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The Finnish of Rautalampi and Värmland – A comparison

Abstract In this paper some of the features of the Finnish spoken in the former great-parish¹ of Rautalampi and Värmland are discussed. These two Finnish varieties are, owing to their common historical background, closely affiliated, both being defined as Eastern Finnish Savo dialects. These varieties were isolated from each other for hundreds of years and the circumstances of the two speech communities are in many respects different. The language contact situation in Värmland involves Swedish varieties and Värmland Finnish but limited contact with other Finnish varieties. The contact situation in what once was the great-parish of Rautalampi involves mainly Finnish varieties, both dialects and Standard Finnish. Social and economic circumstances have also had an effect on the contact situations, especially since the 19th century when Finland was separated from Sweden and industrialization made its definite entrance into both areas. The differing language contact situations have in some respects yielded different results. This paper provides examples of the differences, which have occurred as an effect of the circumstances in Rautalampi and in Värmland. I provide examples from the phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic levels and discuss them in light of the language contact situation in these areas.

Keywords Värmland Finnish, Rautalampi Finnish, Finnish dialects, language contact, language change

1. In this paper, the term “great-parish” is used as an equivalent to Fi. *suurpitäjä* and Swe. *storsocken*, which both literally mean ‘large parish’. It refers to a geographically large parish which once was established as the result of new settlements in a previously sparsely inhabited area. Over time and up until the present day, such parishes have in general been divided into smaller administrative units.

1. Introduction

In the late medieval period, people in the historical province of Savo, in eastern Finland, began to move from the central areas of the province and settle in more peripheral areas. Eventually, this movement expanded to neighboring provinces and in the late 16th century the expansion reached the central parts of Scandinavia. This expansion has played an important role in the demographic history of both Finland and Sweden.

The northern part of the contemporary province of Central Finland and the northwestern part of the province of Värmland in western Sweden are two areas which were much affected by the migration from eastern Finland. The settlements in central Finland led up to the establishment of the great-parish of Rautalampi in the 1560s. The northwestern part of Värmland and the adjacent Norwegian areas received their first eastern Finnish settlers in the middle of the 17th century.

The settlers mastered different techniques which made them successful in their new environment. The slash-and-burn technique is often mentioned in connection with these settlers and it has become one of their emblematic features. However, in order to be successful farmers in the forest areas of Finland and Sweden a wide range of techniques were used.

1.1. The settlers' origin

In this comparison between the Finnish in Rautalampi² and in Värmland it is assumed that the two varieties are closely affiliated because of the speakers' common ancestry. The great-parish of Rautalampi has usually been thought of as being the most important area of origin by far of the Värmland Finns (cf. Bladh 2001: 24; Kettunen 1930: 149). Veijo Saloheimo (2009) has tried to identify the point of origin of 1 430 Forest Finns. The period of investigation stretches from the first Forest Finnish migration from Finland to Sweden in the late 16th

2. In this article I use Rautalampi with reference to the area originally covered by the former great-parish of Rautalampi.

century to the end of the 17th century when the migration began to diminish. It is quite clear from the study that Savo is the most frequent area of origin for the Forest Finns, especially the Värmland Finns. The areas around Pieksämäki and Mikkeli in western Savo stand out together with the great-parish of Rautalampi as the most important point of origin (Saloheimo 2009: 26). The areas around Juva, Rantasalmi, and Sääminki farther east also appear as important points of origin. What is noteworthy in Saloheimo's study is that the great-parish of Rautalampi appears to be a less important point of origin than what it is often considered to be. According to Saloheimo (ibid. 12) only 15 percent of the persons in the study had their origin in the great-parish of Rautalampi. The origin of the residents of the great-parish seems to be quite similar to that of the Värmland Finns (Saloheimo 1986: 11).

1.2. The Finnish of Rautalampi and Värmland

The Finnish varieties of Rautalampi and Värmland are generally considered as closely affiliated (Kettunen 1930; Tuomi 1989). The lack of the suffix *-p(i)* as a marker for third person singular, which appears farther east, is one of several shared features (Hormia 1970: 58). The Finnish spoken in the area which originally formed the great-parish of Rautalampi is not considered to form one single dialect, but as belonging to several eastern dialects. The central and by far the largest part of the former great-parish belongs to the North Central Finland dialect area, the very western part to the Middle Bothnian dialect area, the very eastern part to the North Savo dialect area, and the southern part to the South Central Finland dialect area (see Map 1).

Värmland Finnish, which is regarded as a separate eastern dialect, is usually not divided into subdialects, but smaller differences within this area are sometimes mentioned (Kettunen 1910: 3; Mägiste 1948: 5).

