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Book of Abstracts



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This book of abstracts contains all the abstracts of CIFU XII presentations that were accepted. Chapter 1 includes the abstracts of the plenary presentations, chapter 2 the abstracts of the general session papers and chapter 3 the abstracts of the papers submitted to the symposia. The abstracts are presented in alphabetical order by authors' last names except the plenary abstracts, which are in the order of their presentation in the Congress.

The abstracts are in English. Titles in the language of presentation are given in brackets.

We have retained the transliteration of the names from Cyrillic to Latin script as it was in the original papers.



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# **1 Plenary presentations**





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## **Language endangerment and endangered Uralic languages**

In this paper we report on the status of the endangered languages in the world based on research findings of the *Catalogue of Endangered Languages* (at [endangeredlanguages.com](http://endangeredlanguages.com), ELCat). We compare and contrast the situation for Uralic languages with that of most of the rest of the world’s endangered languages. In this context we focus on new findings concerning the status of Uralic languages, on the implications of these findings for language typology and historical linguistics, and on what is now needed in the documentation and revitalization of these languages.

Although concern for language endangerment became prominent after 1992, Uralic scholars have made substantial strides in recording the Uralic languages from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onward. As a result, documentation and archival materials exist for nearly all Uralic languages and major dialects. However, as languages across the globe are increasingly threatened with extinction, Uralic linguists once again have the opportunity to demonstrate leadership in further documentation of the many endangered Uralic languages to help safeguard linguistic diversity.

ELCat lists 37 endangered Uralic languages, 15 of them severely endangered. These results underscore the responsibility of linguists and other scholars to guarantee adequate documentation of these languages, and to act urgently in the case of the most critically endangered ones. In this paper we point to the cases where it is important to provide more adequate documentation, to foster language revitalization where possible, and to consider better curation for existing language documentation. For some of the numerous Uralic languages that were documented in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries portions of these valuable collections remain undigitized or out of reach for researchers and revitalization programs. The problem is not limited just to these materials from past documentation work either. Modern documentation efforts face similar issues of curation and access. We raise the questions of what further documentation is most urgently needed and of how to best to deploy documentation of Uralic language materials for future researchers and language revitalization efforts.

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## **The Finno-Ugric message. Literary and cultural contributions of our discipline**

Although our notion of Finno-Ugrianness is strongly connected with linguistics and based on linguistic evidence only, it makes sense to speak of Finno-Ugric cultures too. The reason for this is that many cultural manifestations are linked to language in one or another way – be it only through the fact that the mother tongue of the creator of a work of art is a Finno-Ugric language. Most of these manifestations can be properly, or at least better, understood only with knowledge of the respective language.

The basic idea underlying the lecture is the following: If linguistic features of Finno-Ugric languages contribute to our general knowledge of language, then, as a consequence, also specific features of Finno-Ugric cultures should have the ability to broaden our horizon with respect to general literary and cultural history. Therefore as the motto of the lecture may serve a quote by the Estonian poet, philosopher and scholar Uku Masing, who wrote in 1940: *Small peoples necessarily have a broader outlook on life on account of the fact that they cannot disregard the existence of others*. The inevitable and implicit reverse version of this insight would be: *Large peoples necessarily have a narrower outlook on life on account of the fact that they can disregard the existence of others*. Since all Finno-Ugric cultures are small when compared to, e.g., English, Russian, German or Chinese, they lack the restrictions of these large cultures.

The aim of the lecture is *not* to establish a comprehensive set of cultural features which are regarded or interpreted as something 'specifically Finno-Ugric'. This would be very hard, if not impossible, to prove for two reasons: First of all, the divergence between a modern Hungarian film and a Mansi folk dance is too large to be able to serve as an example for common Finno-Ugric features. And, secondly, the creators of a Finnish poem on the one hand and a Mordvinian song on the other hand have undergone such different foreign influences that it seems impossible to distil any kind of 'Finno-Ugric essence' from them.

The first aim of the lecture is rather to point to several features or simply elements of different Finno-Ugric cultures that deserve more attention because of their – real or alleged or reputed – uniqueness. Uniqueness here means that the respective phenomenon cannot be found in the same shape within other cultural environments without any connection to a Finno-Ugric language. This may help us to establish a notion of Finno-Ugrianness in the cultural field. The only possibility to label a cultural phenomenon 'Finno-Ugric' seems here to be the method Wittgenstein sketched in his concept of *family resemblance*: No single fixed criteria or distinctive feature for 'Finno-Ugric cultural manifestations' can be given, but a set of criteria can be established of which, say, a certain number has to be matched in order to make something 'Finno-Ugric'. Secondly, investigating these specific features should lead to a better understanding of multicultural situations, since all Finno-Ugric cultures are situated in a more or less multicultural environment. Therefore the study of these cultures has a high potential to contribute to our theoretical framework of multicultural studies.

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### **Modified model of linguo-ethnogenesis of the Permian people**

Now as well as previously nobody doubts concerning close relationship of the Permian languages and their common origin. Their typological peculiarities and distinctions in phonetics and grammar were briefly depicted by Robert Austerlits in his article "The Permian centre", having shown small difference in their dialects: "In general, we can say with confidence that Komi dialect distinctions are insignificant. In the Udmurt language they are even less. This makes appreciable contrast with some other Finno-Ugric languages, especially the

Ersian, Saami, Mari and Ob-Ugrian languages”. (Austerlitz 1985: 100-101). For historians of the language this circumstance testifies to rather recent splitting of languages and dialects. The lexical affinity between the Permian languages is clear even for nonspecialists. According to Alo Raun data, in the list of Svodesh the etymologically common vocabulary in the Komi and Udmurt languages makes 70 % that is the maximum number in paired comparisons in the table. According to Sándor Csúcs, in vocabulary of languages there are 1554 common primordial bases, with that 671 of them have parallels only in the neighbouring Permian languages that makes 43 % of total number of words. This speaks of importance of the common-Permian period in development of the Permian languages among which Komi dialects have preserved ancient linguistic riches better (ibid.). Obviously, this can be explained by much more intensive and long influence of the Turkic and Russian languages on the Udmurt language that resulted in mass borrowings within centuries.

In the Finno-Ugristics the model of divergence of the Permian languages, proposed by Jurje Vihman and V.I.Lytkin is the most spread. The latter explained the disintegration of the parent language as follows: “The common-Permian language-base disintegrated about IX-X centuries, while movement of Komi ancestors to the north (possibly, at first to closer north) started even earlier... How long did the common-Komi period last? Apparently, it did not last long, only one-two centuries somewhere about IX-XI centuries: in advance to the north the Komi ancestors quickly settled among dense woods of the Northern Dvina and Mezen basins, on the one hand, and the middle and upper Kama basin, on the other hand; close connection between territorially disintegrated parts of the Komi people which is necessary for an integrated processes in the language, stopped” (V.I.Lytkin). Such version of divergence of the Permian people seems very simple and schematical, however it reflects scientific level of historical-linguistic analysis of the beginning of last century. For many years the position presented above was classical, in many modern generalizing works it is taken as a basis.

In works of the Finno-Ugrians (Mikko Korhonen, Juha Janhunen, et al.), with no doubt concerning common-Permian parent-language nature, the time of disintegration of the Finno-Permian parent language and occurrence of common-Permian parent language, becomes even more ancient and goes back to 1500-2000. On the other hand, in most works the time of disintegration of the common-Permian parent language does not go through special reevaluation.

The aim of the modified model of linguo-ethnogenesis of ancient Permians, constructed on the analysis of linguistic reality of the modern languages, is to eliminate sketchiness and primitiveness of the course of divergence of the common-Permian parent language under Vihman-Lytkin theory. Possibly, from the very beginning the common-Permian parent language differed by unity and unification, which results are well keep in the modern languages. The ancestral home of the Permians originally was compact, however then it began to extend both for the internal reasons, and under the pressure of the neighbouring ethnic formations (the Domaris, ancient Hungarians, possibly others). Predecessors of the Komis were initially localized to the north of predecessors of the Udmurts, on the basis of these zones corresponding dialect groups have gradually developed. Possibly, the differentiation of two common-Permian protodialects began long ago, while splitting of the parent language occurred gradually and did

not result in territorial division of languages. On the contrary, two dialect groups and protolanguages were in close contact and interaction. Nevertheless, possibly, the consciousness of the proto-Komis and proto-Udmurts has already been formed long since, of which testify traditional ethnonyms-self-names of the Komis and Udmurts, and there are not any mixed Udmurt-Komi dialects.

Such a long and gradual way of crystallization of the Permian languages also explains that the Komi language also has integrated systemic character which cannot be explained by two-three centuries of the common-Komi period, according to traditional point of view. According to similar scheme three basic groups of Komi dialects were distinguished (Permian, Zyryan and Yazva-Ural): slowly, not suddenly, in the course of interferences. However the localization territory of the proto-Komi, possibly, was initially more than that in proto-Udmurts and represented an extended from west to east oval, that can be explained by various historical-demographic factors, for example, migration and pressure of masses of proto-Udmurts on the proto-Komi population. The proposed modified model of divergence of parent-Permians confirms and strengthens the migratory scheme of ethnogenesis of the Komi-Zyryans as people which not earlier than 1000 years ago gradually occupied at first southwest territories of the present Republic of Komi, parts of the Kirov and Arkhangelsk areas, and then in the course of development of northern territories they further colonized open spaces of the Northeast of the European part of Russia and Western Siberia.

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### **Formation of Proto-Finnic – an archaeological scenario from the Bronze Age – Early Iron Age**

Recently some scholars (e.g. P. Kallio, J. Häkkinen) have suggested a much ‘lower’ chronology not only for the establishment of Proto-Finnic but also for Proto-Uralic than previously accepted by the ‘continuity theory’. Accordingly, the disintegration of Proto-Uralic took place not much before ca 2000 BC. It means that the formation of Proto-Finnic east of the Baltic Sea together with the corresponding ethnogenetic processes had to be a relatively late phenomenon, which took place in the Bronze Age or even in the Iron Age. Some hypotheses of how that was possible and whether and how it was reflected in archaeological records (e.g. Seima-Turbino cultural phenomenon, Textile-Imprinted Ware, and bronze axes of Mälär-Akozino type together with pottery of Morby/Ilmandu type and early *tarand*-graves) have already been presented.

According to archaeological evidence, there have been countless movements of goods, ideas, and probably also people between the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea and the East-European Forest Zone up to the Volga and the Kama rivers since at least the Late Mesolithic and Early Neolithic. We do not know in what and how many languages people in these intermediate regions spoke in the Stone Age and whether or not any of these movements can be responsible for the distribution of Finno-Ugric language to the eastern Baltic region. However, it cannot be excluded that some kind of (Pre-)Proto-Uralic was also known in addition to

other probable languages already at that time; perhaps it was even used as a traders' lingua franca, so at least since the beginning of the Bronze Age. It is not likely, however, that those traders-warriors (as Seima-Turbino) could change the language situation whenever and wherever they moved around. Textile-Imprinted Ware is more about the distribution of ideas than the migration of people, although some people were certainly moving, too.

When placing the formation of Proto-Finnic societies into the Bronze Age, one must consider the rich archaeological evidence of eastern/south-eastern influence, which mostly comes from coastal Estonia and SW Finland and can be dated into three main waves: (a) 1200–900 BC (pottery of Asva/Paimio type and several groups of ornaments), (b) 850/800–600 BC (fortified settlements, early *tarand*-graves, riding implements, many artefacts), and (c) 600/500–200 BC (pottery of Morby/Ilmandu type and numerous types of artefacts). All these waves of influences may reflect some infiltration of people from the east. Probably there were several groups of migrants; they came from more than one area of departure and used more than one route for moving. Perhaps the most important of these waves took place in the 9<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. At that time an axis of connections between the remarkable bronze work centres in the Volga-Kama region and Scandinavia was established, evidenced by the distribution of both axes of Mälär-Akozino type and fortified settlements as places for bronze work. This wave also included close contacts with Proto-Baltic speakers on its way, whereas the first wave (that of the 12<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) met a Proto-Germanized population in their destination area, i.e. coastal Estonia and Finland.

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### **The ditransitive constructions of the Ob-Ugric languages**

Transitivity is one of the most investigated areas of syntax and it is a very crucial issue of Uralic syntactic research as well. Numerous studies, including several monographies have studied the transitive clauses of the Uralic languages both from diachronic and synchronic aspects. Rather great attention was paid to the Ob-Ugric languages although there has not been any monographies focusing on the Mansi and/or Khanty transitivity. However these languages prove to be more interesting than many other Uralic languages in this respect. First, these languages have both subject and object agreement in their verbal paradigm. Furthermore, the differential object marking can be observed in some dialects which have accusative case. Additionally, the ditransitive clauses of these languages are remarkable within the Uralic language family because they have an alternation of two different kinds of ditransitive constructions. In my presentation I will study only this latter type of transitive clauses. Since ditransitive verbs are three-argument verbs, the aspects of examination are more diverse than in the case of „simple” (mono)transitive verbs. The language data for my investigation are taken from a large number of sources, from folklore texts to nowadays' language materials collected from informants and extend over about a hundred years.

The ditransitive constructions consist of a ditransitive verb, an agent argument (A), a recipient argument (R) and a theme argument (T). Ditransitive verbs typically express physical transfer (*give, send, sell, bring* etc.), besides in most languages verbs expressing mental transfers (*say, tell, show* etc.) synthactically behave in a similar way. (Malchukov et al. 2010)

The Ob-Ugric languages belong to languages having more than one ditransitive constructions. One is the indirect object construction (**IOC**) where the T of the ditransitive construction is the object, and the R is encoded with the lative-dative suffix. E.g.:

- (1) *Taw tinal-as-te ēka-te χon wańka-n.*  
 he sell-PST-3SG>SG wife-3SG belly Vańka-DAT  
 'He sold his wife to „belly” Vańka.'

The other is the secondary object construction (**SOC**) where the R of the ditransitive construction is the syntactical object and the T is marked with the instrumental suffix.

- (2) *Mań piy-əm nē-yəl viy-ləm.*  
 little son-1SG woman-INSTR take-1SG>SG  
 'I will find a wife for my youngest son.'

The constructions can be passivized. Usually the R becomes the subject of the passive sentence (3) but T-passivization also occurs.

- (3) *tōnt tax ōs akw Buran-əl mi-w-et.*  
 then PTCL and one Buran-INSTR give-PASS-3PL  
 'Then they were given another Buran.'

Regarding the transitivity of the Ob-Ugric languages the selection of the conjugation type is important question. In case of the ditransitive constructions this question is more complex: which construction is used with which conjugation. Studies of past decades and also my data have shown that the choice primarily depends on pragmatic factors, and is in connection with the information structure strategies of these languages. (Nikolaeva, Skribnik, Sipócz, Virtanen)

It is a well-known statement in Ob-Ugristics, that many fields of the syntax of the two languages is entirely similar even in details, but the morphological elements present in the structures are often different. (Kálmán 408) Adding typological and pragmatical aspects to the historical one this diachronic conflict can be resolved. On the basis of typological research it can be stated that the alternation of the IOC and DOC constructions is very common. The pragmatical determination of their usage is also attested typologically. The morphological markers occurring in the clauses are determined by the semantics of the verb used in the structure rather than by genetic background.

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### **The labyrinth of identity: Khanty ethnic identity, its alternatives, and their place in the discourses of identity**

The topic of my presentation covers the public discourses about the Vasyugan Khanties living in the territory of the Tomsk *Oblast'*. Before embarking on the theme proper, I also clarify two problems: why I refer to the selected entity for research with two geographic labels, are these labels relevant at the same time; and whether they can safely be called Khanty.

The demographic situation of the Tomsk *Oblast'* was determined by the systematic relocation of people in the 1930s-'40s when masses of mostly Russian, German and Baltic families were transferred to the local, mainly Khanty population there, and this tendency was given a boost by the upswing in labour migration for growing crude oil and gas production, as a result of which the local Khanties have practically been dissolved in the "non- Khanty" population.

The Khanties are not visible in the public sphere of the *oblast'*. The official and popular memory – which must not be mixed up with the forums of the historical sciences – only mentions archeological cultures as precedents to "real" Russian history. The Khanties are ignorable factors in politics, too. The organizations of the local natives have negligible political weight, they also regard themselves as cultural institutions. This invisibility of the indigenous people in the public sphere is particularly conspicuous if it is compared to the situation in the Khanti-Mansi Autonomous *Okrug* where the name and culture of the *titular* ethnic groups appear like *brands*.

Why are the indigenous people, the Khanties so hidden? There are at least three possible answers. First, the silence over the natives may be traced to grave dilemmas their inclusion in public history would confront the local people: a past full of Khanties would be hard to face up to. Secondly, there is a lack of exoticism as another cause for their invisibility: the prototype of "Siberianism", of "aboriginality" was and is embodied for the majority in both high literature and popular culture by the Khanties of the Khanti-Mansi Autonomous Region and the Evenki of a markedly different way of life and costumes, although in the studied area they are only sporadic. Thirdly in the memory of the *okrug* the key role is played by the deportations, the modern self-image of the region is being developed along "*репрессия*". In the "master narrative" of the deportations natives have no place: they would apparently lose the sense or significance of their suffering, if they acknowledged that before them the place had already been civilized, humanized.

The memories of the natives are silent memories, concealed from the stages of local publicity, they have no trace in the discourse on "motherland",

“homeland”. The natives are not included in the region’s community of remembrance, in its value system manifest in the public discourses, and hence they are not members of the community itself.

This process, exclusion from society through memory work, is everyday experience for the Khanties. All this has unquestionably weakened the bases of Khanty identity, leading to the Khanty young generations being ill at ease about an Khanty identity, if not downright hostile to it.

The concept of Khanties in local public discourse makes it hard for the Khanties to acknowledge their Khanty identity and to integrate the Khanty memories into a common collective remembrance. The population of the *oblast’* conceive of the Khanties as a special social group distinguished by their way of life, and not as an ethnic group. This conception has elements of neutral value such as the view on their close attachment to the forest and the taiga. The negative connotations associated with the “Khanty” as a life-style community are stronger, envisaging them as members of a poverty culture, in most cases a marginalized, lumpenized culture.

In my presentation I will talk about this process of becoming invisible, while also focusing on its new tendencies and on the roles different agents – the anthropologists among them – play in them.

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### **Saami language toponymy in linguistic landscapes: The function of place-names in language policy**

The Saami languages are endangered languages spoken across an area that comprises the territories of four countries, Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Russia. In the contemporary linguistic situation, Saami areas are bi- or multilingual areas. However, as regard Saami toponymy, the linguistic division is, rather, mono-, bi- and multilingual toponymy, depending on historical differences, particularly with respect to livelihood and resource-use.

*Linguistic landscape* is defined as, “language in the environment, words and images displayed and exposed in public spaces” (Shohamy & Gorter 2009, 1). Linguistic landscape can include many types of language use in both mono-, bi- and multilingual settings. I shall concentrate on one specific part of linguistic landscape, namely place-names, particularly place-name use on signage in Saami areas. I shall, more specifically, examine place-name policy via the linguistic landscape as a part of language policy in the current Saami areas, by adapting and extending a model originally devised for language policy, to the requirements of place-name policy research.

The focus will be on how toponymic policy is implemented, particularly with respect to place-name management. Shohamy (2006, 51) argues that “it is often the case that even when policies are stated explicitly it still does not guarantee that the language policy will in fact turn into practice, and there are situations when the use of languages are in opposition to declared policies.” An investigation, at the general level, of place-name policy does not give a true picture of the current state of Saami linguistic rights. Through a detailed



examination of place-name management, it is possible to provide information on society's actual language- and place-name policy, on an asymmetrical power structure, in which minority toponymy (primarily in oral tradition), is in competition with the majority language toponymies and on the agents that play a crucial role in power use.

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## **2 Section presentations**



## Geminates in the Mordvin languages

In Erzya- and Moksha-Mordvin the duration of vowel and consonant segments is not phonologically distinctive. There is, however, a morpho-phonologically conditioned difference between single consonants and secondary geminates observed at morpheme boundaries. Consonant gemination arising from affixation is due to the occurrence of a same consonant in the end of a stem and in the beginning of a following morpheme: Erzya *lomañeñ* ‘of a person’ – *lomañeñ* ‘to a person’. Secondary geminates can be formed as the result of assimilation, in which consonants belonging to suffixes or to a stem and a suffix are involved: Moksha *kutt* ‘houses’ (*kud* ‘house’ + *-t*, plural).

The present paper aims at identifying the segments and structures liable to word-internal gemination in Erzya and Moksha and defining the durational characteristics of the geminates. The analysis also includes data on geminate-like single consonants that occur in intervocalic positions: Erzya *putan* ‘I put/place’ (cp.: *puttan* ‘I will put/place you’). In pre-experimental studies of Erzya and Moksha it has been suggested that intervocalic singlets (voiceless stops and fricatives) are similar to geminates – they sound longer compared to the counterparts occurring in other positions. There seems to be an extra degree of consonant duration involved in the production of intervocalic voiceless singlets. The phonetic realization of geminates and geminate-like consonants is of particular importance for the treatment of questions concerning the phonotactics and syllable boundary of Erzya and Moksha. In the paper, we provide new durational data on the acoustic characteristics of the geminates, as compared to singlets and geminate-like segments.

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### **The Zyuzdino Komi-Permyaks in the XXI-st century – Quo vadis**

Zyuzdino Komi-Permyaks are an ethnographic group of Komi in the former Zyuzdino district (Afanasyevo district) in the Kirov region. Though they are called Permyaks, their language and culture are close to those of the Komi-Zyryans. The origin of the group is vague.

Little is known about the history of this group who speak a specific dialect which can be described as a group of dialects territorially – the southern dialect and the northern dialect which have no written form.

The district where the Zyuzdino Komi-Permyaks reside is the former territory of the legendary chud, which is proved by a great number of artefacts of Persian origin found along the Kama River.

There have probably been several waves of migration of different finno-ugric ethnographic groups. At the end of the 16th century a group of Komi-Zyryans moved to the district because of the climate change in the Luza region.

The first records of the toponym Zyuzdino go back to the 16-17th centuries. The 19-20th century ethnographers, archeologists and historians gave descriptions of the territory and the way of life of the local group. These accounts can not be considered absolutely reliable for different reasons, but they are the only valuable sources for the present-day researchers.

Though the group is not numerous the traces of the language and the culture can be found in the present life of most local residents. According to some researchers most of the population of the Afanasyevo Region are descendants of the Zyuzdino Komi-permyak who assimilated the Russian culture and language. Still the traces of the Komi intonation, elements of the lexis and grammar borrowed from Komi make this group very different from the people living in the neighbouring districts of the Kirov Region.

Nowadays the district authorities and local language and culture enthusiasts resort to measures to support the language and the culture, such as the biannual culture festival “Chudo” and the Komi-Permyak Cultural Centre in the village of Moskovskaya but there seems to be a long way before the Zyuzdino Komi-Permyaks will be aware of their Finno-Ugric identity. According to the 2010 Census there are only 88 Zyuzdino Komi-Permyaks in the district compared to 318 people in 1989 and 700 in 1970.

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### **Deictic markers distribution in Ingrian**

There are not any special issues devoted to Ingrian spatial deixis. In the V. Porkka's Ingrian grammar description we can find deictic pronouns (with translation into German) *tämä* ‘diser’, *se* ‘der’ und *tô* ‘jener vorhanden’ (Porkka 1885: 83) and deictic adverbs *tôal*, *-lt*, *-lek* (Hv), *tôal*, *-lt*, *-lle* (Sk) ‘da’, ‘von da’, ‘dahin’; *sêl*, *sêlt*, *sinnek* (Hv) *sinne* (Sk) ‘da’ (ferner), ‘von da’, ‘dahin’. (Porkka

1885: 128). In the text of a fairy tale written down by the same researcher and published in the same book the pronoun *tō* and the series *tōal*, *tōlt*, *tōlle* are not found but there are there the proximal deixis series *täss*, *tähä* absent in the grammar description.

In the description of Ingrian, based on the Heva dialect now extinct, A. Laanest has written that the general spatial orientation is expressed with the pronouns *tämä* 'this' and *tō* 'that' or with the adverbs *täs* 'here', *tōs* 'there' (Laanest 1993: 59). The same author in the description of Ingrian based on the Soikola dialect presented the deictic pronouns *tämä* 'located here', *se* 'this', *tō* 'that'. (Laanest 1966: 108).

Contemporary speakers of the Soikola dialect deny the pronoun *tō*. In the texts collection of this dialect written down in the middle of the 20-th century (Ariste 1960) the pronoun too is not found as well as adverbs of this series.

In the fairy tale written down by V. Porkka on the Soikola dialect deictic markers have the following distribution. In the deictic function the pronoun *se* and the corresponding adverb series (*sêl*, *sêlt*, *sinne*) express further location from the deictic centre than the pronoun *tämä* and the adverb series (*täss*, *tähä*; the third adverb of the series is not found in the text). In the anaphoric and cataphoric functions only *se* (and the adverb series) are used. In the exophoric function *se* and the adverb series are used in the speech of narrator and *tämä* (and the adverb series) are used in the direct speech. The pronoun *se* precedes an NP whose referent is a central character in the story but not always. While studying Finnish fairy tales of the 19-th century, R. Laury founded that an NP which is preceded with *se* is that whose referent is a central character in the story or otherwise a crucial prop; she notes also the clustering of *se*-marked NPs at a crucial point of narrative (see Laury 1991). The same conclusion we can draw about Votic fairy tales. As of Ingrian data of the 19-th century, they show that the pronoun *se* prefaces NPs whose referent is a central character in the story only at a crucial point of narrative.

In the texts collection (Ariste 1960) the distribution of these markers in the deictic function is the same that in the fairy tale. It is interesting that *tämä* is found in the anaphoric function and *se* is found in the cataphoric one.

In the speech of contemporary speakers of the Soikola dialect in addition to two adverb series of proximal and distal deixis the single adverb of middle deixis *tänne* 'hither' is used.

In my paper I will show deictic markers distribution in diachrony.

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## **Analytical forms of the verb in the Mari language**

Analytical forms of the verb exist in many languages. This article deals with analytical forms, one of the components of which is the Infinitive -ash. This is the basic Infinitive, which corresponds to the infinitive form of the Russian verb and is used in all Mari dialects. The Infinitive -ash can be used in the analytical forms of the verbs, consisting of Gerunds and finite verb forms. Analytical verb forms can consist of three or more verbs. These forms have different names in linguistics.

Only the Mari and the Udmurt languages among all Finno-Ugric languages have such analytical constructions. V. Tauli explains the presence of verbal analytical forms in Udmurt and Mari languages because of the influence of the Tatar language [1,439]. M.P. Chkhaidze believes that the paired verbs in Mari and Udmurt arose as a result of the influence of Turkic languages, primarily Tatar and Bashkir [1967:257]. In the Mari language is one of the elements of analyzed forms is Gerund -n. It is the most common and frequently used Gerund forms in the modern Mari language. In our case the analytical form consists of Gerund-n, which is the main expresser of the action, the Infinitive -ash has the function of specifier of the actions, expressed in the first verb and plus finite verb. The infinitive -ash acts as a modifier of the action, which means the occurrence, continuation and stopping.

The second type of considered analytical forms is a combination of the Infinitive with modal verbs külesh, H. kelesh 'want, need, to be necessary', liesh 'can, may, be able', jöra 'may', logalesh, perna, vereshtesh, vozesh, tükna with synonymous meaning 'be necessary, have to, must', moshtash 'can, be able', kertash 'can, may' which denote the need, the necessity, the existence of some conditions to the action expressed by the infinitive. Infinitive does not expresses modality, it is neutral. But due to this it is easily combined with modal words of various kinds, and thus is involved in the transferring modality.

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## **Rhyme as a lingvostylistics phenomenon of Finno-Ugrian sacred texts**

### **(Лингвостилистический феномен рифмы финно-угорских сакральных текстов)**

Rhyme is classical object of literature study and theory of poetry. It has not been enough investigated in Finno-Ugrian oral tradition and has not been above an object of linguistics. There are just random articles which are devoted to rhyme as fact of poetics and literature study.

The subject matter deals with the several circumstances of rhyme's origin and developing. By the way, it is necessary to raise some problems, which are connected with the topic of investigating:

- 1) interpretations and meanings of the term 'sacred' and 'sacred text' in the context of modern science;
- 2) basic definitions of fhonostylistics as a branch of Finno-Ugrian linguistics;
- 3) place of rhyme in the language and style of Finno-Ugrians sacred texts;
- 4) the nature and source of rhyme in Finno-Ugrian oral tradition.

Side by side with the well-known types of rhymes (contiguous - A, A, B, B; cross – AB, AB and framing – A, B, B, A) we revealed the similar three types, which have been defined during the study of sacred texts' the rhyme namely: phonetic, grammatical, lexical. Similar kind of sound organization is the result of the syntax of Finno-Ugrian and Samoyedic languages and their phonological system.

The Syntax of mentioned languages is characterized by the relatively fixed word order in the sentences. We shall note that in the sacred texts the sentences are rather extended by the secondary parts. It is one of the constructive pre-condition to the building of natural rhyme.

Phonological organization of languages is necessary not only for creation, saving and handing down words. It is very important circumstance for representation of oral traditions for its creation and transferring between generations. It is also an instrument of aesthetic, psychological, emotional, spiritual influence on human's behavior and perception.

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## **V. F. Sapayev's memoir prose**

In the literary encyclopedia of terms and concepts "memoirs" are (fr. mémoires – memoirs) a kind of documentary literature and at the same time one of types of so-called confessional prose (confession). Memoirs represent a narration of the participant or the witness of political, social, literary and art life about events, where the author was witness or person of events and it is also about people with whom he communicated.

V. F. Sapayev's memoirs were included in the collection of sketches, traveling notes and memoirs under the name "Stars Burn" ("Шўдыр-влак йўлат", 1976). Parts of each cycle are integrated by the general hero (in the first cycle is V. Ivanov, in the second – E. Sapayev). The composite principle in a cycle becomes story of life of the hero, told by the author. The author chooses from life of heroes and displays the brightest events and the facts.

So, two cycles of memoirs are in the collection "Stars Burn". The first cycle is called "As brothers" ("Iza-sholyo Guy"). The cycle reproduces separate episodes of life of the known Mari writer V. M. Ivanov. In reminiscence "A youth melody" («Рвезылык сем») Sapayev told about the childhood of the writer. V. Ivanov was the very active person already in the childhood.

The author's position, the attitude of the author towards that hero about whom he writes always are expressed clearly in memoirs prose and V. F. Sapayev is shown this position very brightly.

Memoirs read easily as are written in a simple language, but nevertheless it is lyrical and emotional.

Memoirs contain a big informative material. We learn many interesting facts about represented heroes and also about the author's life. Memoirs give ideas of Sapayev's character, outlook, esthetic addictions.

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## The future of North Saami in Finland

Three Saami languages are spoken in Finland: North, Inari, and Skolt Saami. The number of North Saami speakers in Finland is usually estimated to be 2000. North Saami is considered the least threatened of the three; the UNESCO atlas of the World's Languages in Danger classifies the language as 'definitely endangered', contrasting with the 'severely endangered' status of Inari and Skolt Saami.

In Finland the speakers of all Saami languages have experienced a history of assimilation, followed in the late 20th century by recognition, establishment of linguistic rights, and active efforts at language revitalization. Despite revitalization programs and the dramatically improved status and prestige of the language, language transmission in the North Saami speech community faces challenges that have been scarcely recognized in research as well as in practical revitalization efforts. Two factors appear to form a severe threat to the future of North Saami in Finland:

1) Since the 1960s the speech community has experienced massive emigration from its core speaking area, and consequently many speakers now live in urban centers outside the traditional area. According to the statistics of the Finnish Saami Parliament, 65% of ethnic Saami (and 75% of ethnic Saami under the age of 10) reside outside the Saami administrative area in Finland. However, area of residence shows a remarkable correlation with language competence: a recent survey of the language situation among the urban Saami in Finland (Arola, forthcoming) reveals that only 7% of the ethnic Saami residing outside the Saami administrative area have registered Saami as their mother tongue in the Population Information System of Finland, as opposed to 43% within the area. Also, the rate of language transmission in urban environments is very low: the survey revealed only a couple of individual respondents who reported that their children speak Saami on a native level.

2) In the North Saami speech community the currently prevailing marriage pattern is that of mixed marriages – i.e., North Saami speakers show a strong tendency to select non-Saami spouses, a pattern which can at least partially be explained as a result of the small size of the speech community in Finland. Thus, the majority of children acquiring North Saami as a native language learn it in an environment where Finnish is the dominant family language.

The presentation will discuss how these two factors are affecting language transmission in the North Saami speech community in Finland. A synthetic view of the current trends in language transmission will be presented, based on both statistical and qualitative information derived from recent studies and surveys, as well as the statistics of the Saami parliament and the Population information system of Finland. A continuing decline in overall language transmission can be observed despite partially successful revitalization efforts on the local level, and this trend can be largely explained by the combination of the two factors outlined above. The implications of this finding for revitalization efforts of North Saami will be discussed.

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## **Family photo archives of Ob-Ugric peoples as a source for ethnic history and costume**

**(Семейные фотоархивы обских угров как источник по этнической истории и костюму)**

In 2014, in Novosibirsk, Publishing House of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences, the album "Portraits of Ob-Ugric

peoples (from family photo archives of the Ob and Nizhnesosvinskih Mansi and Khanty)" was released in 300 copies [2014]. The album contains photos from the family archives of the Ob and Nizhnesosvinskih Mansi and Khanty. In portraits and photographs of household 1930–1970's the aboriginals of the Ob river basin (in the area between the Little and Big Ob) and the Lower North Sosva are depicted. The photos were taken in the following areas of Khanty Mansi Autonomous Okrug – Yugra: October (Upper Narykary, Lower Narykary, Muligort, Nyagan Peregrebnoye and Chemashi), Berezovsky (Birch, Vanzetur, Igrim, New, Tags and Shaytanka) and Beloyarskii (Beloyarskiy, Pasztor, Large and Tugiyany).

A collection of photographs, some of which are included in this album, began to take shape in the early 2000s. During genealogical research conducted by R.K. Bardina. Some of the photos were first published in Bardina's monographs. Bardina [2009, 2010, 2011]. The idea of creating this album belongs to the doctor of historical sciences Nadine Lukin. There are 355 pictures that became the basis of the album. All images in the album are in black and white and different quality. Damages on the photos were carefully restored by the artist-designer O.M. Eliseeva of publishers IAE SB RAS. There are photos of two genres – portraits and everyday pictures. Group and individual portraits are made mostly by professional photographers. Amateur photos taken by locals which mainly related to genre painting, were sealed events and scenes from everyday life. First amateur photos in the album dates from the mid-1950s, mostly pictures taken by D.A. Yarlina. The main part of the album consists of five sections, each section being an illustration of the ten-year period. Photos are grouped in sections mainly on the territory of the settlement and related groups. All illustrations are accompanied by detailed annotations, compiled to the rules set by RAS for the publication of historical documents, including photography and filmmaking [Rules, 1990, p.230]. The first section of 11 photos are from 1930s, and the pictures are placed mostly according to the chronology (photo 1–11). The second section 26 photos (photos 12–37) are from 1940s, which partially are grouped by kinship and social groups. Image gallery of the third section is the biggest – 169 shots (photos 38–206). Photos of 1950 are grouped primarily on the territory of the settlement, ie along the rivers, and then within the territory divided into settlements further inland on kinship and social groups [Bardeen, 2011, p. 62, 63]. And finally, there is a large series of photos of students of various educational institutions (photos 171–205). The fourth section of photos for the 1960s (photos 207–279) are grouped as by the territory of the settlement, ie along the rivers, and then within the territory divided into settlements, and finally, within the settlements by the kinships of groups. Photos of the 1970s (photos 280–355) also grouped by the area of occupancy, and within each group by kinship.

The annex contains an article by A.A. Bogordaeva "Traditional clothing Ob-Ugric peoples in 1930–1970-ies." which was prepared based on Bogordaeva's album. It focuses specifically on the traditional clothing, including methods of combining and wearing of individual elements of the traditional costume, the particulars of decorative trim clothing, especially for the women's clothing in different age groups as well as men's and children's clothing. As the photos presented in the photographs, traditional clothing refers to Sredneobskaya Suit complex. This complex is recorded in XIX century for Khanty and Mansi, who lived in the villages located in the Lower North Sosva and along the Ob. The

pictures show how the traditional costume of the Ob and the Khanty and Mansi Mansi Nizhnesosvinskih transformed its structure, cut, decorative trim, etc during 50 years. Family photographs Ob-Ugric peoples released here, contain not only historical images of everyday scenes, portraits, costumes, transport, residential and commercial buildings, tools, but they also provide guidance material on the collection and processing of photographs and their classification within the building family schemes. The photographs of this album is the historical memory for the Ob and nizhnesosvinskih Mansi and Khanty / Ob-Ugric peoples.

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### **Estonian History in the Works of István Csekey (Viron historia István Csekeyn tuotannon valossa)**

Professor István Csekey (1889–1963) was a notable personality of Hungarian Jurisprudence in the interwar period and the professor of Public Administration Law for eight years at the University of Tartu in Estonia. He organized and directed the Hungarian Scientific Institute of Tartu and edited the publications series of the institute.

Furthermore, he was dedicated to the familiarization of Estonia and Finland in Hungary as an active participant of the Finno-Ugric kinship movement at those times. István Csekey's works - along with Aladár Bán's - were the amplest source of information about Estonian History and Culture for Hungarian readers.

Csekey was paying great attention to the introduction of Estonian History when presenting a detailed description of the legal system of Estonia (and Finland), because the historical background was indispensable for the understanding of his political, legal, economic and cultural publications or the ones on the history of relations.

His works on Estonia were published in Hungarian and in German as well, therefore he played an important role in drawing the picture about Estonia and Estonian History in Europe and in Hungary in his time.

The presentation will reveal the way the professor - who enjoyed a high international reputation - were forming the view of Estonian history, of the recent past of his times, of the political situation and the changes of it using more than twenty of his publications dealing with Estonia.

His most interesting and instructive thoughts are those dealing with the role of Baltic Germans, the agrarian reform (1919), the protection of minorities, the constitutions (1920, 1933, 1937), the geopolitical situation and the reputation of the Soviet Union. There are some recurring topics in his publications - with slight changes in them.

To complete the picture it is worth to take into account his publicistic writings as well as his scientific publications. The highly esteemed professor István Csekey was incorporating academic knowledge and enthusiasm combined with a critical view. Most of his statements are valid and instructive these days as well, worth of comparing with the results of historiography of his time and of today.

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**On the role of semantic differentials in the evaluation of language attitudes in a multilingual context  
(Semanttisten differentiaalien roolista kieliasenteiden arvioinnissa monikielisessä kontekstissa)**

In Finland, which internationally is often seen cited as a benchmark with regard to language policy, a significant amount of empirical research has been carried out on questions of language loyalty and on the social status of the two official languages. However, the tensions which have arisen lately with regard to language policy seem to be at variance with the research findings.

This issue, which so far has not been an object of Fennistic research, could profitably be approached with direct methods (e.g. interviews, questionnaires). However, direct methods have been criticized for the fact that they make a detour via the modelling of cognitive tasks, and thus could be susceptible to answers from the socially accepted spectrum.

In 1960 Lambert et al. developed the indirect Matched Guise Test (MGT) in order to assess evaluational reactions to contrasting languages. However, since then it has mostly been used to assess reactions to contrasting varieties. The experimental character of this method, however, has been the subject of some criticism.

In our paper we will discuss what results the innovative parallel use of this method can achieve and how these findings may be operationalized for a new interpretation of directly collected material. The evaluation of this method is part of a project which has received funding from the German Research Foundation (DFG).

Our paper focuses especially on a sub-investigation on semantic differentials (SD) which is an important interface in the experimental set-up of MGT and which has been the subject of theoretical discussion especially in the context of research on variation. Central questions are e.g. how the equivalence of SD can

be empirically assured in a multilingual experimental set-up and whether the limits of the object of investigation can be clearly delineated.

On the basis of material collected in Finland in 2014 the paper discusses the performance of various SDs with the aim of operationalizing MGT for multilingual contexts. Directly collected comparative material will be drawn on for contrastive purposes to ascertain if and how knowledge about the object of investigation activates other evaluation mechanisms in the informants. This question has been the subject of some controversy in the literature on linguistic variation (see e.g. Kristiansen 2009, Grondelaers & van Hout 2010).

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## On the origin of the conditional suffix in Udmurt

The Permic languages, despite their many similarities, evince a number of interesting differences. One of these is the presence in Udmurt of a conditional suffix, lacking from both Zyryan Komi and Permyak Komi.

The conditional suffix in Udmurt is *-sal*, which is added to the verb stem. In the literary language in the first person singular there is no personal ending, and in the other two singular forms the personal endings are optional, as shown in most grammars (e.g. Emeljanov 1927: 159; GSUJa 212); in the plural forms the personal endings are obligatory. In the dialects the situation is different, where especially in the singular there is much variation.

As this conditional suffix does not occur in the varieties of Komi, the question of its origin in Udmurt arises. Various theories have been proposed; at present the most commonly suggested explanation seems to be that it arose through the fusion of the gerund *-sa* (the origin of which is itself disputed) with the past tense auxiliary *val*. However, this has not been accepted by all researchers (e.g. Tarakanov 1967), and the fact that the conditional suffix *-sa/-sä* in Tatar, a language which has strongly influenced Udmurt, is phonetically reminiscent of the Udmurt conditional suffix has led some researchers (e.g. Bartens 2000: 225; Csúcs 2005: 256) to take some sort of Turkic influence into account, without, however, treating the issue in depth. The present paper aims to bring more light on the origin and history of the Udmurt conditional suffix by looking in more detail its dialectal representation, its functions, Udmurt-Tatar contacts and the typology of language contact.

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## Revitalization and reality

Language revitalization is one of the most important issues for the endangered Finno-Ugric languages. The aims of a project supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Finnish Academy of Sciences called “Computational tools for the revitalization of endangered Finno-Ugric minority languages (Finugrevita)” are to develop computational language tools (so far for Mansi and Udmurt) in order to support the use of these languages in the digital world, and strengthen their speech communities in this way.

For Saami languages, especially for North Saami, and partially for other ones as well, many language tools are already existing and available one-line through the GiellaTekno website. Before developing language tools for Mansi and Udmurt, the research team of the University of Szeged, in cooperation with GiellaTekno, wants to know how often Saami speakers and learner use these tools, how satisfied they are with them, what other applications they would like to have, etc. At the moment of abstract submission, the Saami survey is being carried out, the results will be processed during winter 2014-2015.

The paper will display the results of the survey, with a special aspect on how to achieve the aims of the project with the help of the experiences gained from the survey.



**On the semantics and the use of several grammatical case in Erzya language manuscripts of the XVIIIth century  
(О семантике и функционировании отдельных падежей в эрзянских рукописных источниках XVIII в.)**

Early handwritten sources in the Erzya language were compiled in Nizhny Novgorod theological seminary between 1784 and 1793, by seminary students of Mordovian nationality, or Erzya speaking students, judging by inscriptions on the manuscripts. The largest written monuments of this period are "Краткій катихизисъ переведенный на мордовскій языкъ съ наблюдениемъ российскаго и мордовскаго просторѣчя, ради удобнѣйшаго онаго познанія воспріявшихъ святое крещеніе. 1788-го года" ("Concise catechism translated into the Mordovian language with words from the Russian and Mordovian vernacular languages for the sake of its convenient understanding by those accepting Holy baptism in the year 1788") and "Священная Исторія. Краткими вопросами и отвѣтами сочиненная и переведенная на мордовской языкъ 1790 года марта 14 дня" ("Sacred History. Composed on the basis of short questions and answers and translated into the Mordovian language in 1790 March 14 day"). The content of both sources are religious.

Of particular interest is the meanings of some Erzya language grammatical cases, such as inessive case that can be found in manuscripts and are not observable in the modern literary language and, perhaps, in the dialects.

In Erzya language texts of the late XVIIIth century there was a number of examples in which inessive case, in addition to traditional locative and instrumental semantics, bears the meaning of physical/mental state or of being, i.e. means "to serve in the capacity of / to act as someone/something", e.g.: *Амерни монянь Пазъ кенгелезь ля лангсъ свидетель-це мольмексъ.* 'Запрещает мне Богъ ложно на другаго свидетельствовать. (Бог запрещает мне быть (букв. идти на другого) в качестве ложного свидетеля).' The God forbids me to be a perjurer (lit. forbids to bear false witness against somebody).

The above example demonstrates that here the inessive case performs an essive function i.e. has the meaning of "to act in the capacity of someone". This is quite explicable by their common origin – Uralic locative case for \*-na/\*-nä. It is worth noting that inessive case has the same meaning in other Finno-Ugric languages, e.g., in Permic languages. In modern Erzya language instead of the inessive case we have a translative case, cf: *Пазось а мери монень ля лангс кенгелезь/кенгелиця свидетеле-кс модемс.* 'The God forbids me to be a perjurer (lit. forbids to bear false witness against somebody)'. Therefore, in a diachronic perspective, drawing on the material from the Erzya language we can consider the distribution of such cases, as inessive and translative ones.

The Erzya language material of the late XVIIIth century will enable us to complement available information about the semantics and the development of the grammatical case system.

### **On clitics in Nenets**

The subject of the presentation are functional and morphosyntactic features of the morphological units termed in the literature on Nenets “suffixal particles” (Tereschenko 1965, Kuprijanova et al. 1985) or “clitics” (Salminen 1997, Zhdanova 2000, Wagner-Nagy 2002).

Clitics in Nenets have a transitional status between auxiliary words and morphemes. In terms of their accentual and morphosyntactic properties, clitics are less independent than auxiliary words, but they also differ from affixes. Unlike derivational affixes, clitics in Nenets, with a few exceptions, do not change the lexical meaning of a word and have a greater morphosyntactic freedom. In some features, they are similar to inflectional affixes. Thus, for example, in negative conjugation, clitics can be attached to the stem of the auxiliary negative verb, i.e. they can behave as inflectional morphemes. However, in contrast to “real” inflectional affixes, such behavior of clitics is not regular, even in the same text.

Clitics in Nenets are involved in the expression of functional sentence perspective and modality. They are characterized by a number of functions and by vagueness and diffuseness of its semantics: the latter depends to a great extent on lexical and grammatical context. In terms of their morphosyntactic properties, clitics in Nenets do not constitute a homogeneous class. They differ in their positions in a word form. They vary in the degree of their morphosyntactic and semantic boundedness. For instance, some clitics can be attached to the nouns, verbs or adverbs while others can be used only in a verb word form. In a verb word form, some clitics are used only in the indicative while others do not have such a constraint. Some clitics can combine with each other within a word form while others not. Finally, even those clitics that have similar morphosyntactic properties differ in their functions and in the degree of their semantic boundedness with a word stem.

Clitics in Nenets, as well as in other Samoyedic languages, still remain poorly investigated. Thus, they require further analysis which should take into account, first of all, their lexical and grammatical contexts.

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### **Canon formation: the case of Finnish and Estonian short stories**

This presentation is based upon the author's PhD thesis, which aims to analyze the mechanisms of canonization, based upon Finnish and Estonian short stories. The author first presents the theoretical works about literary canons and the frequent debates that surround that notion. He then studies the respective roles of the most important canonizing instances (critical articles, critical works, literary prizes, anthologies, translations, educational system) in Finland and Estonia. Attention is particularly drawn toward critical reception in literary journals, and the way classical short stories are evoked in literary handbooks. Case studies dealing with precise authors and themes lead to several proposals of new theoretical tools for the diachronic study of canons and the description of canonization-related phenomena and the different circumstances which can help or hinder the canonization of short stories.

Though centered on Finnish and Estonian examples, our presentation aims for a more general usability: the phenomena which can be observed in Finnish and Estonian literatures can indeed be observed elsewhere, as demonstrate some references to French, German or British canonization-related facts.

The new theoretical tools introduced include: canonization trajectory, aborted canonization (Heikki Toppila, Viljo Kojo...), occulted canonization (Mika Waltari, Frans Emil Sillanpää...), marginality pitfall (Aino Kallas, Leena Krohn, Friedebert Tuglas, August Gailit), canonical exemplarity (Antti Hyry's 'Maantieltä hän lähti'), canonical exception, accelerated canonization (Rosa Liksom, Mehis Heinsaar) and canonization biases, among others.

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### **How does morphological productivity facilitate syntactic consistency? A corpus-based study of modern written Finnish**

This study examines the quantitative aspects of Finnish derivational morphology. Although Finnish morphology is relatively well described (Rintala 1978, Vesikansa 1979, Karlsson 1983, among others), the quantitative measurement of derivational productivity is relatively new notion and has been scarcely applied to Finnish linguistics. Hakulinen et al. (2004) and Koivisto (2013) refer to the notion "accrument" (*karttuvuus* in Finnish), which is used when the coinage of a new word with a derivational process is possible although just sporadically. The term is helpful, but not enough definitive nor diagnostic.

Using a large corpus of modern written Finnish, this paper demonstrates how morphological productivity is measured statistically, and argues that the method

fits nicely to observe the aspect of morphological creativity of Finnish verbal/nominal derivatives which are derived from verb bases. Based on the recent findings on the growth rate of vocabulary (Baayen 2001), the current study shows that the profiles of low frequency derivatives (including *hapax legomena*, words appear only once in the corpus), are decisive to evaluate the productivity of the derivation in Finnish.

This study also examines how derivational productivity is related to the syntactic consistency, i.e. variety and uniformity. Because the syntactic characteristics in which a derivative appears are normally studied separately from their morphological productivity, the relationship between morphological productivity and syntactic variety has been unclear. Expanding the profiling techniques founded by Hakulinen et al. (1980), this study takes into account rather broad ranges of usage patterns of the derivatives, including collocations, colligations, clause structures, modifications, information structure, and the semantic/grammatical characteristics of the derivational base. The findings of this study show that there is an interesting tendency for productive derivations to show certain identifiable syntactic characteristics throughout different frequency profiles while retaining their syntactic freedom, hence facilitating the creative use of the (new) lexes.

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## **Economic and legal basis the spatial development of territories the indigenous peoples of the North (cross-country analysis) (Экономико-правовые основы пространственного развития территорий проживания коренных народов Севера [межстрановый анализ])**

Spatial richness of the northern territories include not only natural resources, but also a system of knowledge held by indigenous peoples living in the region.

Cultural landscapes of North in modern processes of global economic and social development is a long-term factor for sustainable development of Russian Federation and the EU.

Need to radically change the approach to model development in the northern border areas, redirecting it from the traditional use of natural resources, the active use of the potential socio-cultural space areas inhabited by indigenous peoples of North.

Modern scientific research of spatial development the northern border regions of the EU and Russia are focused on principles of sustainable development and are aimed at preserving the northern socio-cultural space.

Development of the northern territories occurs in interaction with each other in within the overall context of spatial on basis of local ideas that take into account the specifics of the territories indigenous peoples of North.

Existing strategic documents at the national level are taken into account global and regional trends of spatial development and territorial development, allowing as key factors of competitiveness of the northern border areas to allocate: socio-economic potential, human capital, traditional way of life and culture of indigenous peoples.

The author presents a comparative analysis the legal framework of international, federal and regional sustainable development of indigenous peoples of North, which highlighted the need to:

- consistency in the management of the development of northern border areas at national and regional level,
- development of a common policy of strategic planning, which takes into account active citizenship of indigenous peoples,
- introduction of practice self-regulation and of economic activity.

We study the principles and criteria of socio-economic development that should be considered in formation of cultural landscape and civil institutions in northern border regions.

We propose a method for monitoring the socio-economic sustainable development of indigenous peoples of the North to the border regions Russian with regard to factors of global and regional development based on concept of cultural landscape.

The author has developed indicators of sustainability and well-being of indigenous peoples living in northern border areas.

The report presents results of studies using sustainable development indicators reflecting institutional environment, the level of development of ethnic identity and ethnic relations.

The recommendations on the result of research by offering a number of management decisions on preservation cultural landscape, building civilian institutions and deliver public services, including language products for northern border regions.

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### **Society is not a Fractal. Population genetics and social science – disputes and results of an interdisciplinary case study (2012-2014)**

We rarely find an effort to cooperation between natural and social sciences in the Finno-Ugric studies. Organized by Pamjav Horolma, head of DNA Laboratory of ISZKI (Budapest), I have participated in such a project team (2012–2014). Our goal was to collect DNA-samples from current Mansi population, and analyze their parallels. This was an Y-DNA analyzes, where the persistent partial lines were researched. The first step of the project was methodological. The ethnicity, cultural diversity and social structures are all sui generis fields of cultural and social anthropology; but neglected or discussed very oversimplified at most of the genetic works. (Example: should we, and if yes, how should we consider the local diversity and kinship system during the sampling?). At the second phase one of our team collected data from 60 different Mansi families. We – with observing the rules of personal rights – planned to link these samples to interviews about the particular life and relatives of the sample-giving men. Most of them said, that it had been quite degrading before, when only their “DNA-samples” were important, without asking about their life and opinion. After the fieldwork the laboratory work came. The haplogroup N1c-TAT – which is very frequent in most of the populations of Uralic languages and also Easter-Siberians – formed 23,3% of our Mansi samples. The exciting genetic result was to be able to separate a special (yet unknown) mutation (L1034) among this haplogroup (64,2% of the N1c-TAT Mansi samples). This new sub-haplogroup was without parallels in the huge international database (thousands of samples from all continents), but the same could be found among Hungarians (and one from Uzbekistan). This was a very strange genetic result, but how to add a social science interpretation? The interpretations of population genetic is very far from the method and theories of the social sciences. In my paper I explain the details of this very problematic interdisciplinary work. I think social sciences can give many new aspects to population genetics. The “great conclusions” should be abandoned, we must recognize our limits! Even the collection method of the population genetics should be rethought. E.g. what is representative amount of samples? When we cannot presume, that – as drop in the bucket – set of samples from part of a society represents the whole. Society is not like a fractal. As a test, we divided the Hungarian samples to smaller ethnographic subgroups. We found that samples from the Transylvanian Székely population had six times more (6,52%) of this N1c-TAT L1034 mutation than the rest of Hungarian samples. Another dilemma, how should we consider the huge number of haplogroups found among populations – with parallels of totally different sets, remote territories? The genetic result is published in the journal *Molecular Genetics and Genomics* (2014/9) online (Y-SNP L1034: Limited Genetic Link between Mansi and Hungarian-speaking Populations).

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Reguly Társaság

### **Did long vowels exist in the Proto-Finno-Ugric? (Oliko suomalais-ugrilaisessa kantakielessä pitkiä vokaaleja?)**

Today number Uralic languages contain long vowels hence the question is justified. Accepting the opinion of Janhunen and Sammallahti that the Proto-Uralic didn't contain long vowels, I have investigated whether the same thing is true also for the Proto-Finno-Ugric. As it is known, typically the long vowels of the Baltic-Finnic are used to make such reconstructions for the Proto-Finno-Ugric.

I have investigated the related etymologies (where they reconstruct long vowels for the Proto-Finno-Ugric) in the works of six authors: E. Itkonen, Collinder, Lakó, Rédei, Samallahti and K. Häkkinen. Based on my analysis I came to the following conclusion:

1) There is a large discrepancy between the opinions of the mentioned authors about the words where one can estimate an original long vowel. Out of the 50 investigated etymologies 20 are mentioned only by one author, 11 by two, 7 by three, 6 by 4, 2 by five and only 4 by all the six. Their opinion differs also about which first syllable vowels had a long pair in the Proto-Finno-Ugric.

2) We can also limit our investigation to the 19 words that are mentioned by at least three authors. (This means only 1.6% of the word that can be reconstructed for the Proto-Finno-Ugric.) In 12 words we can see that the putative long vowel stands in the front of a liquida or a nasal. These are well known for making the vowels standing before them longer. In one case, the long vowel can be explained via the development of a consonant in the interior of the word into a vowel (fi. tuoda). I have an explanation also for the Finnish forms (viisi, kuusi) of the two numerals (\*wite, \*kutte). The same model can also explain the irregular consonants in the interior of the words (viite-, kuute-). For four words (fi. muu, tuo, uuhi, vuosi) currently one can't give a proper explanation but based on them it would be very speculative to assume long vowels in the Proto-Finno-Ugric.

In my lecture I'll discuss also the 31 etymologies not mentioned above. They further confirm my statements.

In my view the long vowels of the Finnish, Estonian etc. were created in the Baltic-Finnish age due to an internal development and due the large number of widely spread Germanic and Slavic loanwords.

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### **Toward a broader use of maps in Finno-Ugric studies**

The Finno-Ugric studies are an interdisciplinary scientific field; however, Geography remains in the shadow of other disciplines, such as Ethnology or Linguistics. The goal of this paper is to show that Geography could play a more important role in Finno-Ugric studies, in particular by the use of maps.

Maps are not simply a document of localisation or an illustration of the text. They are, alongside with the traditional scientific means of expression (articles), an alternative to spread scientific results. A map is worth a thousand words. Built on a specific language and a chart, the map is a tool that can contain the same reasoning as a text.

In addition, a map can be a central source of information for studying the spatial representations of its author. «Mapping» conflicts appear when two actors (State, ethnic group) have two different visions of the same situation. The classic case is the border disputes. Beyond this, the choice of any particular map element or its omission can be influenced by the desire to express a certain truth. Since the beginning of the 1990s, critical cartography has developed the tools to analyse the maps from this political point of view (J. Harley). French geopolitics also advocates the study of maps as a scientific source by itself to understand the representations contained therein.

It also concerns the Finno-Ugric, even if cartographic productions of the Finno-Ugric peoples (excepted Estonians, Finns and Hungarians) still remain limited.

Demands from non-geographers show that there is a need for maps and an awareness of the potential of maps. In order to expose the many possible uses of cartographical material, I propose to describe the theoretical orientations which are offered to the specialists in the Finno-Ugric studies, using examples of maps published by the Finno-Ugric peoples themselves to raise a certain vision of reality. They are the marker of a specific identity and deserve a thorough analysis.

De Smit, Merlijn

## Plural arguments in Old Finnish and Finnic

A striking feature of case-marking in Old Finnish, particularly Agricola's language, which to my knowledge has not been remarked upon much, is that plural partitive is marginalized to some extent in favour of plural nominative. This occurs, first of all, with subjects of existential-like clauses. Though plural partitive does occur occasionally (1), we usually see a plural nominative (and a corresponding agreeing verb) where we would expect plural partitive (2)

- (1) *ia ol-i mös mu-i-ta Haax-i-a*  
and be-IPF.3SG also other-PL-PART boat-PL-PART

*hene-n cansa-ns*  
he-GEN with-3SG/PL

'And there were also other boats with him' (Agricola, NT, Mark 4:36)

- (2) *ia mös Cauhistoxe-t ia swre-t Ihme-t*  
and also terror-NOM.PL and great-NOM.PL wonder-NOM.PL  
*Taiuaha-st tapacta-uat*  
heaven-from happen-3PL

'And great terrors will happen, and great wonders from the heavens.'

(Agricola, NT, Lk. 21:11)

As such, this could be explained simply by supposing that, influenced by contact languages, the existential construction of (1) tends to be supplanted by a



locational or normal intransitive construction as in (2). However, a matching tendency for nominative plural may be found with objects:

(3) *Ja paluelia-t anno-i-t hene-lle coruapwsti-t*  
and servant-NOM.PL give-IPF-3PL him-to beating-NOM.PL  
'And the servants gave him beatings' (Agricola, NT, Mark 14:65)

(4) *Mutama-t taas o-uat Pilco-i-a ia*  
some.NOM-PL again be-3PL mockery-PL-PART and  
*witzoituxe-t kersi-nyet Ja wiele sijttekin*  
scourging.NOM-PL suffer-PTCP.PST and still then  
*Fangiuxe-t ia Torni-t*  
imprisonment.NOM-PL and tower.NOM-PL

'Others have suffered mockeries and scourgings, and more than that, imprisonments and dungeons' (Agricola, NT, 11:36)

This suggests that the partitive-marking of quantitatively indefinite, or divisible, arguments in general is less consistent in Old Finnish than it is in Standard Finnish.

In this presentation, I will evaluate this phenomenon against the background of a hypothesis raised by Ojajärvi (1950: 24), who noted that partitive-marking of quantitative indefinites occurred in a more restricted fashion in East Finnic languages such as Karelian and Vepse, and argued this to possibly be an archaic state of affairs preserved through contact with Russian. This raises the possibility that, provided conditions for case-marking are similar, Old Finnish represents a similarly more archaic state of affairs, preserved through contact with languages such as German or Swedish, alternatively, that the Old Finnish phenomenon represents an East Finnic feature in early Old Finnish.

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## The names of material objects in the Mordvin languages: the comparison of linguistic data with the results of archaeological and ethnographic studies

**(Названия предметов материальной культуры в мордовских языках: сопоставление лингвистических, археологических и этнографических данных)**

The Mordvin languages (Erzya and Moksha) together with Mari belong to the Finno-Volga branch of the Finno-Ugric languages. The Mordvin languages are close to each other, although there are some significant differences at the phonetic, morphological, lexical and syntactic levels.

The development of the Mordvins could not be isolated from other nations. There was a constant exchange of material objects. New words were borrowed to Proto-Mordvin along with new items. The reflexes of these words are still

preserved in the names of the items. The study of material culture is of great importance when we explore the history, life and environment of a nation. The reconstruction of the names for the items gives an opportunity to clarify archaeological and historical data on the contacts of ancient Mordvins with their neighbors, to expand the archaeological and ethnographic view about their appearance.

The reconstruction of the names for the traditional clothing and ornaments, household utensils and tools allowed us to identify a number of features that existed at the Proto-Mordvin level. For example, the national costume complex of the Mordvins (which is one of the most important components of material culture) is represented by the names of clothing, headwear and footwear of the Finno-Ugric origin (e.g., erz., m. *pal'a* 'shirt' < FU \**pal'a* 'festive, valuable clothing, shirt'; erz. *paŋgo*, m. *paŋga* 'women's head-dress' < FU [Tsygankin, 71]; erz., m. *kar'* 'bast shoe' < FU [Tsygankin, 28]). Also, on the Proto-Mordvin level we observed a large number of borrowings from the Turkic and the Slavic languages.

It is interesting that borrowings from Russian are illustrative of the period after the Proto-Mordvin language. Russian borrowings gradually replace some older names for items of clothing and life. At the same time in the Erzya and Moksha languages the corpus of the names for material objects is replenished with new words produced by derivation and composition.

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## **The function of water in traditional religious and magic rites of the Mordva (Функция воды в религиозно-магических представлениях и обрядах мордвы)**

According to the traditional religious and magic views of the Mordva, water is the source of the inception and the origin of the world. This statement can be proved by the Erzian mythological song "Mastor chachs" ("The Earth was born"). Thus, it tells that Inved (The Great Water) – an ocean or a sea – was the initial state of reality. Some sources claim that initially there were three fish swimming in it, others – only the God, being the single creature in the world.

Traditional national identity of the Mordva is widely presented in the water cult (rivers, springs and wells). Particularly, the Mordvinian mythology includes a large number of deities-patrons of water and religious and magic rites dealing with them. Each of the deities-patrons was in charge of its own domain. For example, the Deity-Patroness of water on the whole Earth, Veden kirdi, was portrayed as an anthropomorphic creature: a tall, plump woman in silver apparel with a crucian tail, like a mermaid's one. As for her functions, this deity-patroness knows the fish language, especially that of the small fry, and all the underground

roads and ways. She has multitudinous assistants in charge of particular water sources. They can hear their boss arriving when a small bell jingles (people also can hear it).

Vedyava was the most powerful and, consequently, most worshipped deity-patroness of water. To please her, Mordvinian people used to throw ritual food into a source of water or dig it in the riverside in the course of various ritual prayings.

Every important stage of a Mordvinian's life – birth, wedding, death – was directly connected to a corresponding purification or protective rite dealing with water: baths, a bride's walk to a spring, etc. Some folk sources report that there used to be pagan weddings of the Mordva on riverbanks.

The purificatory and salubrious function of water reveals itself in various spells. The newly-weds, childless women, people with ocular deceases pleaded water for help. Mordvinian traditional fairy-tale scenarios have “living” and “dead” water among its popular plots. Only dead ancestors know the location of “living” water. So, it was considered to be in the nether world. Salubrious qualities were attributed to the water with which icons and door-posts were washed.

At present, the Mordva has kept some of the traditional rites dealing with water. According to modern beliefs, the water taken from springs and water-taps on the eve of Epiphany is considered to be magic and wonder-working. There is also a tradition to wash oneself on “clean” Thursday before the Easter. Mordvinians used to do it with thawed snow. For the same purpose, they took water from three springs and went to the spring to get absolution for all their sins. Now the tradition is reported to be still alive in some Mordvinian villages, especially during the time of drought. Water is also widely used in various fortune-telling procedures and protective rites.

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### **Ethnographic resources' potential as a factor in tourism development in the Udmurt Republic**

The Udmurt Republic belongs to the Finno-Ugric world and has the territory potential of ethnographic resources as a factor in tourism development.

Ethnic tourism is one of the promising directions of tourism development and recreation sectors of the economy of the region, gives the opportunity to learn traditional culture and the historical, ideological features. It helps to promote tolerance between different ethnic groups, as well as allows preserving traditions and increasing the ethnic group' consciousness. Nowadays, there are 24 ethnic groups of the Finno-Ugric family, 17 of them live in Russia. The largest of them: Mordvinians (Erzya, Moksha), Udmurt, Mari, Komi, Karel, Ingrian Finns, Khanty, Mansi, Vepsians, bessermayan, Sami etc. Six of the Finno-Ugric ethnic groups have their own national-territorial formations in Russian Federation: republic of Mordovia, Mari El, Komi, Karelia, Udmurtia and the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug. Each region holds an active promotion of ethnographic

resources development in tourism relation, some of the objects included in the World Heritage List.

Ethnographic tourism has the future due to its uniqueness and originality, the past history becomes richer and attractive can be showed by reduced ethnic diversity, for example other ethnic groups - Native American' group in Mexico (Zapotec) were isolated and under the other ethnic groups oppression, who nowadays reviving their traditions. This occurs due to increasing of the ethnic group' consciousness, awareness of the traditional values and archaic elements preservation of the culture and identity requirements.

The conservation of indigenous people of Russia as a part of public policy searches in close co-operation with Finno-Ugric institutions has their productivity.

Ethnographic space of the Udmurt Republic includes confirmation scientific facts of archeology, linguistics and genetics.

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**Mansi vocabulary in the materials of the Ural Federal University's  
Toponymic Field Team  
(Мансийская лексика в полевых материалах Топонимической  
экспедиции Уральского федерального университета)**

From 1968 through 1971, the Toponymic Field Team of the Ural State (now Federal) Univer-sity led by Prof. A. K. Matveyev engaged in collecting toponymic and lexical materials among Mansi reindeer herdsman in the Northern Ural Mountains (the northern part of the Sverdlovsk re-gion and the adjacent regions). This author was directly involved in the field trips of years 1969, 1970 and 1971.

Toponymic materials gathered in the field among the Mansi of the Upper Lozva and Sosva ar-eas (raindeer herdsman roaming the Northern Ural Mountains) are represented in published work (G.V. Glinskikh, A.K. Matveev, 1975; A.K. Matveev, 1976, etc. – see References: *Onomastica Uralica*, 7. Debrecen–Helsinki, 2008, p. 155–157; A.K. Matveev, 2011). For various reasons, no studies of the Mansi vocabulary from the field materials have been carried out yet. The volume of the Mansi vocabulary collection from these field trips exceeds 17,000 cards. Mansi vocabulary, as well as toponymics, is a priceless record of the Mansi language, history and culture. It is particu-larly important to put to use in research these materials, gathered more than 40 years ago, now that the speakers of the Upper Lozva version of the northern Mansi dialect no longer practice raindeer herdsman-ship, and the number of such speakers is continuously decreasing.

