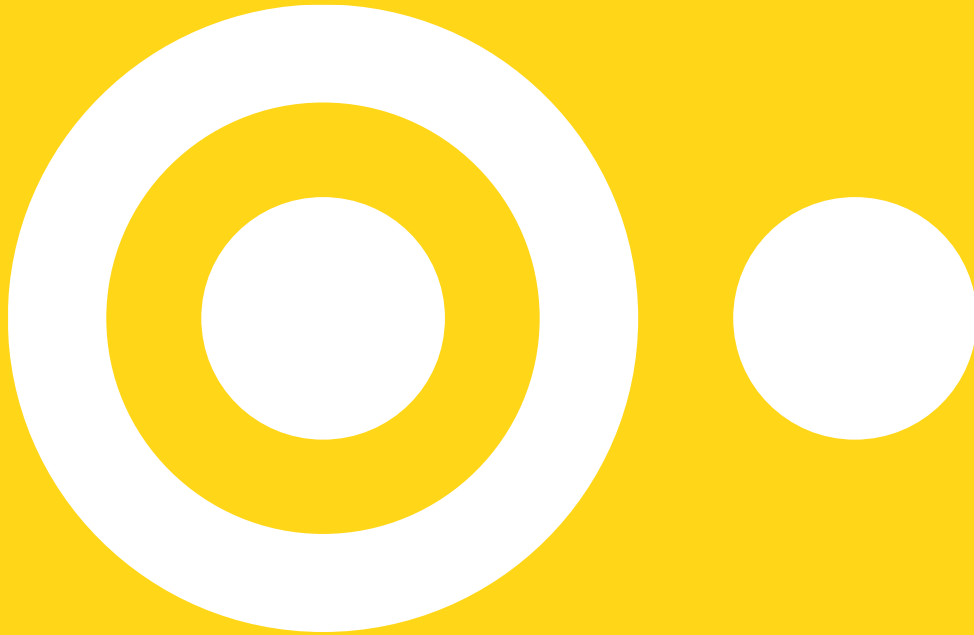


# Swedish Finnish kaló



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# Outline

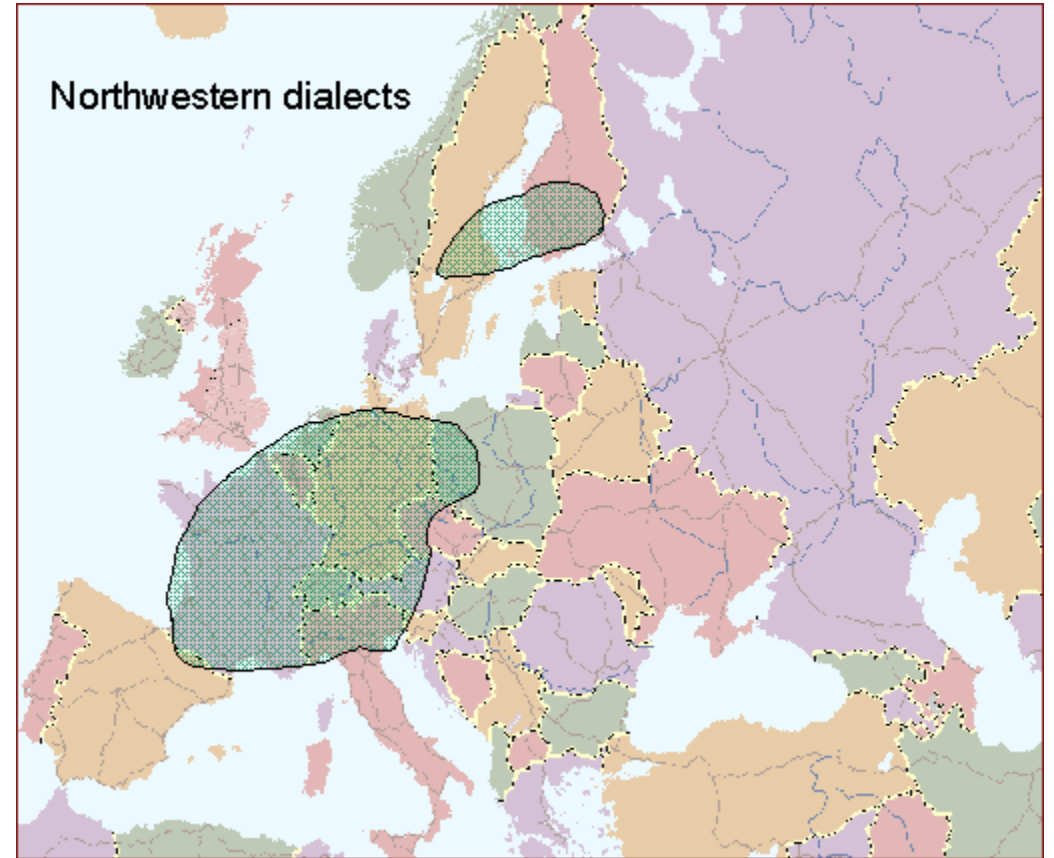
- Finnish Roma
- Romani groups in Sweden
- Sociolinguistic situation of Finnish kaló in Sweden
- Two competing Kaló varieties having official use in Sweden
- Two competing Kaló varieties having official use in Sweden
- Open questions

