

# **Finnish Romani in the periphery of northern dialects**

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# Models of dialectology

- genetic (most recently Bakker 1999; Boretzky & Iglá 2004)
- based on geographical diffusion (Matras 2002, 2005):
  - In the models based on geographical diffusion, centre-periphery thinking is central:
    - Innovations emerge in the centers
    - They spread gradually from language community to another towards the periphery.
    - They do not necessarily spread out symmetrically from the centre to the periphery
    - Their spreading may be hindered or slowed down by natural, political or religious boundaries as well as differences in prestige.

# Finland as a periphery(1)

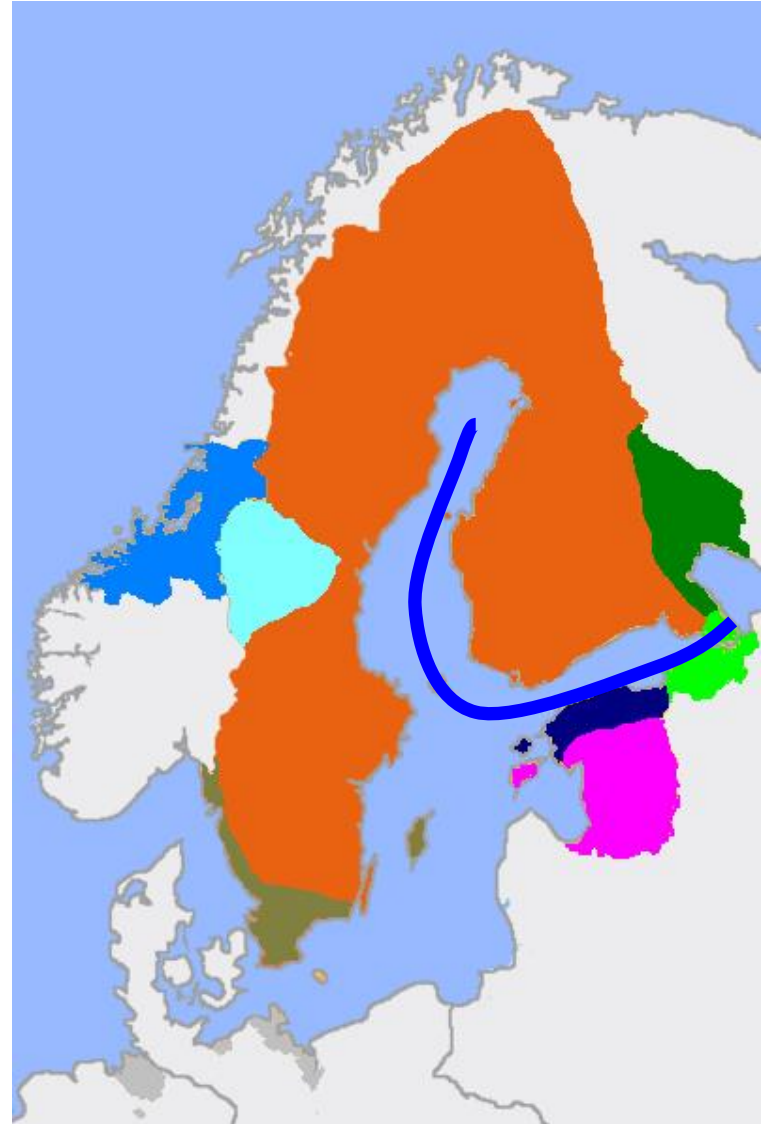
- The northern innovation center is located in the German-speaking areas of NW Europe (Matras 2002: 9).
- Finland constitutes a geographically isolated periphery:
  - Far away from the innovation center of the dialect group
  - Gulf of Finland, Gulf of Bothnia as natural boundaries (marked with a blue line in the maps that will follow)
  - Various political boundaries

# Finland as a periphery(2)

## Sweden in 1658

([http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cd/Sweden\\_in\\_1658.PNG](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cd/Sweden_in_1658.PNG))

- The first Roma were attested in Finland in 1559
- a large-scale movement of Roma to Karelia (Eastern Finland) first 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.)