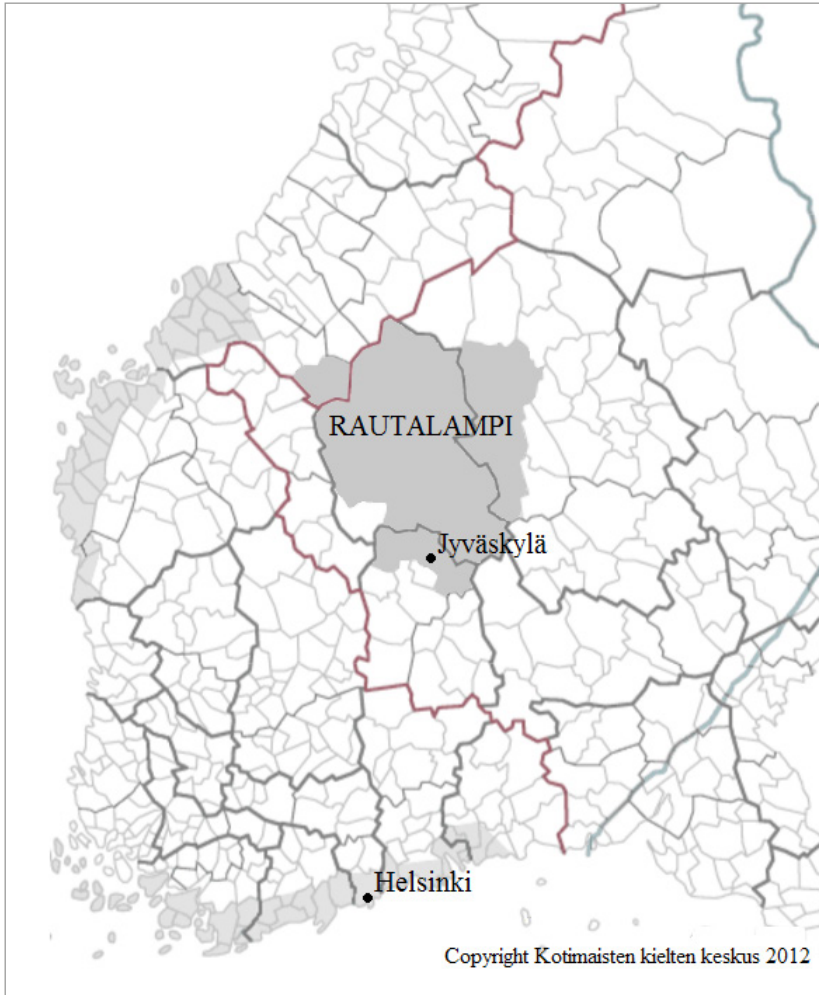
1.3. The language contact situations

Considering the common cultural and linguistic background of the settlers in Rautalampi and Värmland, and the similar geographic and climatic conditions in the great-parish of Rautalampi and northwestern Värmland, one can assume that the settlers' lives initially were quite similar in the two areas. The settlers established themselves as self-sufficient forest farmers and continued an existence based on the livelihood of earlier generations. The two areas were, however, geographically isolated from each other and were affected by phenomena and changes that occurred locally.

The language contact situations in Rautalampi and Värmland were different. In Rautalampi, the situation involved Rautalampi Finnish and other Finnish varieties, whereas the situation in Värmland mainly involved Värmland Finnish, Swedish, and Norwegian. The impact of these differences became increasingly important during the 19th century, when industrialization and other dramatic socio-economic changes reached the forest regions of Finland and Sweden.

1.3.1 The situation in Rautalampi

The separation of Finland from Sweden in 1809 meant a definite political divide between the two areas, which ultimately would have an effect on the local situation, especially in Finland. The Grand Duchy of Finland ultimately gained an increasing amount of influence over its domestic affairs, which, in conjunction with strong nationalistic striving, led to the establishment of Finnish social institutions. The Finnish language had an important role within this nationalistic striving, both as a symbol and as a means. During the 19th century Finnish developed into a language which was used in all domestic institutions and domains. These changes certainly had an impact, not only on the situation in the political centers of Helsinki and Turku, but also on the situation elsewhere in Finland. The endeavor to make Finnish a language for all societal institutions in Finland created a need for words and expressions for a number of conceptual systems, and, furthermore, a written standard language to bridge differences between different Finnish varieties (Laine 2007: 78).



Map 1. The great-parish of Rautalampi was established in the 1560s. Since then the area has been divided into smaller administrative units on several occasions and currently 22 municipalities (Fi. *kunta*) constitute the former great-parish.

The most important steps towards the status of a fully-fledged national language were taken in the latter part of the 19th century. At the beginning of the century, severe Russian censorship limited the subjects of published texts. Despite this, newspapers played an important role early on as language developers, by publishing texts on subjects which had not been written about in Finnish before. Finnish literature also enriched the vocabulary. The significant increase in the publication of Finnish literature, predominantly of translations, created a base for the vocabulary of many scientific disciplines (Laine 2007: 81). The Finnish vernaculars and the old literary language lacked terms for many concepts which were required in different sections of society. The concepts lacking a Finnish term were usually known in other languages and the challenge was to find a suitable Finnish equivalent. At the beginning of the 19th century, the attitude towards foreign words was rather positive and borrowing foreign words was considered one of many ways to bring new words into the language. However, as the idea of a Finnish nation grew stronger during the century, purism became a more distinguished feature as well, and efforts were made to restrict the number of loanwords by replacing them with words of Finnish origin.

In the search for a Finnish identity, attention was paid to parts of the old great-parish of Rautalampi. In 1837, the city of Jyväskylä was founded in the southern part of the former great-parish. Jyväskylä became increasingly important for trade and manufacturing in the area (Jokipii 1988: 13). The city also earned a reputation as a center for Finnish-medium education, when several educational institutions were founded around the middle of the century. As the idea of a Finnish identity grew stronger among students and intellectuals, attention was paid to the Finnish spoken in Jyväskylä and its surroundings. According to the ideas of that time, the language in the area was considered pure and not ruined by any corrupting Swedish influence. Scholars praised the Finnish spoken in the southern part of the great-parish and adjacent areas (see Topelius 1908: 135). There were differences between different areas in Rautalampi, between rural and urban areas, but altogether the development of education, media, and the economy increased exposure to Standard Finnish.



Map 2. In the middle of the 20th century, Värmland Finnish was still spoken in the parishes of Södra Finnskoga, Nyskoga, and Östmark in the northwestern part of Värmland. The Värmland Finnish material presented in this article has been recorded in these parishes.

1.3.2. The situation in Värmland

In Värmland, after the 17th century settlement phase, there probably was a situation where individuals among the first settlers' descendants spoke only Finnish, were bilingual in Finnish and Swedish³, or only spoke Swedish (Bladh 1995: 222). The contacts between the Värmland Finns and the Swedish population required Swedish-speaking

3. On the Norwegian side, bilingualism included Norwegian.

persons in the group, but it was not necessary for all Finns to speak Swedish. Bilingual individuals could function as intermediaries between the two groups by communicating directly with Swedes or by functioning as interpreters between Värmland Finns and Swedes. As contacts between Swedish-speaking society and the Finns became more intense, among other reasons due the establishment of churches and extended transportation, the proportion of bilingual individuals increased. However, as long as there were domains where Finnish was in use, the increased number of bilingual individuals was not a threat to Värmland Finnish. Locations in nature, farms, and other places had Finnish names (Mägiste 1955), of which some are still in use today. In addition, traditional livelihood with its many occupations was also a Finnish-language domain. Finnish had a strong position on Finnish farms and in the activities that were connected with them. Children were naturally raised in a Finnish-speaking environment with some eventually learning Swedish through contacts with the Swedish-speaking population.