# Finnish Roma

- Roma had arrived to Finland in small groups from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards.
- Their migration routes have been under debate (Miklosich 1872–1880 iii:36; Thesleff 1901, 1904; Vehmas 1961: 53; Kopsa-Schön 1996: 60) .
- Today, in Finland, the Roma population is approximately 10,000 (National Board of Romani Affairs 2003)
  - Finnish legislation (22.4.1999/523) prohibits compiling statistics disaggregated by ethnicity, except when certain conditions (data subject's consent, etc.) are fulfilled
- While the Roma live scattered around the country, about half of the Finnish Roma live in Southern Finland.
- Problems in housing, employment, education and access to public services.

# Finnish Romani / Kaló

- According to a consensus classification grid of Romani dialects, Finnish Romani (FR) belongs to NW dialect group (together with Sinti) of the meta-group of Northern Romani dialects (Bakker 1999).
- FR shares conservatisms and innovations that characterize other Romani dialects.



[https://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/whatis/classification/dialect\\_classify.shtml](https://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/whatis/classification/dialect_classify.shtml)

# Romani groups in Sweden

- In Sweden, estimates of the number of Travellers and Roma vary between 35,000-100,000 (CoE minimum estimate 35,000, maximum estimate 65,000, average estimate 50,000)

The **Swedish Travellers** (numbering about half of the Swedish Roma), presence in Sweden has been documented since 1512.

Migration of **Finnish Kaale** to Sweden, since the late 1950s

Currently 3000-5000

A large-scale Romani migration to Sweden has taken place since the 1990s as an outcome of the **Balkan troubles**

Different **Vlax Roma** (known as the 'Swedish Roma') migrated to Sweden during the 19th and 20th centuries.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Roma originating from **France, Spain, Poland, Russia, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia**

Finnish Roma have become a minority among Roma in Sweden, culturally and linguistically marginalised

# Romani groups in Sweden



Largest Romani groups in Sweden:

