



# QUANTITATIVE DIALECTOLOGY OF NECESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN FINNISH ROMANI

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# INTRODUCTION

- In my presentation, I examine the morphosyntax and dialectology of necessive constructions in Finnish Romani (FR)
  - Received little attention in the study of Romani grammar (eg Granqvist 2007; Granqvist & Laitinen, forthcoming)
  - Several types of necessive constructions compete in FR:
    - in them, the necessive verbs vary, and they are also distinguished by the case of the subject and the inflection of the necessive verbs in the person; there are other differences regarding the presence/ absence of the complementiser and the form of the verb complement
- Corpus-based quantitative approach
  - Frequency-based differences between dialects reflect traditional dialect differences, dialectal levelling, and the effects of multilingual contact situations



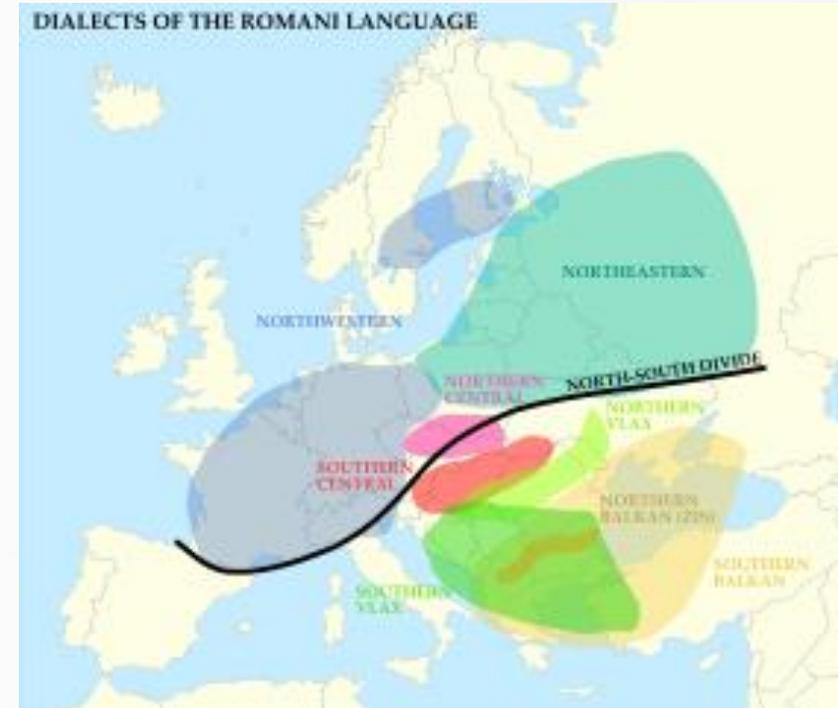
# THEORIES AND METHODS

- Theoretical background:
  - research on variation and language contacts (Moravcsik 1978; Thomason & Kaufmann 1988; Thomason 2001; Winford 2003; Matras 2009);
  - in corpus-based dialect syntax research (Grieve 2009; Szmrecsanyi 2013)
    - participates in the quantitative paradigm of Romani linguistics (Adamou & Granqvist 2015), where the UH has been an international pioneer
  - a model based on the geographical diffusion of Romani dialectology (Matras 2002, 2005) vs. the so-called genetic model (Bakker 1999; Boretzky 1999; 2000a; 2000b; Boretzky & Iglá 2004)
- Methods:
  - Frequencies and dialect maps



# ROMANI

- Romani belongs to the Indo-Aryan subgroup of the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European languages.
- Roma have been documented in Finland since 1559.
  - An earlier migration from Estonia in the early 1500s has been 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).



Map 1. *Consensus classification of Romani dialects*  
([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romani\\_language](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romani_language)).



# SINTIN JA KOILLISMURTEIDEN NESESSIIVIRAKENTEET

- Modal verbs have been prone to innovation in Roma dialects through both language-internal grammaticalization and contact-induced changes (Matras 2002: 162).
- A lot of innovation and variation occur in obligative modal expressions in Romani dialects.
- Many impersonal and person-inflected auxiliary verbs have been borrowed from contact languages of Romani:

	(Subject)	+	Necessive verb	+	(Comple- mentiser)	+	Verb compl.
Sinti			<i>hun</i> (< <i>hom</i> (= <i>som</i> ) <i>te</i> )		<i>te</i>		<i>dža-s</i>
Ruska Roma	<i>amen-ge</i>		<i>trebi</i> ( <i>trebi</i> < ven. <i>требоваться</i> )		<i>te</i>		<i>dža-s</i>
Polska Roma			<i>mušin-as</i> ( <i>muš(in)-</i> < puol./ukr. <i>mus-</i> )		<i>te</i>		<i>dža-ł</i>
Litovska	<i>tu</i>		<i>muš</i>		<i>te</i>		<i>dža-s</i>
Lotfitka	<i>man-ge</i>		<i>čeb</i> ( <i>čeb</i> < puol. <i>čeb</i> )		<i>te</i>		<i>dža-u</i>
Est. Lotfitka	<i>men-ge</i>		<i>čeb</i>				<i>dža-s</i>



