



# Mixed morphologies: morphological borrowing in Finnish Romani

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# 1.1 Introduction

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- Universal constraints on morphological borrowing have been proposed in a number of typological studies (e.g. Moravcsik 1978; Thomason & Kaufmann 1988; Thomason 2001; Winford 2003).
- Generalizations are either:
  - **frequency-based** hierarchies (a majority, e.g. Haugen 1950; Heath 1984; Thomason & Kaufmann 1988; van Hout & Myusken 1994 etc.);
  - **implicational** hierarchies (e.g. Moravcsik 1978; Matras 1998, 2002; Field 2002; Elšík & Matras 2006);
  - **based on both frequency-based and implicational** observations (Stolz & Stolz 1996; Ross 2001).



## 1.2 Introduction

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- The existence of these constraints has been rejected some other scholars such as Campbell (1993).
- Some relevant generalizations about borrowability:
  1. Lexicon: content words > function words, nouns > non-nouns, function words (Moravcsik 1978; Field 2002)
  2. Phonology: features in loanwords > independent features (cf. Matras 2007: 39)
  3. **Morphology: unbound morphemes > bound morphemes, derivational morphology > inflectional morphology (Moravcsik 1978; Field 2002).**



## 1.3 Introduction

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Romani belongs to the Indo-Aryan group of the Indo-Iranian subfamily of the Indo-European family of languages.

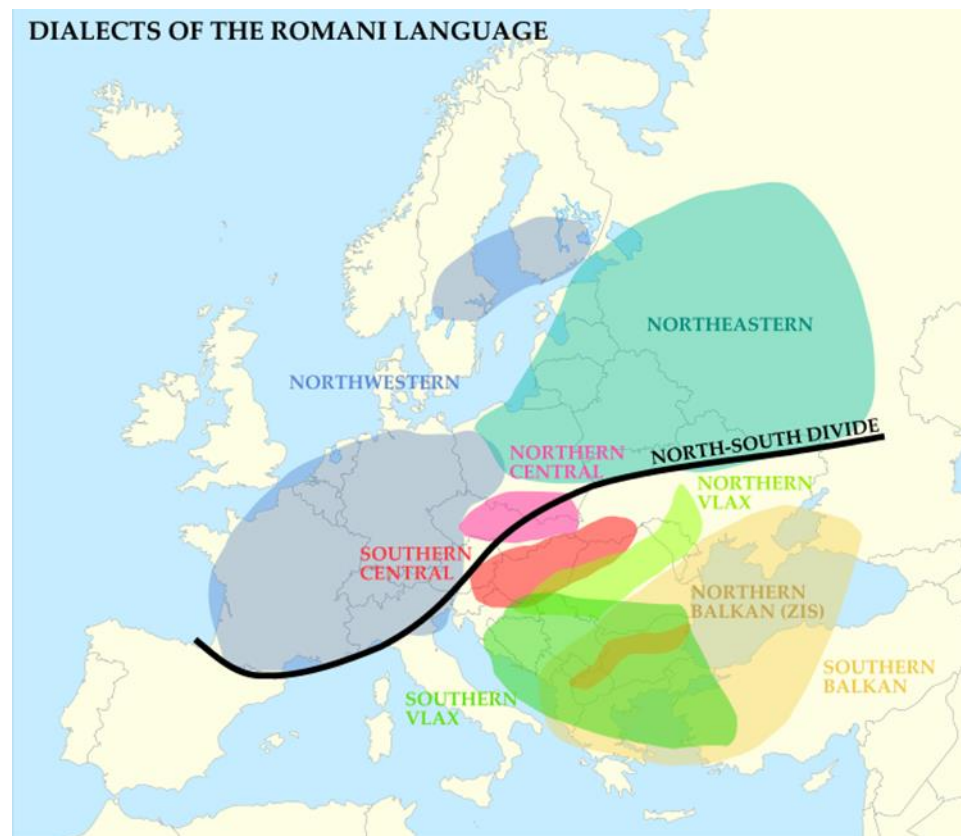
- It is one of the Indic languages spoken outside India by itinerant groups that originally migrated from the Indian subcontinent;
- It has been spoken exclusively in Europe since medieval times;
- Since the 19th century, some Roma have also migrated to the Americas and elsewhere, too.
- Some scholars mention 60 Romani dialects.
  - But actually it is also difficult to enumerate the dialects of Romani (the ambiguity of the criteria defining a dialect).
- Descriptions and classification of Romani dialects have traditionally relied on the **genetic model** (Bakker 1999; Boretzky 1999; 2000a; 2000b; Boretzky & Igla 2004); a competing, **geographical diffusion model** has been proposed by Matras (2002)



# 1.4 Introduction

- **A consensus classification grid:**

- Differentiates around 4-5 principal divisions among dialect groups, with further sub-divisions:
  - 1) Balkan Romani;
  - 2) Vlach;
  - 3) Central Romani;
  - 4) Northern dialects.
- Seen as hierarchically equal dialects groups (Bakker & Matras 1997).



