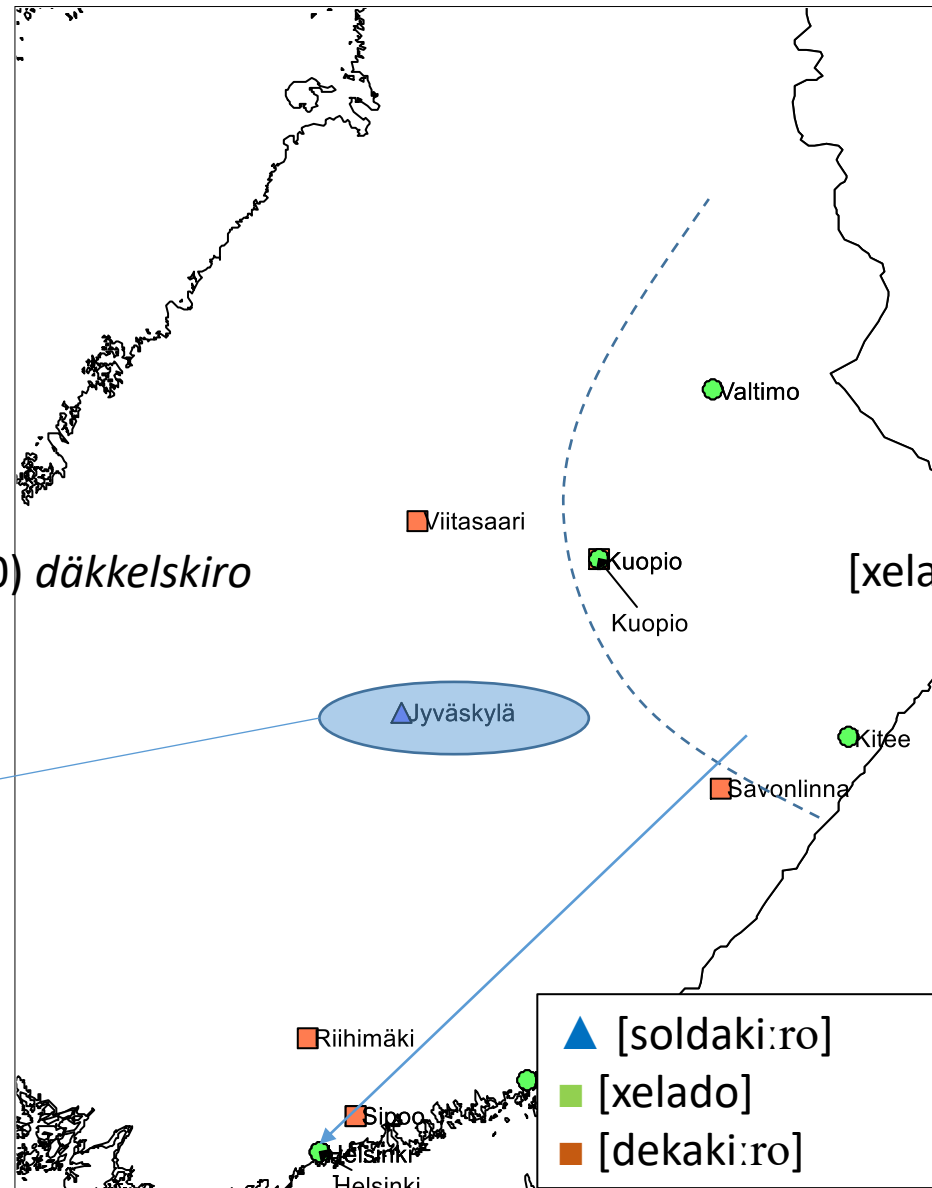
Map 13. 'Flower'.

Lexicon (2)

