Introduction to Finno-Ugric studies

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Political and cultural position between West, East and Southeast

- Saamen (Lappen)
- Karelier
- Lüden
- Woten
- Wensen
- Finnen
- Komi (Syrjänien)
- Syktumkar
- Komsomolsk
- Bolschew
- Tschernomorski
- Enzen
- Nenzen (Juraksamojeden)
- Mansen (Wogulen)
- Chanten (Ostjaken)

Sweden

Baltic-German

Old Russia

Central Europe, the Habsburg monarchy

Volga region, colonized from 16th century on (Turkic influences)
## Taxonomy of the FU/Uralic lgs

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# Taxonomy of the Uralic Languages

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## Finnic
- Finnish (5 million)
- Karelian (incl. Olonets Karelian and Ludic: more than 50,000)
- Veps (6000)
- Ingrian (almost extinct?)
- Votic (almost extinct)
- Estonian (1 million)
- Livonian (almost extinct)
- Mordvin
- Mari
- Komi
- Udmurt
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<td>Mordvin</td>
<td>Saami: dialect continuum divided in 4–12 lgs, including</td>
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<td>• Kola Saami: Ter, Babino (Akkala), Kildin Saami (seriously endangered or (almost) extinct)</td>
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<td>• Skolt Saami (<em>kolta</em>) and Inari Saami, a few hundred speakers each</td>
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<td>• <strong>North Saami</strong> (ca. 30,000 speakers in 3 countries)</td>
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<td>Lule Saami (ca. 2000 speakers)</td>
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<td>• Ume, Pite, South Saami: seriously endangered</td>
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<td>Mordvin (more than 600 000 speakers in sum):</td>
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<td>Erzya</td>
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<td>Mari (&quot;Cheremis&quot;): ca. 500 000 speakers in sum</td>
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<td>– West / Hill Mari</td>
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<td>– East / Meadow Mari</td>
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<td>– Khanty (“Ostyak”), 13000</td>
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<td>– Mansi (“Vogul”), 3000</td>
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<td>– North Samoyed:</td>
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<td>• Nenets (“Yurak”), ca. 27 000</td>
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<td>• Enets (“Yenisey Samoyed”), almost extinct</td>
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<td>• Nganasan (“Tawgy”), a few hundred speakers?</td>
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<td>– South Samoyed:</td>
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<td>• Selkup (“Ostyak Samoyed”), ca. 1600 speakers?</td>
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<td>• Kamass (last speaker died 1989)</td>
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<td>• Mator (extinct since 19th century)</td>
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Samoyedic
Basic questions

- cultural, socio-ecological and language-sociological diversity
- great time depth (comparable with IE)
- language/dialect continua and contacting sister languages vs. tradition of binary taxonomies (family tree)
Socio-ecological classification

- strong nation-state languages: Hungarian, Finnish, Estonian
- endangered “national” (?) languages in European Russia: Mordvin (Erzya/Moksha), Mari, Udmurt, Komi (plus Karelian?)
- relatively strong (yet endangered) Arctic minority languages: North Saami and Nenets
- severely endangered or almost extinct:
  - Siberian and Arctic: Ob-Ugric, most Samoyed lgs, most Saami lgs
  - minor Finnic lgs
“Primeval home” of PU

• Northern Eurasian forest zone (*lumi ‘snow’, *suksi ‘ski’, *kaxsi ‘spruce’)
  – Bend of the Volga? (PFU *mekši ‘bee’)
  – Great Primeval Home from the Urals to the eastern Baltic region (continuity in the Baltic area, old IE loanwords in NW FU)?
  – Siberia, Central Asia rehabilitated? (areal explanation for typological similarities with “Altaic”)

• Ancient neighbourhood – contacts with IE?
On the structure of PU: phonology

- relatively simple consonant system (non-palatal vs. palatalized $n$, $s$, $\tilde{c}$, $\tilde{l}$; no voiced stops; $\tilde{t}$spirants)
- vowel system
  - 8-9 vowels in first, 2-4 in non-first syllables
  - vowel harmony (?; today in Finnic, Hungarian and Mari, traces in Ob-Ugric and Samoyed)
  - in today’s Uralic languages: often oppositions between long/short (Finnic, Mansi, Hungarian) or reduced/non-reduced (Khanty, Mari) vowels
Questions of reconstruction