The Mansi vocabulary from the card collection of the Ural Federal University's Toponymic Field Team is very diverse, and covers practically all thematic fields. It offers a broad representa-tion of geographic terms, nature-related lexemes, raindeer herdsman's terminology, words associ-ated with hunting and fishing, as well as everyday life. Checking these records against dictionaries of the Mansi language demonstrates not only the stability of the

northern Mansi's lexical stock, but also its development. In particular, the records reflect new borrowings from Russian, as well as neologisms – as a reflection of Mansi's increasing familiarity with the civilization realities.

When gathering nature-related vocabulary, a lot of attention was given to plant names. In order to identify plants more accurately, a herbarium was created and maintained. The card catalogue includes around 300 records of phitonyms (including different forms), whereas there are only 76 plants in the herbarium. Mansi phitonyms provide a good example of the concrete approach, in which the Ob Ugry perceive reality, yet at the same time they reflect rather amorphous borderlines in the nam-ing of individual species. The unique value of vocabulary materials collected by our Toponymic Field Team is confirmed, among others, by the fact that many of the plant names recorded by our team not mentioned in the dictionaries.

Next steps in this research include full checking all the materials from the field card collection against Mansi dictionaries, as part of preparing these materials for publication.

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### **The ethnic factor in the global era: the example of the Udmurt youth**

What are the coping strategies of the Udmurt youth, born after 1980 and who grew up with the values and codes of the Western countries, to the original social, economic and cultural situations they face?

The goal of this presentation is some piece of answers to this question through examples from the author's recent travels in Udmurtia and regular contact with young Udmurt people active in the development of their culture.

The first part will present the new social profile of the Udmurt urban generation born after 1980, their characteristics with respect to their elders, and their assets for the comprehension of the ethnic factor in the sphere of the economic and cultural globalization.

The second part will present concrete examples related to the activity of the Udmurt cultural actors in Izhevsk: for example, how economic constraints and opportunities are influencing the way young people express their culture.

The third part will present examples related to the virtual activity of the Udmurt cultural actors, regardless of their place of living: the characteristics of cultural strategies on the internet (including the creation of virtual ethnic communities).

In view of the themes of this presentation (globalization, physical and virtual territory), a conclusion will question the notions of "territory" and "deterritorialization" of ethnic activities, concepts applied in the specific case of Udmurt in the contemporary period.

## **A longitudinal study of Finnish-Saami language change in Northern Saami speech communities in Finland**

The language of the Northern Saami speech community in Finnish Lapland is genuinely threatened and the speakers of Northern Saami have been experiencing cultural and linguistic assimilation into the majority over the past centuries. The Northern Saami territories of Enontekiö and Sodankylä have been selected for the purpose of the research as sociolinguistic research mapping minority language use and attitudes has not been carried out in them apart from Marjut Aikio's work on the language change situation of the Saami in Vuotso (Aikio 1988).

The aim of my paper is to present the results of a longitudinal sociolinguistic research I carried out in the above mentioned communities.

My PhD research realized during 2001–2002 and analyzing the bilingual situation of the community at the time constitutes the basis for the investigation which explored the language change situation ten years later.

As patterns of language use and language attitudes change over time, the language change situation of the community can reliably be interpreted if the first research is followed up on 10–20 years later relying mostly on the same research tools as in the first study. Thus, in this paper I will compare the results of both studies with the purpose of providing a more subtle picture of the process, pace and direction of language change in the minority community. In the first phase of the research I collected the data by questionnaires inquiring about language use and attitudes and applied both qualitative and quantitative methods to analyze them. The analysis has been a variable-oriented one focusing on 2–3 key variables. In the second phase besides using the same questionnaire I also relied on interviews and case studies.

According to Lambert (1974) bilingual situations can be categorized as additive or subtractive ones. In the former the speaker of the minority language lives in a community where his or her mother tongue is supported by the majority and thus his or her linguistic repertoire is enriched with the knowledge of the majority language. In the latter situation the minority language speakers have fewer and fewer domains of language use as a result of the majority language being societally more dominant leading to the erosion of the first language and thus shifting to the regular use of the majority language. An interesting question is whether there exist bilingual situations which can be described as additive and subtractive at the same time bearing the characteristics of both situations at a certain period of time during the language change process. This research seeks to address this question and formulates the following hypotheses:

1. Language attitudes towards Saami and the phenomena of Saami-Finnish bilingualism have become more positive during the 10 years irrespective of e.g. gender or occupation
2. Saami speakers are in a bilingual situation both additive and subtractive

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The National Museum of Mari El Republic named by T. Evseev

## **The comparison of some signs of religious monuments of Mari people based on archaeological and ethnographic data (Сопоставление некоторых признаков культовых памятников марицев по археологическим и этнографическим данным)**

The Mari Volga region is of great interest to professionals who work both in the field of archeology and ethnography. Systematization of archaeological material and comparison of the obtained data with available ethnographic sources allow us to analyze some traits of religious monuments: to explain peculiarities in their planigraphy, identify components of their religious practice. Such approach is important not only for understanding the archaeological material which is not associated with home reality, but also for understanding quite various ethnographic data.

The article gives some examples of implementation of this approach to the study of religious monuments of Mari people:

1. **Landscape.** It is one of the main archaeological features. The sanctuaries in the Middle Ages were usually located on the gently sloping headlands which were formed by gullies, it is proved by the description of monuments of Mountain Mari people by L. Iznoskov (1869), Vyat Mari people by A. Filimonov (1868, 1869) and partly of Nizhny Novgorod Mari people by N.Ogloblin (1906). The other topographic feature of sanctuaries is the closeness to the water source. Testimonies of A. Oleary (XVII century) and G.F. Miller (XVIII century) point out that Cheremisses worshipped the Nemda River, the Shoksha River, the mouth of the Pizhma River.

2. **The type of sanctuary.** Ethnographic data on the types of religious monuments are contradictory. Researchers divide sanctuaries into groups: according to location - in the forest (G.F. Miller), near villages (L. Iznoskov); according to the height of their location - upper and lower (V.M. Vasiliev); according to the type of trees (A. Filimonov), etc. Based on archaeological materials it can be assumed that the sanctuaries were outside the settlements ("villages") in the XIII century, and they were divided into "lower" and "upper" not earlier than in the middle of the II millennium BC.

3. **Structure of the sanctuaries.** According to some ethnographic data the places of sacrifices ("Keremet") and places where they ate were enclosed and

sheltered (M.D. Tchoulkov, 1786). Archaeological material proves the presence of pillar constructions (mainly fences) at sanctuaries which were located in the settlements.

According to ethnographers, the number of principal places of sacrifices depended on the number of the main gods, who were given sacrifice: T.E. Evseviev points out three to five fires, I.G. Georgi - seven fires, A.I. Emelyanov – 14 fires, S.K. Kuznetsov - 34 fires, L.S. Toydybekova – 20 to 24 fires. According to archaeological data four fires were made simultaneously (at the sanctuary on the slope of Vazhnangerskoe settlement).

**4. Species composition of the sacrificial herd.** Archaeozoological analysis clarifies significantly the species composition of the main sacrificial herd. Along with the traditional sacrificial animals (sheep, horses, cattle) pigs were sacrificed (sanctuaries in Vazhnangerskoe settlement, Krasnoye settlement II, Yunga-Pernyangashskoe settlement). Ethnographic written sources do not contain such data, but the use of «a snout» of a pig as a talisman is noted in some areas of the Mari El Republic even today.

According to ethnographic data horse was the most important sacrifice in the XIX century and at the beginning of the XX century (Paasonen). A comparison of these data with high quantitative index of the horse remains at the sanctuary of Vazhnangerskoe settlement stresses the importance of socio-political status of the very settlement once more.

Thus, examples of comparison between ethnographic and archaeological studies of religious monuments allow us to reconstruct the spiritual culture of Mari people in their development more completely and to show the complementarity of sources.

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### **Schoolteachers of the Mordovian okrug (1928–1930)**

The first form of statehood of the Mordvins in the 20th century was the Mordovian Okrug, which was formed in July 1928 as part of the Middle Volga Region. In January 1930 it was converted into the Mordovian Autonomous Region. Those less than two years laid the foundation of the educational system of Mordovia.

The aim of this paper is to observe how the trends in the development of education in 1928-1930 influenced the status of teachers of the Mordovian Okrug. The documents of the Okrug Board of Education have been used.

In 1928, the literacy rate of the Mordovian Okrug was 28%. Qualified teachers were in high demand. The data of the Mordovian Okrug Board of Education indicate that at the beginning of a new 1928/1929 academic year in seven-year and nine-year schools the student-teacher ratio was 26 to 1. At the same time, there was an excess of teachers poorly trained on short-term courses. A lack of funding was often an obstacle for the training courses.

A form of quality control of schools was delivery of methodical tasks by the Okrug Board of Education. Heads of schools reported on written, anti-religious, social, and regional work.



What problems did teachers face? Governing bodies demanded that the teacher assist collectivization of farms and lead the anti-religious propaganda. According to the materials of the district teachers' conferences, teachers were repulsed by the peasant population in this work.

Another problem was unjustified transfers of teachers from school to school without taking into account their desires and training. Sometimes Russian teachers who did not know the national languages were sent to Mordovian schools. The financial circumstances of teachers were reduced.

Thus, during the existence of the Mordovian Okrug the following key trends were outlined: rapid extensive development of education, school ideologization and growth of teachers' social work.

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### **Pre- and post-vocalic overlap effect on Meadow Mari and Udmurt vowels. A comparison**

The purpose of this paper is to define pre- and post-overlap effects on Meadow Mari and Udmurt vowels and compare the findings, with an overall aim of determining how overlap might be calculated and taken into consideration in other languages. The object in the title of this study is described as the overlap effect on vowels, rather than as co-articulation. The expression "overlap effect" lacks the ambiguity of "co-articulation" and would appear to be otherwise closer in meaning. The degree of overlap effect is not always or necessarily simply a question of the direct, natural, influence of a pure consonant on an adjacent vowel. Other factors may be involved such as interference from more distant segments and articulatory restraints. However, the issue of the effect of word and sentence stress is not addressed in the article. The only variable that has been examined is

that of the change in formant values between a target vowel and adjacent consonants. Even then, it has not been possible to take all combinations into consideration. Therefore, in this presentation overlap effect means formant changes in vowels, and thus changes in quality, due to preceding and following consonants. The principle perspective taken is phonological rather than that of the technical qualities of vowels for applied use, although the results may be of value in this regard also. Because some other factors could be taken into consideration in studies of the effect of overlap, this discussion is restricted, for the most part, to providing rough guidelines for calculating the possible effects of overlap on the most frequently occurring vowels in the languages considered and tentatively projecting the main conclusions to languages in general. The findings were reached by measuring four formant frequency values. The analysis shows that while there is variation both between languages and speakers, some language specific conclusions can be drawn. Since it has not been possible to analyse all possible relevant factors, for example, non-adjacent consonants, the findings, while indicative, would no doubt benefit from revision and enlargement.

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### **Areal aspect of the study lexic of the Komi-Permyak language**

The first attempts of areal studies of the Komi-Permyak language were undertaken by R.M. Batalova in the monograph "Areal studies on the eastern Finno-Ugric languages" (1982). Komi-Permyak dialectal material is also used in S.A. Sazhina's dissertation "Comparative morphology of the Komi-Zyryan dialects (nominal parts of speech) (2004). Both works are devoted to the study of morphology.

Research of the Komi-Permyak lexic in an areal aspect was started by the author of this report in her dissertation "Lexic of the northern dialect of the Komi-Permyak language" (2002). T.N. Merkusheva also had used lingvo-geographical method in the study of the lexic of the southern dialect (2003).

Analysis of dialect lexicon allowed to identify Northern-Komi-Permyak area in the northern dialect, as well as central, south-eastern, western, northern and Mysovsko-Lup'inski micro-areas. These areas are singled out on the basis of genetic, areal and areal-genetic isoglosses. Genetic isogloss goes back to Common Permic and earlier periods. Their absence in the southern dialect explained by the loss or innovational replacement.

Areal isoglosses arose as a result of contacts of the northern Komi-Permyaks with other peoples. Among North-Komi-Permyak-Komi-Zyryan areal isoglosses dominated isolexes and izosemes, covering Komi-Zyryan language and bordering with it Mysovsko-Lup'inski patoises.

Areal-genetic isoglosses emerged as a result of areal-genetic relationships. Isoglosses of this type are date back to same parent language, but became widespread only in a certain area of pra-language dialects. Some isoglosses unite northern dialect with southern, forming common lexic, others – with Komi-Zyryan dialects. This suggests that the northern dialect is a transitional link

between the Komi-Zyryan language and southern dialect of the Komi-Permyak language.

On the base of the isoglosses analysis, is allocated northern-Komi-Permyak area and a number of micro-areas; revealed isoglosses, covering northern dialect and Lower-In'va dialect of the Kom-Permyak language. Probably, they appeared when the territory of adjacent Solikamsk, where Russian dialects are spread, was inhabited by the Komi-Permyaks, when the northern dialect and patois of Lower In'va dialect were linked by transitional dialects, now not existing.

Currently areal study of Komi-Permyak dialects must be continued. It is advisable to carry out study of Komi-Permyak dialects within common-Komi dialectal space, because the Komi-Permyak isoglosses have continuation in Komi-Zyryan zone, and Komi-Zyryan isoglosses – on the territory, where Komi-Permyak dialects are spread.

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### **Indefinite pronouns in the Finno-Ugric languages**

Indefinite pronouns are treated as levels of verbal representation of the meaning space of uncertainty. As in the Finno-Ugric languages they belong to a group of late, secondary elements, they demonstrate considerable distinctions even in closely related languages.

In Finno-Ugric the oldest way of expressing indefiniteness is using interrogatives and their combinations (e.g. Veps. *mi-se* 'something', Mar. *kǐdj-tidj* 'somebody, lit. who this, Udm. *maže-sože* 'somewhat, lit. what that', etc.).

Later appear special indefiniteness markers arisen from one-syllable pronoun stems or emphatic and derivational elements, e.g. Balto-Fin. *-gi, -ki, -kin*, Veps. *-se* and *-ni*, Saam. *-n'e*, Karel. *-nih*, Perm. *-ke/-ke*, Mord. *-ak, -jak, -gak, -vok, -ge*, Khant. *-pa, -t jr, -kem*, Mans. *-ta* etc.

As a result of cognitive assimilation of reality by a person also those elements arise that mirror more delicate nuances of indefiniteness, as "I know, but without certainty", "I can suppose", "I want to know", "I admit", etc., and this demands involving nominative vocabulary into the group of indefinite pronouns, e.g. *everyone, everybody, anybody, whoever, etc.*

Gaps among connotative meanings are mostly fulfilled in course of pronominalization of original lexical items, e.g. Komi *kodšure* 'whoever, something, lit. who gets', Est. *kes tahes* 'anybody, lit. who wants', Fin. *mitä hyväsä* 'everything, lit. what is good', etc., or through using borrowed elements, e.g. Udm. *olokin* 'somebody, unknown one'.

### **Differential object marking as information-structuring device: Finnish confronted with Northern Sami**

Differential object marking (DOM) and the key-parameters at work are now well-described in diverse languages – see Luraghi & Huumo (eds.) 2014. Beyond the classical morphosyntactic and semantic approaches, recent studies have shown how DOM, as an utterance structuring element, is affected by the informational value of constituents (Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2014). Considering furthermore that Information Structuring (IS) should be preferably studied from a text linguistic perspective, I will present the results of a research conducted within an International CNRS Project (Information Structure and Typology, ISTY, 2008–2013) and through bilateral European collaborations. This research has involved, after inventorying 3 aspectual categories of verbs (RESultative / IRResultative or RES-IRR, a methodology partly inspired from Askonen 2011) the analysis of PART(itive) vs. ACC(usative) Objects in Finnish–Sami and Sami–Finnish translations of novels and short stories (Mukka 1974, 2008; Skabmatolak 1973; Vest 1988, 1990). The case of RES–IRR verbs shows adequate for explaining the influence of co- and contextual criteria on the translator's choices. The role of object case alternation has proved to be determining for the Information Structuring of the text (Fernandez-Vest 2012, 2014a) – including a rhythmic distribution between narrative parts and descriptive ones that relies upon the alternative use of PART and ACC cases for the object. A question remains hypothetical: can we assume that the speaker/writer selects the verbs for their respective construction in view of a conscious text strategy?

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### **Proprietary/possessive in Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup**

The paper reviews possession in the eastern-most Khanty dialects and southern-most Southern/Central Selkup dialects with less than half a dozen speakers remaining. The analysis stems from extended fieldwork data and legacy data archived at Tomsk Department of Indigenous Languages of Siberia. The main purpose is to discuss the key morphosyntactic and semantic features of proprietary/possessive semantics based on the available data and approached within a conventional theoretical and methodological framework. This will allow integration of the data and analysis into the debates regarding proprietary/possessive senses from the areal Siberian, genetic Uralic and wider typological perspective.

Possession in Uralic languages has been a topic of a number of studies both as a part of descriptive efforts (Tereskin, 1961; Gulya, 1966; Filchenko, 2007) and as a typological endeavour (Kangasmaa-Minn, 1984; Bartens, 1991; Honti, 2007, among others). With regards to their morphosyntactic features possessive constructions are traditionally differentiated into adnominal possessives and predicate possessives, with an occasionally added phenomenon of external possession (where the possessee and the possessor are coded by different clause constituents). Over-imposed to this is traditionally a semantic stratification into alienable/inalienable possession, with an occasionally differentiated category of temporary possession.

While the existing treatments of possession in Uralic languages deal with the above semantic and morphosyntactic categories to a varying extent, it is still beneficial to review these questions firstly, in a conceptually wide manner including in the domain all the functional range from proprietary to external possession, and secondly, in a micro-typological manner, on the basis of the data from two endangered languages Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup, as it is rarely considered in previous works in detail.

It can be seen that both Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup have a fairly diverse inventory of constructions to code proprietary/possessive semantics. Of these, the most frequently used types are the adnominal possession constructions and the existential/locative/possessive constructions, with the possessor coded by a locational NP. At a more lexical-morphological level, a variety of proprietary/possessive affixes is used to code salient possession of a feature, or occasionally inalienable possession of a feature. Proprietary is often described as “adjective-deriving”, which is valid for both Eastern Khanty and Southern Selkup, and the proprietary-affixed nouns are indeed used as predicative and adnominal. However, interesting questions arise with regard to often debated status of the category “adjective” in these languages per se, and the morphosyntactic specifics vs. universality of the proprietary affixes as means of

denominal derivation in these remotely related but extensively contacting languages.

At the more syntactic pragmatic level, possessive markers are used to maintain information flow and discourse coherence, coding more topical, identifiable referents of the proposition.

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### **Recent adaptations of Väinö Linna's *The Unknown Soldier* (Väinö Linnan *Tuntemattoman sotilaan* uusimmista sovituksista)**

At the time of its publication, the impact of *The Unknown Soldier* (*Tuntematon sotilas*) extended far beyond the literary field, it brought about considerable changes in the whole Finnish social and public sphere of its time: it became a significant medium for the re-interpretation of history and for understanding the crisis and transformation of national identity. Moreover, as Jyrki Nummi established, *The Unknown Soldier* (and *Under the Northern Star*) "were also building the present and the future at a period of transition" (1): through the acceptance of conflicts and the diversity of values, the novel significantly contributed to the formation of the new, post-war Second Republic identity.

Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu talks about the responsibilities and tasks of the critical intellectuals: the role of the critical intellectual is to point out the arbitrary nature of the power relations and interests prevailing in society and thereby to bring about change. (2) Examining the significance of *The Unknown Soldier* in the light of Bourdieu's concept, we can establish that by breaking the old nationalistic-patriotic identity of the upper parts of society, in his own time Linna acted as Bourdieu's critical intellectual. However, throughout the years, *The Unknown Soldier* has reached the status of "relic", an untouchable historical monument, no matter the ever growing number of adaptations.

However, starting with Kristian Smeds' scandal-raising play in the National Theatre (2007), recently a new wave of more radical and artistically innovative adaptations has appeared. Other fresh adaptations include the renewed opera version presented by the Oulu City Theatre (2014, dir. Lauri Majjala), the Radioteatteri audio drama (2014, dram. Jussi Moila, dir. Juhana von Bagh) and possibly the new film adaptation due to be ready by the centenary of Finland's independence. Smeds' interpretation updated Linna's novel to the present day by touching upon delicate current social and global issues; it raised debates in the public sphere, though finally these debates stayed on a relatively superficial level. (3) Merely by choosing *The Unknown Soldier* as their topic, these new adaptations obtain great public attention, but one could ask what new aspects they render to it. Do they update the novel, and – the same way as Linna, a critical intellectual did - represent a deeper crisis and change perceivable lately, do they depict the changing Finnish identity or are they innovative merely in form? Also the expectations and the reaction of the audience need to be taken into consideration. After a brief overview of the new adaptations, my presentation is going to concentrate on the analysis and reception of the recent Radioteatteri audio drama.

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## Ob-Ugric syntax before 1850; Case Castrén

The presentation combines the history of grammar writing and history of understanding syntax with Ob-Ugric and especially Khanty data. Material (and background) of the presentation is The Ostyak (Khanty) grammar compiled by M. A. Castrén and released in 1849.

During his very short visit to the Khantys in Irtysh and Surgut areas Castrén clearly concentrated on the phonology and morphology, i.e. sounds, forms and words, so to say, of the language. However, he also made some notes about syntax, even though he formulated his observations as morphological.

In the presentation, special attention is paid to the description of argument structure and valence-changing processes; How they are described in changes through derivation, case functions and the different conjugation types: conjugation of intransitive, transitive, passive and auxiliary verbs. A very interesting and nice fact is that Khanty indeed shows the passive not only as a voice but also as a kind of conjugation of verbs with certain semantical characteristics (so called medial verbs, see e.g. Kulonen 1989). This was already noted by Castrén. It might also have had influence on his analysis of the use of passive.

The presentation is based on the project “Manuscripta Castreniana” organised by the Finno-Ugrian Society and the critical edition of Castrén’s Khanty grammar to be published in 2015.

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### **The symbolism of the dummy bride in the traditional Udmurt wedding**

Traditional wedding ceremony of the Udmurts, complex in its composition, differs by symbolic diversity. One of the components of the Udmurt wedding, functioning up to the present time, but already perceived as entertainment, is a game with a dummy bride. At modern wedding a girlfriend/contemporary of bride or a young man acts the role of a "fake" bride. However, according to rare sources of the 19th century, in northern Udmurtia this role always was played by an elderly woman – *pyshyir*. For the native people the meaning of this image was clear, but evolving in the course of time, it gradually lost the original meaning, the 'name' of the character disappeared.

From the point of view of semantics, the term *pyshyir* lost its etymology and used as a set expression: "upstart", "brisk [man] / Jack of all trades". Its archaic meaning (lit.: "marrying [head]") in the Udmurt traditions is forgotten. But the nuances of meaning are found in related Komi-Zyryan and Komi-Permyak languages: verbal noun *pyshyis* 'running' is equivalent to "bride" in the proverb: "*Kushthem pyshyis*, *setshem i votchys*" ('What is the bride, so is the bridegroom'; lit.: 'What is the running, so is catching up'). Thus, the concept *pyshyis*, corresponds to modern Udmurt *byzis* / *koshkis* [nyl] 'the bride'.

Another line of symbolic meaning of the bride's image develops phonetic identity of *pyshyir* (hemp+head) with *pysh* (hemp). The appearance of the bride whose head is covered with a shawl (s'ulyk) in layered clothing is compared with hemp sheaf. The perception of the bride as hemp sheaf is not accidental. Conducted conceptual analysis of sustainable ritual term in the context of the ritual reveals its deep semantics. "Hemp head" in a wedding ceremony is understood as the end result of cultivation of plants, presented in a single expression. It has a chronological compactness and symbolizes completeness and perfection, includes as a basic concept of a complete cycle "life - death". In mythological representations, completes one stage in a girl's life and begins a new life, the status of young wife. A dummy bride-*pyshyir* "helps" to realize an archaic idea of birth/rebirth. Vegetative image of wedding character is likened both to bride, and to the creature of the other world. Perhaps the "hemp head" symbolized an ancestor, giving/presenting new life for procreation. This idea can be seen in the attributes of wedding ceremonies: when in some local traditions symbolically the situation of "sale and purchase" is played, when during the matchmaking the bride's parents are asked to bring hemp seeds, in spring mother-in-law gives hemp seeds to son-in-law for planting.

## **Preverbs in Surgut Khanty and the emergence of *Aktionsart*-categories**

The grammaticalization pathway of preverbs seems to be well understood. The originally lative-marked adverbials become aspectual (telicity) markers through inference and meaning shift (the situation reaches its inherent endpoint and comes to an end in space > the situation reaches its inherent endpoint and comes to an end). The change can be sketched as follows:

adverbial meaning > adverbial meaning and aspectual meaning > aspectual meaning > aspectual meaning and *Aktionsart*-meaning (Kiefer–Honti 2003: 149; *Aktionsart* defined as “an accidental modification of the meaning of the base verb expressed by morphological means”, Kiefer–Honti op.cit. 139).

Whereas the appearance of aspectual meaning is a clear instance of meaning generalization characteristic of grammaticalization, the explanation of the emergence of the more specific *Aktionsart*-meanings (like iterativity, exhaustivity, diminutivity) seems to be a more challenging task. Concerning Surgut Khanty preverbs, there were two among these that seem to express an added meaning besides telicity, namely that a given situation culminated with extreme intensity. Concerning their grammaticalization source, both of them are atypical among preverbs: whereas most of these stem from adverbials, one of these two *Aktionsart*-preverbs, *tõwə* ‘there’ is originally a deictic element, and the other, *tĩk* is assumed to be a loan from Selkup, in the source language an adjective meaning ‘thick, dense’.

After sketching the general characteristics of Surgut Khanty preverbs, the presentation will focus on these two morphemes. Relying on both the similarities and differences in their distribution, I will argue that their *Aktionsart*-meaning has developed through different yet converging pathways, and the concept of source determination (“the actual meaning of the construction that enters into grammaticization uniquely determines the path that grammaticization follows and, consequently, the resulting grammatical meanings” [Bybee et al. 1994: 9]) helps to understand their synchronic characteristics. Finally, I will compare these two cases with previous investigations of the origin of the Hungarian *Aktionsart*-categories, and suggest that each of these require fairly specific explanations. Therefore, it seems to be less likely to identify a single mechanism of change that is responsible for the emergence of *Aktionsart*-categories. The paper is based both on data elicited from a native speaker of Surgut Khanty and on data acquired from published sources.

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### **Proper-interrogative sentences in the Komi language**

All interrogative sentences of Komi literary language for communicative orientation can be divided into proper-interrogative and indirectly-interrogative. Proper-interrogative sentences have a construction requiring mandatory response containing the request of any information. They are based on the correlation of the values of the question to the entire statement or to the part and are divided into two main types - verificative and special. In verificative sentences question refers to the entire statement. The inquirer uses them to determine the reality / unreality of the current event.

In special interrogative sentences question is given in order to obtain new information and refers to any part of the sentence, the question words are used. These types of sentences contain questions about the time and place of an action, the quality and properties of the object, etc.

In the Komi language alternative interrogative sentences also refer to proper-interrogative sentences, offering the recipient to make a choice of two answers contained in questions.

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### **The beginnings of written Estonian in author dictionaries (Kirjaviron alkuvaiheet uusissa sanakirjoissa)**

In our presentation we will introduce a method of historical lexicography developed in the University of Tartu research group of Old Written Estonian: compiling of author dictionaries equipped with lemmas, morphological and frequency information and examples of use. (Habicht et al 2000, Kingisepp et al 2002, Habicht and Prillop 2013). This usage-based corpus-driven method (Kemmer and Barlow 2000, Bybee 2010) makes it possible to give a comprehensive overview of the language data of old and rare texts. Because of the unified methodology the dictionaries of the oldest written Estonian can be easily assembled in a single database allowing for simple electronic information retrieval by linguists or anyone interested in language.

In our overview we concentrate on the latest and most voluminous author dictionary compiled by the research group of Old Written Estonian which is due in the end of 2014. It is the dictionary of „Hand- vnd Haußbuch“ (1632–1638) and „Leyen Spiegel“ (1641–1649) – two works that shaped the contemporary language norm – by Heinrich Stahl (1600?–1657), a pastor from North Estonia who has been considered the originator of written Estonian. The dictionary contains 2742 headwords, 518 of which are unique, as well as compound words, multi-word expressions and cross-references. On the one hand, the dictionary shows the vocabulary and use of morphology characteristic to the author while also reflecting the variance in the vocabulary and morphology as well as word meanings. On the other hand, it enables the observation of rare vocabulary,

including hapax legomena, archaisms and old loan words. Since the original books contain parallel text in German it is possible to show several characteristic similarities and differences between German and Estonian conceptual systems in example sentences.

Compiling an author dictionary is a time consuming method resulting in a comprehensive vocabulary overview which is an important source for the more detailed study of the lexical dynamics of written language (including e.g. first occurrences of vocabulary, etymology, meaning change, type and token frequency).

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### Language attrition and revitalization among the Inari and Skolt Sami

The Inari and Skolt Sami languages have faced a slow language attrition process in Finland for a long time, Inari Saami since 1758 (Sjögren 1828: 201) and Skolt Sami after World War I. Both communities have faced a massive language attrition process after WW II, which finally reached the Skolt Sami community of Če'vetjäu'rr in the early 1970s.

The likelihood that these languages would face extinction was widely known since the 1980s, but until my research, no reliable information had been produced either on the extent or the speed of these processes.

My research provides slices in time of these language attrition processes, and in the best documented case of Če'vetjäu'rr, the picture is quite comprehensible, due to the good availability of source material. For other communities, including the Inari Sami communities, the method produces glimpses in time for 1949 and the late 1990s, and with the Skolt Sami communities also for 1965. It is my intention to update the information so that the situation for 2015 can also be presented in my paper.

The language revitalization processes of the Inari and Skolt Sami have similarly been left unstudied by scholars, at least if one thinks of a comprehensible study. In my study I recorded the results of the Inari Sami

language nest in the Inari village (Kielâpiervâl) for 2007 and reconstructed the starting point in 1997. It is my intention to update this research for 2015 and also conduct a similar study of the two Skolt Sami language nests of Če'vetjäu'rr and Ivalo and present the results in the 2015 CIFU in Oulu.

The method of the study has been developed by myself during 1993–95 in my field work in seven Aleut and Sugt'stun villages in Alaska, with influences from Sammallahhti (1981) and Vakhtin (1991, 1992, 1993) (see Hallamaa 1997). The method was tested in a rather large-scale fieldwork in Karelia, with the Karelian and Veps languages in 1996–97 (Hallamaa 1998), and was found to produce meaningful and accurate results. Unique to the method is the possibility, in case of a rapid language shift, to be able to extract from the data an exact viability (limit value) for language transmission and an absolute viability for a language in a given community. This method (in its present scope) and the processes of extracting limit values appear to be unique in the history of linguistics.

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## Genitive and the secondary declension of the Mordvin languages – a syntactic perspective

The declensional systems of the Mordvin languages Erzya (E) and Moksha (M) are rather complex, as both languages have both an indefinite and a definite declension of nouns. Moreover, the term *secondary declension* is used to refer to a construction of two components in which a case suffix of the indefinite declension is followed by a case suffix of the definite declension; the second component codes the syntactic function of the construction, while the first one is usually described to behave more like a derivational ending (e.g. EK 2000: 107–108, MK 2000: 72–73), e.g. E *pakša-so-ś* (field-INE.INDEF-NOM.DEF) ‘the one that is on the field’, M *kud-stā-t'i* (house-ELA.INDEF-ILL.DEF) ‘to the one that comes from the house’. In a sentence, these constructions can be employed independently as NPs. Therefore, they can be regarded as instances of *case compounding*, which is a relatively well-known phenomenon cross-linguistically (see e.g. Plank 1995, Noonan 2008).

However, there are restrictions as to which cases can serve as the first or second component. Furthermore, Erzya and Moksha are not completely uniform in this respect. One of the restrictions relates to the use of the genitive as the first component; the indefinite genitive in *-ń* does not appear as such in these contexts but in both languages a special element (E *-će-*, M *-ńә-*) follows the *-ń* producing extended genitive forms (E *-ńće-*, M *-ńńә-*) into which the definite case suffixes are attached, e.g. E *učit'el'e-ńće-ś*, M *učit'al'ә-ńńә-ś* (teacher-EXTGEN-NOM.DEF) 'the one that belongs to the teacher'. (See Hamari 2009 for a treatment of the Moksha form.) On the other hand, these genitive forms can also be used as nominal predicates and they can acquire conjugational endings in that case.

In my presentation I will consider the Erzya and Moksha extended genitive forms from a comparative perspective: I will (i) treat the syntactic properties of the constructions in the present-day languages and (ii) consider the development of the forms and their functions. Finally, I will (iii) consider the Mordvin suffixes and their uses in the light of typological studies.

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### **Presentation of the typological database of the Ugric languages (Презентация типологической базы данных угорских языков)**

The creation of a typological database for Ugric languages has been in progress for two years at Eötvös Loránd University in Hungary. The completion of the project is planned for the XII International Congress for Finno-Ugric Studies. This abstract offers an overview of the database for linguists dealing with Uralic languages and outlines the purpose of the presentation.

Freely accessible online in both English and Russian, the Ugric typological database will serve as a rich source of information for researchers both in the field of Finno-Ugric studies and linguistic typology. The languages analyzed in the database are Hungarian, Mansi (Vogul; northern dialect), and Khanty (Ostyak;

the western dialect Surgut and eastern/northern dialect Synja). The more than two hundred typological features (parameters) appear with explanations and range from morphophonology to syntax. The typological database is a virtual table or grid, with its rows listing the typological parameters and the columns showing the dialects analyzed. At the intersection of a row and a column is a cell providing the specific parameter values of the given dialect, as well as relevant background information, such as examples and explanation. The versatile nature of the selection tool will allow users to simultaneously search for multiple dialects, grammatical terms, specified parameters, or parameter values.

The parameter values of the database and the pattern of the digital information system are considered to be the starting point for similar future projects and ultimately for the creation of a complete typological database for the whole Uralic language family. Therefore, our presentation is intended to reach a much broader audience than simply researchers of Ugric languages. The presentation will take the form of a poster presentation, rather than the given options of symposium or general session talk. In terms of requirements, we need a live Internet connection with a projector on the spot. We would also like the opportunity to deliver our presentation twice, once in English and once in Russian. This is extremely important because of the “stimulating” nature of the presentation, which aims to encourage investigators of major and minor Uralic languages alike to join and expand our database project with their own languages and dialects. The two presentations should last about 20 minutes each and may be held in succession or on two different occasions accessible for anyone interested (e.g. during a poster session or a general break when no other organized activity is going on).

Hedlund, Cecilia

### **Nicolaus Andreae and the Sámi books of 1619**

The first books printed in Sámi were an ABC-book and a missal that the priest Nicolaus Andreae in Piteå published in 1619. The language in these books has been heavily criticized; Wiklund (1922:24) wrote that the translator hardly had any knowledge at all of the language, and the Sámi population must have found his books hard to understand. Others (Sköld 1984:15fn, Korhonen 2007) have suggested that the variety in these books could have been a sort of pidgin used by non-Sámi to communicate with the Sámi population.

Another fact that has puzzled scholars is that the main part of the vocabulary is taken from South Sámi, although Nicolaus Andreae was both born and served as a priest in Piteå. Hasselbrink (1958) has tried to explain this fact by suggesting that the dialect boundaries have moved; South Sámi may have been spoken further to the North in the time of Nicolaus Andreae than today.

Further, most scholars seem to be of the opinion that Nicolaus Andreae is both responsible for creation of the orthography, and the translation of the texts into Sámi.

In my opinion that scenario is not very likely. Christianity had been spread among the Sámi already in a few hundred years, and it is highly likely that written translations of e.g. prayers already existed and circulated even though they were

not printed. The role of Nicolaus Andreae would therefore have been more like an editor than a translator.

In my talk I intend to discuss whether it is possible to find evidence in the texts, which would support the hypothesis that Nicolaus Andreae had followed such a course of action in producing the missal. Further, I will discuss whether the variety in these books should be regarded as a form of pidgin or not.

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### On the sound changes in Medieval Finnish – what, where and when?

The North Finnic idiom that is temporarily located between Late Proto-Finnic (myöhäiskantasuomi) and Old Literary Finnish (vanha kirjasuomi) is often called Early Finnish (varhaisuomi). Early Finnish largely coincides with the Middle Ages. My conference presentation will deal with the sound changes that the Finnish language (dialects) went through during the Middle Ages. In the Finnish context, the Middle Ages usually refer to the time span ranging from ca. 1200 to ca. 1540 CE. In handbooks of Fennistics, it is often claimed that Finnish started to be written in the 1540s. It is, however, not the whole truth. On the one hand, the oldest (surviving) longer texts written in Finnish really stem from the time soon after 1540 CE, but on the other hand, a considerable number of Finnish words, names and phrases exist in medieval (e.g. Swedish and Papal) documents concerning Finland. However, relatively little empirical research has so far been carried out on medieval Finnish.

The research results that will be presented in my conference talk are based on excerpted empirical data from the electronic databases *Diplomatarium Fennicum* and *Diplomatarium Suecanum*.

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**Kaukaa-äd'dä , kaukaa-ämmä ja kaaliskakku. Compound substantives Votic (Kaukoämmä, kaukoäjjä ja kaaliskakku – yhdyssubstantiivit vatjassa)**

Compounding as a way of forming nouns has traditionally been very productive in Estonian and Finnish – this is confirmed by earlier Estonian and Finnish written records dating from the 16th and 17th centuries (A.Thor Helle, Joh. Gutsclaff, H. Göseken; M. Agricola) that abound specifically in compound nouns. Agricola's compound nouns bear quite a close resemblance to modern ones.

The term compound noun has entered Estonian and Finnish grammar from German (*das zusammengesetzte Wort*) and Swedish (*sammansatt ord*) grammar. According to Lantee and Nieminen (2010), a compound word versus a non-compound word represent a “stumbling stone” in modern language. A compound noun is a whole composed of two or more words, but as a linguistic unit, it is one word that represents an independent morphologico-semantic unit (ISK, Niinimäki). In a compound word, the semantic feature of the complementary part specifies the concept expressed by the main part while in a word combination the focus is on the direct link.

Aarni Penttilä found that there is no need to distinguish compound words and word combinations.

Votic is a language with no literary language and the criteria for compound words typical of any language with an advanced literary language, i.e. solid and separate writing have not been standardized in the language. The Votic linguistic material is a written record of oral speech in a more or less accurate transcription. The issue of a compound word versus a word combination originates from the Votic title of the Dictionary of the Votic Language *Kas vad'd'a tšeele sõna tširja, sõna-tširja või sõnatširja*. For no specific direct reason, the hyphenated version prevailed.

The Dictionary of the Votic Language (2013) provides words, registered as compound words in the original material, as keywords in form of compound words. While a hyphen links the components of a compound word in the original material, the same occurs in the dictionary where the marker of syllable boundary

found in the original material has been replaced by a hyphen (2013: 36). Essentially, there is no difference between the two marking systems.

In my presentation, I would like to find answers to the following questions:

- 1) What is the case form of a compound substantive?
- 2) May the first component of a compound word be shortened or altered?
- 3) How are phraseological compound words formed and how much do Votic phraseological compound words resemble Estonian or Finnish ones?
- 4) How long can compound words be?
- 5) How has Dmitri Tsvetkov written compound words Votic texts (1932)?

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### The functions of transparent words in Finnish and Estonian

A sound starting point for the study of word-formation (WF) patterns of a language is the concept of transparency. It refers to the degree to which the semantic parts of a form are morphologically visible to an average speaker of the language. WF is thus essentially concerned with accounting for the degree of semantic regularity in the lexicon.

The morphosemantic analysis of transparent words starts from the derived word and proceeds towards the base word it depends on (Gauger 1971: 12–14). The analytic view emphasizes the lexical status of complex lexemes in the language. The other side of the coin is that many WF patterns give rise to new analogical words, which brings in a synthetic element, often named grammatical or syntactic. The attempts to define the scope of grammatical processes in WF have not lead to definite answers, however (cf. Nummilla 2011: 65, 105).

The attributes grammatical and syntactic are misplaced to the extent that they tend to exclude the lexical aspect of WF (see Räisänen 1986: 155, 161, footnote 2). As a result, basically different phenomena have been treated as parallel, e.g., Finnish action nouns with the suffix *-minen* and the "fragmentarily syntactic" verbs with the suffix *-ntA* meaning 'to translate into' (as in Koski 1981: 10, 20–21; see also Kangasmaa-Minn 1981: 41), or the allegedly grammatical but functionally heterogeneous Estonian WF patterns *pangandus* 'banking', *lapselik* 'childish', *tuhastama* 'to incinerate', and *aeglaselt* 'slowly' (as in Kasik 1997: 42).

In order to do justice to the double character of WF as both lexical and grammatical, it is profitable to distinguish functionally different classes of derivatives in which to evaluate the degrees of transparency. An attempt to this

direction is the tripartite classification by Gauger (1971), whose conception is applied to Finnish and Estonian WF in the present paper.

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### Uralische Etymologie – künftig (mit wissenschaftsgeschichtlichem Hintergrund)

Vor über etwa einem Vierteljahrhundert ist das von Károly Rédei organisierte und herausgegebene Werk „Uralisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch“ (s. die Literatur), eines der grössten Unternehmen der Uralistik, erschienen. Wie bekannt, sind alle wissenschaftlichen Werke, die von den Verfassern für abgeschlossen und für fertig geklärt worden sind, gelten schon im denselben Moment als veraltet. Dies ist natürlich im Falle des UEW auch gültig. In der Zwischenzeit sind u. a. neue etymologische Wörterbücher uralischer Sprachen und zahllose etymologische Ausführungen enthaltende Studien mitgeteilt worden, die das vom UEW geschilderte Bild wesentlich verfeinert und bereichert haben.

Ich schlage der Gemeinschaft der Uralisten vor, ein neues UEW ins Leben zu rufen. Obwohl ich eine Initiative dieser Art schon vor einem Jahr den Kollegen im In- und Ausland unterbreitet habe, tue ich dies nochmals trotz dem Umstand, dass viele Adressaten einen solchen Plan unter Berufung auf andere wichtige Arbeiten nur mit Vorsicht zu unterstützen schienen, und so fühlte ich mich gezwungen, wenigstens vorläufig auf dieses Unternehmen aufzuzichten.

Im Vortrag möchte ich versuchen, die Kollegen, die in der Etymologie und Lautgeschichte unserer Sprachfamilie interessiert sind, darüber zu überzeugen, dass eine neue Summierung der uralischen etymologischen Forschungen unvermeidlich ist, da die Etymologie und die Lautgeschichte die Grundlage der historisch-vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft / Uralistik bilden.

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## **Mansi at home, in the office, and on the Web: A comparison of online and oral use of the Mansi language**

The aim of the paper is to present and to analyze the contradiction between the tendencies of the oral vs. the online language uses of the Mansi language. The presentation introduces the online history of the Mansi language, enumerates the amount and genres of online Mansi materials, and also compares the domains and habits of online language use with the oral domains and habits. The presentation also points out the direction and methods for further observations on the topic.

Mansi is an endangered Uralic language, spoken in Western Siberia. The situation of the vitality of Mansi is problematic to describe. Although the prestige of the Mansi language and culture is on the rise, the number of Mansi speakers is still sharply decreasing. Mansi plays a minor role in its Russian-dominated, multi-ethnic and multilingual environment, it is heavily affected by the loss of the traditional way of life and rapid urbanisation as well. The urbanised lifestyle, at the same time, offers extra domains for language use. The World Wide Web, for example, provides free and easily accessible media for creating new genres and a new language variety (an urban vernacular), organising a new type of speakers' community, manifesting the multifaceted nature of contemporary Mansi culture.

The presentation argues that the online use of the Mansi language means more than simply a new domain of language use: instead, it should be regarded as a new way of communication, which can be further divided into domains. According to previous research, the patterns of online use of Mansi stand in perfect contradiction with oral language use: while in every day life the presence of Mansi is the more secure the closer it is to the private sphere and family life, the online presence seems to be stronger in the more formal domains, such as jurisdiction or press.

The data used in the analysis were collected during fieldwork in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug (five times between 2006 and 2013) and in online observation (since 2008). The data concerning online use of Mansi have been collected with the snowball sampling method through the official pages of regional institutions of the Okrug and popular social networking sites (that is on

Facebook and its Russian equivalent VK.com). The data concerning oral use of Mansi were collected during participant observation carried out at local feasts and community events among the Mansi living in Khanty-Mansiysk city, as well as during semi-structured interviews with Mansi language teachers working in Khanty-Mansiysk.

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### **Common aspects of embroideries, rugs and symbolism. About the Finnish and Hungarian textile-motifs and depictions**

The presentation focuses to the common elements of art, conceptions and the characteristics for example of Kalotaszeg, the most typical Transylvanian region. Patterns and motifs of woven textile-art and embroideries are the most significant types of handicraft for examination in this theme. Widely the art and working of artists of Gödöllő Art Colony, that used and declared conceptually and practically these folkloristic motifs. The presentation asks – among others – those elements and details which were discovered and explored by Akseli Gallen-Kallela at this Hungarian region. With this line the presentation examines the Hungarian ones in connection with Finnish (and Finno-Ugric) folkloristic elements in general, which can be seen also on Finnish folkloristic clothings, even touching on technical givens. The presentation attempts to gather the common symbols, motifs and signs and summarize this common line of Finnish-Hungarian folkloristic unit.

In connection with this basic line, the presentation mentions some of the most important Finnish artists who also made rugs and carpets (like Väinö Blomstedt or Gallen-Kallela) who used motifs and elements of Art Nouveau and symbolism. On this point they relate to Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch, the most significant Hungarian symbolist artist who used similar motifs and created similar compositions. Here he and Gallen-Kallela can be comparable, and we can interpretate and summarize the common conception and manifestation of their textile art.

The presentation would focus to ancient ryjy-art and ryjy-art in nowadays. The presentation shortly construes and sketches the great Finnish ryjy-exhibition was at Hungarian Ethnographic Museum. In connection with this exhibition and repertory the presentation can survey the changes, influences and new manifestations, the resuscitation of old motifs and patterns, and compares the whole image of these masterpieces.

The presentation wants to show the line of the progress, which motifs, details are characteristic and frequent in textile art, through common signs of Hungarian and Finnish elements of homecraft, from ancient Finno-ugric patterns to modern and newer motifs, from folk art to ryjy and fine arts, from old models to contemporary pieces, and from Gödöllő Art Colony and Gallen-Kallela to contemporary traditionalists.

## **Compound nouns in North Saami language acquisition (Davvisámegiela goallossubstantiivvaid oččodeapmi)**

This presentation deals with the acquisition of the morphological and morphophonological structure of compound nouns in North Saami. The theoretical framework applied in the presentation is a pre- and protomorphological approach to the emergence of compound nouns in child speech. The study aims to establish when compound nouns are introduced into the child's language, what kind of morphological compound types the child uses, and whether transparency, frequency and productivity of compound nouns in the target language and child-directed speech influence their acquisition.

The non-head in a compound noun in the target language is typically a noun in the nominative singular but it can also be in other forms, and it can belong to a number of parts of speech other than just nouns and adjectives. The non-head is usually contracted in some way in regard to the citation form.

The study is based on longitudinal data from one child from age 1 year 8 months to age 3 years 6 months. At the time of data collection the child was bilingual with Saami and Finnish as first languages. She was growing up in the Norwegian part of Sápmi in an environment where Saami was the dominant language both in her home and outside the home. Most of the data consists of transcriptions from video recordings, 34.5 hours in all. Diary notes are used as supplementary data.

As with other languages that are morphologically rich, the acquisition of compounds begins early (see e.g. Dressler et al. 2012). The first compounds were recorded at age 1;9, i.e. during the transitional phase between pre- and protomorphology. The most common morphological types of compound nouns appeared in the child's language before age 2;6. They are all subordinate compounds. Most are endocentric, but some exocentric words were also noted. The non-head is usually a noun consisting of one lexeme, but the non-head may itself also be a compound made up of two nouns. In some cases, the non-head may be an adverb, an adjective or a word from a language other than Saami. The non-head is usually in the nominative singular. In a few words, however, the non-head is genitive singular or plural. By the age of two and a half years, the child has acquired the most common contracted non-head forms.

The frequency of various non-heads in child-directed speech corresponds with the order of appearance of different types of compounds in the child's language. This also correlates well with the amount of different types of compound words used by the child.

### **Correlates between the chest and stomach-muscle movements and prosodic features of Finnish speakers when reading a short story in Finnish, English, Swedish and Japanese**

This is a study of how chest- and stomach-muscle movements and prosodic features (pitch and intensity) correlate when Finnish speakers (FL1) read a short story in their mother tongue or a foreign language: Swedish, English or Japanese. The ultimate goal of the study is to clarify the linguistic rhythm of these languages, utilizing the physiological-instrumental method. These languages are linguistic-typologically different and thus, the rhythm and timing should be different. These four languages have never before been compared using this method for this purpose.

In the experiments, seven Finnish male and 11 female subjects read “The North Wind and the Sun” five times in Finnish (translated from English), English [1], Swedish [1], and Japanese [1] respectively. To acquire the data, the Strangage was placed on their chest and stomach to record respective muscle movements during utterance, and simultaneously the speech was recorded using a headset microphone in the recording studio at the University of Helsinki. All data were converted into electric signals through Power Lab and the signals were converted into Matlab data. The tokens made 360 utterances (140 for males and 220 for females). In the analysis of the data, I calculated six kinds of correlate between (a) chest and stomach-muscle movements, (b) between pitch and intensity, (c) chest-muscle movements and pitch, (d) stomach-muscle movements and pitch, (e) chest-muscle movements and intensity, and (f) stomach-muscle movements and intensity. I also considered whether or not there are differences between Finnish males and females.

The results showed that (1) the correlate between chest- and stomach-muscle movements and that between pitch and intensity displayed relatively higher correlates, which were different from Japanese, English and Chinese speakers (cf. [2] & [3]), (2) females had a slightly higher correlate between chest- and stomach-muscle movements than males. The correlates between chest-muscle movements and pitch, stomach-muscle movements and pitch, chest-muscle movements and intensity, and stomach-muscle movements and intensity appeared very feasible for both males and females, (3) both males and females adopted the same strategies as in their mother tongue (i.e. Finnish) for speaking three different foreign languages as evidenced by the above six correlates, (4) standard deviation (SD) between languages was the greatest in the correlate between pitch and intensity, regardless of the language difference, whereas the SD of the language difference seemed to affect the correlate between chest-stomach muscle movements, for both males and females, (5) the individual differences between utterances was observed most of all in the correlate between pitch and intensity, regardless the language difference, and (6) the language difference affected males more than females in the correlate between chest-stomach muscle movements. (Cf. Figs. 1-4)

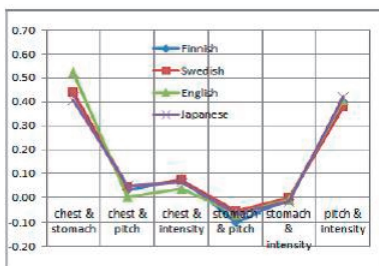


Fig. 1: Six correlates by male FL1

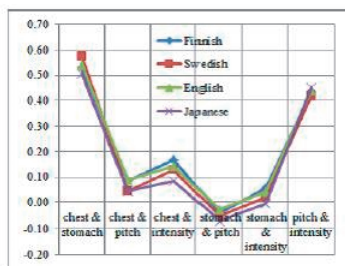


Fig. 2: Six correlates by female FL1

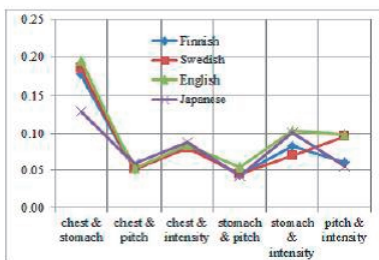


Fig. 3: SD of six correlates by male FL1

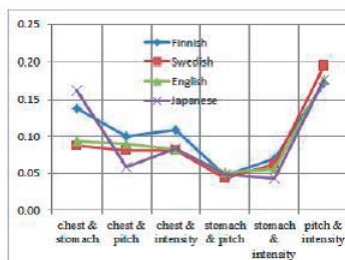


Fig. 4: SD of six correlates by female FL1

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### Võro and Seto laryngeals *h* and *q*

In Võro and Seto, the laryngeals form a separate and important sound group, which cannot be found in any other Finnic languages in the same way. By its laryngeal multitude, the Võro-Seto language gains prominence among its neighbouring languages even more. The glottal stop can be found in no other neighbouring language (except in some particle in spoken language). The laryngeal fricative *h* is present in (North-)Estonian language and in the northern and western South Estonian language (i.e. Mulgi and Tartu), but only extremely restrictively. In the Livonian, Latvian and Latgalian language there is no *h*.

Historically, both *h* and *q* are secondary sounds in the Võro-Seto language, but today they are very frequent and very important by their grammatical function and sociolinguistic impact. Phonetically, the glottal stop in Vastseliina subdialect (eastern Võro) has been analysed before. Likewise, the results have been



compared to the closest neighbouring sounds *h* and *k*. Certain rules and tendencies have been presented according to the previous measuring results, comparison to the other sounds and statistical analyses (Iva 2005).

In the Võro-Seto language, the laryngeal fricative *h* can be found in non-palatalised or palatalised way in all word positions, and it appears as a short and long geminate, as well. Generally, the glottal stop *q* can be only in the word-final position as a half-long plosive. The gemination of the Võro-Seto glottal stop has not been noticed before. Still, the article shows that in some certain rare cases the glottal stop can be in the word-internal position, and thus can be quantity-alternational. Therefore, the word-internal glottal stop is realised, depending on case form, as a short or long geminate, but unlike other plosives, it is never realised as a single plosive.

The palatalisation is another phenomenon that has not been noticed before in the case of the glottal stop, but it can still be possible in some cases. It seems that in these rare cases when the glottal stop is quantity-alternational, it can be affected by the following *i*, like any other consonants.

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### Representation of the Finno-Ugric [\* ü] in the central and south-eastern dialects Moksha (Корреспонденции прафинно-угорского \*ü в мокшанских диалектах)

The presence of Finno-Ugric labialized upper vowel [\* ü] is known in the phonetic systems of many Finno-Ugric languages.

As the linguistic data shows, the vowel [\* ü] is well preserved in the Finnic languages, Hungarian and in Mari of the languages of the Volga subgroups. In Mordvin languages it is missing.

In our work we have tried to trace the historical development patterns of [\* ü] and identify its representation in the central and south-eastern dialects of Moksha

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### **Religious-mythological vocabulary in the Gospel of Luke in the Udmurt language**

Analysis of written monuments of any language is one of the most important types of linguistic work. It occurs difficult to solve the problems of the modern literary language without detailed studies of the initial stage of the development of literature. From the point of view of lexicology, the study of early texts and lexicographic work is an important source for finding out ways and means of enriching vocabulary, exploring the layers of words that become obsolete and unknown to the modern literary language.

The Gospel of Luke was first translated into the Udmurt language in 1821. Up to the present time it was not published, the manuscript of written monument is kept in the St. Petersburg branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Fund 94, paper A. M. Sjogren, inventory 1, file No. 245, sheet 31). Priests of various Udmurt parishes worked on the Gospel, however, dialectally it is based on the northern dialect of the Udmurt language.

When translating the gospel text the authors selected relevant Udmurt equivalents to the words of the Christian religious value in the following ways:

1) used the Udmurt words that originated in the depths of paganism, and by the time of the translation of the Gospel have become quite Christian, or obtained the appropriate religious text meaning: Inmar 'God';

2) adapted words that had slightly different common meaning: *kuremyos* 'charity';

3) terms without direct correspondences in the Udmurt language were interpreted: *tyrtem mesta* 'desert';

4) words were borrowed from the Russian language or through it: *angel* 'angel'.

All of these methods for updating and developing terminology, in this case religious-mythological vocabulary of the Udmurt language for creating complex text deserve scrupulous attention from historians of the Udmurt literary language, as well as writers and journalists.

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### **Peter Domokos and Jean-Luc Moreau about the Udmurt literature (Петер Домокош и Жан-Люк Моро об удмуртской литературе)**

In terms of renewing Russia the question of the modern national idea, which plays an important role and the personal factor. One of the uniting figures in the Finno-Ugric humanitarian science was a Hungarian Professor of the Budapest University Peter Fell Domokos, noted Russian President Vladimir Putin A. S. Pushkin's medal. Peter Domokos first started talking about the Finno-Ugric literary community has formulated a new concept of the study of Finno-Ugric

literatures and comparative-typological aspect and key receptive aesthetics. Peter Domokos found in the ethnically related to the Finno-Ugric literatures and cultures of Russia's spiritual nature which was lost in Western culture. The eternal problem of "West - East" has received in his interpretation innovative for its time, understanding, relevance, which begins to show up in our day with renewed vigor. Professor Peter Domokos left a rich theoretical and spiritual heritage, contributed to the rise of national consciousness Uralic peoples to a new level. He has published over 300 scientific papers in Hungarian, English, French, Finnish, Russian, Udmurt languages, including the monograph "the history of the Udmurt literature", "Formation of literatures small Uralic peoples". The head of the scientific school, he trained scientific personnel of the representatives of Finno-Ugric peoples of Russia, having joined them for comparative studies.

Colleague and associate of Peter Domokos - Jean-Luc Moreau is a French linguist, researcher and translator of the Udmurt literature. French scientist reception of the Udmurt literature and culture associated with speech practices. In 1959, he learned the Udmurt language with the help of the Moscow State University's student Peter Chernoff and he became a career. Philological concept of Jean-Luc Moreau is based on the fact that language is a way not only to multilingualism, but also in poetry. Literature should read and study from the knowledge of the language of the original. Through language we can grasp the world of thoughts and feelings of the people and their mentality. French scientist and poet translates into French poetry of the first Udmurt poet, Asal'chi Oki, classics Udmurt literature Kusebay Gerd, M. Petrov, F. Vasiliev, M. Atamanov, etc. These translations are included in his textbook "Parlons oudmourte" ("Let's to speak udmurt"), which was published in Paris in 2009. In 2012, in Udmurtia had held presentation of his book in French. Udmurt language has caught up not only with Finno-Ugric, Slavic, Germanic, and romance languages, has taken a worthy place in the language picture of the world of Europe. Professor Jean-Luc Moreau was one of the first to teach the Udmurt language at the Sorbonne. The head of the scientific school, he has trained students in the field of Udmurt literature (Eva Toulouse) and Komi literature (Sebastian Cagnoli). Currently Professor is preparing an anthology of Udmurt poetry in French.

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### **Rewriting, adaptation and translation as interpretation. The metamorphoses of Kullervo**

In my prospective presentation I would like to discuss the differences and similarities, that is, the relativity of differentiation among the modes of rewriting mentioned in the title, through a classical Finnish literary example: the peregrination of Kullervo's myth and figure through different ages, genres and artistic media.

The Kalevalan hero's story is strikingly similar to the more widely known myths of Orestes and Amleth/Hamlet repeatedly rewritten in European literature in various ages and literary genres. The best known and most canonized adaptations are the classical Greek and Elizabethan English dramatic rewritings

of these legends. The avenging son's, Kullervo Kalervonpoika's Finnish myth broadly shares its scenario with these archetypal stories, in the case of the Kullervo myth, however, there is no really authoritative, "final", canonized version, not even as much as in the case of the other two heroes. This mythical story and figure has always been, and still is subject to continuous transformation, from the pre-literary age of folk ballads up to contemporary literary and theatrical appearances. In this sense, it is part of a more ample process of formation/transformation/intermedial migration (that is, of incessant re- and reinterpretation) termed by the researcher Lauri Honko "the Kalevala process." In my presentation I would like to single out a most interesting "spin-off" or subprocess of it: the metamorphoses of the Kullervo story (from autonomous oral ballad versions into a somewhat isolated written epic episode in Lönnrot's Kalevala, then again towards independence as the Kalevalan theme most favoured by dramatists and theatrical authors). Of this stream of reinterpretations I have chosen four emblematic dramatic and stage rewritings: Aleksis Kivi's original tragedy written for a literary contest organized by the Finnish Literary Society, and then published in 1864 in a rewritten form, which was severely criticized on its publication by one of the most influential critics of the time for its heterogeneity interpreted as roughness, for its episodic dramaturgy due to a clear Shakespearean influence, as well as for the modernity of its language, which later proved to creatively contribute to the rejuvenation of the Finnish literary language then still in formation; Paavo Haavikko's polyphonic monologue Kullervo's Story, a similarly radical reshaping not only of Kullervo's story, but also of the classical hero into a essentially modern schizoid character; Kristian Smeds' auteur-version of Kullervo's theme, a postdramatic rethinking and restaging of the archetypal character; and finally Lauri Majjala's equally radical, post-Smedsian adaptation of Kivi's drama.

In the mirror of these rewritings I hope to demonstrate how vague and artificial the differentiation among rewriting, adaptation and version is, and hope to position translation, too, among these categories of reinterpretation.

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**Total reduplication in North Sami: morphology, syntax and semantics of infinite verb genitives, *boadi boadi* and *bosu bosu* (Pohjoissaamen reduplikaation, *boadi boadi*; *bosu bosu*, morfologia, syntaksi ja semantiikka)**

In a reduplicative verb genitive two semantically and morphologically parallel verb genitive forms are placed one after the other. The verb genitive in North Sami is similar to the e-infinite instructive case in Finnish e.g. *Ganda váccii njurggu* 'A boy walked and whistled' (in Finnish: viheltäen). Semantically, the reduplicative verb genitive produces two separate meanings: to be just about to do something (proximative), e.g. *Čakča lea boadi boadi* 'Autumn is on the point of coming', and to make something with big volume (intensive), e.g. *Ánte boahhtá bosu bosu* 'Ánte is coming huffing and puffing'.

The present study is based on an electronic corpus of North Saami, electronic material found by using an online search engine and literary material. The reduplicative verb genitive with proximative meaning is found only in the verbs *boahit* ‘to come’, *boadi boadi* ‘on the point of coming’ and *geargat* ‘to have time’, *geargga geargga* ‘on the point of having time’. This is why the reduplicative verb genitive with proximative meaning is not productive. By contrast, the reduplicative verb genitive with intensive meaning is productive and can be formed with verbs of different meanings. Most often these are verbs that express movement (*doapmat* ‘to rush’, *njuikut* ‘to jump’, *viehkát* ‘to run with two feet’) but other verbs that depict human activity are also possible (*sáddat* ‘to gasp’, *hállat* ‘to talk’), such as in *Son vázzilii hála hála* ‘He/she walked and talked dreadfully/a lot’.

The syntactic function of the reduplicative verb genitive is usually an adverbial. Additionally it can also be an attribute or the only verb element in a clause. The reduplicative verb genitive *boadi boadi* often appears with the verb *leat* ‘to be’ in the function of a complement.

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**Affricates in dialects of the Moksha-Mordvin language (in a diachronic light)**  
**(Аффрикаты в диалектах мокша-мордовского языка [в диахронном освещении])**

In the Finno-Ugric linguistics there is no consensus so far on the issue of the phonemic affricates in the proto-language. Presumably in the parent language there were affricates \*č, \*č’ or \*č̣. It is likely that in the proto-language there existed geminate affricates (1: 144).

In the phonological system of the modern Moksha language there are three affricates c, č, č’. The Western dialect of the Moksha-Mordvin language is characterized by the presence of the fourth affricate č: [učat] “you are waiting” and [uč’at] “sheep”. However, some dialects are characterized by the absence of palatalized phoneme č’ and the presence of retracted č̣ [pačat] “pancakes”. In Moksha language we can also observe the affricates ʒ – ʒ’, ʒ̣ – ʒ̣’ [pan’ʒ’i] «is blooming”, but they are only positional and not included in the phonological system of current dialects. The collected material shows that at the junction of morphemes we can come across derived geminates cc, čc: [kääččä] “your hand”.

The main purpose of this work is firstly to identify the reflection of affricates from the proto-language in various phonetic positions in modern dialects of the Moksha-Mordvin language and secondly to explore affricatization of other ancient Finno-Ugric consonants.

## **Regional folklore and identity in performative practices**

Today regional lore is not only oral. We choose what we know about it, and what we create and hand down. Today each person and group has a role in the process of performing folklore. Knowledge of regional folklore is created by local people, researchers/folklorists, lore archives that become increasingly more available on the Internet, publications based on archival materials, social media and the press.

In my presentation I will discuss about different ideologies of the Sõrve peninsula's community and representations of their cultural heritage during the 20th and 21st centuries. My paper is based on various projects concerning Sõrve heritage and my own fieldwork conducted there during last fourteen years, resulting in close cooperation with the local community.

Due to its strategic position, Sõrve peninsula carries signs from the Viking era to WW2. Before WW2, Sõrve was the most densely populated region in Estonia. The war and establishment of Soviet army bases wiped away half of the 30 villages. Big battles during the WW2 devastated the area. Also, in the autumn of 1944, most of the inhabitants of Sõrve were evacuated to Germany. Roughly one fifth of those deported returned, and not all of those were allowed to return to the island as the Soviet Army established its bases there. During the Soviet occupation, the whole island of Saaremaa (and thus also Sõrve) were a restricted border area that could only be entered with a special permit. Today, 1600 people live on the Sõrve peninsula. There are two administrative regions which coincide with former (19th century) parishes. Torgu (former Jāmaja parish) commune, which had a population of 4000 pre-WW2, currently has 350 residents. The rest live in Salme commune (former Anseküla parish), centred around the settlement of Salme.

In a sense, Sõrve peninsula has always been a peripheral region for the rest of Estonia, but in some senses also for the rest of Saaremaa island. Until WW2, they had more contacts with Latvia than the Estonian mainland; the closest big town is Riga. In the old history and also in the beginning of last century Sõrve peninsula has a lot of military or trade contacts with Sweden, specially with Gotland. Sõrve is still a very interesting but little-studied area (as concerns its folklore and history, archaeology, nature etc In 2008, sensational excavation works began in the centre of Salme town, uncovering a 8th century Viking ship holding the remains of more than 30 ancient Scandinavian warriors. This has led to enormous local interest in the role of Vikings in their history and folklore. I have observed how this has led to one piece of historical fiction becoming part of local heritage.

### Verbs of sound in Moksha: a typological account

This paper deals with verbs denoting sounds of inanimate objects in Moksha (the Central dialect, the data comes from fieldwork), cf. *kaštardəms* ‘to rustle’ (e.g. dry leaves), *galdərdəms* ‘to clatter’ (e.g. dishes) – in total, 22 verbs. The research is a part of a broader typological project also covering the data of Komi, Khanty, and Nenets, as well as of some non-Uralic languages (Russian, Serbian, German, French), see [Kashkin et al. 2012] for details.

Our Moksha data shows that the language categorization of sounds depends not only on their acoustic properties, but also on the properties of the situation in which they occur (this supports the theoretical approach to lexical typology adopted in [Reznikova et al. 2012], [Koptjevskaja-Tamm forthc.]). The acoustic properties form a scale based on the regularity and discreteness of sounds (monotonous sounds like drone of a plane are at its one end, while instantaneous sounds like those of sth. falling down are at the other end), see [Kashkin et al. 2012] for typological data. Every lexeme is expected to cover an uninterrupted zone on the scale, which is confirmed by our Moksha data and illustrated by some peculiar polysemy patterns (e.g. *čatərdəms* describes irregular sounds, either more discrete, like snapping of sth. breaking, or less discrete, like squeaking of a floor). What is also relevant is various parameters of a sound source (material, size, weight) and the type of a situation in general (*c’atərdəms* ‘to crackle’ is specific for burning; *c’ingəl’dəms* ‘to clink’ only refers to objects made of glass or to small metallic objects, etc).