# Finland as a periphery(3)

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

([http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/7b/Meyers\\_b14\\_s0080a.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/7b/Meyers_b14_s0080a.jpg))

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



# Typically northern innovations and conservative features in FR

- From the center in German-speaking areas of NW Europe many typically northern innovations have spread out:
  - many of them are characteristic for Finnish Romani, too:
    - the elision of light initial syllable, e.g. **maal** 'friend', **khaar-** 'to call', **sa-** 'to laugh' (c.f. South **amal** , **akhar-**, **asa-**),
    - initial jotation in certain lexical items, e.g. **jaaro** 'egg', **jou** 'he', **joi** 'she', **joon** 'they' (c.f. South **varo**, **vov**, **voj**)
    - loss of suppletion in the Oblique of **koon** 'who' (FR **koones** vs. South **kas**)
    - **ṇḍř** > r, e.g. **aṇḍřo** > **jaaro** 'egg' **maṇḍřo** > **maaro** 'bread'
- Conservative features:
  - lack of prothetic a: **bjau** (South **abjav** 'wedding')
  - lack of palatalization in **dives** (South **džes** 'day')

(Matras 2002: 9, 2005: 14-15.)

# Northern innovations not found/late attested in FR

- loss of ablative preposition **katar**
- loss of participial preterites such as **džeelo** 'gone', **aulo/veelo** 'come', **diilo** 'given; gave', **liilo** 'got', **muulo** 'died'
- **s -> s/h** alternation
- Periphery is in these cases more conservative than the center

# Loss of ablative preposition **katar**

- Prevalence of synthetic case marking:
  - **katar/katte** are mentioned in a few word-lists of FR
- not attested in sources of modern FR
- ablative is always marked using Ablative case (similarly to NE dialects); there are no analytical means to express it
- cf. Sinti: ER ablative preposition **andral** is lost, preposition **für** same been borrowed from German
  - used in different kinds of ablative constructions  
(Tenser 2008: 280.)



# Loss of thematic participles Pret. 3pl forms (1)

- Northern dialects have generally lost participial preterites (e.g. **gelo/geli** 'he/she went') (Matras 2005: 15)
- Retained optionally in FR:
  - in verbs of motion (**aulo** '(he) came' (sometimes **veelo** (S)) and **džeelo** '(he) went')
  - a few other verbs (**diilo** 'given; gave', **liilo** 'got', **piilo** 'drunk', **muulo** 'died'),
  - but not **aahto** 'been', **behto** 'sat' ja **nahto** 'escaped' that only are adnominally used;
  - **pelo** 'fell down', **rundlo** 'cried' ja **suto** 'slept' are not used in FR
  - **Hierarchy: verbs of motion > meer- 'to die' > other verbs**

# Loss of thematic participles Pret. 3pl forms (2)

- Always occur along with 3sg forms **–as**:
- Sources:
  - spoken language (2000-2001)
  - various written sources (1960s-**2001**)

Verb	Participial preterite	Non-participial
<b>(a)v-</b> 'to come'	345 ( <b>aulo</b> : 330, <b>auli</b> : 2, <b>veelo</b> 13)	9 ( <b>aujas</b> : 6, <b>avjas</b> 1, <b>veijas</b> 1)
<b>dža-</b> 'to go'	217 ( <b>džeelo</b> : 216, <b>džeeli</b> : 2)	1 ( <b>veijas</b> )
<b>d-</b> 'to give'	5 ( <b>diilo</b> )	138 ( <b>dijjas</b> )
<b>l-</b> 'to get; to take'	2 ( <b>liilo</b> )	112 ( <b>liijas</b> )
<b>pi-</b> 'to drink'	1 ( <b>piilo</b> )	6 ( <b>piijas</b> )
<b>meer-</b> 'to die'	87 ( <b>muulo</b> : 85, <b>muuli</b> : 2)	72 ( <b>muulidas</b> : 13, <b>multas</b> : 1, <b>merdas</b> : 58)

# s/h alternation in FR

- goes back to the ER (Matras 2002: 68)
  - NE dialects only have forms with **s**
  - Sinti has mainly forms in **h**. (Matras 1999d; Tenser 2008: 272–273.)
- FR has undergone a diachronic change from mostly having forms in **s** into a dialect, in which **s** and **h** alternate:
  - in the present tense of the copula **s-/h-**
    - Pres. 3p. **si(n)** was far more frequently used in 18th and early 19th century written sources of FR than **hi(n)**
    - Modern written and spoken sources: almost exclusively **hin**
  - paradigms of lexical verbs
    - All late 18th and 19th century sources of FR suggest that **s** remained; forms in **h** were rare
    - Thesleff's (1901) verb paradigms & all modern sources: exclusively forms in **h**
  - and instrumental cases of nominals
    - the change is far from completed.
    - **s** is regularly retained in the instrumentals of abstract nouns and often in pronouns
  - not in the preterite of **s-/h-** and interrogative pronouns