The church was an institution where the Värmland Finns would come in contact with the Swedish-speaking community, but the closest church was a considerable distance away for some Finns (Broberg 1952: 126; Bredin 2009: 19). A visit to the church was commonly paid only when one had other errands to run in the church village. Therefore, events such as the baptism of a child could be delayed for years. The difficulty for people in the most remote villages to attend church had implications for confirmation. Sometimes an adult, functioning as a protector and an interpreter, accompanied the children to the church village, where the children stayed for a period of education in the spring. The priest John Finnson, who was born in Bograngen in the southern part of the Värmland Finnish area, recounts how relations were between the church and the Finns. This quote is also an account of the asymmetric bilingualism (Thomason 2001: 4, 9) in Värmland:

When Swedish was introduced in the 1870s to the southern parts of the parish in connection with the establishment of the public school, it happened with a lot of crying and agony. The whole village of Skallbäcken moved to North America, as the people in the village did not want to learn Swedish. In my childhood, people still more generally used the Finnish placenames, like Heinaho

for Höbråten and Baskaboro for Lortbäcken. When grandmother was being prepared for her confirmation, she had to interpret the teaching. The priest did not speak Finnish and some of the children did not speak Swedish. My grandmother was bilingual. When I grew up at the turn of the century there were still many Finnish-speaking people in “Söfinnskogen” [The Southern Finnish Forest]: Røjden, Bjurberget, and Mackatjärn. (Finsson 1976: 8, my translation.)

The dramatic socioeconomic changes of the 19th century changed the outlook for the preservation and development of Värmland Finnish. By the end of the century, many Finns had been forced to leave the traditional Värmland Finnish domains to find their income elsewhere. This development was to some extent, and temporarily, counter-balanced. Marriage statistics show that the Finns to a great extent married within the group (Bladh 1995: 221). Finns who married Swedes were predominantly crofters. Yeomen married more often within the group, which in Swedish gave rise to the notion *Finnadel* ‘Finnish nobility’. It seems that the Värmland Finnish culture and language were best preserved on larger farms, which functioned as hubs in a Värmland Finnish network.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the use of Värmland Finnish reached a stage where the language was no longer transferred to the younger generation. From a language endangerment perspective such a situation implies that the future and survival of a language is severely threatened. In the assessment of language endangerment, scales referring to language use are commonly used to determine to what extent a language is threatened (cf. Fishman 1991). Ethnologue (Ethnologue) uses a scale with 13 levels, extending from the most vigorous level *International* (level 0) down to *Extinct* (level 10). According to Ethnologue’s language endangerment scale Värmland Finnish took a step down from level 6b⁴, *Threatened*, to level 7⁵, *Shifting*, at the beginning of the 20th century and steps further down the scale later in the century.

4. “The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users.” (Ethnologue.)

5. “The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children.” (Ethnologue.)

2. Perspectives

The Finnish spoken in Rautalampi and in Värmland gives us the opportunity to study how the language of two historically closely affiliated Finnish speech communities is affected by different language contact situations involving opposed circumstances. The Finnish in Rautalampi is part of the Finnish dialect continuum, which makes it susceptible to influences from surrounding dialects. The people in Rautalampi are also members of Finnish society, which exposes them to Standard Finnish. The Värmland Finns, on the other hand, lived isolated from other Finnish-speaking societies and had a more limited contact with Standard Finnish. Instead they were exposed to different Swedish varieties, both standard and non-standard.

The exposure to Standard Finnish through contacts with Finnish scholars, however, must not be neglected. Carl Axel Gottlund made research trips to Värmland in the years around 1820 and he also distributed Bibles among the Värmland Finns (Söder 2012: 226). Torsten Aminoff went on a research trip in 1871 (Aminoff 1876) and in first three decades of the 20th century several scholars collected linguistic and folkloric material among the Värmland Finns with perhaps Lauri Kettunen having been the most frequent visitor (Kettunen 1960).

By comparing and putting into perspective linguistic material from both areas, I illustrate how the different contact situations have affected the Finnish in these areas. The material that appears in this article derives from consultants born in Rautalampi and Värmland (Mörtberg 2011; Mägiste 1948) between 1854 and 1900 and for Värmland's part they represent the last generation of Värmland Finns who spoke Värmland Finnish. The records from Rautalampi represent the parishes of Saarijärvi (Yli-Luukko 1997), Pihtipudas (Lehtinen 1982), and present-day Rautalampi (Yli-Luukko 1983). The Värmland material comes from the parishes of Nyskoga, Södra Finnskoga, and Östmark (Mörtberg 2011; Mägiste 1948) in northwestern Värmland.

Stress and linking symbols have been omitted in the records of Lehtinen, Mägiste, and Yli-Luukko. In order to make the morphological analysis clearer, long vowels are sometimes rendered with two vowels instead of the original macron placed above a single vowel.

2.1. Anaptyxis

Anaptyxis or svarabhakti (Fi. *svaavokaali*) is a feature common in the Savo dialects in Finland. The anaptyctic vowel appears after an unstressed syllable between two successive consonants, of which the first is *l* and the second *k*, *p*, *m*, or *v*. An anaptyctic vowel may also appear between *n* and *h* (ISK § 33). In example 1, the anaptyctic vowel separates *l* and *k*.

- (1) FiR (Lehtinen 1982: 67)

ja küllä ne ol valåkos-i-a ja
 and indeed they be.SG3.PRET white-PL-PART and
komme-i-ta ne alùsvoattē-t
 beautiful-PL-PART they underwear[NOM]-PL
 ‘and indeed they were white and beautiful,
 those [pairs of] underwear’

The anaptyctic vowel as it appears in the Savo dialects is not a general feature in Värmland Finnish (Kettunen 1910: 90; 1930: 149). The consonant clusters *lk* (illustrated in example 2), *lp*, *lm*, *lv*, and *nh* are not separated by an anaptyctic vowel, but there are, however, other instances of this phenomenon. Mägiste (1948: 6) mentions that the successive consonants *hn*, *hm*, *hl*, and *hj* quite often are separated by an anaptyctic vowel (cf. Kettunen 1910: 90). In example 3, the past participle *nåhäny* ‘seen’ (cf. FiSt *nåhnyt*) appears with an anaptyctic vowel between *h* and *n*. The phrase is an extract from Mörtberg’s records which tell about Ukko, a mythical figure controlling thunder and rain to whom one must pay respect when trying to bring rain.

