

How to treat (L2) attrition in Finnish Romani

Kimmo Granqvist,
University of Helsinki

10th International Conference on Romani Linguistics,
Barcelona, September 5, 2012

Studies on attrition in Finnish Romani

- Attrition and contact with Finnish have been studies since the beginning of the 20th century:
 - Ariste 1940; Valtonen 1968; Sammalahti 1972; Leiwo 1999; Granqvist 1999a, 1999b, 2002b, 2007 jne; Pirttisaari 2002, 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2005.
 - Most extensively on from language-internal point point of view: Valtonen (1968):
 - The notions of 'upper' and 'lower' style.
 - Borin & Vuorela (1998):
 - Insights into Romani show a considerable variation among the Finnish Roma, so that some of them are fluent speakers, while others have (almost) no command of it.

Surveys on the amount of use of Romani

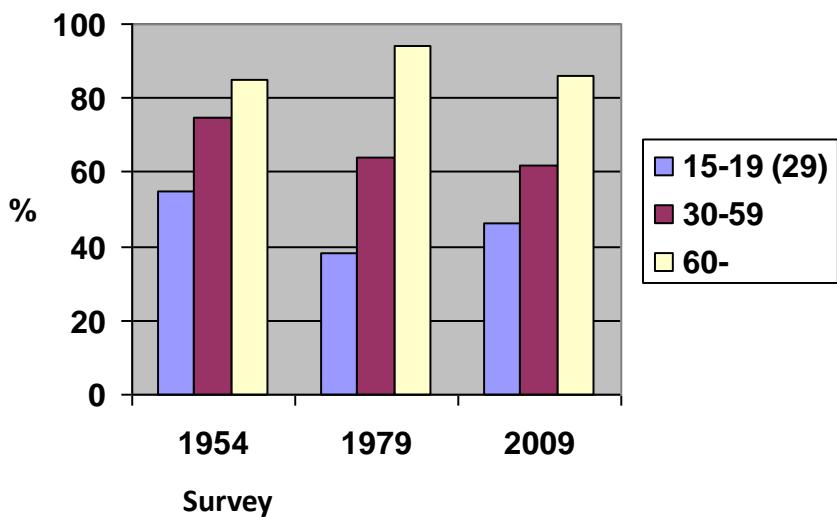
- A nation-wide survey of the living circumstances of the Roma, carried out by the Social research office (1954):
 - 3 569 Roma or persons living with them
- Raino Vehmaa's PhD thesis *The group character and acculturation of the Finnish Roma* (1961):
 - 89 Roma in Saarijärvi and Viitasaari areas (Central Finland), 88 Roma living in Helsinki
- A survey on the social and educational situation of the Roma, carried out by the Helsinki Welfare Office in 1979:
 - The heads of 185 Roma households or their spouses. The Roma households totalled at least 550 persons.
- Henry Hedman's survey on the amount and domains of use of Romani (2009):
 - 306 Roma in Finland and Sweden in 2004–2005.

Insights into Romani and self-assessment

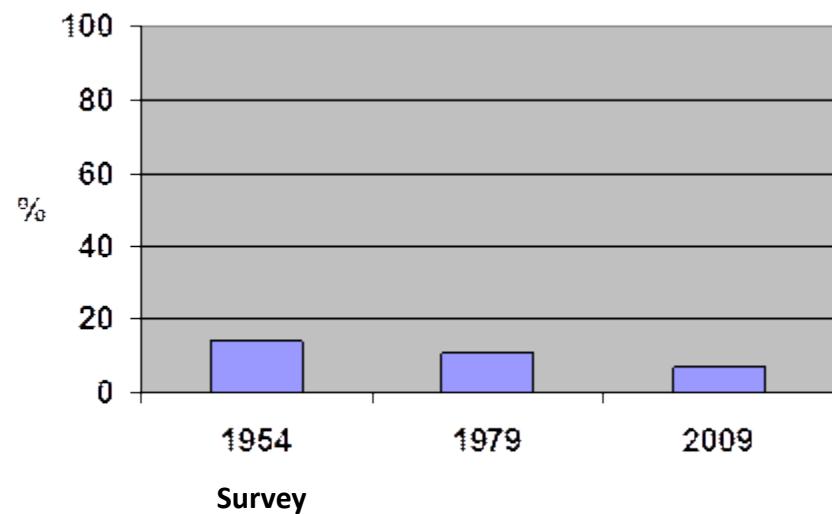
Survey	Insights into Romani
1954	71 % of adults were able to speak Romani, 81 % at least understood it.
1961	60 % of adults had a perfect or good command of Romani. 89 % could get along in Romani.
1979	55 % were able to communicate with elderly Roma in Romani. 88 % were able to handle everyday conversations.
2009	62 % of the Roma have at least a satisfactory command of Romani.