# FR-specific innovations (not contact-induced)

Feature	FR	Sinti
Nasal leakage exhibited by voiced stops	<b>jag &gt; jang</b> [jaŋk] 'fire'	<b>jag</b>
Loss of initial r-	<b>rakkav-/akkav-</b> 'puhua'	<b>rakr-</b>
Affrication and metathesis of <b>kh</b>	<b>kher &gt; škeer</b> 'house' (idiolects.)	<b>kher</b>
<b>Loss of Locative case</b>	<b>No &gt; yes</b>	<b>no</b>
<b>Suffix of abstract nouns</b>	<b>-pa (found in Swedish Romani, too)</b>	<b>-ben</b>
<b>Non-suppletive inflection of abstract nouns</b>	<b>Yes &gt; no</b>	<b>-?</b>
<b>Oblique case of adjective modifiers</b>	<b>Yes &gt; no</b>	<b>yes</b>
Vowel in non-participial preterite	<b>-i-: traadidas</b> 'drive-Pret.3sg', <b>rannidom</b> 'write-Pret.1sg' (but <b>ranlo</b> )	no
<b>Pret Pl = Pret Sg</b>	<b>Idiolects</b>	<b>no</b>

# FR-specific innovations: loss of Locative case

1. Preposition + Locative	2. Zero preposition + Locative	3. Nominative replaces Locative
19th-20th century	20th century	Modern FR
<b>jou laagina koola ape kentoste</b> 'he puts clothes on the child' (PV), <b>are vaurenje tšhērene</b> 'in the other houses' (PV) .	<b>rankani phuujaate vaa</b> 'I go to the beautiful town' (PV), <b>ma djaa gaaveste</b> 'I go to the village' (PV)	<b>Me džaa (aro) gau</b> 'I go to the village'

## Non-suppletive inflection of abstract nouns (1)

- In FR, both deverbal and denominal abstract nouns are derived using the same suffix **-ba** (**-i-ba** with a binding vowel, e.g. . **rakkiba** ‘speech’, **dukkiba** ‘illness’, **looliba** ‘redness’).
  - A similar suffix **-pa** has been documented in other Scandinavian Romani dialects in Sweden and Norway (Rejsende), though in small number of lexicalizations (Peter Bakker, p.c. Feb 3, 2003)
  - Suffix **-ben** that only forms deverbal nominalizations is unproductive and combines with only a few primary verbs.
- Abstract nouns in **-ba-** inflect regularly (e.g.. **duurib-a** ‘distance’, **-os-**, **-i**, **-on-**). The case paradigms bears a resemblance of Polska Roma, in which the Oblique is regular (**durepas-** ‘distance-Obl.Sg) (RMS)

## Non-suppletive inflection of abstract nouns (2)

- Only traces suppletion are found in FR:
  - **bipimnaskiio** ‘sober’, **dimnasikiio** ‘giver’, **džamnaskiio** ‘wanderer’, **džimnaskiio** ‘life-long’, **pimnaskiba** ‘intoxication’, **samnasko** ‘ridiculous’ and **hamnaskiio** ‘food’

# Contact-induced changes

- Structural influence of Finnish language on Romani is visible since the latter half of the 19th century,
- suggesting that first at that time, Finnish was the linguistically dominant language of the Roma. No other close contact language has had such a deep influence on FR as Finnish.
  - Germanic influence has been predominantly phonological (quantity-sensitivity, **š** > **x** (**šeel** > **hheel** 'hundred') and lexical.
- The latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century:
  - phonological imposition:
    - during that period were adopted a Finnish-like vowel harmony and svarabhakti vowel, and long vowels were diphthongized
  - 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 of typological changes in FR.
    - categories and oppositions not found in Finnish have been lost
  - transfer of lexical items from Finnish has been extremely limited in contrast to the influence of Scandinavian languages
  - in particular in the 20th century, increasing use of Finnish morphological exponents: secondary cases > oblique > verb forms
- Decreasing use of Romani (in particular after WWII)