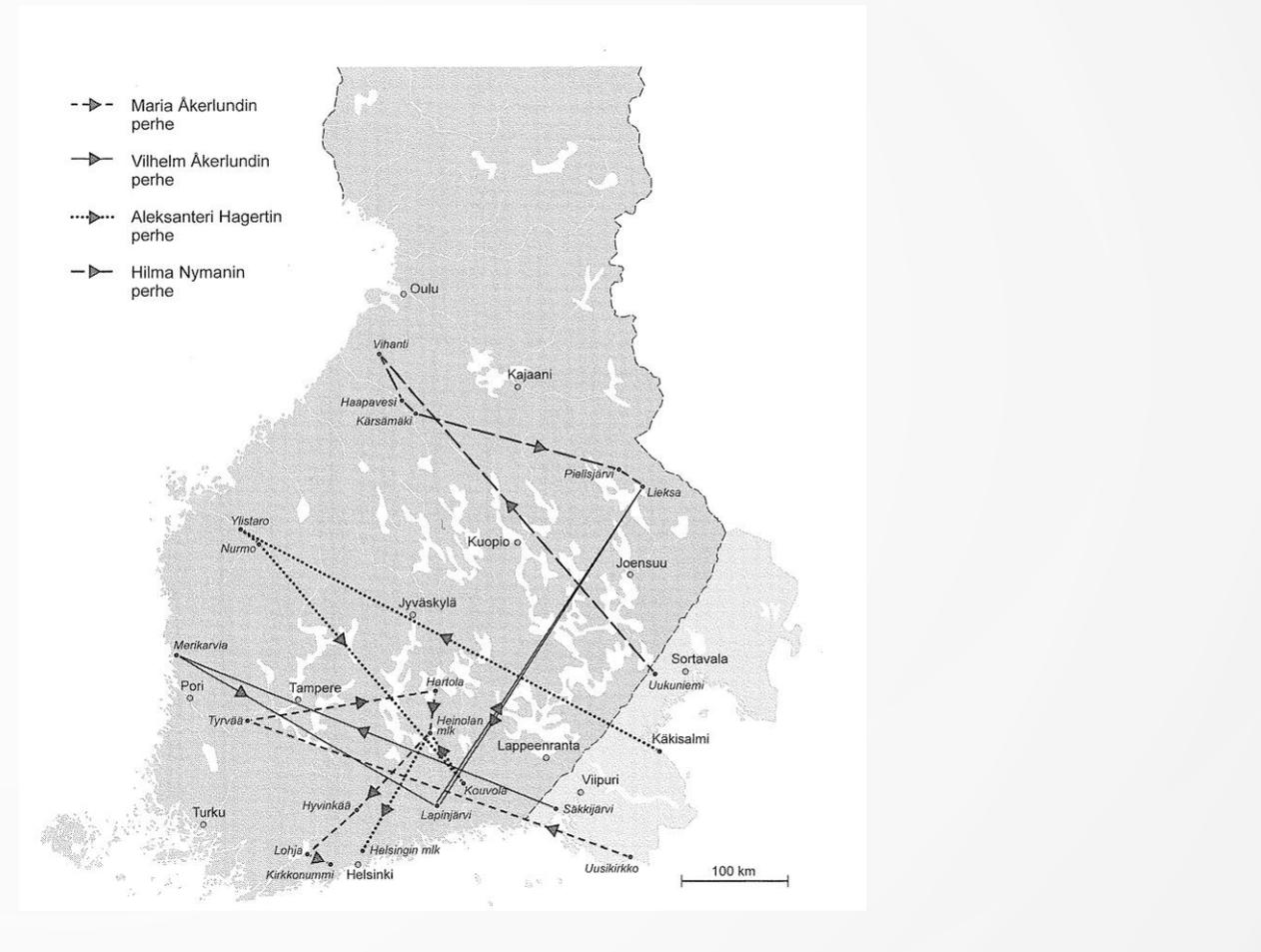
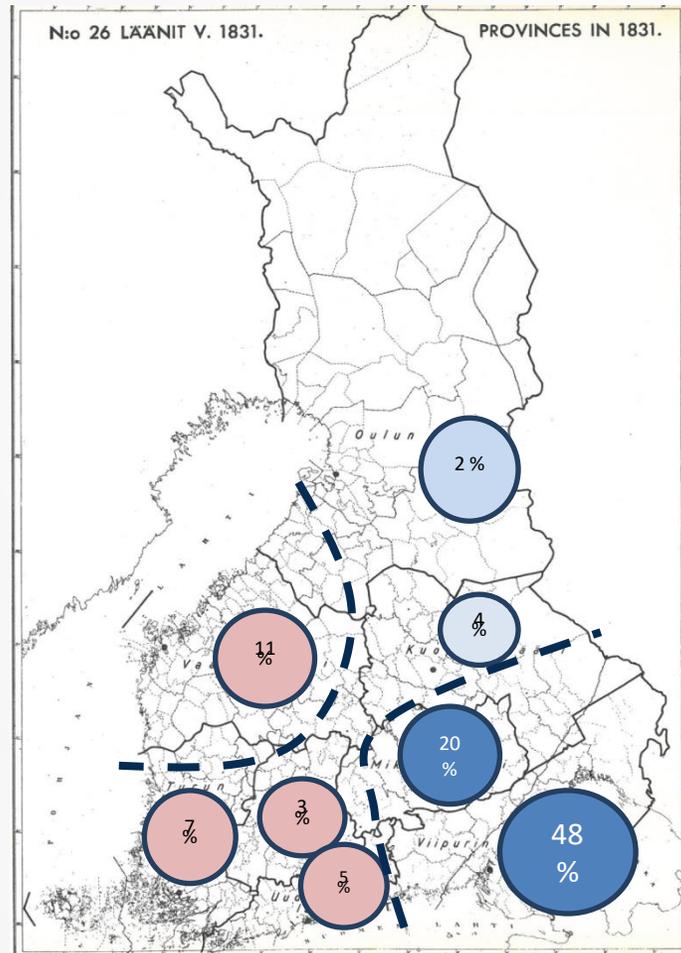
# NECESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN FR

(Subject)	+	Necessive verb	+	(Complementiser)	+	Verb complement
Nominative: <i>me</i> 'I'		person-inflected: <i>mostuv-a-a</i> 'must-PRS.1SG-IND' <i>hyövuv-a-a</i> 'need-PRS.1SG-IND'		<i>te</i>		subjunctive <i>rakkav-aa</i> 'speak3-PRS.1SG'
Oblique: <i>tuut</i> 'you.OBL'		3.sg.: <i>mostu-l-a</i> 'must-PRS.3SG-IND' <i>hyövu-l-a</i> 'need-PRS.3SG-IND' <i>pitää</i> 'have to'				"new infinitive": <i>rakkav-el</i> 'speak-PRS.3SG'
Dative: <i>les-ke</i> 'he-DAT'		uninflected: <i>moste/mote</i> 'must', <i>sote</i> 'should'				indicative: <i>rakkav-ah-a</i> 'speak-PRS.1PL-IND'
		periphrase: <i>hin mostiba</i> 'have to'				

*mostuv-* < Low German. *moste*, Mod.Sw.. *måste*; *hyövuv-* < Mod.Dan. *behøve*, Mod.Swe. *behöva*; *moste* < *moste* Mod.Sw. *måste*; *mote* < *moste* or *mo* + *te*; *mo* <  $\sqrt{muc}$  (> skt. \**mukna* > pkt. *mukka*); *ti* (*te*) < arm. *the* (etymologies Valtonen 1972).