Insights into Romani and self-assessment

At least satisfactory command
Of Romani in three age-groups:



No command of
Romani:



Trends of attrition

- 1) Generalization of paradigms of masculine nouns into feminine. (Phrase 10; Granqvist & Pirttisaari 2003: 36–37; Granqvist 2007: 376, 381–832).
- 2) Paradigmatic levelling in certain irregular nouns: *gr-es* ~ *grai-jes* 'horse-obl.sg', (*mos-*) ~ *muijes* 'mouth-obl.sg', (*ran-*) ~ *raijen* 'mister-obl.pl.' (11; Bourgeois 1911: 9; Granqvist 2007: 341).
- 3) Analogical leveling in the case inflection of abstract nouns: : (*džaanib-os-:*) *džaanib-es-*, *džaanib-a* 'knowledge-obl.sg'; (*džaanib-on-:*) *džaanib-en-* 'knowlegde-obl.pl' (18, 20; Granqvist & Pirttisaari 2003: 36; Granqvist 2007: 377, 2010a).
- 4) Use of Finnish allative instead of Romani dative (15; Valtonen 1968: 170; Granqvist 2010a).
- 5) Use of Finnish adessive in possessive constructions instead of Romani oblique (6; Granqvist 2010a).
- 6) Paradigmatic leveling in the case inflection of personal pronouns: *maanesta pro. manna* 'I.abl' tilalla (22; Granqvist 2010a).
- 7) Difficulties in producing complex numerals (21; Kovanen 2010: 33–35; Granqvist 2007: 334, 2010a).
- 8) Use of Finnish negation *ei* as a negation verb similar to Finnish (2, 5; Granqvist 2000, 2010a; Kovanen 2010: 40).

Trends of attrition

- 9) Use of Finnish *olla* 'to be' as an auxiliary in analytical perfect and pluperfect instead of *s-/h-* (*aahh-*) 'sijasta' (3; Kovanen 2010: 38–40; Granqvist 2010a).
- 10) Use of the Finnish modal verbs *pitää*, *täytyää* 'must' instead of *mostuv-*, *moste* and *mote* (1; Granqvist 2000, 2010a; Kovanen 2010: 38).
- 11) Use of the Finnish modal verb *tarvita* 'to need' instead of *hyövuv-* (4; Granqvist 2010a).
- 12) Use of Finnish person endings in indicative present (7, 8; Valtonen 1968: 256; Granqvist 2010a).
- 13) The endings of the indicative present 1.sg and 3.sg spread analogically to the 2.sg (9, 16; Valtonen 1968: 256; Granqvist 2010a).
- 14) The ending of the indicative present 3.sg spreads analogically to the 1.sg (13; Granqvist 2010a).
- 15) The endigns of preterite 1.sg and 3.sg spread analogically to the 2.sg (19; Granqvist 2010a).
- 16) Preterites of *v-* 'to come' *veelo* 'come-pret-m' ja *veijas* 'come-pret-pret.3.sg' (17; Granqvist 2010a).

Trends of attrition

- The (un)grammaticality of attrited forms was tested using a questionnaire:
 - Roma who had spoken Romani since their childhood were asked to comment on phrases that contain (un)grammatical forms.
 - The Roma were asked to grade each one of the 22 phrases using the scale 0 (definitely ungrammatical) – 5 (definitely grammatical). They were requested to tell, what they consider ungrammatical in each phrase.
 - The judgements were provided by four Roma of different ages, of whom everybody works with language: three women, 34 (D), 53 (C), 54 (B) years of age, one 58-year-old man 58-vuotias mies (A).

Trends of attrition

TAULUKKO 2. Romanikielen parissa työskentelevien romanien arviot esimerkkilauseiden hyväksyttävyydestä.