Considering situations of sound emission is also important in the case of metaphors (which sometimes went beyond the previous research, cf. [Imajkina 1968]). Some of them stem from the resemblance of sounds, e.g. *gorn’ems* ‘to babble’ (a brook) → ‘to be melodious’ (voice). Some metaphors are however based not on the sound itself, but on the whole situation of its emission, cf. the shift of *torəms* ‘to thunder’ → ‘to scold; to threaten (either verbally or not)’ based on the whole frame of thunderstorm.

Interestingly, our Moksha data includes non-standard morphosyntactic changes accompanying metaphorical shifts. Thus, *kaštərdəms* ‘to rustle’ also refers to speech, but only in negative polarity items; *kec’ərdəms* ‘to crackle’ (e.g. boiling oil) develops a metaphor of fast running, and the latter use tends to require object agreement marking (the object is however covert).

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### **Expressive syntax units in fiction by Kuzma Abramov**

In modern linguistics the study of subjective aspect of speech, pragmatics of phrase and text levels becomes a priority. Different means of expressing subjective modality can be found in literary works by a famous Mordovian writer Kuzma Grigorjevich Abramov. In his fiction, explicit and implicit means of implementing subjective modality are represented by specific, modally marked vocabulary, grammar forms, and expressive syntax.

The language of Kuzma Abramov's fiction is characterized by use of parcelling, the division of the sentence in which the content of an utterance is realized in two or more meaningful intonation speech units that follow each other after a distributive pause.

The use of parcelled constructions in speech enables the author to convey information while the thought is developed. The parcelling is a powerful means for marking emphasis, and hence a good way to express the author's position.

Rhetorical devices reinforce emotionality and expressiveness of speech figures. These structures can be used to highlight the concepts that rate high in the writer's system of values and draw the reader's attention. Kuzma Abramov frequently uses rhetorical questions, which are questions in form but have a meaning of emotionally emphasized affirmation or denial, and do not require an answer. Rhetorical questions are used to stress semantic centres of the utterance, to form emotional and evaluative attitude of the recipient to the subject of speech, as well as to represent the recipient semantically most important stages of reasoning or evidence.

Rhetorical questions are similar to rhetorical exclamations that are used to strengthen emotional perception of the text.

One more interesting schema of expressive syntax is preterition, a deliberate incompleteness of a sentence. The preterition gives a wide scope for implication: different comments can be implied with a pause as they are not limited semantically and may relate to any circumstances, events, people, etc.

Another expressive syntactic means is the use of nominative sentences. With the help of a chain of nominative sentences, Kuzma Abramov depicts pictures of nature, environment, state of characters, and shows his attitude to what is happening.

Thus, expressive syntax units are widely used in the works by Kuzma Abramov. Special syntactic constructions are actively involved in the formation of the semantic aspect of a literary text, being one of the means of expressing the structural and semantic text organizing category of modality.



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### **Functioning of colouronyms in Mordovian geographical names (Функционирование колоронимов в мордовских географических названиях)**

Words denoting colour appear in various fields of linguistics. Toponymy is no exception in this regard.

Geographical names, containing a colour attribute, represent a particular layer of the Mordovian toponymy. For naming such toponyms, first of all, colour characteristics of geographical objects are accounted for. For the denotation of colour the following adjectives-colouronyms from the Erzya, Moksha and Russian languages are used in the Mordovian toponyms: Erzya ашо/Moksha акша 'white', Erzya валдо/Moksha валда 'light', 'white', Russ. красной/красной 'red', Erzya ожо/Moksha тюжя 'yellow', Erzya пиже 'green', Erzya раужо/Moksha равжа 'black', Russ. рыжай 'ginger', Russ. светлой 'light', Russ. синей 'dark blue', Erzya сэнь/Moksha сенем 'dark blue', Erzya тюжа 'brown', Russ. чёрной 'black', Erzya чопода/Moksha шобда 'dark', Erzya якстере 'red' (Ашо пандо 'white + mountain' (name of a mounting), Валдо эрьке 'light + lake' (name of a lake), Краснай дёба 'red + head of the mountain' (name of a hill), Пиже сэдъ 'green + bridge' (name of a meadow), Равжа вирь 'black+forest' (name of a forest), Рыжай ляй 'ginger' + river' (name of a ravine), Сенем эши 'dark blue + well' (name of a spring-well), Шобда вирь 'dark+forest' (name of a forest), Якстере сэдъ 'red + bridge' (name of a bridge) etc.

The most productive colouronyms in naming geographical objects are the following: ашо/акша 'white' and раужо/равжа 'black'. These colours, along with red (fumed/red-brown), are considered basic among Mordovian people and dominate in a traditional Mordovian woman's costume.

As the available material demonstrates, the colour attribute is characteristic of hydro-objects and usually does not bear any semantic load in the Mordovian toponymy. More often a colouronym, as part of a toponym, conveys not a semantic meaning of colour but a figurative meaning. For example, words якстере, красной/красной 'red', prevail in the names of settlements that had emerged after the 1917 revolution and thus have a symbolic meaning. Also toponyms with раужо/равжа, черной, чопода (black) bear pejorative character, and geographic objects, which names contain such words as ашо, валдо, белой (white) sound positive and friendly for a human being.

Mordovian geographical names with colouronyms are formed on the basis of certain word-building patterns. The most common pattern is 'adjective-colouronym + noun + (noun)', where the function of the final component often belongs to a geographic term: Акша сёвонь пакся 'white + clay + field' (name of a field), Валда шяй 'light + marsh' (name of a marsh, lake); Светлой лисьма 'light + well' (name of a spring-well) etc.

Simple suffixal toponyms, based on the word denoting a colour is quite a rare phenomenon in the Mordovian toponymy: Раужка < рауж- + -ка / black + suffix of a noun (name of a glade in the woods), Черновка < черн- + -овка / black +

suffix of a noun (name of a meadow), Якстерня < якстер- + -ня / red + suffix of a noun (name of a river).

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### **Structural redundancy in advanced language decay: Evidence from minor Finnic**

Wolfgang Dressler (1981) has argued that the advanced stage of language obsolescence is characterized by loss of structural redundancy. Trudgill (1992; 2011: 22-23) distinguishes between two types of redundancy: *syntagmatic redundancy*, involving linear repetition of information (for example double marking of person by the subject and on the verb, or double marking of possession on the possessor and on the possessed), and *paradigmatic redundancy*, concerning category specification in different conjugations and declensions (for example the distinction between three genders). In language death situation, Trudgill claims, syntagmatic redundancy tends to be lost before paradigmatic redundancy.

In this presentation, I challenge both Dressler's claim about redundancy-loss in language death and Trudgill's claim concerning the relative susceptibility of the two types of redundancy to loss. The reported study is based on first-hand data from four Finnic varieties, which have only elderly speakers and are on the verge of extinction: Central Lude, Ingrian, Votic and Eastern Seto. I compare production data from speakers with different degree of proficiency (fluent speakers, forgetters etc.) and draw conclusions based on the frequency of instantiations of the two types of redundancy across layers of speaker proficiency.

In contrast to Dressler, I argue that the process of structural decay is accompanied not only by decrease but also by increase of redundancy. This is consistent with Polinsky's observation that terminal speakers of obsolescent languages consistently overmark relationships between words (Polinsky 1995: 119).

Contrary to what Trudgill's claim entails, I observe that increase of syntagmatic redundancy and decrease of paradigmatic redundancy are more frequent phenomena than decrease of syntagmatic redundancy and increase of paradigmatic redundancy. Table 1 illustrates this.

Table 1. Change of redundancy in language death according to redundancy type

	Syntagmatic redundancy	Paradigmatic redundancy
Decrease	rare	frequent
Increase	frequent	rare

Manifestations of increase of syntagmatic redundancy in my data include reinforcement of irrealis mood by means of particles, over-finitization (repetition of the finiteness features within the same predication unit), redundant specification of negation, occurrence of adverbial phrases with both case and

adpositional marking of the same function (such as comparison, concomitance, location) and co-occurrence of two clause combining conjunctions (i.e. over-specification of interclausal dependency).

Manifestations of decrease of paradigmatic redundancy include multifunctionalization of modal verbs and respective loss of modal distinctions, loss of the distinction between direct and indirect speech, reduction of tenses, loss of certain person/number distinctions of the verb, loss of the formal distinction between propositions and states-of-affairs, and loss of suppletion.

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## To the problem of morpheme class prefixes formation

There is predominating opinion in scientific literature that only three prefixes *коть-*, *оло-* *но-* are typical of Udmurt language though in some works three more prefixes *не-*, *нено-*, *оэ-* are also mentioned but “the realm of their useage is very limited” [Грамматика современного удмуртского языка, 1962: 60] as a rule these last three prefixes function as a part of pronouns and adverbs, e. g. *нокин* ‘nobody’, *ноку* ‘never’; *котькин* ‘everybody’, *котьку* ‘always’; *олокин* ‘somebody’, *олоку* ‘sometime’ etc.

The analysis of more Udmurt texts makes it possible to find other prefixes or their variants: 1) *не-*, *нено-*, *нйно-*, *нӧ-*, *нэ-*, *нэно-* (*не-*, *нй-* < Russian *не-*, *ни-*; the origin of *нӧ-* ~ *нэ-* is needed to be specified): *некин*, *ненокин*, *нйнокин*, *нэкин*, *нэнокин*, *нӧкин* ‘nobody’; 2) *эсьно-*: *эсьнокин* ‘nobody’ (it is the combination or Tatar *һич* and Udmurt *но-*); 3) *ок-*: *оккин* ‘nobody’ (*ок-* < *оэ* < *одӱг* ‘one’; on Tatar model e. g.: *беркем* ‘nobody’, where *бер-* < *бер* ‘one’ and *кем* ‘who’); 4) *о-*, *олло-* (варианты *оло-*): *окин*, *оллокин* ‘somebody’; 5) *котьнош-*: *котьношкин* ‘anybody’ (combinaton of *коть-* with particle *нош*); 6) *тыӧсӧ-*: *тыӧсӧкин* ‘anyany’ (compare Tatar *телӧсӧ*: *телӧсӧ кем* ‘any, any one’); 7) *пыр-*: *пырпотыны* ‘to finish’ (on the basis of postposition *пыр* ‘through’, e. g.: (*нюлӧс*) *пыр потыны* ‘to walk through (the forest)’).

Prefixes *коть-*, *оло-*, *но-* (or their variants) are primary; two of them were already mentioned in the works on Udmurt linguistics in the 18th century, e. g.: *нокизйно* ‘in noway’, *нимӧръ сямӧньно* ‘by no means’ (1775); *нокиннӧ* ‘no one nobody’, *оллокеня мында* ‘some’ (1785) etc. Though primary Udmurt prefixes have parallels in some Finno-Ugric languages (Komi, Komi-Permiak,

Mari and others) they are not considered to be preudmurt heritage; the rest of the prefixes – *котьнош-*, *пыр-*, *ок-*, *эсьно-*, *тылӧсӧ-* – are of a highly late origin.

Judging from our material it is possible to note that prefixes is a group of link-morphemes in Udmurt. Some of them (*котьнош-*, *пыр-*, *ок-*), having appeared inside dialects in due course penetrate into literary language.

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### **Ethnic objects. The analysis of the ethnographic objects and their interpretation**

#### **(Этнические предметы. Анализ и интерпретация этнографических предметов)**

Lately it is more and more clearly visible that the traditional concept of the ethnographic object that it is identical with the handmade products cannot be maintained in the ethnographic science. Apart from handmade products working tools of industrial origin, part of consumer goods were also classified as ethnographic objects. They have ethnographic importance because of their usage.

The objects as historical documents have changed their value and the objects in our days have first of all not aesthetic character or a kind of curiosity for museologists, but mainly a functional value. If we study the objects occurring in the society or widely used in their system, in their proceeding we can also form a picture about the composition and functioning of the society.

Such attributes of ethnographic objects like authentic, traditional, primitive, exotic, folkish can already be used in quotation-marks as these are so complex categories of relationships that are inseparably linked with the cultural context they came to existence and always surrounded them and which they were formed together with.

In the same time objects having gotten into museum and this way appreciated in value often play an important role in shaping the cultural heritage, become components of such categories like „real”, „archaic” and „authentic” and thus have important tourist-tempting role.

How this phenomenon is not negligible, it is no better evidence that among the most sought articles by visitors in the Hungarian tourism pieces of folk art, home products in the strict sense (homespun, aprons, needlework, embroidery, carving) have the prestigious third place after food and cultural goods. We often see remembrances, souvenirs among the Finno-Ugric peoples in Russia which reflect the site characteristics and fauna. The growing tourist industry is also working here with the same key concepts, as in many other places around the world using the same words for selling their articles: original, authentic, ancient, folk, classical. And whether this happens with reception of once existing cultural elements and motifs, redefinition or creating a new function, really does not interest tourists. It is much more interesting for them that the experience what an object, an event, a celebration offers should have an authentic impression. And it can also be reached that instead of the original we only adjust to what the consumer deems original.

This presentation deals with the dilemma of research connected with the present age, what to consider an ethnographic object, what to search and what to collect in our museums.

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### **Individual language change: a case study of Klavdiya Plotnikova's Kamas**

This paper investigates the situation where only one speaker of a former language community is left. Klavdiya Plotnikova was the last known speaker of Kamas, a Sayan Samoyed language which gradually became extinct during the 20th century. As far as is known, the last speakers lived in the village of Abalakovo in the Krasnoyarsk Krai.

The objective of the paper is to determine the range of Plotnikova's knowledge of Kamas and describe the changes the language has gone through in the processes of language shift and language contact. In order to do that, it is important to distinguish between Pre-shift and Post-shift Kamas, Plotnikova representing the latter. Pre-shift denotes the language before the language shift

from Kamas to Russian which took place at some time between the beginning of the 20th century and the 1940s.

Reportedly Plotnikova did not use Kamas for 20 years before the time she was discovered by A. Matveyev in 1963. Her native language had attrited and was suddenly reactivated by the interest of the linguists. Plotnikova was reported to have recalled the language gradually, at first remembering only separate words and phrases, then later being able to produce whole sentences and longer texts.

Klavdiya Plotnikova's language was heavily influenced by Russian phonetically, as well as morphologically and syntactically. It has been subject to reduction and simplification of grammar. The typical converb constructions have almost completely disappeared from her Kamas and the sentences are constructed according to syntactic rules of Russian.

The method of research in this study is transcribing a part of recordings of Plotnikova's Kamas and then comparing it to Pre-shift Kamas, analysing different morphological and syntactical features. The study aims to describe these changes in the framework of modern language contact theories and determine the nature of the Kamas she spoke.

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## **Heittelehtää, loikerehtaa, höpikhehtää – an expressive verbal derivative type in Finnish and Karelian (Heittelehtää, loikerehtaa, höpikhehtää – ekspressiivinen verbijohdostyyppi suomessa ja karjalassa)**

Finnish and Karelian are closely related languages, and they share a large part of their morphological devices in both inflectional and derivational morphology. This paper deals with a verbal derivative type of Finnish and Karelian. The verbal type in question is mostly expressive and contains a derivative element, *-VCehtA-*, that displays some phonological variation. Examples of *VCehtA*-verbs are *heittelehtää* 'throw oneself (repeatedly)', *hökkelehtää* 'try to do something (in vain, disorientedly)', *höperehtää* 'talk or act in a silly or unprecise way', and

*rutjakehtaa* ‘walk or stay around’. The *VCehta*-verbs usually express continuous motion, a repeated movement, or a state (in a descriptive manner).

This verbal type has been quite widespread in Finnish dialects: it is known in all the eastern dialects and in Ostrobothnia in the western dialect area, as well. It is not, however, used in literary Finnish. In Karelian there are *VCehta*-verbs in all dialects. In this paper a large group of data (nearly 800 lexemes) of Finnish *VCehta*-verbs is compared to Karelian data. The Finnish material was collected from The Lexical Archive of the Finnish Dialects, the Karelian from the Dictionary of Karelian.

The stems of the verbs of the derivative *VCehta*-type consist of a lexical root, usually expressive in nature (e.g. *höp-*, *loik-*, *rutj-*; they do not represent a lexeme) and the derivative element *-VCehta-*. In this element the derivative suffix (morpheme) *-ehta-* occurs. This is preceded by a varying phonological sequence “*VC*” (vowel + consonant). In this sequence the vowel *V* varies quite freely: any vowel except *o* ~ *ö* can occur. The consonantal phoneme *C* of the sequence “*VC*” has three alternative realizations: *l*, *r*, or *k*.

The phonological alternation of *V* and *C* in the derivative element *-VCehta-* produces phonological subtypes of *VCehta*-verbs like the following: e.g. Finnish *-Alehta-* (stems: *hökälehtä-*, *repalehta-*), *-elehta-* (*mukkelehta-*, *vetelehtä-*), *-erehta-* (*loikerehta-*, *töperehtä-*), *-Urehta-* (*kippurehta-*, *öntyrehtä-*), *-Akehta-* (*muljakehta-*, *repsakehta-*), *-ikehta-* (*höpikettä-*, *volikehta-*). Some phonological subtypes are more extensive than others: they contain more lexemes, and there are also areal differences in the occurrence and the productivity of the subtypes. Various lexico-semantic groups of *VCehta*-verbs can be distinguished as well.

The verbal *VCehta*-type is a productive word formation pattern in which the lexical root preceding the derivative element *-VCehta-* displays the phonological variation and productivity typical of expressive (descriptive) words in general. This pattern can be called a formula. In this derivative formula there is an invariant morphological core – the derivative morpheme *-ehta-* – extended with the varying phonological elements *V* and *C* in front of it. The concept of formula is a viewpoint on word structure according to which the shape and the meaning of a word is not to be interpreted mechanically on the basis of its morphological parts; rather the word is also a “total” construction representing a consistent shape and a meaning analogical to other words containing similar or the same kind of morphological or phonological elements. In this context it is the correlate words containing the same lexical root (e.g. *retkalehtaa* – *retkale* – *retkahtaa*; *repsakehtaa* – *repsottaa* – *repsahtaa*) as well as other *VCehta*-verbs that are essential in the semantic interpretation of a *VCehta*-verb.

It can be concluded from the data that most *VCehta*-verbs are rather young as the lexemes differ considerably in Finnish and Karelian. However, the core element of the formula is practically the same in both languages. It is only its realizations that differ dialectally to some extent in regard to the phonological options (which phonemes actually occur in the verbs and to what extent). The few *VCehta*-verbs that contain a lexical verbal stem representing a true lexeme (e.g. *heitt+elehtä-* < *heittä-* ‘throw’, *vet+elehtä-* < *vetä-* ‘pull’) are areally the most widespread and thus represent the oldest layer of *VCehta*-verbs.

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### **The motif of "prodigal son" in N. Jakkola's novel "Watershed"**

The motif of "prodigal son" is one of the most popular evangelic plots in Russian literature from the ancient Russian period up to the XXth century. It frequently occurs in literature of the XXth century – a period of wars and revolutions, loss of faith, spiritual values, quests and doubts. It seems very important to investigate this motif in Karelian literature which has never been introduced as an independent research before. The destiny of many Karelian and Finnish people in the XXth century was related with the abandonment of native home, native land, with the feeling of loss of the meaning of life, guilt, betrayal. This has become the material for creating several works by Karelian writers, including N. Jakkola's novel "Watershed" ("Vodorazdel"). Our investigation is devoted to the analysis of the motif of "prodigal son" from the point of archetype. Also the motifs of faith, the loss of spiritual values, father's home, wandering, spiritual search, "death memory" and the motif of native land. These problems of the novel's poetics are investigated for the first time in Karelian literary criticism.

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### **Healing skills as group folk knowledge**

The paper explores the implementation of folk medical practices and procedures of Estonians from Verkhni Suetuk village, inhabiting the Minusinsk region in East Siberia.

The majority of Estonians living today in the Minusinsk region are descendants of the peasants who migrated to this area in search of free land in the last quarter of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries, or were deported from Estonia or forced to settle in Siberia after had been passed the tsar's law in 1845, according to which the region was defined as the Lutheran settlement in East Siberia.

I analyze the use of folk medical practices and procedures, and the status of a healer in the Verkhni Suetuk village, relying mainly on the judgements of community members. I have observed these since my first Siberian fieldwork in 1991, to the Estonian villages of Verkhni Suetuk and Verkhnaia Bulanka. As I



continued my fieldwork in the Estonian communities in Siberia, I concluded that healing skills are still part of the general group folk knowledge there and not an exclusive domain of a few select individuals. The tradition has remained strong in the older Siberian Estonian/Lutherian villages founded more than 150 years ago.

In the Verkhni Suetuk lore group, healing words and skills are passed on in the same way as other folk knowledge - like songs, stories, the calendar tradition. The claim that these are words of god and can be passed on freely is rather common in the older Siberian villages. The identification of spells with the word of god is probably influenced by the fact that in the European cultural space, rewritings of the Gospels, parts of prayers, etc. have been used as spells for centuries. Mostly, healing words have been transmitted orally, but have also been written down in later times. The multicultural and -lingual environment has facilitated the learning of neighbours' healing words, even in other languages. The translation of healing words has been considered normal, too.

While certain old-fashioned illness definitions (*lendva/lumbago*) and treatment procedures survive, the healing tradition among the Estonians in Verkhni Suetuk and in Siberia in general appears to be fading: the number of healers is diminishing, the healing procedures are modified, the selection of spell types and texts is narrowing. It is largely due to the growth in efficiency of the national health care system since World War II, and the decades of ideological pressure folk healers have been subjected to. As the village community respected healers of honorable age, young people did not consider it necessary to learn healing words before reaching a respectable age themselves. However, it seems that folk medical practices are not disappearing altogether, but rather are undergoing a transformation, largely due to the influence of mass media.

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### **Preservation and development of Ludic during revitalization**

The Karelians are a Baltic-Finnic ethnic group that live mostly in the Republic of Karelia and in other north-western parts of the Russian Federation. The largest groups are North Karelians living in Republic of Karelia and South Karelians in Tver, Novgorod and in Leningrad region of Russian Federation. The subgroups of South Karelians, Tikhvin Karelians and Valdai Karelians are considered assimilated and speak Russian as their first language. The North Karelians include the Olonets and the Ludes, speakers of Olonets Karelian language and Ludic language live in the Russian Republic of Karelia. Lude is relatively close to the Olonetsian dialect and Vepsian language. Also Russian strongly influenced Lude.

Ludic or Ludian or Ludic Karelian (*Luudi, Lyydi, or lüüdi*) is a Finnic language in the Uralic language family. It is considered as a transitional language between Olonetsian and Vepsian language; Ludic originates as a northern dialect of Vepsian transformed under heavy Karelian influence. It is spoken by 300 people. All speakers also speak Russian, and usually Russian is their first language.

For last twenty years was published about thirty books on Lude. In 2003 in Helsinki was issued the first primer in Ludic (ABC- kird '2003), was organized by several rural circles for children and adults. With the support of Ludic Society in 2005 was based Ludic cultural magazine «Lüüdilaine», with the same title in 2008-2009 in Petrozavodsk published newspaper. Publication of the newspaper was resumed in 2012 under a new name - «Lüüdilaine Sana». Nevertheless, the Ludic in the Republic of Karelia was not officially recognized and teaching it in schools and universities of the Republic of Karelia was not carried out, except Mikhailovskoye, where in the 1990s Ludic taught in school, but soon stopped. Currently, the major forms are on the teaching of language and linguistic circles annual language camp (Ilmori), but this is not enough to save it.

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### **Structure of the texts of Mansi fairy-tales**

This paper deals with some peculiarities of the structure of Mansi fairy-tale texts. On the basis of investigated texts we can consider that following formulae of thematic group predominate in Mansi fairy-tales: 1) unusual miraculous birth of the hero; 2) indefinite time and space; 3) peculiarity of the course of action (rapid growth from infancy to youth, teenage years of the main hero, etc.); 4) appearance of the main hero; 5) special qualities of characters; 6) magic items.

One of the common types of expressive means in fairy-tales is anadiplosis, for example: Head, eyeswrapped, and went to sleep. Went to sleep, and suddenly, in the morning, hears...; Now again they put to boil, cooked. Cooked, sat down to eat...

Texts of Mansi fairy-tales often contain author's comments when a narrator expresses his / her attitude to the event, evaluates the main character, the situation, for example: What life may be!; Where such a small animal, like a Chipmunk, to win the argument! A bear is big, and he has got a lot of mind! ("The bear and the Chipmunk"); Well, well! Mice are so tiny, but they are also egging on! ("Hare on the sedge bank"); Have you got any idea why river reaches are so called?("Cunning Fox"), etc.

The audience can also insert some approving words like тий “really; that is now / here's now”, ёмастэстэ “that's as it should be / he asked for it” during telling the fairy-tale. In other words, they make clear that everyone listens to it carefully and understands the essence of the text. Here are some examples from the texts of fairy-tales: Where will he hide such a big one! ("The mouse and the deer"); Sit down, sit down, and let's see which of you will win! ("The bear and the Chipmunk"); If only he will not going to die of fright, when he meet the mammoth! ("Hare on the sedge bank"), etc.

There can also be an instructive advice, wish at the fairy-tale ending, for example: Since ancient times it has been said: don't torture the orphan, otherwise one day the same torment will come back to you; Think of what! No wonder they say: "Don't trust the fox. His speech is lying and cunning"; And you can meet with such a fox! ("Cunning Fox"). Allegory is a distinctive feature of Mansi fairy-

tale texts. So, cunning is shown in the image of охсаройка ‘fox’, greed and foolishness are shown in the image of матапрись ‘little mouse’, etc.

One of the interesting features of fairy-tale endings may be the fact that the narrator gives an explanation of some situation in the fairy-tale: Now on the bank of the river a red osier-bed grows – they are bushes smudged by their blood (narrator’s commentary); She (the cuckoo) chirps in this way because her husband has broken an oar, has broken a boat, and her daughters– one of them died under the larch, and the other died under the fir-tree hurrying after her ("The Cuckoo-woman"), etc.

In some fairy-tale the narrator gives some comments at the beginning of the narrative, for example, in the text "The Cuckoo-woman" it is said: Кукук пестав эква олыс, ётыл кукукыг емтыс... “Once upon a time the cuckoo was a woman”.

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### **Language change in Viena Karelian idiolects: a follow-up study (Seuruututkimus vienankarjalaisten idiolektien muuttumisesta)**

In my paper, I explore language change in Viena Karelian in real-time during ten years. The data of my paper consist of ca. 10 hours of speech. The study is a panel study in nature, i.e., I have recorded the same individuals (5) at multiple points of time: first in 2001 and again in 2011. The recordings have been made in two Viena Karelian villages: Jyskyjärvi and Kalevala (previously Uhtua), and the data includes both men and woman. The subjects are between 50 and 80 years of age.

Because of the inherent difficulty involved in re-interviewing large numbers of subjects, the majority of panel studies have been restricted, typically comprising one subject (e.g. Palander 2005) or a small set of subjects (e.g. De Decker 2006). Larger scale studies are rare but conducted e.g. in the LANCHART project in Denmark (Gregersen 2009). As far as I know, we know very little about language change in idiolects among minority language speakers.

The variables that I have studied are: 1) the final syllable A-ending vowel combinations (*iA*, *eA*, *UA* and *OA*) and long vowels *aa* and *ää* 2) long vowels in first syllable, 3) labialization of *e* and 4) some lexical features (such as using of *äiti* instead of *muamo* ‘mother’ and *sauna* instead of *kyly* ‘sauna’. Previous research has shown that it is common that old people’s idiolects change more conservative over time (e.g. Mustanoja 2011: 360–365; Evans Wagner 2012; Isto 2014). In my study I will illuminate the situation in the Viena Karelian language.

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### **Social and dialectal variation of prosody in Finnish (Suomen kielen prosodian alueellinen ja sosiaalinen variaatio)**

Vernaculars, colloquial language and the dialectal and social variation of Finnish have been fairly extensively studied during the last few decades. The research has however mostly concentrated on phonological, morphological and/or syntactic phenomena, and hardly any attention has been paid to the prosodic features of Finnish speech.

In current Finnish dialectology, variation analysis and sociolinguistics, phonetic features in general have largely stayed in the margin. There has also been regrettably little co-operation between sociolinguists and phoneticians in Finland (cf. however e.g. Mustanoja & O’Dell 2007). Some prosodic or related issues have admittedly been raised in conversational analysis, but then the focus has not been on extralinguistic factors (such as dialectal and/or social factors) affecting speech, particularly not in the sense that the observations would have been verified using experimental phonetic methods (cf. however Routarinne 2004; Ogden & Routarinne 2005.) The point of view and the intended purpose of the studies has been directed to factors other than variation (see for example Laakso & Laitinen 2005).

“Social and Dialectal Variation of Prosody in Finnish” is our ongoing project that started in 2013 and is funded by the Kone Foundation. The project has four objectives:

1. To develop and test new crowdsourced (Web 2.0-based) methods in obtaining data for variation analysis. Beside the methods that have been utilized in dialectology and sociolinguistics for a long time we have developed a new way of obtaining data in the Internet. The web page (<https://puhu.utu.fi/>) was opened to general public in May 2014.

2. To create a new corpus of spoken Finnish which is targeted for the analysis of prosodic features from the beginning. There are already large speech corpora in Finland (for example the SKNA), but they have without exception been compiled for the investigation of features on quite distinct levels of language from prosody.

3. To analyze the regional and social variation of Finnish prosody. To reach this objective we need a corpus where the stored utterances are as close to each

other as possible (“the same utterance expressed in various dialects/sociolects”) regarding their grammatical, functional and segmental phonetic content.

4. To apply the methods of computer science and statistics to the accumulating corpus. Since the contribution of computer science specialists is an inherent part of developing new methods in this project, it is reasonable to examine the obtained data also with the methods of computer science and of statistics.

In this presentation we will introduce the methods we are using and display the data as it then stands.

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## **Karelian-language geographical vocabulary as a source of information on the settlement history of Karelia (Karjalankielinen maastosanasto asutushistoriallisena lähteenä)**

Geographical names are traditionally used as a source of information on the settlement history of a region, and the Republic of Karelia is no exception. Recent studies have demonstrated that toponymy is an essential source for investigating the history of this region.

An important role in toponymy belongs to local geographical vocabulary represented through an immense amount of place names. We believe research into its distribution ranges is a promising undertaking both in terms of toponymic studies as such and for ethno-historical issues. The reason for that is that the distribution of quite a number of local geographical terms may point to a connection of a certain area to other language and dialect zones.

We know that Sami are native inhabitants of Karelia. Sami traces in the toponymy of Karelia are quite significant. Furthermore, Karelian language dialects contain a whole number of geographical terms of Sami origin: cf. *čiekerö*

‘reindeer herding ground’, čulppo ‘upland’, jänkä ‘large wetland’, köynäs ‘waterfall’, lašša ‘rocky shoal, rocky bottom exposed at low tide’, puahto ‘cliff; precipice’, vuara ‘wooded upland’.

An indication of population arrival from Finnish territory is the presence of some typical Finnish differentiating types in the toponymy of Karelia. Further evidence is the lexical borrowings in Karelian dialects: cf. heittijö 'abandoned field', hitelikkö 'wooded ridge; dense young pine stand', juokšu 'water current', kunnaš 'mount, hill, slope', kutveikko 'rough, densely overgrown site', lamu 'flat-bottomed hollow between hills', letto 'small rocky site', loma 'gully, ravine, hollow between hills; crevice', nikara 'small mound; (small) river rapid'.

Owing to a close affinity of the South Karelian and the Vepsian toponymic systems, identification of differential Vepsian traits in the toponymy of Karelia is a rather challenging task. Geographical lexical borrowings from Vepsian to the Karelian language are also few. Nonetheless, some known toponymic and lexical facts do suggest that Vepsians could have directly contributed to the formation of the population of southern parts of Karelia: cf. \*čuhakko 'hill', kuare 'gully', kuarakko 'lowland, hollow', palde 'slope of a mount or knoll; hillside', burde, purde, 'spring, fountainhead', \*viranda, \*veranduz 'slashed site ready for burning'.

There is evidence in toponymic and lexical material that over centuries of contacts with Slavic population the Karelian language has acquired many words of Russian origin, including borrowings into the landscape vocabulary: cf. \*bojoviššu 'site where spawning fish is caught', bruudu 'pond; lakelet', \*bukl'a 'backwater (with springs)', dremužik 'site overgrown with mixed forest', loššina 'hollow, lowland', \*lovišša 'hunting or fishing ground'.

In summary, further identification and study of borrowed vocabulary will create a deeper insight into the linguistic and ethnic processes in Karelia that have eventually shaped the Karelian population in the territory.

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### **The evolution of ethnic and religious policies in local government in the Mari region in the second half of the XVI-XVIII centuries**

Russia was first faced with the challenge of managing a huge region with multinational and multi-religious population with the conquest of Kazan Khanate and its adjoining areas in the second half of the XVI century. The Moscow government was forced to create and test a new type of military administration in the field, which the governors led. The use or non-use of the total for the Russian Code of Laws to 1550s, which was adapted by the territory occupied by Moscow until 1552, was one of the most pressing issues. In these circumstances, the government followed the path of "punishing" system in the administration of the territory of the Kazan Volga. "Royal mandate" - the document name on behalf of the king, wearing the character of the road map, which was supposed to be guided by the governor for life issued to each assigned to 1-2 years the county governor. A variety of ways and methods of control of the middle counties, of particular relevance to people living here - Tatars, Maris, Chuvashes, Udmurts,

Mordovians are reflected in the king's mandates to Governors of the Middle Volga second half of XVI – early XVIII centuries. After the restoration of the Provincial Management System in 1727 nationwide Mandate governors and magistrates from 1728 was released, where there is no evidence of special treatment in the management of multinational counties in the region.

The purpose of this paper is to study the evolution of ethnic and religious policies of the Russian government in the management of multi-ethnic territory of Mari edge in the second half of XVI - XVIII centuries, consideration of the general and the particular in the evolution of the causes and factors that contribute to a particular vector in the development.

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**“The example of our Finnish relatives”. Bela Vikár’s field- and research work in Finland and his effect on Hungarian folkloristics (Finn nyomokon Vikár Béla tudományos pályáján)**

Vikár Béla (1859–1945) – folklorist, linguist, translator of the Finnish epic “Kalevala”, specialist in the theory of stenography, editor of a number of books and periodicals – went to Finland for the first time in 1889 in order to prepare his translation of Kalevala. He also wanted to understand the world of Finnish folk poetry linguistically and culturally. This fieldwork in Karelia determined his understanding of the principles behind ethnographical fieldwork and his scientific method for rest of his life. Vikár was first and foremost a pioneer of modern folklore collecting; he precisely recorded the texts of oral performances in shorthand or by phonograph. In addition to this, he also recorded the informants’ particulars and the circumstances of his collections. He reported in his articles and letters his fieldwork experiences in Finland which this lecture analyzes. Vikár was much impressed by the diversity and organization of Finnish folk-archives. In Finland he became acquainted with the so-called “Historical-Geographic Method” or “Finnish Method” and this led him to collecting many variants of folksongs or ballads and reconstructing the Urform (‘original form’) of oral traditions. His contemporaries did not pay too much attention to Vikár’s innovative folkloristic practices, observations and recommendations: for example, his suggestions about the need for genre monographs and investigations in repertoires, whilst applying a broader concept of folklore that does not exclusively identify folklore with the oral tradition of a rural population. Only decades later, this idea of collecting not only aesthetically pleasing folklore texts but also other less perfect songs became integrated into the canon of Hungarian textual folkloristics which by then were under the influence of other researchers and their achievements.

### **Levels of lexicalization and grammaticalization of serial verb constructions in present-day Meadow Mari**

The Meadow Mari language has a rather productive system of serial verbs. This system has brought forth lexicalized and grammaticalized forms in a way commonly encountered in the genesis of the lexicon and morphology of Uralic languages. The system of serial verbs in present-day Meadow Mari still permits for productive verb serialization, which allows us to study the processes of lexicalization and grammaticalization first-hand.

A fair amount of study has been done into the nature and use of serial verb constructions in Meadow Mari, but the focus of these studies has, although with exceptions, been the typology and functions of the serial verb constructions themselves, and less so the subsequent processes.

The aim of this study is to give an insight into the trends within the processes of lexicalization- and grammaticalization currently taking place in Meadow Mari. The serial verb system seems to be rather open with regard to creating new verbal serializations. However, analysis of the data used in the present study, consisting of approximately thousand serial verb constructions collected from newspapers published in Mari El in the autumn of 2010 as well as several hundred occurrences of verbal serialization recorded from the speech of informants from various parts of the Mari El Republic in 2011 and 2012 has revealed a number of restrictions within this seemingly open category.

The restrictions within the system of verbal serialization in Meadow Mari give firstly strong indications of the development of new lexical items through frequently paired verbal forms which in a number of cases are found in an intermediate stage of development, with both a phonetically and in certain cases even orthographically fused form coexisting with a form consisting of two separate verbal entities. Secondly, a route of development which is discernible by analyzing the data is the emergence and expansion of a category of functional verbs, which are rapidly exchanging or have already exchanged their original concrete semantic meaning for a strictly abstract modal-aspectual function. While this second category has been widely discussed in earlier studies, this study will delve deeper into the rules associated with the use of certain verbs in this function, while others cannot be used in this way.

In a broader perspective, the present study may add some views on the processes of lexicalization and grammaticalization in Uralic languages in general, and at the very least give an up to date analysis of these processes in present-day Meadow Mari.



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## **Homonyms and its relation to the lexical system of Mari language**

Homonyms are language units (words, morphemes, etc.) which differ in meaning, but are identical in phonation and spelling.

Regarding the words relating to similar parts of speech linguistics distinguishes homonymy and polysemy. Homonymy is an accidental coincidence of the words while polysemy is when a word has different historically connected meanings. The problem of differentiation of homonymy and polysemy is very urgent and it appears most often when homonyms appear as a result of semantic split of a polysemantic word. There are several ways of differentiation of polysemy and homonymy: lexically, morphologically, semantically and others. Thus, one of the main tasks in examining the relations between polysemy and homonymy is the determination of criteria of their differentiation.

At present for Mari there is the following classification of homonyms: lexical homonyms, homoforms, homophones, homographs.

Homonyms constitute a special subpart of lexicology, and they can also be used in poems.

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## **The Finnish grammar of Rasmus Rask**

The role of the famous Danish scholar Rasmus Rask (1787–1832) in stimulating interest in the study of Finno-Ugrian languages is well known. During his trip to Turku in 1818 Rask met many eminent scholars of Finnish and encouraged them to study their own language and its relationship to other languages. On a practical level Rask helped in organizing financial support for the publishing of the first large Finnish dictionary (a project which eventually became Renvall 1823–1826).

Though Rask's interests concerning the Finnish language are familiar, it has been totally forgotten that he wrote one important work on the Finnish language, a grammatical sketch which he called *Udkast-Optegnelser til en Finsk Sproglere*. The fact that this work is unknown is no doubt due to its having remained an unpublished manuscript, but it is nevertheless surprising, because it was preserved among Rasmus Rask's other papers and even copied by Wilhelm Thomsen in 1864.

Rask's short work covers most areas of grammar. At first glance the treatise looks quite idiosyncratic, but this impression is caused by its orthography with certain Danish letters, and diacritics to mark vowel quantity. However, on the level of grammatical description, it is not difficult to notice features which show resemblance to those used in the grammars or grammatical studies of Renvall (1810, 1811, 1815–1817), Strahlman (1816) and Judén (1818), which were all published before Rask visited Finland.

In the present paper I shall briefly outline the structure of Rask's grammar and its major solutions especially in presenting Finnish morphology. Special

attention is given to the relationship of this grammar to its closest predecessors and even later (1823–1826, 1840) works of Renvall, with whom Rask studied Finnish. Finally I shall consider the question why it was that Rask never published his own grammar.

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### **Modeling the linguistic diversification of Finno-Saamic languages**

Quantitative methods have been used to study the evolutionary relationships and divergence times of biological species, but recently, they have also been applied to linguistic data in order to elucidate the evolutionary history of language families (e.g. Gray et al. 2003 for Indo-European). In this paper we apply quantitative methods to clarify the divergence process of closely related languages, which emerge between dialect continua and fully diverged varieties. This study therefore operates between the microevolutionary (divergence of populations within a species) and macroevolutionary (speciation and extinction) levels of language lineaging. Our approach to explain diversification uses phylogenetic methods and is informed by theories of evolutionary biology. The results are compared with reconstructions based on comparative-historical linguistic data.

The languages under investigation belong to two branches of the Uralic family and are spoken in a vast area stretching from northern Fennoscandia (Saamic) to the Circum-Baltic region (Finnic). Whereas the dating and reconstruction of proto-forms for both branches is rather uncontroversial (see the overview in Honkola et al. 2013), a common genealogical node “Finno-Saamic” (aka Early Proto-Finnic) is not accepted by all linguists (cf. Aikio 2004). Our database includes the Finnic languages Võro, Estonian, Finnish, North Karelian and Veps and the Saamic languages Kildin, Skolt, Inari, North, Pite and South – representing all assumed sub-branches. Tests were run not only on divergent sets

of basic and non-basic vocabulary, but also—as a novel approach in quantitative research on Uralic—on a selection of phonological, morphological and syntactic features.

Language phylogenetics most often employs phylogenetic tree models, which provide not only the shape of the tree but also reliability estimates of branches. Previous studies on the Uralic family (Lehtinen et al. [in press], Syrjänen et al. 2013, Honkola et al. 2013) compared tree models to networks and found discrepancies between these, especially with regard to interpreting the history of closely related languages: tree models yielded strong support values for branching, whereas networks suggested a dialect continuum between the languages. This suggests that tree models may fail in revealing the genealogy of closely related languages.

In this paper we want to test this hypothesis further by focusing on relationships within Finnic-Saamic, which according to our data are close neighbors within the clades, which themselves are sister groups to each other. We compare trees and networks and relate the outcomes to earlier qualitative studies on historical Uralic linguistics. Furthermore, we aim at disentangling the triggers of language lineaging: under which circumstances do the lineaging languages (or late phases of dialects) become isolated and when do they retain a constant flow of contacts.

Divergence of populations and species is often a function of geographic distance. We test the importance of geographic distance in promoting or constraining contacts between the speaker populations. We further study the effect of other geographic isolation factors, occurrence of administrative barriers and even (pre)historic cultural variation for the divergence process. We finally discuss how to incorporate frameworks of biological microevolution in studies on divergence of closely related languages and how this can promote the understanding of language lineaging in general.

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## Corpus tools in analyzing language discourses of Finns living in Japan

Globalization has brought about social change: demographic mobility has grown and hence language contacts have increased (Coupland 2010: 2–3). There is a

growing number of people living in transcultural contexts in which language choices, language domains and importance of language have become essential part of the everyday life. There are about 600 Finnish immigrants in Japan: they form a heterogeneous group, and from a western point of view, they live in a different culture, in geographically distant place. The aim of this research is to find out what kind of meanings informants give to Finnish, English and Japanese – mother tongue, lingua franca and language of foreign culture – and what kind of discourses informants construct about these languages. In this paper I discuss how language discourses of Finns living in Japan could be detected using corpus tools. Theoretically I rely on a view, in which language is not only a part of the society but reality and identities are constructed and challenged in discourses (Fairclough 1989: 37; Burr 1995: 3).

The data of the study consists of interviews and pair conversations of Finns living Japan and data is analyzed by the use of collocation analysis. Collocation is a frequent lexical co-occurrence within pre-determined span, usually five words of either side of the node, the word under investigation (Sinclair 1991). In this study attention falls upon what is said about language, so collocates of languages of interest are under observance. These collocations and structures found with different languages give hints, how informants construct language discourses. For example in the experimental analysis of data, coordination structure *suomi ja englanti* ‘Finnish and English’ was found via collocation analysis. In the discourse these languages were coordinated, and though treated as equals, when informants were speaking about meanings usually connected with identity functions of language and definitions of mother tongue.

There are advantages in analyzing discourses with corpus tools. According to Baker (2006: 12) it could be argued that corpus linguistics methods enable the researcher to place restrictions on preconceived notions. It focuses the analysis to the research data, gives analysis empirical starting point and helps to perceive discursively significant structures. Partington et al. (2013: 11) points out, that the aim of the corpus assisted discourse studies is to uncover meaning which might not be readily available to naked-eye perusal.

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### Finnish non-finite person marking: an emerging system?

Person marking tends to be a property of finite rather than non-finite verb forms. Yet, a number of Finnish non-finite verb forms may have a possessive suffix, morphologically identical to possessive suffixes found in nouns, and semantically corresponding to person marking in finite verbs.

According to presently received wisdom (ISK 2004: 490), Finnish has three infinitives which have 12 inflected forms altogether. For the purposes of this paper, the most notable of these are the so-called *short form* of the *A* infinitive (1a), the *long form* or translative of the *A* infinitive (1b), the inessive (1c) and instructive (1d) forms of the *E* infinitive, and the instructive form of the *MA* infinitive (1e):

- (1) a. Kalle ei halua *mennä* kouluun. ‘Kalle doesn’t want to go to school.’
- b. Kalle heräsi *mennäkseen* kouluun. ‘Kalle woke up in order to go to school.’
- c. Kalle tapasi Villen *menessään* kouluun. ‘Kalle met Ville on his way [‘as he was going’] to school.’
- d. Kalle kävi kioskilla *opettajan* nähden. ‘Kalle went to the kiosk before the teacher’s eyes.’
- e. Kallen pitää *menemän* kouluun. ‘Kalle must go to school.’

These five forms are the only Finnish infinitive forms that may take a possessive suffix (which corresponds to the “subject” of the infinitive), as in e.g. (1b) and (1c) above.

Some Finnish infinitive forms also have a passive variant. However, there are only three passive infinitive forms: the passive *A* infinitive (2a), the passive *E* infinitive inessive (2b), and the passive *MA* infinitive instructive:

- (2) a. tulille piti *mentää* ja kalat piti *perattaa* ensi. ‘People had to go to campfires and the fish had to be gutted first.’ (MA: Kuhmoinen)
- b. nuottoa *veettäessä* tarvitaan kaks venettä. ‘Drawing a seine, two boats are needed.’ (MA: Sumiainen)
- c. se pari piräis *vihittämä* [aivan lähiaikoina] ‘That couple should be married [quite soon now].’ (MA: Laitila)

These two groups overlap to the extent that Finnish only allows a passive form for those infinitive forms which also may take a possessive suffix (and, in fact, a genitive subject). Since the passive is an integral part of the person inflection paradigm of Finnish finite verb forms, this raises the following question: is this distribution of the possessive suffixed forms and the passive forms an indication of an emerging person inflection system for infinitives?

Using dialect data, the paper will address this question by analyzing the areal distribution, morphosyntactic and semantic functions, and possible morphological contexts of possessive suffixes as well as passive morphology in the Finnish infinitive system. It appears that while certain non-finite constructions do show signs of an emerging person marking system, on a more general level such a system probably has ceased to develop.

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## Verbs of slow rate motion in the Khanty language

The verb *waŋkörtti* ‘to get to, to reach, to drag along; to stroll’ with the semantics ‘to move from somewhere to some direction slowly, spending a lot of time because of external obstacles’ or ‘to get to slowly, hardly moving feet because of tiredness or feebleness’ belongs to verbs of slow rate motion, for example: *Muj tūpan waŋkörtlən* ‘Why are you dragging along hardly?’, *Tūpan ti xolt waŋkörtəs* ‘Someone has dragged along hardly here’, *Imeŋən-ikeŋən tūpan-tūpan waŋkörtlənən, jəš wewli pitman, kūr wewli pitman* ‘The old man with the old woman has reached hardly, they are dragging along, their hands are weakened, feet are weakened’. The verb is combined with directive finish, which designates the movement to a final point: *Wəš lūxa xoti məsəl wət kütən waŋkərsəmən* ‘Somehow in the wind we reached Bosh lukh’.

The subject of the movement of this group of verbs is a person. Verbs of slow rate motion are combined with words *ajəlta* ‘slowly’, *tūpan* ‘hardly’, *tūpan - tūpan* ‘barely’, *ūrajən* ‘hardly’, *lawərtan* ‘with difficulty’, for example: *Akem iki ūrajən joxtəs* ‘The grandfather came hardly’, *Tūpan šušəl* ‘He/she is going hardly’, *Un iki ajəlta mūŋ xosajew joxtəptijəs* ‘The grandfather came to us slowly’, *Lūw xotla ūrajən joxtəs* ‘He came hardly to his house’, *At ləŋxał, isipa ūrajən mənəl [rūpittija]* ‘He/she doesn’t want but nevertheless with great effort he/she goes to work’, *un iki kašəŋ xətəl pana nīk jāŋxəl, ajəltijewa šušiljəl* ‘Every day the grandfather goes to the bank (of the river) slowly’, *Tūpan talisiman šušti* ‘to go slowly, to drag’, *Ūrajən jellī šī ūratsəm* ‘At last I was wading hardly forward’, *xotla pəla lūniłən* ‘Where are you dragging along?’, *Jəxləw tūp-tūp xətlət* ‘Our people are moving hardly’, *xəpew jeŋk kütən xətəs* ‘A boat was moving between ice floes’, *Jert kütən mūja ja kamən talisəltən* ‘Why are you dragging in the street in the rain?’, *Mūj nəŋ kim-joxi talisijlən* ‘Why are you dragging to the street and then to home?’, *Ūrajən jolta taləsət* ‘They are trudging, dragging hardly behind’, *Joxi xolt pertəslən* ‘Why are you tumbling home?’.

In the Khanty language the meaning ‘to go hardly (about old, feeble people)’ is conveyed by phraseological collocations *Peš jät liŋa jiti* ‘Hips are weakened’, *Ləw jät liŋa jiti* ‘Bone joints are weakened’, for example: *Ləwertan šušəl, peš jätləl liŋa jisət* ‘He/she is going hardly, joints are weakened’, *Ləw jätləl liŋa jisət* ‘Bone joints are weakened’. Semantics of ‘to hobble’ is also conveyed by phraseological collocation *Kūr jät waŋkareŋa katəlman jiti*, for example: *Kūr jätləl waŋkareŋa katəlman jil* ‘He/she is going hobbling’, *Ləkkar xota šušəl, kūr jätləl waŋkareŋa mənəl* ‘He/she is going to the hospital, hobbling hardly’.

This article dealt with the verbs describing the slow motion of the subject. This group consists of the following verbs: *šušti* ‘to drag’, ‘to go slowly, hardly’ in collocation with the words *ajəlta*, *ajəltijewa* ‘slowly’, *tūpan* ‘hardly’, *tūpan-tūpan* ‘barely’, *ūrajən* ‘hardly’, *lawərtan* ‘with difficulty’, *ajəlta joxtəptijəlti* ‘to

reach slowly', *ajälta* (*üräjən*) *joxätti* 'to come / get to slowly', *nəχman šūštī* 'to hobble', *üräjən jeļi ūratti* 'to wade hardly', *χätti* 'to go, to move', stylistically coloured words *wančkertti* 'to drag', *tup taləstī* 'to drag along', 'to strive slowly'; 'to go hardly', *taləsəti* 'to gad about', *lūñiti* 'to drag along, to go slowly', *pertəstī* 'to tumble'.

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### **The Udmurt mistresses of needlework – virtuosos of man-made goods**

The most striking centers displaying high folk art stood out against a background of widespread existence of village crafts in the Udmurt region. Owing to international and Russian exhibitions from the past the names of the best talented mistresses of needlework reached us [1]. Gold and silver medals, certificates of progress and good conduct, purses were awarded to the weavers from the village of Sosnovka, to A.S. Averkieva, Yu. Grigoryeva, from the village of Pikan to E.F., L.I., A.S., M.I. Merzlyakovs, from the village of Pihtovka to A.V., A.D., A.I., M.P., M.M. Russkih, to A.I. Kurbatova from village of Shevyryalovo, to lace-makers Korolkova, Rogozina, Mezentseva and Berdnikova, who trained in the Mariininsky School of St. Petersburg. All of them became the pride of the Udmurt people.

Life-giving environment of formation of aesthetic taste of masters was the Udmurt village with its established traditional way of life, surrounded by picturesque nature of spring lands. Development of the talent of women was contributed by customs: since the age of six girls were taught all kinds of handmade crafts, to 12 years, having become a full weaver, she began to prepare a dowry for the wedding and gifts for future relatives. The rest of her life, not wanting 'to be worse than others', a woman perfected her skills by following after the best masters.

The same combination of fateful events under the sign of "leniniana" touched three outstanding Udmurt masters: Eudokiya Koryuhina, Lepestinya Perevozchikova, Anna Fofanova[2]. A special talent, "given by God", appearing in early childhood, blossomed in adulthood and lead to the creation of masterpieces of folk art. They were born in the Kama region, in the Udmurt peasant family in the beginning of the 20th century. Koryuhina was born in the village of Chushyal, Perevozchikova – in Bud-Ucha, Fofanova – in Vuko Tylo. Since their youth, they received recognition from the villagers and were reputed to be the best needlewomen. So, people, admiring the works of Eudokiya, said: 'Odot has golden hands!'. 'You have a very talented daughter', – people said the mother of Anna Fofanova.

As the best skilled workers, they were asked to weave rugs depicting Vladimir Lenin. Eudokiya Koryuhina by the sketch of the artist, D.V. Hodyreva – for regional exhibition in Kirov, two more of her carpets were displayed in one of the pavilions of the all-Union agricultural exhibition in Moscow[3]. Lepestinya Perevozchikova on basis of sketch of artist A. Mylnikov wove a

carpet for the world exhibition in Paris, it is kept at the National Museum of the Udmurt Republic named after Kuzebaj Gerd. Anna Fofanova, also on the sketch of artist D.V. Hodyrev, wove a carpet for the all-Union exhibition of folk art in Moscow, it was acquired by the Tretyakov Gallery; another carpet was presented at the anniversary celebrations in the city of Kazan, deposited in the State Museum of local lore of Tatarstan.

Sustained traditions in folk art have developed over the centuries under the influence of historical, natural, economic conditions and national characteristics, valuable artistic experience was accumulated.

[1] See. Ligenko N. P. Peasant industry of Udmurtia in the period of capitalism (60-90-ies of the

XIX century).Izhevsk, 1991. P. 145.

[2] See. personal fund of N.P. Pavlov. CDNI UR, f. 197, 1 v. 16.

[3] CDNI UR. F, 197. op, 1. D. 16. L. 42.

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## **The linguistic landscape and the position of Sámi language in a Sámi school**

In this paper I will discuss the relative status of Sámi language in Sámi school as it is reflected in the linguistic landscape. The concept of linguistic landscape is utilized for describing written language featured in public premises. In my study I analyzed the appearance of the Sámi language, the producers of the Sámi language, and the forms of Sámi language in the linguistic landscape of a Sámi school.

The linguistic landscape can also be analyzed as or de facto language policy. In a pedagogical context it can be seen materialization of the 'hidden curriculum' regarding language values. Schoolscapes can be analyzed as reflections of the relative status of different languages in a school. Research on the linguistic landscape of the school provides new information about the linguistic practices and interlanguage hierarchies in Sámi education.

The research was conducted in a Sámi upper-secondary school in Sámi core area in Norway. The data collected for this study included photographs of the linguistic landscape (N=201), school observations (N=11 hours), school staff interviews (N=2), student questionnaires (N=18), and student interviews (N=6). The photographs were taken during ten different days between study years 2009 and 2011. The data collection happened various times during these study years.

According to the research results, monolingual Norwegian texts dominated the linguistic landscape of the school, forming half (52 %) of the texts in the linguistic landscape. Monolingual North Sámi texts formed one-fifth (21 %) of the texts in the linguistic landscape. The proportion of bilingual texts (Norwegian-Sámi) was 19 %. Bilingual texts were equally bilingual or non-equally bilingual texts.

The linguistic landscape in the target school seemed to reproduce the dominant position for the mainstream language and did not support the literary use of the



minority language. The significance of the Sámi language in the linguistic landscape of the school is symbolic. In addition to educative tasks, the Sámi language is used for highlighting the Sámi school profile.

The position of the Sámi language in the linguistic landscape of the school illustrates

the hierarchy between the Sámi and Norwegian languages, the historical position of the Sámi language in Norway, and the current language policy in the area.

This study shows that more attention should be paid to the literary visibility of the Sámi language in the school environment because it will support the position of the language and strengthen the written usage of the indigenous minority language.

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### **Great white leader visits a northern shaman (Большой белый вождь встретится со северным шаманом)**

In December of 1976, after being released from serving in the army, I became an assistant cameraman at Tallinnfilm's chronicle department and became part of the "Winds of the Milky Way" film team. Our leader and director of the film was Lennart Meri, later president of Estonian Republic. During the year 1977 I participated in several filming expeditions in Northern Europe and Siberia. One of them took us to the Taimyr Peninsula, to visit an Nganasan shaman.

Years later, watching the film based on the material filmed in the Avam tundra, I suddenly realized that none of us completely understood what really happened in Demnime Kosterkin's tepee on that evening of July 16 and early hours of July 17. While on the filming expeditions and watching the film "Winds of the Milky Way", completed in 1977, I knew practically nothing about shamans or their world views. Riding the wave of romantic tribal admiration, I interpreted Demnime's chant (as much as I could muster from its translation), as a poetic review of the end of the mythical united Finno-Ugric era. The question: "Do you remember how it all began?" placed in the mouth of the 3000 year old male figure in the film was well matched with Demnime's words: "This day I saw a family united, those descended from the tribe of a hunched woman. It was a populous tribe and included many twins. It was hard to feed the tribe. You could see their large teepees with grassy edges from afar."

Lennart Meri's vision as the film's author seemed so enchanting that later still, when I learned more about the Siberian shamans, I had no doubts about anything other than the accuracy of the translation. Even in September of 1989, when I was filming Demnime's brother Tubyaku, and later, when I was working with the material, I did not draw any parallels between the rituals I had witnessed. Only after seeing the documentary "Shaman" made on the basis of the footage shot in 1977 I started to realize that actually the ritual performed by Demnime was not primarily induced by Lennart Meri's question: "Tell me how long I shall live," but by the fact that family members of the shaman wore so-called burial clothes.

In my paper I try to analyze many years later what really happened in Demnime's teepee and how the event was interpreted by both sides – by the filmmakers and by the family of the shaman.

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### **The online database of the University of Tartu Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages**

This paper introduces the online database of the University of Tartu Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages, which is freely accessible and open to all researchers at [www.murre.ut.ee/arhiiv/](http://www.murre.ut.ee/arhiiv/). The archives consist of about 2300 hours of fieldwork recordings, about 356 000 pages of written materials, and 1500 photos of Estonian Dialects, Finno-Ugric and Uralic languages.

The archives contain four types of materials: 1) Sound recordings of Estonian dialects and other Uralic languages (Livonian, Votic, Ingrian, Vepsian, Karelian, Finnish, Ingrian Finnish, Inari Saami, Erzya, Moksha, Komi, Udmurt, Hungarian, Khanty, Nenets, Kamas languages); 2) unpublished manuscripts, including student report papers and thesis defended at the Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics, fieldwork diaries, transcriptions and written notes on Estonian and Finno-Ugric languages; 3) photos from field-work expeditions and linguistic events; 4) video recordings. The earliest sound recordings date back to the 1950s and written materials to the 1920s. The organizing of the archives started in 2000 with digitalizing first the recordings of Estonian dialects, moving later to collecting and arranging the recordings of other Finno-Ugric languages. By now, most of the materials are digitalized and freely available in the internet. The majority of the recordings are of Estonian dialects but another significant part contains recordings of Uralic languages.

The Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages also include the Corpus of Estonian Dialects ([www.murre.ut.ee/murdekorpus](http://www.murre.ut.ee/murdekorpus)). The dialect corpus consists of dialect recordings, phonetically transcribed texts, dialect texts in simplified transcription, morphologically annotated texts, a database containing information about informants and recordings, and syntactically parsed texts. The amount of morphologically annotated texts is about 1.000.000 text words and it is searchable via internet. Phonetically transcribed texts involve more than 1.500.000 text words.

### **The temporal patterns of consonantal quantity in Inari Saami**

The three-way quantity system of consonants is a rare phenomenon claimed to be existent only in a few Southern Finnic languages. More widely it is known as a feature of Estonian, but similar three-way consonant patterns have been described also in Livonian, Ingrian, and Saami languages (Markus et al. 2013). Our paper focuses on the ternary length opposition of consonants in Inari Saami, which is spoken around Inari Lake in Northern Finland by approximately 200 native speakers.

In a previous study of Inari Saami disyllabic feet with phonologically short vowel as a syllable nucleus followed by a short consonant, short and long geminate and consonant cluster we showed that there is an inverse relationship between the duration of consonants and the durations of preceding and following vowels. While the duration of intervocalic consonant increases the durations of the surrounding vowels decrease, suggesting that the ternary distinction of consonant quantity in Inari Saami is a foot-level feature. (Türk et al. 2014)

In this paper we extend the research on the temporal relations between consonants and surrounding vowels by including disyllabic feet both with short and long vowels and diphthongs as the syllable nucleus. The aim of this study is to find out how the ternary distinction of consonantal quantity is realized in the case of various foot types. Previous studies have shown that there is a variation between speakers, e.g. Bye et al. (2009) report, that only two of their speakers (out of five) made a ternary distinction in consonant duration after a long first syllable vowel. In our study we use the data from four native speakers who read test sentences containing disyllabic test words with intervocalic consonant being a short consonant, a short or a long geminate or a consonant cluster. The syllable nucleus was a short or a long vowel and a short or a long diphthong. The analysed word structures are CVCV, CVVCV(C), CVVCCV(C), CVVC:CV(C). The durations of all segments of the test words were analysed. The results showing specific constraints on durational distinctions in Inari Saami will be discussed in the paper.

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## An articulatory study of consonant gemination in Estonian

The three-way quantity system is a well-known feature of Estonian. In a number of studies (e.g. Lippus et al. 2013) it has been shown that the domain of the quantity is a disyllabic foot. Incorporating all segmental durations within the foot, the all-over quantity opposition is realised by the stressed-to-unstressed syllable rhyme duration ratio and some additional features (namely the pitch movement), while the syllable rhyme duration is achieved by combining vowel and consonant lengthening, enabling minimal septets of CVCV-sequences based on segmental duration.

The aim of this study is twofold. In the previous studies of Estonian quantity, usually microprosodic variation has been ignored or suppressed (e.g. by limiting the study to a single minimal triplet *sata – sa:ta – sa::ta*). Focussing on the context sensitivity of the effect, we show that the segmental temporal patterns are not only determined by the overall quantity level of the disyllabic foot, but they are highly dependent on the trajectory of the articulatory movements. In parallel, we use the articulatory data from the Estonian three-way opposition of geminates for assessing the Embodied Task Dynamics model, which has already effectively been used to describe the binary singleton-geminate oppositions in Finnish (Šimko et al. 2014).

For the data of this study we recorded six native Estonian test subjects producing all possible quantity combinations of intervocalic bilabial stops. The place of articulation of the word initial stop and the context vowels was also altered, resulting in the following  $4 \times 7 = 28$  test words:

Q1	<i>tipa</i>	<i>tapi</i>	<i>pipa</i>	<i>papi</i>
Q2	<i>ti:pa</i>	<i>ta:pi</i>	<i>pi:pa</i>	<i>pa:pi</i>
Q2	<i>tippa</i>	<i>tappi</i>	<i>pippa</i>	<i>pappi</i>
Q2	<i>ti:ppa</i>	<i>ta:ppi</i>	<i>pi:ppa</i>	<i>pa:ppi</i>
Q3	<i>ti::pa</i>	<i>ta::pi</i>	<i>pi::pa</i>	<i>pa::pi</i>
Q3	<i>tip:pa</i>	<i>tap:pi</i>	<i>pip:pa</i>	<i>pap:pi</i>
Q3	<i>ti:p:pa</i>	<i>ta:p:pi</i>	<i>pi:p:pa</i>	<i>pa:p:pi</i>

The test subjects were asked to produce each test word with approximately ten repetitions. Speech articulation data - the movement of the tongue, jaw, and the lips - was recorded alongside the acoustic data using electromagnetic articulography (EMA).

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**Esteemed objects in national tradition of the village Yortom  
(Почитаемые объекты в народной традиции села Ёртом  
Удорского района Республики Коми)**

The main source of research are the field materials of the author which have been written down in 2011-2013gg. in the village Yortom of the Udora district of the Komi Republic.

The objects chosen for the analysis, are allocated with the special relation of the population and/or matter in the history of the village. First of all it is the objects connected with settling of edge: the river Yovva where in ancient times the people "чудь" lived; the village Krestovo on which place one of the first monasteries of Komi of edge settled down; Tichkan height, place of the first inhabitants of the village Yortom; height Lazey, place of the first inhabitant of the village Shilyaevo.

Emergence of the following objects is connected with Orthodoxy. It is Holy Trinity Church; icons "Life and sufferings of the Saint great martyr Paraskeva named on Friday" and "An image of the Saint martyr Paraskeva"; meeting-house; wooden crosses. For example, oral stories about church narrate about its construction and greatness, and also about tragic circumstances of closing and destruction, and the wonderful events occurring in church.

Consideration of esteemed objects not only opens history of the specified district, but shows formation of national outlook, national religion.

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**Silence as a phenomenon of ethnic cultures: problemdefinition  
(Молчание как феномен в этнических культурах: постановка  
проблемы)**

The problem of silence in human culture is hardly can be considered as a new one. In the religious philosophy the problem of silence is viewed as a special means, a kind of "path" towards the unity of a man with God. Consequent aesthetic and axiological issues see the essence of silence in the world of spiritual values that determine the person's behavior [See: 1, 2].

The work of M. Uvarovis dedicated to the problem of confessional words in a metaphysical perspective [See: 3]. We should mark the importance attached to the issue of silence in the art of the classical German philosophy.

The problem of silence is particularly relevant in the study of ethnic cultures, each of which has its own specific character, expressed in the mentality of the ethnic group.

Among the few works devoted to the problem of silence we should make a pointed reference to the article by Professor E. Lund, the University Esterberg

[See: 4]. The material for the study are the Icelandic sagas. The value of this research lies in the formulation of the problem of silence as a culturally and socially conditioned phenomenon.

Anthropological studies of silence in ethnic cultures aimed at explaining it as a strategy of social behavior. In this case, silence is an intermediate stage on the way from one activity to another, but it is not the final step. People are silent on the matter, so as not to exacerbate the situation. We should note that this entails the case of socio-psychological examination of silence. Therefore, the speech and the silence in ethnic culture should be regarded as phenomena with certain values associated with the mental characteristics of the ethnic group.

We will mark out the main kinds of silence in ethnic cultures: silence expressing surprise or confusion; silence as a synonym for humility, sadness, hopelessness or tiredness; silence caused by confusion, joy or uncertainty; ominous silence or waiting silence. We emphasize the importance of studying this concept in the historical and cultural significance.

Thus the silence is directed to another person, giving him a chance to express himself. So the silence is the condition for a genuine dialogue between the members of the same ethnic group and other ethnic groups.

Silence as a phenomenon is understood by us as a characteristic of the presence of a particular ethnic group in the world, as a way of understanding the ontological relation of "man-world".

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### **The axiological attitude to symbols in culture of Mordovian ethnos: comparative analysis (Ценностное отношение к символам в культуре мордвы: компаративистский анализ)**

The research is grounded on the basis of field material collected during a scientific expedition of 2013.