# HISTORY OF ROMA SETTLEMENT IN FINLAND





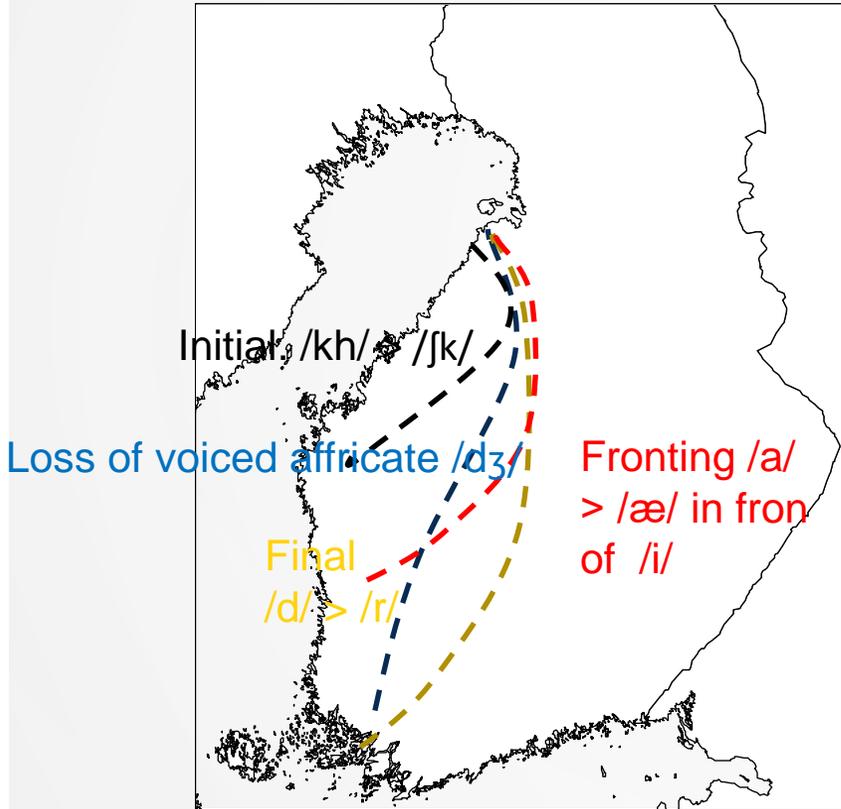
# PREVIOUS STUDIES ON FR SUBDIALECTS

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, 2017)	The first dialectological maps of FR, based on a spoke language corpus

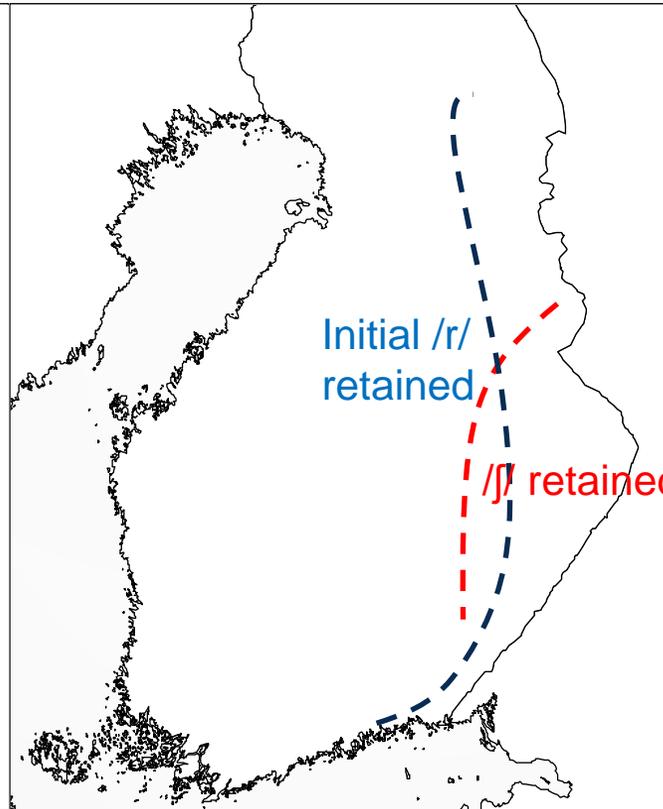
- Subdialects are primarily distinguished by phonological features.
- Some lexical features have been documented.