Esimerkkilause	Vastaaja				Keskiarvo
	A	B	C	D	
1. Doorि <i>piti</i> aahħel rankanes.	2	1	0	0	0,75
2. Me <i>en na</i> džaanaa.	4	1	0	0	1,25
3. Jou <i>on</i> liijas siivanenna louvo.	4	1	0	0	1,25
4. Na hajudiine <i>eikä tarvinnut</i> hajjuvenkaan.	4	1	0	0	1,25
5. Ame <i>ei na</i> džaanaha.	4	—	0	0	1,33
6. <i>Kaaleilla</i> hin kaan barviba.	3	2	0	2	1,75
7. Me <i>minsavaan</i> douva.	4	3	0	0	1,75
8. Kai tu <i>rigavaat</i> douva?	4	3	0	0	1,75
9. So tu <i>tšeeraa?</i>	4	3	0	0	1,75
10. <i>Daijesko</i> daad sas lesko daad.	4	3	1	0	2,00
11. Jou hin <i>graijesko</i> džeenoo.	4	3	2	0	2,25
12. Me džaa <i>Hyvinkäälle</i> .	4	2	0	4	2,50
13. Naa me <i>tšeerela</i> butte illiba.	4	3	1	—	2,67
14. Naako tu <i>aaħtom</i> doi?	4	3	1	—	2,67
15. Me phenjom <i>Henkalle</i> , te jakkesha douva hin.	3	3	1	4	2,75
16. Tu <i>lela tšinnel</i> paani daarita.	4	3	3	—	3,33
17. Kurribosko tiija <i>veelo</i> .	4	3	3	—	3,33
18. <i>Passibako</i> saaki hin fuortune.	4	4	3	3	3,50
19. Kai tu hin kaan <i>aaħtas?</i>	4	3	3	4	3,50
20. Jou liijas <i>bolibengo</i> guruħħa.	4	4	3	—	3,67
21. Me som <i>oħta ta triin berħ</i> phurano.	5	5	1	4	3,75
22. Joon na rikkavena <i>maanesta</i> .	5	4	5	2	4,00

Speaker profiles of six Roma

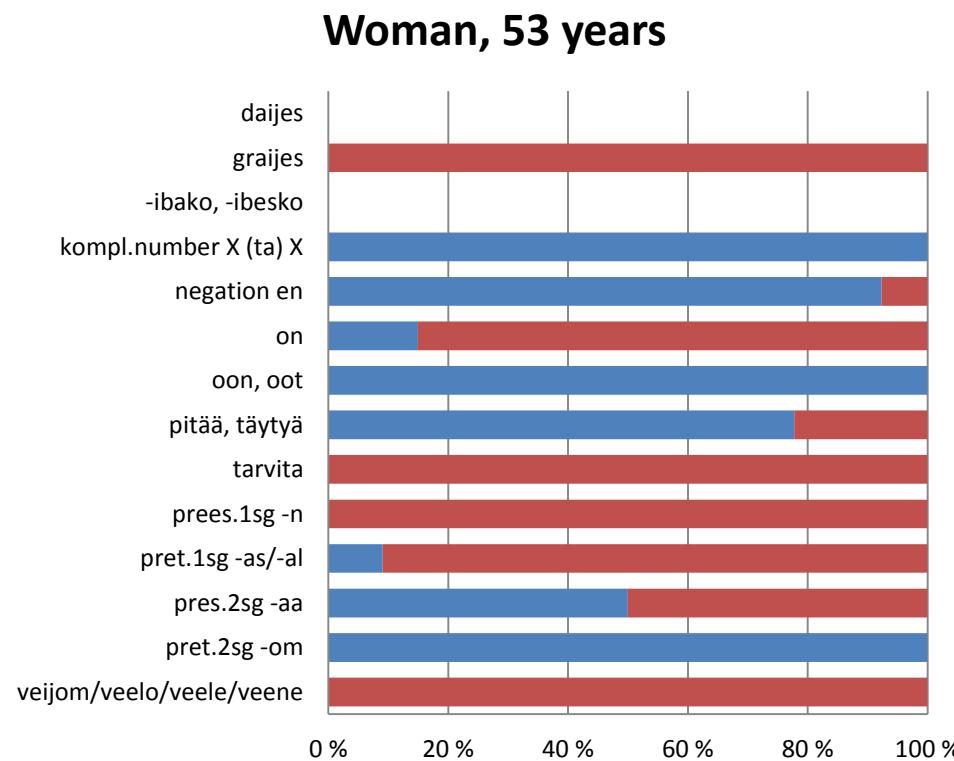
- The six informants were selected so that each one of the following included a woman and a man:
 - 40–59-years, 60–69-years and 70- years.
 - Age and sex are the most factors that define the social status in Roma community.

Speaker profiles of six Roma

- Informants:
 1. Woman, 53 years, from Rovaniemi (Lapland).
 2. Man, 48 years, from Kotka (south-east), has worked as a trot trainer.
 3. Woman, 64 years, from Lappeenranta (east), mother of a big family, has lived a typical Roma life doing sometimes business, too.
 4. Man, 78 years, from Kuopio (east), father of a big family, has worked with horses.
 5. Woman, 80 year, from Ylikiiminki (north).
 6. Man, 87 years, from Jyväskylä (central Finland), has worked with horses.