- Travellers (Resande)
- Kalderash
- Lovara
- Arli
- Kalé

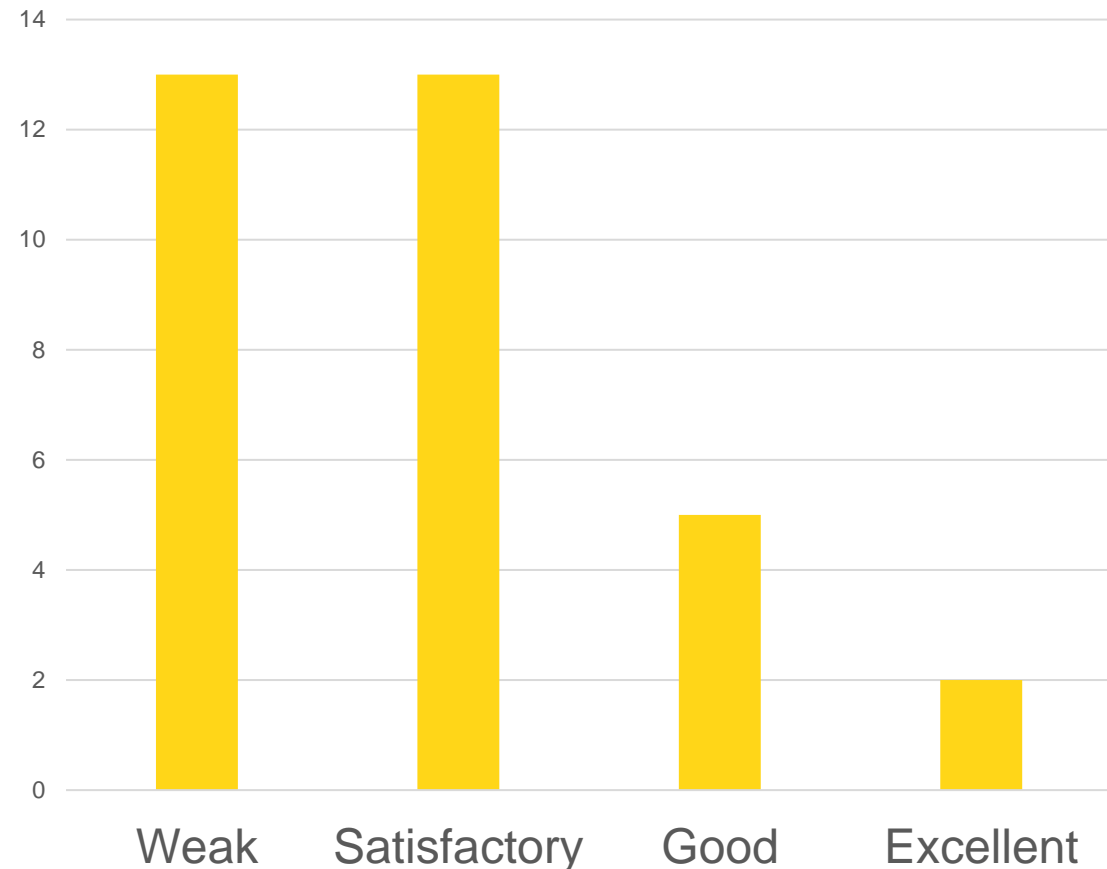
# Sociolinguistic situation of Finnish Kaló in Sweden

- Romani is an official minority language in Sweden (since 1999)
- Predominantly an **oral language** of the Roma community used within the family (as elwewhere in Europe, cf. Halwachs 2010)
- Language of identity (e.g. Leiwo 1999)
- A "secret language" (e.g. Valtonen 1968: 241-254; Sammallahti 1972: 31-32; Leiwo 1999: 129; Hedman 2004)
- Late and limited written usage (Granqvist 2009).
- Late and limited functional expansion (cf Halwachs 2012).

# Sociolinguistic situation of Finnish Kaló in Sweden

- Only elderly Roma are fluent in Kaló;
- Middle-aged Roma have learned Kaló by listening to their parents' discussions - and some have taken the trouble to ask their parents words in Kaló.
- Kaló fails to be transferred to young generations. Hence, many young Roma lack insights into Kaló.

Insights into Kaló in Sweden, self-assessment (data: Hedman 2009)





# Sociolinguistic situation of Finnish kaló in Sweden

- Some Finnish Roma in Sweden indicate that they are discriminated against by other Roma, because they do not know Romani.
  - Lack of belonging, rootlessness
- (Bijvoet & Fraurud 2007: 20-21.)



Use of Swedish with other Roma,  
learning other dialects, koineisation

# Two competing Kaló varieties having official use in Sweden

## 1. "Traditional" Finnish Kaló:

- rather maintaining structure and lexicon of the variety used in Finland, but having different orthographic conventions adapted to the Swedish circumstances (see example 1, next slide)
- Some enrichment of lexicon through borrowing
- Brochures, websites, some materials produced by the Swedish National Agency for Education (e.g. brochures)
- Weakly mutually intelligible with other Romani dialects used in Sweden

# Two competing Kaló varieties

2. An artificial mixed variety with Kalderash (used e.g. at religious Pentecostal events) influence (see examples 2-3)
  - Heavy lexical borrowing / adaptation
    - substitution of lexemes of Swedish and Finnish etymon with "international" lexical items
  - Heavy grammatical borrowing / adaptation
    - Changes in verbal system (endings, loan adaptation)
    - Typological changes (e.g. postposition -> preposition language)
  - Used in some materials produced by the Swedish National Agency for Education (brochures, teaching materials), other authorities' publications
  - Only partially mutually intelligible with the variety used in Finland; mutually better intelligible other Romani dialects used in Sweden.