Symbol is one of the most multiple-valued concepts in culture. «It is a signal of general cultural memory of the given collective», - according to U. Lotman [Lotman, 86], symbols might be interpreted only through comparison of the subject image with the implicit meaning.

A prominent feature of Mordovian ethnos culture was axiological attitude to symbols. During holidays Roshtavan kudo (e.), Roshtavan kud (m.), Kishtiman

kudo (e.), Kishtiman kud (m.), Pijan kudo (e.) there were the games visualizing the images of the animals (a bear and a horse). On erzja wedding party a horse acts as an abundance symbol. A bear personified a wisdom symbol, an image of a primogenitor, that is represented an image of an ancestor. Mordovian people as well as other Finno-Ugric people gave a special value to the image of the bear as it symbolized an ancestor cult. Finno-Ugric people - Maris, Finns, chants, manse associate with the image of the bear getting of necessary vital blessings - successful hunting, fertility of fields, many children in the family. In wedding poetry of mordva the bear acted as a symbol of health and family well-being.

In the culture of Mordovian ethnos axiological attitude to an ornament in the form of a wreath has been kept: vinet purdama (m.), kashtaz (e.), zhiviy tsvet (e.). It is made of flowers (m., e.), birch branches (m., e.), cereal plants (m.), an artificial paper of a different colouring (e.). Wreath had been worn on holidays and weddings. Now they are used by folklore collectives.

Well-being and happiness symbol on erzja wedding is Umarina (e.). It is a wedding attribute which is still used at present time. Umarina is made out of a multi-coloured paper (not less than 7 colours) and used to decorate pine branches, it is given at the wedding party to the young couple as a gift from Kudava (the groom's ant), then it is being stored about one year, later it is burnt on the eve of Easter.

In modern cultural space the symbol of sacred bird Inenarmon (m.) is used. She is the Great bird or the Holy Spirit, a sacred bird who helped with creation of the Universe to the Creator. This symbol of mordovian culture is presented in an ornament, embroidery and ethnic choreography, this symbol was chosen as the emblem of Saransk, the capital of Mordovia, welcoming the World championship on football 2018.

Symbols expressed axiological attitude to human qualities and properties. Being an important mechanism of culture, they transferred texts, containing axiological value from one layer of culture to another, promoted a link of times and generations.

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Abbreviations:

m.- Moksha

e.- Erzja.

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## On the ethnicity of ancient Russian materials of Prikamye

The title of the report is well-reasoned: ancient Russian artifacts of the region under study do not always imply their Russian Slavonic belonging. Some artifacts have features of a different ethnic culture. In funeral complexes these are peculiarities of coffins wrapped into birch bark or wrapping of the deceased

in bass of birch bark cocoons characteristic for the Perm Finns. The deceased were sometimes accompanied by aboriginal articles - decorations and coins. Considerable ethnocultural data is provided by ceramics. They are Slavonic by the form and ornament but belong to different ethnic groups by admixtures. The groups are denoted as "Slavonoid" (T.A. Khlebnikova, or, as per Prikamye materials - "Slavonic-Perm", "Slavonic-Finnish" (L.D. Makarov), "Tatar" (D.A. Salangin). The distinction between the groups is rather vague. In any case their origin is connected with intercultural and intertechnological mixing of the Slavs and alien ethnic environment.

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### **Typical bases of the Finno-Ugric origin in the lake names of Belozerye (Типовые основы финно-угорского происхождения в озерной гидронимии Белозерья)**

The report examines typical toponymic bases of the Finno-Ugric origin, indicating features of lakes regularly repeated in the names. Typical toponymic bases include those with the meaning 'big' (*Von-*, *Jan-*, *Jal-*), 'small' (*Pik-*, *Pich-*), 'top' (*Il-*) 'black' (*Must-*, *Shim-*) etc., as well as a number of frequent toponymic bases, such as *Matk-* / *Motk-* (cf. Veps. *matk* 'path'), *Kod-* (cf. Veps. *kod'i* 'house'), *Pert-* (cf. Veps. *pe'ri* 'hut'), *Pag-* (cf. Veps. *paha* 'bad'), and so on.

Material for analysis is presented by Belozerye toponymy of Finno-Ugric origin – the one that is preserved in Vepsian use (in the north-west of the region), as well as that of substrate origin. The sources of the material are data of Toponymic expedition of the Ural Federal University (Ekaterinburg) and GIS “Toponymy of Karelia” of the Institute of Language, Literature and History of Karelian Research Centre of RAS (Petrozavodsk).

The study seeks to identify toponymic bases with the mentioned semantics; it attempts to give an interpretation of their geographical distribution and to determine their most probable ethno-linguistic affiliation. The aim of this study is to clarify ethno-linguistic characteristics of substrate toponymy of Belozerye.

To do this, I use the following procedure: based on semantic classification of lake names a number of producing bases is revealed and direct search for names is carried out. Further, parallels and areal contacts with adjacent territories are established. On the basis of the geographical distribution of the identified bases and spread of the bases in Finno-Ugric languages (mainly Balto-Finnic, Saami, Volga-Finnic), as well as the availability of relevant lexemes in the dialects of the Russian language, preliminary conclusions about possible nature of substrate toponymy of Belozerye are made. Particular interest is drawn to interpretation of the cases of different linguistic manifestations of the same extra-linguistic sign, as it happens, for example, with the bases *Must-*, *Shim-* ('black'), *Sund-*, *Shul-* ('melted'), and others. In some cases, the difference is explained by the fact that the name goes back to the data of different languages; in other cases, it may be related to different nominative traditions (when various lexical designations of the sign from one language are selected).



**Nomination of Komi Permian games as a reflection of the features of Komi Permians' mentality  
(Номинация коми-пермяцких игр как отражение особенностей мировосприятия коми-пермяков)**

The report analyzes names of Komi Permian games. In S.I. Ozhegov's dictionary a game is "a way or a kind of spending time in some activity, serving for entertainment, recreation, sports competition." Games carry great cultural and historical information, and provide a glimpse of a nation, the conditions of its living, the features of social life, its mentality, the system of people's view of the world.

The Komi Permian games are still poorly investigated. All important and significant for a person is reflected in the gaming activities of the younger generation, and of course, in the nomination of games.

The author gives the names of the Komi Permian games, analyzes them, compares with the names of other peoples' games, and draws conclusions.

The names of the Komi Permian games are the following conceptions, seeing phenomena and things that are important to the people:

- A natural phenomena, typical for the territory of Komi Permians' living (Kyntomon – freezing; Tolchik - whirlwind);
- surrounding flora and fauna (Varysh Da Tippez – a black kite and chickens; Kuz Gag – long worm; Oshis, Koinis – don't be afraid of a bear or a wolf);
- mythological creatures of the Komi Permians (Vakul - water sprite; Goran – the fire spirit, Kuru, Blind Kurtya – some unknown creature; Susedko - house spirit; Churon Orsny - hide-and-peek);
- attributes-amulets (Asyk – hoop; Bulavka Tochom – a pin guarding from evil eye; Gorod Portchavny - to untie a knot; Kushak - sash, waistband);
- food, clothing, housing (Doraез – cloth, Zeren Verdny – to feed with oats; Sig Torgovoy – a fish made sour in a special way; Kerkuezon – by houses)
- activities of the Komi Permians (Akanon - play with dolls; Pon da Ohotnikkez – A dog and hunters; Sir Shedtyny - to collect resin, Snop Chapkalom - throwing sheaves; Trubavesotis – sweep; Utkaez Da Vorkyiszez – ducks and hunters);
- items used at home by the Komi Permians long ago and some are still used (Dzulon – a game with a wooden ball; Izyn – a mill; Yovdozzes – milk pots; Kud Nobotny)
- Entertainment (Dzeбchishchomon – hide and seek; Dyuttyanon Dyuttyashchom – teeter; Potshez Vylyn Ysvashchom - tobogganing)

Comparison of the Komi Permian names of children and youth games with game titles of other nations suggests the peaceable nature of the Komi Permians, a weak desire for competition, struggle. There weren't any war games in the traditional culture of the Komi Permians. For example, the Ingush have many games in which the main elements are racing horse, throwing, and shooting a target and fancy riding. The names of games also indicate the traditions: "Pushing the stones", "Throwing staves", "Shooting" a goat". In Eastern Polynesia there existed "Playing with sticks" for boys which consisted in throwing and catching

sticks, the boys practiced the skill in handling a sling and spear from childhood, also they practiced in throwing big nuts instead of stones.

Thus, the names of the Komi-Permian national games reflect the mentality of the Komi Permian's and indicate his tolerant, non-aggressive national character.

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### Temporal meaning of complex sentences in Mari literature language

In modern Mari literary language grammatical structure of a complex sentence is analyzed more completely in scientific works of L.P. Vasikova [1982], where the grammatical structure of compound sentences, construction of its parts, their number and character of relations between them are analyzed. But the temporal meaning of a complex sentence was not a special object of syntactic analysis.

In Mari linguistics there are different points of view of the parts of a complex sentence. So, whether termed predicative parts or simple sentences.

It is known that the predicative meaning of a complex sentence can't be equal to the sum of the components of the sentence. Therefore it is necessary to remember that predicative parts into a complex sentence are in semantic

interaction. Semantic relation constructs the grammatical meaning of a complex sentence.

Lexical, morphological, syntactic, lexico-grammatic and other means of expressing the temporal meaning of simple and complex sentences.

Simultaneity, preceding or following of the event expressed in the sentence in relation to the moment of speech play a big role in determining temporal and semantic relations between the predicative parts of a complex sentence.

Interaction of means of temporal value expression takes place in case of correlation of statement with reality from speaker's point of view.

In modern Mari literary language in compound, conjunctionless and in complex sentences including minimum and complicated constructions, temporal meanings are rendered by verbs in different Tense forms combined with other means of language in predicative parts, creating a semantic relation between predicative parts.

Present-future, the first and second past, first past continuous, second past continuous, first past perfect and second past perfect forms of tenses can form different combinations of variation in the forms of the indicative, imperative, conditional and subjunctive moods in predicative parts of a complex sentence.

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### **Postpositional government in the Mari newspaper 'Voyna Uver'**

The first Mari newspaper called 'Voyna Uver' began publishing at the beginning of 1915 by P.P. Glezdenev, an editor. The publication ran until 1917. 'Voyna Uver' had the circulation of 1500.

As P.P. Glezdenev spoke Udmurt and Tatar fluently, he was the editor of the Udmurt newspaper «Vojnaəs' ivor» and the Tatar newspaper headlined «Šugəš habärläre». In 1915 about ten issues of the newspaper were published; 12 issues appeared from the 15th of January until the end of 1916; P.P. Glezdenev published 13 issues until the 15th of September 1917.

As for the content of the newspaper we can say that it was rather various. 'Voyna Uver' was the first Mari newspaper which covered events of the Imperialistic war. It started featuring the lifestyle of Mari in 1916.

The language of the newspaper was simple, easily readable; lexis was not formal and specific. The choice of words for articles was affected by the ideas of that time.

The Mari language is rich in postpositional phrases consists of a postposition plus a noun. Functional and semantic characteristics of postpositions can be used to express a wide range of semantic relations between their complement and the rest of the context. Postpositions *vokten* and *küdäkö* 'near' are used to denote spatial relations (location): *vüd vokten šolgəšə* 'near the water'; *vüd küdəlnə peŋkədemdəšt* 'fixed near the water'. The postposition *yudlašte* 'near, not far from, that time' is used to express spatial or temporal relations: *Chernovitsə kutlaštə liə* 'was near Chernovitsy'. We have distinguished a separate group of postpositional phrases denoting space and time and they include such postpositions as *vaštareš* 'opposite, before', *velke* 'to' *yach* 'from', *koklaške*

‘among’, *körgäškö* ‘into’, *marte* ‘until’, *muchko* ‘along’, *pocheš* ‘after’. The examples taken from the newspaper ‘Voyna Uver’ are the following: *U I vaštareš* ‘before a New Year’, *plengäch šälän tol’äch* ‘ran away from captivity’, *vich ij körgäštä lijän* ‘happened during the last five years’ The postpositions *deke* ‘towards to’, *jär* ‘around’, *ümbake* ‘over’ are also used to express special relations: *aeroplan-deke chogešten koštät* ‘fly an airplane’.

Postpositions were used to express a wide range of semantic relations. The following list is not an exhaustive classification:

- time: *γana* ‘several times’ *γodäm* ‘during’, *dech vara* ‘after that’, *dech onchäch* ‘before that’;
- comparison (equality or opposition): *gaj* ‘as’;
- quantity: *eda* ‘for, in’, *nare* ‘about, in total’, *utla* ‘more’;
- agent, instrument: *nergen* ‘about’;
- reference: *dene pärl’a* ‘with’, *dech posna* ‘without’ *tudän dech posna jamdälaltänät* ‘(they) prepared without him’.

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### **Archaeological research in Udmurtia in the 1920s: research practices and authorities [1]**

Russia has recently undergone an active transformation in the relationship between history and authorities. Professional historical community, on the one hand, is involved in the development of historical government policies, on the other hand, suffers from its pressure. Search of the optimal mechanisms of the relationship between authorities and historians is also possible through the study of the history of historical science.

Of particular interest is the formation of regional historiography in the national regions of the Russian Federation, one of which is Udmurtia. This formation was in close contact with government agencies in the 1920s-early 1930s, and is largely associated with the formation of the Votyak Autonomous Region and with the processes of nation-building.

Research on the history of the Udmurts became an important resource of political power. It had to contribute to the self-awareness of the nascent Udmurt nation as a unified nation with a rich ancient history. In terms of nation-building, it took on the one hand, a new interpretation of past experience, as recorded in oral historical memory; on the other hand, a popular history of the Udmurts people, which would allow realizing themselves as an independent subject of the historical process, became essential. It was also important not only to create a history and include it in the wider context of Russian history, based on a thorough source work, but to give her a new form – a written form.

It wasn’t enough to solve these problems only by local historians. Political authorities could have a help from the side of scientists: archaeologists, ethnographers and historians. The creation of new institutions (Academic Center, Scientific Society for the study of Votyak region, museum of local region) was to become the basis for the formation of local research traditions. It was assumed

that it was possible in close cooperation with the researchers and academic institutions from the capital.

The acquisition of written history began in Udmurtia through the study of ethnographic materials and archaeological sites. And if the history of ethnographic research in the 1920s is already present in the scientific literature, the same can not be said about the history of archaeological research in Votyak autonomous region in this decade. Meanwhile, such research is associated with both the names of famous local and metropolitan figures - politicians, local historians, educators, scientists like K.P.Gerd, T.K. Borisov, A. P Smirnov – and the names that are little-known by modern archaeological community. Analysis of their activity in the field of ethnic archeology, definition of the degree of the influence of authorities on the archaeological research is the scope of this report.

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### **The role of interlanguage in the development of Standard Estonian (Vahekeele rollist eesti kirjakeele arengus)**

The development of standard Estonian began within the framework of missionary linguistics. From the 16th to the 19th century, the development of the language was driven by scholars of predominantly German background who spoke Estonian as a second language. In translating religious texts into Estonian, they had to create a language form that was as regular and learnable as possible, so as to be usable for German religious figures, while also being understandable to Estonians as the recipients of the religious message. The creation of this language form relied on developing connections between the translators' mother tongue (German) and the second/target language (Estonian). This translation-based language, developed by the foreign upper class, became the prestigious register of Estonian at that time and served as the basis for the standardization of written Estonian carried out by native-speaker language developers beginning in the second half of the 19th century, which in turn led to the emergence of modern standard Estonian. (Cf. Makoni, Pennycook 2007; Schlotthauer 2010.)

Our presentation examines different periods in the development of written Estonian from the perspective of interlanguage, searching for characteristic traits of interlanguage in the language data (negative transfer, overgeneralizing target language rules, fossilization, simplification etc.; cf. Davies 1989, Jarvis 2000, Selinker 1972). We also compare the old written language to the learner language of German speakers learning contemporary Estonian. Our hypothesis is that the old written language can be seen as a type of interlanguage and that most, but not all, of the interlanguage characteristics disappeared during the 19th and 20th century. Our analysis is based on material from the corpora of written Estonian and Estonian dialects of the University of Tartu, the Estonian folk song database

of the Estonian Literary Museum, and the Tallinn University Estonian Interlanguage Corpus.

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### Early Iron Age «bone-containing settlements» of Vyatka: 150 years after discovery

Early iron age antiquities of Vyatka were included to Finno-Ugric archaeology through “bone-containing settlements” culture. Today it reliably connected with Ananyino culture that is presented in the Vyatka basin by 22 fortified settlements, located along the main watercourse with 20-40 km gaps.

Upstream the Pizhma’s outfall settlements mostly occupy narrow and high triangle capes, due to its strategic location. All of them are dated after 500 BC. Middle and Lower Vyatka settlements frequently placed on short wide rectangular capes about 2500-4000 m<sup>2</sup> in area and protected by barrow-like ramparts – “shikhans”. A. Spitsyn described just this ones as “bone-containing” settlements. Defence system of settlements includes escarpment, earth walls and moats. Other parameters are variable: it may be wooden walls, stone lining, different moat construction, etc. Dwellings are surface frame buildings of 80-100 m<sup>2</sup> area with two-pitch roofs. Every dwelling contains 2-4 hearths drown to axis line of room. It seems that layout was planned by socium with wide variety of ritual practices.

The most expressive objects of local material culture are carved bone handles. This are original products of local craftsmen with primordial images of elk, wolf and bear in shape, attributed to ancient totemistic ideas and shaman cults. Another inalienable rite attributes were horn shovels. These unique items in such amount (about 60 in number) and variety are widespread only in Vyatka basin. Purpose of them is a question; supposed ones were skin-working, apiculture or hygienic implements or adornments. Even such utilitarian items like hoes proved to be made of bear shins or thigh bones that leads to its treatment as spears or bayonets. Another distinctive finds of Ananyino settlements of Vyatka basin are stone

spindle whorls, decorated in animal style. The most popular images of them are rolled-up beast, beast tearing ungulate, beast in heraldic pose and circle-going animals.

Ceramics of Vyatka Ananyino is the most numerous group of artifacts. Analysis of stratified complexes of Grekhnevskoye, buried stratum of Skornyakovskoye and dwellings of Argyzhskoe settlements enabled to affirm that earlymost ananyino ceramics on Vyatka are cord-and-comb-shaped complexes with eyelike pits of Grekhnevskoye and Argyzhskoye settlements. Due to Kama analogies it marks movement of northern taiga tribes down the Vyatka. It corroborated by presence in Chutaiskie settlements the same ceramics with additionally cross-shaping.

Later, a relief-shaped ceramics appears. Early bound of its coexisting with non-relief one is fixed in dwellings of Argyzhskoye, and the late bound is presented on Skornyakovskoye settlement. As it seems in Grekhnevskoye, there may be a wide variety of ceramic shapes used in step, that attributed to economically given mobility of population.

Archaeological methods of dating today makes it possible to date Vyatka settlements only in general by 600-300 BC, that corresponds to the time of local culture prosperity and active external relations.

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### **The language and its power: the example of Finnish incantations**

In this presentation, I aim at examining the power of words and orality, through the corpus of Finnish incantations. Although performance was the crucial moment of the ritual activity, little evidence of these events has come to us. We have mostly written texts of incantations, collected by scholars since the 19th century. Therefore, I will examine the methodological problems arisen by this situation. What can written evidence tell us about the role of words in an oral society? How can we understand the language as an intermediate between two types of reality, and what does it tell us about the beliefs and the worldviews of a society?

I will focus on the particularities of the so-called *syntyloitsut*, which deal with the origins of a threat, in order to wipe it away. The *tietäjä*, wise man who has acquired the knowledge of incantations, used his voice to articulate two different levels of reality, the symbolical one and the physical one: by using his knowledge of the mythical world through incantations, he had power on everyday life. The act of naming and finding the origins was essential in his task; thus, he was able to insert the threatening being into the network of relationships between beings and to define its place in the world, in order to act on it. I will try to show how this performative activity is inherent to the language, given that the process of naming things and expressing the relationships between them gives the world all its sense.

### **Variants of the active past participle in the Border Karelian dialects (NUT-partisiipin variaatio rajakarjalaismurteissa)**

This study deals with forms and variants of the active past participle in the Border Karelian dialects. These dialects can be characterized as mixed dialects or mixed languages, because the dialects of Finnish and the Karelian language overlap in this area. The research material has been collected in six Border Karelian communities – Korpiselkä, Suojärvi, Suistamo, Impilahti, Salmi and Ilomantsi. The data contain about 40 hours of recordings.

Previous research (Moshnikov 2014) from Ilomantsi reveals the following active past participle variants: *-nUt*, *-t*, *-n(n)a*, *-nt*, *-nU*, *-n/(n)nUn* and *-nU<sup>x</sup>*. The first three variants are the most common ones with the shares of 47.1%, 20.2% and 15.5% respectively. The other variants constitute under 8% of all instances. The informants vary in terms of the distribution of the participle variants, as do the languages: the Proto-Karelian *-nUt*-variant is present in both Finnish and Karelian, whereas only Karelian has the *-t*-variant. Active past participle used in the essive case is typical of the Savonian dialects (*tietänä*, *syönnä*) (Mielikäinen 1978: 102; Larjavaara 1995: 132). This distinction enables the division of Ilomantsi's eastern part further into two areas, eastern and western ones: in the former region, the essive participle is used little or not at all, while in the latter, the idiolects contain up to 50% of essive participles. Male speakers in Vuottoniemi use this participle the most, and thus their speech is more Savo than Karelian. The distribution of participle variants between informants from the same village varies as well, as indicated by the data from Melaselkä.

The study deals with the variation of active past participle types in the Border Karelian dialects from the historical and comparative points of view. Another aspect of the research is the morphosyntactic distribution of the participle types. The study reveals the relationship between mood, tense and the verb stem types and the active past participle in speech (e.g. Mielikäinen 1978). Morphosyntactic analysis is considered to be the most effective method to describe the less common active past participle variants that were probably borrowed from Finnish to Karelian or vice versa. The essive participles of the Border Karelian dialect of Ilomantsi favor one-stem two-syllable *-a/-ä-* and *-u/-y-* ended verb stems (*tietää*, *sattua* - *tietänä*, *sattuna*) and one-stem *-dA-*verbs (*voida*, *syödä* - *voinna*, *syönnä*). Among two-stem verbs, the most frequent is the *itA*-type (*keritä* - *kerinnä*). This indicates that the essive participle was borrowed from Savo to Karelian predominantly through those verb stems. Originally there was no essive participle in the Karelian language at all.

The comparative data confirms the earlier finding that it is possible to divide Border Karelia into two parts in accordance with the Livvi-Karelian *-n(n)Uh-* participle variants. This type of active past participle is present in the dialects of Suojärvi, Suistamo and Salmi, but it is sporadic in the data from Impilahti and not present at all in the data from Korpiselkä. There are only a few instances of the essive participle in the Korpiselkä materials and one instance in Impilahti. This means that, historically, the Ilomantsi Border Karelian dialect was under



stronger Savo, and hence, Finnish language influence than the rest of Border Karelia.

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### Morphological variants in the newspapers of 20-30-ies of XX century in Erzya language (Морфологические варианты в текстах газет 20-30-х годов XX века на эрзянском языке)

Texts of newspapers published in Erzya language «Chin' stjamo» («Sunrise»), «Jakstere teshte» («Red star (RS)»), «Jakstere sokicja» («Red Plowman (RP)»), bore the marks of vernacularity due to the lack of literary norms. Everyone who knew how to write, use that vernacular language spoken by himself/herself or by other people around.

Spelling rules and codification of literary norms, developed later during the 80 years (commencing from 1924 Mordovia-wide meeting of high school teachers up to the present day), allow us to point to a significant number of variant forms available in the texts of the above newspapers, differing from the modern morphological system of Erzya literary language.

Namely: the availability of morphemic variations **-t'ej** / **-t'ij** / **-t'i** / **-t'e** и **-t'en'** in the dative case of definitive declination; compare: *роботантей* /*robotan't'ej*/ 'работе' 'to one's work' (RP 1:1921); *сокицянти* /*sokic'an't'i*/ 'крестьянину' 'to a peasant' (RP 4:1922); *ломанентей* /*loman'en't'ej*/ 'человеку' 'to a man' (RS 4:1921); *книгантей* /*kn'igan't'ej*/ 'книге' 'to a book', *пакшантей* /*pakšan't'ej*/ 'ребенку' 'to a child' (RS 1:1923); *учителентень* /*učit'el'en't'en'*/ 'учителю' 'to a teacher' (RS 2:1926); *тевентень* /*t'even't'en'*/ 'делу' 'to the matter' (RS 15:1931). Later on, the form **-t'en'** was recognised a literary norm (Erzya Language Concise Spelling Dictionary (ELCSD) 1939).

Morphemic variations **-n'e** / **-ste** / **-sto** as adverbs denoting time relations, compare:

**-n'e**: *те пингене* /*t'e pin'gen'e*/ 'в этот век' 'in this century', *те шкане* /*t'e škan'e*/ 'в это время' 'in this time' (S 2:1921); *кажний недляне* /*kažnij n'ed'l'an'e*/ 'в каждую неделю' 'every week' (RP 21:1924); *иене* /*ijen'e*/ 'в год' 'in a year'; *ютко шкане* /*jutko škan'e*/ 'в свободное время' 'in one's spare time' (RS 27:1924);

**-ste / -s't'e / -sto:** *инязоронь пингсмэ* /in'azoron'pingste/ 'в годы царского правления' 'in the years of tsar rule (S 9: 1920); *войнань пингсто/ воинан' pingsto/* 'во время войны' 'during the war' (RS 4: 1921), *пингсмэ /pingste/* 'во время' in time of (ЯТ 14: 1923). Later on morphemes **-ste / -s't'e / -sto** became literary norms.

Morphemic variants of the inessive case in basic declination **-ne / -se**, compare: *пикснэ /piksne/* 'с помощью веревки' 'with the use of a rope' (RS 14:1923); *тонть эснэ /ton't'esne/* 'тебя' 'you' (ЯТ 27:1924); *коромонть эйсэ /koromon't'ejsel/* 'этим кормом' 'by this feed stuff' (ЯТ 26:1924). Later the variant **-se** was accepted as a literary norm.

Use of emphatic particles variations **-ak / -dak / -d'ak or -kak / -gak**, compare: *беднойсяк /bednojs'ak/* 'и бедный', 'and badly off too', *нейдяк /n'ejd'ak/* 'и сейчас', 'and now too /even now', *валдак /valdak/* 'ни слова' 'not a single word' (S 2:1921), *моньдяк /mon'd'ak/* 'и меня' 'and me too' (RS 17:1926).

Analysis of the morphemic specifics of the above newspapers shows that **-jak / -d'ak** can be found mainly in the newspaper «Chin' stjamo» («Sunrise») and this is characteristic of dialects belonging to the 2nd and 4th types. As far as the newspapers «Jakstere sokicja» («Red Plowman») and especially «Jakstere teshte» («Red star») concerned, variants of particle **-kak / -gak** are mainly used; e.g.: *теньгак /t'en'gak/* 'и это' 'and this too' (RP 4:1924); *эрявольгак /er'avol'gak/* 'если бы нужно' 'if there was a need' (RS 1:1921), *киненьгак /kin'en'gak/* 'кому-нибудь' 'to someone' (RS 20:1922). Spelling rules, published in the first spelling dictionary declared variants **-kak / -gak** as a literary norm (Erzya Language Concise Spelling Dictionary (ELCSD) 1939).

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### **The role of Neutral as one of the subject actants in the semantic structure of sentence (on the Erzyan language material) (Роль Нейтрала как одного из субъектных актантов в семантической структуре предложения [на материале эрзянского языка])**

This article is devoted to studying the semantic structure of a sentence in the Erzyan language. A special attention is given to study of semantics and exposure of morphological means of expression one of the most widespread components of a sentence, a case which belongs to subject actants (participant of a situation), - Neutral.

As a methodological basis in the present research is used the theories of the deep semantic cases suggested by Ch. Fillmore, V.G. Gak, N. D. Arutyunova, V. V. Bogdanov, A. Mustajoki and other researchers.

The study material is based on written texts of fiction in a literary journal in Erzya "Syatko", which is presented in the electronic corpus MokshEr.

The semantic level of a sentence contains a predicate and semantic (deep) cases or roles, which according to their differentiation by signs of "animacy –

inanimacy” and logic concepts can be divided into subject, object and adverb cases.

In the group of subject actants with the most obligatory roles, such as Agentive and Experiensive, there is a facultative actant, which does not do anything and does not feel anything, and this is Neutral. Neutral is an actant, animate being or inanimate object, which belongs to the group of subject arguments, the participant of existence or process, and an action does not influence on it.

As A. Mustajoki says, Neutral is an actant, which is an object of speech and statement: who is it, what is it, where is it, does it exist and so on.

Taking into account the specificity of Neutral and the semantic description of predicates, it is possible to determine five structures, which contain this case:

1. Movement and location.
2. Existence or being: general existence and existence in a definite place.
3. Physical state.
4. Characteristics.
5. Identification and classification.

Depending on a type of construction Neutral expresses different shades of its main meaning and, according to it, can be characterized by the availability of most different morphological means of expression, unlike the other subject deep cases. It can be explained first of all by the animacy and inanimacy of Neutral.

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## The Language Corpus of Karjalan Sanomat. Written Finnish of Petrozavodsk and its Features (Karjalan Sanomat -korpus. Petroskoin (käännös)suomen piirteitä)

We shall present (1) a new corpus called Karjalan Sanomat Corpus and (2) outline some main findings of the research focusing on linguistic features particular to the language form of Finnish written in the Republic of Karelia, Russia.

The project is a member of the Kone Foundation Language Program to promote multidisciplinary preservation and documentation of Finnish language and its less-spoken cognate languages. The disciplines consist of linguistic research on Finnish, Karelian, Estonian and Russian languages, translation studies and language technology. This project capitalises on multiple areas of expertise in the University of Eastern Finland. This is also a joint project with the State University of Petrozavodsk.

The project has gathered a new corpus of modern media texts in Karelian Finnish, which has never before been documented or archived. The Karjalan Sanomat Corpus (582 166 running words) consists of news and report articles from the Karjalan Sanomat newspaper between 2012 and 2014. Texts translated into Finnish form a separate subcorpus of its own. Advertisements, captions and so on have been omitted.

The research aspect of this project compares Karelian Finnish with standard written Finnish, and the comparison is based on the Karjalainen newspaper, published in Northern Carelia. Another aspect is to compare translated Karelian Finnish to original Karelian Finnish. The comparisons focus on descriptive and linguistic features and their statistics.

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### **Interchange of cases and postpositions in the Permic languages (Конкуренция падежей и послелогов в пермских языках)**

The Permic languages have a developed system of cases and postpositions. The quantity of case and postposition units involved in interchange may be two or more. Interchangeable are:

- Different forms of the same case (accusative)
- Two or more cases, two or more postpositions, a case and a postposition.

Interchange is found among units which have:

- Semantic affinity. A basic unit and units with more concrete meanings.
- A genetically connected marker. Markers which have a common segment (suffixes of ablative, elative, egressive), a case marker formed as a result of grammaticalization, and a postposition (postpositions with a stem *vjv-* and markers of surface-locative cases in Komi-Permyak).

Principal reasons for interchange:

1. Semantic-grammatical properties of an argument.

Choice of a form of a noun phrase depending on animateness in the Komi language:

- In transitive verbs: animate nouns are in a suffixed form, inanimate nouns are in a suffixed form or have no suffix;
- In some emotive verbs: animate nouns get the ablative suffix, inanimate nouns get the elative/egressive suffix;
- In verbs of physical influence ('to shoot', 'to penetrate'): animated nouns get the dative case suffix, inanimate nouns get the illative suffix.

The objects taking high positions in hierarchy of animatedness are marked with objective cases while inanimate objects remain unmarked or are marked with local cases.

## 2. Diachronic processes in language.

Coexistence in a language of units with different time of origin:

- Change of a language unit form: a postposition and a case form (postpositions with the stem *v2v-* and markers of surface-locative cases in Komi-Permyak);
- Formation of new language units: replacement of an old language unit by a new one arisen due to grammaticalization (the terminative and the postposition *votε̄ǰ* ‘up to’ in Komi-Permyak).

## 3. Calquing of Russian models.

Coexistence of native and calqued models of verb government.

## 4. Choice of perspective.

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### **Udmurt autostereotypes about physical beauty (the late 19th century)**

Physical beauty is considered as an attractive and impressive physique.

In the late 19th century Udmurt criteria for evaluating physical beauty were influenced by the esthetic ideals of the neighbouring peoples. A beautiful girl was supposed to have Slavic or Turkic features but not Udmurt ones. The northern Udmurts believed an attractive young woman was fair-complexioned with fair hair and blue eyes, while the southern Udmurts admired women with dark hair and black eyes. Thus far one can hear the saying “She is so beautiful, she doesn’t look like an Udmurt girl at all” which is followed by more precise information “She looks like a Russian/Tatar woman”. This stereotype still exists both among the Udmurts and their neighbouring peoples, especially the Russian.

In the 19th century attractive women were compared to dolls made of clay and wax, or to Russian dolls. The last one is likely to have been a painted doll which differed significantly from handmade rag dolls. It could be also a Dymkovo toy (a painted clay doll).

Young boys’ physical beauty was associated with their capacity for work, endurance, strength, adroitness and well proportioned body. He was considered handsome if he was as lean as a maple and as strong as a lynx. He was supposed to be smooth-complexioned without any pocks, with fair or dark curly hair, but by no means with red hair.

The Udmurt ideal of beauty was described in one archive material in the following way: “A young woman is considered beautiful if she is of medium height and rather plump, has full and big arms and legs (which demonstrate her capacity for work). She must be round-faced, pink-cheeked and smooth-complexioned (without any pocks – G.N.). Bright red is believed to be the least attractive colour of hair. Her mouth is not large, her lips are not thin, her eyes are

dark, more oblong than round in shape, she has a medium-sized straight nose and dark eyebrows, rather long and narrow...

The young man must be lean and skilful, he mustn't be overweight. He must have big arms and legs, light blue eyes, a medium-sized nose and mouth, his lips are not full. His complexion is not as important as other criteria”.

Physical beauty was mainly judged by standards indicating physical health which was associated with capacity for work, and as for women – also with their reproductive functions: “Judge young girls not by their beauty but by their work”. Attractiveness was also associated with morals, intellect and diligence: “You will not be full with beauty”, “Intellect is more important than beauty”.

Sources: GAKO. F. 170. Op. 126. L.31.

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### **Vyzhumskiy archaeological complex to the question of cultural identity of Vetluga region population of X – beginning of XII centuries**

**(Выжумский археологический комплекс к вопросу о культурной принадлежности населения Поветлужья X – начала XII вв.)**

Vyzhumskiy archaeological complex is located in the lower reaches of the river Vetluga, and is a collection of cultural heritage sites from the Neolithic period to the middle Ages. Mari population left medieval monuments in different chronological periods: Vyzhumskiy burial – the beginning of XII centuries (37 complexes), Vyzhumskiy II and III burials – XII – XIII centuries (33 complexes), Vyzhumskiy I burial – XVI – XVII centuries (46 burials). The studies were conducted over several years with the 50s of the XX century with a significant interruption to the present time (Stoyanov V.Ye. 1957; Arkhipov G.A. 1971; Nikitina T.B. 1988, 1993, 2005). The study of Vyzhumskiy repository is of particular importance, it contains material of X – XI centuries, when the most evident markers of Mari culture are manifested. Monument was studied in 2013–2014 in the framework of «Culture of Russia» and «Culture of Republic of Mari El».

Funeral ceremony of the newly opened monument represented cremation, inhumation, cenotaph and sacrificial complexes in between burial space. The predominant orientation is north (N, NW, and NE), in one case the orientation of the head was found on the SW. At the foot or at the head of the sacrificial complexes, bronze or iron boilers placed. Sacrificial complexes between the graves had a view of a shallow pit into which things are placed, mostly jewelry,

wrapped in fur and fabric. Individual pits have a bed of felt or felt mats. Inventory presented by decorations, head chains, temporal rings, neck and breast hryvnias, necklaces from beads with counters, lots of bracelets, leather straps with metal plates, amulets in the form of the cross clotted bells, snakes of coiled wire, bone skates and kopoushki etc. Ladies complexes with accessories foundry (lyachki and molds) have a particular archaic and cultural expressiveness. Many of the features and elements of ritual clothing, zoomorphic sacred images have parallels in Vyzhumskiy II and III and even in Vyzhumskiy I cemeteries.

Thus, with the discovery of Vyzhumskiy burial ground it appeared an opportunity to clarify the cultural identity of the population left the medieval monuments in the lower of Vetluga region, to explore the dynamics of changing the culture of the population actually throughout the Middle Ages on one object of heritage.

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### **Vegetative, zoo- and ornithomorphic symbols in the Udmurt wedding traditions**

Vegetative, zoo- and ornithomorphic symbols compose one of the most important codes of the Udmurt wedding ceremony (along with actional, verbal, musical, personage, color, and others). Images of plants, animals and birds are extensively represented in the ritual text of the wedding. Undoubtedly, special importance appertains to poetic lyrics. They perform in the ritual as the main exponent of sense - they contain the most relevant information, details of the ritual, feelings and thoughts of its participants.

The works of M.T. Slesareva [1983, 1984] and T.G. Vladykina [1998]. were dedicated to the study of peculiarities of the poetic texts of the Udmurt wedding songs. However the symbolics of plant, zoo- and ornithomorphic images has not been investigated in full and requires more detailed analysis.

Analysis of archival and published folklore materials allowed the author to identify the diversity of vegetative, zoo- and ornithomorphic symbols and to determine the characteristics of their reflection in the Udmurt wedding texts. The results of the study revealed that verbal code of the traditional Udmurt wedding includes more than a hundred species of plants, animals and birds, which became the basis for the formation of images. Their main functions are the following: to symbolize the ritual participants, to express their emotional and physical condition, to act as a symbolic visual orienting point for people who go to the wedding.

Vegetative images most often are used for metaphorical descriptions of the bride. Flowers are the mostly represented images. They symbolize the time of girlhood of bride and process of separation with it. Flowers can impersonate either a girl in general or the separate parts of her body.

Images of animals mostly characterize the image of the bridegroom. Ornithomorphic symbols cover both the image of a bride and bridegroom.

Thus, the study showed that the use of symbols of the animal and vegetable worlds, the comparison with the phenomena of nature is an integral part of the

verbal code of traditional wedding ceremony of the Udmurts, material and spiritual culture of which was originally formed in the forest zone. The formation of poetic images was influenced both by the mythological worldview of the Udmurts and by the biological and practical characteristics of the particular plant species, the appearance and behavior of animals and birds.

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### **The functional meaning of associative plural in Hungarian: Contrast with the Burgenland dialect of Hungarian in Austria**

This study examines the associative plural marker in Hungarian and shows that it has a different meaning and function in the Burgenland dialect of Hungarian in Austria. As previous studies have described (Corbett 2000, Balogh 2000, Moravcsik 2003, Szolcsányi 2007), the associative plural marker in Hungarian is the suffix *-ék*, which means the noun X and the family, friends, or associates (1).

- (1) Péter-ék  
Peter-ASSOC.PL  
'Péter and his family, friends, or associates' (Moravcsik, 2003: 469)

In contrast, the associative plural can be added only to human nouns (2a), not to animate or inanimate nouns (2b, c). Naturally, the ordinary plural marker is able to be added as a suffix to all nouns (3a, b).

- (2) a. *anya-m-ék*  
mother-POSS.1.SG-ASSOC.PL  
'my mother and her family or friends or associates'  
b. *\*kutyá-ék*  
dog-ASSOC.PL  
c. *\*szemüveg-ék*  
glass-ASSOC.PL  
(3) a. *kutyá-k*  
dog-PL 'dogs'  
b. *szemüveg-ek*  
glass-PL 'glasses'

Here, I will point out that *-iék* in the Burgenland dialect [1] corresponds to *-ék* in Standard Hungarian, which is used as the marker of the associative plural form. However, it is found that there are different functional meanings for *-ék* and *-iék*, because *-iék* can be added to not only human nouns, but also animate or inanimate nouns (4a, b).

- (4) a. *kutyá-i-m-iék* 'my dogs'  
dog-PL-POSS.1.SG-ASSOC.PL  
b. *szemüveg-ei-m-iék* 'my glasses'  
glass-PL-POSS.1.SG-ASSOC.PL

Imre (1971, 1973) described that speakers of the Burgenland dialect add the special marker *-iék* to create the possessive plural form, as in (4a, b). I will discuss the current situation of this phenomenon by presenting the results of my research in Burgenland.



Finally, I will argue that the associative plural marker can actually be used in phrases in which the head nouns are animate or inanimate in Standard Hungarian.

[1] The Burgenland dialect in Austria is included in the west dialect group of Hungarian (Kiss 2001), but we can find differences from Standard Hungarian not only in phonetic and lexical areas, but also in some grammatical points.

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### Modality in Estonian and Finnish requests (Modaalisuus viron ja suomen pyynnöissä)

This presentation will deal with comparison of Estonian and Finnish modal verbs and other modal expressions in requests elicited by discourse completion tasks.

Our data originates from a set of discourse completion tasks (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989) filled by native speakers of different languages (including Estonian and Finnish) with requests and questions representing their intuitions about appropriate linguistic behaviour in the context (Pajusalu et.al, submitted). In our data, the most typical head act of request in all studied languages is an interrogative clause containing a modal verb in the conditional mood. In Estonian and Finnish, the head act contains the question particle (kas or –ko/kö), a modal verb in the present conditional (Est. saaks ‘could’ and Fin. voisi ‘could’) and, with different frequency, V-form of address (2nd plural, teie or te).

Kas te saaks mind lennujaama viia?  
Quest 2PL can:COND 1SG:ACC airport-PAR drive:INF  
Could you drive me to the airport?

Voisitkohan mitenkään viedä minut lentokentälle?  
can.COND:2SG:PRTCL somehow bring:INF 1SG:ACC airport:ALL  
Could you somehow take me to the airport?

We have included both modal verbs and some semantically and pragmatically similar constructions in our analysis (e.g. olla võimalik (Est), olla mahdollista (Fin)). Constructions expressing availability in terms of time and a broader disponibility, in terms of willingness, are also considered modal

constructions, as they often appear in the same positions. In the Finnish data, for instance, the phrase *olla aikaa* 'have time' occurred with great frequency.

The overall frequency of modal expressions is approximately the same in both languages: they occur in almost all requests expressed by interrogative clause. However, there are differences in the usage as well. In Estonian the most frequent modal verb is *saada*, which occurred in both the 1st and the 2nd person, but in Finnish *saada* occurs only in the 1st person. In Finnish, the most frequent modal verb in the data is *voida*. In Estonian and Finnish requests, modal verbs mostly occur in the conditional mood, but in Estonian there are also examples of *saada* in the indicative mood, while in Finnish indicative mood is very rare.

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## **What makes Border Karelian different from Finnish? A folk-linguistic recognition test (Miten Raja-Karjalan murre eroaa suomesta? Kansanlingvistinen kuuntelutesti)**

Border Karelia, situated on the border of Finland and Russia, is a region where the Karelian language and the eastern Finnish dialects share a long, common history. Karelian is the closest cognate of Finnish and the eastern Finnish dialects in particular resemble Karelian to a great extent. In Border Karelia, Finnish-speaking and Karelian-speaking inhabitants lived together for centuries, resulting in mutual influence between the languages. Karelian was slowly merging into Finnish, and this process was radically accelerated during World War II as the inhabitants of Border Karelia were evacuated to other parts of Finland. In 1944, the area was incorporated into the Soviet Union and is now populated by Russian speakers. As a result, Border Karelian dialects have almost disappeared and the second and third generations in most families do not speak Karelian any longer. However, they are “rememberers” of the Karelian spoken by their parents or grandparents (for the term, see Craig 1997: 259).

In our presentation, we will approach the perceptions of the Karelian language by two groups of Finns: 1) the old evacuees or their descendants, who have heard the Karelian language from their parents, grandparents or other elderly relatives and 2) first-year university students of the Finnish language with varying dialectal backgrounds. The study will shed light on 1) speakers' awareness of a language which is becoming forgotten and 2) awareness or perceptions of linguistic differences between very closely related language varieties (Finnish and Karelian). The aim is to examine what kinds of features of

Karelian the informants pay attention to and which features they consider different from the eastern Finnish dialects.

Both groups participated in a recognition task where the informants listened to a sample of the speech of a first-generation immigrant, recorded in the 1970s, and they were asked to point out linguistic features characteristic of the Karelian language (different from Finnish). The informants with Border Karelian background were interviewed individually and the test was conducted during the interview. The students attended the test as a group during a lecture at their university. The results show which details are salient 1) to non-linguists in a language that was used in their childhood families and how well they command it (Preston 1996) and 2) to rookie linguists for whom the Karelian language was mostly unfamiliar.

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### **Old Estonian words in Ganander's *Nytt Finskt Lexicon* (Vironkieliset esimerkit Christfrid Gananderin sanakirjassa)**

The dictionary by Christfrid Ganander (1741–1790) comprising nearly 3,000 pages, **Nytt Finskt Lexicon**, can be regarded as the first actual Finnish language dictionary. The manuscript for the dictionary was completed in 1786–1787, but it was not until 1937–1940 that the dictionary was published as a manuscript facsimile. Ganander's dictionary includes, in addition to the Finnish headword, usually the following: word class entry, the Swedish or Latin equivalent or explanation, sentences exemplifying the usage, and synonyms that clarify the words' meanings. The example sentences have also been translated into Swedish and often into Latin and German as well. In many cases, Ganander provides dialectal variants for the headwords, as well as equivalents in Estonian, Greek, Hebrew, Swedish, Lappish, Hungarian, or some other language. (Nuutinen 1997: IX–X.) Liisa Nuutinen has taken the dictionary's original manuscript and its facsimile and produced a new edition (1997) using modern typography. Ganander's dictionary has more than 180,000 entries of Finnish words and 35,122 headwords (Nuutinen 2000: 351).

There is good reason why Ganander's dictionary is considered a valuable object of research, not only in fennistics, but also in the study of literature, history, folklore, and natural sciences (see for example Häkkinen 1998; Lehikoinen 1998; Palola 2009). This is why the dictionary has featured in many fennistics studies as an object of research and source materials (for example, Romppanen 2001; Forsman Svensson 2001, 2002, 2003; Heikka 2003; Branch 2005). Reviews have been published of both the dictionary and of Ganander as its author (see for

example Hormia 1961; Häkkinen 1995; Nuutinen 2000). Hormia (1961: 24) states that Ganander's dictionary has been commonly used in lexicology research as a primary source and in other fields of study as well, particularly in folklore. Ganander's dictionary will continue to provide abundant and unique material for research generations to come - for the benefit of research in, among others, lexical morphology, development of literary vocabulary, morphology and syntax, and colloquial language (see Häkkinen 1998). What makes the dictionary especially interesting is the relation between the headwords and the example texts in Finnish and other languages. This relation has previously been studied little. Only the English equivalents and their etymology and sources have been studied (Kilpiö 2011). Kilpiö found Ganander's etymologies of the old English translations to be mostly incorrect.

In this abstract, we examine the Estonian equivalents for the dictionary's headwords and examples provided by Ganander. Ganander has approximately 2,300 Estonian comparisons in his dictionary (Nuutinen 2000). For instance, the Finnish headword *aiwastan* has been given the Estonian equivalent of *haewastama*, and the headword *awullinen* has *abbilinne* as the Estonian counterpart. Another example of the Estonian comparisons in the Ganander dictionary is the word *ahwates* (*ahvates*). This appears in an article where the adjective *ahwatta – ahwahti – ahwattu* appears as the headword. As Finnish example sentences in the article, we are given *ahwatta kalalle* i.e. *kalan perään*, *kyllä se on ahwattu* and the word *syömäri* is also given. According to the Estonian etymological dictionary (Estnishes Etymologisches wörterbuch) and the dialectal dictionary (Eesti murrete sõnaraamat) it is evident that *ahvates – ahvatis* does appear in the Estonian dialects (Juuru and Keila). In modern Estonian language, synonyms for this are *maiuspala* and *peibutis* that mean *syötti* in Finnish.

Osmo Hormia (1961), who studied the sources for Ganander's dictionary, believes that Ganander had A. W. Hupel's Ehstnische Sprachlehre at his disposal, and it is likely that the majority of the Estonian comparisons originate from that volume. Another possibility is that Ganander did not select these comparisons himself. (Hormia 1961, 99.)

In our presentation, we examine the Estonian vocabulary and related etymologies in Ganander's dictionary. Based on the data, we study

- 1) the characteristics of the Estonian expressions presented by Ganander
- 2) which etymologies given for the Estonian vocabulary are correct and which are incorrect
- 3) the sources for the words and etymologies used by Ganander.

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**Variability in the Russian language borrowings from the Khanty language, in Russian written sources, 1870 to 1930**  
(**Вариативность в процессе заимствования на материале лексики хантыйского происхождения в русских письменных источниках 1870–1930 гг.**)

Research objective: 1) to show the existence of variants in the process of adaptation of Khanty words in the Russian language; 2) to analyze the causes of variability; 3) to supplement new information to the etymological dictionary of Khanty language by W. Steinitz. This research is based on materials from Russian written sources, published in 1870–1930. A comprehensive analysis of 501 Khanty words allowed to trace the path of their penetration into the Russian language. The obvious heterogeneity of the Khanty words, in terms of the degree of their adoption by the Russian language determines their classification into 3 groups: word-inclusions (390 units), occasional borrowings (34) and regular borrowings (77). Multi-level variability is manifested as follows:

1. Variability in the functional status of the lexicon. The same word in the texts of different authors and at different times may function differently.

2. Variability at the graphical level. Authors do proper or wrong division into components of complex words-inclusions.

3. Variability at the phonetic level has different causes: 1) one author uses different letters to convey the sounds in words from one Khanty dialect; 2) the authors convey Khanty sound in the word in different texts in different ways; 3) words have different phonetic variants in Khanty dialects; 4) several sources record borrowings phonetically in the functional status of word-inclusion.

4. Variability at the morphological level is manifested in verb tenses, formation of kind of nouns, their declination. 17 borrowings have derivatives.

5. Variability at the lexical-semantic level is associated with 1) the polysemy of lexemes in the Khanty language, 2) methods of rendition in Russian, 3) the adaptation of words in the process of borrowing. The Russian rendition uses common one-word literary terms without the actual attributes of the object of nomination. Based on a number of criteria, we have identified 19 Russian borrowings, which are not represented as Russian dial. in the dictionary by W. Steinitz.

Such cases of variability are useful in reconstruction and analysis of interactions between languages. These data can be of value in various aspects of research of the Khanty people. The report contains examples from Russian written sources on all of the above levels of language.

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### **Mordvinian literary review as a hypertext**

The contemporary philology practices a number of approaches to the phenomenon of hypertext. Generally, it is applied to the electronic discourse, which consists of all kinds of electronic texts supplied with hyperlinks and other electronic features. But there is also a number of studies, though not so numerous, that consider hypertext regardless of the type of text medium (electronic or hardcopy). Therefore, the latter approach focuses on intertextual relationships in the field of semantics. One type of such relationship can be described as the following scheme: basic text – variety of new texts derived from it synchronically and diachronically. These new texts are semantically based on the basic text, though may belong to different functional styles. Consequently, they are called ‘hypertexts’ and present a response to the basic text, resulting from the dialogue between the author and the recipient.

Particularly, Mordvinian literary communication can be considered in the framework of the hypertextual relationships mentioned above. In this case, the phenomenon in question functions in two dimensions. On the one hand, there is the basic literary text (a novel, story, poem, etc.) supplemented by its hypertexts included in a certain literary edition (both hardcover and pocketbook). The standard hypertexts included in a Mordvinian literary edition on a regular basis are introductions, summaries, information about the author. On the other hand, there is the basic literary text and its hypertexts that are not part of a literary edition: interviews about the basic text, literary reviews, readers’ comments about the basic text on the web, etc. These hypertexts are published or posted in mass-

media or web-sites dealing with fiction books. Among the latter hypertexts, the literary review is the most developed and numerous one in Mordvinian literary communication.

Traditionally, the main source of Mordvinian literary reviews for the reader is a literary magazine. At present there are two major Mordvinian literary magazines regularly published in the Finno-Ugric world. *Syatko* is a monthly Erzian-based literary magazine established in 1929. Among its sections, there is one specially dealing with literary reviews of Mordvinian-Erzian fiction texts. It is entitled as “*Od knigat*” meaning “New books”. *Moksha* is a monthly Mokshan-based literary magazine started in 1928. It also includes a special section, called “*Kritikas’ i literaturovedeniyes*” (“Criticism and literature studies”), devoted to literary reviews in the Mokshan language. Both magazines are issued in Mordovia Republic, Russia. Thus, it is possible to conclude that the two Mordvinian languages have an extensive and comprehensive corpus of literary texts subject to further linguistic studies.

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### **Linguistic variation in the Karelian communities**

During fieldwork carried out in Karelia it has become increasingly clear that there is a great deal of variety in the types of Karelian spoken within a single speech community. In the circumstances of widespread bilingualism, Karelian communities lose the ability to maintain the integrity of the local speech form, even in those cases when Karelian is still used by most of the community in some domains.

In sociolinguistics, the traditional assumption has been that the characteristics of variation are the indicator of the vitality of the language. In a strong and vital speech community, there are sociolinguistic norms to which speakers generally adapt, whereas those communities that lose their languages exhibit increasing code-mixing. However, the hypothesis tested in this paper is that in an endangered language community that is undergoing language shift, the patterns of variation do not match with the usual sociolinguistically relevant factors like gender, age or participation in traditional communities of practice. According to our preliminary analysis, they derive from multiple roots, among these the local dialects of Karelian, local dialects of Russian, (abruptly adopted) Karelian literary language, Finnish literary language and Russian standard language. The influences from all these sources are represented by code variation and borrowing as well as code-mixing.

Studying this topic requires that the networks in which Karelian is still used are adequately understood and identified. Work along these lines has already begun (Partanen 2013; Juutinen et. al. 2014; Saarikivi & Partanen 2015), and it has been possible to sketch at least a rough picture of the family and neighbourhood groups in which Karelian may still be used or learned, and how they have changed while the language shift has advanced. In this paper we attempt to combine these more sociology of language oriented studies with the actual observations and classifications of these speech varieties.

We recognise that our research question presents several methodological challenges. Among these are:

How to identify and classify the distinct speech varieties

How to encode their occurrences in the original transcribed data in order to carry out the required statistical measurements

How to prove that the lack of correlation within these varieties is caused by fragmentation of the speech community and is not just an error from too small a dataset, inadequate understanding of the social realities of Karelia, etc.

This all taken into account, we are certain that the description of the observed variation will contribute to the understanding of the linguistic situation in fragmenting communities experiencing language shift.

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## **The role of the Finno-Ugrians in the history of the peoples of Eurasia (Роль финно-угров в истории народов Евразии)**

The sources of the Finno-Ugrians are traced back to the ancient times. Some geneticists argue that the ancestors of Finnish-speaking peoples are the oldest population in Europe. Their genetic peculiarities and the elements of their material culture were adopted by the Indo-Europeans' ancestors. The ancestors of the Ugrians and Samoyeds left their mark in the material and spiritual culture of the peoples of Siberia as well.

The culture of the Finno-Ugrians had a major impact on neighbouring peoples. In the Stone and Bronze Ages the Finno-Ugrian traits of pit-comb and comb ceramics are noticed in Dnieper-Donetsk culture and cultures with stroke pottery of the steppe zone. The Finnish-speaking people's elements of culture with textile pottery are rich in the materials of the tribes with striated pottery. In the 1st century BC the Celts of Akozino- Mälär culture, peculiar to this population, and also the metal goods of Akhmylovo and Ananyino cultures originated from Belorussia, Northern Black Sea region, Middle Asia (Patrushev, Terenozhkin, Zbruyeva). As far as the Samoyed tribes of Siberia are concerned, according to the scientists from Germany and Novosibirsk, they created highly developed Pazyryk culture in the Altai Mountains and greatly influenced the Iran-speaking tribes of the steppe zone (Novikov, Troitskaya). The Ugrian peoples



moving towards West up to the founding of the state of the Hungarians took an active part in many historical events and ethnic processes. The Finno-Ugrians participated in the formation of the population in Volga Bulgaria (Kazakov, Khalikov).

In the Middle Ages great was the impact of the Finno-Ugrians on the Slavic peoples. Many Russian historians pointed out the contribution of the Finno-Ugrian heritage to the Great Russian tribe (Klyuchevsky, Korsakov, Platonov). Archeological, linguistic, ethnographical, anthropological and genetic sources lend support to the significant role of the Finno-Ugrians in the formation of the peculiarities of the Russian population (Alekseyev, Golubeva, Goryunova, Dubov, Zelenin, Kochkurkina, Mongait, Popov, Ryabinin, Sedov, Spitsyn, Tkachenko, Tretyakov, Trofimova, Cheboksarov, etc.).

The Finno-Ugrians played an important role in the development of the material and spiritual culture of many peoples in Eurasia.

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### **How language planning and prescriptivism influence language use? The case of Estonian *des*-construction**

The first decades of the 20th century saw the forced development of a standard Estonian. At the beginning of 20th century the language planners took a prescriptive approach, but this started to change at the end of the 1960s and especially in the 1970s. (Erelt 2002: 31, 33, 251–256).

The Estonian *des*-construction has been in the focus of interest at the first half of 20th century. There were three main issues that were discussed:

1. Taking Finnish as a model, Aavik (1915) suggested enlarge the usage of *des*-construction. He proposed to revivify artificially the usage of *des*-construction also then, if the subject of the *des*-construction and the subject of the superordinate clause are not the same. In this case the actor of the *des*-construction is explicit in the construction and it is marked with genitive case (1).

(1) Minu ärgates tüdruk alles magas.  
I.GEN wake.up:CONV girl still sleep:IPFV.3SG  
'When I woke up, the girl still slept'

2. The implicit subject of *des*-construction should only be controlled by the grammatical subject of the superordinate clause. Loorits (1923: 149) called the use of sentences like example (2) really strong logical mistakes and according to him the example (2) can only mean that the message was in the war.

(2) Sõjas olles tuli sõnum.  
war.IN be.CONV come:IPFV.3SG message  
'When I/X was in war, the message came'

3. *des*-converb can be used only if the event of the main clause and the event of the superordinate clause are simultaneous.

However, the *des*-construction with an explicit subject is rarer and more restricted than the implicit-subject *des*-construction with an implicit subject. It is also demonstrated that the prescriptive norms about the implicit subject and the time reference of the *des*-construction did not apply to real language use (see e.g.

Uuspõld 1966, 1972). These norms were abandoned in 1960ies. The presentation will show based on the Corpus of Written Estonian how and to what extent language planning and prescriptive norms affected the use of *des*-construction. The attitude of language planners (based on articles and prescriptive grammar books) and the real usage of *des*-constructions of different decades are compared.

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### Possessive constructions in Moksha

This paper deals with possessive constructions in Moksha (the Central dialect). As mentioned in [Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2003], possessive constructions encode not only typical possessive relations like LEGAL OWNERSHIP or KINSHIP, but also many other relations like MATERIAL, ORIGINATOR etc.

As distinct from some previous related studies (e.g. [Rueter 2010] on Erzya), my research relies on field data and is based on the typological classification of [Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2003]. Languages vary in rendering possessive relations and splitting this semantic zone. The distribution of these constructions depends on the type of a semantic relation and on the properties of a possessor.

Here are three basic possessive constructions.

1) **Double-marking**: dependent-DEF/POSS.GEN head-POSS

A possessive marker is obligatory on the head here only when it is a subject, or a direct object, or an indirect object, whereas it is optional for obliques. The choice of a construction is therefore complicated here by the factor of the syntactic position taken by the head.

2) **Dependent-marking**: dependent-GEN head-EMT

3) **Juxtaposition**: dependent head-EMT

There are two juxtaposition constructions that differ in word order and in semantics:

Juxtaposition A: The water pail

(1) *ved' vedarka-s'*  
water pail-DEF.SG

Juxtaposition B: The pail of water

(2) *vedarka ved'-s'*  
pail water-DEF.SG

EMT-external marker trigger. That means that the morphological marking of the head is determined not by the dependent, but by external context. The main opposition is: Anchoring relations vs Non-anchoring relations. (Anchoring relations involve the referents of the head and the dependent)

1. Anchoring relations (kinship, social relations, originator, legal ownership, disposal, body-part, carrier of properties, part-whole, group-member, temporal and locative relations) can be expressed only by **Double-marking**.

(3) *s'ɪ'ər'-n'ɛ-t'*                      *karandaž-əc*                      *pra-s'*                      *morkš-t'*  
 girl-DIM-DEF.SG.GEN    pencil-3SG.POSS.SG    fall-PST.3.SG    table-DEF.SG.GEN  
*al-u*  
 under-ILL

The girl's pencil fell under the table.

2. Non-anchoring relations (TIME, SPECIES, PURPOSE, DURATION, MATERIAL, MEASURE, AGE, ORIGIN, FLAVOUR/CONTAIN and GROUP-MEMBERSHIP) are expressed by **Dependent-marking**. Some native speakers also use **Juxtaposition A** for some of these relations (1)

QUALITY OF ARTEFACTS has its own Dependent-marking construction: “dependent-INNESS head-EMT” - and only some consultants allow using here the “dependent-GEN head-EMT” construction in elicitation surveys.

3. QUALITY OF HUMANS is expressed only by **Juxtaposition A**.

(4) *son*    *n'ɛjə-s'*                      *ravža*    *s'el'mə*    *s'ɪ'ər'-n'ɛ*  
 he    see-PST.3SG    black eye                      girl-DIM  
 He saw a girl with black eyes.

4. PSEUDO-PARTITIVE is expressed by **Juxtaposition B**. (2)

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## Ethnic mobilization of the Hill Mari in the 1920s–1930s

In this paper, ethnic mobilization is understood as an ethnic activity, directed to a change in the political, socioeconomic and cultural status of an ethnic community. This includes various forms of ethnic self-expression and self-determination, maintenance and strengthening of group solidarity in the quest for access to material resources and political power.

In the 1920s, ethnic mobilization of the Mari unfolded as a result of the Bolshevik declarations promising to grant all peoples the right of self-determination based on the principles of territorial autonomy. A leading role in the ethno-political mobilization of the people assumed the Mari communists. Like the inhabitants of the Kozmodemiansk County (Kozmodemiansk uezd) as a

whole, the Hill Mari communists supported the idea of a Mari autonomous unit. As they saw it, they should have an access to the governing bodies to be established. Moreover, it was emphasized that it is necessary to have the right to the maintenance of own press and to have a degree of home rule in the matters pertaining to the culture, education and language of the Hill Mari.

The struggle for resources between the Hill and the Meadow Mari in the years of the radical changes in the economic system was a factor conducive to the strengthening of the group solidarity among the Hill Mari employees in the Communist Party organizations and other governing bodies of the Kozmodemiansk Canton. The Hill Mari political elite made efforts to promote a dialogue with power structures in Yoshkar-Ola concerning the national policy carried out in the Mari Autonomous Oblast. The issues they brought up included cases of infringement of the rights of the Hill Mari such as reduction of book production and liquidation of a newspaper in the Hill Mari tongue. A controversial subject was also the decision taken in 1927 directed to the creation of a single standard literary language for all Mari. Discussions concerning these sensitive issues contributed to the strengthening of group identity.

The 1928–1930 period witnessed a political mobilization of the Hill Mari communist and administrative elites stemming from the controversies over socioeconomic and cultural standing of the Hill Mari population of the Mari Autonomous Oblast. Moreover, an idea according to which a separate autonomous unit for the Hill Mari should be created, and its territory should be subject to the jurisdiction of the Nizhnii Novgorod Region (Nizhegorodskii krai), obtained certain support. The Hill Mari question became a subject discussed not only in the Communist Party organizations of the Mari Autonomous Oblast and the Nizhnii Novgorod Region but also at the level of the central organizations of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

The formation of the unified Hill Mari district within the jurisdiction of the Mari Autonomous Oblast took place in the beginning of the year 1931. This arrangement, which was carried out by fusing together the Kozmodemiansk and Iurino Cantons, did not satisfy those who had advocated the idea of a separate autonomous unit. These people continued to challenge the 1931 solution, a standpoint which, in the opinion of the leaders of the Nizhnii Novgorod Regional Committee of the Communist Party, was indicative of “sentiments of bourgeois-democratic intellectuals.” For this reason dozens of Hill Mari activists fell in 1938 victim to repression: they were executed or deported to forced-labor camps.

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### **Revisiting the Permian substrate in the Vetluga-Vyatka interfluve (Vetlugan-Vjatkan vesistöalueen permiläisperäistä paikannimistöä)**

The article is devoted to the problem of the Permian substrate in the territory of Vetluga-Vyatka interfluve. The main focus of this presentation lies on the study of the toponymy of the territory inhabited by the Mari in the recent past and now. In comparative terms the materials of cross-border regions are also involved.

In spite of the fact that the problem of the Permian substrate has repeatedly been assumed by the researchers, still it is being solved through the example of single and uncompiled facts. Further, not all proposed findings and etymologies of certain place names can be considered successful, as the analysis of individual place names can not offer convincing etymologies and answers to complex questions of toponymy and, therefore, ethnogenesis of closely related peoples. Earlier studies (Smirnov 2013, 2014), including mine (Pustjakov 2014) suggest that part of the proposed earlier Permian etymologies cannot be considered correct and the question of the Permian substrate cannot be solved unanimously. This requires further answers to the following questions:

- What is the areal distribution of place names which can be traced to Permian linguistic sources?
- What is the proportion of the Permian place names and its impact on the substrate toponymy? Is there pan-Permian toponymy in the Mary-El Republic, or only Udmurt?
- Which specific features are characteristic for the substrate toponymy of Vetluga-Vyatka interfluve?
- Does the substrate toponymy which has been considered to be of Permian region indicate the presence of any other language in the region?

The basis for such an investigation is a compilation of lexical items expected in the substrate toponymy and further investigations in the substrate toponymy taking into account historical phonetic (including substitution) and structural changes. After all, local geographical terms are one of the most active lexical-semantic groups in the formation of place names. The analysis of the substrate names is carried out accounting for typological features of the Mari, Komi and Udmurt toponymy.

I will attempt to interpret the gathered data, and reply to the question what the impact of the Permian substrate toponymy in the Vetluga-Vyatka interfluve may have been.

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### **The mineral composition of the bone stock of the Rusinihinsky grave field of Mari culture of the Middle Ages**

The Rusinihinsky grave field situated on the right bank of the Vetluga River in Nizhegorodskaya Oblast refers to Mari Culture of the X-XI century according to its burial rites and type of the inventory and is represented by 18 burials and 15 sacrificial complexes in the area between graves.

The chemical analysis of the anthropological material from 12 burials of the Rusinihinsky grave field was carried out in order to find out the mineral composition of the bone stock.

According to their mineral composition of the bone stock the burials can be divided into 2 groups. In group 1 there are 9 burials in the south part of the grave field; they are characterized by a high content of Zink, Copper, Lead, Manganese and a low content of Calcium. The concentration of Strontium falls within the range of little and average measures.

Group 2 (burials 16, 17, 18) in the north part has a very low content of Strontium, and higher levels (3-10 times higher) of Zink and Manganese. The mineralization of the bone in this group of burials is much higher than in the representatives of group 1. It can testify the fact that except basic Mari burials there can be burials of other inhabitants in the territory of the Rusinihinsky grave field.