# Contact-induced changes: shared with NE dialects

- A later contact-induced development was the loss of definite determiners **o**, **i**, **e**.
  - Definite determiners occurred regularly still during the 19th century, but were mostly lost at the beginning of the 20th century (sporadically still used).
  - **douva** 'it' has become functionally determiner-like
- Specific location deictics/demonstratives in **k-** are lost/rare
  - FR retained still at the turn of the 20th century, all four permutations of location deictics and demonstratives in **k-/d-** and carrier vowels **-a/-o-**.
  - The short specific proximate demonstrative **(a)ka** 'this' has remained in use, but the long form **(a)kava** disappeared. The specific remote **(kouva** 'that') occurs, but is very rare.
- full modifier agreement
  - **Hierarchy: demonstrative > adjective > indefinite + noun**  
**(doolesta siivesta** 'it-Obl.Sg-Abl non-Rom-Obl.Sg-Abl' (SP), **dola phuranesko komujesko neer** 'it-Obl.Sg old-Obl.Sg-Gen-M person-Obl.Sg-Gen-M near' (SP), **phuranengo kaalengo** 'old-Obl.PI-Gen-M Rom-Obl.PI-Gen-M' (SP); **saaronenge israelinge** 'all-Obl.PI-Dat Israeli-Obl.PI-Dat' (RB) ; **sakkonengo džeenengo** 'every-Obl.PI-Gen-M man-Obl.PI-Gen-M' (S), **tšekken kaalen** 'any-Obl.PI Rom-Obl.PI.' (S)

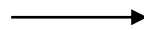
# Contact-induced changes: FR specific - “The great reconstruction of verbal system”

18th-19th Century

Indicative

Present:

tšeereha 'you do'



Modern FR

Indicative

Present:

tšeereha 'you do'

Conditional

Present:

tšeerehas 'you would do'

Imperfect:

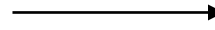
tšeerehas 'you did'

Morphological aspect was lost

Analytic past tenses do due to contact with Finnish

preterite/Aorist

tšerdal 'do did'



preterite/Aorist/Imperfect:

tšerdal(las) 'you did'

Perfect:

sal tšerdal(las)  
'you have done'

Perfect:

aaňhelas tšerdal(las)  
'you would have done'

Pluperfect:

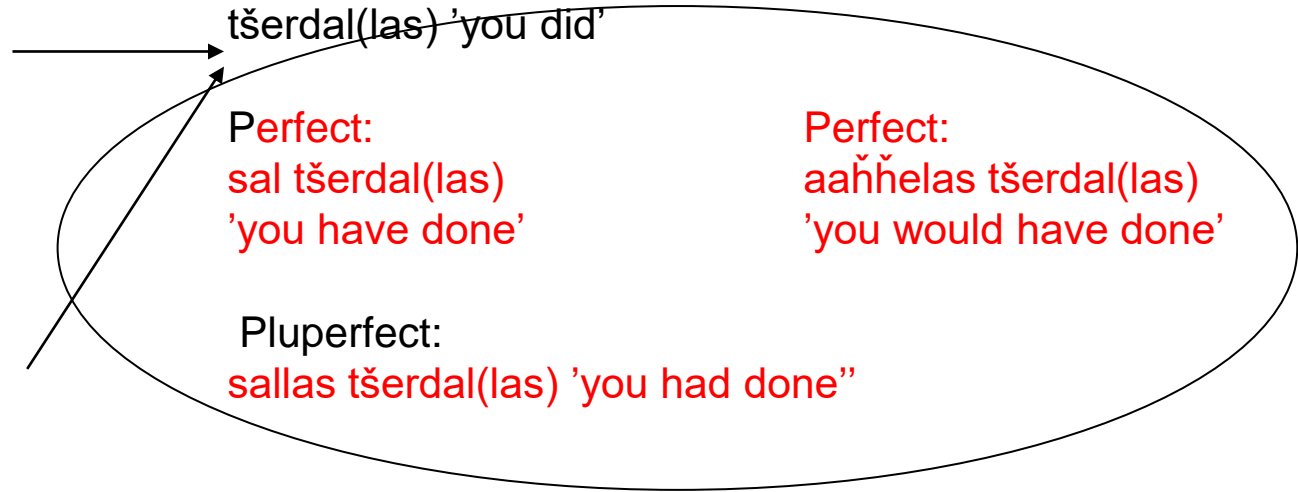
tšerdallas

'you had done'



Pluperfect:

sallas tšerdal(las) 'you had done'



# Summary

- FR in periphery:
  - Sinti innovations have not reached it/have reached late:
    - loss of ablative preposition **katar**, loss of participial preterites, **s -> s/h** alternation
  - A number of FR-specific innovations (not contact-induced):
    - loss of Locative case, loss of non-suppletive inflection of abstract nouns, loss of Oblique case of adjective modifiers
  - A number of FR-specific changes induced by the contact with Finnish

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