- (2) FiV (Mägiste 1948: 11)

sitten ne BrūGa-s valGos-i-a voatte-i-Da
 then they use-SG3.PRET white-PL-PART garment-PL-PART
veDe-å Bello-n ü:lttö
 pull-INF field-GEN over
 ‘then they used to pull white clothes across the field’

- (3) FiV (Mörtberg 2011: 129)

jotta ukko ois nåhä-ny
 so_that Ukko[NOM] be.SG3.COND see-PPTCP
 ‘so that Ukko would have seen’

2.2. Primary gemination

A feature common in the Savo dialects in Finland is primary gemination (Fi. *yleisgeminaatio*), which implies the lengthening of a short consonant in positions between a short stressed vowel and a long unstressed vowel, e.g., *kalaa* fish-PART.SG ‘fish’ > *kallaa* (Hormia 1970: 31). This feature is present in the Rautalampi material (see example 4) but absent in the material from Värmland (Kettunen 1930: 149), which is illustrated in example 5.

- (4) FiR (Yli-Luukko 1983: 38)

kuñ sihennüt ruotē-t tullō
 when thereto now rib[NOM]-PL come.SG3.PRES
 ‘when the ribs come there’

- (5) FiV (Mörtberg 2011: 66)

Kala-hao-t, kala-risu-t, pitt
 fish-twig[NOM]-PL fish-brushwood[NOM]-PL have_to.SG3.PRET
pan-na pitkä-nä perjantai-na jott pare-mp
 put-INF long-ESS.SG Friday-ESS.SG so_that good-COMP.NOM.SG
lykky tuloo
 luck[NOM.SG] come.SG3.PRES
 ‘You had to put fish twigs and fish brushwood [into
 the water] on Good Friday for better luck at fishing’

Primary gemination is considered to have, at least partly, its origin in Savo (Hormia 1970: 31) and since it is absent in Värmland it must be a relatively recent innovation.

2.3. Stops

A phonological feature that separates Värmland Finnish from Rautalampi Finnish is the abundant occurrence of voiced stops. Since Mörtberg has adapted the orthography of his materials to Standard Finnish orthography, all stops, with a few exceptions, are written <p,t,k>, and consequently the variation between voiced and unvoiced stops is not visible. In phonetically more accurate records, this feature is evident. Julius Mägiste discusses the feature in his work *Metsäsuomalaismurteiden nykyisestä vaiheesta* (1948: 6–7: cf. Kettunen 1930: 151) and notes a general variation between voiced, semi-voiced, and voiceless stops. This variation does not seem to

be systematic and there are substantial differences between individuals (Söder 2011: 113–116; Mörtberg 2011: 19). Example 6 is from a consultant who almost exclusively uses voiced stops. The words *dul'*, *guiva*, and *gesä* in the example correspond to Standard Finnish *tuli*, *kuiva*, and *kesä*.

(6) FiV (Mägiste 1948: 36)

ja se dul' nän guiva gesä
 and it come.SG3.PRET so dry[NOM.SG] summer[NOM.SG]
 ‘and a very dry summer arrived’

The use of the grammatical subject *se*, in example 6, is an apparent instance of syntactic influence from Swedish, cf. Swe. *och det kom en så torr sommar* ‘and a very dry summer arrived’, where *det* is the grammatical subject.

2.4. Palatalized consonants

A phonological feature common in many Savo varieties and also in both Rautalampi and Värmland is the palatalization of consonants. In Värmland, the palatalized sounds [j], [n^j], and [s^j] are common in positions which correspond to the Standard Finnish sequence consonant~+ *i* (see examples 7 and 8). There is a variation between palatalized and non-palatalized instances, but palatalized sounds appear as a rule.

(7) FiV (Mägiste 1948: 15)

GarHu Dul' sänä ja män
 bear[NOM.SG] come.SG3.PRET there and go.SG3.PRET
ülös honka-an
 up pine_tree-ILL.SG
 ‘the bear came there and went up to the pine tree’

(8) FiV (Mägiste 1948: 11)

nän se ol' üks toinen gub
 so it be.SG3.PRET one other man[NOM.SG]
joga ne Galla-š valdia
 who they⁶ call-SG3⁷.PRET Valdia
 ‘so there was another man whom they called Valdia’

6. Similarly to modern colloquial Finnish, the demonstratives *se* and *ne* function as personal pronouns (cf. Karlsson 2009: §97:4).

7. As in colloquial Finnish, verb forms in the third person singular are commonly used even though the subject is in the third person plural (cf. Karlsson 2009: §97:6).

Palatalized consonants are phonetically rendered quite imprecisely in Mörtberg's records. Forms corresponding to Mägiste's *ol'* are sometimes spelled *oll* and sometimes *oil* (cf. example 11)

In the Rautalampi Finnish material, the situation varies more. In most parts of the area, regressive palatalization appears as in Värmland: *panʲ, olʲ, halusʲ* pro Standard Finnish *pani, oli, halusi* (9). In the records from Saarijärvi (Yli-Luukko 1997), farther southwest in the area corresponding sequences appear as a rule without palatalization but instead with apocope (10).

(9) FiR (Lehtinen 1982: 28)

se hirvi ni se ol' män-nä
 that elk[NOM.SG] so it be.SG3.PRET go-PPTCP
 'the elk, it had gone'

(10) FiR (Yli-Luukko 1997: 53)

kyllä se ol kummallis-ta
 indeed it be.SG3.PRET strange-PART.SG
 'indeed it was strange'

2.5. Reflexive conjugation

A morphological feature attributed to Savo and eastern Finnic in general is the occurrence of the so-called reflexive conjugation, which is a morphologically many-sided structure used most commonly to give a reflexive meaning to the verb stem (for details, see J. Koivisto 1990). In the description of reflexives in Finnish dialects, Värmland and Rautalampi Finnish, the latter as part of the Central Finland Dialect, are described as having similar reflexive conjugation systems (V. Koivisto 1995: 71). In Värmland Finnish, the reflexive conjugation is a regular way of expressing reflexivity (see examples 11–14). In the Rautalampi material, on the other hand, I have found only a few exceptional instances of reflexive conjugation, e.g., *elä näöttäete* 'don't show yourself' (Lehtinen 1982: 15).