[soldaki:ro] neologism < Sw. soldat

[dekaki:ro] cf. Sundt (1850) *däkkelskiro*

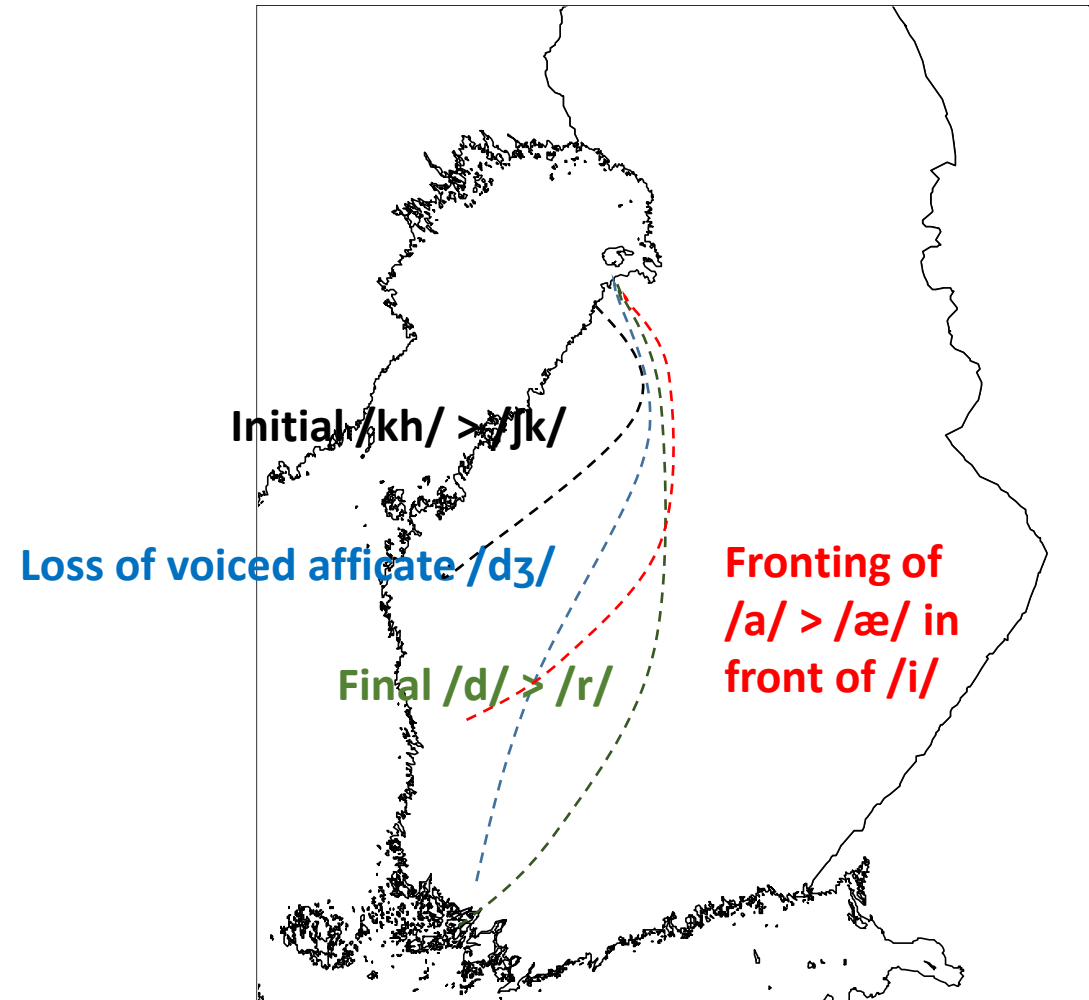
[xelado] cf. Xaladytko *xalado*



Map 14. 'Soldier'.