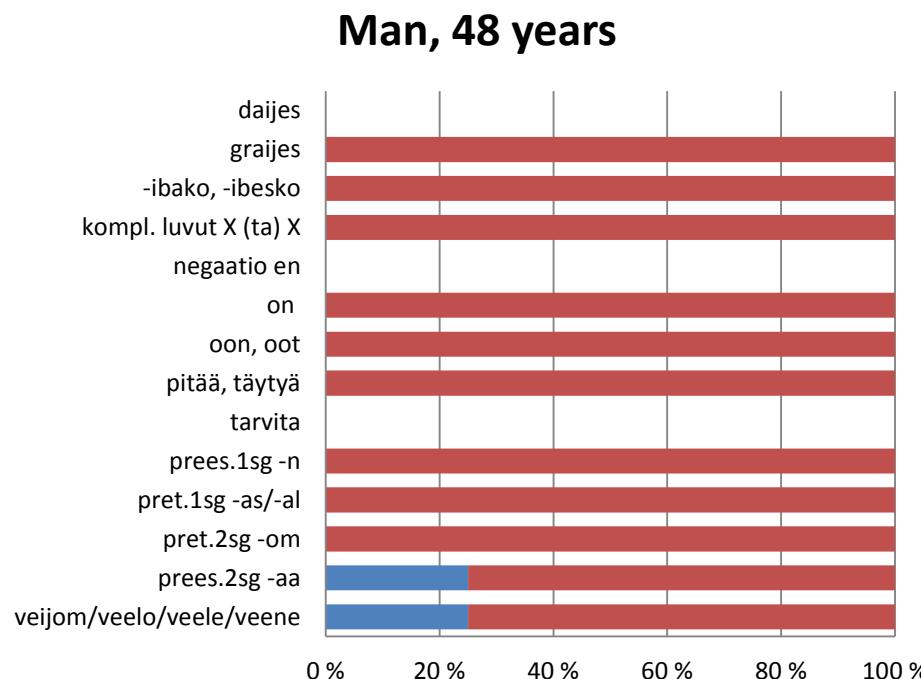
Speaker profiles of six Roma

1. Woman, 53 years



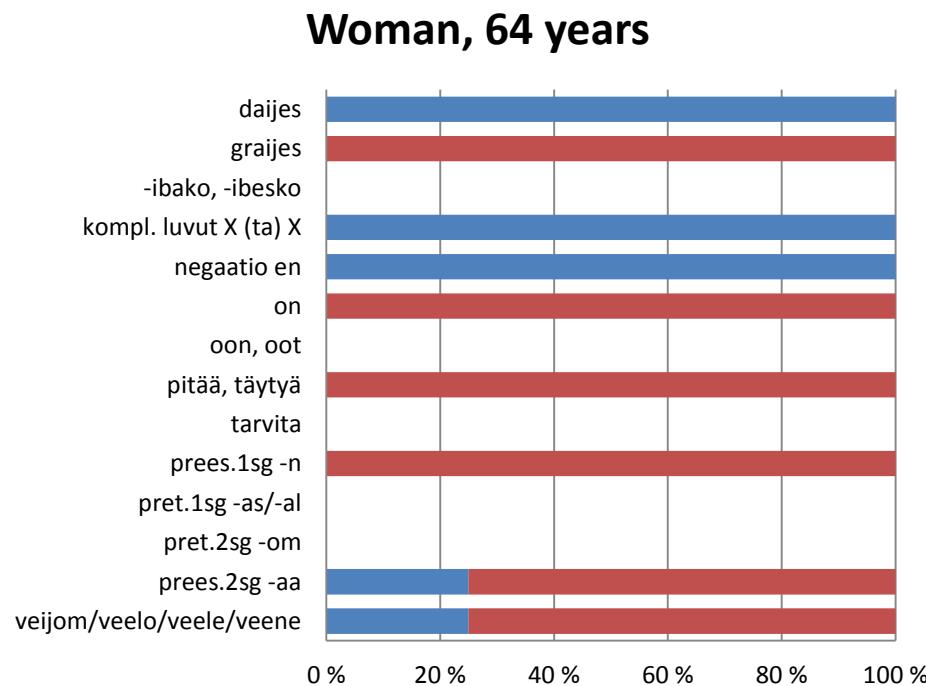
Speaker profiles of six Roma

2. Man, 48 years



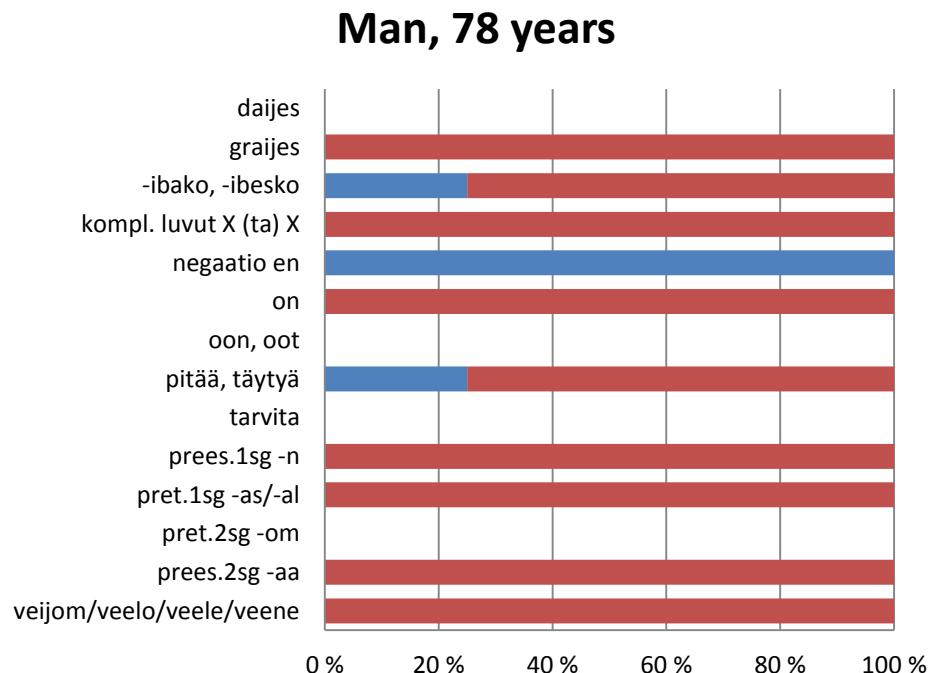
Speaker profiles of six Roma

3. Woman, 64 years



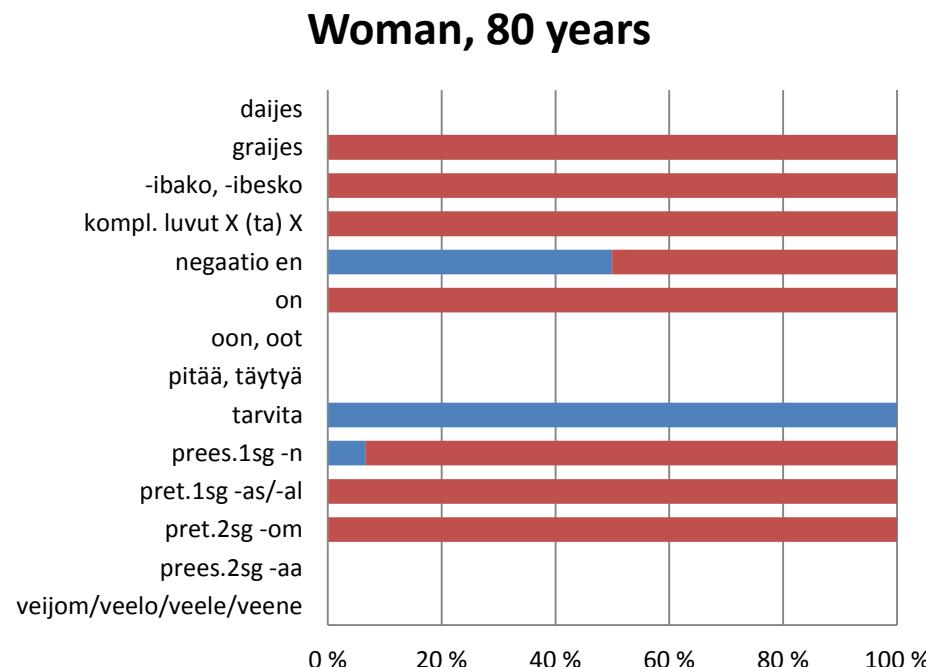
Speaker profiles of six Roma

4. Man, 78 years



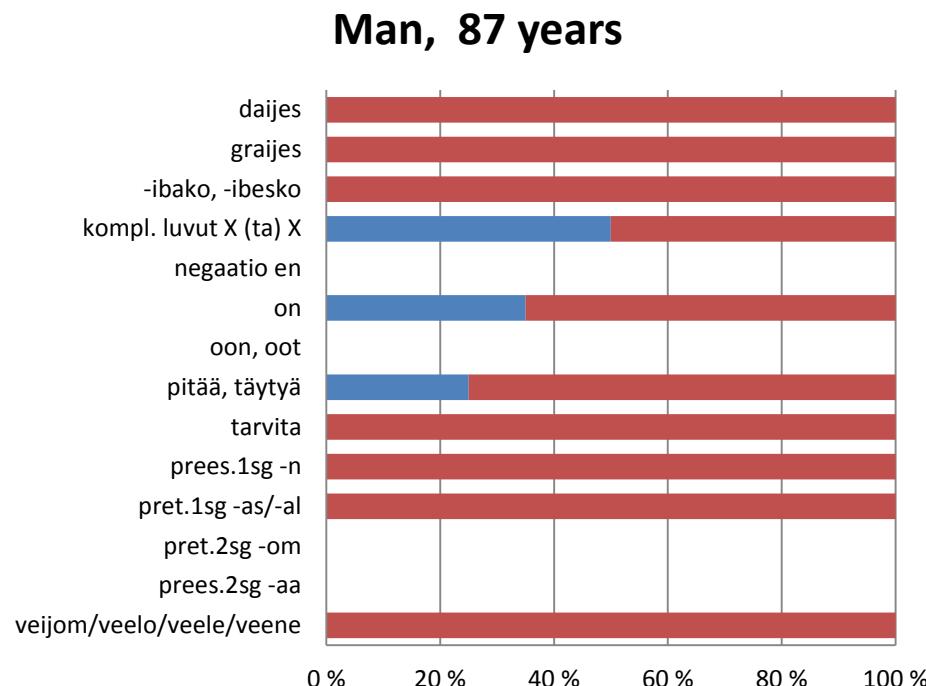
Speaker profiles of six Roma

5. Woman, 80 years

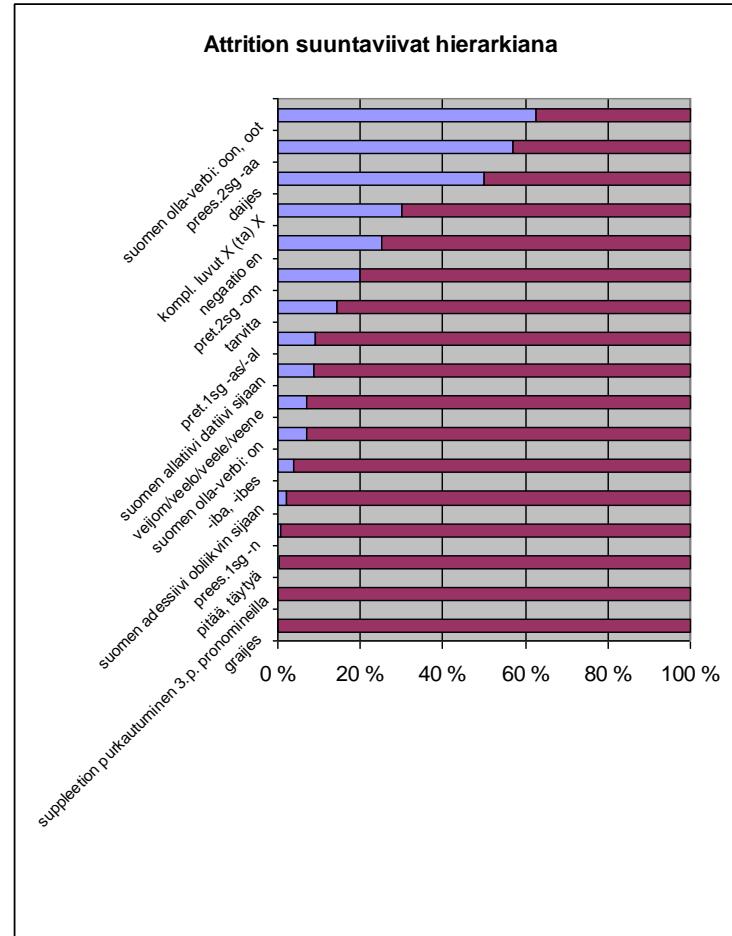