The combination of trace elements testifies the fact that this population led an active life, did hunting and fishing. The small rate of the plant foodstuff in the ration of the studied groups that can be reconstructed by the figures of the microelement composition of the bone suggests that agriculture was not an important part of their economical activity.

The differences revealed in the groups of the burials on the basis of anthropological material are proved by the results of archeology: planigraphy, the peculiarities of the funeral rite and the inventory, especially jewelry.

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### **Names of atmospheric precipitations in the Komi language (Названия атмосферных осадков в коми языке)**

Names of atmospheric precipitations are one of five components of the meteorological vocabulary intended for nomination of near-earth atmospheric space, processes and phenomena occurring in it connected with observation over weather conditions, circulation of air masses, precipitations, making direct impact on the state of nature, the life and activity of man. The investigated microsystem of the Komi literary language consists of 76 lexical units concerning 53 objects of the nomination.

The overwhelming majority of designations of atmospheric precipitations refer to primordial dictionary fund. The other-language component consists of two types of borrowings – names of the Russian and Baltic-Finnish origin: кижа “hoarfrost; white frost” < Russian, compare кижа; слёт "sleet" < Russian, compare слотъ; чита "hoarfrost" < Baltic-Finnish, compare ф. side, siite “frozen fume”. This fact testifies to that the formation of vocabulary of atmospheric precipitations occurred basically on the basis of internal resources during the early periods of existence of the Komi language, the other-language influence had no great importance for its development.

As a part of primordial vocabulary, as well as in other fields of vocabulary of the Komi language, it is possible to distinguish ancient (pre-Permian, common-Permian, parent-Permian) and late (the Komi-Zyryan proper) diachronic layers. The names of parent-Uralic, parent-Finno-Ugrian and parent-Finno-Permian origin refer to a group of designations of the pre-Permian period: гыӧр "white frost" < Uralic \*kura “white frost; small snow”; пуж "white frost" < Finno-Ugrian \*pičW (\*pečW) “white frost; dew”; лым "snow" < Finno-Permian \*lume.

Designations of the common-Permian origin go back to the parent-Permian language-basis. They are used only in modern Permian languages: Komi-Zyryan зэр, Komi-Permian зэр, Udmurt зор "rain" < common-Permian. \*zer "rain"; Komi-Zyryan лысва, Komi-Permian лысва, Udmurt лысву "dew" < common-Permian \*l8s-va "dew".

The group of designations of the parent-Komi period is characterized by that its formation occurred after disintegration of the parent-Permian linguistic community, during the epoch of the existence of the parent-Komi language: пра-Komi \*kača-šŭdes "groats" > Komi-Zyryan катшашыдӧс, Komi-Permian катша шыдӧс "groats"; пра-Komi \*šer "hailstones" > Komi-Zyryan шер, Komi-Permian шер "hailstones".

The latest in the origin are the Komi-Zyryan names of precipitations. This category of meteorological vocabulary is known only in territory of residing the Komi-Zyryans, the bearers of other Permian languages do not use it. A part of the Komi-Zyryan names represent composites and composite constructions: sibyc "drizzle" (си “hair, a single hair”, бус “dust”), гыма-чарда зэр “thunderstorm” (гыма-чарда “thundery, with a thunderstorm”, зэр "rain").

The semantic content of compound names is clear and is usually connected with the corresponding sign of nomination, indicates this or that feature, property of the designated object: асья пуж “morning white frost” (асья "morning", пуж "white frost"), кышыд лым “friable snow” (кышыд "friable", лым "snow").

In many such cases the names have figurative meaning and represent metaphorical designations: кулӧмаяслы зэр “rain in fair weather”, literally - rain for the deceased, лым шебрас “snow cover”, literally - snow blanket.

Thus, formation of a microsystem of names of atmospheric precipitations of the Komi-Zyryan language occurred within many millennia, since the pra-Ural epoch. Its denotative content reflects such atmospheric realities of northern hemisphere of the Earth, as rain, drizzle, snow, hailstones, hoarfrost, ice-covered ground, snowdrift etc.

### **Alliteration in the translation of the “Kalevala” into Komi by A. I. Turkin**

Alliteration is one of the leading stylistic features characteristic of the Kalevala verse. In the works of Finnish authors, alliteration has been regarded as the consonance of the consonant and vowel sounds that occur in the beginning of the word; distinction has been made between strong and weak alliteration (*vahva / heikko alkusointu*). In the case of strong alliteration similar word-initial consonants followed by similar vowels, as well as similar word-initial vowels, occur in several words of a line. Weak alliteration is the repetition of similar consonants followed by different vowels; it may also be expressed by word-initial vowels that are not similar.

The analysis of the translation of the “Kalevala” into Komi by A. I. Turkin (runes 1–10, 34, 40, 41, 44; published in the 1980–1990s) shows that alliteration (as defined in the aforementioned Finnish tradition) is fairly frequent in the target text. The examples of alliteration and data on the occurrences of alliteration in the translation allow suggesting that the translator may have attempted to make use of consonant words. However, alliteration observed in the translation cannot be regarded as a characteristic phonetic factor that participates in the organization of the text. It proves to be accidental, not structural (as it is in the original text of the “Kalevala”). In the translation, which has 5132 lines, alliteration is observed in 1539 lines, or in each third line of the translation. In the major part of the examples weak alliteration occurs; strong alliteration is fairly rare. In the text of translation, alliteration is expressed by different word-initial sounds, the overall number of which is 28 (21 consonants and 7 vowels). It is frequent in words that begin with the consonants *k, v, n, m* and *c*. Among the occurrences of strong alliteration there are cases in which a syllable or the root of the word is repeated (25% in each case). The fact that the structural features of the Komi language differ from those of the Finnish literary language (and of the language of the “Kalevala”) explains the limitations in the translation of such a device as alliteration. From the point of view of the differences in the phonetic features it can be noted that Komi has, for example, 33 phonemes (7 vowels and 26 consonants) while in Finnish the phonemes are less numerous – 21 (8 vowels and 13 consonants). Hence, words with the same initial consonants are fewer in Komi. As far as lexis is concerned, consonant words that would make pairs of synonyms (both in the literary language and dialects) are fairly rare.



### **The variation in the Saamic adjective attribute marking system concerning the Proto-Saamic derivative suffix \*-etē**

The Saami languages have an adjective attribute marking system that is unique among the Uralic languages. Most adjectives have a special form as modifiers in noun phrase. The adjective attribute marking system has evolved in Proto-Saami after which it has gone through further development depending on the languages.

This presentation concerns the various attribute forms that occur in adjectives that are formed with Proto-Saamic suffix \*-etē (reconstruction by Aikio 2009: 275). The suffix is a cognate to Proto-Finnic \*eḍa and dates back to at least Finno-Permic protolanguage. In Proto-Saami the modifier of \*-etē seems to have been formed with suffix \*-es (e. g. SaaN *vielgat* (pred.): *vilges* (mod.) 'white'). It is still seen in many modifying forms throughout Saami (cf. Riessler 2006: 5).

However, the modifiers of \*-etē-adjectives may sometimes have been formed with suffix -a (SaaIn *njuolgad*: *njuolga* 'straight' or SaaN *lossat*: *lossa* 'heavy'), or with suffix -adis, which seems like an analogical formation from the stem by adding suffix -is, e. g. SaaN *lašmat* (Gen./Acc. *lašmada*) 'active; quick' has two attribute forms: *lašmes* and *lašmadis*.

Michael Riessler (2006: 1) assumes that such change in adjective attribute marking system is a sign that the system is losing its significance. In South Saami the adjective attribute marking system is losing its significance, as the predicative forms may occur also as modifiers. However, such change is not visible in North Saami, in which the attribute system is still in use.

The aim of this study is to look at the mechanisms and reasons of variation in attribute forms. Riebler (2006: 6) seems to assume that the variation is a sign that the attribute marking system is collapsing in all Saami languages. The aim of my study is to discover, whether there is a system that lies behind this variation. For instance, all colour terms with suffix -at seem to have an attribute form with suffix -es in North Saami. Colour terms is a semantically clear category and it may preserve old attribute forms better than other semantical fields. One of my aims is to answer whether there are semantically based lexical groups which preserve the old modifier marking system throughout all Saami languages.

The data has been collected from dictionaries of North Saami, Lule Saami, Inari Saami and Skolt Saami. This data forms a starting point of my survey, and later, more data will be collected. The data collected so far is representative enough to offer an overall impression of the current adjective attribute system.

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### **Historians on the Finno-Ugric Congresses: the experience of historiographical analysis**

Finno-Ugric Congresses have a long history. They were created for the exchange of scientific achievements in the field of linguistics, throughout the entire period of its existence, they acquired an interdisciplinary nature. Beginning their story in 1960 in Budapest, today Congress of Finno-Ugric Studies combined efforts of linguists, folklorists, literary scholars, anthropologists, historians, archaeologists, for whom the Finno-Ugric theme is the subject of research.

The half-century history of the Finno-Ugric Congress makes themselves the subject of special interest for historians of science. One of its aspects – is the theme of historical researches which were discussed at the Congress.

Formation of historical science in the Finno-Ugric regions of Russia largely occurred in the XX century. It experienced the impact of the various political, social and intellectual factors. In most cases, subjects began with ethnic history, historical research has expanded his subject to regional history in general. The results of historical researches are actively working on the formation of ethnic and regional identities. The history of historical science in Estonia, Hungary, Finland had its own characteristics and intellectual foundations.

With the development of scientific communications, primarily by linguists an idea of the Finno-Ugric world as a special cultural world was gradually forming in the public consciousness. Its research is important not only linguistically, but also archaeological, ethnographic and historical dimension itself.

It is therefore important to analyze how the historical component of discussions on Finno-Ugric Congresses were formed, to analyze subjects of scientific reports on the historical (including archaeological and ethnographic) sections and symposia. This will reveal the problems of actual historical research in the Finno-Ugric regions of the world at different times over the past 50 years, to assess their impact on the development of the methodology of regional subjects of historical research, to determine the direction of formation of scientific communication within the Finno-Ugric historical community, to identify forms of cooperation, formed as a result of contacts historians during work of the Congress of Finno-Ugric.

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### **Mansi myth presentation code system ("Mā tšlum yalpyḡ möyt" - B. Munkácsy, record from 1889)**

In the worldview of Mansi (Voguls) Planet Earth does exist as such, but it is covered by water - the oceans. On its surface Wife and Husband are floating. The north wind blows, blows them to the base of the south wind. The south wind is

blowing and is bringing them to the base of the north wind – a world with no land.

*Code – 1.* Where do the Husband and Wife come from onto the surface of the Ocean? – No reply1.

Floating on the ocean, they heard a noise. Husband, looking out the window, sees Iron Loon flying from heaven. It landed over the ocean and dived three times to the ocean floor to get the land. The third time it stayed longer under water, emerged from there bringing no land, and there was blood under its throat. And then it flew back to Heaven.

The next day they heard buzz again. Husband, looking out the window, sees Iron Lula flying from heaven, coming and and sitting on the ocean. It dived to the bottom of it to get the land. The third time it dived, it emerged with a piece of land on its bill, but there was blood on its crown. It swam to the Wife and Husband's place, attached the piece of land onto the corner of their house, swam away and flew back to Heaven.

*Code – 2.* Husband looking through the window recognizes at once, who is flying there (Iron Loon or Iron Lula). Why does here recognize them at once? No reply.

*Code -3.* The birds are made from iron, but they still do bleed. – No reply. Wife once went outside and found a plant's sprout behind the house. At Husband's request she gently took it out of the ground and brought it into the house. Husband defined that it was a germ of a cedar. Inspecting the sprout, Husband cut his finger. Wife licked his blood from his finger, from what there formed a conception. She went outside. Husband, seeing her nowhere, wanted to go seek for her. She shouted from outside, "Do not go, you cannot go out. I gave birth to a son. Will be back soon."

*Code – 4.* Why cannot Husband leave the house? – No Reply. The storyteller's answer to any questions is "Listen to more".

To the new-born son Husband gave the name of TārygPēsNimalya (Crane's Hip gentle Peel). The son grew up quickly, went hunting for sables and beasts. On his Father's advice, he bought a winged horse and got married. He lived in their Home, cut coming clouds, there were gold and furs in them.

Once the parents came to the Son. The mother said: "Son, we will ascend to Heaven. Father will be there NumiTōrum, I'll be Kaltas' (The One Giving Support). You'll be in the world. From now on your name will be MirSusneHum (Person Seeing After people).

*Code – 5.* Wife and Husband were probably the messengers of the Supreme Mind?! There's no direct reply. But mother speaks on her departure to Heaven so calmly and confidently, that it is clear she knows - in Heaven there is life. MansiMythology leads to the idea: Man is brought to Earth by a Supreme Mind.

Philosopher Ivan Ilyin in his article "The Spiritual World of Fairy-Tales" says: "The Tale is the first pre-religious philosophy of a people, its philosophy of life, as set out in the free mythical images and in an artistic form. These philosophical answers are hatched by each nation independently, in its own way, in the nation's unconscious national-spiritual laboratory".

## Quantity alternation of disyllabic words in Soikkola Ingrian

The present research studies quantity alternations and the essential nature of disyllabic feet and disyllabic words in Soikkola Ingrian. It serves as an important prerequisite for the investigation of the inflectional system in Ingrian. The analysed linguistic material (collected by Arvo Laanest in 1956–1984) originates from the archives of the Institute of the Estonian Language and represents the earliest available recordings of Soikkola Ingrian.

In recent times, linguists' interest in the Ingrian phonetics and phonology has grown and a number of valuable investigations have been published (see Gordon 2009; Markus 2011; Kuznetsova 2013; Markus et al 2013, etc.). Elena Markus (2011) has identified nine possible structures of Soikkola Ingrian disyllabic feet. According to her results the Soikkola Ingrian intervocalic consonants “have (at least) five durational types on the phonetic level, and three contrastive types on the phonological level: single consonants vs. short geminates vs. full geminates“ (Markus 2011: 117).

The objective of the present research is to specify the quantity alternation space of disyllabic words of Soikkola Ingrian via acoustic measurements using Praat software (developed by Boersma and Weenink). It proceeds from the following questions: (i) how to transcribe certain inflectional suffixes following monosyllabic stem vowels and voiced consonants (e.g. IpsIpf *-dī*, *-tī*, *-t̃tī*; ImpPl2 *-gā*, *-kā*, *-k̃kā*); (ii) are there any other phonetic features in addition to quantity that support the transcription manner used in the earlier works that distinguish between the four consonant (plosive) oppositions, e.g. *mādvā* ‘sleep;IpsPr’, *kātā* ‘tip over;IndPrSg3’, *kut̃tō* ‘knit;IndPrSg3’, *sāt̃tā* ‘send;Inf’.

It is known that a foot consists of stressed and unstressed syllable(s), and the pitch falls in an unstressed syllable at least in the sentence-final position of a normal speech act. The preliminary results of the measurements show that the maximum pitch of disyllabic IpsIpf forms of monosyllabic stems tends to be on the second syllable, e.g. *pañtī* ‘hit;IpsIpf’ (average S1 max pitch 216.6 Hz; S2 max pitch 237.6 Hz), cf. *keittā* ‘cook;Inf’ (average S1 max pitch 344 Hz; S2 max pitch 170.5 Hz). Therefore, if the question is about two following stressed syllables, this type of disyllabic words cannot always be regarded as disyllabic feet.

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### **The integrated interdisciplinary studies of the Finno-Ugric Tarasovsky cemetery**

Tarasovsky cemetery is one of the largest archaeological funeral objects of the Finno-Ugric World in Eastern Europe. It is more than 2,000 people buried here. It is located in the Urals in the territory of Kama-Vyatka interfluvium in the Udmurt Republic, Russia. The period of its functioning - I-V centuries AD.

Among the principal areas of study are the analysis of a funeral ceremony, the construction of the interior and the relative chronology of the burial ground, the study of individual categories of findings. The combination of all these directions is possible using graphic analysis that takes into account the spatial distribution of the features of the individual burials.

An integrated approach to the study of this object will help to clarify disputed issues about the cultural and trade contacts of the population of the Kama region in the first half of the first millennium AD.

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### **On the reflexive suffix and its predicative function in Finnish**

In Finnish a transitive predicate can be converted into an intransitive one by adding a so-called reflexive suffix *-UtiU-*. In previous studies (e.g. Hakulinen (2004), Koivisto (1991, 1995), Siitonen (1999)), it has been argued that the reflexive suffix expresses reflexive or automative meaning. The purpose of this paper is to reconsider the meaning of this suffix and argue about its predicative function in the light of the resultative construction.

To indicate a reflexive relation, a reflexive pronoun is available as in (1). Though the predicate of (2), to which a reflexive suffix is attached, is an intransitive counterpart of that of (1), these sentences are not perfect equivalents. In (1) the subject and the predicate express a causal action, while the object and the complement express a resultant state. Although in (1) both the subject and the object refer to the same entity, this is not always the case for the resultative construction, as in (3). Moreover, as in (4), it is not necessarily the case that a predicate bears a semantic relation directly to a noun phrase following it. However, in all of the sentences except (2), a causal event and a resultant state are described separately. On the other hand, the description of a causal relationship in (2) is contracted.

A semantic relation a predicate with a reflexive suffix has with its subject and its complement varies. In (5), the subject cannot be considered to be an agent. On the other hand, the semantic relation between the predicate and its

complement is not straightforward in (6). Moreover, a reflexive suffix can be sometimes attached to an intransitive predicate as in (7). This amounts to say that the reflexive suffix in (7) at least can no longer be interpreted to be reflexive. In addition, both predicates of (7) and (8) are intransitive but they are not identical in meaning. The difference in the meaning lies in the fact that the referent of the subject in (7) is more deeply involved in the described situation. In other words, what is described in (7) is not a mere transient situation but the intended result that has been achieved through a covert causal action. The same is also true of the sentence (6), for example. All these things make it clear that the predicative function of the reflexive suffix is not merely suppressing a causal event but also positively focusing on a resultant state, which is often desirable for an overt or a covert agent, if any.

(1) Hän puk-i itse-nsä hienosti 'She dressed herself neatly.'

(2) Hän puke-utu-i hienosti. 'She was dressed neatly.'

(3) Hän maala-si seinä-t vihre-i-ksi. 'She painted the walls green.'

(4) Syö-n itse-ni täyteen. 'I ate myself full.'

(5) Kirja käänt-y-y ruotsi-ksi. 'The book is translated into Swedish.'

(6) Kärppä pure-utu-i saalii-nsa kurkku-un. 'The ermine bit firmly on the throat of a prey. (Koivisto 1995:41)'

(7) Lompakko pala-utu-i vanha-lle omistaja-lle pitkä-n aja-n jälkeen 'After a long time the wallet was returned to the former owner.'

(8) Lompakko pala-si vanha-lle omistaja-lle. 'The wallet was returned to the former owner.'

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## Anders Fjellner as creator of Saami epos

There was practically no knowledge about Saami epic poetry until the 1820's. Then the minister of Utsjoki Jacob Fellman collected Saami epical songs mainly from Finnish Lapland, but they were published as late as 1906.

Meanwhile Saami epics were presented by the Saami minister of Sorsele, Anders Fjellner. His epic poem "The son of the Sun's courting in the land of giants" was first published in 1849. This poem and three others published in works of professors Gustaf von Düben and Otto Donner caused an impression, that Saamis had a lot of epical folk poetry. But since the year 1906 the Swedish lappolog K.B. Wiklund directed a harsh critique against Fjellner as a literary forger, and he was forgotten for decades. Nowadays there is no doubt, that these

poems are written by Fjellner himself, but based on popular themes and motives. As such they are much more valuable: he is the first Saami poet known by name.

The courting poem is most important in his production. It is a mythical heroic song about the origin of the people as an exogamic combination of Saamis and giants. You can find intertextual connections to the eposes of Homer, such motifs as effects of Nausicaa, Polyphemus, Laestrogynians and Aeolus, in the other poems Achilles and Eurydice effects. These classical intertexts originate from Fjellner's studies at the university of Uppsala around the years of 1820.

You can compare the magnificent episode of naval chase with the motif of the abduction of Sampo in Lönnrot's Kalevala. Fjellner confessed to Otto Donner, that he had read the first edition of the Finnish epos (1835), "which he greatly admired". Fjellner knew Finnish perfectly, this lingua franca of the Northern areas. Since his study years he was acquainted with the Finnish folklore publications of his friend C.A. Gottlund.

Fjellner was aware of the relevant ethnogenetic theories of his time, especially the Turanic connection of Max Müller. He presented to professor von Düben a fantastic story about a Saami exodus by two routes from the ancestral home in High Asia to Saamiland, through the Alps and the Ural mountains. His additional lines to the courting epic about the Swedish warrior king Charles the XII'th as last son of Kaleva, and the dispersion of Saamis to Carelia and "beyond the Jutes and Danes" follows the same constellation. This motif has an interesting connection with new ethnogenetic theories about two refugions in the Pyrenean mountain area and around the lake of Onega.

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### **Tver Karelians in the XVIII-XIX centuries: the territorial and population dynamics according to the cartographic and statistical sources**

The study investigates the area populated by the Karelians in the Tver province in XVIII-XIX centuries. For the first time localization of separate Karelian parishes were held. The settlements, inhabited by the Karelian or mixed Russian and the Karelian population, have been identified. Localization is made on the basis of cartographic and statistical information of General surveying in 1778. On the basis of statistical descriptions of XVIII-XIX centuries the demographic parameters of Karelian population have been analyzed. The indicators of total number, the size of settlements, the population of the peasant households, sex and age indicators have been studied. Territorial and population dynamics shows that in the second half of the XVIII century the Karelian settlement process and the formation of the Karelian parishes in the Tver province continued. During that period, the peasant households in the Karelian villages included members of one family, which consisted of an average of 4-5 adults, which corresponds to 2-3 generations. In the mid-XIXth century the peasant household population in the Karelian settlements reached its peak: it came to 6-7 people on the average (maximum rate – 14 people). Population growth of the peasant household, apparently, was caused by the cessation of the resettlement process and extensive

development of Karelian empty territories. Indirectly, it reflects a continuation of the Karelian diasporas of their ethnic boundaries. In the second half of the XIXth century, after the peasant reform and in the period of active development of the industry, out-migration from rural areas has been increasing. Seasonal work has been developing. This process has actively affected the Karelian population, a sharp decrease for the population of the peasant household, while maintaining the ethno-territorial boundaries has been observed. However, the number of the Karelian population was growing. At the same time the number of peasant households in the Karelian settlements increased. This testifies splitting of large families and the predominance of a small family (of 3-4 people), which consisted of relatives of 1-2 generations, which was enough to do the farming in the new post reform conditions.

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### **Dialectal morphology of the Komi language: the nature and types of differences**

Dialectal morphology of the Komi language is characterized by relative unity, the differences mostly concern the organization of the expression plane of the same grammatical forms or entire paradigms, as well as the system of opposition grammatical forms of a word (differences in the composition of paradigms). The variety of distinctive features of the Komi dialects in the field of morphology can be reduced to a few types.

1. *Phonetic determined differences.* The most numerous group of dialectal morphological differences. Differences in expression plane of the same grammatical forms are closely related to the phonetic peculiarities of the Komi dialects. This group should include a series of nominal and verbal morphemes, which differences in the dialects are due by the correspondence of end-syllables vowels [i]/[i], [e]/[e], [a]/[e], consonants [l] // [v] // [ø].

2. *Genetically determined differences.* Certain grammatical meanings in different dialects can be expressed through morphological means of different origin. These include the following dialectal differences: 1) the expression of the accusative by indicators -Ø, -es // -es, -se and suffixes -de, -te (Udora); 2) expression of comitative by suffixes -ked // -ked and -mjd (Luzaletka).

3. *Differences in the number of members constituting a particular grammatical category.* This type of differences can be attributed to the variation in the dialects of the number of members, constituting the grammatical category of possessiveness and case, a system of person-number forms II past tense verbs.

4. *Differences in the composition or distribution of morphemes that are used to express the same grammatical meaning and engaged in a relation of synonymy.* These are: 1) the expression of meaning of accessories to 1 person singular by suffix -ej // -ej, -e // -e and in some indirect case by forms of *m*-type possessive suffix; 2) the functioning of the total multiplicity -jas (and its variants) and the suffix -jan (-an) to denote the collective (group) of multiplicity.



5. *Differences in the semantic structure of grammatical categories.* This type of difference should be attributed to some specific values case forms, typical only for some dialects; the number of nominal and verbal forms, that have a different meaning (in some cases, polar) in Komi dialects.

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**Finno-Ugric, Slavonic and Turkic peoples in Priuralye: problems of cultural interaction in the modern time (on archaeological and ethnographic materials)**  
**(Финно-угры, славяне и тюрки Приуралья: проблемы культурного взаимодействия в новое время [по данным археологии и этнографии])**

The map of Russia in its central part is a diversity of colours inhabited with peoples different in the language and culture - Finno-Ugric (Mordva, Mari, Udmurt), Turkic (Chuvash, Tatar, Bashkir) and Slavonic (Russian). The multinationality of the region was formed gradually during many centuries. And the history of peoples inhabiting the territory is closely interconnected. In AD 1000-2000 here, on the border of Europe and Asia important events that were invariably accompanied by contacts of many ethnical groups took place. character of the contacts was quite different: from peaceful in the sphere of economy and material culture, often including language and spiritual culture, to non-peaceful, which influenced ethnical and cultural processes considerably (especially if cultural and cultural-religious interactions assumed an aggressive character).

Processes of centuries-old interactions, which are still in progress in the modern time, resulted in forming a common regional layer of culture. At the same time, the process did not destroy ethnical distinctive features. On the contrary, an original picturesque region appeared. It is inhabited with various peoples which have their own specific national cultures and at the same time are connected by a common historical way and layer of culture. The research deals with the direction and character of mutual influence of different ethnical groups and examines the problem by means of burial monuments thoroughly studied by the present time in the region.

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**Perception of the Finnish front vowels by Japanese speakers and the problem of their transcription into Japanese syllabary letters (*kana*)**

Finnish and Japanese have common phonological features such as high vowel frequency, comparatively simple syllabic structure as well as overall flat sentence

intonation. Because of this, these languages are often said sound similar. Yet there are notable problems with transcribing Finnish into Japanese *kana* syllabary letters, by which foreign words are usually rendered into Japanese. Among them the most prominent problems are related to the Finnish front vowels /ä/ /ö/ /y/ due to the lack of corresponding vowels in Japanese.

The standard Japanese phonological system includes 5 vowels /a/ /e/ /i/ /o/ /u/ in its vowel inventory, which usually substitute for the Finnish vowels /a/ /e/ /i/ /o/ /u/ respectively with their *kana* scripts in Japanese texts. On the other hand, the representations of Finnish /ä/ /ö/ /y/ show quite a variety and inconsistency in *kana* scripts. These are quite often transcribed as the corresponding back vowels or with additional palatalization of the preceding consonant: e.g. F. 'käätä' may be transcribed in Japanese *kana* as <ka:nta:> or as <ky:a:nta:>. Here < : > denotes vowel prolongation and <y> the palatalization of the preceding consonant, forming a separate *kana* character with the following vowel.

As a matter of fact, the transcription of these Finnish front vowels in *kana* results into confusion both in writing and reading. These vowels are often transcribed in several ways depending on authors and fields. It is neither rare that the phonetic image of a Finnish word in *kana* deviates so much from the original form that even for the Japanese ear identification of the word becomes almost impossible.

In order to seek for a set of simple *kana* transcription rules for Finnish, I have set two objectives here: firstly, to examine, by means of a perceptual test, how the Finnish front vowels are perceived by Japanese native speakers, and secondly, to incorporate the results of the study into simple *kana* transcription rules for Finnish, reconciling with other critical principles for transcription.

In the perceptual test 31 students in their early twenties and without previous knowledge of Finnish participated. The students were asked to write down Finnish words in *kana*, without resorting to any special rules or marks, immediately after having heard each of them three times, in such a manner, that the written words would not demand any skill for oral reproduction of the original word. These stimuli, mostly chosen from Finnish non-proper name nouns, contain as a whole the mentioned phonemes in different settings with respect to the preceding consonants and to the syllabic position, i.e. the first and second syllable. The data were then analyzed for each phoneme to obtain the frequency of each *kana* script variant used in different phonetic settings.

The results of the test showed rather unexpected evidence suggesting that the three Finnish front vowels are not simply perceived as the corresponding back vowels or with additional palatalization of the preceding consonant, but each one should be handled separately. In the presentation the results will be further examined to deduce some practical implications for simple *kana* transcription rules for Finnish.

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**Stone in rites and mythology of the people of the Kama-Vyatka region  
(Камень в обрядах и мифологии народов Камско-Вятского региона)**

Honoring of stones was not the widespread phenomenon in the mythology and beliefs of the peoples of the Kama-Vyatka region. The tradition of worshipping a stone is peculiar to one ethno-territorial group of southern Udmurts (*Zavyatsky Udmurts of Kukmor and Baltasy districts of Tatarstan*). The stone *mudor* has a rectangular or square form and is made of sandstone (brown color) or limestone (gray-white color). It played the role of the central sacral sign in the kin-group's shrine *Mudor-kuala*. It served as a symbol of one of the most important family and kin-group's gods *Mudor*. As the examined materials show, the god *Mudor* referred to a local river or a tree in other Udmurt areas. In general god *Mudor* was the Master of the local area, symbolized the sacral center of the kin's territory (i. e. the territory inhabited by a certain kin-group), and was responsible for the well-being of members of the kin-group inhabited within a local area (Shutova 2012: 417-419).

In some of kin-group's shrines of Besermians *Veykiston* a stone or a millstone lying in a pit of the site's center served as the main sacral object. Melted butter was poured on the stone during prayer. Common sacred relic for Besermians and Tatars from Karino and Cheptsya River area was the stone on the "holy grave" located in the village of Gorodino (Balezino District of Udmurtia) (Popova 2011: 82–83, 245–254). The cases of worshipping stones are found in some areas of Komi-Permyaks' inhabitation (the stone *Chudskoy kamen'*, the stone *En iz* 'a divine stone') (Spitcin 1889: 60-62; Chernykh 2007: 111). The fact of Maris' praying at the stone of Chumbylat near Nemda River (Sovetsk district of the Kirov Oblast) is widely known. These rituals are connected with the cult of Mari legendary hero Chumbylat. The special attitude to memorial stones or anthropomorphic carved monuments on saint graves peculiar for the Chuvash and Tatar folk tradition. In Muslim religion a hewn rectangular stone is a symbol of creation (Symbols, signs, emblems 2003: 51).

Cult of sacred stones was widespread in Scandinavia, north-western and central territories of Russia (Makarov, Chernetsov 1988: 79–90; Melnikov 1998: 106–119; Alquist 2012: 435–459 and others). In the Slavic spiritual culture such element of the nature as a stone had a deep and multiple significance, was widely used in protective, producing and curative magic, was interpreted as a support, base, core, axis of the world and associated with World Tree and Mountain. Worshipping cult stones was connected with legendary heroes and Christian saints in the Slavic folk tradition (Slavjanskije drevnosti 1999: 448-453).

The natural properties of stone, its hardness, strength, durability, weak susceptibility to changes predetermined its ritual functions and promoted the sacralization in many religious systems. In our opinion, the meaning of a stone in the rites and beliefs of Zavyatsky Udmurts and Besermians, as well as the tradition of worship a stone *mudor* as a family and kin-group's cult object is the result of cultural convergence and is more associated with the southern Turkic

influence, the influence of Islam. The archaic cult of Master kin-group area inherent to forest inhabitants in the Kama-Vyatka region was originally associated with a local tree / forest and a local river. Then this cult was layered with the Turkic tradition of worship a sacred stone as a prototype of the saint ancestor, on the one hand and a symbol of the Universe - on the other hand.

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### **Comparing and contrasting non-verbal predication in Finnish and Erzya (Suomen ja ersän non-verbaalin predikaation vertailua)**

In our presentation we compare constructions with nonverbal predicate in Finnish and Erzya. Especially we focus in constructions referring to future. We concentrate both on the verbal elements, copulas, as well as on the morphological encoding of the nominal constituents.

Typically for the Uralic languages, Erzya and Finnish do not display an inflectional category to express future tense. Instead, the remote sister languages employ the present tense to refer to future, and when necessary, several constructions that make use of lexical and morphological device. In our study, we employ dialectal data and we believe that vernacular should be studied a priori in the sense of De Vogelaer & Guido 2012. The dialectal data offers new insights into Finnish grammar also because the dialectal variation of Finnish is quite remarkable. Erzya is still lacking a general typological description, and offers plenty of unpublished data. Combining dialectology and comparative linguistics our study aims to contribute to discussion on the methodological issues in diachronic typology.

The constructions we will contrast and compare are the following:

Finnish

‘The porridge became thick’

- |              |                 |            |
|--------------|-----------------|------------|
| 1. Puuro     | tul-i           | sakea-a.   |
| porridge-NOM | become-1PST.3SG | thick-PART |
| 2. Puuro-sta | tul-i           | sakea-a.   |
| porridge-ELA | become-1PST.3SG | thick-PART |
| 3. Puuro     | tul-i           | sakea-ksi. |
| porridge-NOM | become-1PST.3SG | thick-TRA  |

Erzya

‘The boy becomes big.’

- |             |                |           |
|-------------|----------------|-----------|
| 4. Čoriñe-š | ul’-i          | pokš.     |
| boy-DEF     | be-PRS.3SG     | big.NOM   |
| 5. Čoriñe-š | ul’-i          | pokšo-ks. |
| boy-DEF     | be-PRS.3SG     | big-TRA   |
| 6. Čoriñe-š | karm-i         | pokš.     |
| boy-DEF     | become-PRS.3SG | big.NOM   |
| 7. Čoriñe-š | karm-i         | pokšo-ks. |
| boy-DEF     | become-PRS.3SG | big-TRA   |

In Standard Finnish there are three slightly different constructions expressing the meaning ‘X becomes Y’. The verb used in these constructions is *tulla* (also meaning ‘to come’). All the sentences 1—3 have roughly the same meaning. The corresponding semantic content is expressed in Erzya by the constructions 4–7. The auxiliary employed is either the copula *ul’ems* ‘be’, not employed in nonverbal predication to refer to the present tense but as a special future tense marker, or the verb *karmams* originally ‘begin’, employed in Erzya generally as a syntactic device to refer to future, independently of the lexical class of the predicate. In the light of Erzya construction type presented in Example 4, which consists of a subject referent in nominative, a copula and a predicative element in nominative, the Finnish type 1 seems the most logical counterpart. In today’s standard language, the Finnish type 1 seems, however, to have virtually vanished. We try to find out what might have caused its demise: has its conceptualization changed, and if so, for what reason.

De Vogelaer, Gunther & Seiler Guido 2012: The dialect laboratory: Introductory remarks. In De Vogelaer, Gunther & Seiler Guido (eds.) 2012: The Dialect laboratory. Dialects as a testing ground for theories of language change. Studies in Language Companion Series 128. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. Pp. 1-31.

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### **Expressing agent with Hungarian *Ó* and Finnish *JA*, *vA* (Agentin ilmaiseminen unkarin *Ó* ja suomen *JA*, *vA* -johtimilla)**

The central points of my paper are the Hungarian deverbal derivational suffix *Ó* forming nouns and the Finnish deverbal suffix *JA*, which is the most productive derivational equivalent of it. An earlier paper of mine (Grammar & Context III, 2011) dealt briefly with the morphosemantics of four semantic groups of derivatives with Hungarian suffix *Ó* (‘agent’, ‘tool’, ‘place’, ‘event’) and their possible Finnish equivalents. The largest group of these derivatives, which deserves more detailed examination, is the category of ‘agent’, therefore my present paper focuses on the “nomen agenti” category.

The starting point of my paper – based on the argumentation of Laczkó (2000) – is the assertion that deverbal nouns in Hungarian with derivational suffix *Ó* (e.g. *olvasó* ‘reader’, *tanító* ‘teacher’) are not the result of conversion from a present participial form, but there is a homonym *Ó* noun derivative suffix in question. In Finnish language the most productive representative of the category ‘agent’ is suffix *JA* (e.g. *kuulija* ‘listener’, *hoitaja* ‘nurse’) but there is also a separate present participial suffix *vA*, which can occur independently in a ‘nomen agenti’ noun. In the present paper I will examine derivatives with the suffixes in question in two groups: ‘professional or typical agent’ and ‘ad hoc agent’, both with transitive and intransitive root verb. Finnish derivatives with suffix *JA* can have complements inherited from the root verb (Koivisto 2004: *oven takana olijat*), just as those with the Hungarian *Ó*, but can they always occur independently

(\*täällä seisoo kaksi olijaa)? In which case can *vA* occur as a noun derivational suffix indicating agent? Can we observe similarities between the examined languages in the system of productive derivation in the “nomen agenti” category? Among others, I will try to find the answer to these questions. The acceptability of certain derivative examples of my paper is evident, the acceptability of others I will test on groups of native speakers.

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### **Sustaining languages and people through healing oral practices: Vepsian puhegid**

This paper introduces Veps and their heritage language, Vepsian, in order to unwrap some issues related to the question, ‘can a language be sustainable.’ I argue that this question is debatable in itself, given that languages are neither abstract nor detached entities which need to be sustained in order not to vanish. Yet, there are specific social factors that hinder people from speaking them. Maintaining a focus on ways of speaking, I claim that people manifest (or not) languages depending on the ecology in which they find themselves. Language ecology comprises language ideologies as much as communicative practices. Therefore, the concept of sustainability needs to be re-directed towards the ecology where people manifest language more than towards language as a system of rules and literacy as the main focus of revival movements. By reframing the concept of sustainability I here present language as an indicator of relations with the environment, human and non-human beings as well as the relation itself. And I demonstrate that it is specifically in these relations that people can sustain their ways of speaking and vice versa. That is, by speaking and employing specific oral genres Veps have demonstrated to protect (and sustain) themselves from undesirable misfortunes.

Indeed, I intend to stimulate further discussion around language sustainability and revival movements by introducing Vepsian oral practices and moving away from more structural approaches to language and a focus on literacy, yet showing their political and social benefits.

My presentation will be based on field work conducted among Veps in the Republic of Karelia, the Leningrad and Vologda Oblasts since 2009, but also archival material found at ERM, Tartu, and at Kunstkamera, Saint-Petersburg.

Sirató, Ildikó

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**Finno-Ugric literature(s)? A provocative and ambitious thoughts on national identification based on not only native language but literary usage of the language  
(Finnugor irodalmak? Provokatív gondolatmenet arról, hogy a nemzeti identitás alapja nem egyszerűen a közös anyanyelv, hanem a nyelv irodalmi értékű használata)**

Is there a so-called Finno-Ugric literature, or are there Finno-Ugric literatures? If we want to answer these types of questions, we have to leave from the very basic point. What does it mean to have and use a national language literature and what are its connections to other national ones or to other language literatures or to literary languages (in linguistic sense)?

To answer the better formed questions concerning national languages and literatures as well as national literatures, we have to deliberate first the connections: between language and identity as well as between language and “literature” and between literature and national identity – to reach at the end to the right question about Finno-Ugric language literatures and on their connections to each other...

How do native / national language literatures work as a tool of the national identification?

Is it enough to speak a language or does the national identity base on the artistic, picturesque, literary usage of that language and not on only everyday usage?

If there are examples on this differentiation, maybe we could find a new viewing point for national language literatures of Finno-Ugric people, and would not ask questions ever which aren't mean anything. But we could discuss theoretic and practical questions on national literatures of Finno-Ugric language peoples...

In the presentation I propose a new starting point for discussion on “Finno-Ugric literatures” with some examples of nationally identification moments of literary used language from different Finno-Ugric language cultures which could help us to newly define or old questions... The examples will be taken both from so-called textual folklore genres (folk-epic and poetry, historical narratives, story-telling) and from literature as art, as well as both from vocal / acoustic and written literatures for finding the linguistic elements of the literary works which are significant for identification of a nation.

In the survey we could consider the distinctive marks of everyday vs. literary /artistic /aesthetic / poetic / picturesque... usage of a language and could find eventually and hopefully a right question and a way to right answers on Finno-Ugric literatures too.

**Western borders of Mari settlement on the basis of toponymy data  
(Западные границы расселения марийцев по данным  
топонимии)**

An idea of the Mari migration into the territory of their current settlement from the west, the areas of the Kostroma region and the Volga basin is quite popular in the modern literature on the ethnogenesis of the Mari people. This concept goes back historically to the Primary Chronicle, where the Cheremiss were mentioned alongside with the Mordovians among the people who lived on the Oka banks not far from its confluence with the Volga. Detailed outline of the "Oka" Mari origin theory was given by D. E. Kazantsev [Казанцев Д.Е. Формирование диалектов марийского языка (в связи с происхождением марийцев). Йошкар-Ола, 1985]. A number of arguments in favor of the Western settlement of the Mari may be found in P. Rahkonen's article [Рахконен П. Границы распространения мерянско-муромских и древнемордовских гидронимов в верховьях Волги и бассейне реки Оки// Вопросы ономастики. Вып.1(12). Екатеринбург, 2012. С.12-15]. Main arguments of the advocates of this theory were based on the area of distribution of hydronyms with *-ингVрь* formant in the regions in the neighborhood of the Oka estuary. This format correlated with the Mari *ejer, ängər* "river" and was interpreted by P. Rahkonen as belonging to the Mari language.

The paper presents the outcomes of systemic analysis of the lower Oka and the western districts of the Kostroma region toponymy performed with the purpose of verification of the hypothesis of the early Mari presence in this territory, and identification of the west borders of the Mari settlement based on the toponymy data. In the course of analysis the author compared the typical Mari toponymic stems used in live Mari toponymy with the stems in substrate toponymy of the studied region (ethnic simulation method).

The typical Mari toponymic stems (61) were identified in accordance with the dictionary 'Toponymy of the Republic of Marij El' [Воронцова О.П., Галкин И.С. Топонимика Республики Марий Эл: историко-этимологический анализ. Йошкар-Ола, 2002]. With the use of the etymological dictionaries data [Rédei K. Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. B. I,II. Budapest, 1986-1991; Bereczki G. Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Tscheremissischen (Mari). Der einheimische Wortschatz. Hrsg. Von K.Agyagási und E.Winkler. Wiesbaden, 2013], the pra-Mari and pre-Mari forms of these stems have been reconstructed where possible. The analysis demonstrated that:

1) Most of the stems (44 of 61) had parallels in the analyzed territory, however the great majority of them (36) in the forms phonetically different from the Mari, e.g.: toponyms with stems *яxp-/юxp-* (river *Яхруст*, river *Яхронка* etc.) vs Mari *йär, ep* "lake"; *востыр-/вастр-* (river *Востыр*, town *Вастрома*) vs Mari *ваштар* "maple"; *печ-* (river *Печуга*, river *Печенгирь*, lake *Печехра* etc.) vs Mari *пүнчö* "pine"; *уч-* (lake *Учхор*, this lake is in fact quite small and is located in the catchment area of Yukhorets river together with lake *Великое*), cf. Mari *узи* "small" and many others. All these were stems going back to the words belonging to the Finno-Ugric, the Finno-Permic, or the Finno-Volgaic lexical



layer. Within the group of differentiating Mari stems only individual doubtful facts were identified, which could be the product of isolated coincidences as a result of linguistic kinship, or possible contacts of extinct substrate dialects with the Mari language.

2) Within the studied territory two toponymic zones have been identified: the lower Klyazma zone (LKZ) and the western part of the Kostroma region (WKR) with their own specific linguistic characteristics.

3) A number of regular phonetic correspondences with the toponymy of the studied area have been found. These phonetic features had both similarities and significant differences from the Mari language. For instance, a characteristic feature of the LKZ toponymy was labialization of etymological front vowels which we conventionally called the lower Klyazma labialization. Examples:

"lake" - Mari *Һ үӓр*, Mari *М ер*, WKR *яхр-*, LKZ *юхр-* (lake *Юхро*, town *Юхроболево*);

"river" - Mari *Һ ӓнз р*, Mari *М э ер*, WKR river *Ингирь*, LKZ river *Унгер*.

Also in LKZ: river *Пукстерь*, cf. FW *\*pākšnā* "lime" [UEW: 726], where *\*šn > st* had similarities in the Mari, cf. Mari *нустер* "lime-forest"; river *Юкиша* (3 toponyms, all places were lake run offs), cf. Mari *икса* "channel, small river"; etc.

Since the LKZ toponymy could have belonged to the Muromian [Рахконен П. op. cit., с.20, 22, 25], it would be tempting to suggest an etymological connection between the ethnonyms *Меря* and *Муroma* by means of the lower Klyazma labialization.

Another specific feature of LKZ was the preservation of etymological *\*a* as opposed to WKR, where *\*a > o* transition was observed: lake *Санхр*, river *Санахта* in в LKZ, but river *Сова*, river *Соня*, river *Сонбаз*, river *Сонгирь* in WKR, cf. Mari *шун*, *шон*, FU *\*šawe* "clay" [UEW: 468]; lake *Сало*, river *Сальня*, bay *Салы*, town *Салун* in LKZ, but river *Солонка*, river *Солоница*, river *Шолокша* in WKR, cf. Mari *шоло*, FU *\*šala* "elm" [UEW:458].

4) There were differences between the Mari language and the LKZ and WKR dialects not only on phonetic level, but also in the lexical composition. For example, instead of the Mari *ӓӓл-* "burn" in the territory under study stem *нал-* was registered; instead of the Mari *кого*, *кугу* "big" – stem *ин-*, instead of the Mari *памаш* 'spring' – stem *шач-* etc.

Thus apparently no toponymy of the Mari origin was found in the lower Oka, or in the territory of the Kostroma region west of Unzha (i.e. in the area of distribution of hydronyms ending with *-инзҮрь*) At the same time the substrate Finno-Ugric dialects in the territory under study demonstrated obvious signs of linguistic kinship with the pra-Mari language.

In support of the above statement we performed analysis of toponyms with *-инзҮрь* formant, where close etymological analysis of the stems also demonstrated their non-Mari origin. Moreover, the form *Ингирь* from the point of view of historical phonetics was more innovative than the Mari *ӓнз р*, *э ер*, it was characterized by the narrowing of the root vowel and thus could not be pra-Mari.

In view of this denial of the Mari nature of toponymy of the lower Oka and the western part of the Kostroma region the distribution of the Mari (old Mari) toponyms west and south of the modern Mariy-El territory was mapped and analyzed. In the left bank Volga area the westernmost point of the Mari toponymy

distribution was the name of a town (<\*river) *Улангерь* in the Kerzhanets river catchment between the rivers Unzha and Vetluga, cf. Mari H *յл* "lower", Mari H *әнэ р* "small river". In the right bank Volga area a powerful Mari substrate toponymic layer was identified in the northern part of Chuvashia. The substrate names with differentiating Mari toponymic stems and toponymic formants were common in Chuvashia along the Sura river up to the vicinity of Alatyр, where they were used alongside with the substrate Mordovian toponymy. At the same time the substrate Mari toponymy was practically never crossing onto the left (western) bank of Sura.

Thus the Kerzhanets river in the left bank Volga area, and the Sura river in the right bank Volga area formed the west border of the Mari toponymy distribution, which was important for the study of ethnic genesis of the Mari people and questioned the hypothesis about their Oka origin.

#### **Abbreviations:**

Mari H – Hill Mari dialect

Mari M – Meadow Mari dialect

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#### **Article by Nicholas Roerich, "The oldest Finnish churches" as a source for the history of medieval culture in Finland**

Article by famous Russian artist Nicholas Roerich «The oldest Finnish churches" was written in 1907 after his trip to Finland. In June 16, 1907 Roerich reported Akseli Gallen-Kallela from Lohja: "Admire the church and your charming niece". The article was published in the magazine "Starye gody" in February 1908 and in the first volume of the collected works of Nicholas Roerich in 1914.

Russian artist called Finns to save paintings in medieval churches of Finland in this article. Roerich emphasizes that "a group of Finnish churches with mural paintings is among the extremely interesting phenomena". Roerich saw in the paintings the combination of the two traditions, coming from the Romanesque Palatine Chapel and the "animal" style of Chudskoi figures. Roerich hoped his article to be read by Finnish archaeologists Johannes Aspelin, Axel Heikel Julius Ailio and achieve of restoration. He wrote: "Finns love and manage to save your old temple" (p. 167).

24 jan. 1908 Roerich made a report on the meeting of the Society of Architects- Artists, after which the Company appealed to cultural figures of Finland with the petition for "removing the plaster, superimposed on the mural, and the opening of such an interesting monument".

The reply of the Finnish Archaeological commission published in the "Starye gody" magazine is provided in Valentina Naumenko's research where it is said that impossible to keep lists in church service places, "parishioners demand in the churches of tidy appearance". In the parish of Nousiainen murals whitewashed with the permission of the commission, "they are in their rough and primitive property of place in the modern church".

"Animal" style was clearly viewed through Romanesque plasticity in the north of Europe, as if passed through the millennia since the time of Huns. This was reflected in the ornament and in combination of evangelical images with fantastic monsters. The further north, the more canon was absent in Art. Free-thinking of artist didn't know a limit in Finland.

The explosive energy of the national consciousness in artistic expression is not always combined with sermons.

Roerich quotes Emile Nervander, and surprised that the scientist could not defend the murals in Nousiainen. The fact that the painting was smeared again Roerich called vandalism, "Joy vandals! ... barbarism happened ... in Nousiainen » (p.160). The word 'vandals, barbarism' give an emotional expression to Roerich's article and talking about him as a publicist.

The history of Finnish medieval art has dozens of researches (Juhani Rinne, Onni Okkonen, Marcus Hiekkänen, Katja Fält et al.) Authors attach greater importance to the Finnish church architecture than Roerich. But Roerich - one of the first who was delighted with the aesthetics of the paintings. He does not use the term "primitive art", which provides an assessment according to Marcus Hiekkänen. Article of Roerich devoid of such assessments.

Nicholas Roerich has merit in the fact that the Finnish medieval mural restored, open to the world as a sign of the culture of distant times.

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### **Vocabulary of Khanty personal songs (Лексика хантыйской личной песни)**

The reference to the song texts is down to their cultural and linguistic importance. In this regard particular importance is the identification of semantic identity of the lexical units of the Khanty personal songs and correlation them with fragments of the linguistic picture of the world.

We aim to investigate the vocabulary of the Khanty personal songs, to determine its identity: part of speech vocabulary, to identify lexical items which are specific only for personal songs, to determine rhythm making features of song texts.

Diminutive suffixes are used frequently in Khanty personal songs. They are polysemous and have different functions. There are semantic and pragmatic components in the semantics of diminutive suffixes.

Nouns are dominated in the songs. Lexico-semantic group (LSG) "housekeeping vocabulary" is used to recreate the view of the traditional life of the Khanty people. The largest lexical layer of the Khanty personal songs are elements of landscape, water bodies and their parts. They play an important role in the folklore worldview, for example: ponds, a riverbank, wave, bottom, sea, river, lake, swamp. A distinctive feature of the language of the song is a special morphemic composition of the verb, which has an important semantic and pragmatic role. It often includes the suffix of the Unobvious Mood in combination with diminutive suffixes.

The aim of the author of the song is to convey to the audience feelings of the lyrical hero in some point of his/her life, his/her emotional perception of the life fact, the event; his/her emotional attitude towards it, his/her assessment. Sad or joyful song tonality is transmitted by the selection of vocabulary.

The most important words are repeated many times and become semantically and expressively dominated and essential. The most common, semantically and expressively dominated vocabulary is the words which form situational background: month, night, river, snowstorm; words, containing the trace of the time and social environment.

Common words with unusual semantics are expressions representing the cases of metaphorical transfer of the internal substantive form of national word. Metaphorization is achieved by the ability of folklore words to have several meanings in the poetic text, to create associative semantic links which are unusual in the common language use by violation of the normalized syntagmatic links.

The creation of new links gives the text a special semantic increment which stratifies on the direct meanings of words. The analysis of these expressions allows us to understand that the structure of the semantic field of folklore words is wider than the meaning of its national equivalent.

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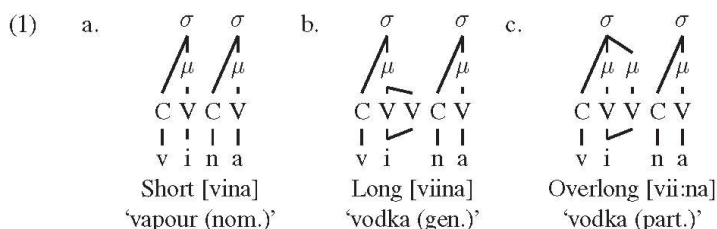
### **Conceptualizing language kinship: How Fennocentric is Fenno-Ugricity?**

The concept of language ideology is most obviously relevant in the context of language policies and language planning. In my paper, I would like to consider its applicability to the analysis of historical/comparative linguistics, reflecting on how the Fenno-Ugric language family has been conceptualized in the history of the Fenno-Ugric studies – with special focus on the Finn-element.

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### **Estonian quantity as a formal tone system**

Estonian shows a three-way quantity distinction (short–long–overlong) which has been the focus of numerous phonological and phonetic studies, and it has been proposed that the mental representations of the contrast are organized binarily on two prosodic tiers: one specifying short vs. long and one distinguishing long from overlong. While Prince (1980) argues that this is based on foot structure, Ehala (2003) has defended the view that Estonian uses separate length (CV) and weight (moraic) tiers, as in (1):



Spahr (2013) provides further evidence for this view, based on morphemic analysis. He argues that moras, CV-slots, and segments can be floating in the underlying forms of Estonian morphemes, linking to each other when surface forms are derived. In this understanding, the floating and linking behaviour of Estonian moras resembles that of tone in many tonal languages (Yip 2002).

In this paper, I argue that Estonian “moras” are formally tonal autosegments which predictably receive their phonetic realizations based on their location within the word. That is to say, Estonian is a tone language in which the second phonological tone (the second mora) receives lower pitch than the first phonological tone (the first mora). This results in a falling pitch in the first syllable of words in overlong quantity (1c) but a level tone in words with short (1a) and long (1b) quantity. This provides a phonological basis for phonetic studies showing that the Estonian quantity system is moving from being quantity based to pitch based (e.g., Lippus and Ross 2011; Lippus et al. 2011).

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**Hungarians living outside Hungary: national minorities, diaspora, or part of the Hungarian cultural nation?  
(Венгры, проживающие вне Венгрии: национальные меньшинства, диаспора или часть венгерской культурной нации?)**

A closer examination of present-day migration processes, which are now an important part of global economy, brings about a number of new research questions. For example, it is worth analyzing what interactions exist between migrant communities and the host countries. In contrast to “classical diasporas” (allegedly, Jewish and Armenian), a “new diaspora” has arisen and comprises those ethnic groups which result from labor migration in Europe.

“Classical diasporas” are rarely associated with ethnic minorities. Yet they can take advantage of international laws on national minorities to protect their rights. According to V. A. Tishkov, “issues around national minorities refer to various forms of social inequality and to their “submissive status” based on ethnic, religious, and linguistic differences.” These might not concern communities of “classical diasporas.” Still, several western countries do not provide migrant communities with the status of (ethnic or linguistic) national minorities. This way, they refrain from any obligation to protect the rights of migrant communities. Indeed, the international law does not cover the term “diaspora.”

It is interesting to look at the approach taken by Hungary towards those Hungarians living outside the country. With the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and conforming to the Treaty of Trianon (1920), Hungary lost a considerable part of the territory of the former Hungarian Kingdom and its population. Up to now, Hungarians regard this event as a national disaster. Besides, more than two-hundred thousand people were forced to flee the country during the Soviet times.

Some Hungarian researchers such as Endre Sik do not count those Hungarians who live in the Carpathian Basin within the broader Hungarian diaspora, since de facto they did not leave their own country. In his opinion, only those Hungarians who live in Western countries can be regarded as “Hungarian diaspora.” The American Professor Rogers Brubaker refers to these types of “diasporas” which result from geopolitical changes as “diasporas of cataclysms.”

At present, there is a common understanding at the Hungarian political level that there exists an overarching Hungarian cultural nation, regardless of the place of residence. Hungary has adopted a special Act on Hungarians living in the neighboring countries which significantly strengthens ties with their “historical homeland” (Hungarian Identification Document, Hungarian citizenship, etc.). These decisions have spurred dispute between Hungary and the neighboring countries where Hungarians live.

Hungarians living in those countries are defined as national minorities which allows the Hungarian authorities to apply international law for the rights of national minorities.

The Hungarian example demonstrates that issues related to minority ethnic groups living outside of their “kin state” require political agreement from both the “kin state” and the country of residence.

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### **History of Vepsian settlers to Siberia (История вепских переселенцев в Сибири)**

The relocation of Veps to Siberia was carried out as part of the Stolypin agrarian reforms between 1907 and 1917. The resettlement came from those places with high concentration of population and with a shortage of available land. The northern regions were not overpopulated, but the low fertility of the soil did not provide enough bread for the local population. Most likely, in the late 19th century the relocation of Veps to Siberia ignited the ban to use of state-owned forest which the peasants used to develop arable land by burning forested areas and which initially provided good yields.

Veps settled on the Alarsky steppe in the Irkutsk province. The first to relocate were Veps from Shigola and Vyalgozero in the Tikhvin district of the province of Novgorod (now Boksitogorsk district of the Leningrad Oblast). The settlement Manilovskoe was founded in the summer 1911. In 1913 Veps from the Belozero district of the province of Novgorod (now Babaevo district of the Vologda Oblast) relocated next to them, replacing the former site of a Buryat village. The relocation of both groups was reflected in the 1920-census which showed that after the 1897-census the number of Veps had decreased from 9167 to 4855 in these districts. The experts believe that the reason for such a drop was their russification.

Just like back home, the main occupations for Veps were agriculture and livestock. Veps retained a traditional lifestyle for a long time. And the continuous migration from their homeland also contributed to the preservation of the language. Each group amounted to 500 people before WWII. And the language spoken at home was Vepsian. However, the relative isolation of the various ethnic groups was broken after the war. Repression and the loss of men during the war led to a widespread practice of intermarriage. As a consequence, Russian became the language of communication at home. At present, only the older generation know Vepsian, and their speech is often coloured of dialectal nuances.

The Vepsian colony in the Kemerovo Oblast formed later between 1927 and 1928. The settlers came also from the district of Tikhvin in the province of Novgorod. The causes for relocating were crop failure, famine, and collectivization. They settled in Shilovka, 15 kilometres away from Kuzedeevo, at the centre of province of Gorno-Shor (now Novokuznetsk district of the Kemerovo Oblast). The resettlement continued until the late 1940s and the number of Veps reached up to 300. Until the 1950s, Shilovka was considered an ethnic island where Veps maintained their language and cultural traditions. During the years of the liquidation of villages ‘with no prospects’, Vepsian villagers were relocated to the neighbouring Gavriloka, and after its liquidation

to Kuzedeevo. Still in the 1980s, they were a prominent ethnic group. Just as for the Veps living in the province of Irkutsk, their assimilation began only after the war.

The first information about Veps living in the province of Irkutsk appeared in the 1939-census counting 384 people. In 1979 there were only 35; in 1989, only 19 and in 2002, 21 Veps, of which 14 mastered Vepsian language. According to the activists, approximately 600 Vepsian descendants live in Irkutsk; whereas, according to the census in 2010, there were only 17, none of whom knows Vepsian language.

In the Kemerovo Oblast Veps appeared in the 1970-census, counting a total of 153 people. In 1979 there were 106; in 1989, 113, and in 2002, 83, of whom 42 knew Vepsian language. In 2010 there were 45, none of whom knows the language.

The history of Vepsian colonies in Siberia is now considered finished. Yet, it elucidates the reasons why southern Veps have gone extinct so rapidly, beginning with their migration to Siberia.

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### **Linguistic diversity in Hungarian majority and minority schoolscapes**

Brown, in her study of Võru schools, has proposed the term *schoolscape* to cover the school-based material environment where text, sound, images and artifacts “constitute, reproduce, and transform language ideologies” (2012: 282). Kress & Van Leeuwen (2006) introduced the notion of multimodal discourse. That is, pictures, artifacts, figures and the like can be interpreted in the way of texts that are “read”. Scollon & Scollon in turn emphasize that visual semiotics represents a turn “from the spoken, face-to-face discourses to the representations of that interaction order in images and signs” (2003: 82). Like classroom interaction, the *schoolscape* can thus be analyzed as a display or materialization of the ‘hidden curriculum’ regarding language ideologies in education.

Children attending school are exposed to language ideologies by consuming cultural symbols and visual texts as well as by engaging in multimodal literacy practices. The *schoolscape* clearly provides a significant part of what Cohen (1917: 19) has described as “systematic and consistent experiences to which the individual is exposed in the course of growing up”. However, we view visual literacy not only as the skill of interpreting visual semiotics, but also as practicing agency, or sharing authority in visual educational communication.

As a part of a larger venture, we analyze the schools of two kinds of Hungarian communities: those in Hungary and those in minority position in Slovakia, Romania and Ukraine. Based on a collection of photographs and interviews, we present the investigated schools’ visually manifested interactional practices and language ideologies, with a special attention to their approach towards the Hungarian language, its varieties and linguistic diversity. Such experiences influence the children’s conceptions of the use, status and learning of languages as well as their imagining of what it means to be a Hungarian



speaker and a bi/multilingual person. We also compare student artwork and mass-produced materials on display as manifestations of different forms of agency. We combine our etic and the school community members' emic perspectives in the complex exploration of language ideologies, using teacher interviews to discover the latter.

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### Intonation types in Mansi (Mansi\_ToBI)

The investigation of intonation and other kinds of suprasegmentals in Mansi language is not in the focus of current research /cf. Ромвандеева (1995: 30: Melody of speech is not investigated)/. The unique and almost unrepeatable resource for this topic from the age of the impressionistic phonetic research is the Setälä type intonation curves to be found at the end of the volumes of the Mansi texts collected by Kannisto (1951-1963). Most of the data are from Konda dialect (360), others are from Tavda (127), Pelim (8), and Vagilsk dialects (3). The intonation curves related to the Northern dialect of Mansi (Lower-Sosva 62, Upper-Lozva 21) will be investigated as a comparable source given the current data based on the materials of the Upper-Lozva subdialect of the Northern Mansi language collected between 2005-2014.

Among the 62 Lower-Sosva intonation curves there are 47 ones which draw the trait of interrogative sentences, 11 imperative sentences, 2 declarative sentences and 1 sentence with a focus particle. All of these are marked by the intonation curves Setälä (1901: 45-46) proposed. Some of these are investigated by Murphy 1968: 80-82, he is the only researcher who called attention to the importance of Kannisto's intonation curves. The most characteristic intonation features of Lower-Sosva Mansi interrogative sentences without question words are the rising tone at (or very close to the) the end of the sentences, or at the last syllable: e.g. wágløn? 'do you know?' H(igh)-L(ow)-H%.

Using the new (recently recorded) sound materials we have the possibility to investigate and measure the acoustic properties of Mansi intonation exactly with the method of experimental phonetics. Descending intonation of declarative sentences, and rising intonation of interrogative sentences are investigated within the framework of Tones and Break Indices (ToBI) (Jun 2006). Mansi\_ToBI analyses the fundamental frequencies (F0) of the intonation of sentences, the

placement of high-pitch target, low-pitch target, and different kinds of rising accents.

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### **Metonymy or what? – An onomasiological analysis of the Nganasan lexicon**

The Nganasan lexicon has been analysed from a diachronic cognitive onomasiological point of view in the project of HeNg-On at the University of Szeged (Szeverényi 2012, 2014). The most problematic part of the analysis proved the classification of cognitive motivation, such as similarity, identity, contiguity etc. The problem has arisen when we had to determine the type of the contiguity as a relation, e.g.:

sourcetarget

bəru-bəru-bsa

‘to plane, to whittle’ ‘plane (tool)’

Relation: conceptual contiguity (metonymy)

Metonymic pattern: Action for Object (Instrument)

As the example shows, the role of metonymy occurs here in lexicon–word-formation interface. Janda (2011) found that “the same cognitive strategy that facilitates metonymy, namely use of a conceptual source to access a target, can also be invoked in many patterns of affixal word-formation. In other words, many cases of word-formation appear to be motivated by metonymic association” (Janda 2014: 341). The question is what kind of definition of metonymy is applicable when we categorize the whole lexicon of a language. So I applied Janda’s (2014: 341) three arguments:

- (1) a broader definition of metonymy facilitates more insightful generalizations;
- (2) there is no fixed boundary between lexical metonymy and word-formational metonymy since they coexist in the lexicon-grammar continuum;
- (3) context, whether it be a suffix or other cues, is always a factor in metonymy”.

In the presentation I will argue for that lexical and grammatical (word-formational) metonymy – with other types of cognitive relations – can cover the lexicalization profile of a language, such type as Nganasan.

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## An experiment to teach Livonian to children

I began to speak Livonian daily to my children in 1991. I had learnt the language on my own. Since the birth of my first child (1988) I had spoken to my offspring Swedish which I had learnt from my parents and grandparents. I decided to try if it was possible to make children learn even Livonian if their father is the only person who speaks the language and there is no support for it in the surroundings. I still continued speaking mainly Swedish at home in order not to cut my own family tradition. Now I have used every day some Livonian at home for 23 years. The paper discusses how the children have responded to a language spoken by their father that no other acquaintance speaks, and what their level of Livonian is today.

I have spoken Livonian to all of my seven biological children, born between 1988 and 1997, and also to a girl born in 2007 who has been under our custody since she was five months. Four of the children have moved away from the home, so they don't hear Livonian on daily basis.

The children have not actively tried to adopt a language that apparently is of very limited use. Still, all of the eight children understand almost everything of simple spoken everyday Livonian. Some rare and odd expressions may cause troubles. In that case, things can usually be explained with other words and signs. Occasionally the children use Livonian greetings and other expressions that have become a sort of joke in our family, but none of them really converses with their father in the language. The paper presents the children's ability in Livonian, their active and passive vocabulary, as also phraseology. The skill of each of the children was investigated how well they know pronouns, numerals, adjectives, common verbs and nouns. Father of the family has used occasionally even other Balto-Finnic languages at home. Therefore, the children were examined how well they distinguish Livonian from other languages which they have heard from the same person and which are closely related though not readily intelligible.

Even the way how the children would spell Livonian words was tested. This was compared with the Livonian orthography of Viktor Berthold, the last fluent Livonian speaker in Latvia, with whom the author corresponded during his last

years. Viktor Berthold was influenced by Latvian, the language of his education. The Tast children, on the other hand, may use Finnish as the closest reference how to spell the language that they have learnt solely from their father.

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### **Standard language as technology: the case of Võru orthographies and their public/social reception**

Standardisation is the set of practices of power resulting from other social processes: nations and languages are co-constructed together (Makoni & Pennycook 2005: 140). Therefore, standardisation (in conjunction with graphisation and modernisation) has been one of the important areas of inquiry in sociolinguistics and LPP research (language studies) since the mid-1900s. Each standard is in a sense artificial, as it synthesises particular choices of particular people and is targeted to the ideal type of standard user (Raag 2008: 12). Therefore standardisation seems to promote invariance and homogeneity (Milroy 2001). Standardisation choices being ideological, i.e. a group's shared social representations (van Dijk 1998), they configure but also exclude some users. Standardisation can be seen as a technology where different technologies, those of production, sign systems, power and self (Foucault 1988), are intertwined.