[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Romany\\_dialects\\_Europe.svg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Romany_dialects_Europe.svg)



## 1.5 Introduction

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- 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**, 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.



## 1.6 Introduction

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- 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).



## 1.7 Introduction

- 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).

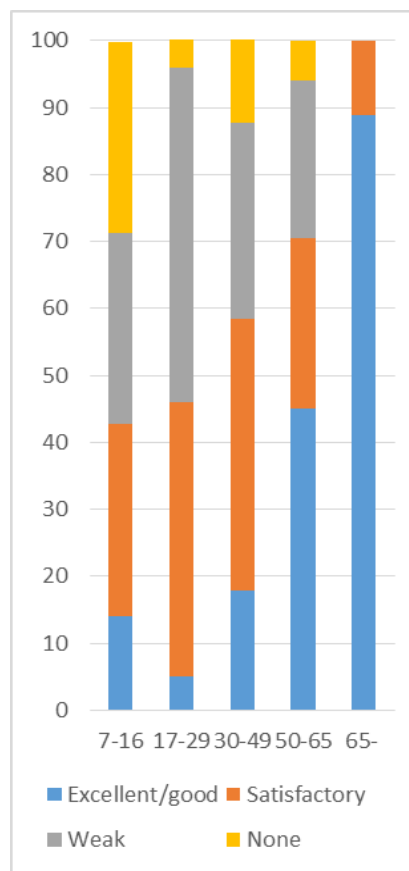


Figure 1. Insights into FR by age-group (data: Hedman 2009).

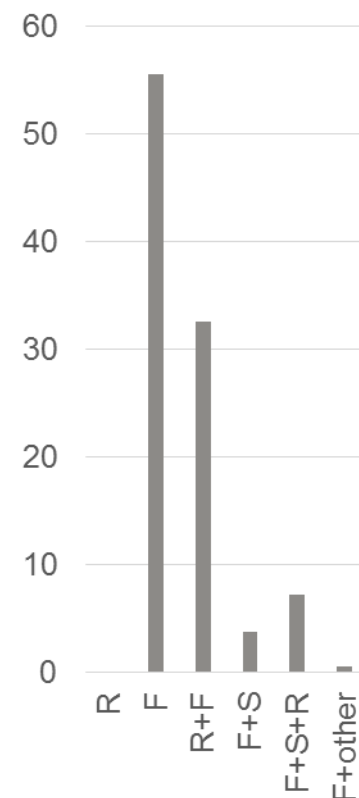


Figure 2. Home languages of the Roma (data: Hedman 2009).





## 2.1 Finnish Romani in contact

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- Layers of historical contact languages (common to Northern Romani):
  - Iranian languages, Armenian (lexical), **Byzantine Greek (structural and lexical)**, Slavonic languages, Hungarian, Middle Low German, Middle High German (predominantly lexical),
- Recent and current contact languages:
  - Scandinavian (Danish, Late Old Swedish, Swedish) (predominantly lexical), **Finnish (since the 1500s, structural rather than lexical)**.
  - Most Roma resident in Finland had already lost the active knowledge of Swedish by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Thesleff 1899).
  - Re-established and increased contact with Swedish as a result of subsequent migration of many Roma to Sweden since the 1960s => however, no visible contact influences on FR.