- (11) FiV (Mörtberg 2011: 330)

Se oil kupp, joka voitele-iti
 It be.SG3.PRET man[NOM.SG] who grease-SG3.REFL.PRET
tuva-ss, jotta se lento-on pääs-is
 hut-INE.SG so.that he flight-ILL.SG get-SG3.COND
hän=nin, vaan se aina puto-is alas
 he=too⁸ but he always fall-SG3.PRET down
 ‘There was a man, who greased himself in the hut,
 so that he too could fly, but he always fell down’

- (12) FiV (Mörtberg 2011: 237)

Min=en tahto-anna tä-tä
 I=NEG.1SG want-CONNEG.PRET this-PART.SG
isännä-ks, sillä mina tällä-isi-n,
 master-TRANSL.SG therefore I arrange-PRET-SG1
jotta se tappa-itiin
 so_that he kill-SG3.REFL.PRET
 ‘I didn’t want him as master, therefore
 I arranged it so that he killed himself’

- (13) FiV (Mägiste 1948: 14)

Ne sano-i jotta ne kulkoo jälleen
 they say-SG3.PRET that they go.SG3.PRES back
tuloo kotiin ja näüttele-itöö
 come.SG3.PRES home and show-SG3.REFL.PRES
 ‘They said that they come back, come home, and show themselves’

- (14) FiV (Mägiste 1948: 19)

Kun ol’ jogii jog ol’ hakka-ina-an
 When be.SG3.PRET someone who be.SG3.PRET chop-REFL.PPTCP-PX.SG3
leikka-ina-an niin buara se sa-i
 cut-REFL.PPTCP-PX.SG3 then only he can-SG3.PRET
DieDe-ä niin ver’ staana-ś
 know-INF so blood[NOM.SG] stop-SG3.PRET
 ‘When there was someone who had chopped himself, cut
 himself then only he could know how to make the blood stop’

8. In Värmland Finnish, the particle *-kin* ‘too’ assimilates regularly with the word to which it is attached, cf. FiSt *hänkin*.

2.6. Phrasal verbs

A feature of Värmland Finnish is the appearance of constructions for which a Swedish phrasal verb, cf. Swe. *partikelförbindelse* (SAG III: §4), is seemingly the model. In these constructions it is often the adverb *ylös* ‘up’, which forms a lexical unit together with the verb. In example 15, the unit *söi ylös* ‘ate up’ shows clear correspondence with the Swedish phrasal verb *äta upp* ‘eat up’.

(15) FiV (Mörtberg 2011: 296)

Se-n pitt ol-la aita
 it-GEN.SG have_to.SG3.PRET be-INF fence[NOM.SG]
ympäriis aama-n, elles ne
 around stack-GEN.SG otherwise those
lehmä-t ja muu-t eläime-t
 cow[NOM]-PL and other-PL animal[NOM]-PL
sö-i ylös
 eat-SG3.PRET up

‘There should be a fence around the [hay]stack, otherwise
 the cows and other animals would eat [it] up’

Another example with *ylös* is shown in example 16, where the adverb is combined with the verb *kirjoittaa* ‘write’ forming a unit equivalent to the Swedish phrasal verbs *skriva upp* ‘note’. This construction also appears in modern Standard Finnish (cf. ISK § 455). In example 17, the expression *kasvattaa ylös* does not correspond to a phrasal verb, but to the compound *uppfostra* ‘raise’, where *upp* is the prefix to the verb *fostra* ‘raise, foster’.

(16) FiV (Mörtberg 2011: 94)

Sen poika ei huoli-nna oppi-a,
 it-GEN.SG boy[NOM.SG] NEG.SG3 want-CONNeg.PRET learn-INF
vaikka isä kirjoitt-i ylös
 even_though father[NOM.SG] write-SG3.PRET up
ja meina-is opetta-a
 and intend-SG3.PRET teach-INF

‘His son did not want to learn [the father’s knowledge], even
 though the father wrote [it] down and intended to teach [him]’

(17) FiV (Mägiste 1948: 12)

Se emä joG on Gasvatta-na
 that mother[NOM.SG] who be.SG3.PRES raise-PPCPT
ülös minu-D
 up I-ACC.SG
 ‘The mother who has raised me’

In these phrasal verb-like expressions, the adverb *ylös*, as in examples 15–17, appears as an equivalent to Swedish *upp* ‘up’. Another example of an adverb which appears in these kinds of constructions is the adverb *teiin* (see examples 18 and 19).

(18) FiV (Mägiste 1948: 24)

Sitten se doimitt-i midengä se gäv deliin
 Then he tell-SG3.PRET how it go.SG3.PRET to
 ‘Then he told how it happened’

(19) FiV (Mägiste 1948: 38)

Se güsü si-IDä: ”midengä seis-o
 he ask.SG3.PRET she-ABL.SG how stand-SG3.PRES
su-n deliin nüd?”
 you-GEN.SG to now
 ‘He asked her: ”How are you now?”’

The adverb appears in constructions which have Swedish phrasal verbs including *till* ‘to’ as the model. In example 16, *käydä teiin* corresponds to Swe. *gå till* ‘happen’ and in example 17, *seisoa teiin* corresponds to Swe. *stå till*, as in the expression *Hur står det till?* ‘How are you?’. The adverb has apparently occurred under the influence of Swedish *till*, cf. SweV *te* ‘to’ (Warmland 1997 s.v. *te*; Söder 2011: 127), and has been adapted to Värmland Finnish morphology. Other examples of Värmland Finnish adverbs of Swedish origin are *ramil-len* (< Swe. *fram* ‘there, through, forward’, cf. SKES s.v. *prami*) and *ahtiin* (< Swe. *akt* ‘attention’; cf. Mägiste 1960: 166) appearing in examples 20 and 21.

- (20) FiV (Mörtberg 2011: 121)

Niin kevää-llä oll-tiin sitten flyötingi-ssä,
 so spring-ADE.SG be-PASS.PRET then timber_floating-INE.SG
niin jotta ne sa-i flyötingi-n ramillen
 so that they get-SG3.PRET timber_floating-ACC.SG through
 ‘So in spring you would be engaged in the timber
 floating, in order to get the timber floating through’

- (21) FiV (Mörtberg 2011: 218)

Mikkeli-stä joulu-un ne saa tietē-ä,
 Michaelmas-ELA.SG Christmas-ILL.SG they get.SG3.PRES know-INF
se-n pitä-ä pan-na ahtiin
 (s)he-GEN.SG have_to-SG3.PRES put-INF attention
si-llä väli-llä
 that-ADE.SG interval-ADE.SG
 ‘From Michaelmas to Christmas they can tell⁹ from it [the Milky
 Way], you have to pay attention to it during that period’

2.7. Passive forms and first person plural

A common feature in colloquial Finnish with regard to the verbal system is the use of passive forms instead of active verb forms including the suffix *-mme* in the first person plural, e.g., *me sanotaan* ‘we say’ pro *me sanomme* and *me mentiin* ‘we went’ pro *me menimme* (Karls-son 2009: 302; ISK § 1326). In Rautalampi Finnish, as is shown in examples 22 and 23, this feature is common, too.