Speaker profiles of six Roma

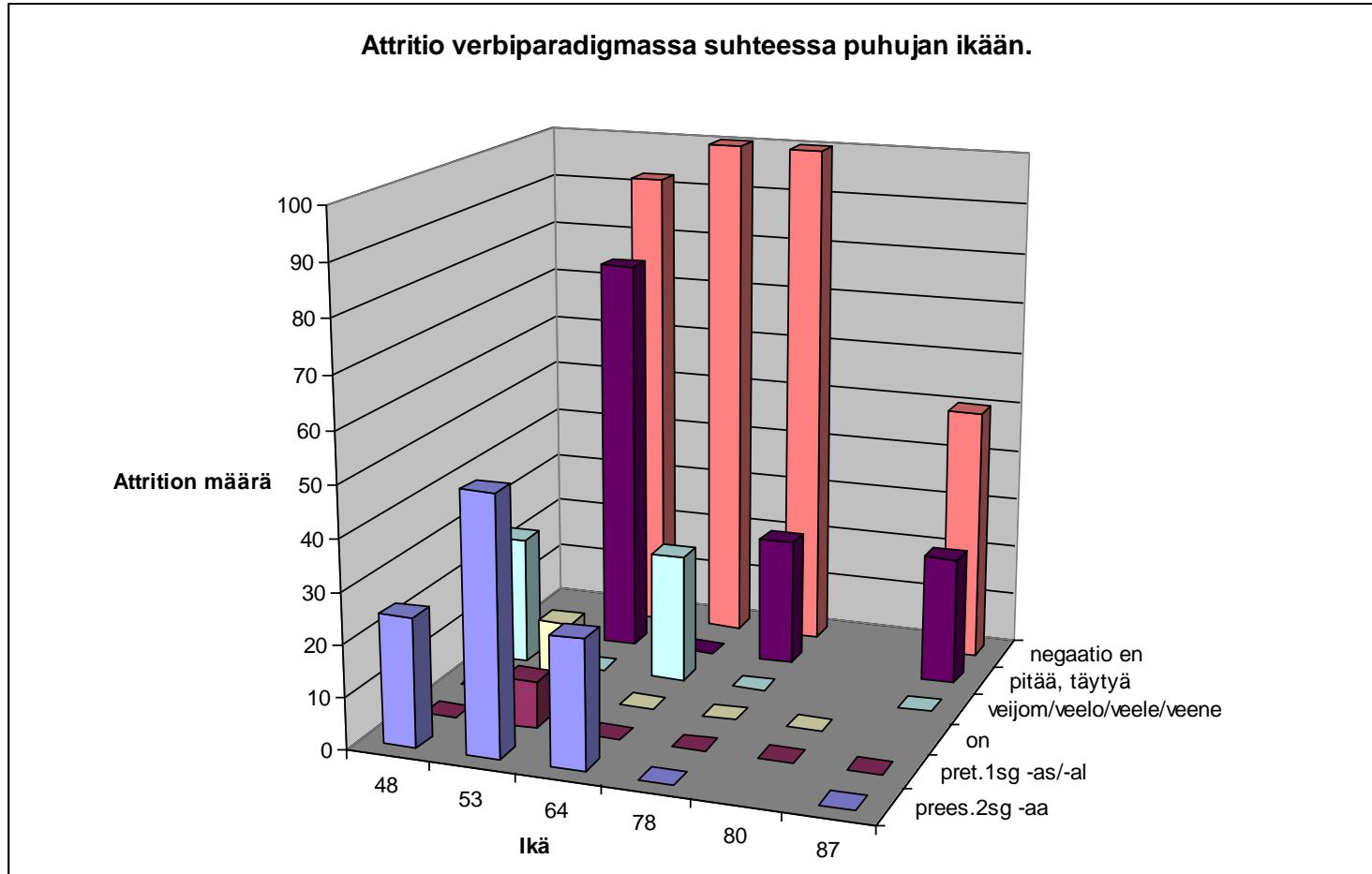
6. Man, 87 years



Speaker profiles of six Roma



Speaker profiles of six Roma



Speaker profiles of six Roma

- A comparison of the six speaker profiles to data based on tape-recodings from 1960s shows dramatic differences.
 - In the speech of a Roma man born in 1885 and interviewed by Pertti Valtonen in 1965, the only sign of attrition using the variables of this paper is sporadic use of the Finnish negation verb.
 - On the other his speech contains a number of conservative features that has been entirely lost in contemporary Romani.

Conclusion

- *Comparison of speaker profiles gives a more pessimistic impression of changes in the command of Romani than surveys based on self-assessment.*
- One problem with the self-assessments is that the notion of good command of Romani is invariant with time and conforms to the linguistic competence of the oldest Roma:
 - Vehmas points out that in the 1950s only certain old Roma very considered to have a perfect command of the old Romani language. The young Roma were said to speak the Romani language of their generation.
 - Many of the Roma are able to mention other, usually older members of the community, who they regard as more fluent speakers of Romani than themselves. Even fluent speakers tend to refer to deceased Roma as more competent speakers.
 - Many Finnish consider themselves as semi-competent in the Romani language.