## 2.2 Finnish Romani in contact

- Contact with Germanic languages:

- Loanwords:

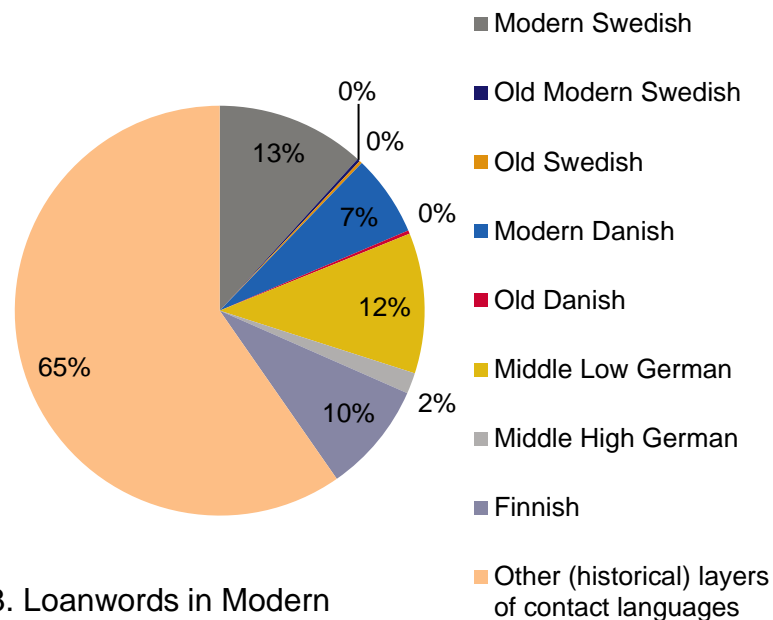


Figure 3. Loanwords in Modern FR (data: Valtonen 1972).

- Vowels /*ü*, *ø*, *æ*/ borrowed with loanwords, phonological principles, e.g. ties of stress and quantity; Prokosch's law (Venneman 1988)



## 2.3 Finnish Romani in contact

- Contact with Finnish: **Loanwords**
  - Lexical borrowings documented since Ganander (1779).

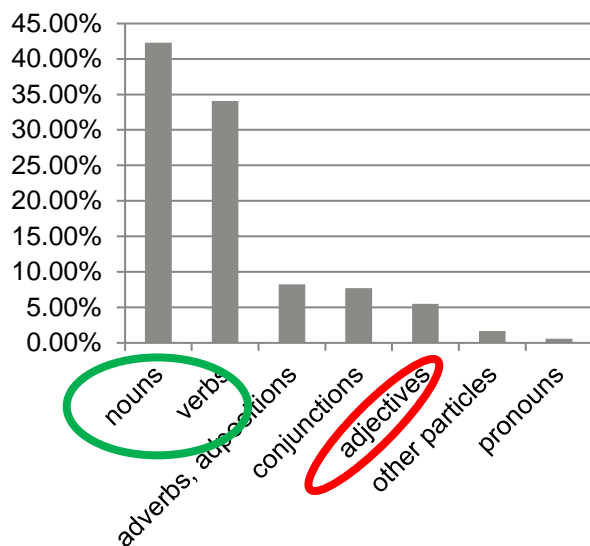


Figure 3. Grammatical categories of Finnish loan words in FR (data: Valtonen 1972).

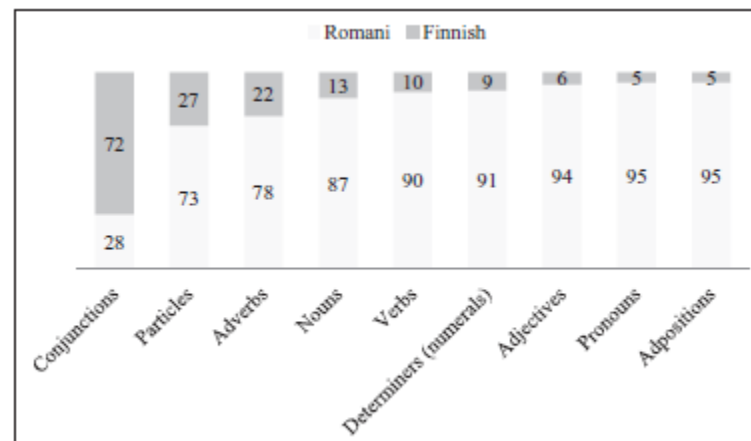


Figure 4. Distribution of word tokens per language and word class in dominant Finnish Romani speech (%) (Adamou & Granqvist 2013, their figure 4).



## 2.4 Finnish Romani in contact

- Contact with Finnish: **Phonology**:

Phenomenon	Earliest source
Polarization of voiced stops	Ganander (1779)
Long vowel diphthongization	Ganander (1779), Kemell (1830)
Vowel harmony	Kemell (1830)
Svarabhakti vowel	Reinholm (1860)
Initial cluster simplification	[2nd half of the 20th century]

Note: not only features in loanwords > independent features (cf. Matras 2007: 39).