# Two competing Kaló varieties

## Angluniskola to kentoske

JEK BROSURI PA ANGLUNISKOLASKO SIKJIBAKOPLANI



## Skola hin to kentoske

Jek brosuru pa neve sikjibakoplani ta pa nevo skolakolagi so boldela tuke konesko hin kenti aro teluniskola, specialnoteluniskola, specialnoskola vaj aro samekola



ROMANI KALE

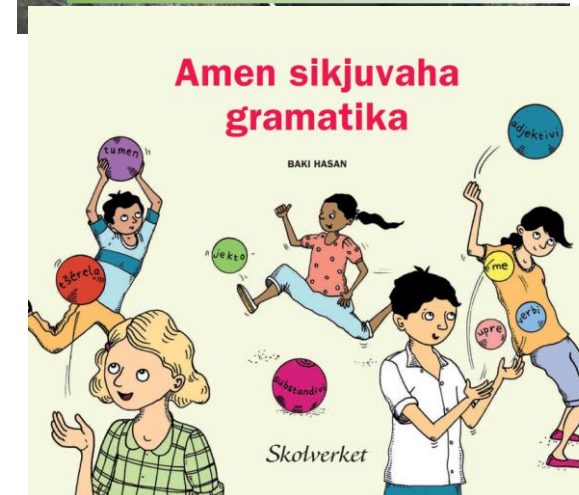
## Tiknes pa sveitiko gymnasiaskola



Skolverket

Skolverket

Skolverket



# Two competing Kaló varieties

- **Traditional Kaló:**

- Maintains Finnish Kaló structure and lexicon
- Some enrichment of lexicon through borrowing

- **Mixed Kaló:**

- Heavy lexical borrowing / adaptation
  - substitution of lexemes of Swedish and Finnish etymon with "international" lexical items
- Heavy grammatical borrowing / adaptation
  - Changes in verbal system (endings, loan adaptation)
  - Typological changes (e.g. postposition -> preposition language)

# Two competing Kaló varieties: verb inflection

Traditional Kaló

	Stem	Present	(Condit.)	Preterite	Perfect	Pluperfect
1sg	phen- 'say'	phen-a	phen-as	phen-jom	hin phen-jom	sas phen-jom
2sg		phen-eh-a	phen-eh-as	phen-jal	hin phen-jal	sas phen-jal
3sg		phen-el-a	phen-el-as	phen-jas	hin phen-jas	sas phen-jas
1pl		phen-ah-a	phen-ah-as	phen-jam	hin phen-jam	sas phen-jam
2pl		phen-en-a	phen-en-as	phen-le	hin phen-le	sas phen-le
3pl		phen-en-a	phen-en-as	phen-le	hin phen-le	sas phen-le

Mixed Kaló

Genus	Stam Ex. phen sägl	Presens, just nu ...	Imperfekt, i går...	Perfekt har ...	Pluskvamperfekt hade ....
1. sing: me		phen- <b>av</b>	phen- <b>av</b> -as	phen- <b>jom</b>	phen- <b>jom</b> -as
2. sing.: tu		phen- <b>es</b>	phen- <b>es</b> -as	phen- <b>jal/-jan</b>	phen- <b>jal/-jan</b> -as
3. sing: jov/joi		phen- <b>el</b>	phen- <b>el</b> -as	phen- <b>jas</b>	phen- <b>jas</b> -as
1. pl.: ame		phen- <b>as</b>	phen- <b>as</b> -as	phen- <b>jam</b>	phen- <b>jam</b> -as
2. pl.: tume		phen- <b>en</b>	phen- <b>en</b> -as	phen- <b>le</b>	phen- <b>le</b> -sas
3. pl.: jon		phen- <b>en</b>	phen- <b>en</b> -as	phen- <b>le</b>	phen- <b>le</b> -sas