The essence of language as technology is better understood when the cultivation of new standards, such as Kven, meänkieli and Võru, is considered. Standardisation has been seen as a tool for emancipating and revitalising non-standard lesser-used and minority languages. However, “(c)ontrary to the common sense view”, it also creates “not uniformity but more (and hierarchical) heterogeneity” (Gal 2006: 171) and different types of non-users (cf. Wyatt et al. 2002). As the tradition of Standard Estonian stretches back for generations, today Estonians as an ethnolinguistic collectivity take Standard Estonian for granted and do not question whether it is the only possible application/technology. Võru–Estonian bilinguals' reception of the standard crafted and forged by language activists has been, however, quite varied, depending on their perception of Standard Estonian, as well as on different ideological and technological barriers. In this paper, the authors will review examples of different Võru orthographies, analyse their reception and offer interpretations for the explanation of the interaction between technology and society. We are enormously grateful and give credit to the theoretical initiative of the project STANDARDS at the University of Oslo.

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### **Measuring linguistic differences between the Saami languages**

In my paper I would like to present a comparative lexico-etymological analysis of the basic vocabulary of four Saami varieties (Lule, North, Inari and Skolt Saami) in order to take a look at their relationship from a new angle.

I have chosen to study the above mentioned four varieties because they are the most problematic ones with regards to classifications. One can find several groupings in different works (cf. Bergsland 1968, Korhonen 1981, Fernandez-Vest 1997, Sammallahti 1998). These all have similar basis, reflecting mostly phonological differences viewed in diachrony, and yet they are very different.

My method puts lexicon into focus, this linguistic level being in my opinion the most important one when measuring linguistic differences. In my research, I have analysed both the so called historical basic vocabulary (basic meanings/words that have been in use in most languages for a very long time) and a frequency based basic vocabulary – the last one being a reliable corpus if one wishes to come to a conclusion about the grade of possible mutual intelligibility, a factor that can be interesting when comparing languages. After having created a corpus consisting of wordlists (with words representing a certain number of meanings) in the analysed languages, I calculated the grade of etymological similarity for every pair of languages.

The results of my research show clearly that Inari and North Saami are much closer to each other than one would think in view of the traditional classifications, and they show, in fact, the highest similarity values among the Saami varieties.

Measuring linguistic differences between languages has more or less well-known methods (Borin & Saxena 2013) in dialectology, but these are seldom applied to Uralic languages. As a reference, I also analysed the lexico-etymological similarities between some other Finno-Ugric languages, namely Estonian, Finnish, Hungarian, Komi and Livonian; thereby the results for the Saami varieties can be compared to those of other, more known languages.

Finally, I also would like to discuss the problem of the length of “meaning lists” (McMahon & McMahon 2005), and I will examine the differences between results for shorter lists with 100-400 meanings and those for longer ones such as the IDS-list (The International Dictionary Series).

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## Borrowed terms of weaving in the Udmurt language

Borrowings from other languages take a significant place in the vocabulary of the Udmurt language. In the course of historical development the Udmurts had an economic, political and cultural links with neighboring peoples, therefore plenty of alien words penetrated into the Udmurt for naming either new notion or existing objects and phenomena.

Since ancient times the Udmurts have been contacting with Turkic peoples. As a result they have developed a certain commonality in the material and spiritual culture. The Udmurts borrowed from the Bulgar language the following terms of weaving: *kis'* 'comb' (Komi *kis'*, Mari *is* 'comb' < Bulgar); *suso* 'shuttle' (Komi-Perm *susa*, Mari *šuša* 'shuttle' < Bulgar); *s'ery* 'spool' (Komi *s'uri* 'spool' < Bulgar) and others. Bulgarisms are used in the Udmurt literary language and widely distributed in all dialects of the Udmurt language. All these borrowed terms are used in the Udmurt and Komi languages to denote the same concepts. They were borrowed by the Perm peoples from the Bulgars living in close vicinity in the period of Common Perm linguistic unity. The lack of native Udmurt terms for such important parts of the loom as comb, shuttle, and spool suggests about the absence of the details themselves in the past, the names were borrowed together with the new items.

Economic-cultural communication with the Russians also reflected the investigated vocabulary. Some borrowed terms occurred due to the development of the loom: *rama* 'frame of loom', *navoj* 'beam' and others, borrowed from the Russian together with borrowing the details themselves. Russisms are widely distributed in the northern and middle dialects of the Udmurt language: *kol'osa* 'blocks of loom', *nableka* 'frame of comb', *stan*, *stanok* 'loom', *č'elnok* 'shuttle' and others. For most Russisms there are parallel original names that denote the same items as the vocabulary of foreign origin, such as: *kuis'kon* 'loom' (noun from the verb *kuis'kyny* 'weave') and *stan* 'loom' (< Russian *stan*).

Thus, the development of weaving vocabulary in the Udmurt language was greatly influenced by Bulgar and Russian languages.

### ***Ogdžyk töd* 'I don't really know' – semantics of negated situations intensified by the comparison clitic *-džyk* in Komi**

In the Komi literary language and in most of the Komi dialects (i.e. the dialects of Zyrian and Permyak), the comparison clitic *-džyk* appears as an intensifying element with most word classes, including also finite and infinite verb forms (Coates 1982).

In affirmative, the clitic functions as an increaser of the event's intensity or speed (Cypanov 2005: 248) or other manner-related feature depending on the semantics of the event, or it increases the frequency of the event's occurrence (1). In negative, the *džyk*-clitic reduces the intensity of the situation by augmenting the negation verb (2).

- (1) *köni jöz-ys vetl-ö-džyk /---/* (Popov 2008: 111–112)  
where people-NOM.3SG go-3SG-CMPR  
'where people go more (often) /---/'
- (2) *on-džyk gažtömt't'šy* (Popov 2008: 68)  
NEG.2SG-CMPR miss.CNEG  
'You will not miss as much.'

The specific reading of the *džyk*-clitic is connected to the semantics and inherent properties of the augmented situation. Studies on measuring events have suggested (Kennedy & McNally 2005; Fleischhauer 2013) that telicity is an integral factor in determining the possible readings of the graded event; this is also the case with the Komi augmentative grade (Todesk submitted). This paper delves further into using the augmentative clitic *-džyk* with negated events in Komi, leaving the affirmative events aside for a moment to concise the corpus and to narrow down the amount of readings to be discussed here.

It has become apparent that with atelic events, the readings of the clitic – *džyk* vary more, while with telic events, the readings are more restricted. For example, with negated activities, the readings of the clitic may refer to speed (not as fast) or quality (not as well), while with states, the readings may refer to quality and similarity (not like that). With negated accomplishments, the clitic refers to speed and quality, while with achievements, the quality reading does not appear. There is also a general reading of much, which in negation may refer to frequency (they don't go there much) or intensity (see example 2) with atelic events, but refers to the event's extent with telic situations (will not become as drunk).

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### **Translating the Other – translation-oriented text analysis: a case study**

Linguistics and translation studies share a history that has not always been without controversies, due to their difference in perspective. In M.A.K. Halliday's (2001: 13) words: "For a linguist, translation theory is the study of how things are: what is the nature of translation process and the relation between the texts in translation. For a translator, translation theory is the study of how things ought to be: what constitutes a good or effective translation and what can help to achieve a better or more effective product." However, these two views need not be contradictory, but rather complementary.

In the recent years, SFL has slowly started gaining ground also in translation research, even though it has been criticized for the lack of multilingual applications (see f. ex. Munday 2007). Several translation scholars, such as Erich Steiner (2003), Anna Trosborg (2002) and Marina Manfredi (2008), have adopted a systemic functional approach in their translation analysis.

This paper proposes to further discuss the relation between SFL and translation studies through a case study consisting of early French travel descriptions of Lapland and of their modern Finnish translations. The case study presents a model of a translation-oriented text analysis in which the Hallidayan register analysis is complemented by translation-specific tools and theories, such as translator interview, analysis of translation strategies and skopos theory.

The results of the register analysis show significant differences between the source texts and the target texts, especially on the ideational level. Some of these changes can be explained by linguistic differences between the French and Finnish language, but, as the study shows, the analysis of the translation skopos and of the translation strategies chosen by the translator can shed an extra light into the understanding of translated texts.

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### **The Udmurt religion in Northern Bashkortostan: Strengthening the community**

It is well known that ethnic traditional religions have been better preserved in areas remote from Christianisation as, in Central Russia, the Turkic Muslim areas in Bashkortostan and Kazakhstan. There, Udmurt traditional religion is pretty well alive and part of the rural population every-day life. This paper, based on field-work, emphasizes the religious practice community strengthening dimension: the main ceremonies are held on village bases, each village has its own traditions, older and newer; the input of the ceremony, the sacrificial porridge's rough material (ewes, crops, butter) comes always from the villagers themselves; the output, the porridge, is consumed by the villagers themselves. The collective ceremonies, including several villages, achieve symbolically the merging of the villages in a wider community, through the physical merging of the crops and the broth. We argue that one of the main aims of these ceremonies is to confirm and permanently renew the connections between the Udmurt rural communities at village level and at the wider Udmurt level as well.

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### **Tonal and duration variability in spontaneous Livonian**

The paper focuses on the study of Livonian word prosody, dealing primarily with the role of quantity and tone and their phonetic realization. Previous studies have revealed that the Livonian prosodic system has similarities to that of Estonian as well as Ingrian, Inari Saami, Finnish, and Latvian (see for example Lehiste et al. 2008, Tuisk 2012, Markus et al. 2013).

The quantity system of Livonian has similarities with that of Estonian. The domain of the Estonian and Livonian quantity is a primary stressed disyllabic

foot, and one of the main features characterizing the quantity opposition is the duration ratio of the syllables in the foot. Like Latvian (see Markus and Bond 2010) Livonian uses *stød* as one of its prosodic features. Words pronounced with *stød* are often referred to as words with broken tone, and words without *stød* as words with plain or rising tone. Previous descriptions indicate a certain degree of agreement among researchers who have studied Livonian. Yet the traditional two-way quantity opposition view is being challenged by a ternary quantity distinction at the level of metric feet.

The aim of this paper is to carry out an investigation of the realization of the temporal and tonal characteristics of disyllabic words in spontaneous speech. An acoustic-phonetic analysis of the recordings of spontaneous speech by Livonian speakers is carried out. The interaction between pitch alignment and durational changes in different structures of disyllabic words is analysed. The results will be compared to the similar data of Estonian, Ingrian, Inari Saami, Finnish, and Latvian. Considering previous studies on Livonian quantity and tonal structure, it is hypothesized that temporal characteristics remain stable in spontaneous speech, but there is a variation in the tonal characteristics.

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### **Ethnically oriented mass media in information field of Mordovia republic**

Ethnic journalism is a new unique phenomenon, which is scantily explored. As a rule, this trend is called “ethnic press”. It started to develop quickly about twenty years ago. Some specialists consider ethnic journalism a separate trend in mass media system; others believe ethnic press is a component of ethnic culture. Both the views should be accepted, since for the moment there are no specially trained journalists working in this sphere. In this connection, Y.A. Mishanin in his work “Ethnic culture of Mordvins in Russian press of 19-20th centuries” emphasizes: “Even though lately the number of local history articles has been increasing, there are still few journalists specializing in history issues. The reason for that is the following – a good historical article requires much work with archive documents

and other sources. Journalists have neither desire nor time to do such in-depth study. Nevertheless, many of them write articles on this topic, in order to be in the mainstream rather than to show the historical truth".[1]

In every Russian and Finno-Ugric region there are its own peculiarities of national mass media functioning; but the basic problems and conditions are almost the same. For example, in Mordovia there are newspapers published in the Moksha and Erzya languages ("Mokshen Pravda", "Erzyan Pravda", "Erzyan Mastor", "Chilisema", "Moksha", etc.), news and literary-art magazines, academic journals, and children's magazines ("Strannik", "Regionologia", "Vestnik NII Respubliki Mordovia", "Vestnik Mordovskogo Universiteta", "Izvestia Mordovii", "Stolitsa C", "Vechernij Saransk", "Respublika Molodaya", "Finno-Ugorskaya Gazeta", "Golos Mordovskogo Universiteta"). Broadcasting is expanding: the national radio-station "Vajgel" has been opened; and the local TV channels broadcast programs in local languages ("OD Pinge" (Channel 10), "Siyazhar" and "Kulyat" ("Mordovia" Channel)).

At the moment regional ethnically-oriented mass media, including the Mordovia ones, are developing actively. They reflect various sides of ethnoses's life, including aspects of local languages, national culture, modern national art, etc. Thus, in the Russian society ethnic-cultural links are strengthening, which facilitates the mutual understanding among people of different nationalities and helps to prevent possible cross-ethnic conflicts.

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**Finnish component in the material culture of Toretskoe settlement (town Bulumer) of the early Kazan Khanate.  
(Финский компонент в материальной культуре Торецкого поселения [город Булumer] раннего Казанского ханства)**

In recent years, the expedition of the Kazan University discovered and is actively investigating the unique monument in the central part of western Zakamye - previously unknown town of the 15th c, hardly preserved in the historical memory and not embodied in written sources. City differs by its originality and richness of material culture, the scale of international trade, highly developed diversified craft, multiethnic and multi-religious character (Valiulina. 2011). The problem of cross-cultural interaction in the Volga - Ural region is important and urgent for any historical period, including the time of the Kazan Khanate.

Traditional and most reliable indicator of the ethnic composition of archaeological sites is a mass material - ceramics. The collection of Toretskoe settlement, apart from the main dishes made in Bulgarian traditions, has up to 30% of Old Russian and similar to the "slavjanoidnaja" potting ceramics - Russian by its form, but preserved the tradition of crushed shells addition into clay dough; according to T.A. Khlebnikova, it is a tableware of Chuvash-Mari population or

of Slavic-Finno-Permian origin. By main ethno-cultural traditions - Bulgarian, Old Russian and similar to the “slavjanoidnaja”- ceramic complex of Toretskoe is close to monuments of Vyatka region.

In order to obtain more accurate and objective characteristics of similar to the “slavjanoidnaja”ceramics, research project was carried out by use of Mössbauer spectroscopy in combination with X-ray fluorescent and petrographic analyzes. As a result, resource base of production has been established, technological features identified highlighting similarity of the ceramics to earlier Kama–Ural region dishes, firing temperature determined (Valiulina, Voronina, Manapov, Pjataev. 2014. P.204).

Besides ceramics, Finnish component is evident on the monument by traditional ornaments, bronze onlay, syulgama and barrette. Household products also detect Finnish analogies: bone arrowheads of hunting types and iron crossbow arrowhead - klyapets, multipurpose and working axes, which, by their form, sizes and shapes, are similar to analogous axes of Malo- Galovskoye (Kelchiyurskiy) "treasure" in the Republic of Komi in the 15th c. (Rozanova, Balina, Stokolos. 2001, p. 210, Fig. 2,3) and the ax from the collection of the National Museum of Finland, dated to not earlier than the 15th c. (Karjialan synty, 2003. P.486).

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### **Words and persons in the language ideology of Nenets reindeer herders**

This presentation investigates the pragmatic functions of the Nenets language as it is used in reindeer herders' camps. The focus will be on certain aspects of Nenets language ideology, or in other words, what Nenets believe that the articulated words can do in the world. Based on long-term ethnographic fieldwork among eastern European Nenets, I shall explore the concept of speaking subjects, the role of the non-referential power of words as well as the

aspects of intentionality and agency in the context of emergent and ongoing social relations.

I propose to conceptualise Nenets language ideology as tightly related to reindeer herders' understanding of personhood. Words do not refer to one's thoughts and feelings only but constitute part of personhood as they carry forward a person's qualities. At the same time, words are detachable from the person and can be turned against the person, as in the case of curses, gossip or incautious use of words. I shall demonstrate that once words are spoken out loud, they become partly independent from their originator as a person who has uttered words is no longer their full master.

Nenets attribute to certain words some kind of corporeality, as this is the case of harmful words known as *vyvku vada*. The latter are containable and deflectable. When somebody releases *vyvku vada*, these carry harming potential. They can be freed from the link with their originator (and thus from the initial 'intention') and given a new direction by a new command or by manipulation of certain substances. In a way, the words become a force independent from their source being recyclable and reversible by others. One can spell out the *vyvku vada*, but not claim final power over them.

Although most of the time agents are seen as sources of their deeds and words, at times they as persons may not control what departs from them, as the person is multiple, relational and extendable rather than a sovereign individual committing only voluntary acts. Among Nenets reindeer herders, words sometimes play a similar role in the local exchange system as things and animals do.

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### **Dynamics of intercultural relations**

The paper aims to present the dynamics of Hungarian-Finnish cultural relations in the end of 19th and in the beginning of 20th century by analyzing the different forms of cultural exchange. The study is based on the personal correspondence of Béla Vikár, his letters written to Eemil Nestor Setälä.

Béla Vikár (1859–1945) probably best-known as the second Hungarian translator of the Finnish epic, the *Kalevala*, deserves attention also as a literary organizer and editor, as he served on several editorial boards.

Eemil Nestor Setälä (1864–1835) was a linguist, the professor of Finnish language and literature at the University of Helsinki, politician.

As part of his literary and cultural organizational activities and editorial work, Vikár conducted an extensive correspondence with many significant Hungarian and foreign artists of the age in Hungarian, Finnish, German and French, up to his death in 1945.

A total of 101 letters written to Setälä may be found in the National Archives of Finland (*Kansallisarkisto*) in Helsinki. These are usually quite long, and deal both with personal and professional topics. The number and length of the letters, the personal issues mentioned – eg. plans to spend the summer vacation together, the management of each other's finances in Hungary and Finland – suggest that

they were very good friends. As regards the letters written by Setälä to Vikár the greatest problem is that Vikár's apartment was bombed during World War II, thus, only a part of the correspondence has been preserved: only 2 letters from Setälä. These are to be found currently in the Manuscript Archive of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTAK Kt.) in Budapest.

Stephen Greenblatt states that culture acts as a network of negotiations for the exchange of goods, ideas, attitudes and even people. The analysis of different forms of exchange in Vikár's letters to Setälä shows continuous negotiations between both parties. It also answers the question: what kind of constraints and mobilities (Greenblatt, 1998) appear in the Hungarian-Finnish intercultural relations in a given period of time?

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### **The meanings of reduplication in Hungarian and Estonian languages (A reduplikáció funkciói a magyar és az észt nyelvekben)**

The repetition of phonological material within a word for semantic or grammatical purposes is known as reduplication. This phenomenon is a widely used morphological device in a number of the world's languages.

From the viewpoint of the usage of reduplication languages can be classified into three categories: (i) languages that do not employ reduplication as a grammatical device, (ii) languages that productively employ both partial and full reduplication, and (iii) languages that only employ full reduplication.

Full reduplication is the repetition of an entire word, word stem (root with one or more affixes), or root. Partial reduplication may come in a variety of forms, from simple consonant gemination or vowel lengthening to a nearly complete copy of base.

Hungarian is classified as a language that employs both partial and full reduplication as a semantic and grammatical device. Hungarian language uses different reduplicative construction to signal varying degrees of intensity (e. g. *dirib-darab* 'many pieces', *tarka-barka* 'brightly coloured', *jobban-jobban* 'better and better', *több és több* 'more and more').

The reduplicative morphemes can carry a number of grammatical meanings as well, such as distribution of an argument (e. g. *három-három szál rózsát adott nekik* 'gave three roses to each of them'), aspect: continued or repeated occurrence (e. g. *meg-megáll* 'stop every now and then'), reduplication is also used derivationally to alter word-class as well, e. g. *egyszer* 'once' (numeral) →

egyszer-egyszer sometimes' (adverb), ki (relative pronoun) → ki-ki (general pronoun), alig 'hardly' (partikula) ~ alig-alig 'barely' (adverb), az 'that' (demonstrative pronoun) → azaz 'that is, namely' (conjunction), csecse 'pretty, darling' (adjective) → csecsebecse 'knick-knack, trinket' (noun), reduplication plays role in the word-formation as well. The aim of this presentation is collect the function of reduplication in the word-formation, especially in the formation of so called rhyming compounds (or echo-structures).

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### **The lexicon of the Finnish reindeer management and a culture (Suomen porosanasto kulttuurin kuvana)**

Reindeer management has had of great significance to the people living in the harsh conditions of the arctic regions. Importance of reindeer is huge because that animal has played a decisive role in guaranteeing the viability of sparsely populated areas. In the Finnish language, we can see the relevance of reindeers as a great and specific terminology describing the nature of the livelihood.

It was M.A. Erkki Tiesmaa (1907–1969) who collected the lexicon of the Finnish Reindeer management during 1930's. His aim was to write his own doctoral thesis but he did not have time enough: a ready manuscript never went out as a book.

The delay of book was a pity because Tiesmaa's work includes many words having an extremely significant value as the document of cultural history. At all the manuscript brings out about 2000 different reindeer herding words. Outside of the vocabulary are still, naturally, latest technical terms describing new one instruments (e.g. snowmobile) etc.

It is no surprise that many Finnish words of reindeer management has roots in Lapp. It is so because Finnish reindeer herding is in fact a loan from Lapp culture, as it has been indicated by myriad researches. Other loan words are mostly coming from Scandinavia – especially from Norwegian – and from Karelian and so by that way from Slavic languages. But, Finnish reindeer culture has given influences to its neighbours, too.

The most usual reason to give a name for something among reindeers is an animal itself: We can call a reindeer by different names that have motivated e.g. by color, size, horns, temperament, sex and age. Rich vocabulary of reindeer names shows undoubtedly how important it is to reindeer herder to recognize exactly his animals. Other main words belong to a sledge (pulkka) and a dog, who has been the nearest friend of the reindeer man at the past times. For example, there are many interjections controlling dog's movements and barks.

We can, indeed come to conclusion that a lexicon is drawing the picture of whole reindeer herding culture. Words and meanings have cumulated into those aims, which have had relevance among reindeer breeders. On the other hand, loanwords are showing us, which kind of contacts they have had in the past culture. However, similar conclusions we can do with every another lexicon.

## Problems of gradation in Finnic and Saamic

In morphological paradigms of most Finnic and Saamic dialects, a form often has a characteristic quantity and/or tone pattern out of a set of 2–4 contrastive patterns occurring in the paradigm. The co-occurrence of forms with different quantity and/or tone patterns is here defined as GRADATION. Here some general problems relations of Finnic and Saamic gradational types are discussed.

In Võru Estonian disyllabic stems with a short initial syllable followed by a stop, four grades co-occur: cf. *sõda* ‘war’ (nominative), *sya* (genitive), *sõta* (partitive), *sõtta* (illative), where *d* is a short single stop, *t* is a short geminate, *tt* a long geminate, *õ* and *y* are mid-high and high illabial back vowels. The forms are considered to represent the STRONG, WEAK, LENGTHENED, and OVERLENGTHENED grade of the dental stop and of the stem (cf. Iva 2010). In historical and comparative grammar the label WEAK GRADE appears to be ambiguous, cf. the genitive forms in the corresponding nominative and genitive pairs of Standard Finnish *sota* : *sodan*, dialectal Finnish *sota* : *soran* or *solan*, Standard (North) Estonian *sõda* : *sõja*. In Standard Finnish the voiced stop *d* still represents the WEAK GRADE of the voiceless stop *t*; and the strong and weak grade forms with *t* and *d* are mutually predictable. In other dialects, the forms with consonants *r*, *l*, and *j* represent the MUTATED WEAK GRADE, and the Võru form represents the ZERO GRADE.

The cases like Estonian *aitan* ‘I help’ (here *t* stands for a geminate) from pre-gradational \**apittan* and Finnish *autan* ‘I help’ (here *t* stands for a short single stop) from pre-gradational \**aputtan* demonstrate that in historical grammar the state of regular developments of stems may be different on different stages of related languages: a secondary grade may occupy the place of the base grade in one sister language and may appear as the secondary grade by a new base grade in another sister language.

As the gradation in Saami has been claimed to be strengthening, the interrelations of the Inari Saami strong grade nominative case forms of *piŋo* ‘stack’, *tinno* ‘flint’, *pääni* ‘tooth’ and the corresponding weak grade genitive and partitive forms *pino*, *tino*, *pääni* are discussed.

Last the possible interrelations of probable weak grade forms with the secondarily lengthened vowel of Livonian and Saami languages versus the corresponding strong grade forms with short vowels are of interest, cf. Livonian nominative and genitive forms *ārga* ‘ox’, *jōra* ‘lake’, *lāška* ‘lazy’ vs. partitive *ārgō*, *jarrō*, *laiskō* and Inari Saami genitive *eergi*, *jäävri*, *lääški* vs. nominative *ergi*, *jävri*, *läški*.



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### **The votal holiday in public space of the local community**

St. Paraskeva's feast was one of the most popular holidays on the Russian North and some Komi regions too, till the beginning of XX century. During soviet period it had undergone significant changes: local religious practices without the participation of priests were formed. Post-soviet period was a time of religious revival in the Komi Republic. Removal of restrictions on religious activities led to the "rebirth" of public forms of religious life. Active participation in these processes took not only the Church, but also representatives of the local intelligentsia and administration.

In the report I will describe how the St. Paraskeva's feast (the ninth Friday after Easter) among Komi (Zyrians) is represented at scientific and popular papers, local press and the Internet. We try to identify major semantic emphasis in forming of the feast's image.

In 1990-2000 this holiday had become the object of close attention of researchers, journalists and officials. Despite the differences in style and genre of articles about the festival of St. Paraskeva, their key point is the description of the ritual activities that most clearly convey its specificity. In official publications holiday is regarded as a phenomenon or object that is capable to increase the investment attractiveness of the area, while authorities not always clearly understood how. Most of scientific papers are analyzing the meaning of the holiday for the local rural community (its role in the formation of local identity, the preservation of cultural traditions of rural settlements, changes in religiosity of the rural population). Both administrative and academic discourses have a significant impact on the perception of cherished holidays among local rural community. Holiday is increasingly perceived by inhabitants (especially by the young people) as a cultural event. The researchers note that the active intervention of the authorities, cultural workers in organization of the holiday leads to the "erode" of the traditional canon, increasing of its official status - to its secularization.

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### **Commission for the implementation of the Mari language and their role in the national revival of the Mari (20-ies of XX century)**

The problem of the implementation of the Mari language in the practice of public institutions Mari Autonomous region - one of the most interesting and little-known in the history of the Mari national revival.

The idea of expanding the functions of national languages in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic was caused by the fact that the Bolsheviks, in order to strengthen his regime, set the task to root Soviet state apparatus in the

national republics and regions, win over to the Soviet authorities, national minorities of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

Already in 1924 from Moscow arrived in Maroblast offer:

1 To make it mandatory for service support Mari speaking. This was true even for those who did not own the Mari language. For those who did not own the Mari language, organized courses, visit which was strictly necessary.

2 The exchange of labor for a job under the same conditions was recommended to give preference to the Maris. In December 1924, local authorities, received letters demanding the introduction of bilingualism in the conduct of official business.

Particularly important to ensure the rights of ethnic Russian legal protection in their native language. Mari eminent linguist M. Vasilyev in 1925-1926 years on the instructions of the regional authorities to translate into Mari Penal and Civil Codes of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

On the ground, in the areas of Maroblast, as well as in the center created under the local Executive Committee of the Commission on the implementation of the Mari language. Commission to report regularly on the progress of the consolidation of national staff in public institutions and enterprises. Authorized Commission conducted surveys among the population about the attitude towards Maroblast learn Mari language. Already in 1925, in the office of district executive committees Mari constituted half of the employees, and the next in 1926 - more than half.

But the policy of raising the status of national languages was short and in the 30 s. central authorities considered it a manifestation of nationalism. The Commission on the implementation of the Mari language in a relatively short period of time had a lot to do to raise the status of the Mari language and education of national staff, including management. Experience commissions for the implementation of the Mari language needs to be studied and can be used in the modern era.

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### **Pragmatic functions of Hungarian verbal prefixes**

The Hungarian grammatical category called *igekötő* “verbal prefix” involves many difficulties. Linguistically it can be hardly defined, syntactically and semantically it is difficult describe properly. Thus it is no wonder that the Japanese learners of the Hungarian find the verbal prefix one of the most difficult categories to acquire.

Especially when there is no obvious difference in aspect between sentences with and without a verbal prefix. Compare the following sentences. The sentence with a verbal prefix like (1b) needs a familiar context (Szabolcs 1986), describes an expected event (Perrot 1966), or needs some kind of presupposition or certain discourse (Kiefer 1983, E. Kiss 1995, Kálmán 1995).

- (1) a. *Érkezett egy levél.*  
b. *Megérkezett egy levél.*

Furthermore (2a) is appropriate, when either the speaker has no access to background information or s/he is unwilling to provide it for the hearer. (2b) is appropriate, when the speaker has access to information and s/he is willing to provide it for the hearer.

- (2) a. Mari ígért neki valamit.  
b. Mari megígért neki valamit.

They are used in different kinds of contexts. The verbal prefix sentences involve more background information than the sentences without verbal prefixes.

Besides the above-mentioned factors I would like to point out that in some cases effort or force of action is involved in the verbal prefix sentences. (3b) suggests, that it was hard to read the book and required much effort to finish it. (4b) indicates that climbing the mountain was difficult and took lots of energy compared with (4a).

- (3) a. Olvastam Nádas Péter Párhuzamos történek című könyvét.  
b. Elolvastam Nádas Péter Párhuzamos történek című könyvét.  
(4) a. Felmásztam a hegyre  
b. Megmásztam a hegyet.

In the following sentences however factivity is involved. The speaker of (6a) does not know that whether it is true or not that Mari ate the cake, the speaker of (6b) knows that it is true that Mari ate the cake.

- (6) a. Mari tagadta, hogy megette a tortát.  
b. Mari letagadta, hogy megette a tortát.

The purpose of my presentation is to explain why the verbal prefixes can express these apparently different various meanings by using the cognitive framework (Langneker 1987). I would like to argue that the diverse functions of the verbal prefixes could be derived from the basic schema through the process of focus shift, figure/ground reversal, metaphor and metonymy.

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## Temporal converbs and the development of the Finnish TUA construction

The Finnish ESSA and TUA converbs (tehdessään 'while doing', tehtyään 'after having done') are both called temporal constructions and have generally been treated together in both grammatical descriptions and the research literature. The

metaphorical relation TIME = SPACE has been thought to be reflected in the fact that simultaneity, in the ESSA construction, is expressed using the static inessive case (-ssa 'in'), while the TUA converb, expressing anteriority, contains the partitive case (-TA), which was originally a separative case ('from'), although in Finnic languages it has developed into more grammatical functions. The constructions, however, differ in their morphological structure and in their distribution in Finnic dialects. The ESSA construction has analogues in all the Finnic languages, while cognates to the TUA construction are marginal or nonexistent in most dialects and appear productive only in a few places (primarily in eastern Finnic). The constructions probably developed separately. Constructions with similar functions in Uralic languages are formed in many different ways; nor is it always the case that simultaneity is expressed using a static case and anteriority a separative case form. The "paradigmatic" relation between the constructions is to a large extent a consequence of the development of the standard written language. This assumed relationship has in turn influenced the only published account of the origin of the TUA construction, viz. Hakulinen's (1979:576-577) brief treatment, which suggests that the TUA construction continues the original separative meaning of the partitive case. This separative use is recessive in the Finnic languages, whereas the TUA construction cannot be older than the TU participle, which is a Finnic innovation. I propose that the TUA construction evolved from the so-called fortuitive construction (saada/tulla tehtyä ~ tehdyksi 'get (something) done') by separation of the complement into an adjunct (sai sen tehtyä 'get it done' > sen tehtyä 'it done'). The partitive case here can be related to the use of this case in objects and complements, rather than being regarded as separative. The indeclinable participle forms ending in -t or -d found in many Finnic languages may originally have been partitive forms (Tunkelo 1946, 133) and their generalization may have begun precisely from the fortuitive construction (Turunen 1946, 109-110). The TUA construction may represent an intermediate stage in this development. The anteriority of the TUA construction, which is not clearly visible in all dialects, may stem from the TU participle, not from the partitive case.

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## **Politeness strategies in Finnish institutional conversation: A variational pragmatic approach**

The present talk addresses the use of the conditional mood and of the partitive case as linguistic resources employed in the realization of politeness strategies in Finnish institutional conversation. I look at how constructions with these two

grammatical means are used in interactive talk at social welfare offices to make requests, ask questions, attend to the interlocutor's needs, etc. My material consists of recordings of conversations from five branches of *Kela* – the Finnish social security institution – located in different parts of Finland. The results show that compared with the material coming from the branches situated in rural municipalities, the use of the conditional and the partitive as part of politeness strategies is significantly more frequent in the conversations which were recorded in the urban area of Helsinki.

In my talk I follow Brown & Levinson (1987) in understanding politeness strategies and face-threatening acts. To explain the differences in politeness practices between Helsinki and rural Finland, I employ the variational approach to pragmatics (Schneider & Barron 2008), but I also draw on insights provided by historical sociopragmatics (particularly Culpeper & Demmen 2011). I argue that the varying frequencies of usage of the conditional and the partitive are a reflection of social differences between urban and rural communities. These differences rest on the distinction between the individualist and the collectivist model of culture and consist in e.g. greater autonomy, independence and self-respect of individuals living in metropolitan areas.

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### Main stages of the Udmurt ethnography as a part of Finno-Ugric ethnology

European history of studies badly in need of positive impetus, turned to myths. Deprived of ethnic peculiarities those legends were helpful for antiquarian understanding of historical process, especially in local interpretations. Early Udmurt historiography also followed the tradition when reasonable empiricism did not stop the desire to admire oneself in the light of great ancestors.

Yet, first of all it was necessary to collect primary field and archive material related to work of Saint-Petersburg Academy of Sciences' expedition. Moralistic ideas of scientists and travelers gradually receded under J.-J. Russo's influence. Sympathy to the ingenuous formed the basis for scientific relativism and simple human tolerance.

After the Napoleonic war European intellectuals headed to the new ideals involving in the romantic search. One nation, one culture and, eventually, one land become the corner stones of the author's understanding of the personal romantic ideal. The difficulty to combine the maximalist dream with the existing realities of life became the main problem of romantic ethnography.

Professionalization of ethnography at the turn of 19–20 centuries is connected not least of all with the appearance of regional research centres. During the same years the evolutional approach combined with the research humanism was shown by Moscow ethnographers and also Finnish and Hungarian pioneers of Finno-Ugric ethnography with the use of Udmurt materials.

The good idea was produced by the leaders of Finno-Ugric Society shortly before the First world war to organize are special courses for teaching local correspondents from Russia to work without assistance. But the following war and revolutionary events didn't allow to develop full-fledged scientific collaboration in the line of "East-West". Attempts of ethnography defenders during the first Soviet years to resume research projects were doomed to failure by reason of general politicization of science in Europe.

During the postwar years fragile balance between the authority of the scientific fact and the authority of the State provided the conditions for the Renaissance of the Udmurt ethnography and what's more important – forming of the interest towards Finno-Ugric range of problems. And organization of the Congresses international of Finno-Ugrists starting with 1965 was a crown of this process. An appearance of independent research groups of ethnographers where of pioneers of Finno-Ugric researches had been dreaming was the main success of these years.

In conclusion of the brief description of main stages of the Udmurt ethnographical study it is possible to say that creativity in work and research enthusiasm ensured success of many initiatives. Solving their purely scientific tasks Finno-Ugric ethnographers were the first who walked along the cart roads of the region history and opened to the world and themselves the Udmurts and made by their own efforts the golden fund of the modern study.

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### **The Baltic connections of Finno-Volgaic languages (Suomalais-volgalaisten kielten balttilaiset kielikontaktit)**

Linguists (V. Thomsen, J. Kalima, from the previous decades by the Finish E. Nieminen and K. Liukkonen, the Estonian L. Vaba, the Hungarian G. Bereczki) and archaeologists, historians (V. N. Toporov, O. N. Trubachyov, C.F. Meinander, P. Tretyakov etc.) wrote variously about the Baltic connections of Finno-Ugric people during around the past 120 years. The word elements explained to have had Baltic origins require circumspection not only because of the occasional parallelism between Iranian and Germanic loan words, but also the obscure origin of the time, way and not once the direction of the takeovers.

I examined primarily the Baltic elements of the Baltic-Finnic languages using two sources: The thesis of S. Suhonen (in: D. Sinor 1988) and my, personal

study of the Baltic loan words of *Suomen sanojen alkuperä* (SSA) (Itkonen-Kulonen 1992-2000). Naturally, many Baltic elements existed, or still exist, only in Estonian (or South Baltic-Finnic) language area. L. Vaba estimates the number of Baltic elements of Baltic-Finnic at least 500-550 (Vaba 2001: 44, 45). In contrast, in the new Finnish etymological dictionary barely two-hundred words appear in connection with the Baltic effect.

In **Sami/ Lappish** – based on SSA- about 25-30 words originate from the early common-Finnic era. Sami does not contain Baltic elements by nature, although P. Kallio, from the Finnish scholars, supported the side of direct relation. There are some Sami word elements, which originate from the Finno-Volgaic era (Lappish *loabme*, *log'got*, *muolōs*, *däktier*).

Due to the enormous area occupied by the Baltic tribes, nowadays scholars clearly agree upon that the Mordvinic and Cheremis, that is the two other Finno-Volgaic languages, have been strongly affected by the Baltic languages. Toporov and Trubachyov discovered Finnic river names eastern to the region of the upper reaches of Dnieper River and old-Mordvinic river names in the region of Don River. This circumstance reflects on the direct relationship between Baltic and Volgaic tribes (Vaba 1983: 139-140).

**Mordvins** were located westerner in the past than nowadays. According to Kalima, (19362) on the one hand the Baltic loan words got into the Mordvinic language with the help of the Baltic-Finnic people, on the other hand they were taken over directly. Dozens of words refer to the Baltic-Mordvinic contact (Mordvinic *kardaz*, *l'enge*, *lianas*, *l'ija*, *mukoro*, *panst*, *pejel'*, *pu'rgiñe*, *simeñ*, *suro*, *tor*, *řožoñ* (Zaicz 1998: 213)) and maybe the word *al* 'egg'. Besides, there are 9 words listed in the Finnish etymological dictionary which were taken from Baltic in the Finno-Volgaic age (*čir'e*, *čuvto*, *kirda*, *kodoro*, *l'epe*, *luv*, *luvod'ems*, *mala-so*, *tejt'er*).

**Cheremises** also lived more westward, that time northeastward to the Mordvins. In connection with the Baltic relations of Cheremis more negative opinions have been expressed (e.g. by Mägiste 1959), however at the same time F. Gordeev proves the Baltic origin of a series of Cheremis word forms (compare with Vaba 1983: 145). But for sure according to SSA those word families which contain Mordvin and Finnish elements derives from the Finno-Volgaic era, like Cheremis *kerδa* (~Finnish *kerta*), *lo* (~Fi. *loma*) *és šör* (~Fi. *syřjä*). Here belongs a Cheremis word, which does not contain Mordvinic element: *laδa* (~Fi. *latu*). It is noticeable that in the dictionary of Károly Rédei the Baltic origin of the latter two words are not given. The explanation of the Baltic origin of the formerly classified word *šažar* (~Fi. *sisar*) is not convincing (Itkonen-Kulonen 2000: 187). In this question the posthumous etymological dictionary of Gábor Bereczki does not take sides (Bereczki 2014: the Cheremis word is not a head word in the dictionary).

This topic has been discussed for 32 years and requires the cooperative work of archaeologists, Finno-Ugric scholars and Baltic scholars. The way I see it, we have primarily the most linguistic work with Cheremis recently.

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### **Toponymic models of Karelia as a source for studying the ethnic history of the region**

Each name of a geographical object is a kind of historical document or monument, as each historical epoch is characterized by its own "toponymic dictionary", because each historical stage of development of society is characterized by the features of the material and spiritual culture [Agejeva 1985: 65]. But this so-called toponymic dictionary or set of typical toponymic bases (peculiar to a particular people in a certain historical period) is not so great, because in every language in every age there are a limited number of stems, from which the formation of names is possible. Due to this fact in any era in a particular area there were a lot of namesakes [Superanskaja 1969: 41].

Geographical names, mapped and correlated with those objects, which they call, with their physiographic features and considered in the system (as the name would never exist alone, but always relates to each other [Nikonov, 1965: 34] i.e. appears in a series of similar on certain model, which is popular among the population at a given time) acquire spatial localization.

Obtained ranges allow us to determine the birthplace of models to identify ways of its distribution, since the models of naming geographical objects are transferred to new territories as the population moves.

The task of the modern researchers is to reveal the typical models of naming geographical objects specific for the ethnic groups that once inhabited the study area, to determine their ethnicity and time of existence, to try to understand the motivation of naming (the name does not necessarily always based on the most common signs of the area, and often the contrary - a rare sign allocates the object from the environment [Nikonov, 1965: 40]), i.e. reveal the mechanisms of naming geographical objects.

There are a number of toponymic models in Karelia, that help to reconstruct the ethnic history of the region, to explain the existing ethno-linguistic and dialectal boundaries.

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## **The history of blacksmith's craft of the Finno-Ugrian peoples in the Volga and the West Ural regions**

The data obtained by metallographic examinations of blacksmith products from the archaeological sites of Finno-Ugrian peoples dating to different epochs let us trace cultural and historic relationships in the production sphere.

In the region of the Volga and the Kama rivers these connections were revealed in the most dramatic way in the Early Iron Age as the phenomenon of a sudden spread of developed blacksmith products in the Anan'ino cultural entity. It was connected with the southern (Caucasian) contacts. But the alien craftsmen apparently preserved their clan structure; they did not display the local bronze-makers their technological achievements. Caucasian traditions were not deeply introduced into the system of local ironworking. The impact obtained by the local tribes consisted only in assimilation of ferrous metal and the most primitive modes of its processing.

In the 2nd c. BC – the 2nd c. AD development of iron production in the Volga-Kama region can be seen in the field of metallurgy. We can trace back the contacts in production sphere between local groups of population that resulted in formation of technological stereotype, which determined further development of blacksmith craft. This stereotype could be characterized by the following features: limited assortment of iron artefacts, use of iron or raw steel for production, use of piled welding technology for producing blanks, and an extremely rare use of carburization and heat-treatment techniques.

The dramatic changes in ironworking are registered in the late 1st millennium AD. These were expressed in the spread of blacksmith products of new shapes and introduction of new technologies in local blacksmith craft. Three-fold welding technology becomes its characteristic feature. This new stereotype in ironworking of the Volga-Kama region was preserved until the middle of the 2nd millennium AD.

As for the Volga and Oka region, the earliest blacksmith production penetrated to the territory of D'yakovo culture from the Scythian world. However, it did not seriously affect the formation of local blacksmith's craft. It were the innovations related to the coming of alien population with certain techniques. Among these innovations we should point to production of quality high-carbon steel, use of complicated technologies of welding together iron and steel, extensive use of heat-chemical and heat-treatment techniques in ferrous metalworking.

Another stereotype in the Volga-Oka region we can see from the materials of the Ryazan-Oka cemeteries culture and the Finno-Ugrian peoples known from the chronicles (the Mordvinians, the Merya, and the Muroma tribes). By its general features until the 9th c. it looks similar to what we have revealed in the Volga-Kama region.

In the 9th c. same as in the Volga-Kama region, we see dramatic changes in blacksmith's craft here. Among the Merya tribes and the population of the Tver-Volga region the base of high-quality iron production becomes three-fold welding.

Our research demonstrates that the impulses in ironworking sphere traced over the long history of the Finno-Ugrian tribes, as a rule, were not developed by the local milieu. The Finno-Ugrian world looks rather conservative in the sphere of production.

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### **Parallels and Connections Between Medieval Finno-Ugric and Slavic-Russian Metal Attire of Decorations**

**(Параллели и связи между средневековым финно-угорским и славяно-русским убором из украшений [по материалам прибалтийских финнов])**

In this sectional report the material of the metal adornments of VI–XIII centuries of Finno-Ugric and Slavic-Russian origin is compared. The most typical types and forms of jewelry and designs of their connections are selected.

In the early medieval period Finno-Ugric and Slavic-Russian sets of jewelry refer to the richly-metal stage corresponding draped costume. Metal details fasten and support the suit. Consequently, in general construction, in the way of wearing and in forms of jewelry parallels are observed (forehead plates; the forms of temporal rings; trapezoidal pendants, chain and other details).

The similarity of the forms of jewelry and their decoration often shows a similar formation of elementary metal and decorative forms on the base of the same techniques: stamping, casting, forging, engraving – but not says about communications and influences.

The originality of sets of jewelry of different nations occurs due to small parts of jewelry items or features techniques. Also it is important to observe in archaeological material a specific amount of external relations, experienced the culture of each people.

The cancellation of richly-metal construction was caused of the development of specialized jewelry and the attributes of social status and also of general rationalization of the design of the costume. The costume and the attire of adornments became relatively independent from each other. Typological compliance is maintained between them. Folk richly-metal design of jewelry is the basis of national costumes, partly preserved in the ethnographic complexes.

In IX–XIII centuries there is a significant difference between Finno-Ugric and Slavic-Russian attires of adornments, if we consider ceremonial attires of jewelry made in high jewelry technology (cloisonne enamel, niello and filigree).

Separate hoards with Finno-Ugric adornments found on the territory of Ancient Rus are distinguished by originality in the vast complex of Russian treasures and characterized by some democracy. This difference is connected with the conditions of the historical development of peoples. But on the democratic level similarity and communication in jewelry is still observed.

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### **Lexicalization of the constructions with particles in the Besermyan dialect of the Udmurt language**

The Udmurt language has a wide range of clitic particles. These units occur in speech in combination with a host word, and the distribution of the host words shows a categorial diversity. We study the combinations of particles in the Besermyan dialect of Udmurt. Data for the present research was taken from the Besermyan corpus (<http://corpora.iling-ran.ru//index.php>, compilers O. Biryuk, R. Idrisov, T. Arkhangelskiy, version of 2014) and from my fieldwork with native speakers in Shamardan village (Yukamensky District, Udmurtia) in 2012 - 2014.

Discourse markers have been extensively studied in recent years, whereas in the Besermyan dialect discursive constructions have not yet been examined. Some discursive constructions with particles in the standard Udmurt, as well as in Middle-Їепса and Besermyan dialects are mentioned in (Грамматика 1962; Карпова 1995; Arkhangelskiy 2014), without any specific analysis of the meaning of these units.

The corpus provides us with the information on the most frequent collocations with an enclitic particle as the second element. Most of these constructions comprise particles *ik*, *a*, *ke*, *no* (the two latter are also used as derivational affixes forming indefinite and negative pronouns respectively, but we do not consider these cases). For example, about 40% of occurrences of the emphatic particle *ik* in the Besermyan corpus are covered by the collocation of pronominal adverb *ož'* 'so' and the particle: *ož'=ik* 'and so'. The interrogative particle *a* is used with the pronoun *mar* 'what' in about 20% of all the occurrences of *a*, constituting the construction  $X=a\ mar=a$  'may be'; 'or something'. A construction  $ben=a$  ('right?'), formed by the word *ben* 'yes' and the particle *a*, is also used frequently (about 15% of all the occurrences of *a*).

Some collocations with the particles occur not so frequently (for example, the collocation of two particles *ke no* 'although'), but they meet the requirements of semantic non-compositionality and can thus be seen as a case of lexicalization.

I claim that the above mentioned constructions are lexicalized in the Besermyan dialect and have to be analyzed as separate discourse units.

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### **3 Symposia**



## **Symp. 1. Change of Finnic languages in a multilingualistic environment**

**Organizers:** Sofia Björklöf, Riho Grünthal and Santra Jantunen (University of Helsinki)

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### **Lexical relations of Finnic languages in North-Eastern Estonia and Western Ingria**

The historical language contact situation in North-Eastern Estonia and Western Ingria is reflected in the vocabulary of local languages in several ways. The languages that will be more closely examined in the presentation are the Estonian north-eastern coastal dialects, the Estonian eastern dialect, Votic, and Ingrian, as well as Ingrian Finnish as a contact language, all genetically closely related Finnic varieties.

The traditional Votic and Ingrian settlements used to locate in Western Ingria, the south-eastern coastal area of the Gulf of Finland between the river Narva and the present-day metropol of St. Petersburg that, historically, was built on the ancient trading centre of Finnic peoples in the beginning of the 18th century. Politically, the local people have never formed an independent state on the area that has been ruled by both Russia and Sweden. In the 17th century Finnish-speaking population migrated to Ingria, whereas the Russian migration increased considerably after the foundation of St. Petersburg in 1703. Finally, Estonian migrants settled in the same area in the 19th century. Presumably, there used to be Swedish-speaking people in Western Ingria as well although the subject has been studied very little so far.

The arrival of new inhabitants from the politically ruling countries changed the demographic balance between different peoples in Ingria, increased linguistic diversity and changed the hierarchy of the languages leading gradually to drastic language and identity shift of the local peoples of Ingria. Both the Votics and Ingrians used to be multilingual and, actually, some of their villages had a mixed inhabitation. In general, the language boundaries between the old rural communities have been extremely vague: in fact, the speakers of both Votic and Ingrian have repeatedly expressed the opinion that their dialects are dialects of the same language.

The presentation is based on old dialectal materials published in dictionaries and in the case of Estonian and Finnish still partly unpublished materials that are preserved in the archives. The words that will be analyzed and discussed etymologically in more detail are drawn from Votic, Ingrian, and Estonian. Our main hypothesis is that there are numerous loanwords originating from mutual contacts, although it is often difficult to confirm the direction of borrowing between closely related languages. Nevertheless, the main aim is to find the origin of shared words, whether they inherited from the mutual protolanguage or

result from areal diffusion. Furthermore, we will seek to determine the direction of the diffusion, reconstruct the old language contact situation and amplify the picture of the mutual relations of the closely related languages, whose development cannot be described merely in terms of a family tree model.

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### The use of the Latvian origin verbal prefixes to express aspect in Livonian

In this paper I examine how to express aspect in spoken Livonian with Latvian origin verbal prefixes. This study is based on data that is derived from unpublished recordings. The Livonian people have been bilingual for a long time. Thus, the Latvian influence on Livonian has been remarkable not only on lexical level but also on grammatical level. An example of this is the use of Latvian origin verbal prefixes in Livonian and the change they have brought about in Livonian aspect system. In Latvian, there are 12 verbal prefixes, of which all but one, negative *ne-*, have been loaned to Livonian. The prefixes are the primary way to express aspect in Latvian, and considering the great influence of Latvian in Livonian, they presumably also have a remarkable role in expressing aspect in Livonian in addition to the case of the object.

This paper has a threefold objective. First, I intend to find out what prefixes are used to express aspect in Livonian. Second, with what kind of verbs those prefixes appear in Livonian. In other words, are the verbs, for instance, Livonian or loaned from Latvian, maybe even as a combination of a prefix and a verb. Third, how expressing aspect in Livonian with verbal prefixes is similar to that in Latvian. An example of the use of the Latvian origin verbal prefixes in Livonian in this context can be found below. In it, two Latvian origin verbal prefixes *uz-* and *iz-* appear with Livonian verbs *kēratō* 'write' and *luggō* 'read'. When comparing to Latvian, these are the same prefixes which are used with synonymous Latvian verbs *rakstīt* 'write' and *lasīt* 'read' when expressing completedness or a perfective aspect.

<i>un</i>	<i>pālō</i>	<i>um</i>	<i>uz-kērat-ōd</i>	
and	on	be.3SG	ASP-write-PASS.PTCP.PST	
<i>vāggō</i>	<i>lālam</i>	<i>siz</i>	<i>vōļ</i>	<i>iz-lugg-ō</i>
very	difficult	then	be.PST.3SG	ASP-read-INF

'and it was written on it, it was then very difficult to read it'

This phenomenon has also been known for a long time. For example, it is mentioned in the first Livonian grammar by A. J. Sjögren (1861). The most extensive study in Latvian origin verbal prefixes in Livonian so far is Fanny de Siver's study *Die lettischen Präfixe des livischen Verbs* (1971). However, this study is more a general overview on the verbal prefixes and their behavior in Livonian and the relation between verbal prefixes and aspect is only touched on but not discussed in more detail and as a subject of its own.



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### **Borrowing morphology: the influence of Russian on the Veps system of indefinite pronouns (Lainattua morfologiaa: venäjän vaikutus vepsän indefiniitti-pronominien järjestelmään)**

Veps is a small minority language that has been influenced by Russian for a long time. The influence of Russian can be seen in all subsystems of the Veps language, but until now, hardly any research has been done on the influence on morphology. The subject of this study is the influence of Russian on the Veps system of indefinite pronouns, and the further aim is to shed some light on the morphological borrowing from Russian to Veps in general.

In the Veps language, the indefinite pronouns are based on interrogative pronouns. They carry indefiniteness markers, most of which are taken over from Russian, either directly or by calquing. Cross-linguistically, this feature is by no means restricted to Veps. Russian pronominal loan elements can be found in all the eastern regions of the Finnic languages as well as in some other Finno-Ugric languages. As a matter of fact, the morphological borrowing of indefiniteness markers is surprisingly common in the languages of the world. Overall, it is known to happen in languages under very strong influence of another language (Haspelmath 2004: 184–185).

On some accounts in language contact literature, structural-typological similarity between the donor and the recipient language is seen as a crucial precondition for borrowing linguistic forms. Some more previous studies claim that the borrowability of structural categories is not dependent on the structural similarity of the languages but primarily on the sociolinguistic factors. Such factors could be for instance the minority status of the Veps language and the bilingualism of its speakers.

Both printed and spoken language samples have been used as the data of the study in question. The first half of the data is composed of the old printed dialect samples, which represent spoken Veps approximately from the early twentieth century till mid-twentieth century. The second half of the data represents the language situation today and consists of both written and spoken language samples. The written language samples have been collected from the Veps language corpus (<http://vepsian.krc.karelia.ru/about/>). The recordings of the

present-day spoken language samples have been carried out on multiple fieldtrips in Northern and Central Veps villages between 2008 and 2014.

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## Secondary geminates before the short vowels in Soikkola Ingrian: past and present

Secondary gemination is typical in Finnic space. Secondary geminates developed out of short consonants after Proto-Finnic had split into individual Finnic languages. Therefore, there are many idiosyncratic ways of how this kind of gemination can be represented in Finnic varieties. In Ingrian, secondary gemination is a very pronounced and wide-spread feature, it occurs in multiple positions. Secondary geminates in some positions are a unique feature of Ingrian against the Finnic background. Especially developed is secondary gemination in the Soikkola and Hevaha dialects.

It is generally considered that secondary gemination occurred before the original non-initial long vowels and diphthongs, e.g. in Soikkola Ingrian: *\*kanaa* ‘hen:SG:PRT’ > [kañnà], *\*minua* ‘I:SG:PRT’ > [miñnua]. A well-known Ingrian case is also the occurrence of secondary geminates before phonologically short but phonetically lengthened second syllable vowel: [*\*omèna*] ‘apple:SG:NOM’ > [oimèna]. In the Soikkola dialect, secondary geminates have developed into the independent phonemes that are distinct from the primary geminates, thus having created a typologically rare consonantal ternary quantity contrast, similar to e.g. Estonian (Sovijärvi 1944: 12, 14; Markus 2010; Kuznetsova 2014).

However, secondary geminates in Soikkola Ingrian could also occur before phonetically short vowels, a fact that is little known in Finnic studies (though mentioned in Porkka 1885: 39, Kettunen 1930: 184, Sovijärvi 1944: 14–15, 26). Trisyllabic feet with the foot nucleus structure  $\bar{V}CCV$ ,  $V_1V_2CCV$ ,  $VRCCV$  could have both primary and secondary geminates before both long and short vowels. For example: (1) ‘primary geminate + short vowel’ (*uuttele* ‘wait:IMP’), (2) ‘primary geminate + long vowel’ (*muuttiima* ‘change\_oneself:PRS:1PL’), (3) ‘secondary geminate + short vowel’ (*vuuttava* ‘leaking’) and (4) ‘secondary geminate + long vowel’ (*suuttiima* ‘judge:PRS:1PL’). Secondary geminates before both long and short vowels also occurred in the nuclea  $\bar{V}R\bar{C}V$ ,  $V_1V_2R\bar{C}V$  of the trisyllabic feet, e.g. *kilttämä* ‘refuse:PRS:1PL’ vs. *pñitara* ‘flowerbed:SG:NOM’. Secondary geminates before the short vowels overrule the existing generalization on the conditions of secondary gemination and require the latter to be redefined.

In contemporary, very endangered, Soikkola dialect, powerful reduction processes have been running for the past several decades, obviously under the influence of language shift into Russian. Reduction intensification is clearly observed when the contemporary material is compared to the archive audiodata

from the 1960s. Among other things, the opposition of secondary and primary geminates is now blurred in long structures, e.g. in two-foot words (Markus 2010: 48–49). Therefore, it is not said that the aforementioned fourfold contrast of structural nucleus types in trisyllabic feet has survived intact up to now.

To explore this, we have conducted a phonetic experiment on all main types of foot nuclei in trisyllabic feet. The data were obtained from 4 speakers of Soikkola Ingrian. The durations of foot nucleus segments in altogether 1600 tokens were measured. In the paper, we will present the results of this experiment. The findings will answer the question of what phonetic and phonological transformations have happened in the trisyllabic feet in the course of the Russian-induced reduction, and whether a unique Soikkola secondary gemination before short vowels has been preserved as a separate structural type in the modern language.

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### **On the use of perfect and pluperfect in Estonian dialects: frequency and language contacts (Täis- ja ennemineviku kasutamisest eesti murretes: sagedus ja keelekontaktid)**

Perfect and pluperfect are analytic tenses which are characteristic to Baltic-Finnic languages but not to other Finno-Ugric languages. The rise of analytic tense forms in Baltic-Finnic languages has been seen as a result of language contacts, either with Baltic languages (Ariste 1956) or Germanic languages (Serebrennikov 1959). The influence of Germanic languages (esp. German) on Estonian has been strong for a long period, and it has been regarded as the main factor in preferring analytic forms in the history of written Estonian: e.g. in the written corpus from 1890s the analytic tenses are used more often than later, during the more purist periods (Metslang 1997).

There are no studies dedicated to the use of perfect and pluperfect in Estonian dialects, it has only been mentioned that in Insular dialect, analytic tenses forming a complex predicate are often used (Niit, Lonn 2002). However, when looking at the dialectal data, the differences between dialects are obvious: western dialects make more use of perfect and pluperfect, whereas other dialects (e.g. South-Estonian and Northeastern dialects) often prefer simple past forms in the same context.

In this paper, we look at the frequency and distribution of perfect and pluperfect forms in Estonian dialects. Our data is obtained from the Corpus of Estonian Dialects ([www.murre.ut.ee/murdekopus](http://www.murre.ut.ee/murdekopus)). We have extracted all the occurrences of the finite *olema* 'be' + past active participle (*nud-participle*) from the morphologically annotated part of the corpus. The data consists of more than 13.000 instances of the construction. First we excluded accidental co-occurrences of the verb 'be' and the participle, then we coded the data with respect to its morphological form, polarity, and the function of the perfect (following Metsang 1997). The results reveal that the usage of the observed category varies remarkably across dialects. Main differences emerge between eastern and western dialects (similarly to other verbal constructions discussed in Uihoaed 2013) rather than northern and southern dialects as traditional dialect classifications would suggest. The results are discussed in the light of language contacts.

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## **Moloskovitsa dialect in Western Ingria (Moloskovitsan murteesta)**

This paper describes some isoglosses separating Finnish idioms of Moloskovitsa parish from its eastern neighbours such as Kupanitsa and Skuoritsa dialects, as well as from each other. Material for this article was gathered during a series of expeditions to Western Ingria in 2003 - 2011.

1. Phonetic isoglosses.

- a) Moloskovitsa dialect has long low vowels in the first syllable aa, ää, Kupanitsa dialect and ther dialects of Central Ingria have diphthongs ua, iä, cf. Moloskovitsa taahē ‘manure’ vs. Central Ingrian tuahe.
- b) After sonorants voiceless consonants become (semi)voiced, cf. Central Ingrian pelto ‘field’ vs. Moloskovitsa pelDo.
- c) Diphthongs uo, üö, ie may sporadically become ua, üä, iä, ia, cf. Central Ingrian suo ‘moor’ vs. Moloskovitsa suo and sua.

#### 2. Morphological isoglosses.

- a) Verb *suvaita* ‘love’ has Present stem *suvvaa-* in Moloskovitsa dialect, in Central Ingria Present stem is *suva(i)tse-*.
- b) Oblique plural stem of nominals is strong in Moloskovitsa dialect, dialects of Central Ingria use weak stem, cf. Moloskovitsa *sikkoil* ‘pig-Pl-Allative’ vs. Central Ingrian *sioil*.
- c) The stem of reflexive verbs in Present ends in *-se*, e.g. Infinitive *peissä* ‘to wash itself’, Present stem *peisse-*, in Central and Western Ingria this verb has Present stem *pešii-*.
- d) Verb *olla* ‘to be’ has suppletive synthetic Future *lienen*, *lienet*, *lienöö*. In the dialects of Central Ingria this paradigm doesn’t exist or it can be considered as Potential (cf. Standard Finnish).
- e) Partitive plural of the contracted nominals has zero case ending, e.g. *lamBai* ‘sheep-Pl.Part’ (NomSg *lammas*), *perrei* ‘family-Pl.Part’ (NomSg *pere*).
- f) In the southern part of Moloskovitsa *h-Illative* is very common, e.g. *kottih* ‘at home’, *suomeh* ‘to Finland’, *puuh* ‘on the tree’. *Illative* in the dialects of Central Ingria and the northern part of Moloskovitsa can be without ending (*suomee*, *kottii*) or may have the ending *-hV* (*puuhu*).

#### 3. Lexical isoglosses.

- a) ‘bucket’, Moloskovitsa *panGi*, Central Ingrian *ämpär*.
- b) ‘wedding’, Moloskovitsa *pulmat*, Central Ingrian *piot*, *hiät*.
- c) ‘apron’, Moloskovitsa *polle*, Central Ingrian *eslina*, *esna*.
- d) ‘cemetery’, Moloskovitsa *kalmot*, Central Ingrian *hautosmaa*.
- e) ‘sun’ Moloskovitsa *päivä*, Central Ingrian *aurinko*.
- f) ‘cart’ Moloskovitsa *vankkuri*, Central Ingrian *rattaat*.

Some of above mentioned isoglosses are common for Moloskovitsa dialect and the other idioms of Western Ingria including Votic, for example isoglosses 1a, 2a, 2b, 2d, 2e and lexical isoglosses. Some of such isoglosses can be a trace of Votic substrate.

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### **About some features of Vepsian dialects (on field data) (Joistakin vepsän murteiden piirteistä kenttäaineiston pohjalta)**

The author in the last twenty years has traveled in order to record Vepsian language materials, visited almost all their territories. By now certain texts data have been accumulated. Written texts may not only have of linguistic interest, as the author in the collection of materials, primarily interested in the realities of life and the specific material Vepsians in their lexical terms. In this paper we present

only some of the most striking features of Vepsian live speech to which attention was drawn in the transcription and analysis of the materials. According to our data, almost all interviewed informants were bilingual, only one or two of them said that do not speak in Russian, and that was confirmed when dealing with them. Since Vepsian language coexists with Russian, he is suffering from serious Russian influence in all the language tiers. You can observe the processes of interference along with a change in the phonetic system.

Widely represented phonetic variations. In some cases, one sentence may be represented by variants of a lexeme, such as: *Adrha val'l'astadas, eduü ol'i vadrat iï plugat, a agrat ol'ba. Nu-ka naku, n'ečče atrha* (In wooden plow were harnessed, were previously not plow wooden plow were. Here in this wooden plow.)

In case system also notes some change.

With regard to word usage can note the appearance in the Vepsian speech Russian words. Usually an informant in the course of the conversation finds Vepsian equivalent: *Nu splav ol'i ka losos' (rus) ol'i. Nu ol'i, ol'i t'äg'ä, a kut splavan vot končiba, loh'I (veps) kadoï deï kaïk.*

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### **Future time reference devices expressing TAM categories: the example of Livonian, Ludic, and Veps**

The present research studies the expression of TAM (tense, aspect, mood/modality) categories in three Finnic languages – Livonian, Ludic, and Veps. It focuses on the future time reference (FTR) devices: Livonian *līdō*, Ludic *l'iettä* and *rodizetta*, Veps *l'ind'ä*. They can place a situation in the future and convey a temporal meaning, but in addition to that also get a modal or an aspectual meaning.

The aim is to analyse the similarities and differences in the usage of FTR devices, but for comparison also to include the devices that are (at least to some extent) interchangeable with them. The Veps *l'ind'ä*, for instance, may appear in a construction expressing obligation (a modal concept), but there are also other means, e.g. *pidada* and *tarbiž*, even a loan from Russian (*dolžen*) can occur (they all translate as 'have to, must'). Another aim is to discuss the possibilities of internal development vs. external influence, and additionally the possibility of a parallel development. *Wälchli* (2000) regards the so-called debitive constructions (express obligation, duty) in Livonian and Latvian as an example of parallel development. The fact that Livonian has long been under the influence of Latvian, whereas Veps and Ludic speakers have been surrounded by the speakers of Russian provides an interesting point of comparison.

The preliminary results indicate that although *līdō*, *l'iettä*, and *l'ind'ä* all go back to Proto-Finno-Ugric (see SSA II) and share certain functions that supposedly represent internal developments, the contact languages clearly have had a role to play in their (further) development. The probable cases of contact-induced change will be tested against the chain proposed by *Matras*. He claims

that the likelihood of categories being affected by the contact is the following: modality > aspect/aktionsart > future tense > (other tenses) (Matras 2007: 46).

Part of the data has been collected from text collections published in the first half of the 20th century. The other part of the data originates from the end of the 20th century / the beginning of the 21st century and also includes the material collected by the author during fieldwork trips.

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### **Russian influence on the Tver dialects of Karelian: phonetics, morphology**

Tver Karelians reside the land of Tver nearly 400 years. They are descendants of the Korela ethnos that emerged before the XIII-th century on the Karelian Isthmus. The reasons of migration were the Russian-Swedish wars of XVI–XVII centuries. Nowadays Tver Karelians population is 7 000 people. Their live language is still heard in villages of Tver region.

The Tver dialect of Karelian is classified as the Karelian Proper dialect. It is especially similar to South Karelian dialects in the Republic of Karelia. The Tver dialect of Karelian has 3 subdialects, namely subdialects of Tolmachi and Vesyegonsk, and the Dyorzha subdialect, which is essentially different from two others in pronunciation. The biggest group of Tver Karelians speaks the Tolmachi dialect.

Tver Karelians are mainly bilinguals. They have perfect knowledge of Russian and it is reflected in their language. The greatest influence of Russian was felt by lexical and phonetic systems. The following phonetic lines came to Tver Karelian from Russian:

1) in the vowel sounds' system: debt vowels' abolition; vowel sounds u, y replacement on the nonsyllabic w in the diphthongs and triphthongs which last u, y; reduction of diphthongs quantity in the Dyorzha subdialect; apocopes and syncopes in the Dyorzha subdialect;

2) in the consonants' system: consonants *f* and *c* in the Russian loans; plentiful palatalization; palatalization of consonant *š* at the beginning of the word (*š*→*s*) in situation before vowel sounds *ä, ö, y, i, e* in the Vesjegonsk subdialect; the new combinations of consonants; reduction of long consonants *kk, tt, pp, čč* in situation before consonants *l, r, n*; as a result of interchange of consonants the long consonant *rr* is reduced and previous vowel sound is extended; reduction of quantity of interchange of consonants.

Morphological features of the Tver dialects of Karelian language caused by influence of Russian would be also considered in the report.

The analysis of phonetic and morphological system of Tver Karelian dialects showed that Russian has considerable impact on it. Phonetics and morphology of subdialects of Tolmachi and Vesjegonsk are presented quite uniformly. The Dyorzha subdialect was greatly influenced by Russian, that is explained by territorial remoteness of the Dyorzha subdialect from two others and small number of people speaking it.