## 2.5 Finnish Romani in contact

- Contact with Finnish: **Morphology**:

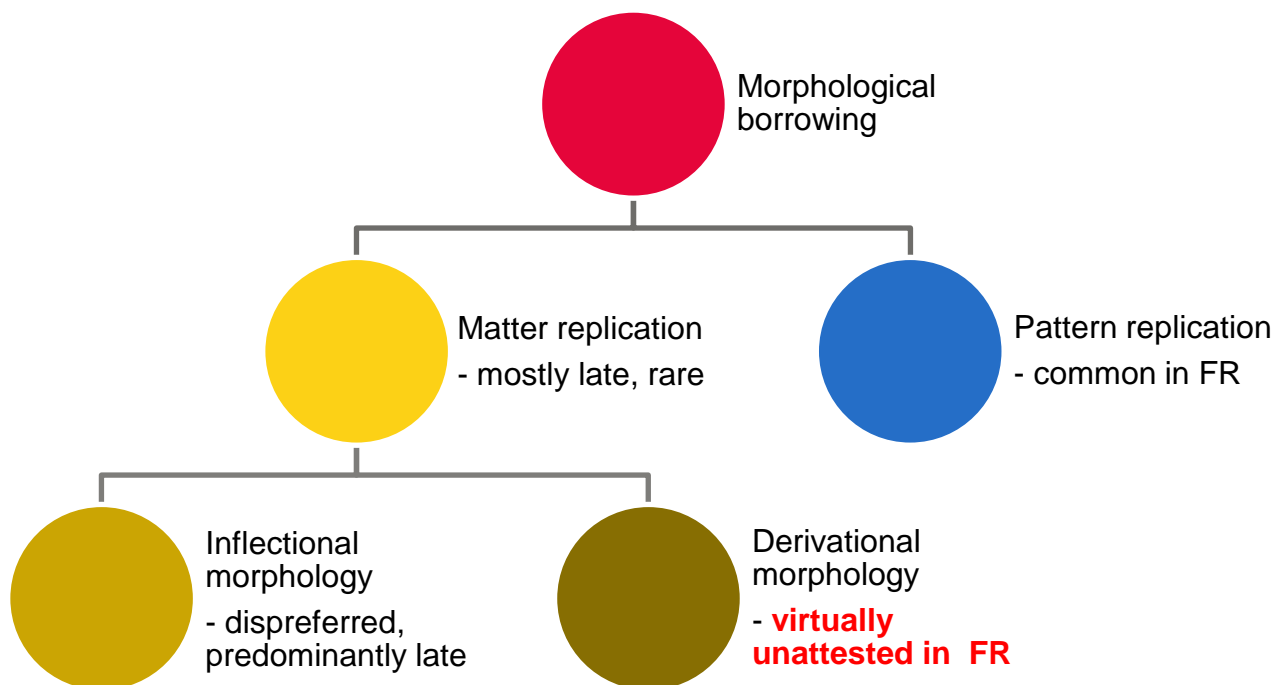


Figure 5. Types of morphological borrowing in FR (cf. Matras 2007).



## 2.6 Finnish Romani in contact

- Contact with Finnish: Matter replication/ Borrowing of inflectional morphology:

		Borrowed markers	Earliest source
Frequent ↑↓ Rare	Bound morphemes	Clitics	Ganander (1779)
		Noun inflection/ local cases (Ex. 1)	Reinholm (1860)
		Noun inflection/ grammatical cases (Ex. 2a-b)	[2nd half of the 20th century]
		Verb inflection/ persons endings (Ex. 3b-c)	
		Verb inflection/ modus markers (Ex. 4a-c)	
Frequent ↑↓ Rare	Unbound morphemes	Negation particle	Ariste (1939)
		Negation verb	[2nd half of the 20th century]
		Modals and auxiliaries	



## 2.8 Finnish Romani in contact

### a) Noun inflection:

#### Local cases

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#### grammatical cases:

(1) **Illative:**

Me s-om dukad-e daane-hin.  
I be-PRS.1SG sick-F.NOM.SG? tooth-ILL.PL  
'My teeth ache.'

(Reinholm 1860.)

(2) a. **Nominative (Pl.):**

to-la na tykky-n-ä **kaalee-t** jos hin  
they- NEG like- Roma- if be.PRS-3SG  
NOM.SG PRS.3PL- NOM.PL  
IND

pengal-o tšeer.  
bad-M.SG house  
'The Roma don't like, if you have a bad house.'

b. **Partitive:**

vaagos, kun s-amm-as **kaale-i-ta...**  
first, when be-1PL-REM Roma-PL-PRT  
'First, when we were Roma...'