- Main questions: quantity, vowel system
- Reconstructions
  - Finnish mainstream (Erkki Itkonen & al.): largely based on Finnic-Saami
  - Steinitz: vowel alternations based on Eastern Khanty
  - Tálos, Abondolo & al.: two-tier vowel system with distinctive quantity (based on Ob-Ugric)
  - Revised Finnish mainstream (Juha Janhunen, Pekka Sammallahti), based also on Samoyedic: long vowels brought back to V + *x, mid vowel *i (also > Finnic *a!)
Word structure & phonotactics

- canonic disyllabic structure (except for grammatical words; best retained in Finnic and Samoyed)
- stress on first syllable (?)
- sequences of three consonants or two word-initial consonants not allowed (cf. the adaptation of old loanwords: Fi. *risti*, Hung. *kreszt* ‘cross’, Fi. *koulu*, Hung. *iskola* ‘school’)
  - debate about old IE loans: too many possible substitutions? (e.g. *k-* for *k-*, *g-*, *k’-*, *ğ-*, *sk-*, *H-...*)
Morphology

- agglutinative, suffixing morphology
  - Fi. tie(+tä+mä+tt(+öm+yyde-ssä-mme
  (road-CAUS)-INF-NEG(-DX)-NMN-INE-PX1PL
  Hung. tud+atl(+)an+ság+unk+ban
  know-NEG(-DX)-NMN-PX1PL-INE
  ‘in our ignorance’

- however: morphophonological alternations, e.g.
  - consonant gradation (Finnic-Saami, ?Samoyed)
  - stem vowel/consonant alternations:
    - Hung. kéz ‘hand’ : keze ‘his/her hand’ vs. vér ‘blood’: vére
    - Hung. ház ‘house’ : Pl. házak vs. szám ‘number’ : számok

- agglutinative character due to reconstruction method?
Morphology (2)

- case system:
  - 6 cases reconstructible for PU:
    - grammatical cases: Nom., Acc. *-m, Gen. *-n
    - adverbial (local) cases: Loc. *-nA, Separ. *-tA, ?Lative
    - tendency to extend the (tripartite) local case subsystems

- person marking on verbs & nouns (possession)

- number: sg., pl., dual (preserved in the Far North)

- rich derivation systems

- no sub-classes within the macro-categories
  *Nomen* & *Verbum* (no gender, no “auxiliary verbs” etc.?)
Syntax

- “free” word order, GN, AN, tendency to SOV (> SVO in Finnic-Saami), postpositions (also prepositions in Finnic-Saami)
- no copula (innovation in Finnic-Saami)
- no *habeo* verb
- rich systems of non-finite verb forms
- no conjunctions reconstructible (left-branching non-finite verb constructions)
Lexicon

body part nouns: *käti ‘hand’, *śilmä ‘eye’, *śüdımi ‘heart’,
*pärj ‘head’, *weri ‘blood’, *kuji ‘fat’ etc.
animals & plants: *puxi ‘tree’, *śinjiri ‘mouse’, *kala ‘fish’,
*muna ‘egg’, *tulka ‘feather’ etc.
nature & weather: *üj ‘night’, *tälwä ‘winter’, *järj ‘ice’ etc.
people & relations: *poji ‘boy, son’, *mińä ‘daughter-in-law’,
*įppi ‘father-in-law’ etc.
technology: *ńixli ‘arrow’, *pata ‘pot’, *kota ‘house’ etc.
low numerals: *käktä ‘2’, *kolmi ‘3’, *ńeljä ‘4’, *wi(t)ti ‘5’,
*ku(t)ti ‘6’; *śata ‘100’ < IE
basic verbs: *meni ‘go’, *įmta ‘give’, *kaxli ‘die’, *elä ‘live’,
*ńixli ‘swallow’, *sewi ‘eat’, *tumti ‘know’ etc.
deictic & grammatical words: *tVnV ‘you[sg]’, *mi- ‘what’, *e- negation etc.
Loanwords