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Rozhanskiy, Fedor – Markus, Elena  
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### A new resource for Finnic languages: the outcomes of the Ingrian documentation project

The presentation will give an overview of the project “Documentation of Ingrian: collecting and analyzing fieldwork data and digitizing legacy materials” carried out in 2011–2013 by Fedor Rozhanskiy and Elena Markus in the Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics of the University of Tartu. The project was funded by the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London).

The presentation will focus on one of the main project outcomes, namely the resulting corpus of materials (more than 500 hours of data, starting from the recordings made in the 1960-70s up to modern samples made with high quality audio and video recording equipment). Ingrian data are the main but not the only part of the corpus: it also contains the recordings of Votic, Veps, Karelian, Ingrian Finnish and some other Finnic varieties.

The two main sources of data in the corpus are 1) contemporary language samples recorded in the field by F. Rozhanskiy and E. Markus, and 2) legacy materials. While doing field recordings we made emphasis on a) using modern



high-quality equipment and thus achieving better quality of recordings; b) making not only audio but also video documentation; c) documenting the contemporary state of the language; d) filling the gaps in the areas not sufficiently studied by previous researchers. While searching for legacy materials the main focus was on the collections that were potentially endangered: a) were still on tapes or cassettes; b) were stored in private archives without sufficient back-up copies, and were not accessible to the scientific community.

The resulting corpus of recordings consists of six collections belonging to different researchers or institutions. The collections differ in time spans that they cover, in languages they present, in research topics and data collecting methods.

For each file in the corpus a metadata file was prepared by F. Rozhanskiy and E. Markus in cooperation with the owners of legacy collections. A metadata file specifies technical characteristics of the recordings, its content and information about the speaker, collector and recording session.

Another goal of the project was creating a corpus of transcribed recordings. About 15 hours of modern Ingrian and Votic recordings (both narratives and grammar sessions) were transcribed and translated. The transcriptions were time aligned with media files in ELAN. The media are either audio or video together with the extracted wave form.

The corpus of materials has been deposited in several institutions in the UK, Estonia, and Russia. In the near future it will be accessible on the web page of the Endangered Languages Archive (<http://elar.soas.ac.uk>). A major part of the deposit will also be in open access in the Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages (<http://www.murre.ut.ee/arhiiv/>).

Söder, Torbjörn  
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### **The Finnish in Rautalampi and Värmland – A comparison**

In the late medieval age people in the historical province of Savonia in eastern Finland started to move from the central areas of the province and settled in more peripheral areas. Eventually the movement expanded to neighbouring provinces and in the late 16th century the expansion reached the central parts of Scandinavia. This expansion plays an important role in the demographic history of both Finland and Sweden, since the settlers often moved to areas which were sparsely inhabited. The settlers mastered different techniques which made them successful in their new environment. The slash and burn technique is often mentioned and has become an emblematic feature of these settlers. In order to be a successful farmer in the forest areas of Finland and Sweden, however, a wide range of traditional techniques had to be used.

The migration of the Savonians not only meant the expansion of the eastern Finnish population, but also the expansion of the eastern Finnish culture and language. In many cases new instances of language contact occurred, in some cases between speakers of eastern Finnish varieties and speakers of other Finnish varieties, in other cases between speakers of eastern Finnish varieties and speakers of languages belonging to the Indo-European languages.

The northern part of the province of Keski-Suomi in central Finland and the north-western 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. Because of the settlers' eastern Finnish origin the area changed, linguistically and culturally speaking, from being western Finnish to eastern Finnish. The north-western part of Värmland and the adjacent Norwegian areas received their first eastern Finnish settlers in the middle of the 17th century and to a great extent this area too became, so to speak, eastern Finnish.

The Finnish varieties spoken in Rautalampi (I use Rautalampi with reference to the area originally covered by the former great parish) and in Värmland provide the possibility to study how two originally closely affiliated varieties are affected by different language contact situations. The language contact situations in the two areas were, however, not stable, but changed in the course of time, sometimes drastically. An invariable circumstance which, from a typological point of view, makes an important difference between the two language contact situations is the fact that the speakers in Rautalampi were mainly exposed to other Finnish varieties and the speakers in Värmland mainly to Norwegian and Swedish.

One can assume that the amplitude and impact of this exposure increased over time. The farmers who originally settled in the two areas continued to live a life based on traditional livelihood, and therefore they kept many linguistic networks alive where their local variety was in use. Social, economic and political changes, especially during the 19th century changed the situation dramatically. The Industrialisation put in many cases an end to traditional livelihood and, as a consequence, many domains of the local variety disappeared. Public school, mass media social and popular movements and public transportation increased the exposure to other varieties, especially standard varieties. The many upheavals in the society caused a change in identity and in attitude. This was particularly the case in Värmland, where Finnish to some degree became stigmatized under the pressure of Norwegian and Swedish. From around 1900 the Värmland Finnish variety was no longer transmitted to the youngest generation, which ultimately led to language death. The situation in Rautalampi was different, since the influence on the local varieties came from other Finnish varieties. In Rautalampi Finnish it is possible to detect changes which are due to the influence of Standard Finnish as well as that of neighbouring varieties.

In the presentation I will highlight some of the features which have occurred as an effect of the circumstances in Rautalampi and in Värmland. I will provide examples from the phonological, the morphological, the lexical and the syntactic level and discuss them in the light of the language contact situation in the area. I will also discuss bilingualism and standard varieties as a vehicle of language change in language contact situations.

In the analysis of Rautalampi Finnish I have used records from the following parishes, which all are a part of the former great parish of Rautalampi: Jyväskylä, Konginkangas, Laukka, Pihtipudas, Rautalampi, Saarijärvi, Toivakka, Uurainen, Äänekoski. The informants were born between 1880 and 1897. In the analysis of Värmland Finnish I have used records from the parishes of Nyskoga and Östmark. The informants were born between 1854 and 1896.

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## **Symp. 2. Multilingual practices and code-switching in Finno-Ugric communities**

**Organizers:** Márta Csepregi (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest), Riho Grünthal (University of Helsinki), Magdolna Kovács (University of Helsinki) and Zsuzsa Salánki (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Edygarova, Svetlana  
University of Helsinki

### **Interference of the Russian language on the possessive morphosyntactic structures of the Udmurt language**

The present study shares some results of the post-doc research on morphosyntactic variation in the Permian languages, of which the main objective is to describe and explain the mechanisms of language change and maintenance within the Permian language communities. The study is made on the experimental data that was collected by the author during sociolinguistic fieldwork. The research has both linguistic and social objectives. On the one hand, the study describes and analyses variation in linguistic patterns; in particular, it observes morphosyntactic variation in constructions expressing possessive relationships. On the other hand, the study sheds light on social circumstances explaining the linguistic variation.

In this proposal, the focus is placed on variation in possessive structures showing interference from the Russian language. The main research questions are: Which possessive structures are more susceptible to interference from the Russian language and which are less so? What are the linguistic and social factors which permit or prevent this interference?

The experimental data demonstrates that linguistic categorization may prevent Russian interference. For example, a typical possessor (animated, active and definite owner) in all cases is marked by proper Udmurt morphosyntax, in particular by genitive constructions, while morphosyntactic structures with a non-typical possessor (inanimate, passive and indefinite possessor) vary to a high extent and demonstrate a high degree of interference from the Russian language.

Furthermore, such non-linguistic factors as knowledge of standard language by speakers also define the degree of Russian-language interference. In particular, the structures produced by the informants who have a high knowledge of the Udmurt standard language have less interference from Russian. People with a low knowledge of standard language more often use Russian structures.

These linguistic and social factors prove that language change, first of all, concerns expanded or secondary linguistic categories. The standard language form may be a tool to regulate these changes and to maintain a language.

Frick, Maria – Härmävaara, Hanna-Ilona  
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### **Finnish-Estonian bilingual puns in conversation**

This study investigates the formation and usage of Finnish-Estonian bilingual puns in everyday conversation. In bilingual punning (see, e.g., Gumperz 1982: 159, Frick 2013: 64–67) humor is created by playing with bilingual homophony. Bilingual homophones – also called false friends – are words that sound similar (but not necessarily identical), and have different meanings in the two languages. The study falls within the fields of interactional linguistics (see, e.g., Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2001) and sociolinguistics.

The data consist of 28 hours of video that record naturally occurring everyday face-to-face conversations among Finnish and Estonian friends and family members (see Frick 2013, Härmävaara 2014). Some, but not all, of the participants are Finnish-Estonian bilinguals; hence, the participants have differing access to the languages of interaction.

Sequential analysis of the data shows that bilingual puns can be used to turn the conversation from a serious to non-serious mode. When using bilingual homophones, speakers can draw the form from one language and the meaning from the other, which may then lead to laughter and joking (see also Jørgensen 2003: 365–367 and Savijärvi 2011: 20–24). Apart from the entertaining function, bilingual punning can have a function in securing mutual understanding. In the data studied, bilingual punning is often used as a tool for managing the asymmetry in the participants' language skills. Bilingual puns can start a sequence where the two languages are explicitly compared and the different meanings of the homonymous lexical item negotiated. Such sequences can be initiated by the bilingual speakers when they take a teaching role and through metatalk give the non-bilingual speakers access to both the joke and the different meanings of the homonymous item. The presence of the two languages also invites the non-bilingual participants to make bilingual puns. Their puns are based on the perceived false similarity of the languages, which can be both entertaining and confusing for them. The bilingual pun can serve as a repair initiator or start a metatalk sequence where non-bilingual speakers take a learning role.

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### **Code-switching as a typical speech behavior of Mari people in Mari-Russian bilingualism**

Development of active Mari-Russian bilingualism led to the emergence of the sociolinguistic phenomenon known as mixed bilingual speech. It is perceived as the norm in informal speech and the use of words of two different language systems becomes far-reaching, therefore constant switching and mixing code represent a typical speech behavior of the Mari at the present stage of the language development.

This paper is devoted to the study of unprepared speech of Mari in terms of combining elements of two typologically distant languages.

Research showed that the statements are based on grammatical rules of the Matrix language but they contain innovative elements of the Russian language.

One of the most common strategies is the combination of Mari grammar and Russian vocabulary; therefore, pidgin statements are generated. As a result of this principle communication remains monolingual as lexical units of the guest language are fully adaptable to the rules of the recipient language. On the one hand, morphological and syntactic developments of the elements of another language system indicate 'alertness' of mechanisms in Mari. On the other hand, empirical material suggests replacement of the basic Mari vocabulary by Russian words. Occasional borrowing is dictated not by the internal laws of Mari but by communicative aims, by the pragmatic approach to the speech which is mainly aimed at saving speech efforts. Active use of foreign vocabulary equivalents is not always justified in communication. The doublet vocabulary is not differentiated semantically in most cases. As a result of the use of foreign words we indicated a mixed speech with a double set of vocabulary. The Russian vocabulary is functionally stronger than Mari vocabulary and being used regularly Russian words displace Mari words from active use.

Another way of integrating two codes is the use of Mari elements in the statements, preserving all formal grammatical features of the Russian language, as a result of which bilingual communication and mixed Mari-Russian speech appear.

Mixing two grammars in the speech is possible because of partial or complete overlap of lexical and grammatical meanings of variant units, and because of a lack of a conflict between language units from the point of view of "integrative grammar".

It should be noted that rematic part of bilingual phrases and subjective information transmitted by discourse markers are not expressed in a native language. The results of linguistic, statistic and sociological research also suggest that various elements of the Russian language are widely used in communication in the Mari language, indicating significant changes in verbal behavior of the Mari nowadays.

A study of Mari – Russian code-switching, especially from the perspective of grammatical constraints seems promising because of the typological differences between them.

## **Finno-Ugric communities in a multilingual context**

The contemporary world is characterised by a very intensive mobility of people and constant shifts of cultural, social and economic boundaries. The same is valid to the Finno-Ugric communities. It is difficult to imagine a language society that would not be involved in various effects of language contacts and multilingualism. Language areas that used to be stable through several generations are infused by various by-products of migration and mass communication. Individual speakers often leave the traditional community whereas new migrants bring about their languages to areas that used to be geographically remote in the past.

Multilingualism has influenced Finno-Ugric communities during several generations, centuries and even more. There are traces of early prehistoric contacts between Finno-Ugric and other languages, most notably various Indo-European-speaking communities. However, the intermingling of languages has never before been as ubiquitous, irreversible and dominating as today.

In present-day Finno-Ugric communities, multilingualism often fulfils the task of enriching cultural variation and increases the possibilities of individual speakers in their everyday lives. Nevertheless, at least as frequently one is confronted with the fact that for many minority language communities multilingualism is just one stage in the process of language shift.

In both cases, it is a fairly topical issue to carry out research on manifesting multilingualism in Finno-Ugric languages. The contemporary varieties provide with a versatile selection of various language contact situations. Most typically, in a language contact situation the Finno-Ugric languages are the matrix languages that borrow words, apply new concepts and adopt secondary grammatical patterns. The degree to which foreign interference is encountered in present-day Finno-Ugric languages varies a lot. It includes the parallel usage of languages by individual speakers and collective conformity towards multilingualism of entire speech communities.

In our presentation we seek to outline the impact of widespread multilingualism in various Finno-Ugric contexts. Assuming that, in general, the mechanisms of code-switching do not diverge considerably from the evidence of many other linguistic environments, we maintain that a more detailed analysis of individual language contact situations is necessary to gain an accurate picture of multilingual practices in different contexts. The presentation is an introduction to a workshop and seeks to enhance more detailed discussion on multilingualism in Finno-Ugric communities, both with genetically and typologically clearly distinct languages and mutually related ones.



Horváth, Laura  
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## Aspect and code-switching in Udmurt

In my presentation, I aim to analyse some cases of code-switching of Udmurt-Russian bilinguals on the basis of structured interviews conducted in Udmurtia in the beginning of 2015. The research will rely partially on texts of different Udmurt blogs, too.

After studying the ways aspectual meanings are expressed in Udmurt dialects and in the literary language, we can declare that they can be expressed in Udmurt at least by different compound tenses, frequentative suffixes, auxiliaries with converbs (grammaticalized converb constructions), and different adverbs (see, e.g., Horváth 2013). These expressions are in some cases polyfunctional; beside this, there are different grams with similar aspectual functions – for instance, habituality (or one type of habituality, see Bertinetto and Lenci 2012) can be expressed by frequentative suffix, durative preterite, as well as the combination of the two, and another compound tense, the so-called frequentative preterite which seems to be very rare so far.

It would be very useful to examine Udmurt utterances with insertions consisting of single Russian verbs (or short verbal constructions) conjugated with Russian inflections and examine how the aspectual meanings can be expressed in these cases. The question then is whether in case of imperfective utterances, the imperfective Russian verb stems are used, and in case of perfective utterances, rather the perfective ones, and whether there is no need to express the aspectual meaning with other means in some cases.

Moreover, there are constructions in Udmurt with Russian infinitives followed by the finite form of the Udmurt verb *карыны* ‘to do’. I aim to examine for instance whether different aspectual meanings can be conveyed by only the aspectual meaning of the Russian infinitive or by grammatical and lexical morphemes from the matrix language, or we have to take into consideration both cases like in the following examples:

(1) udmurto4ka

*Мон заказать кар-и зырет-эн табань,*  
I order.INF.PFV do-PST.SG1 zyret-INSTR taban’

*нош со перепеч-ъёс.*

CONJ she perepech-PL

‘I ordered taban’ with zyret, and she [Инна] ordered perepeches.’ [traditional udmurt dishes]

(2) udmurto4ka

*Заказывают кары-л-э со-лы суред-ъёс.*  
order.INF.IPFV do-FRV-PRS.SG3 he/she-DAT picture-PL

‘They use to order pictures from her\him.’

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udmurto4ka=<http://udmurto4ka.blogspot.ru>

Härmävaara, Hanna-Ilona  
University of Helsinki

### **Language ideologies and their representation in language choices in multilingual Finnish-Estonian interaction**

This contribution discusses language ideologies concerning language choices in a Finnish-Estonian contact setting in which using Finnish and Estonian has a special status. The general framework for the studied group is provided by the treaty of friendship (est. 1933) between a Finnish and an Estonian student organization, which defines that the inter-organizational communication should run in each participant's respective mother tongue (receptive multilingualism). This study focuses on investigating how this 80-year-old policy, formed in the spirit of Finnic nationalism, affects the present day language ideologies and language choices within the studied group.

The data of the study consist of survey and interactional data that are combined and compared in analysing the language ideologies and their reflection in the actual interaction. Theoretical framework of this study is derived from the studies on receptive multilingualism that focus on language choices in multilingual settings (e.g. Lüdi 2007, Östman & Thøgersen 2010, Hulmbauer, 2014), and from the studies on multilingualism and language ideologies more generally (e.g. Blommaert 2010).

The analysis of different types of data reveals competing language ideologies of the “ideal” and “practical”. Receptive multilingualism is seen as a somewhat ideal form of interaction within the studied group. However, the principle of using one's mother tongue is followed in the official context (e.g. in speeches), while in informal interaction the picture is more diverse. Despite the outspoken preference for using Finnish and/or Estonian, English as lingua franca is often seen as the most effective choice for securing mutual understanding. In fact, the biggest factor affecting the choice of languages is the distribution of language skills among the participants of the interaction in question.

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### **Code-mixing types in Erzya-Russian bilingual discourse**

This paper focuses on the spoken variety of Erzya which is characterized by code-switching to Russian to varying degrees (depending on various factors: e.g. age and occupation of the speaker, etc.). I study the grammatical structure of intrasentential code-switches (code-mixing) in Erzya–Russian bilingual discourse (on the basis of unstructured and structured interviews and spontaneous conversations from 20 Erzya–Russian bilinguals and 2 hours of radio interviews with 60 Erzya–Russian bilinguals).

My aim is to define which are the most common types of code-mixing in the data and where does the switch occur in the utterances. I also focus on the possible similarities and differences between the two types of data. In the analysis, I apply Muysken's (2000) code-mixing typology and Auer's (1999) continuum model. Auer differentiates between three main stages: code-switching, language mixing and fused lects. In the first phase code-switches have a pragmatic function. If the number of code-switches increases, this function is lost. In this phase speakers apply elements from the other language to different extents, i.e. variation is present. In the last stage variation is lost, the mixed structures are compulsory in given grammatical constructions. The Erzya variety under study shows signs of the language mixing phase, as switches are frequent, but variation is still present. I intend to give a detailed account of this variation, the different bilingual practices applied by the speakers.

In Muysken's (2000) theory three types of mixing are possible, insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization. Muysken suggests that congruent lexicalization occurs in cases when closely related languages are in contact. In my data, however, this type of code-mixing is also common, while according to his typology alternation should be the prevailing type. In my paper, I analyze the most frequent types in detail and suggest an explanation for this discrepancy.

Finally, I present the most common cases of congruent lexicalization which cannot be explained as idiosyncratic occurrences. This bilingual Erzya variety is, for example, characterized by the use of Russian verbal phrases (entire paradigms are applied, such as the verb *hot'et'* 'to want'), numeral phrases, adverbial phrases, discourse particles, and utterance modifiers.

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### **Linguistic behavior of Selkup bilinguals and code-switching as a process and product**

In the paper the present-day speech behavior of Selkup-Russian bilinguals will be considered, whereby cases of code-switching will be in the focus. A specific feature of the present-day linguistic situation practically in all Selkup local groups is the dominance of Russian in all communicative spheres including family. All the Selkups are Russian speakers, but not many of them are able to speak their ethnic language. The intergenerational transmission of Selkup among the Southern Selkups stopped about 50-60 years ago. Among the Northern Selkups it is still preserved, but only in some families, just a handful of Selkup speaking children can be found at the Upper Taz and the Upper Tolka. Thus, the majority of Selkup bilinguals are people over 40-50, and their number permanently diminishes. In the paper two types of data are used: a) communicative situations witnessed during my fieldwork of the last decade and a half, in which Selkup was used, b) text corpora representing local dialects of the Northern Selkup dialect, which are the product of those communicative situations. It should be mentioned that nowadays practically no Selkup speech without Russian intrusions can be heard or recorded. Even in the folklore texts we find Russian elements, not to speak of life stories, hunting stories or dialogues. We follow C. Myers-Scotton (1993; 1998) understanding code-switching as the use of morphemes or sequences of morphemes (words, word groups, sentences) from two linguistic varieties (languages) within one discourse. Both intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching will be considered and the grammar of the intra-sentential cases will be analyzed. The ideas of the Selkup speakers about their code-switching will be presented. Describing the process of code-switching I'll try to make some statements about factors influencing the frequency of code-switches in the texts. Finally, I'll dwell upon the problem of the distinction between code-switches and borrowings in the present-day Selkup texts.

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**The grammar of Sweden-Finnish and Finland-Swedish adolescents' code-switching  
(Merkityksistä neuvottelemassa – kaksikielisten nuorten koodinvaihtoa Haparannalla ja Helsingissä)**

One of the most evident and immediate declaration of a speaker's bilingualism is code-switching. The present study is conducted to gain a better understanding of the rules and patterns for Swedish/Finnish code-switching among bilingual adolescents in Haparanda and in Helsinki. The goal for this investigation is to identify the grammatical difficulties which code-switchers face within the language combination (Finnish-Swedish) and the strategies the code-switchers employ to get round these difficulties. This study focuses on the morphological and syntactic aspects, but one of the secondary goals is to examine the possibility that there is also phonetic inter-lingual influence between languages in code-switching.

The present study sets out from a series of video recordings and audio recordings of interaction between Sweden-Finnish pupils in Haparanda outside the classroom (2006-2014) and video recordings of interaction between Finland-Swedish pupils in Helsinki (2014). The material has revealed extensive use of code-switching in the interaction between the bilingual secondary school pupils (Kolu 2008; 2011) and this study discusses similarities and differences between adolescents' code-switching in Helsinki and in Haparanda.

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**Multilingual practices as part of everyday life and as a target of research**

The complexity of the modern world and globalization challenge our knowledge about linguistic practices and theories attached to them. Multilingual practices and code-switching are natural part of the everyday life of millions of people. In

superdiverse societies, polylinguaging is a common practice even with very little knowledge of the languages involved in discourses (Bommaert & Rampton 2011).

Most Finno-Ugric communities live as indigenous or migrant minorities. It is important to map the multilingual practices of these communities and match them to those practices used in different part of the world. The aim of the paper is to give a common theoretical base to the symposium of Multilingual practices and code-switching in Finno-Ugric communities.

Three important dimensions of multilingual practices and research are underlined. The analysis of the functions of code-switching (Gardner-Chloros et al 2000) may reveal not only discourse practices but societal dimensions of the language use as well. Further dimension consists in the structural analysis of code-switching. In communities, where gradual language shift takes place (and many Finno-Ugric minorities belong to these communities), the multilingual practices are part of this process (Kovács 2002). In addition the above mentioned, the educational dimension of the research on multilingual practices is important in the sense of its usability in the process of revitalization.

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### **Exploring stylization practices – Examples from multiethnic Eastern Helsinki schools**

This paper explores social interaction among multiethnic youth in Eastern Helsinki. The main focus is on the concept and on the practice of stylization (Rampton 2006; Coupland 2007). In stylization practices, the speaker makes use of ‘another’s language’ (Bakhtin 1981), creating an often artistic image of a way of speaking that is not considered his/her own, but is stereotypically associated with some (other) social group or stereotypical social personae. I will analyze, 1) by which linguistic and interactional means the stylization performances are created, 2) what their interactional functions are, 3) how they are perceived, and how they relate to the social reality in the schools. In other words, how is social indexicality (Ochs 1992; Silverstein 2003; Agha 2007) of linguistic signs employed in stylization? I will also discuss, how the concept of stylization relates to code-switching practices and the concept of code-switching.

My study falls in the fields of linguistic ethnography and interactional sociolinguistics. I gathered the data ethnographically in two junior high schools.

In the schools, altogether some 20 different first languages are spoken by the pupils. The biggest linguistic groups after Finnish include Somali, Russian, and Estonian. The language of the schools as well as the common language of the adolescents is Finnish. The data include a field diary, recorded interviews with 28 adolescents, and several spontaneous audio and video recordings both during the breaks and during the lessons, as well as retrospective interviews, where I played the recordings to the adolescents and we discussed them together.

Stylization as interactional practice has to do with Bakhtin's (1981) concept of polyphony: it raises the question: to whom do the linguistic resources belong, and what kind of interactional effect is achieved by using 'another's language'? In my data, there are several kinds of stylized performances. I will especially focus on those practices, in which the stylizations create associations to ethnicity and/or 'non-Finnish' linguistic or cultural background.

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### **Hungarian-Romanian bilingualism in two Transylvanian villages**

I would like to participate in the second symposium of the conference, entitled: *Multilingual practices and code-switching in Finno-Ugric communities and I would like to present the everyday communication in two Transylvanian villages: Zabola (in Romanian Zabala) situated in Kovászna (Covasna) county where the majority of the inhabitants belong to the Hungarian community and in Verespatak (in Romanian: Rosia-Montana) in Fehér (Alba) county where the majority of the population are Romanian.*

In Zabola the old generations of the Romanian community know and speak Hungarian, but the young generations are monolingual (they grew up in the spirit of the Romanian national consciousness and they do not want to speak the language of a minority). In Verespatak the Romanian inhabitants are monolingual, the old generations of the Hungarian are bilingual though they use their mother tongue only in the church and in some special circumstances; the younger Hungarian people lost their mother language, so they are monolingual in this

sense, knowing and speaking only the Romanian. In spite of this fact, some of them consider themselves belonging to the Hungarian community.

In Romania the official language of the state is the Romanian so the minority languages are potentially endangered, the linguistic assimilation being triggered not only by political and cultural, but by economic factors as well. Though the number of the speakers of a language is only one of the facts which determine the degree of endangerment of that language, still in a smaller community the language is more endangered (e. g. in Verespatak the language shift of the Hungarian speakers is a real fact).

In my presentation – according to the possibilities of the above mentioned symposium - I would like to speak more detailed about these aspects of the Hungarian-Romanian bilingualism.

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### **Subordering structures in Mansi conversations**

It is known that Russian has a great influence on Finno-Ugric languages which are in minority. However, it is difficult to grasp the exact degree of this influence, as interviews create a paradoxal situation of the onlooker's hindrance. Furthermore, in this situation the native speaker may use a restricted code with the foreign interviewer in order to ensure mutual understanding. The utterances recorded this way may be very different from every day language usage. In order to eliminate this, we have to study conversations between native speakers.

The Russian influence has already been documented in Mansi (e.g. Bíró-Sipőcz 2007), in both lexical and syntactic levels. My study deals with subordering structures: my hypothesis says that the original infinitive structure is more and more frequently replaced by a subordering structure with conjunction, following the Russian pattern.

In my study, I use 10 minute long segments of conversations recorded during the summer of 2014 in Jasunt, Shekurya and Kimkisuy. The study focuses on the language use of four elderly speakers (three women and one man). Only one of them stated to be mansi-dominant, the others declared that they speak Mansi and Russian equally well. During the interview, old acquaintances were talking, the person leading the conversations was the same Mansi native speaker in all three cases (her speech production was not studied). During the data procession I noted down the conversation with the ELAN software, and annotated it on the sentence level. After this, I studied the build-up of the subordering constructions, whether they use an infinitive or a conjunction.

Preliminary results show that although conjunctive constructions are quite frequent, infinitive ones are present, too. The data provider who speaks very little Russian has no conjunctive constructions at all.

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### **When Finno-Ugric languages meet a local German dialect: New everyday language practices in a settlement of South Hungary**

The village of Geresdlak in South Hungary is a multicultural community: a German minority is living in the village beside Hungarian and Roma people, and in the 2000s 24 Finnish families have bought a house here. As seasonal migrants the Finns spend 4 months a year in average in Geresdlak. Because of urbanization and the political events after 1944 language shift has been going on in the German community (Erb 2010). Although today Hungarian is the most frequently used language in the community, the majority of the local inhabitants still know and use a local German dialect as well. Step by step, the Finns get acquainted with the local language varieties, but they also rely on their English knowledge as a lingua franca. The members of the community live in a multilingual environment, in which their language knowledge and practices seem to change. These processes are also influenced by the increasing number of touristic activities and the development of communication technologies of everyday life.

I have done sociolinguistic researches in the community for a long time (Heltai 2014). Using the theoretical framework of current multilingualism research (superdiversity and its linguistic consequences, Blommaert 2010), I am going to analyse concrete linguistic examples from everyday communication in my paper. The examples show how creatively speakers use their Finnish, Hungarian, German and English language and other communicative and semiotic resources and how code-switching works in their conversations. It is highlighted that new forms of diversity call for more complex data collection methods and new units of analysis in the linguistic research of multilingualism.

After that, with the help of metalinguistic data driven from 130 sociolinguistic interviews with community members, I will examine how speakers interpret changes in their language practices, and how their notions of linguistic affinity between Hungarian and Finnish, as well as the high prestige of German and English, influence their attitudes.

The example of Geresdlak shows that the travelling of language varieties in the age of globalization, the appearance of languages in totally new contexts transform language practices of small, rural communities, too. Changes in everyday language practices modify people's concepts and attitudes towards languages and language learning. Positive attitudes open possibilities of using linguistic and cultural resources for economic benefits as well.

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### **Estonian-Finnish code-switching in electronic writing**

Code-switching is a common linguistic practice among multilingual speakers. This paper discusses how code-switching manifests in computer-mediated communication favoured by bilingual Estonians (i.e. recent migrants) living in Finland. Studies on Estonian-Finnish code-switching have focused mainly on the analysis of oral productions, few on its written production. The goal of my paper is to examine the code-switching functions performed by bilingual Estonian-speaker in their Facebook group interactions. The main aim of my paper is to analyse 1) the structure of code-switching, 2) the pragmatic functions of code-switching and 3) other multilingual practices in written productions.

The Estonian-speaking communities in Finland represent more recent allochthonous groups that arose as a result of the intensive waves of emigration after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and Estonia's entry into the European Union in 2004. Estonian-speaking language communities in Finland are the largest and fastest-growing communities in the Estonian Western Diaspora. According to Statistics Finland, 42 936 Estonian-speakers were living in Finland as of September 2014.

The data is based on Facebook group conversations, collected since 2013.

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**Veps as a fused lect – a case study of language alternation of a mother and her son in contemporary Veps language  
(Kielten sekoittuminen – tapaustutkimus vaihtelusta äidin ja pojan vepsänkielisessä keskustelussa)**

The overlapping of functions and the seemingly redundant use of both Veps and Russian is very typical of contemporary spoken Veps. In this paper I analyse the code-switches of a Veps mother (b. 1926) and her son (b. 1961) in one conversation. Different sociolinguistic backgrounds of the duo create the context for their different idiolects – these differences in turn highlight the problematic relations between the current Veps standard and contemporary spoken Veps. The data is drawn from field data of 2006.

Examples 1 and 2 are from the same interviewee in the same discussion. These show that no situative constraints need to exist to explain the informant's choice between Veps and Russian synonyms for 'understand'.

1. Erašti čomin, erašti neci-da pagina-d  
sometimes nicely sometimes this-PTV talk-PTV  
ii sa ponimo-ida.  
no can understand-INF  
'Sometimes [I understand] nicely, sometimes one cannot understand the talk.'  
(B1)
2. Po-russkij-se ii el'get-ud.  
In russian-def. nounderstand-PTC  
'In Russian we didn't understand.'  
(B1)

Since the influence of Russian on Veps is longstanding and pervasive, it is often hard to tell the difference between code-switching/language mixing from a fused lect/variety – that is, it is not clear how to distinguish the level of stability or structural sedimentation of Russian elements in spoken Veps. In the end the question arises of what actually is "native" Veps. Are not adapted old Russian loans an important part of the Veps language if there are no known Veps equivalents? And is contemporary Veps rather a fused lect in which the use of Russian elements would in fact be a part of the Veps grammar when there are two systems – Veps and Russian - converging in the repertoire of bilingual individuals? Since the 1990s Veps language planning has taken quite a puristic stand on Veps standard aiming at avoiding all Russian influence. Instead, quite a lot of influence from Finnish and Estonian standards has been absorbed, despite the fact that Russian elements are an integral part of the Veps language also in the repertoire of the old villagers, who the Veps laymen typically consider users of the true Veps language.

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### **Grammatical variation in spoken Udmurt**

This presentation discusses some variety of the spoken Udmurt, a minority language in Russia. The focus is on speakers' choices of linguistic variables at the morphological, syntactic and lexical levels where one of the variants is clearly, or assumed to be the result of Russian linguistic contact.

The Udmurt ethnic group is an indigenous minority who live in a subordinated position, even on the land of the republic bearing its name. Bilinguality of Udmurts is not a new phenomenon, but the eldest living generation is the first bilingual generation. Their parents had not yet spoken Russian well. But there are not at all among the generation of today's grandparents and great-grandparents who do not understand Russian and speak it – even if only a little. In general, the elderly are dominantly Udmurt speakers, the younger generations are balanced bilingual or dominantly Russian bilingual.

Therefore today there are hardly any communicative situations left in which the exclusive use of Udmurt would be typical. Also, many topics attract the use of Russian. As a result, spoken language is characterised by the various types of code switching and contemporary spoken Udmurt is best identified with the variant characterized by the extensive use of Russian linguistic elements, especially in the language use of speakers living in urban areas who now account for almost half of all Udmurt speakers.

It can be assumed that within the bilingual Udmurt/Russian speech community choices regarding certain linguistic variables are linked to social variables. Therefore, the research question is how does the education, age, place of living of respondents correlate with the use of the discussed variables.

The results – based on own field data, collected among native Udmurt speakers-bilinguals – show that some variants of Russian origin are highly accepted as sufficiently usable. These widely used constructions are not recent, older speakers may find it acceptable to a greater degree than younger speakers. Their opinions might correlate with their lower level of education.

Although Udmurts hold on to the use of their mother tongue and condemn the practice of mixing the languages, in everyday conversation most of the speakers tend to choose the borrowed morphological and syntactic constructions, while they usually regard the Udmurt one also appropriate. Similarly, the speakers do not accept the linguistic changes which could revitalize the language. In the case of concepts that can be expressed both with an old Russian term and an Udmurt neologism, they almost always choose the usual Russian word. Probably ambiguity and incomprehensibility might also play a role in the rejection.

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**Preserved by freezing? Linguistic purism in Karelian minority language maintenance discourse  
(Kielellinen purismi venäjänkarjalaisessa kielen ylläpidon diskurssissa)**

The aim of this paper is to study the language attitudes expressed by Olonets Karelian speakers in sociolinguistic interviews. The study focuses on the perceptions of linguistics competence as well as values connected with the heritage language, and the central question is whether and how the interviewees express linguistic purism. Linguistic purism is characterized by negative attitudes to elements that are considered foreign, such as loans and code-switching, and by valuing the heritage language as a carrier of tradition that does not change (Bartsch 1987: 66). The study consists of discourse analytic analysis of explicitly expressed opinions as well as linguistic choices connected with purist ideologies such as correcting code-switches and replacing loan words with neologisms.

The data consists of six sociolinguistic focus group interviews conducted among Olonets Karelian speakers in 2011 by the fieldworkers of the ELDIA (European Language Diversity for All) project. Olonets Karelian speakers are bilingual in Karelian and Russian. Multilingualism is a part of daily life, and code-switching is a frequent and recognized phenomenon among speakers (Sarhimaa 1999; Karjalainen et al. 2013: 143). Attitude studies conducted in the ELDIA project (Karjalainen et al. 2013: 144) show that “pure” language with minimal mixing of elements is valued highly and is mostly connected with the older generations who have learnt Karelian as their first language from their parents. Mixing, however, is not clearly condemned either. In language revitalization studies linguistic purism has often been seen as posing a threat to language maintenance and revitalization (e.g. Dorian 1994). One aim of this paper is to shed more light on this issue in the Karelian context.

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### **Multilingual and cultural practices in mixed families in Estonia**

Although Estonia is not a destination for a significant transnational migration currently, the country's large Russian-speaking population has been formed mainly through immigration during the Soviet period (1944–1991). At the Soviet time Russian was the dominant language, which resulted in high rate of Estonian-Russian bilingualism amongst Estonians while the Russian-speakers remained largely monolingual. Still, a strong oppositional identity of ethnic Estonians contributed to the Estonian language maintenance in most domains of life, including its intergenerational transmission in mixed families. In the post-Soviet context, globalisation has increased the importance of English among Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking population. Forms of multilingualism have acquired a more diffused character: there is a significant number of the younger Russian-speakers who have a working knowledge of Estonian, while the knowledge of Russian among the younger generation of Estonians is low.

The share of mixed families is increasing, and this may have an effect on the intergenerational transmission of the languages concerned. In my paper, I shall concentrate on the intergenerational transmission of Estonian and Russian in interethnic Estonian-Russian families with whom I conducted half-structured interviews on language ideologies and choices. The goal was to specify the patterns of intergenerational language transmission in families using Estonian as one of their home languages and to contribute to a theory explaining intergenerational language transmission processes in contact situations. To understand heritage culture transmission, I look at the customs, cultural events, memorial days and anniversaries' celebration patterns and analyse the reasons due to which these differ from Estonian mainstream preferences.

### **Symp. 3. From spoken Baltic-Finnic vernaculars to their national standardizations and new literary languages – cancelled**

### **Symp. 4. The syntax of Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric languages**

**Organizers:** Larisa Leisiö (University of Tampere) and Irina Nikolaeva (SOAS, London)

Bíró, Bernadett – Leisiö, Larisa – Sipőcz, Katalin  
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#### **Object-verb agreement and object marking in Mansi (Vogul) and in North-Samoyedic languages**

In our presentation we will explore comparatively motivations of object marking and object-verb agreement in in the Mansi dialects and in the Northern Samoyedic languages (NSm).

In our languages direct objects can be expressed with the Nominative, the Genitive, the Accusative, and sometimes with oblique cases. In contemporary NSm, the choice between the ACC and the NOM or between the GEN and the NOM can't be explained functionally - it is determined by the mood of the predicate, stem type of the object noun and its form, as well as by the number of the object. The NOM is for instance, reserved for the plural object and for the object in the imperative expression. In earlier language descriptions there are examples of functional motivation of the direct object marking (Tereschenko 1973, 179). Of NSm, only in the Eastern dialect of Nganasan, Vadey, the functional choice between the ACC and the GEN/NOM has been retained, nevertheless, in more complicated than based on the identifiability of the object's referent, as reported earlier According to Tereschenko (1973, 173), the ACC in Nganasan indicated the identifiability of the object's referent. In the present Vadey Nganasan the reasons for the choice of the ACC seem to be more complicated.

In Mansi dialects, except Northern Mansi, there is functionally based variation in the use of the ACC and the NOM, although this variation is seemingly inconsistent. In the Northern dialect of Mansi there is no ACC. According to the previous studies, the function of the ACC is to mark the definiteness of the object. The object marked by the ACC is usually topical.

In ditransitive constructions both Mansi and NSm demonstrate alignment split. The pattern common for both is the indirective alignment, in which recipient is expressed with Lative or in the postpositional phrase. In addition, there is a secundative alignment type in Mansi, with the Instrumental of Theme and the ACC/ NOM of Recipient. In NSm the second type is the predestinative

object NP with future possessor for whom the referee of the object is predestinated. In one of NSm, Tundra Nenets, there is a Partitive object which marker is identical to that of the Lative Plural.

In all our languages, topical object triggers predicate agreement while nontopical object never does. (This property and structural features of agreement-triggering objects have been investigated in details for Northern Khanty and Tundra Nenets by Nikolaeva [e.g., 1999, 2009, 2011]) We haven't found evidence of historical change in functions of object-predicate agreement. In Northern Samoyedic languages object-verb agreement has semantic restriction; personal pronouns can't trigger agreement. In the modern Mansi dialects there are no semantic restrictions of this kind.

Predestinative and Partitive objects in NSm as well as Instrumental objects in Mansi are nontopical. They don't trigger verb agreement and can't be passivized. Secundative ditransitive constructions in Mansi are possible only for topical recipient, which always triggers verb agreement. In NSm the predicate can only agree with semantic subject and object. Consequently, in constructions with nontopical object, predicate can show the subject agreement only.

We will summarize our analysis of varying object markers and object-verb agreement by hypothesizing the reasons which have led to the present situation. In particular, we will suggest, that variations and diachronic instability of object marking can be partially explained by the stability of verb-object agreement, which is motivated by information structure.

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### **Marking the agent on non-finite verb forms in Surgut Khanty (Маркирование агента инфинитивных конструкций в сургутском диалекте хантыйского языка)**

The Surgut dialect of Khanty has five nonfinite verb forms: the infinitive, formed with the suffix *-ta(γə)*; the present participle, formed with *-t-*; the past participle, formed with *-m-*; the converb, formed with *-min*; and the negative nonfinite, formed with *-ləγ*. The use of the conditional nonfinite, formed with *-ŋ-*, is archaic in modern Khanty. Out of these nonfinite forms, participles and negative nonfinites allow the greatest range of suffixation, as they can bear subject agreement and case suffixes, and they also combine with postpositions. Gerunds exhibit singular / dual / plural distinction only when they function as predicates, and infinitives do not allow any suffixation.

Participles and negative nonfinites appear in nonfinite attributive and adverbial clauses, among others. As they can bear subject agreement suffixes, their agent is not necessarily coreferential with the subject of the finite clause. These agreement suffixes appear regardless of the grammatical category of the adverbial clause subject, i.e. the subject can either be a noun (1a) or a pronoun (1b).

- (1a) *mīša jaqə laŋ-m-al-nə māša kēm l'īwət.*  
Misa in enter-PTC.PST-3SG-LOC Masha out go.out-[PST.3SG]  
'When Misha entered, Masha left.'



- (1b) *mā jaqə laŋ-m-am-nə māša kēm l'iwət.*  
 I in enter- PTC.PST-1SG-LOC Masha out go.out-[PST.3SG]  
 'When I entered, Masha left.'
- (2) *mā wont-nam mən-ləŋ-am-nə ār l'iwpəs līt'atə-l-əm.*  
 I forest- APPR go- PTC.NEG-1SG-LOC much food prepare-  
 PRS-1SG  
 'Before going to the forest, I prepare a lot of food.'

Northern and eastern Khanty dialects differ in the structure of the attributive phrases; in northern dialects, the agent of the non-finite verb is marked on the noun the attributive phrase modifies, while in eastern dialects it is marked on the non-finite verb itself.

- (3a) Kaz. *ma katl-əm xul-em*  
 1SG catch-PTC.PST fish-1SG
- (3b) Surg. *kātəl-m-am qūl*  
 catch-PTC.PST-1SG fish  
 'the fish that I caught'

Khanty participles do not distinguish the active and the passive voice morphologically. Therefore, the agent of the non-finite participle can take the nominative case, as do subjects of active finite verbs, and it can take the locative case, as do agents of passive verbs.

- (4a) Surg. *āt'e-m pūlt-əm awl-ət*  
 father-1SG hitch-PTC.PST szán-PL
- (4b) Surg. *āt'e-m -nə pūlt-əm awl-ət*  
 father -1SG-LOC hitch-PTC.PST sled-PL  
 'the sleds that my father hitched'

Instead of expressing a difference in voice, these two structures differ in information structure: if the subject of the nonfinite is marked with the locative case, it indicates that the non-finite verb is in focus position. The presentation follows the functional linguistic approach, and it is based on the analysis of published texts and on work with native speaker informants.

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### Possession? Definiteness? Or neither of them? Ugric possessive suffixes on the syntax-pragmatics interface

Possessive suffixes (PX) are a set of personal markers attached to nominal stems. In most Uralic languages they are part of the attributive possessive construction; a head-marked, head-final noun phrase:

(1) Northern Mansi

<i>possessor</i>	<i>possessum</i>	
person+number	person	
N	N	-Px
▼	▼	▼
<i>me:nki</i>	<i>ja:ypi:ɣ</i>	<i>-me:n</i>

1DU emph            brother            -SG<1DU

'Our brother'

The default interpretations of the relation between head and modifier are possession, kinship, part-whole, or association in general (attribution, properties, orientation/location). The traditional term *PX* is based on this interpretation. The marking in possessive constructions is referred to as the prototypic use of *PX*.

In constructions in which a prototypical possessor cannot be allocated, a secondary, determinative function of *PX* is often considered (Gerland 2014):

(2) Nganasan (Gerland 2014)

*məu -δu sūrū            ŋilenu      čimə*  
earth -3SG snow.GEN    under    hidden.PTPASS.3SG  
'The earth is covered with snow'

This distinction of prototypic and non-prototypic use of *PX* focuses on the semantics of the construction itself, leaving largely aside another important property of *PX*: as a set of personal markers they establish references.

The aim of my presentation is to focus on these referential properties, the effects on information structure and the loss of referentiality of Ugric *PX*. Special attention is paid to the 2SG and 3SG which seem to have evolved the broadest range of usages, both as a syntactic (3SG) and pragmatic marker (2SG and 3SG). The syntactic – pragmatic distinction furthermore seems to match the two Ugric branches, Ob-Ugric and Hungarian:

- in Hungarian, the head-marking in the possessive construction is obligatory, there are a certain degrees of grammaticalization (fixed expressions like *eszébe jut* 'to remember', *Habeo-construction*) and hints of a development towards a grammatical linking of the constituents in the construction, comparable to a genitive marker:

(3) Hungarian

*a    hallgató -k    5    %    -a*  
DEF student -PL    five percent -SG<3SG  
'Five percent of the students'

- in Ob-Ugric, by contrast, the usage of *PX* is triggered by pragmatic factors: only topical referents are encoded with *PX*. This seems to be employed in information structural mechanisms: either creating a *joint attention* (cf. Diessel 2006) by linking discourse topics to speech act participants; indicating topic shifts and turn taking or setting focus on one referent out of a group which is preceded in the following action:

(4) Surgut Khanty

a. ... *βoł -γən* ,  
live -PRS.3DU  
b. *əj tɛ:tnə əj i.mi -t*  
once one old woman -SG<3SG  
'Both lived, then one woman ...'

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### Possessive marking in Kamas

Kamas is a language with considerable high *referential density* (cf. Bickel 2003 for the term). This observation needs to be relativized in two respects: first, the observation refers to a small corpus of narrative texts which documents only a restricted amount of Kamas discourse. Second, for topical referents, zero-anaphora is an undisputed and frequent option. However, it's striking to what extent material reference—lexical or pronominal—occurs in the texts. Lexical expressions with given referents often come either with a possessive suffix (px.) as, e.g., with *o'b nükket* ‘one of his wives’ in (1b), or *nit* ‘her son’ and *ijändə* ‘to his mother’ in (2b), or with the adnominal demonstrative *dī* ‘this, the’ as, e.g., with *dī kuza* ‘this man’ in (2c). Third person pronominal reference is usually applied in contexts of subject switch between salient referents. In addition, Kamas has objective conjugation (OC). Instances of OC in the text corpus are rather rare because the narratives are based on the past tense in *-bi* in which the distinction of conjugations is neutralized. But in other mood-tense forms, OC is quite regularly applied in contexts of zero anaphora objects as, e.g., with *kāštəliat* ‘invites him’ in (2c). While the rules of OC as well as the use of the adnominal and argumental demonstrative *dī* have been examined before (Klumpp 2002: 77–78, Klumpp 2013), the use of the Kamas px. has not. In Kamas, the px. of the 2nd person singular has no anaphora function as in Northern Samoyed languages, and also the 3rd person singular suffix does not occur in contexts where no possessive relation would hold. However, what can be observed is a certain “over-use” of the suffix, especially with relational nouns as, e.g., in (2b) (cf. Gerland 2014 on a possible effect of the semantic noun type on the use of possessive suffixes); with non-relational nouns as, e.g., in (1c), the adnominal demonstrative takes over. The importance of the 3rd person sing. suffix shows also in a pleonastic possessive accusative form *-dəbə* (see Klumpp 1999 for details). The paper discusses the use of Kamas possessive suffixes against the background of other referential devices.

(1) a. *uražə-n šide nükke-t i-bi.*

U. two woman-3SG be-PST  
‘Uražə hat two wives.’

b. *o'b nükke-t baška tibi-zi' amno-bi.*

one woman-3SG another man-INS live-PST  
‘One of his wives lived with another man.’

- c. *dī kuza kăštə-lia-t: “kan-žə-bəj!”*  
 dem man invite-PRS-3SG.OC go-OPT-1DU  
 ‘This man invites him: “Let’s go!”’ (7.2–5, KW: 93)
- (2) a. *nükke amno-bi[,] o’b ní-t i-bi.*  
 woman live-PST one son-3SG be-PST  
 ‘A woman lived, she had one son.’
- b. *ní-t ijān-də mǎ-lia:*  
 son-3SG mother.LAT-3SG say-PRS  
 ‘The (her) son said to his mother.’ (8.1–2, KW: 94)

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## Morphosyntax and semantics of focus intracitics in Tundra Nenets and beyond

All Northern Samoyedic languages have morphemes that exhibit peculiar morphosyntactic properties. They mostly pass the criteria outlined for clitics by Zwicky & Pullum (1983). Still, wherever it is possible, they do not attach to their hosts word-finally, but are placed *intermorphemically* (1). *Intramorphemic* placement is also possible under special conditions, but this is beyond the scope of the paper.

These morphemes produce a great problem because, at first glance, they are sensitive to the *derivational* vs. *inflectional* status of the morphemes both inwards and outwards. The usual case is that they attach after the last derivational affix and before all inflectional morphology. Henceforth, we will call the items in question 'intracitics'.

The diachronic origin of mesoclitisis might have been N+N noun phrases where the head denoted some particular "focus-particle" meaning and the dependent corresponded to the modified constituent. This way of expressing meanings typical for quantifiers or focus particles is attested, for example, in Standard Arabic. In (2), the word *ḡayr* bears the accusative case marker, filling the argument position of the verb *ra'ā* 'to see', and the word *malik* 'king' is in the genitive being a dependent of the noun phrase.

The same can be true for Northern Samoyedic. Constructions like (3a) might have evolved from something like (3b). According to our hypothesis, the noun that the intraclitic originates in used to fill the argument position and bear some case morphology. So inflectional affixes following intraclitics in a word form can possibly trace back to its own inflectional affixes.

Here we concentrate on the intraclitics that exhibit association with focus, leaving aside those ones that express emotional attitudes, degrees or an evaluation. Below we will demonstrate that the semantics of these items is not straightforward either. For lack of space, we do this only with the example of one intraclitic, viz. Tundra Nenets *-xərtə-* that is often translated as 'even' (4). That is, it bears both scalar and additive presuppositions. Firstly, the focus referent is rather unlikely to participate in the situation, and secondly, the proposition is true not only for the focus referent but for all the referents which are placed lower on the 'unlikelihood' scale (Horn 1969).

However, at least in Eastern Nenets (the dialect of Gyda, Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug), *-xərtə-* has sometimes a clearly different meaning, namely 'at least' (5–6). In these cases, the referent is treated as very low on the scale, and no statement is made about other participants of a relevance set. Interestingly, *-xərtə-* is favored within negative polarity contexts like (7). In such cases, it has two interpretations: 'even' with narrow negation scope, and 'at least' with wide negation scope. Thus, 'at least' meaning might have emerged from reinterpretation of sentences like (7). Now the item has two distinct meanings, which can be proved with the ambiguity of the structures like (8–9).

Examples (Tundra Nenets — field notes, Standard Arabic — personal knowledge)

- (1) mən<sup>o</sup>-xərtə-n<sup>o</sup>    ɲopoy<sup>o</sup>    yil'ebc'ə-r'i-m    xada-ə-d<sup>o</sup>m  
 I-ADD-POSS.1SG    one    wild.reindeer-LIM-ACC    kill-GFS-1SG

'Even I killed only one wild reindeer.'

- (2) mā    ra'aytu    hunāka    ḡayr-a    l-malik-i  
 NEG    see.PFV-1SG    there    other-ACC    DEF-king-GEN

'I saw there only a king.'

- (3a) pida    yewey<sup>o</sup>-xərt<sup>o</sup>-m    p'ir'e-<sup>o</sup>  
 he    pottage-ADD-ACC    boil-GFS.3SG

'He even made a pottage.'

- (3b) \*\*pida    yewey<sup>o</sup>    xərt<sup>o</sup>-m    pir'e-<sup>o</sup>  
           he    pottage    xərtə-ACC    boil-GFS.3SG

'He even made a pottage.'

- (4) was'a-xərt<sup>o</sup>    to-<sup>o</sup>  
 V.-ADD    come-GFS.3SG

'Even Vasya came.'

(5) ɲəwər°-naq mal°h susa°-q, n'an°-xərt°-waq tən'a°-  
 food-POSS.NSG.1PL all finish-GFS-3PL bread-ADD-POSS.1PL exist-  
 GFS.3SG

'All our food is over, but there is at least bread.'

(6) mən° s'iqw° s'as°-xərt°-h xon'o-bcu-d°m  
 I seven hour-ADD-GEN sleep-NEC-1SG

'I will sleep for at least 7 hours {, and no more}.'

(7) mən° m'eso-yəxa-xərtə-n°h n'i-wəc° təw°-q  
 I Meso-Yaxa-ADD-DAT NEG-REFL.1SG.PST reach-CN

Interpretation 1: 'Even for Meso-Yaxa it holds that I didn't reach it'.

Interpretation 2: 'It is not the case that I reached at least Meso-Yaxa'.

(8) mən° n'an°-xərt°-m temta-wa-n°h xərwa-ə-d°m  
 I bread-ADD-ACC.SG buy-NMLZ.IPFV-DAT want-GFS-1SG

'I want to buy at least bread.'

(9) mən° mašina-xərt°-m temta-wa-n°h xərwa-ə-d°m  
 I car-ADD-ACC.SG buy-NMLZ.IPFV-DAT want-GFS-1SG

'I want to buy even a car.'

### Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — first, second, and third persons, ACC — accusative, ADD — 'additive' intralclitic, CN — connegative, DAT — dative, GEN — genitive, GFS — general finite stem, LIM — 'limitative' intralclitic, NEC — necessitative, NEG — negation, NMLZ.IPFV — imperfective nominalization, NSG — non-singular, PL — plural, POSS — possessive, PST — past, REFL — 'reflexive' cross-reference series, SG — singular

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### The position of interrogative phrases in Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic languages SO/OS orders in transitive content interrogatives

Content interrogatives are usually described as questions which (i) require a specific answer other than 'Yes/No', and (ii) contain interrogative phrases (cf. Dryer 2013a). A typical criterion usually discussed concerning content interrogatives is the placement of interrogative phrases. Cross-linguistically, there are two positions available in which an interrogative phrase can occur: (i) a dedicated position, i.e. there is a special position in the clause e.g. clause initial or adjacent to the verb, in which the interrogative phrase obligatorily occurs, (ii)

in situ, i.e. it is allowed to place it in the same position in which a corresponding non-question word is located.

This syntactic pattern of interrogative phrases is either poorly or not described in Samoyedic or Ob-Ugric languages. The presentation aims at defining the position of interrogative phrases in these languages. The languages involved are Tundra Nenets, Forest Nenets, Forest Enets, Nganasan, Selkup, as well as Northern Khanty, Eastern Khanty and Northern Mansi. The research is primarily based on data found in grammars and other published sources, additionally on corpus analyses. The presentation discusses the available positions of interrogative phrases exclusively in transitive content interrogatives, in which either the subject or the object is substituted by an interrogative phrase but not both of them at the same time.

Based on one of Greenberg's (1966) universals, the basic word order of a language correlates with the syntactic position of its interrogative phrase. Thus, SOV languages are more likely categorized as being in-situ languages. As Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic languages are traditionally said to be typical SOV languages, one can assume that the interrogative phrase remains in situ in these languages. Then, only two logically possible structures can be surfaced in transitive clauses, which are the SQOV and the SOQV orders.

In the presentation, the following questions will be answered: (i) Can these languages be categorized as being in situ languages? (ii) Are there more than one positions available for their interrogative phrases (i.e. word orders other than SOV can also be attested)? (iii) Which relative order of S and O can be regarded as being the canonical order of content interrogatives? (iv) What is the grammatical reason of the non-canonical word order variations?

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## The syntax of Northern Selkup (Taz)

Every year there is the RSUH expedition to Yamal. The aim of every expedition is to collect the material that could later be used to complete all the gaps that still exist nowadays in what concerns Sel'kup Language.

Last summer we have been to Krasnosel'kup and Tol'ka - it is the area of Northern Sel'kup (Taz). Even though Northern dialect is spoken by 90% of people, it is not mastered by young adults and children. During the expedition we have found many interesting features concerning the Northern dialect, including:

- negative particles (negation system in Sel'kup is not very simple, it has many interesting features, lately it has been changed due to the impact of the Russian),
- word order (that has also been slightly changed)
- the use of cases.

All the audio files that will be used were collected by us and our colleagues during the expedition in Summer 2013.

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### Do Khanty dialects use the same strategies to construct adverbial subordinate clauses? A corpus-based study on adverbial subordinate clauses in Kazym, Shuryshkary and Surgut Khanty

This presentation aims to give an overview of the different mechanisms of adverbial subordination in Khanty from a synchronic point of view, focusing both on the semantic properties of these constructions and on their distribution in different Khanty dialects. Special attention is given to two of the Northern dialects – Kazym (KAZ) and Shuryshkary Khanty (SHU) – and to one of the Eastern dialects – Surgut Khanty (SUR). The term *subordination* is used according to Cristofaro's definition (see Cristofaro 2003).

I will argue that despite the spatial proximity of the dialects of Khanty, different types of adverbial subordinate clauses are used in different extent in the dialects and that the Khanty language cannot be considered a homogeneous entity, even on a syntactic level.

Although the number of studies on Khanty syntax has lately increased (see e.g. Koshkaryova 1991, Filchenko 2007 etc.), there is as yet no comparison of the different strategies to construct (adverbial) clauses among Khanty dialects.

As the Khanty dialects are presently undergoing a period of syntactic change, different strategies of adverbial subordination are used concurrently: e.g. non-finite constructions with participle and case suffix (1); non-finite constructions with participle and postposition (2); finite constructions with conjunction; a combination of these; infinitive (3) or converbial constructions etc.:

(1) SHU 067/041 (All numbers refer to my fieldwork notes.)

ja:j      -əl      joxət -m      -al      -ən      luβ      je:s'altxo:xəlm      -əs  
brother   SG<3SG   come   PTCP.PST   3SG   LOC   3SG   to   run   PST[3SG]  
‘When her brother came, she ran directly to him.’



(2) SUR 045/058

*βertəlʲjot joyt -tə motʃə min əntə mən -t -əmən*  
helicopter come PTCP.PRS until 1DU NEG go PRS 1DU

‘We two will not leave until the helicopter comes.’

(3) KAZ 203/001

*βetpəstə -ti jam puʃkan mɔ:s -t*  
hunt INF good gun need PRS[3SG]

‘A good gun is needed to hunt.’

The influence of Russian will be pointed out on the level of borrowings and conjunction usage, but also on a deeper level – e.g. the presence or absence of negation.

The research to be presented is based on data collected in Siberia between 2010 and 2012 from over fifty native speakers of the three aforementioned dialects. The material consists of a total of over 2200 elicited sentences.

After an outline of the finite and non-finite subordinate constructions within temporal, modal, causal etc. adverbial clauses, their dialectal distribution will be compared in detail. Especially different stages of Russian influence in the dialects will be pointed out and the status of the ongoing language shift will be analysed, also from a sociolinguistic point of view. Does the variation in the usage of subordinate clauses depend, besides the dialect, also on age and education of the informants? Are the presuppositions that (a) Russian-Khanty bilingual speakers prefer finite structures to non-finite ones, (b) that younger speakers prefer non-finite clauses with postpositions to ones with case suffixes, and (c) that finite constructions are increasing in frequency correct? The presentation intends to show typical and marginal subordinate adverbial constructions and to answer the above-mentioned questions.

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### The preferred morphosyntactic patterns in Surgut Khanty discourse

The main aim of this study is to study, how the pragmatical features influence on the speaker’s morphosyntactic choice among the rich resources of Surgut Khanty. The theoretical framework is employed the discourse based functionalism (e.g. Chafe 1987, Du Bois 1984, Lambrecht 1994, Durie 2003).

In the data collecting and processing, I will pick up the alternatives of allosentences, which is on the comparison of semantically equivalent but formally and pragmatically divergent sentence pairs (Daneš 1966) and pick up the typical tendencies of functional differences between these allosentences and show some example, relating to the information structure and flow. I will outline

my arguments derived from the results of my study on the mechanism of the speaker's choice of morphosyntactic form, comparing also the earlier studies on Khanty (e.g. Filchenko 2010, Nikolaeva 2011)

In my pilot studies, some functional differences among allosentences are visible in Surgut Khanty discourse. For example, the appearances of passive and active sentences or ergative and accusative sentences are motivated by the information flow, especially, the topic continuity in running discourse. In other words, the information flow tends to motivate the grammatical shape in Surgut Khanty.

All data used in this study is originally spoken discourse by native speaker. Some of them are already published (e.g. Csepregi 1998 and 2002, Csepregi and Sosa 2009), some of them are author's own.

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### **Prominence theory of focus realization in Eastern Mansi**

The aim of this paper is to discuss focus marking in Eastern Mansi (EM) from the point of view of the prominence theory of focus realization (PTF) (Büring 2009). The study is based on written folkloric materials gathered by Artturi Kannisto (*Wogulische Volksdichtung I–VI*, Helsinki 1951–63) because there are no more living speakers of EM. *Focus* is defined as the new or unpredictable information provided in an utterance (Lambrecht 1994). Typologically, three methods of focus marking are distinguished: prosodic, syntactic and

morphological (Büring 2009). Both the syntactic and morphological methods will be discussed in this paper.

According to the gathered data, four features are involved in focus marking in EM: 1) pre-verbal position, 2) non-subject role, 3) oblique case inflection and 4) morphological unmarkedness of the direct object. In Hungarian, the closest relative of Mansi, focus occupies the pre-verbal position (Kenesei 2009), and the data of this study support similar results in EM. Independent to its syntactic role, focus is placed in the pre-verbal position. Two types of focus will be discussed in the paper: oblique focus and object focus. The term *oblique focus* refers to the use of oblique cases, and it comprises several semantic functions.

The syntactic role of the subject is always occupied by the primary topic, and—if there is a secondary topic—the role of the direct object is occupied by the secondary topic (Virtanen 2013). For this reason, a focal agent always triggers a passive construction when the agent is marked with the lative case (Kulonen 1989, Virtanen 2013). When marking a focal agent, the function of the lative case is pragmatic:

*pås-øng=kom-nø keet-w-øs-øm.*  
light-ADJ=man-LAT send-PASS-PST-1SG

‘I was sent by the Bright Man’.

Oblique foci also appear marked with local cases (locative, lative and ablative) in their concrete local or directional meanings:

*nöänk mōð-gään-nø jåt tåt-ään.*  
2DU.STRESS land-2DU-LAT PREF take-IMP.DU

‘Take [them] to your[2] own land!’

A semantic patient realized as an oblique focus is inflected in the instrumental case in both the active and the passive:

*äj-n-øl wöär-øs-tø, tee-n-øl wöär-øs-tø.*  
drink-GER-INSTR make-PST-SG<3SG eat-GER-INSTR make-PST-SG<3SG

‘She made him something to eat and drink’.

*nee-tään jär-øl mäj-w-øs.*  
woman-LAT.SG3SG knife -INSTR give-PASS-PST

‘He was given a knife by his wife’.

The semantic patient can also be realized as an object focus; it is morphologically unmarked, in contrast to the marked topical direct objects:

*kom sågrøp öälmønt-i.*  
man axe carry-3SG

‘The man carries an axe’.

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### **From differential object case marking to differential object indexation in Samoyedic**

In Samoyedic, the eastern principle branch of the Uralic language family, direct objects are divergently marked depending on their specific semantic and pragmatic properties. The main strategies of this so-called differential object marking (DOM) have their roots in Proto-Uralic. This pertains to differential object case marking (cf. Mikola 1988; Abondolo 1998; Künnap 2008a) as well as to the conjugational subjective-objective distinction (cf. Abondolo 1998; Havas 2004; Körtvély 2005). Although it is generally agreed that both of these strategies still apply in recent Samoyedic, it is insufficiently studied in which way they have developed and to what extent they interact in the particular Samoyedic languages. Up until now the still living languages of them, Nganasan, Nenets, Enets (Northern) and Selkup (Southern), are bracketed together in this respect (cf. Janhunen 1998; Künnap 2008b; Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011). In my talk I will show that such an approach to Samoyedic DOM falls to short as the particular languages decisively differ in the developmental stage of their objective agreement suffixes and the spread and loss of their object case markers. Roughly speaking, whereas there is differential object case marking but no object agreement in Nganasan, there is differential object indexation on finite verbs but no object case marking in Enets. Nenets and Selkup lie in-between in that they still exhibit object case markers but have developed object agreement markers that have undertaken DOM to a certain extent. With that the Samoyedic language area reflects the diachrony of Uralic object agreement and case marking on a synchronic level.

As I will elucidate, Nganasan represents the most archaic stage. Its 3rd person object personal pronouns are still exclusively realized by the objective suffixes of finite verbs. They only co-occur with lexical objects if they are bound by the latter in a typical clitic left-dislocation construction. The (in-)definiteness of its non-pronominal direct objects are marked by the traditional Uralic differential object case markers. The objective suffixes of Nenets and Selkup, however, already exhibit essential properties of verbal categories. The direct objects they co-occur with are still restricted to a 3rd person specification but they are no longer required to reside in the left peripheral topic position. Nevertheless they are related to the pragmatic status of the latter. While in Nenets the objective suffixes are associated with object referents that are or belong to the discourse topic, in Selkup they indicate their mere identifiability. In contrast to Selkup and to Nenets, where object case marking has been generalized, Enets has lost structural case marking on nouns almost entirely. The grammatical relations of its non-pronominal arguments are identified by differential object indexation. Thus, whenever a direct object deviates from the prototypical patient argument in that it exhibits ‘subject-like’ properties like definiteness and topicality, the

corresponding finite verb takes an objective suffix. Accordingly, the Samoyedic languages are subject to a horizontal shift from differential object case marking to differential object indexation.

(1)(a) Nganasan (Avamic)

*Tahariāa satāra-ŋku maa-guo hun's'arəə-d'əə lataə-j*  
 now polar fox-DIM what-CL ancient-ANT(ACC) bone-ACC+PL+INDEF  
*ŋonəi-ʔ təða-ʔa.*

one\_more-GEN+PL bring-PF(3SG.S)

‘Then the little polar fox brings some old bones.’ (mou djamezi 062)

(b) Nganasan (Avamic)

*Ou - tətī tahariāiʔ ŋamiāj tuu bitī-ðə-m-tī n'akəl'i-ʔə*  
 EXCL that now other fire arrow-DEST-ACC+DEF-3DU(POSS)take-  
 PF(3SG.S)

‘Oh, now the other one took their gun ...’ (dva chuma 038)

(2)(a) Nenets (Tundra)

*N'e n'u-m-ta n'e-dn'i me-wa-n*  
 woman child-ACC-3SG(POSS) woman-DAT+1SG(POSS) take-NACT-DAT  
*xarwa-w.*

want-1SG.O

‘His daughter I want to marry.’ (tet weli teta 50)

(b) Selkup (Tas)

*Ima t'i-m-tī konnä wət'ti-ŋi-ti.*  
 woman kettle-ACC-3SG(POSS) from\_the hearthput-PRS-3SG.O

‘The woman puts her kettle away from the hearth.’ (text1 041)

(3) (a) Enets

*Oðxon peri samol'oto-ʔ lito-bi-ð.*  
 therefore always airplane-PL watch-NARR-1SG.S

‘Therefore I always watch airplanes.’ (Mik01 05)

(b) Enets

*toni-ne paroxodo-xodo odu mi-ʔ enet'eʔ-ʔ*  
 there-LOCADV steamer-ABL boat inside-LATADV person-PL

*d'ikakuða-ŋa-i-ðu.*

take-PRES-OPL-3PL.O

‘...there they take the passengers from the steamer to the lifeboat.’ (otpusk 034)

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## Symp. 5. The development of Volgaic and Permic literary languages

**Organizers:** Sirkka Saarinen and Jorma Luutonen (University of Turku)

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### Expressing will with the *šueš* construction in Mari (*šueš* -rakenteen käyttö tahdon ilmaisemiseen marin kielessä)

Mari language has no specific verb for expressing will. Instead, there is a productive mood, called desiderative, and also several verbs (with different primary meanings), and other constructions, which are used in the expressions of will.