- (22) FiR (Yli-Luukko 1983: 25)

’er rei,ä-stä müö lähe-tti
 other hole-ELA.SG we leave-PASS.PRET
 ‘we went through another hole’

- (23) FiR (Lehtinen 1982: 17)

müö män-tin tuone’
 we go-PASS.PRET there
 ‘we went over there’

9. You can tell whether there will be a lot of snow or not.

In the Värmland Finnish material, I have not found examples where the passive is used as the form for first person plural. Instead forms with the suffix *-mmo(n)/-mmö(n)* are used (see example 24).

(24) FiV (Mägiste 1948: 43)

müö ommon müö-nä kaikki t̄ini
 we be.PL1.PRES sell-PPTCP everything_completely
 ‘we have sold everything’

The Värmland Finnish suffix *-mmo(n)/-mmö(n)* has its origin in the Savo dialects and it corresponds to Standard Finnish *-mme*. The labial vowel of the suffix has developed due to influence of the labial nasal consonants (Nirvi 1947: 38). The widespread use of the suffix *-mmo(n)/-mmö(n)* in Värmland Finnish indicates that such forms were in use in the 16th century in Savo, but as illustrated in examples 22 and 23, the use of the suffix has decreased in Rautalampi Finnish to the advantage of passive forms. Nirvi explains this change as having a sociolinguistic reason, meaning that because of its labial vowel and perhaps also because of the length created by *-n*, the suffix would have conflicted with that of the neighbor dialects, which ultimately led to its loss (Nirvi 1947: 39). The passive forms were already in use as the first person plural imperative and could therefore easily be transferred to the use in the active voice (Nirvi 1947: 39–40). In Värmland, the passive was also used as the first person plural imperative, e.g., *otetaan* ‘let us take’ (Standard Finnish *ottakaamme*) (Aminoff 1876: 218), but the use of passive as the first person plural active voice was never introduced. In Finland, the passive as the form of first person plural has spread, according to Mielikäinen (1991: 50), to a much wider area than what appears to be the case according to Kettunen’s survey from 1940 (map 164).

2.8. Lexicon

The lexicon of the two varieties has been formed by their differing contexts. Swedish loanwords in Värmland Finnish bear witness to the contact with Swedish. In the Värmland Finnish examples, several Swedish loanwords appear: *buara* (example 14) < Swe. *bara* ‘only’

(Fi. *vain*); *fintti* (example 31) < Swe. *fin* ‘nice’ (Fi. *hieno*); *fiuli* (example 32) < Swe. *fiol* ‘violin’ (Fi. *viulu*); *flyötinki* (example 20) < SweV *flöting* ‘timber floating’ (Fi. *uitto*); *kallata* (example 8) < Swe. *kalla* ‘call’ (Fi. *kutsua, nimittää*); *kup* (examples 8, 11 and 32) < Swe. *gubbe* ‘man’ (Fi. *mies, ukko*); *meinata* (example 16) < Swe. *mena* ‘mean’ (Fi. *aikoa*); *staanata* (example 14) < Swe. *stanna* ‘stop’ (Fi. *pysähtyä*).

Värmland Finnish, on the other hand, has preserved Eastern Finnish and non-standard lexical features such as *hukka* ‘wolf’ pro *susi* and *päivä* ‘sun’ pro *aurinko* (see examples 25 and 26), whereas Rautalampi Finnish shows many lexical features that instead are Western and Standard Finnish, e.g., *vuosi* ‘year’ (cf. FiV *ajastaika*), *tuli* ‘fire’ (cf. FiV *valkea*).

(25) FiV (Mörtberg 2011: 46)

Ku “hukka” sano-i, se sö-i kaikki
 when wolf[NOM.SG] say-SG3.PRET it eat-SG3.PRET all
eläime-t, mutt en muista
 animal-ACC.PL but NEG.SG1 remember.CONNEG.PRES
mi-ksi si-tä sano-ttiin=kaan, vaan
 what-TRANSL.SG it-PART.SG say-PASS.PRET=at_all but
hukka ei saa-nu sano-a
 wolf[NOM.SG] NEG.SG3 get-CONNEG.PRET say-INF
 ‘When they said “*hukka*”, it ate all animals, but I don’t
 remember what they called it, but you could not say *hukka*’

(26) FiV (Mörtberg 2011: 222)

Ja ne ott-i kolt naula-a ja
 and they take-SG3.PRET three nail-PART.SG and
kaivo-vat hampaa-sta ver-ta, ja naula-si-vat
 dig-PL3.PRET tooth-ELA.SG blood-PART.SG and nail-PRET-PL3
seittyse-en kuuse-en jok oll ikään
 such-ILL.SG spruce-ILL.SG which be.SG3.PRET like
pohoise-ssa, jo-hon ei paljo päivä
 north-INE.SG which-ILL.SG NEG.3SG much sun[NOM.SG]
paista-nu
 shine-CONNEG.PRET

‘And they took three [wooden] plugs and dug blood
 from the tooth, and they plugged it into such a spruce,
 which faced north, which didn’t get much sun’

Other instances of *päivä* meaning ‘sun’ are *viskais hopeata vasten päiveä* ‘they threw silver towards the sun’ and *päiveä ihailemaan* ‘in order to admire the sun’ (Mörtberg 2011: 130, 318).

Some of the lexical differences between the two varieties have occurred as the result of deviant lexicalization of new concepts which were introduced to the speech communities after the Forest Finns’ settlement of Scandinavia.

The potato became a very popular crop in the beginning of the 19th century. In Värmland Finnish, *putis(i)* is used to denote the crop and in Rautalampi *peruna*, which etymologically correspond to Standard Swedish *potatis* and Standard Finnish *peruna*, respectively. In both Finnish and Swedish dialects there exist words for ‘potato’ with the opposite etymology (cf. SKES s.v. *potaatti*; SAOB P3105).

As rail transport was introduced in the 19th century a word meaning ‘train’ became necessary. In Värmland Finnish, the word *paana* is found and in Rautalampi *juna* (see examples 27 and 28). The Värmland Finnish word is a loan from Swedish (*bana* ‘path, line, track’), which has been lexicalized as the means of transportation. The Finnish *juna* originates from a word meaning ‘queue, row’ and its modern meaning ‘train’ has been in use since the middle of the 19th century (SSA s.v. *juna*; Hakulinen 1979: 428).