- ancient IE loanwords in (Western) FU and Siberia?
- Indo-Iranic loanwords in (Western) FU
- possible substrate words (numerous words of unknown origin in Finnic-Saamic)
- Turkic loanwords (Volga region, Siberia; Hungarian)
- Paleosiberian and “Altaic” loanwords in Siberia
- Baltic and Germanic loanwords in Finnic-Saami
- Germanic and other loanwords in Hungarian
- Slavic loanwords (separately) in Hungarian, (eastern) Finnic-Saami and (other) FU lgs of Russia
Typology of FU-Slavic contacts (1)

- Hungarian: Contacts with all main branches of Slavic
- Western Saami and Finnic (e.g. Northern Saami, Finnish, Livonian): old but superficial contacts, loanwords partly conveyed by eastern sister languages
  - Estonian: somewhat stronger influences in late 19th and 20th century due to Russification policies
    - however, Russian influence clearly much weaker than that of German, in the 20th century largely prevented by puristic language planning
Slavic in Hungarian

• more than 1200 loanwords
  – material culture, farming, technology (asztal, kovács, kulcs, bárány, széna) – but also society (király, rab), religion (pap, kereszt, csoda), etc. Even adjectives (ritka, drága, tiszta, néma, szabad)...
  – donor language often difficult to identify

• loan translations and structural influence?
  – tense system: men|t ‘gone’ (PTC) > ‘(s/he) went’, men|t|em ‘I went’ etc.
  – numeral type tiz|en+egy “on.10 1” = ‘11’ ?
  – superlative prefix: nagy ‘big’ : nagyo|bb : leg|nagyo|bb ?
  – verbal prefixes ??
Typology of contacts (2)

- Northwest Russia (Eastern Finnic, Mordvin, Komi): old and close socio-cultural contacts with Russian
- Russian Far North & Siberia (Eastern Saami, Samoyed, Ob-Ugric) and Central Russia (Mari, Udmurt): clear dominance of Russian only in the 20th century, preceded by contacts with other (Uralic, Turkic etc.) neighbouring languages
Close contact

- numerous loanwords, also in the basic vocabulary
- phonology: palatalization (extended), new consonant phonemes (b, d, g, z/ž, f, c, x...)
- morphosyntax: from Aktionsart to aspect?
  
  российский: сухе, аг баш: en rikoške
- they say: you killed him, the woman says: no, I did not kill(FREQU>IPF) (Veps; < Lehtinen 1990)
- code-switches, mixed codes
Smooth language alternation

- Karelian/Russian (Sarhima 1999):
  Tämä ei ole politika, no všo že interesno t_eä'd_eä kuin ka mejän ved' tämä vydajuščijsja mänöü mejjän strane šuuri tämä izmenenie Jelcina kakoj teilä šielä Finljandii teilä on pagina kakoe otnošenie teilä šie hüvä il'i paha?

This is not politics, but anyway (it's) interesting to know as, now, we have, you know, this famous one, is going on, (in) our country, this great (programme of) change by Yeltsin, what is it like, with you, there (in) Finland, your discourse [= what do you say], what kind of an attitude do you have there, positive or negative?
Govorka (Taimyr Peninsula Pidgin Russian)
- phon. simplifications: starik > tarik, vse > se
- no gender: devka pel ‘the girl sang’
- no morphol. plural: rebjata odin ‘one child’
- no case marking: voda taskat ne xočet ego oba ‘they two don’t want to carry water’
- no morphol. person: tebja kogda letat budet ‘when will you fly?’
- modifier before head: kotoryj èto rebjata pojmal ljudi ‘the person who caught this child’
- all-round postposition mesto/meste: tarik mesto taken nalil ‘(he) filled the glass for the old man’
FU substrate in East Slavic?

- Substrate toponyms and dialect words
- Morphosyntactic features?
  - local construction for possession
  - unipersonal constructions, “anti-analytism”
- Phonological features:
  - *Akanje* (reduction of unstressed o)???
  - *Cokanje* (merger of c and č)
- Substrate or later adstrate?