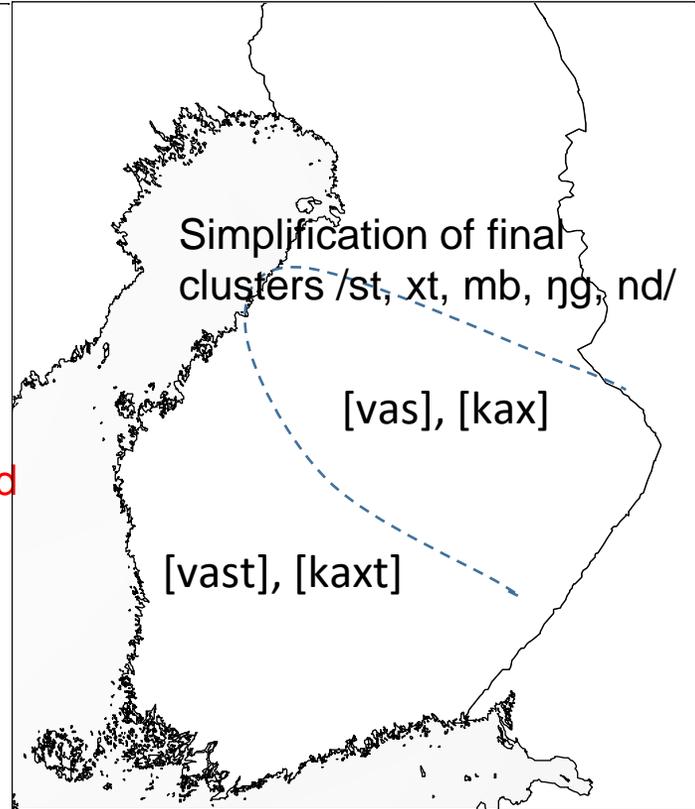
# FR DIALECTOLOGY: PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES (GRANQVIST 2017)



Map 4. *Innovations: East-West subdivision.*



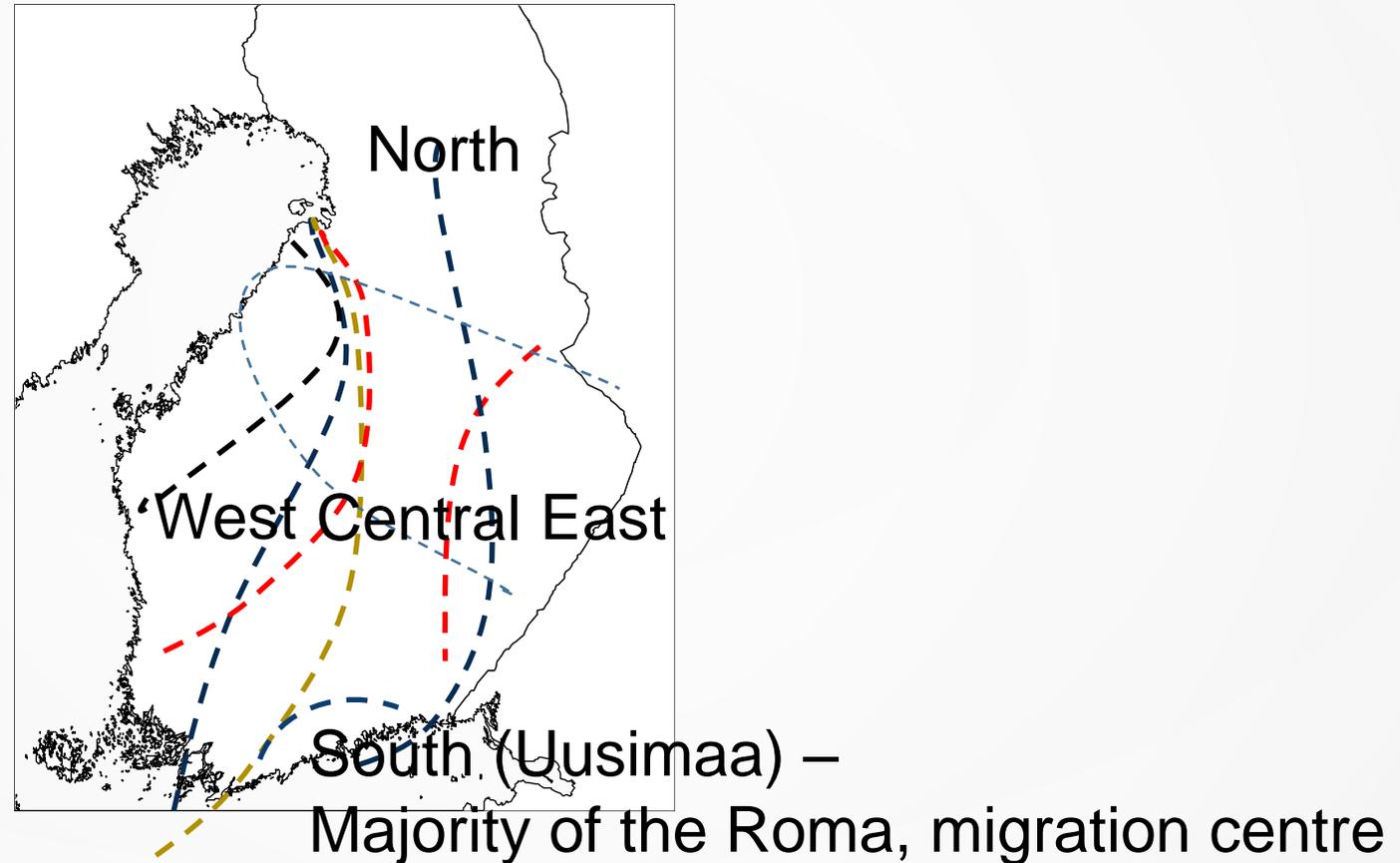
Map 5. *Conservative features of the Eastern subdialect.*



Map 6. *Possible South-North subdivision.*



# HYPOTEESI MURREALUEISTA



Map 7. *Subdialect areas and geographical diffusion.*



# DATA

Age distribution of informants 26-86 yrs, 19 women, 16 men

**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)**

25 samples collected in 2013-2014 using the RMS questionnaire.