(27) FiV (Mörtberg 2011: 232)

Ne piili-llä kävv, ja se makso-i
they car-ADE.SG go.SG3.PRET and it cost-SG3.PRET
yltä 200 kruunu-a se ois
more_than 200 crown-PART.SG it be.SG3.COND
tul-lu paljo halve-mpi paana-lla
become-PPTCP much cheap-COMP.NOM.SG train-ADE.SG
‘They went by car, and it cost more than 200 crowns,
it would have been much cheaper to go by train’

(28) FiR (Yli-Luukko 1983: 46)

tul’ juna’-onnettomūs Pieksämäe-llä
become.SG3.PRET train_accident[NOM.SG] Pieksämäki-ADE.SG
‘a train accident happened in Pieksämäki’

In the 20th century, the automobile became an increasingly common means of transportation and in both Rautalampi and Värmland words originating from the German word *Automobil*, which first occurred in print in 1886 (Häkkinen 1987 s.v. *auto*), are found. In Värmland, the word for ‘automobile’ is *piil(i)* (see example 27), an adaptation of the Swedish *bil* ‘automobile’ attested in Swedish in the early 20th century (SAOB B2511). In Rautalampi, *auto* is used, but in other Finnish varieties in Finland, there is also evidence of *piili* being used (SSA s.v. *piili*).

Some of the lexical differences between the two varieties are not only due to new concepts being lexicalized in different ways, but have occurred as a result of neologisms coined in 19th century Finland, when a new written standard language was created to meet the needs of the developing Finnish society. The increasing use of Finnish in contexts where Swedish earlier had been used and changes in society created a need for a renovation of the Finnish vocabulary. There existed unwillingness among scholars to use Swedish loans to fill the gaps. Instead elements from the Finnish language were used in the renewal. More than 150 of the 1 000 most common Finnish words are, judging from written sources, neologisms of which the majority originates from the 19th century (Häkkinen 1985: 155). These neologisms have also found their way into the language of speakers, whose language appears in the records.

The verb *järjestää* ‘organize, arrange’ (see example 29) and the corresponding noun *järjestys* ‘order, system’ (see example 30) both originate from *järki* ‘sense, reason, row’ (SSA s.v. *järki*). The older concrete meaning of the word is still preserved in the adverb *järjestään* ‘in a row’ and an earlier meaning of the verb is ‘put in a row’ (Hakulinen 1979: 404). In the 1850s, the verb appears in print with the modern meaning ‘organize’ (Europæus 1853 s.v. *organisera*). The noun *järjestys* was initially more widely spread than the verb in 19th century dictionaries (Hakulinen 1979: 460 footnote).

(29) FiR (Yli-Luukko 1983: 18)

ne mua-t ol' si-llä lälla
 those land[NOM]-PL be.SG3.PRET that-ADE.SG manner
järjeste-ttū enne, oja-t si-llä
 arrange-PASS.PPTCP before ditch[NOM]-PL that-ADE.SG
lāla että
 manner that
 ‘the lands were arranged in that manner before,
 the ditches, in that manner that’

(30) FiR (Yli-Luukko 1983: 22)

se=kkī pit ol-lan nīj
 that=too have_to.SG3.PRET be-INF such
järestükse-ssā
 order-INE.SG
 ‘that too had to be in such order’

In the Värmland Finnish material, I have not found the verb or the noun, but the examples below show ways of expressing similar meanings in Värmland Finnish. In example 31, the verb *tällätä* (< Swe. *ställa* ‘put, set’; SKES s.v. *tällätä*) is used. In example 32, *oornink(i)* (< Swe. *ordning* ‘order’) is used together with *soana* (cf. FiSt perfect participle *saanut* < inf. *saada* ‘get’) and *peällä* ‘on’ (cf. FiSt *päällä* ‘on’) to form an expression like Swedish *få ordning på något* ‘put something in order’.

(31) FiV (Mörtberg 2011: 78)

”Ei=pä se niin fintti oo, vaan
 NEG.SG3=quite that so nice[NOM.SG] CONNEG.PRES but
ko minä se-n tällöö-n”, mehtä-herra¹⁰
 when I it-ACC.SG arrange.PRES-SG1 forest_lord[NOM.SG]
sano-i
 say-3SG.PRET
 “‘Not quite so fine, but when I arrange it’, the lord of the forest said’

10. A mythical character appearing in Värmland Finnish folklore.

(32) FiV (Mägiste 1960: 56)

Se kup ol osta-na uuve-n fiuli-n
 that man[NOM.SG] be.SG3.PRET buy-PPTCP new-ACC.SG violin-ACC.SG
siinä, van sei soa-na yhtää
 there but he.NEG.3SG get-PPTCP any
oorninki-a se-n peällä
 order-PART.SG it-GEN.SG on

‘This man had bought a violin there, but he could not get it in order’

The word *kone* is an old Finnish word and the meaning ‘tool’ (SSA s.v. *kone*) has been attested in the dialects. The modern meaning ‘machine’ is mentioned in print in 1838 (Helenius s.v. *maschin*), but the word was probably in use in the modern meaning already in the 18th century (Hakulinen 1979: 442 footnote). In example 33, there is talk about haymaking in the times before mowers were introduced.

(33) FiR (Yli-Luukko 1983: 12)

ku e ol-t konne-i-ta sielä
 when NEG.SG3 be-CONNNEG.PRET machine-PL-PART there

‘when there were no machines there’

In Mörtberg’s records the word *kone* appears once, in a comment about Mörtberg’s recording equipment (see example 34). Another word for ‘machine’ in Värmland Finnish is *masina*, which appears in example 35.

(34) FiV (Mörtberg 2011: 101)

Niin mu-n niin pitä-ä sano-a jonniin
 so I-GEN.SG so have_to-SG3.PRES say-INF some.ACC.SG
sana-n tuo-hon konee-seen
 word-ACC.SG that-ILL.SG machine-ILL.SG

‘So I have to say some words into that machine’

(35) FiV (Mörtberg 2011: 277)

vaan nyt nii-llä on hakku-masina-t
 but now they-ADE be.SG3.PRES chopping-machine[NOM]-PL

‘but nowadays they have chopping machines’

The word *kapine* appears in Mörtberg’s records as the word for ‘tool’ (ibid. 134). According to SSA (s.v. *kapine*) the word does not exist in Värmland Finnish. It seems quite plausible to think that the appearance

of *kone* and *kapine* in Mörtberg's records is a result of contacts with Finnish linguists who frequently paid visits to the Värmland Finns in order to make records.