# Examples: texts produced by three authors

Traditional Kaló	Mixed Kaló	
<p><b>Domino Kai</b>, Head of Unit at the Romanian Information and Knowledge Center, RIKC, in Gothenburg, has worked with issues concerning national minorities and persons with functional disabilities since 1991. (Example 1)</p>	<p><b>Allan Schwartz</b>, Roma International and spokesman for Roma in Sweden, etc., has for many years been committed to the situation of the Roma in Swedish society. (Example 2)</p>	<p><b>Baki Hasan</b>, language planner on Romani Chib, Swedish Language Council. (Example 3)</p>

Finnish Roma

# "Traditional" Finnish Kaló

## **Jakhako inflamasiya ka kenti - so hin vojiba te tšérel korkores?**

*Ögoninflammation hos barn - vad kan man göra själv? - romska*

### **Butvares džala pherdal aro jek kurko**

Jakhako inflamasiya hin but normalno mahkar kenti, butvares it pe jek virusi infeksiya sar hiljiba. Jakhajako parnibata avela lólo ta vojbuvel prastel avri stívo pibe, so hin butvares dželto, ka jakha. Normalnes dišula jakha thúlimen. Butvares sasjula douva aro jek kurko útan arakhiba. Jakhako inflamasiya starjuvel lokhes.

Kenti vojbuven len nína inflamasiya aro jakha pa vaure dochiba. Douva vojbuvel dochel pa jek alergijako reakcija vaj te kenti hin líne prochos aro jakha. Inflamasiya hin truposko manera te arakhel pes.

### **Vojbuvelako kentos džal aro angluniskola?**

Kentos kones hin jakhakoinflamasiya pe lóle jakha ta kuti tšikalo sekreteti it pe jek tikno hilijiba ná hiovyven te achen tšére ka angluno skolata kana jón hini vaures saste. Kenti kon džana aro angluni skola mote áchel aja sígo te lenge hin džor len dieli aro sáre aktiviteti. Kenti pe phešibako bisvéringja ná hiojiba te áchel

Example 1: <https://www.1177.se/rmf/other-languages/other-languages/egenvard-barn---andra-sprak/ogoninflammation-hos-barn--vad-kan-man-gora-sjalv---andra-sprak/>.



# Mixed Kaló

Pala adova len jōn pe te staven dota, ta kham basilas tato auri.

- Dada kames te šunes jekh paramitši, so muri sikavni, sikavelas mange aro škola?
- Kamav! Phen mange.
- Okej! Phenav take.

O iven nākhełas, e dej ritš ta lako tikno ritš uštile aro lungo ivendesko souviba ta džele auri. O tikno ritšoro sterđolas auri ta dikhełas trujal peste. Paša leste sas jekh bāro kašt ta pe kašt sas bŭt tširikja ta jōn džilabenās. Jov dikhel pe lende ta phučel pes, soske hin jōn opre? Pe jekh vār vare-so nāchełas paša leste ta dželo xor aro vešt. Atunči jov phučel peski dai:

O Ritšoro: Muri dej, so hin doj opre?

E dej: Adoj hin bŭt tširikja

O Ritšoro: So tšerena jōn doj opre?

E dej: Jōn bešena doj opre. Av pala mande kan, musaj te džas te rodas pala mŭri.

Example 2. Skolverket 2007,  
<https://www.skolverket.se/download/18.6bfaca41169863e6a656da6/1553960209134/pdf1943.pdf>

# Mixed Kaló

**Amen sikjuvaha gramatika** hin tšerdo e romane sikjukúnenge kón džana skla ari téliniskólaki mahkunnonivo. Dauva línesko mieniba hin te den e romane sikjukúnenge rétiba pa gramatikane lávengo mienibata. O lín so hin tšerdo ari iego tšibaha šaj hahtavel sikjukúnego šajpa te barjavel i romani tšib.

## Lávenge klasi

Sar aro sáre vaure tšibaha, hin nína ari amari tšib bít ádur lávé. Te šaj manus pinsavehas pes fendide pe dála láveha ta sar rikhaven dólen fendide. Manéra hin te diélaven dóla ari grupi so arakhenas pe *lávengo klasi*.

Amen vá te tšeren buti pe dála hérone lávengo grupi sar eksemplura:  
*Substantivi, verbi, adjektivi, preposija, pronomi* ta pa vaure lávengo klasiaha.