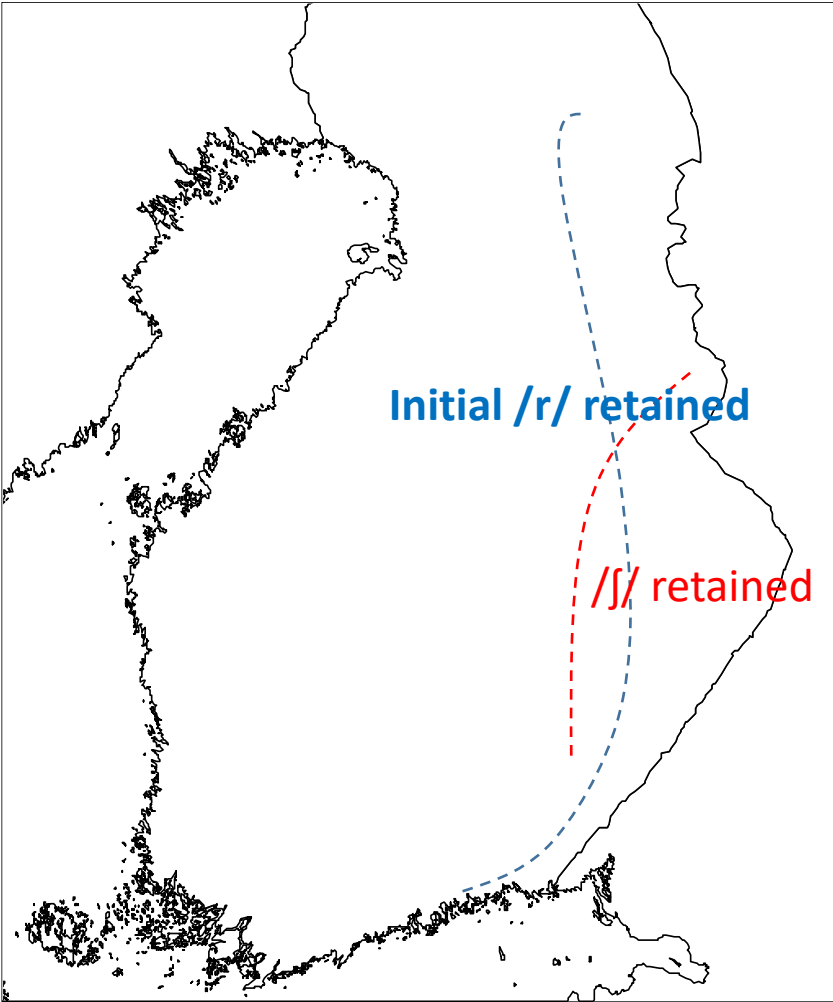
To conclude: west-east subdivision

- **Innovations:**
- Note: preliminary, more data will be added to achieve a more accurate picture
- Don't take these isoglosses to seriously yet... they are tentative, but give an idea.



Map 15. West-east subdivision, tentative isoglosses.

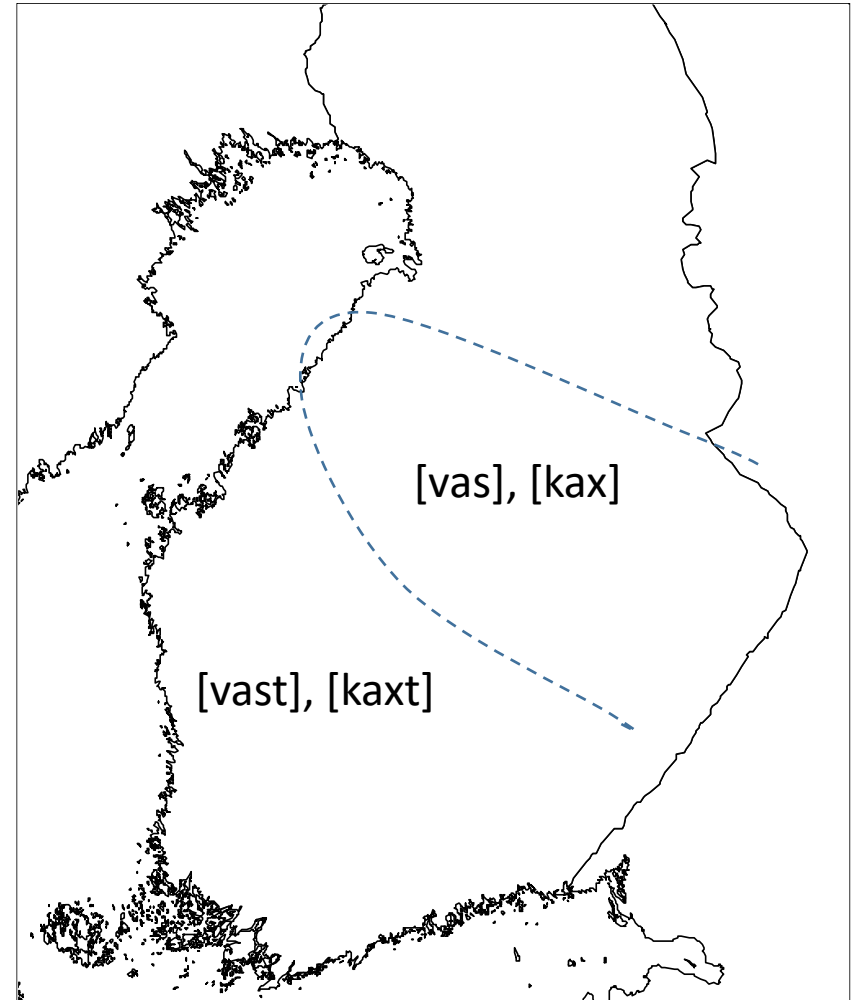
To conclude: conservative features in the East



Map 16. Conservative features in the East, tentative isoglosses.