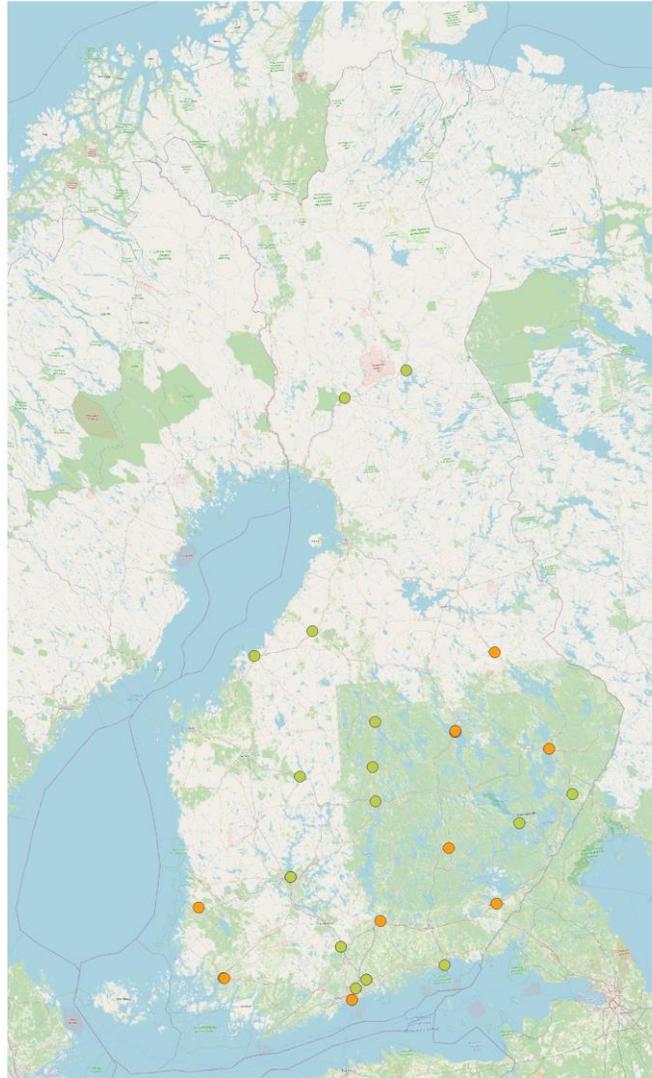
Data collection carried out by two fieldworks assistants: Maruska Lindeman (2013) and Sari Hedman (2014), transcriptions by Maruska Lindeman and Mirkka Salo

- **RMS**  
(<http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/rms/>) **samples of Finnish Romani**
- 10 samples collected in 2002-2005
- Data collection and transcriptions carried out by Katrin Hietam and Helena Pirttisaari.



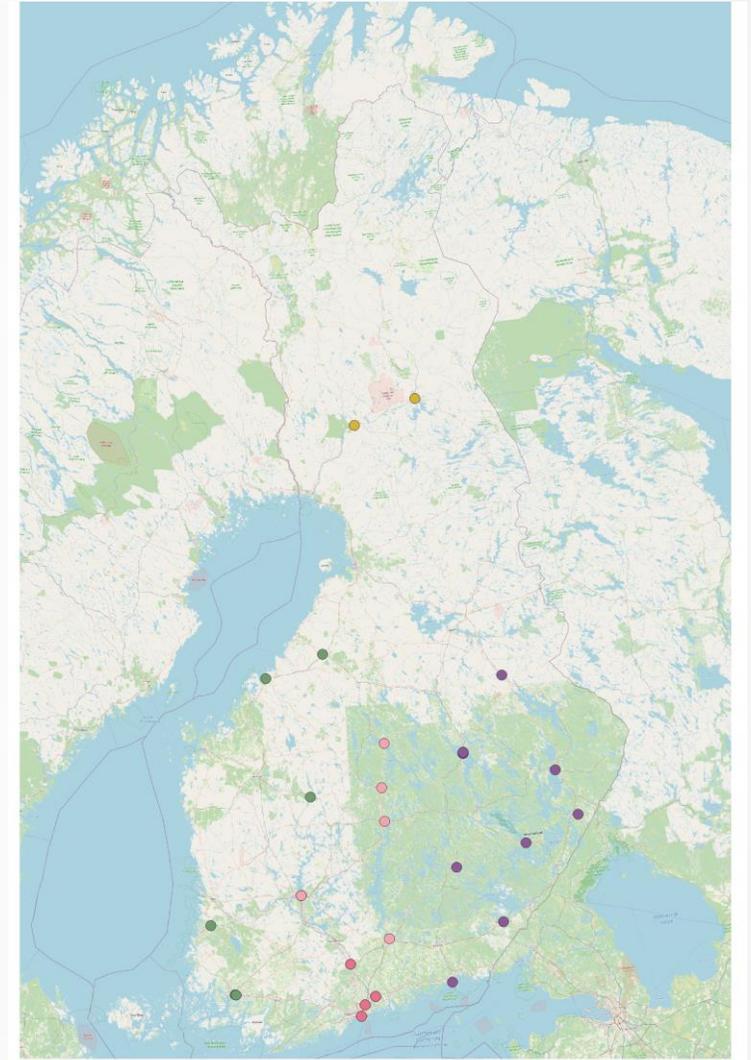
# DATA POINTS

FINBALROM:   
RMS: 



Map 8. *Data points by dataset (base map: OPENSTREETMAP).*

SOUTH:   
WEST:   
CENTRAL:   
EAST:   
NORTH: 



Map 9. *Data points by region (base map: OPENSTREETMAP).*



# DATA – NECESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

DATA SET	SAMPLE	LOCATION	NECESSIVE CONSTR.	DATA SET	SAMPLE	LOCATION	NECESSIVE CONSTR.	DATA SET	SAMPLE	LOCATION	NECESSIVE CONSTR.
<b>FINBAL- ROM</b>	HFIN-001	Kitee	3	<b>FINBAL- ROM</b>	HFIN-014	Tampere	1	<b>RMS</b>	RomQ_FIN-002	Lahti	12
	HFIN-002	Jyväskylä	9		HFIN-015	Kuopio	5		RomQ_FIN-003	Helsinki	12
	HFIN-003	Turku	10		HFIN-016	Vantaa	2		RomQ_FIN-004	Kuopio	10
	HFIN-004	Viitasaari	0		HFIN-017	Tampere	1		RomQ_FIN-005	Turku	12
	HFIN-005	Ylivieska	9		HFIN-018	Sipoo	6		RomQ_FIN-006	Kuopio	12
	HFIN-006	Kemijärvi	0		HFIN-019	Sipoo	1		RomQ_FIN-007	Mikkeli	10
	HFIN-007	Äänekoski	0		HFIN-020	Riihimäki	4		RomQ_FIN-008	Lappeenranta	12
	HFIN-008	Rovaniemi	3		HFIN-021	Helsinki	6		RomQ_FIN-009	Joensuu	10
	HFIN-009	Savonlinna	1		HFIN-022	Kokkola	3		RomQ_FIN-011	Eurajoki	10
	HFIN-010	Kotka	3		HFIN-023	Helsinki	0		RomQ_FIN-012	Valtimo	8
	HFIN-011	Vantaa	1		HFIN-024	Ähtäri	1				
	HFIN-012	Riihimäki	2		HFIN-025	Tampere	1		<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>183</b>
	HFIN-013	Kuopio	3								