Amen vá paña te dikhen sar bandžavenas dála láve.

Ari dauva lín hin amen saipa te aven pinsaven rañiboskonisani (mereknos).  
Jek vauro láv dóléske hin interpunktio.

## Substantivi

Ame rikhavaha o lav katar o substantivi kana ame rakhavaha pa manuša, luludža, dživinie (kriatúré) ta pa vaure béri. Hin ajabút substantivi te na orgová te tšiñel dólén. Amen šaj te pheñen te sáre beri so amen dikhavaha aro amengo trisaliba šaj áchel substantivi.

Example 3: Skolverket 2011.

<https://www.skolverket.se/getFile?file=>

# Mixed Kaló in Romani dialectology

## 1. Northern features in mixed Kaló (cf. Matras 2005; Granqvist 2017)

Feature	Finnish Kaló (North)	Mixed Kaló	South
initial jotation in certain lexical items, e.g. <i>jaro</i> 'egg', <i>jov/jou</i> 'he', <i>joj/joi</i> 'she', <i>jon</i> 'they' (c.f. South <i>varo</i> , <i>vov</i> , <i>voj</i> )	Yes	Yes	No
loss of suppletion in the Oblique of <i>kon</i> 'who' ( <i>kones</i> vs. South <i>kas</i> )	Yes	Yes	No
reduction of the historical cluster <i>ṇḍř</i> > <i>r</i> , e.g. <i>aṇḍřo</i> > <i>jaro</i> 'egg' <i>maṇḍřo</i> > <i>maro</i> 'bread'	Yes	Yes	No
<i>s/h</i> alternation	<i>s</i> and <i>h</i> alternate	<i>s</i> and <i>h</i> alternate	<i>s</i> selected
the elision of light initial syllable, e.g. <i>mal</i> 'friend', <i>khar-</i> 'to call', <i>sa-</i> 'to laugh' (c.f. South <i>amal</i> , <i>akhar-</i> , <i>asa-</i> ),	Yes	Partial	No
loss of ablative preposition <i>katar</i> 'from'	Yes	No	No
loss of participial preterites such as <i>gelo</i> 'gone', <i>dilo</i> 'given; gave'	Partial	No	No

# Mixed Kaló in Romani dialectology

## 2. Mixed Kaló vs. Vlax

	Finnish Kaló	Mixed Kaló	Vlax
Possessives	mango, tukko	muro, tiro	muro, čiro
Nominal plural endings in -uri, -ura	no	yes	yes
Loan verb adaption	-av	-av, -isar, osar	-isar, -osar
1st person past tense	-om	-om, -em	-em
2nd Sg. Past and copula	-al	-an	-an
'mother'	dai	daj, dej	dej
'with him'	leha, lessa	lesa	lesa
Third person pronouns	jou, joi, jon	jov, joj, jon	vov, voj, von
Negation	na	na	či
'nothing'	či	či	khanči
'bread'	maro	maro	manro
'work'	butti	buti	buci, bukji
'day'	dives	dives	džes
'I know'	dzānā	džana	žanav
'child'	čau	čāvo	šavo

# Concluding words

	"Traditional" Kaló	Mixed Kaló
Mutually intelligible with Kaló in Finland	Yes	No
Mutually intelligible with other Romani dialects in Sweden	No	Yes
Languages of intragroup interaction	Finnish > Swedish > Kaló	Finnish > Swedish
Languages of intergroup interaction	Swedish	Mixed Kaló, Swedish

- Parallel to mixed Kaló: Romanó-Caló is Spain
  - An artificial form of Romani for written purposes in Spain (cf. Matras 2005).

# Concluding words – open questions

- How much is (mixed) Kaló used in Sweden beyond the written materials discussed herein? By whom, in which domains?
- Who reads the materials in Kaló, what is their impact? How much is (mixed) Kaló taught in Sweden? Learning results?
- What kind of attitudes do the Finnish Roma have toward the (mixed) Kaló?
- How does the use of the mixed Kaló affect the way how identity is constructed? (The importance of language in the Kaló identity?)
- What kind of impact has the mixed Kaló had on the interaction between Finnish Roma and other Romani groups in Sweden?