The occurrence of commercial companies in the increasingly industrialized 19th century required a suitable vocabulary. In Finland, the old noun *yhtiö* was introduced in the 1840s. Initially, it was used in several meanings, but towards the end of the century, the meaning '(commercial) company' (36) was established (Hakulinen 1979: 455, 464). In Värmland, the word *puulaak* (Mägiste 1960: 174), from Swedish *bolag* '(commercial) company', is used in the same meaning (see example 37). Mörtberg's spelling *bolaag* is not phonetic. To indicate Swedish loanwords Mörtberg sometimes uses a spelling influenced by Swedish orthography. Another example from Mörtberg's records is *djurit* 'animals' (Mörtberg 2011: 46) from Swedish *djur* 'animal', cf. *jyyr* 'animal' (Mägiste 1960: 169).

(36) FiR (Lehtinen 1982: 40)

ühti^jö-m *pomö,* *joka ol'*
 company-GEN.SG boss[NOM.SG] who be.SG3.PRET
 'the company's boss, who was'

(37) FiV (Mörtberg 2011: 63)

Ne men *sitten Härjedaali-in* *se*
 they go.SG3.PRET then Härjedalen-ILL.SG that
bolaag *ott-i* *nii-ltä* *torpa-t*
 company[NOM.SG] take-SG3.PRET they-ABL cottage-ACC.PL
 'Then they went to Härjedalen, the company took their cottages'

3. Conclusions

This short comparison between the Finnish of Rautalampi and the Finnish of Värmland shows that the differences in their respective contact situations have had an impact. The lexical level shows salient differences. Värmland Finnish has retained, on the one hand, Eastern Finnish lexical features (e.g., *päivä* 'sun', *hukka* 'wolf') and, on the other, incorporated words from Swedish (e.g., *piil(i)* 'automobile', *oornink(i)* 'order'). Some lexical features of clear Swedish origin are

more difficult to define as loans into Värmland Finnish. The Värmland Finnish adverb *ramillen* ‘there, through, forward’, for instance, has etymological counterparts in Finnish in Finland, cf. *tulla (p)ramille* ‘come out’ (SKES s.v. *prami*) and it cannot be ruled out that the word already existed in the language at the time of the settlement of Scandinavia; although the contact with Swedish probably has strengthened its position. In Rautalampi Finnish, the impact from Standard Finnish is evident in the lexicon. Neologisms coined in the 19th century often contrast with Swedish loans in Värmland Finnish.

The influence from Swedish is evident in Värmland Finnish constructions similar to Swedish phrasal verbs, e.g., *syö ylös* ‘eats up’, even though similar constructions are not unattested in the Finnish of Finland (cf. ISK § 455).

The isolation of Värmland Finnish from other varieties of Finnish has in some respects preserved archaic features, such as the use of verb forms with *-mmo(n)/-mmö(n)* in Värmland instead of passive forms for first person plural and the conservation of the reflexive conjugation.

Abbreviations

1	first person	ILL	illative
3	third person	INE	inessive
ABL	ablative	INF	infinitive
ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative
ADE	adessive	PART	partitive
COMP	comparative	PASS	passive
COND	conditional	PL	plural
CONNEG	connegative	PPTCP	past participle
ELA	elative	PRES	present tense
ESS	essive	PRET	preterite
Fi.	Finnish	REFL	reflexive
FiR	Rautalampi Finnish	SG	singular
FiSt	Standard Finnish	Swe.	Swedish
FiV	Värmland Finnish	SweV	Swedish dialect of Värmland
GEN	genitive	TRANSL	translative

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Vertailussa Rautalammin ja Vermlannin suomi

Torbjörn Söder

Keskiajan loppupuolella väestöryhmiä alkoi siirtyä Savon historiallisen maakunnan keskiosasta maakunnan reuna-alueille. Muuttoliike ulottui maakunnan rajojen ulkopuolelle ja lopulta Skandinavian keskiosaan. Savolaisen asutuksen takia Rautalammin suurpitäjä perustettiin 1560-luvulla Hämeen historiallisen maakunnan pohjoisosaan ja 1600-luvun puolivälissä samaa alkuperää olevaa väestöä asettui Ruotsin Vermlantiin.

Vermlanninsuomi ja rautalamminsuomi ovat läheisiä varieteetteja, jotka olivat erillään toisistaan yli 300 vuotta. Vermlanninsuomi eristyi, toisin kuin rautalamminsuomi, suomen kielen murrejatkumosta ja standardisuomesta, jonka merkitys puolestaan kasvoi Suomessa 1800-luvun loppupuolella. 1900-luvun toisella puoliskolla vermlanninsuomi sammui.

Erilaiset olosuhteet Rautalammissa ja Vermlannissa kehittivät varieteetteja eri suuntaan. Molemmat kielimuodot luetaan suomen itämurteisiin, mutta vermlanninsuomessa näkyy myös vaikutusta ruotsista ja samalla arkaaisia piirteitä kun taas rautalamminsuomi on saanut vaikutteita suomen muista varieteeteista.

Sanastossa esiintyy eri kielikontaktitilanteesta johtuvia eroja. Leksikaalisesti vermlanninsuomi eroaa joissakin suhteissa rautalamminsuomesta, koska vermlanninsuomi on säilyttänyt vanhoja murre sanoja (esim. *ajastaika* pro *vuosi*, *valkea* pro *tuli*) ja toisaalta saanut lainoja ruotsista (esim. *oornink(i)* pro *järjestys*, *piil(i)* pro *auto*).

Sanastollisten erojen lisäksi vermlanninsuomen eristynyt asema on johtanut siihen, että eräät morfosyntaktiset piirteet, jotka leimautuvat suurta osaa suomen kielen puhuma-alueesta, puuttuvat tältä varieteetilta. Esimerkkejä verbintaivutuksesta ovat monikon ensimmäisen persoonan suffiksin *-mmo(n)*/*-mmö(n)* käytön ja refleksiivitaivutuksen säilyminen. Rautalamminsuomessa käytetään monikon ensimmäisessä persoonassa finiittimuotojen sijaan passiivimuotoja ja refleksiivitaivutus esiintyy varieteetissa katoavana piirteenä.