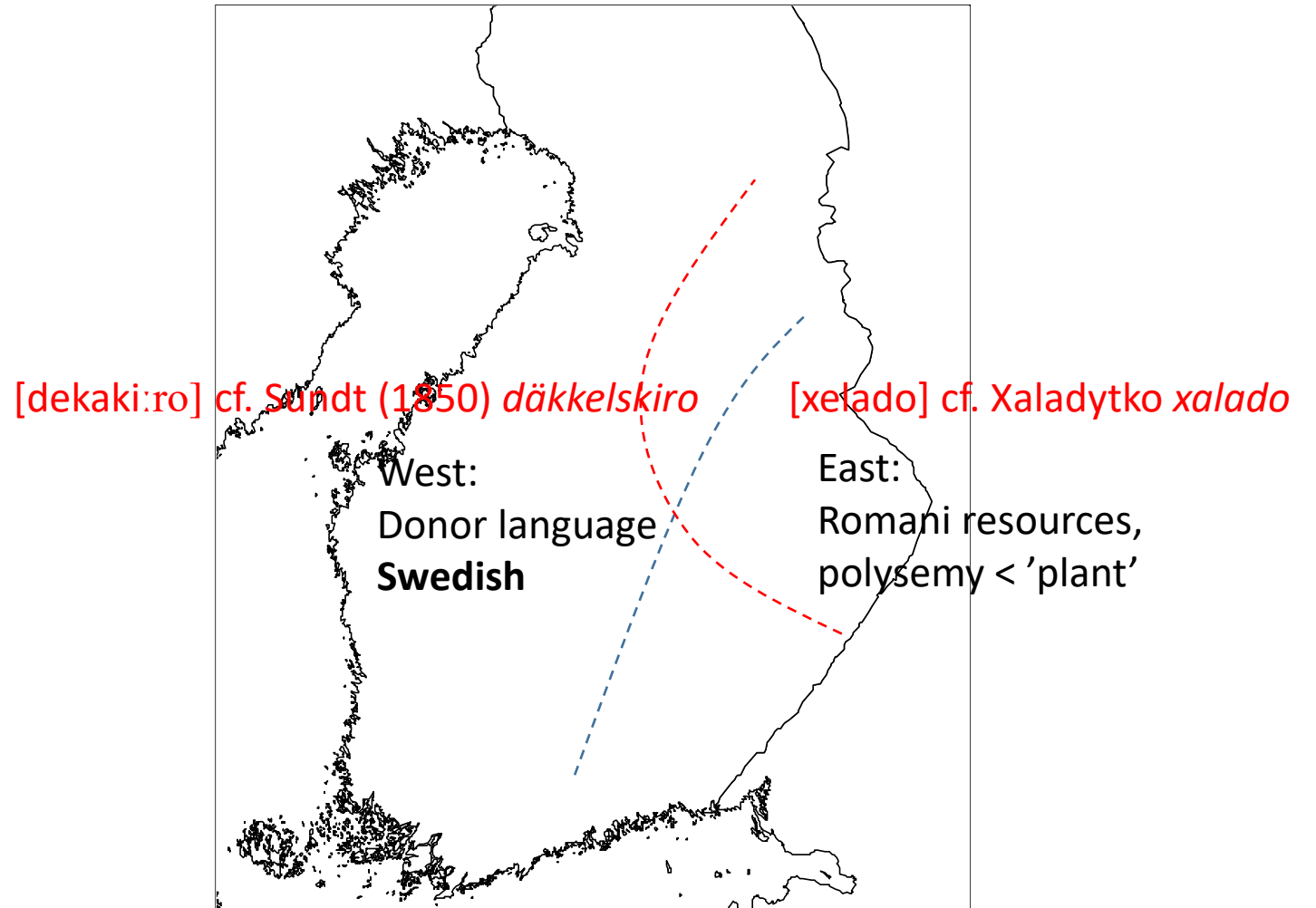
To conclude: another areal feature?

- **Simplification of final clusters /st/, /xt/, /mb/, /ŋg/, /nd/**



Map 17. Simplification of final clusters, tentative isoglosses.

To conclude: lexicon



Map 18. Tendencies in the lexicon, tentative isoglosses.

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