# DATA – NECESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

West		
Sample	Location	N
HFIN-003	Turku	10
HFIN-005	Ylivieska	9
HFIN-022	Kokkola	3
HFIN-024	Ahtari	1
RomQ_FIN-005	Turku	12
RomQ_FIN-011	Eurajoki	10
<b>Total</b>		<b>45</b>

North		
Sample	Location	N
HFIN-006	Kemijärvi	0
HFIN-008	Rovaniemi	3
<b>Total</b>		<b>3</b>

Central		
Sample	Location	N
HFIN-002	Jyväskylä	9
HFIN-004	Viitasaari	0
HFIN-007	Äänekoski	0
HFIN-014	Tampere	1
HFIN-017	Tampere	1
HFIN-025	Tampere	1
RomQ_FIN-002	Lahti	12
<b>Total</b>		<b>24</b>

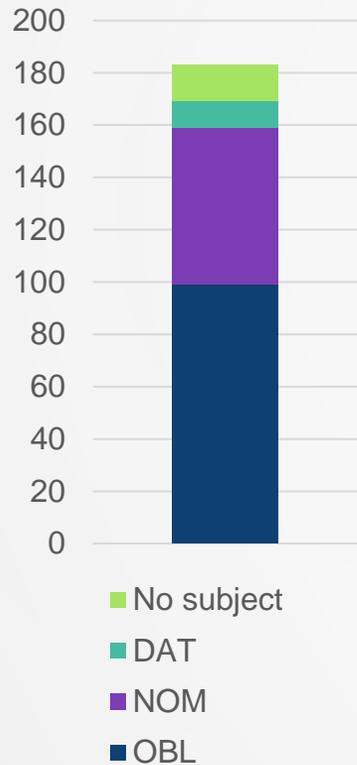
South		
Sample	Location	N
HFIN-011	Vantaa	1
HFIN-012	Riihimäki	2
HFIN-016	Vantaa	2
HFIN-018	Sipoo	6
HFIN-019	Sipoo	1
HFIN-020	Riihimäki	4
HFIN-021	Helsinki	6
HFIN-023	Helsinki	0
RomQ_FIN-003	Helsinki	12
<b>Total</b>		<b>34</b>

East		
Sample	Location	N
HFIN-001	Kitee	3
HFIN-009	Savonlinna	1
HFIN-010	Kotka	3
HFIN-013	Kuopio	3
HFIN-015	Kuopio	5
RomQ_FIN-004	Kuopio	10
RomQ_FIN-006	Kuopio	12
RomQ_FIN-007	Mikkeli	10
RomQ_FIN-008	Lappeenranta	12
RomQ_FIN-009	Joensuu	10
RomQ_FIN-012	Valtimo	8
<b>Total</b>		<b>77</b>