(Spoken Romani, 2000.)



## 2.9 Finnish Romani in contact

### b) Verbs inflection:

#### Finnish persons endings

- (3) a. me aaħh-a-a-n tota viiskymmentä kuus.  
I be-PRS.1SG-IND- that 56  
1SG  
'I am well 56.'
- b. mihin tu rikav-a-a-t taa-la?  
where you take-PRS.1.SG-IND- they-NOM.PL  
2SG  
'Where are you taking them?'
- c. j-aa-pi nikki-  
go-3SG-LIIT away  
'Goes away.'

(Spoken Romani, 2000.)





## 2.10 Finnish Romani in contact

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### Modus marking/ Conditional

- (4) a. **me paruva-is**                      da-uva                      tij-a  
I        change-                      this-                      time-NOM.SG  
         PRS.1SG-KOND   NOM.SG  
         'I would change this time.'
- b.    jos me l-eh-as                      **jaan-a-isi-n...**  
      if I        get-PRS.2SG-                      know-PRS.1SG-KOND-  
                 KOND                      1SG  
      'I would get to know...'
- c.    jint-a                      **tšeer-el-a-is**  
      mind-NOM.SG                      do-PRS.3SG-IND-KOND  
      'I would like to.'

(Spoken Romani, 2000.)



## 2.11 Finnish Romani in contact

- Matter replication/ Borrowing of derivational morphology:
  - Adjective comparison (rare, but since Reinh. 1860)
    - *terne-mpi* 'young-COMP = 'younger'
    - a boundary case between inflection and derivation!
  - Otherwise virtually NO FINNISH derivative morphology – code-switching instead as a compensation strategy (Granqvist 2000).
  - Exceptions:
    - To fill gaps: frequentative in ***minhuilv-*** 'tease' < FI *vittuilla*; causative in ***minsatav-*** 'remind' < FI *muistuttaa*, double causatives are avoided in FR



## 2.12 Finnish Romani in contact

- Finnish verbs borrowed with Finnish derivative morphology + adapted into Romani: ***kasvatt/av-*** 'educate, grow, bring up' < FI *kasvattaa*, ***kulett/av-*** 'transport' < FI *kulettää*.
- Morphologically unadapted loanwords: ***kukkasa*** (Reinh. 1860) 'with flowers' < FI (+ Suff. -sa), ***nahgist*** (Gan. 1779) 'diligently' < FI *nahkiasti*.

### Compounding:

- a) Compound modifier from Finnish: ***aabisliin*** Th. 'abc-book' < FI *aapis-* + *liin* 'book', ***aikadžeeno*** 'grown-up man' < FI *aika-* and *džeeno* 'man'.
- b) Head from Finnish: ***auripäi*** 'outward' < *auri* 'out' + FI *päin* 'toward'.



## 2.13 Finnish Romani in contact

- Contact with Finnish: **“pattern replication” (Matras & Sakel 2007) / pattern transfer” (Heath 1984: 367)**
  - Frequent in FR; **obligatory parts of the grammar**

Feature	Timing
Case licencing of adpositions and verbs	Since 18th century?
Reconstruction of verbal system	Since 18th century
New analytical past tenses to complement the collapsed tense system	Since 19th century
Analytical passive constructions	Since 19th century
Change from a preposition language to a postposition language	Since 18th-19th century



## 3.1 To conclude

### a) Borrowability of Finnish loanwords:

Generalization	Lexemes in a dictionary	Tokens in spoken FR
content words > function words, nouns > non-nouns, function words	Nouns > Verbs > Adverbs/ Adpositions > Conjunctions > <u>Adjectives</u> > Particles > Pronouns	Conjunctions > Particles > Adverbs > Nouns > Verbs > Numerals > Adjectives > Pronouns > Adpositions

### b) Phonology:

Generalization	In FR
features in loanwords > independent features	Not only



## 3.2 To conclude

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### c) Morphology:

Generalization	In FR
Unbound > Bound morphemes	Unbound > Bound morphemes <b>(expect clitics!!!!)</b>
Derivation > Inflection	Inflection > Derivation

In addition, in FR:

**Pattern replication > Matter replication;**

Nominal Inflection (Local > Grammatical Cases) > Verb  
Inflection (Person > Modus)



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