References

- ARISTE, PAUL 1940. Über die Sprache der finnischen Zigeuner. – *Õpetatud Eesti Seltsi Aastaraamat, Annales Litterarum Societatis Esthonicae* 1938/2 pp. 206–221.
- BOURGEOIS, HENRI 1911 : *Esquisse d'une grammaire du Romani finlandais*. – Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, 46.
- GRANQVIST, KIMMO 1999a: Vowel harmony in Finnish and Finnish Romani. – *SKY Journal of Linguistics* 12 pp. 27–44.
- 1999b: Notes on Finnish Romani phonology. – *Grazer Linguistische Studien* 51 pp. 47–63.
- 2000: Intrasentential codeswitching in the speech of Finnish Roma. A case study. – *5th International Conference on Romani Linguistics*, Sofia Sept. 14–16, 2000.
- 2002b: Finnish Romani phonology and dialectology. *SKY Journal of Linguistics* 15 pp. 61–83.
- 2007: *Suomen romanin äänne- ja muotorakenne*. Suomen Itämaisen Seuran suomenkielisiä julkaisuja 36. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 145, Helsinki: Suomen Itämainen Seura & Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus.
- 2010a: Miten suomen kieli vaikuttaa vähemmistökieleen. Havaintoja Suomen romanikielestä. *Kotuksen tiistailuento*, Kotus, Helsinki 16.3.2010.
- GRANQVIST, KIMMO & HELENA PIRTTISAARI 2003: Suomen romanin leksikaalisista kerrostumista ja niiden fonologisista ja morfologisista prosesseista. – *Puhe ja kieli* 23:1 pp. 25–41.

References

- HEDMAN, HENRY 2009: *Suomen romanikieli. Sen asema yhteisössään, käyttö ja romanien kieliasenteet.* Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen verkkojulkaisuja, 8. Helsinki: Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus. <http://scripta.kotus.fi/www/verkkojulkaisut/julk8/> (30 July, 2010).
- KOVANEN, PETRA 2010: Koodinvaihto romanikielisessä keskustelussa. Master's thesis. University of Helsinki.
- LEIWO, MATTI 1999: Suomen romanikielen asemasta ja huollossa. – Seppo Pekkola (ed), *Sadanmiehet. Aarni Penttilän ja Ahti Rytkösen juhlakirja*. Suomen kielen laitoksen julkaisuja 41, pp. 127–39. Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto.
- PAUNONEN, HEIKKI 2005: Helsinkiläisiä puhujaprofiileja. – *Virittäjä* 109 (2) pp. 162–200.
- PIRTTISAARI, HELENA 2002. Suomen romanin partisiippien morfologiaa. Master's thesis. University of Helsinki.
- 2003: Muutos ja variaatio Suomen romanin verbien taivutustyyppiessä. – *Virittäjä* 4 pp.508–28.
- 2004a: Contact-induced changes in Finnish Romani. .
[http://www.ling.helsinki.fi/kielitiede/20scl/abstracts.shtml#Pirttisaari/\(9.8. 2004\).](http://www.ling.helsinki.fi/kielitiede/20scl/abstracts.shtml#Pirttisaari/(9.8. 2004).)
- 2004b: Variation and change in the verbal morphology of Finnish Romani. – Marja Nenonen (ed.), *Papers from the 30th Finnish conference of linguistics, Joensuu, May 15–16, 2003* pp. 178–84. Joensuu: University of Joensuu.
- 2004c: Contact-induced changes in Finnish Romani. Passive Voice.
<http://www.ling.helsinki.fi/uhlcs/LENCA/LENCA-2/information/datei/29-pirttisaari.pdf/> (1 January, 2006).
- 2005: A functional approach to the distribution of participle suffixes in Finnish Romani. Barbara Schrammel , Dieter W. Halwachs & Gerd Abrosch (eds.), *General and Applied Romani Linguistics. Proceedings of the 6th International conference on Romani linguistics*, pp. 114–27. München: Lincom Europa.

References

- SAMMALLAHTI, PEKKA 1972: Mustalaiskielten erikoispiirteitä. – *Zirkli*: 30–34.
- VALTONEN, PERTTI 1968: Suomen mustalaiskielten kehitys eri aikoina tehtyjen muistiinpanojen valossa. Lisensiaatintyö. Helsingin yliopisto.
- VEHMAS, RAINO 1961: *Suomen romaniväestön ryhmäluonne ja akkulturoituminen*. Turun yliopiston julkaisuja, sarja B, osa 81. Turku: Turun yliopisto.
- VUORELA, KATRI, & LARS BORIN 1998: Finnish Romani. – Ó. Corráin, A. & S. Mac Mathúna (eds.), *Minority Languages in Scandinavia, Britain and Ireland*. 3 pp. 51–76. Uppsala.