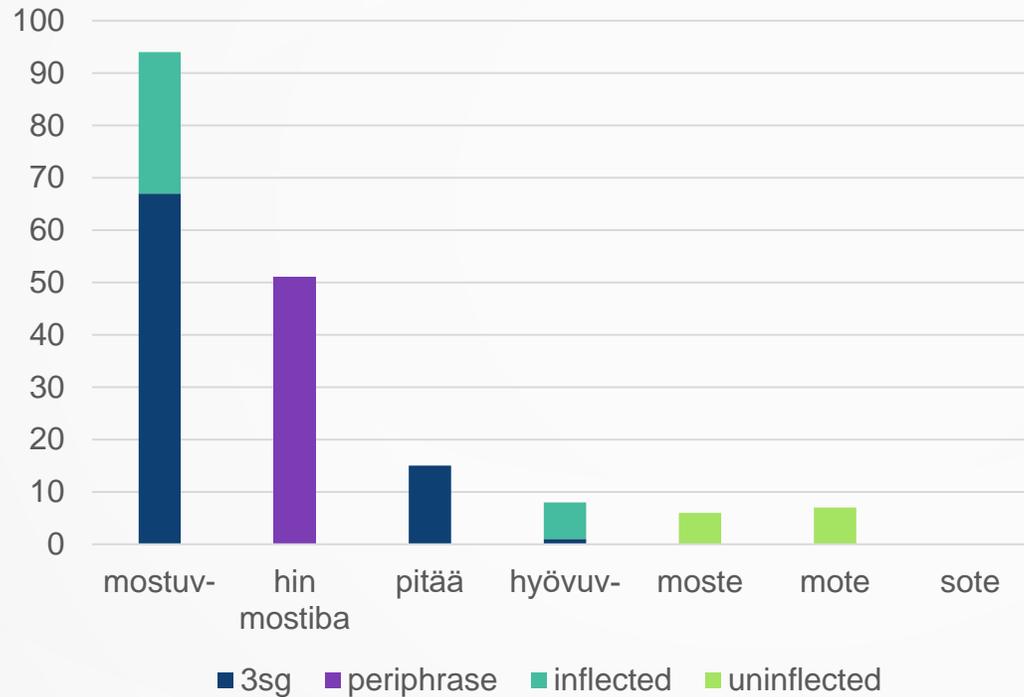


# DATA – NECESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

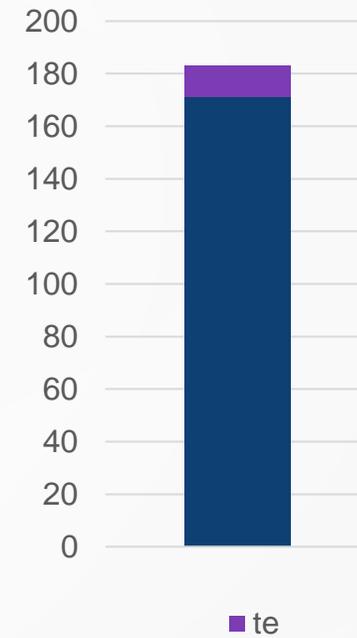
Subject



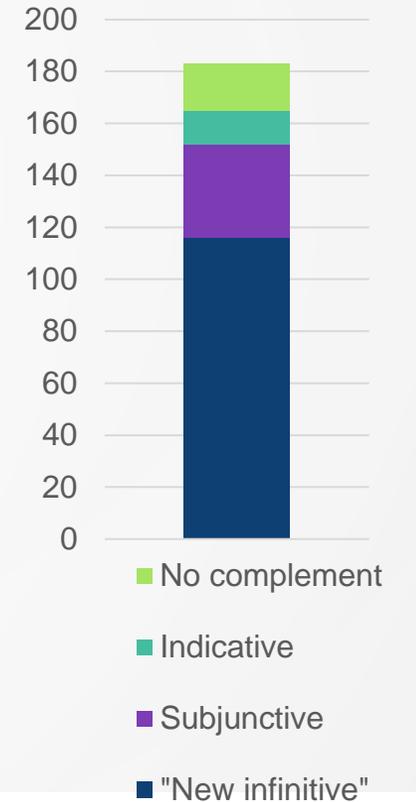
Necessive verbs



Complementiser



Verb complement





# SUBJEKTIN SIJA

## North

	NOM	OBL	DAT	∅
N	2	1	0	0
%	<b>66,7</b>	33,3	0	0

## West

	NOM	OBL	DAT	∅
N	6	<b>33</b>	2	4
%	13,3	<b>73,3</b>	4,4	8,9

## Central

	NOM	OBL	DAT	∅
N	5	<b>16</b>	0	3
%	20,8	<b>66,7</b>	0,0	12,5

## East

	NOM	OBL	DAT	∅
N	<b>37</b>	<b>26</b>	7	7
%	<b>48,1</b>	<b>33,8</b>	9,1	9,1

## South

	NOM	OBL	DAT	∅
N	10	<b>23</b>	1	0
%	29,4	<b>67,6</b>	2,9	0,0



# NECESSIVE PREDICATE

## North

	Mostula	Mostuv-	Moste	Mote	Hin mostiba	Hyövula	Hyövuv-vojuv-	Pitää
N	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
%	0,0	0,0	0	0	100,0	0,0	0,0	0,0

## West

	Mostula	Mostuv-	Moste	Mote	Hin mostiba	Hyövula	Hyövuv-vojuv-	Pitää
N	28	2	0	0	14	0	0	1
%	62,2	4,4	0,0	0,0	31,1	0,0	0,0	2,2

## Central

	Mostula	Mostuv-	Moste	Mote	Hin mostiba	Hyövula	Hyövuv-vojuv-	Pitää
N	14	1	0	0	8	0	0	1
%	58,3	4,2	0,0	0,0	33,3	0,0	0,0	4,2

## East

	Mostula	Mostuv-	Moste	Mote	Hin mostiba	Hyövula	Hyövuv-vojuv-	Pitää
N	11	19	6	2	23	0	5	9
%	14,7	25,3	8,0	2,7	30,7	0,0	6,7	12,0

## South

	Mostula	Mostuv-	Moste	Mote	Hin mostiba	Hyövula	Hyövuv-vojuv-	Pitää
N	14	4	0	5	3	1	2	4
%	42,4	12,1	0,0	15,2	9,1	3,0	6,1	12,1



# COMPLEMENTISER "TE"

## North

	"te"
N	0
%	0,0

## West

	"te"
N	5
%	14,3

## Central

	"te"
N	0
%	0,0

## East

	"te"
N	0
%	0,0

## South

	"te"
N	8
%	24,2



# “NEW INFINITIVE” VS. SUBJUNCTIVE AND INDICATIVE FORMS

## North

	INF	SUBJ	IND
N	2	1	0
%	66,7	33,3	0

## West

	INF	SUBJ	IND
N	21	9	5
%	60,0	25,7	14,3

## Central

	INF	SUBJ	IND
N	18	5	0
%	78,3	21,7	0,0

## East

	INF	SUBJ	IND
N	48	18	5
%	67,6	25,4	7,0

## South

	INF	SUBJ	IND
N	27	4	2
%	81,8	12,1	6,1



# CONCLUSION

- The results pertaining to necessary constructions partly support the idea of a divide into western and eastern subdialects:

## Case of the subject and form of necessary predicate

West	Central	East
OBL	OBL	NOM
mostula	mostula	hin mostiba
	South	
	OBL	
	mostula	



# CONCLUSIONS

- **Geographical distribution of *pitää*:**

<b>West</b> 2 %	<b>Central</b> 4 %	<b>East</b> 12 %
	<b>South</b> 12 %	





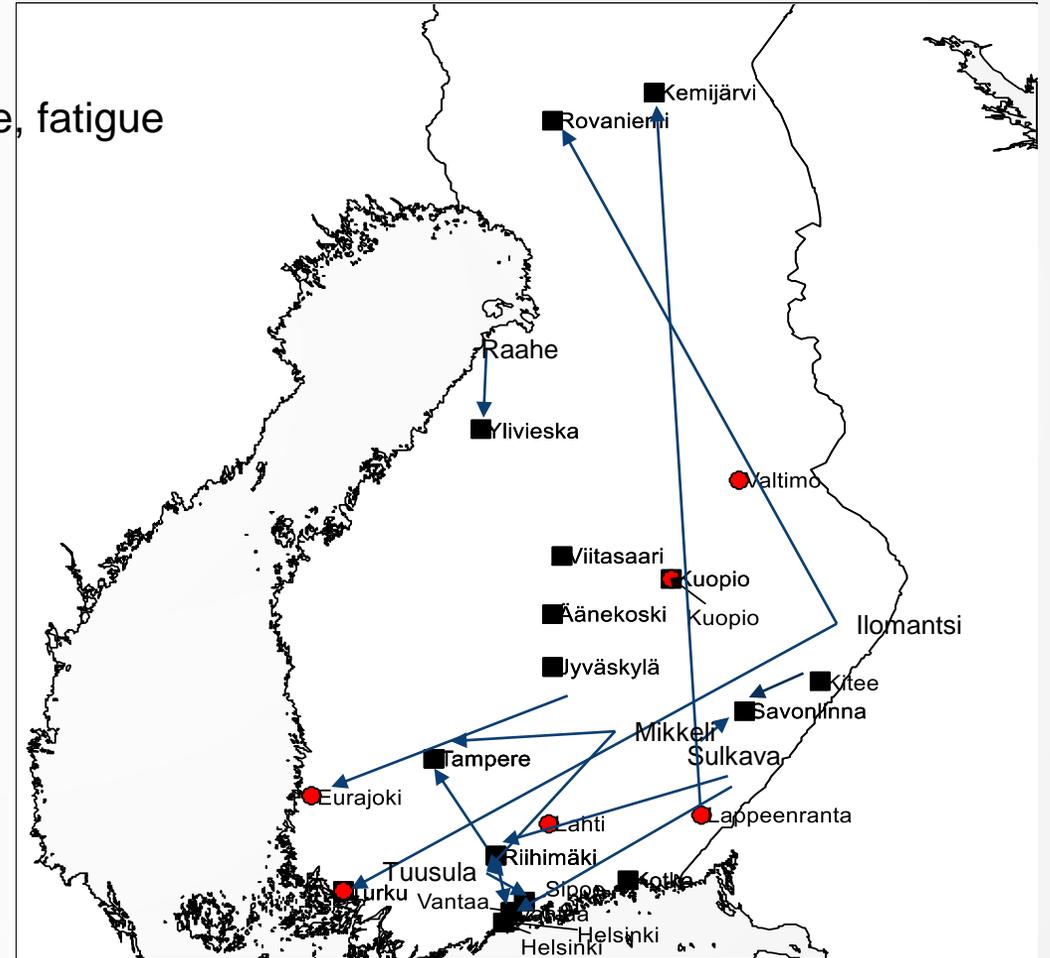
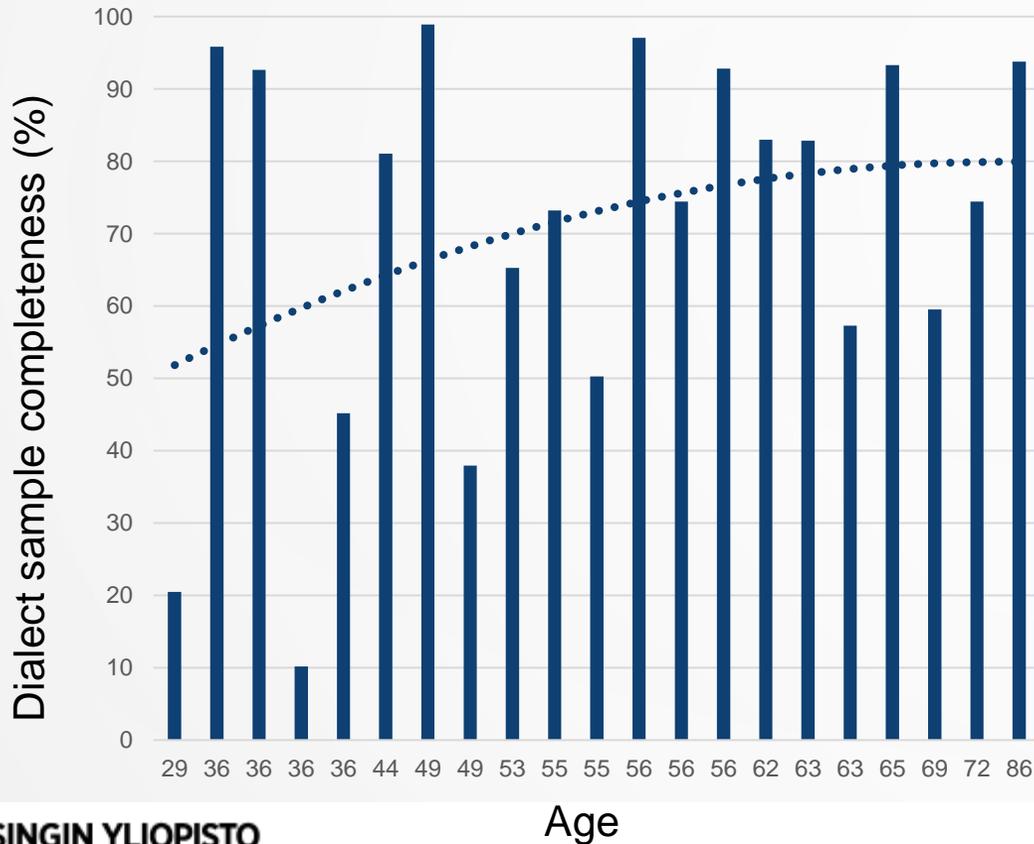
# CONCLUSION

- The results pertaining to successive constructions support the relevance of the geographical diffusion model of Romani dialectology:
  - Continuity instead of precise dialect boundaries/ sharp isoglosses



# CONCLUSIONS: PROBLEMS OF DATA

Often weak Romani competence      Good Romani competence, fatigue



Map 10. Known migration routes of the informants.



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Thank you!