In my presentation I will discuss one of these ways of expressing will in Mari. The construction in question is formed with passive participle (suffix *-me*, *-mo*, *-mō* in Eastern Mari) and the verb *šuaš* ('to arrive' etc.) used as an impersonal verb in its sg. 3. p. form "*šueš*".

Both the desiderative and *šueš* construction can be formed practically with any verb. Both of these constructions can only be used when expressing a will to do something. Thus the *šueš* construction can be used in phrases such as *jūmem šueš* 'I want to drink' but not with an NP object *\*kofem šueš* 'I want coffee'. Therefore the desiderative and the *šueš* construction seem theoretically rather interchangeable with each other.

The main purpose of my presentation is to explore the main verbs in the *šueš* constructions. A native speaker of Mari brought to my attention an assumption, that the *šueš* construction is used when expressing the basic needs (i.e. want to eat, want to sleep), or some kind of a physical activity (i.e. want to swim). My task at hand is to test this idea by looking at the *šueš* constructions in my data and examining, whether the verbs in the construction seem to fall into this kind of semantic category. It is also possible that some of the *šueš* constructions are at least somewhat lexicalized.

Due to the nature of my study, the data will be gathered from literature (both Mari literature and translated texts). My data includes Sergej Tsavaj'n's Elnet (first edition from 1936) and several contemporary texts (mainly from Ončyko Corpus maintained by the Research Unit for Volgaic Languages at the University of Turku). This data will enable me to explore, whether there has been any changes in the usage of the *šueš* construction over the last century.

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### **Russian borrowings in the north-western dialect of the Mari language (Русские заимствования в тоншаевском говоре северо-западного наречия марийского языка)**

The north-western dialect of Mari was first identified by professors I.S. Galkin and L.P. Gruzov in 1958. It was a result of the analysis of materials of their expeditions to Mari people who live in Kirov and Gorky parts.

While identifying the Russian lexical borrowings in this dialect, we used «Dictionary of the north-western dialect of Mari» by I.G. Ivanov and G.M. Tuzharov, as well as our own materials collected during our stay in Tonshaeviskiy district of the Nizhny Novgorod region.

Lexical borrowings are analyzed in many works of Mari linguists (Patrushev G.S., Galkin I.S., Tuzharov G.M., Isanbaev N.I.). One of the most important studies on borrowings from the Russian language is the work of A.A. Savatkova.

Each nation in different historical periods of its existence interacts with other nations in economic, cultural and political fields. As a result, foreign words appear in the language, which can either become part of the active vocabulary or disappear and not be used in that language. The intensity of the borrowing process depends on the specific historical conditions. Furthermore, the degree of influence of one language on another one can be due to such factors as the degree of closeness of interacting languages, numerical superiority of one nation over the other, the level of material and spiritual culture.

The strong influence of the Russian language occurs in places where Russian and Mari people share the territory of their living. Thus, the north-western dialect of Mari is used mainly in the Kirov and Nizhny Novgorod regions that suggests that this dialect has borrowed more Russian words than any other dialect of the Mari language.

Linguists who study language contacts divide borrowings into thematic groups, which reflect the most intense areas of interaction.

Vocabulary of Tonshaeviskiy dialect of the Mari language borrowed from Russian is heterogeneous semantically. It covers various aspects of human life and activities. It can be divided into the following thematic groups: 1) a person, family, society; 2) nature: flora and fauna, natural phenomena; 3) material and spiritual culture; 4) labour activities of a man. These groups in turn consist of thematic subgroups.



**The role of Russian loans in the development of linguistics and literary terms in the Udmurt language  
(Роль русских заимствований в развитии лингвистических и литературоведческих терминов в удмуртском языке)**

In up-to-date world of variable concepts and of developing terminologies the loan terminology gets the leading role that is certainly associated with the increasing position of bilingualism (multilingualism). On the one hand in the field of scientific vocabulary the loan leads to internationalization of scientific terminology. On the other hand the universalization of the scientific terminology is observed as long as the terms of one scientific discipline are often loaned by allied sciences. Therefore the issues of the loan terminology, the translation of terms as well as the issues regarding causes and effects of loaning terms appear to be an actual problem of the modern philology including the Udmurt one.

The research of the linguistic and literary terms (in Udmurt language it is mostly loan words from the Russian language) allows to trace the development ways and stages of the term system in Udmurt philology, regularities of entering foreign-language vocabulary process, determine channels of its interaction with the other elements of scientific apparatus and fairly determine the development level of modern Udmurt philology.

Our research showed that the Udmurt linguistic began to develop pretty early – in the second half of XVIII century, while the literary criticism began to form only in the middle of the XIX century. Nevertheless, both in literary criticism and in linguistics the basic terminological apparatus formed mainly in 1920s. But if the linguistic terms actively developed in 60-80s of XX century, then in literary criticism the loaning process became more intensive at the end of XX century. The basic concepts and the entering intensity of loan terms are formed depending on the time, the historical conditions and cultural trends.

It should be noted that in the beginning of the XX century lexical loans from the Russian language are mostly included in Udmurt literary criticism as names for newly introduced concepts and phenomena; complicated constructions of the late XX century and the beginning of XXI century mark the complicated and branchy structure of science and the courageous searches of writers. With the development of the literary science, semantic frames of terms are expanded: concepts often did not keep within a single word, and the compound terms appeared formed on the basis of various key terms.

In Udmurt linguistics an active term creation process is observed today: in the process of translation into Udmurt language such methods are used: the loan translation, the combination of words, in which one component is loaned and the second one has the native origin, the mobilization of native language tools (the formation of neologisms, the widening of the word semantics) etc.

The percentage of all loan terminology showed that the loans of Greek and Latin origin predominate in Udmurt philology science. There are less German words in literary terminology, but it is discovered that 1 % of Italian terms mainly concerned with the poetry (sonnet, triolet, rondeau, tercet and etc.).

So, our research allows to conclude that the loans are the most important layer of the terminological lexicon in the Udmurt language.

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### **Adjective government in Udmurt**

In the Udmurt language the majority of words has syntactic or selectional characteristics which include the following: belonging of lexeme to a particular part of speech, meaning of a word as a carrier of a particular morphological category, the morphological composition of a word, the lexical meaning of a word, etc. This range of parameters determines the form subordination choice. In Udmurt, as it specified in grammar books, government being the form of subordination is appropriate to verbs and in some cases to nouns. According to my research many parts of speech can govern, including the adjectives.

Group of adjectives denoting "having something that is expressed by a noun stem" governs instrumental: *Chorygen, pöjshuren no jemysjhosyn uzыр shajeryn ulis'komy*. 'We live in a country rich in fish, animals, fruit and vegetables.'

Structures in which certain adjectives govern dative form of the noun or pronoun are also typical of Udmurt: *Petyr so kot'kinly todmo ad'ami*. 'Peter is known to everyone.'

In some cases adjectives can govern verbal forms, in particular, infinitive: *So shutetskytek no uz hany das'* 'He is willing to work even without rest'.

In these examples, the choice of government form is entirely dependent on the semantics of an adjective. In other cases the main criterion is the grammatical characteristics. Almost all adjectives can govern ablative, as this type of valency is shown when an adjective is in the comparative degree and has the affix -ges (-gem) marker: *Pukon dzökles'pichiges* 'A chair is smaller than a table'.

Along with the form of ablative the adjectives in comparative degree can also govern dative: *Natasha Kol'ales'kyk aresly jegitges* 'Natasha is 2 years younger than Kolya'.

When choosing a government form of an adjective in the Udmurt language wordbuilding can also be a leading factor. Many adjectives marked with derivational affix -o (-jo) or -jem can be used in a sentence only if there is a prepositional component, i.e. they govern the nominative form of an adjective, numeral and other parts of speech: *Vözh vylo kn'iga dzök vylyn kyl'l'e*. 'The book with a green cover is on the table.' *Kyk tomjem kylsuz'jet dzogen potyny kule*. 'Two-volume dictionary is to be published soon'.

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## Comparative analysis of the particle-clings in Mordvinian and Mari languages

### (Сравнительный анализ частиц-прилеп в марийском и мордовских языках)

Post-positional particles, which merge with the words, forming a semantic entity, are clings.

In Mari (mountain – g. and the meadow – l. – approx. of Ertsikova G.A.) language, these include l. *-ak*, g. *-ok*; l. *-at/-jat*, g. *-at/-ät*; l. *-äs/-s*, g. *-âsh/-ash/-š*; l. *-žel/-žol/-žö*, *-šel/-šol/-šö*, g. *-(žê/-žə, -šê /-šə*, l. *-t/-et/-jet*, g. *-et/-jet*; in Mordvinian (moksha – m. and erzya – e. – approx. of Ertsikova G.A.) languages – e. *-yak, -kak, -jak*, m. *-ya, -ye, -ka, -ke, -βok, -nya*.

According to their semantic features particle-clings in Mari, and in Mordvinian languages are included in the intensive-excretory. They are the most widely used in language and in speech, a great variety and can be connected to almost all parts of speech.

In Mordvinian languages intensive-excretory particles e. *-yak, -kak, -jak*, m. *-ya, -ye, -ka, -ke, -βok, -nya* in most cases are used for the transmission of semantics 'also, too; even; just' [1, p. 40 – 45]. In the Mari language in the data values used particles l. *-at/-jat*, g. *-at/-ät*; g. *-ak*, g. *-ok*.

In the Mari language possessive suffixes of 3 and 2 person of singular number quite often act in the role of adjacent intensive-excretory particles l. *-žel/-žol/-žö*, *-šel/-šol/-šö*, g. *-(žê/-žə, -šê /-šə*, l. *-t/-et/-jet*, g. *-et/-jet* 'that, same'. They reinforce and highlight the mean of the word, with which it form a single semantic unit. Particle l. *-äs/-s*, g. *-âš/-aş/-š* 'just, because' often emphasize the meaning of the verb.

In Mordvinian languages, compared with Mari, the particles are identical in sound composition with pronominal suffixes: e. *teke*, m. *íaka* 'the same' [2, p. 207].

Mordvinian particles e. *-yak, -kak, -jak*, m. *-ya, -ye, -ka, -ke, -βok, -nya* 'also, as' and Mari particles l. *-at/-jat*, g. *-at/-ät* 'and, even' can perform a conjunction function: e. *čayestkak, saharostkak, lembestkak, tol βaldostkak sânst βejsen* 'And tea, and sugar, and the light they have the same' [1, p. 46]. M. *arβezə mən 'ə m caklâšat, tokem tol 'ə* 'the guy saw me and came to me'.

Particle g. *-ok* 'let's' often serves as a modal-willed and gives consent relaxed nature: *kačok 'let's eat, kačdok 'let's eat*'.

Analyzed particles of Mordvinian and Mari languages have much in common. However, it is very difficult to draw parallels between the particles of different languages solely on the basis of grammatical descriptions, because the particles of each of the comparable languages have their own individual value, uncharacteristic for another language. Context plays an important role in identifying the nuances of their semantics.

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### **Syntactic valency of the verbs *лудаи* 'to read' and *возаи* 'to write' in the Mari language (Синтаксическая валентность глаголов *лудаи* 'читать' и *возаи* 'писать' в мари́йском языке)**

In modern cognitive linguistics a great attention is paid to the development of the theory of mentality, problems of the study of the verbs of intellectual activity and ways of their solution. Valence analysis of lexemes *лудаи* and *возаи* contributes to the development of the base for linguistic didactic and lexicographic description of compatibility of the Mari verbs.

In the examined sentences such concepts as «person», «community» and «parts of the body» are in the position of the subject: *Поэт воза* 'Poet writes'; *Калык лудеш* 'People read'; *Кид воза* 'Hand writes'; *Шинча лудеш* 'Eyes read'; *Чон (шўм) воза / лудеш* 'Soul (heart) writes / reads'.

Cognitive verbs are transitive that is why they are actively used with compulsory object syntaxemes which are expressed by a noun, an adjective, a pronoun, a numeral and a participle in the accusative case; nouns also can be in the nominative case. Among them there are metonymic expressions, for example: *кагаз лудаи* 'to read the paper', *шўм-чоным лудаи* 'to read the soul (lit. heartsoul)', *куаным возаи* 'to write joy'.

Reduplication, postposition *почеш* 'after', conjunction *да* 'and' express a variety of objects for reading or writing and a constant action of gaining knowledge, for example: *книга почеш книгаи лудеш* 'reads book after book', *серыи почеш серыишым воза* 'writes letter after letter', *лудеш-лудеш* 'readsreads', *воза да воза* 'writes and writes'. There is a composite verb *лудаи-возаи*: *лудаи-возаи тунемаи* 'to learn to read and write', *лудын-возен моштышо* 'literate'.

Object valence is also implemented with the help of postpositions *нерген*, *шотышто* and *шумлык* 'about', which serve as a means of telling the theme of information. The same function is performed by the word «theme» in the dative case, or in combination with postpositions *дене / почеш* 'on'. Direct speech quotes the exact words spoken. The joint action is expressed by postposition *дене* 'with' or *дене пырля* 'together with'. When performing an action in honor of a named person postposition *лўмеш* 'in honor of' is used, postposition *олмеш* 'instead of' is used to express substitution meaning. The addressee's name is in

dative. If cognitive actions are performed before the audience, postposition *ончылно* 'before' is used. The verb «to write» requires a dependent name which denotes an instrument or a means of action; grammatical meaning is expressed by postposition *дене* in that case, for example: *ручка дене* 'with a pen', *вјр дене* 'with blood'.

The manner is revealed in adverbial syntaxemes which are expressed by adverbs, gerunds or gerund constructions, numerals, postposition combinations. Time relations are expressed with the help of nouns in inessive, adverbs, and postposition combinations. Space relations are established in the result of a combination of verbs with dependent names in inessive. The verb «to write » has more space syntaxemes than the verb «to read», the dependent name is in the illative form, inessive-terminative form or with postpositions.

When analyzed verbs are combined with other verbs (auxiliary or main) the number of ways of implementing the syntactic valency of lexemes increases.

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### **The verbalization of concept "love" in the Mordovian languages**

In general, love is a form of spiritual culture, presented in a person's life as an individual experience of a sense of devotion to people, things and events of outward things, ideas and dreams to himself in those cases when the object of this feeling is getting more valuable personal "I"; without merging with selected object unity with him man does not think of its existence, or at least feels a deep dissatisfaction, inadequacy, incompleteness being.

This understanding of love includes all its forms (to life, sex, women or men, children and parents for money, fame, power, art, science, Fatherland, God, and so on. etc.) Combines all three meanings of the word in the Mordovian (Moksha and Erzya) languages (sense of deep attachment to smb, smth.; hot feeling of warmth, attraction to person of opposite sex, inner desire, inclination, attraction to smth.).

In the Mordovian languages (Moksha and Erzya), this concept is presented a vast nominative field, including lexical and phraseological units and representing following symptoms: inconsistency; irrationality; spontaneity, lack of control; a close relationship with other emotions and feelings (both positive and negative); freedom and reciprocity of feelings; manifestation of selflessness and self-interest; the basis of family relationships; ritual, the analogy with game, and others.

Verbalization of the concept of "love" happens through a variety of linguistic resources. In particular: 1. *At the level of vocabulary and phraseology* concept involves the use of specific words and fixed expressions, as well as specialized forms of treatment using, foreexample, diminutive suffixes, affectionate nicknames. 2. *On the grammatical level*, it can realize by means of use different structure and type of proposals, such as the use of interrogative sentences instead of imperative. 3. *On the stylistic level* the concept of "love" prescribes to observance of number of rules of communication: the use of a competent, cultural speech (the right accent, the right pronunciation of words, logical sentence

structure, etc.); rejection of the use of slang and literary words, directly calling obscene objects and events, replacing their by euphemisms. 4. *On the intonation level* concept is revealed in the use of polite, often endearing tone. 5. *On the organizational and communicative level* presents such rules as the ban to be rude, to engage in physical abuse, interrupt the interlocutor, to interfere in other people's conversations, rude to talk by phone with object of love, etc.

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### **Lexical variants in the dialects of Moksha language (Лексические варианты в диалектах мокшанского языка)**

Lexical variants arise in the process of inner development, when the name reflects different features of the object, as a result of the interaction of dialects, as well as the influence of the literary language.

The lexical system of each dialect has its own specifics. In its composition there are words that are common to all subdialects, but at the same time reveal a number of lexical units, by which separate subdialects and dialects differ from each other and from the literary language.

Generated by a number of factors, distinctive only for dialect speech, lexical variation for the nomination of the same concepts, phenomena, or the realities, extended in the dialect because of the introduction in it of countrywide, literary word: lit. *ər'vaks l'is'f / ər'vaks tuf – ər'vān'aks araf – ven'caf* «married»; lit. *šor'ams – mešams* «hinder», lit. *tona – kajna* «that, this», etc.

In Moksha language dialects can be found co-existence:

a) different sound systems (words) within full similarity of their meanings: *mirt'ṭ-ər'vat, al'at-avat* «husband with wife; spouses»; *vaga – n'ava* «here», etc.;

b) different sound systems (words) with a partial (incomplete) similarity of their meanings: *od ava – od t'äd'ä* «stepmother», liter. «new wife, new mother», etc.;

c) partially different from each other sound systems with the same meaning - a different kind of word formation and morphological variants: *normal' – normar'* «wild strawberries»;

d) different sound systems with identical meanings, but different emotional and expressive content: *mel'd'afks – pekən' nardafks* «afterthought - last or late child in family», etc.

In a collision of the words of different dialects it can be limited by their parallel use during some time period. Then one of the dialect words would be repressed, disappeared, because two words - meanings of the same - not needed for subdialect, for example: *šra – morkš* «стол».

Study of distribution of words and their usage in different subdialects allows in many cases not only to determine the current state of affairs, but also gives a lot of interesting things to explore history of separate words, whose origin is lost in high antiquity, and which is of great importance to determine the common patters general of language.

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**The problem of distinguishing between complex and composite somatisms in the Mari language  
(Проблема разграничения сложных и составных соматизмов в мари́йском языке)**

While analyzing somatic vocabulary of the Mari language, first of all, we face the problem of distinguishing between complex and composite somatisms. This issue remains one of the most difficult and not fully developed, not only in Mari, but in modern linguistics as well.

In the Finno-Ugrian languages the boundary between compound words and phrases is not clearly seen, since according to some researchers in the Finno-Ugrian languages compound words do not differ from free phrases in their structure.

It is well known that the main feature of phrases is separate spelling whereas compounds have joint spelling. But they both express the semantic unity of the constituent elements. In our opinion, semantic features and phonetic changes at the junction of combined lexical units are sufficient to distinguish a compound from a phrase.

While distinguishing compound somatisms from composite ones the following phonetic, morphological, semantic and syntactic features were identified:

Phonetic features:

1. Phonetic structure of a compound is very important, in particular, one of the components of a complex somatism loses its accent, and sometimes lexical meaning and independence. A compound word has only one main stress, and it falls always on the second component. Stress in a compound is more «unifying» than in a phrase. All components of composite somatisms have a word stress.

2. The absence of a pause between components.

Morphological features:

1. Impossibility to replace the absolute form of the first component of a compound with the form with inflectional affix.

2. Absence of a possessive structure, which is compulsory for phrases.

Semantic feature:

Strict order of constituent elements in a compound word, i.e. components of a compound word are indissoluble lexically, that means it is impossible to insert any word between the components of a compound and an attributive word refers to the entire composite as a single whole (semantic criterion).

Syntactic feature:

Integrity. Syntactic integrity of compound somatisms is reflected in the fact that components of a compound can not have syntactic relationship with other words and they act as a single sentence part.

### **On the methodology of an Erzya orthography compatible with compound words and computational linguistic description**

This paper deals with the development of an Erzyan orthography based on the morphosyntactic knowledge and semantic logic of a native speaker. The purpose for such an undertaking is to model written forms that can be predicted by both speakers and machines. In practice, the methodology will render the need for a list of orthographically correct spellings virtually unnecessary. The main stress will fall on the modeling of compound words according to attested sentential context variation and ordering of the combinatory elements.

The most recent orthographic dictionary of the Erzya language published in Saransk 2012, attests to compound words in several parts of speech following inconsistent orthographic practices. The spelling of the compound words is governed by a collection of semantic criteria, compound concatenation limitations, and morphological disparity. The resulting list of word forms proposed to be orthographically correct exhibits a sundry of random entries in alphabetical order and fails to provide the least of semantic explanation. The list also appears to be indifferent to standard and substandard lexical distinctions, e.g. “šumbrań-paro či” (should be šumbrań paroči) 'greeting: wealth of one healthy = good health', tvetka 'flower'. The rules and ample 35,000 word entries, however, provide a relatively good material base for commencing the development of an orthographic methodology required in the computational prediction of feasible word forms.

Central in this investigation are the presence of adjacent word forms that allow for multiple interpretation or reordering. There is the indefinite nominative singular form of a noun, for example, that can serve as: a modifier; a quantifier; a postpositional complement, or a complement of an appositional identifier. There are verbs and their participles with preceding descriptive particles that allow for variation in word order and splitting when negated. There is also the homonymic negative particle “a” and the conjunction “a”.

Combinatory rules will be developed for multiword constructions and address orthographic units. The resulting model will be compatible for use with rule-based morphology and syntax, such as that found in an open-source spellchecker based on Helsinki Finite-State Transducer Technology (HFST) in Voikko on LibreOffice. It will also be tested with native speaking students and professional writers as a logical orthographic alternative to rules published in 2012.



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**On the distribution of spatial cases in the Udmurt language in the aspect of ontolinguistics  
(К вопросу о дистрибуции пространственных падежей удмуртского языка в онтолингвистическом аспекте)**

System of declination in the modern Udmurt language is presented by 15 case forms, 7 of which are spatial cases. Distributive load of each member of a paradigmatic sequence is various: thus forms of local and illative cases are used more frequently than the form of the additive case. The Udmurt cases also differ by various range of semantic content.

On the basis of ontolinguistic analysis we can conclude that the acquirement of case forms by pre-school children differs from age to age:

a) at the age of 3 -4 skills of active use of local and illative cases are formed; forms of elative can be built by analogy with an asked question: – Кытысь бертиськод? – Тельысь ‘Where are you coming back from’ – ‘From the wood’;

b) at the age of 5-6 all spatial paradigm is built in the children speech: lativ (where to?) – locative (where?) – ablative (where from?). And from the age of 7 all other spatial case forms are actively used in the children speech.

System of declination in the Udmurt language provides simple and possessive forms. The research revealed that possessive forms of the subject-object cases are acquired by native speakers much earlier than the possessive forms of spatial cases.

As far as the variation of case forms and postpositional constructions are concerned, the final distinction between them is made at the age 6.

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**Syntax and intonation of parenthetical clauses in Udmurt**

Parenthetical clauses appear to be not well investigated matter for Udmurt linguistics. The problem here is what to consider a parenthetical clause and how to describe it: morphologically or syntactically.

In the given report syntactical and prosody nature of parenthetical clauses was analyzed. It should be mentioned that from all types of parenthetical elements the most steady intonation characteristics are typical of:

- modal verbs that are closely connected with the whole sentence and not always are separated from it: e.g. Soku malpaj, olo, jaraloz ta minim. ‘Then I thought may be it would fit me’.

- euphemisms – words and word combinations etymologically connected with some sort of address either to God or devil: e.g. Ma, osto inmare, mar ton tatin kariskod? ‘Oh, good gracious, what are you doing here?’

It is hard to find out general intonation characteristics for other types of parenthetical clauses since a lot of other variants of their intonation structure can be found. We tried to check up intonation variability of parenthetical clauses in

recorded speech taking into consideration context, implication and speaker's attitude to what is said. Auditory experiment made it possible to find out that parenthetical clauses in Udmurt language take initial position in sentence in case they are semantically important sentence elements. They are stressed and form separate syntagm pronounced with low rise, low fall or fall-rise: e.g. Jaram, tinad ataed umoj adjami, ton soli oskiskod. 'Well, your father is a nice person, you believe him'.

In some cases semantically important parenthesis may appear either in the middle of sentence or in the end of it. In this case they also form a separate syntagm having its own intonation.

The most independent from the point of view of their intonation characteristics are parentheses used in emotional speech. But auditory experiment showed that parenthetical clauses are not emotional in their majority in Udmurt language. They have emotional connotation only in two cases: 1) in the case of emotional situation when the emotional aspect of a sentence covers parenthetical clause as well; 2) in the case when parenthetical element is emotional itself (euphemisms, slang words, etc).

On the whole it is possible to say that parenthetical clauses in Udmurt take different position within the sentence structure having different intonation patterns and being non-emotional.

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### **Features of the use of case morphemes of indefinite declension of a noun in Moksha language dialects (linguo-geographic aspect of the study)**

**(Особенности употребления падежных морфем неопределенного склонения имени существительного в мокшанских диалектах [лингвогеографический аспект исследования])**

In Moksha language dialect area are widespread variants of case morphemes, which are characterized by different features.

Nominative is the original form of declension and there is no composition of case.

Genitive and dative suffixes are represented by two allomorphs: gen. *-ń, -n*, dat. *-ńd'i, -ndj*. Formants *-ń, -ńd'i* found in the vast majority of Moksha dialects, and the use of hard *-n, -ndj* limited as in the terms of the circle of covered words and geographically as well: gen. –centr. d. *virəń, kaləń*; south-east. d. *virəń, kaləń*; west. d. *virń*, but *kaln*; small.lit. *virəń* 'woods', *kaləń* 'fish'; dat. – west. d. *kalndj*, small. lit. *kaləńd'i* 'to fish'.

Ablative is composed by suffixes: *d+* vowel, *t+* vowel; inessive – *-s* + vowel, *-c+* vowel; elative – *-st+* vowel, *-ct* + vowel; illative – *-s, -c*, acting in several phonetic variations due to the nature of the foundations of a noun and the distribution area.

Morphem of lative in all Moksha language dialects is represented by three allomorphs: *-v, -u, -i*. Nouns started with vowel are composed by the allomorph

-v: *pakšav* 'in the field'. Allomorphs *-u*, *-i* join the base on the consonant or reduced vowel, falling before the suffix, and *-u* appears after hard consonants, *-i* – after soft consonants: *kaldazu* 'to barn'; *vir'i* 'to the forest'.

Prolative in the Moksha language dialects is morphologically composed by suffixes *-ga* / *-gä(e)*, *-ka* / *-kä(e)*, *-va*, *-gava*, *-kava*, *-java*, the implementation of which in the same dialect is characterized by the nature of the word stem: *-va* – after vowel stem, *-ka* / *-kä(e)* – after breath (voiceless) consonant stem, *-ga* / *-gä(e)* after sonant stem: centr. d. *vel'ava*, *kudga*, *vir'ga*, *kiga* / *kiva*; south-east. d. *vil'ava*, *kudga*, *vir'ge*, *kige*; temyash subdialect *kigava*, Penza subdialect *kijava*; small lit. *vel'ava* 'through village', *vir'gä* 'through forest', *kudga* 'at house', *kigä* 'on the road'.

Morphem of translative in Moksha language dialects represented by the allomorph *-ks*, differences in addition are revealed only in the vocalic element between the stem and the suffix.

Comparative in Moksha dialect area is formed by means of suffixes *-ška* / *-čka*: *kudška* 'as a house', *surška* 'as finger', *narməňčka* 'as tall as a bird'. In the subdialects of the west dial *ška* appears in separate use as separate lexical unit : *pakšac getkar škasa* 'his field is of size of one hectare'.

Morphem of abessive *-ftəma* in Moksha language dialects is implemented in the form of several variations: *-ftəma(ə)* / *-ft'əme* / *-ft'ima* / *-ft'imä(e)* / *-ftəm* / *-ft'əm*, which structures are different in vocalic element, subordinate to vowel harmony: south-east. d. *kutftəma* 'without house', but *virft'əme* 'without forest', *kift'əme* 'without road'; Krasnoslobodsk-Sindrovo subdialect. *virft'imä*, *käft'imä*; temyash subdialect *virft'imä*, small lit. *virft'əma(ə)* 'without forest'.

Causative in the Moksha dialect area grammatically composed by suffix *-nksa(ə)*, which formed from postposition *inksa(ə)*: *lomaňənksa(ə)* 'from behind a person', *virənksa(ə)* 'from behind the forest', *kudənksa(ə)* 'from behind the house'.

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### **Russian verb forms in Mordvin sentences (Venäjän verbimuotoja mordvalaisissa lauseissa: erään koodinvaihtoilmion kehityksestä)**

The Mordvin literary languages were created after the October Revolution under strong influence from the Russian language. Newspapers began to appear, textbooks for schools as well as other, mostly political, literature was published in increasing numbers. Many of the published texts were translations from Russian, and most writers were bilingual. Traits of the Russian language were copied, consciously or unconsciously, to the Erzya and Moksha literary languages. This can be seen in different levels of language structure and aspects of language use: the structure and stylistics of texts, the formation of complex sentences, the use of inflectional forms, phraseology and vocabulary. The ways and strength of Russian influence have varied during the history of Mordvin literary languages, the trends in the state politics being an important factor to consider.

A very conspicuous characteristic in many newspaper texts beginning from the late 1930s was the use of Russian verb forms inside Erzya and Moksha

sentences instead of Mordvin verb forms, e.g. oznachayet 'it means', rukovodyat 'they lead', predal 'he betrayed', obespechili 'they provided'. These Russian verbs, when put into Mordvin sentences, represent a kind of code switching from Mordvin to Russian. Their existence could even be regarded as a politically motivated attempt to integrate the Mordvin languages and Russian into a new mode of communication for the Soviet Moksha and Erzya citizens.

In the present study, the occurrences of Russian verb forms inside Mordvin sentences are investigated with the help of an electronic corpus of roughly 300,000 word tokens. The corpus, which has been created by the Research Unit for Volgaic Languages at the University of Turku, contains newspaper and journal texts representing four periods: 1920-1937, 1938-1959, 1960-1978, and 2003-2008. The first period corresponds to the years when the Mordvin literary languages were created but still had no established norms. By the confirmation of the norms of the literary languages in 1938, the Soviet policy had begun to emphasize the role of Russian language as the common means of communication for all Soviet peoples. The third period 1960-1978 could be characterized as rather calm and static compared with the preceding periods. By investigating the fourth period texts from the beginning of the third millennium it is possible to check which trends from the Soviet era are still alive.

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### **Onomasiologic viewpoint to the development of Mari terminology in the 1920s and 1930s (Onomasiologisia havaintoja marilaisesta luonnontieteen kielestä)**

The development of the Mari language has been examined from different points of view in several studies and articles. The most merited researcher is late professor Ivan Ivanov. The periods in the history of the Mari literary languages (the neologisms in the 1920s and 1930s, the severe Russification from the year 1937 onwards, and the revival beginning from the 1990s) are well known.

In the earlier studies, the focus has generally been on the changes of the orthography and on the making of new words; the syntactic change in the sentence structure has usually been bypassed. That kind of approach is a quite mechanical one: you will find out how some element is functioning, and you can observe, for example, both logical and illogical use of a certain suffix in connection with different word stems.

Another angle is to examine the language taking the concepts as a starting point. In this approach, the concepts can be grouped into wholes representing different fields of knowledge, thus revealing terminologies of different sciences. For the present onomasiologic research I have collected lexical units of Mari from books and newspaper articles, which have been printed since the 1920s. At a later stage of the project, newest texts from the Mari Internet could also be analyzed for comparison.

Establishing any definite lines of demarcation between the concept systems of different disciplines is a difficult task because one individual word can simultaneously belong to several fields of knowledge. The treatment of the

semantic facets of one lexical form may be divided in different places of the study, which may, in practice, tend to hide the polysemantic nature of the word in question.

One basic problem is how a word can be identified as a term. For the time being, lexical units have been included in the material without deciding whether they can be ultimately regarded as terms. Nouns, verbs, as well as adverbs, of the nascent Mari literary languages are being taken into the analysis.

The present onomasiologic research project on Mari terminology relies on the material so far collected, and new texts being taken into analysis bring with them the vocabulary of new fields of science, often requiring handling of its own. Finding a sufficient amount of terms of several disciplines requires screening vocabulary of a quite great number of texts, and not having Mari as my native tongue also makes the task more difficult.

The outcome of the project will be a monograph containing material that can best be evaluated by the Maris themselves. Part of the lexical units treated in the study consist of occasional formations scarcely suitable for actual use in the present literary languages, but some of the findings could serve as good examples when the Mari speakers want to create new terms for their languages.

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**The turkisms in the Udmurt language assimilated through the literary written language  
(Тюркизмы в удмуртском языке, пришедшие через книжно-письменный язык)**

Until recently the researchers of turkisms in the Udmurt language confined themselves the studying of words loaned from Turkic languages through conversational speech as a result of direct language contacts. The object of such research was the turkisms of Bulgarian-Chuvash, Tatar and Bashkir origin. However, the materials of “The historical and chronological dictionary of Russian loan-words in the Udmurt language (1711–2014)” that is compiled by the members of Linguistic laboratory at The Udmurt state university have suddenly changed the conception about the composition of turkisms in the Udmurt language. Our dictionary that now contains 54 thousand entries shows that in the Udmurt language there are loan-words which have been borrowed not only from the contacting Turkic languages but also from geographically remote ones: Kirghiz, Kazakh, Uzbek, Turkmen, Turkish, Azerbaijani, Crimean Tatar, Turkic languages of the Caucasus, etc. The turkisms from the listed languages penetrate into the Udmurt language through the translated works of Russian and foreign writers and travellers, there are especially many turkisms in the translations of books wtritten by S.T. Aksakov, M.Yu. Lermontov, A.S. Pushkin, L.N. Tolstoy, D.N. Mamin-Sibiriyak, V.H. Korolenko, N.V. Gogol, M. Gorkiy, V.K. Arsenyev, in the translated texts of school books and the translated scientific treatises. The words given below came in the Udmurt language from the southern group of Turkic languages which the Udmurt language didn’t conact with, for example: the names of geographical objects: barhan ‘a dune’, aul ‘a village’,

takyr ‘a type of relief occurring in the deserts’, bujerak, balka ‘a gully’; the names of plants: ajva ‘the quince’ (a fruit and a tree), kišmiš ‘the seedless grapes’ (a kind of grapes), hurma ‘the persimmon’, baklažan ‘the aubergine’, reveň ‘the rhubarb’, kinza ‘the coriander’; the names of animals: baklan ‘the cormorant’, barsuk ‘the badger’, bars ‘the ounce’, drofa, dudak ‘the bustard’, kaban ‘the wild boar’, kabarga ‘the musk deer’, karbysh ‘a species of the hamster’; the names of ruling clique, military leaders: padišah ‘a padishah’, saltan, sultan ‘a sultan’, vizir ‘a vizier’, šejh ‘a sheikh’, šah ‘a shah’, uzdeň ‘a person in attendance of prince in the Caucasus’, koševoj ‘the highest military rank of the Zaporizhian Cossacks’, alpaut ‘a landlord’; the names of clothes: arhaluk ‘the Caucasian male overcoat’, mahalaj ‘a cap’, balahon ‘a shapeless garment’, jeganč ‘a ‘an old-fashioned overcoat in the form of raincoat’, kazakin ‘an old-fashioned male dress’, č’ekmeň ‘an oriental robe’, č’ujka ‘a male cloth overcoat’; the names of dwelling: jurta ‘a nomad's tent’; the words concerned with Islam: muftij ‘a mufti’, m’urid ‘Moslem novice’, muedzin ‘a muezzin’, minaret ‘a minaret’, Alkoran ‘the Koran’; the cattle breeding names: burd’uk ‘a wineskin’, košara ‘a sheep-fold’; the names of ware: baklaga, baklažka ‘a vessel for wine’, alambik ‘a vessel for distillation’; the names of transport: arba ‘a bullock-cart’, kubitka ‘a covered wagon’, kolymaga ‘a heavy and unwieldy carriage’, koševka ‘a sledge’ and many others. There are about 500 words that were loaned the literary written language in all.

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**An anatomical component in the multi-compound phytonyms of the Udmurt language**  
**(Анатомический компонент в многосоставных фитонимах удмуртского языка)**

The names of plants in the Udmurt language are an object of our lexicological research. This work is devoted to phytonyms which have an anatomical component. The names of animal or human parts used for the names of plants we understand as the anatomical component (such as jyr ‘a head’, šin ‘an eye’, pel’ ‘an ear’, ym ‘a mouth (a jaws)’, kyl ‘a tongue’, piń ‘a tooth’, gižy ‘a nail (a claw)’, tyly ‘a feather’, gon ‘hair of animals’, tuš ‘a beard’, jyrši ‘human hair’, č’yrty ‘a neck’, nony ‘a nipple’, pyd, kuk, lapa ‘a pad (a leg, a foot)’, byž ‘a tail’, puz ‘an egg’, vir ‘a blood’, virser ‘a blood vessel’, šulem ‘a heart’, šul ‘an intestine’ and etc.).

A metaphor underlies this structural type of phytonyms, i.e. the similarity of the meaning with the certain realities of the everyday life, in our case the similarity of the anatomical parts with the particular plants. This type of phytonyms is fairly often found in the Udmurt language. We revealed 87 phytonyms with the anatomical components related to 74 taxons of the plants. The anatomical components of this multi-compound phytonyms form the certain semantic models. We list some more bright and interesting examples to demonstrate these models.

Sizjyr 'the clover' (*Trifolium* L.) literally means 'a woodpecker's head'. The woodpecker's skull has a big size and strength. Many species have red and yellow marks on the head. Perhaps, the name exactly originates from these marks.

Dydyksin 'the forget-me-not' (*Myosotis* L.) literally means 'a dove's eye'. The forget-me-not flowers usually have a blue, sometimes pink or white coloured perianth with the yellow eye which is associated with the dove's eye.

Kyjkyl 'the Yellow Star-of-Bethlehem' (*Gagea lutea* (L.) Ker-Gawl.) literally means 'a snake's tongue'. The oblong petals of the plant with the uneven erect pedicel look like the snake's tongue.

yšnony 'the bog bilberry or the northern bilberry' (*Vaccinium uliginosum* L.) has literally meaning 'a sheep's nipple'. The berries of this plant look like the sheep's nipples.

Ebekkuk 'the lady's mantle' (*Alchemilla vulgaris* L.) literally translates as 'a frog's foot'. In fact, a leaf of the plant is like the frog foot with the fingers apart.

Punyšul 'the field bindweed' (*Convolvulus arvensis* L.) literally means 'a dog's intestine'. The name is given for a bare thin climbing stalk which length amounts to more than 1 meter.

The modern linguistics shows a great interest in "a naive picture of the world". Therefore the knowledge about the surrounding reality in the consciousness of the different people is especially demanded lately. The zoomorphic and anthropomorphic similes are the most ancient way to cognize the world fixed in the language and the culture, and the Udmurt people and their language are not an exception.

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### **About the influence of the Russian language in the Komi language in the sphere of functioning of the adverbial participles (gerunds)**

Language contacts between Russian and Komi language have a long history, as early as in the XI-XIII centuries Zyryans were in trade relations with Novgorod Principality (Redei 1996: 4). Researchers describe XIV-XVI centuries as the period of influence of the Old Slavonic language on Old Zyryan literary language, however, a more intensive exposure to the Russian language in Komi falls on the XVIII or even the beginning of the XIX century (Rédei, 1996: 4-5). In reference to gerunds in the medieval period, the effect was related primarily to word order in the gerund constructions (inversion) in the translated Church texts, "which did not correspond to the rules and structure of Zyryan language" (Redei 1996: 39). Later, in the XIX century grammars of H.K. Gabelentz (Gabelentz 1841: 72), P.I. Savvaitov (Savvaitov 1850: 116) the use *Dativus Absolutus*, old Church Slavonic syntactic construction, expressed by a combination of name or pronoun in the dative case and gerunds on -igön or -myst: Pukalygön syly (= сидящему ему, Слав.) "while he was sitting" was recorded in translated Gospel texts in the Zyrian language.

The study of texts of the modern Komi literary language revealed a number of constructions with gerunds, borrowed from the Russian language, where the

adverbial participle (a) are part of an adverbial combinations formed from gerund constructions, for example, kз. нинӧмӧн лыддысьтӧг – rus. не считаясь ни с чем «without regard to anything else»; kз. нинӧм вылӧ видзӧдтӧг - rus. несмотря ни на что «in spite of everything i.e. under any circumstances»; (b) go back to an adverbial expressions, for example, kз. первой видзӧдлӧмӧн, первой видзӧдлӧгӧн - rus. с первого взгляда «at first glance»; to the Proverbs: kз. ни ӧти мускул вӧрзьытӧг - rus. так, что ни один мускул не дрогнул (на лице) «not a muscle quivered (on the face)»; (c) to the particle, the conjunction, and the parenthesis of the Russian language тем не менее «nonetheless» – kз. сы вылӧ видзӧдтӧг, та вылӧ видзӧдтӧг. V.M. Ludikova noted the concessive conjunction – modeling construction after foreign pattern from the Russian language – kз. сы вылӧ видзӧдтӧг, мый – rus. несмотря на то, что «despite the fact that» (Ludikova 1995: 24); (d) verbal prepositions of Russian language formed from gerunds penetrate in the modern Komi language, for example, несмотря на кого (что) «in spite of who (what)» – мый вылӧ видзӧдтӧг in the Komi language, that is used in the meaning of the Russian preposition независимо от «regardless; without reference to»; rus. начиная с «since (from)» – kз. заводитчӧмӧн, these findings in the Komi language and the infiltration processes, in our opinion, are not complete and not fully understood. The influence of the Russian language is visible the cases when the gerund construction in the attributive subordinate part of complex sentences include dependent component – connective word: Но миян эмӧсь кутшӧмсюрӧ мукӧд источникъяс, кодъяс вылӧ мыджсьӧмӧн вермам тӧдмавны мыйсюрӧ зэв важея олӧм йылысь (Илья Вас 1994: 38) "But we have a number of other sources, based on which we can obtain information about life in ancient times". In the Komi language restrictive-emphatic turn with gerunds артавтӧг, лыддытӧг, босьтӧг "not counting, not given, not taking into account" appeared, which is correct, clarify the content of the sentence, i.e. the turns with the meaning of inclusion, exclusion and substitution, under the influence of restrictive-emphatic turns of the Russian language with prepositions не считая «apart from, aside from», исключая, за исключением «excluding, except, excepting, saving, save and except». The study showed that in the XX century, thanks to the contacts with the Russian language in the Komi literary language many new designs with gerunds appeared, which in the "donor" language have different status: an adverbial expressions, adverbs combination, particles, prepositions, conjunctions.

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kz. – Komi-Zyryan language

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**Structural properties of the thematic group «Beekeeping» in the Mari language  
(Структурные свойства тематической группы "Пчеловодство" в мари́йском языке)**

In recent years there has been increased interest of researchers to study vocabulary characterizing different types of fisheries, as in the standard language and dialects. In this paper we focus on vocabulary related to beekeeping in the Mari language, which to date has not been the object of special linguistic analysis.

With the development of society, under the influence of scientific and technological progress old guns are replaced by news, the way of getting honey changed; there are a lot of modern assistive devices. Along with this change and vocabulary of beekeeping, words disappear, nominating irrelevant now things of beekeeping, so the collection of this lexicon, its analysis is important not only for linguists but also for ethnographers.

Research interest in the vocabulary, characterizing and nominating beekeeping activity, determined by the following factors: firstly, this layer of vocabulary is closely linked to the practical and spiritual life of man, so its study brings researchers to understand the features of the cultural and historical development of the Mari people; secondly, a description of the vocabulary in the form of thematic groups (TG) can more fully introduce lexical richness of language and its dialects (composition and structural-semantic characteristics of dialect vocabulary, particularly systemic relations, etc.).

Beekeeping vocabulary of the Mari language is a layer of traditional folk culture, which can be represent as TG, that's name is a token of apiculture (beekeeping) that best reflects the uniqueness of the lexical units of the group. In the structure of TG «Beekeeping», we have identified the lexical-semantic microfields, which also have a complex structure: lexical-semantic groups allocated in their structure (LSG «Names designating species of bees», LSG «Names designating varieties of hives and parts», LSG «Names associated with collecting honey», LSG «Vocabulary associated with the varieties of honey», LSG «Names associated with household items of bees», LSG «Names associated with products derived from honey»).

Linguists point to the inherent property of TG, based on the fluctuation of boundaries, but within the thematic group – is the group's ability to interact with adjacent groups. TG «Beekeeping» interacts with other TG. For example, the token «shop» has several meanings, each of which is included in the different TG. Consider the value of the unit: 1) 'notches – a hole in the hive for flying of bees and departure' (TG «Beekeeping»); 2) 'groove, unto which flour flowing from the grindstones' (TG «Mill»); 3) 'wing of the insect' (TG «Insects»).

Theme group «Beekeeping» is a complex lexical macro system, which combines the words for the semantic principle and has specific structural

properties (the interconnectedness of elements, their order and hierarchy), which require further investigation.

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### **Neologisms in Mari, Komi and Udmurt (Uudissanvoja marissa, komissa ja udmurtissa)**

After the October Revolution the situation of the minority languages in Russia changed radically: according to Lenin's policy they were to be developed as normal instruments of communication. In many cases the first step on this path was the creation of a literary language. In the following decade there were many decisions to be made in Mari, Komi and Udmurt, e.g., which dialect or dialects were to serve as basis for the literary language, which norms of grammar would be chosen, and which orthography would be suitable? The modernization of the surrounding society was fast and therefore also the language needed to develop rapidly. There was a great need for new words describing the new concepts.

In the 1920's tens of neologisms were created for Mari, Komi and Udmurt. As these are all agglutinative languages, the easiest way of making new words was to use derivational suffixes or to form compounds. In the late 1930's, under Stalin's regime, all of these neologisms were banned as nationalistic and anti-sovietic. Instead of them Russian loanwords were to be adopted. The period of linguistic stagnation began and lasted until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991.

The 1990's meant a renaissance for the minority languages. Language laws giving the minority languages an official status in their titular republics were enacted. As the vocabulary of Mari, Komi and Udmurt had not been elaborated for half a century, native linguists began to create neologisms. In the Komi and Udmurt republics terminological and orthographical committees consisting of linguists, officials, writers and journalists were founded (Bjulleten' 1994; Bjulleten' 1998). Their task was – among others – to create neologisms. Official lists of new words were published in both republics. In Mari El professor of Mari language Ivan Ivanov had a big role in creating and propagating new words and reviving some of the neologisms of the 1920's (Ivanov 2001).

In my paper I shall compare the neologisms created in Mari, Komi and Udmurt and analyze their morphology and semantics.

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**Sentences with conjunctions of reason and their semantic equivalents in the Udmurt language  
(Предложения с причинными союзами и их семантические эквиваленты в удмуртском языке)**

A contemporary Udmurt language has several ways to express causation. The ancient and more commonly used way is the usage of such forms as certain adverbial constructions, phrases containing instrumental and elative cases, constructions with deverbative words (participles) in combination with postpositions etc.

The origin of conjunctions in Udmurt historically dates to the later period and that is the reason of their lesser popularity in denoting causal relations. However an analysis of contemporary Udmurt sources shows that causal conjunctive clauses are getting more and more frequent. Present day Udmurt morphology marks the following causal subordinating conjunctions: малы ке шуоно 'because', угось 'as', бере 'since', дыръя 'as' and in some cases шуыса 'because' [Удмурт кыллэн кылкабтодосэз (морфологиез). – Ижкар, 2011. – С. 343], although categorizing them as conjunctions still remains disputable. For instance, the emphatic particle угось and the introductory construction малы ке шуоно started to function widely as conjunctions only in the 1940s.

Linguists note that an active emergence of complex sentences, including causal clauses, might — to a certain extent — be attributed to translations from Russian into Udmurt and to mere copying and imitating original texts. For instance, the first translations of the Gospels comprised a rather artificial emphatic particle бон (бон) in the function of a causal conjunction. In contemporary Udmurt this particle does not perform a conjunctive function anymore.

The Russian language influence on the syntax of complex sentences with causal clauses is also evident in the use of Russian conjunctions e.g. the Russian words дак, раз are sometimes used as conjunctions of reason in informal speech.

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**Tatishchev V. N. as a scholar and collector of Mari materials  
(В. Н. Татищев – исследователь и собиратель материалов по мари́йскому языку)**

Tatishchev V. N. (1686–1750) is one of the first Russian scientists who paid special attention to the Mari language. He continued developing a theory of genealogical relationship started by philosophers and politicians Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibnitz, Olof Rudbeck, Yo. G. Sparvenfield in Germany and Sweden. This theory was also supported by Nicolaes Witsen and Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg in Holland. The question about linguistic affinity of Finno-

Ugric peoples emerged at the end of 17th century and at the beginning of the 18th century in scientific communities in Germany, Sweden, Holland and Russia.

Tatishchev V.N. was personally acquainted with Strahlenberg F.J. Their first meeting was held in Tobolsk in 1720, the next one was in Sweden in 1724. Strahlenberg F.J. introduced Tatishchev V.N. to outstanding Swedish researchers Benzelius E., Brenner H. and Brenner E. Benzelius E. and Brenner E. were personally acquainted with Leibniz G.W. and with his idea of linguistic affinity. Communicating with Brenner H. Leibniz G.W. knew that the Cheremis live on the Volga River; their language was similar to Finnish.

Tatishchev V.N. studied minority languages spoken in Russia, including the Mari language. He wrote about distinguishing features of Finish, Mordva, Mari, Komi, Udmurt, Mansi and other languages. He considered Modern Finno-Ugric people to belong to 'Sarmatian' people.

In 1730s Tatishchev V.N. presented his work called "Lexicon, sochinennyi dlya pripisyvaniya inoyazychnyh slov, obretayushchihsya v Rossii narodov, dlya kotorogo vybrany takiye slova, kotorye v prostom narode upotreblyayemy" at the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg and in the Senate. It can be seen from the title of his scientific research that Tatishchev V.N. used the method of Leibniz G.W. (according to Leibniz G.W. – colloquialisms - O.S.). Except of the Russian glossary, there are some instructions to be used in translation into "foreign" languages. The participants of the Second Kamchatka expedition, Müller G.F. and Fischer J.E., used the vocabulary collected by Tatishchev V.N.

One of the most valuable documents devoted to Mari history and culture in the early 18th century is the material containing responses to the questionnaire constructed by Tatishchev V.N. in 1734, which consisted of 92 questions. In 1737 the second questionnaire was constructed by him, in 1739 – the third one. Among the documents there were two manuscripts concerning Mari people; they are "Obyavleniye o derevne Batemirovka i o sostoyanii v ney zhivushchikh cheremis" (1736) and "Opisaniye o cheremiskom narode, kotorye zhivut v Verhoturskom uezde pri reke Biserte" (1738). The following Mari words, phrases and sentences were fixed in above-mentioned documents: *тельже* 'month', *Азан* 'Kazan', *одо'votyak*, *кильме дельже* 'April', *икы ий* 'year', *Алла Юмо серлага* 'God bless us'.

The Tatishchev's research of Finno-Ugric languages including Mari can be explained, on the one hand, by the influence of the idea of linguistic affinity of Leibniz G. W. and, on the other hand, by his acquaintance with Strahlenberg F. J., Benzelius E. and with the Brenners brothers. He started implementing abovementioned idea when he worked as the head of Siberian and Kazan factories in the Urals. That ethno-territorial region was inhabited by representatives of many Uralic peoples, including Eastern (Kungur) Mari.

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### **The cultural connotation of the Mari animalistic phraseological units**

The report covers the semantic features of the Mari communicative phraseological units (CPhU) with animalistic components (in folklore studies – proverbs).

In paremiology a proverb is regarded as a discourse deviant, relatively concrete, present (nonpast) tense statement that uses characteristic linguistic markers to arouse cognitive ideals that serve to categorize topics in order to make a pragmatic point about them [Honeck 1997: 18]. Proverbs are considered to be the ‘direct’ cultural signs.

Their cultural connotations result from the interaction between linguistic meanings and other symbolic cultural codes [Teliya, Bragina, Oparina 1998: 66].

The relevant linguistic data are phraseologisms with the component *maska* ‘bear’ used in the Mari fiction and included in dictionary entries. In particular, it touches upon their connotative meaning in order to reveal their cultural background, which is also being illustrated with the help of an associative experiment carried out with 50 native speakers of the Mari language.

A brief account is given of the CPhUs concerning different social and nature phenomena in the Mari culture. For instance, the fate of an unmarried young woman or a girl is represented by the CPhU *In due time a girl gets married even to a forest bear*. The connotation of this statement is connected with the religious-mythological notion of the Mari people. According to their archaic worldview, a bear had the masculine traits and was a totem animal. It was the so-called connector between people and nature. The results of an experiment illuminate that the stimulus word *maska* is associated with the knowledge of a bear – *kugu* ‘big’ (19), *taza* ‘healthy’ (6), *vijan* ‘strong’ (5), *patər* ‘hercules’ (3), *mužik* ‘man’ (in Russian), etc.

The phraseological unit *A bear marries a girl* has the figurative meaning that refers to the spitting rain on a sunny day (cf. associations *jüreš* ‘it’s raining’ (14), *jür jüreš, keče onča* ‘the sun’s shining, it’s raining’ (3), etc.)

In fiction the CPhU *Two bears can’t live at the same lair* expresses the competitive spirit of people and feeling animosity towards others. The usage of the phraseologism in the Mari novels shows the opposition of the basic moral categories – good and bad – *If there is a forest, then there is a bear*.

It should be noted that the CPhU *Don’t flay a bear without shooting it down* is used to criticize the people who boast of their early success before doing their work.

Special attention is paid to the fact that everybody has the weak points (*A bear is strong, but he’s caught*) and limited abilities (*A bear dances as he can*). Besides, the bear image is connected with the tone-deaf people (*A bear trod on smb’s ear*).

Thus, the semantic analysis of CPhUs enables us to gain some information about the sources of their connotation, namely metaphors, myths and cultural background (hunting practices). Consequently, cultural connotation is

interpreted as the relation between linguistic signs and symbols existing in the Mari linguoculture.

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### **The processes of derivation in the Udmurt language**

The goal of this research work is to study of derivational processes in the Udmurt language in historical and typological aspect.

Language is constantly changing. Particularly this applies to word formation as the most open and dynamic area in the language system. The study of General and specific issues of word formation of the Udmurt language is necessary, first of all, in order to penetrate deeper into the dynamics of its processes, to understand their logic and regularity. Derivation plays an important role in the language. Derivation introduces new units in all aspects of life and human activities.

The scientific study of the Udmurt language, unfortunately, does not meet the requirements of modern linguistics, which is associated with a paucity of scientific personnel and the lack of research of an interdisciplinary nature. System description of the grammar of the Udmurt language was conducted in the 1960s, due to the lack of modern works most researchers of Finno-Ugric languages have to refer to these works. The lack of modern scientific research and scientific findings leads to the fact that school textbooks and programs in Udmurt language allowed factual errors and contradictory interpretations of separate semantic and morphological phenomena.

Study and comprehensive scientific analysis of the derivation and derivational processes of the Udmurt language is relevant as to create a more complete grammar, and to compile a comparative grammar of the Finno-Ugric languages.

In the last decade went monographic study on the morphological features of individual parts of speech of the Udmurt language. In these studies mainly considered categorical features, the declination and conjugation, but to a lesser extent the derivation.

Currently in the Udmurt language actively created new words. Unfortunately, norms and patterns of the Udmurt language creating new terms are very often ignored.

**Metaphorical representation of the concept "religion" in the the novel by A.M. Doronin "The Shadow of the bells"**

The novel "The Shadow of the bells" is one of the most important works of the Mordovian writer A. M. Doronin. In it the author appeals to part of the history of the Russian State, which was associated with name of Patriarch Nikon. Due to the fact that in the product, first, we are talking about reform of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Christianization of Russia, central conceptsphere it becomes conceptsphere "religion", which is its metaphorical representation. The author introduces various thematic groups of religionims for representation of the concept: 1) the names of persons towards to religious life, religious ideology and the place in church hierarchy; 2) the basic theological concepts; items of life and clothing associated with life of believer, a priest, a monk; 4) temple and monastery, their parts and items associated with divine service; 5) the names of celestial hierarchy and divine forces and others. The following contexts open content of concept most clearly: 1. Religion is national event. A large number of contexts points to perception of religion as a factor which specifies the mentality of nation and its traditions. 2. Religion is faith. Value aspect of religion is associated with belief in God. 3. Religion is bond with God. Religion is life in communion with God. Religion is above the people, society and social institutions. 4. Religion is service to God. Religion is basis of existence. Religionims disclosing this context, or used in a number of positive concepts, perceived with a "+" (positive context), or disclose negative things, their names are perceived with the sign "-" (negative context). 5. Religion is worldview, which inherent in certain individuals. Religion is not just a way to believe in God, but also the way of thinking about the nation of its existence. 6. Religion is active principle. Contexts suggest an active role of religion in the lives of people described in the novel historical period. 7. Religion is connection with Church, monasticism. The basis of religion is the connection with Church, monasticism. 8. Religion is cure from disease, return to life. To die with faith at heart is easily. 9. Religion is spiritual event. The Orthodox Church is part of culture and education. In the novel we meet Theophanes the Greek, we become acquainted with the iconography of Andrei Rublev. Patriarch Nikon concerns with love and care to book, he considers an important issue the correction of errors in the church books. 10. Religion is sacrifice. True faith in God is related to sacrifice. These contexts are related to priest Habakkuk, Boyarynia Morozova in the novel, who accepted martyrdom for their faith, and in the final scenes with Nikon, which was sent to Ferapontovskii Monastery. Thus, the content of the concept of "religion" in the novel A. M. Doronin "Shadows of the bells" can be formulated as an objective individual and collective spiritual connection of God and man based on the faith of man in God and worship him.

**The swallow in traditional Mari perception  
(Образ птицы в традиционных представлениях мари  
[этнолингвистический аспект]: ласточка)**

This presentation represents the first attempt to describe the function of different birds in traditional Mari culture on the basis of linguistic, dialectological and folklore materials. Research has been conducted within the framework of ethnolinguistics which studies language as a source of information about traditional spiritual culture of the people. In this article the perception of the swallow (*Hirundo rustica*, Meadow Mari *varaksim*, Hill Mari *cõigäk*, dialect. *varseŋge*, *čezek*, *nurgülö*, *čygaš*) in Mari traditional culture is analyzed.

According to Mari folklore the swallow brings happiness to a family. The nest of a swallow is a good sign being an amulet for houses and farms. In this case it is said that this bird protects from evil and fire. Further, swallows guarantee a peaceful and happy life. According to legends of different peoples, it is impossible to destroy the nest of this bird. If the bird leaves the nest, then one has to await unhappiness. The twittering of swallows is perceived as benevolent speech, sometimes even as a prayer. Not without reason they wish peaceful family life, mutual understanding saying: “*varaksim gaj kelšen, varaksim gaj vycymaten, ikte-vesym varaksim gaj jöraten ilyza*” [we wish you to get on well as swallows, twittering as swallows, we wish you to love each other as swallows do].

Very often Mari villagers depict swallows on their frames, probably to symbolize peace, kindness and rest. According to the dream dictionary of (G. Omelkan. *Omo togedyš – uda dečyn aralyš*. Joškar-Ola, 2005) swallows predict receiving a letter. In Mari songs swallows symbolize lovers, relatives, children. The folk omens foretell weather. It is common knowledge that if swallows fly low it will rain, and vice versa, if swallows fly high there will be fair weather. If swallows snuggle up together it will rain. When a swallows build nests on the south side of the house, it means cool summer. Swallows on the ploughed field points to the right time to sow rye.

As my research data suggest, the Maris perceive swallow as an innocent and kind bird. The swallow is a vivid image in the Mari traditional folk culture.



## Symp. 6. Syntactic structure of Uralic languages

**Organizers:** Anders Holmberg (Newcastle University), Balazs Surányi (HAS-RIL / Pázmány Péter Catholic University) and Orsolya Tánzos (HAS-RIL / Pázmány Péter Catholic University)

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### Identificational focus in Udmurt

In my presentation, I argue that the Udmurt sentence structure contains on its left periphery an identificational focus position which is not necessarily adjacent to the verb.

Up to now, the most detailed study about the relation of word order and focusing in Udmurt is written by Tánzos (2011), who claims that (preverbal) focusing entails obligatory verb movement in Udmurt (1)[1] However, the instances in (2)–(5) point to the fact that preverbal foci are not necessarily adjacent to the verb in Udmurt:

- (1) *“Saša kinoŋeatryn T’ERMINATOREZ ućkiz.”*  
PN.NOM cinema-INE PN-ACC watch-PST.3SG  
‘It was the Terminator that Sasha watched in the cinema.’  
(Tánzos 2011: 225)
- (2) *“MON gine tone jaratiško.”* (Vilkuna 1998: 196)  
I only you-ACC love-PRS.1SG  
‘Only I love you.’
- (3) *TONE mon jaratiško.*  
you-ACC I love-PRS.1SG  
‘It is you that I love.’
- (4) *TATYŚ mon soje bašti.*  
from\_here I that-ACC buy-PST.1SG  
‘It was here that I bought it.’

The examples in (2)–(4) suggest that the focused constituent – which has the syntactic role of the subject in (2), of the object in (3) and of the adverbial in (4) – can precede the sentence topic(s). Thus, I propose that the left periphery of the Udmurt sentence is more similar to the left periphery of the Russian than of the Hungarian sentence. In fact, while in Hungarian the focus position immediately precedes the verb (É. Kiss 1998), the Russian sentence structure – similarly to the sentence structure of other Slavic languages – contains a contrastive focus position which can freely precede or follow the topic (King 1995):

- (5) *“POSYLKU Jakov (POSYLKU) priňos.”* (Patona 2010: 6)  
parcel.ACC PN.Nom parcel.ACC bring-PST.3SG  
‘It was a parcel that Jakov brought.’

However, unlike in Russian, preverbal foci are not necessarily contrastive in Udmurt. Sentences like (2)–(4) can appear in non-contrastive contexts, i.e., sentence (3) can be given as an answer to the question in (6):

- (6) Kine ton jaratiškod?  
who-ACC you.NOM love-PRS.2SG  
'Whom do you love?'

In my talk, I offer an analysis of the Udmurt sentence structure in which the identificational focus can freely appear either after or before the topic positions.

[1] Sentence-final foci – which are grammatical in a non-standard variant of Udmurt (Tánczos 2011) – are not the object of this study.

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## Differential object marking and datives in Uralic and beyond

Several recent studies discuss differential object marking agreement (DOM/DOA) in Uralic languages, e.g. Coppock and Wechsler (2012) for Hungarian, Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011); Nikolaeva (1999) (D&N) for Northern Khanty and others, Virtanen (2014) for Mansi, etc. As D&N show, the patterns of DOM/DOA inside and outside of Uralic are similar — languages mark direct objects based on their topicality, definiteness and animacy.

I discuss two 'types' DOM/DOA. First, languages in which the morphosyntax of DOM resembles dative case (e.g. Spanish, Persian, Hindi, Basque), as well as languages with DOA in which the direct object competes with goal objects for agreement. Second, languages that do not have this overlap, and indirect and direct objects are expressed in different ways (e.g. Hungarian, Tundra Nenets in verb morphology; Hebrew in case marking). These two types correlate with certain other properties of DOM/DOA in these languages. In languages in which GOAL/dative arguments resemble DOM/DOA marking, the following seem to hold (cf. Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011, henceforth D&N):

DOM/DOA objects are structurally higher than unmarked objects and have different binding properties.

**Datives and DOM.** (1) shows that GOAL arguments resemble certain direct objects in Northern Khanty (NK) in their behaviour. In (1a), the THEME *a:n* triggers agreement or not, depending on whether it is topical. The GOAL argument *Pe:tra e:l̥ti* is an oblique, with a postposition. In (1b), the GOAL is non-oblique and the verb has to agree with it.

- (1) a. *ma a:n Pe:tra e:l̥ti ma-s-e:m / ma-s-əm*  
 I cup Peter to give-PAST-OBJ-1SGSUBJ give-PAST-1SGSUBJ  
 ‘I gave a/the cup to Peter.’  
 b. *ma Pe:tra a:n-na ma-s-e:m / \*ma-s-əm*  
 I Peter cup-LOC give-PAST-OBJ-1SGSUBJ give-PAST-1SGSUBJ  
 ‘I gave Peter a/the cup.’ (D&N: 148)

Amharic is similar: definite THEMES trigger object agreement, unless there is a GOAL:

- (2) *Ləm̥ma l-Almaz tarik-u-n nəggər-at / \*nəggər-ə-w.*  
 Lemma DAT-Almaz story-DEF-ACC tell-(3mS)-3fO tell-3mS-3mO  
 ‘Lemma told Almaz the story/his story.’ (Baker 2012: p. 261)

Spanish has an analogous pattern in case marking. Objects with DOM are preceded by a marker *a* which is homophonous with dative case (López 2012).

- (3) *Los enemigos no entregaron a su hijo<sub>i</sub> a ningú<sub>n</sub><sub>i</sub>*  
 the enemies NEG delivered.PL DAT his son DOM no  
 prisionero.  
 prisoner

‘The enemies didn’t deliver any prisoner to his son.’ (López 2012: p. 41)

Nikolaeva (1999); D&N and López (2012) argue for NK and Spanish, respectively, that objects with DOM/DOA have distinct properties from other objects. In NK, agree- ing objects allow quantifier float, and coreference with embedded arguments, and in Spanish DOM objects can bind variables in GOAL arguments (López 2012: p. 41; cf. the indices in (2)). DOM objects also move in Persian and Hindi, and resemble datives.

**DOM without datives.** Not all languages have this overlap between datives/GOALS and DOM/DOA. Tundra Nenets (D&N) and Hungarian show agreement with a proper subset of direct objects without GOAL objects interfering with THEMES. There are no systematic behavioural differences between marked and unmarked objects like bind- ing, controlling coreference, etc. and marked objects do not (overtly) move to a higher position than unmarked ones. (4a,b) shows the basic contrast for Hungarian; in (4a), with an indefinite object, there is only subject agreement. In (4b), with a definite object, the verb is in the ‘objective paradigm’. Notice that the non-agreeing object in (4a) is nevertheless accusative. Datives have distinct suffixes (*-nak/-nek*) and never agree.

- (4) a. *Lát-ok egy kutyá-t.* b. *Lát-om a kutyá-t.*  
 see-1SG a dog-ACC see-1SG.OBJ the dog  
 ‘I see a dog.’ ‘I see the dog.’

I propose that these patterns can be explained systematically by dissociating Case and Agree for the licensing of nominals (cf. Baker in prep.). Case can be licensed independently of Agree by so-called *dependent case*, but does not have to be. In the languages in which datives/GOALS and DOM are marked in the same way, I suggest that both dative/DOM is assigned under Agree by a functional

head (cf. López 2012). As datives are generally structurally higher than theme objects, the displacement of DOM objects follows, if their Case licensing happens locally.

On the other hand, Hungarian, in which non-agreeing objects are case-marked, makes a strong point for the dissociation of Case and Agree. Accusative can be assigned by a dependent Case rule to the lowest DP in the vP; Agree is then free to be established with a subset of direct objects (roughly definites) and can ‘fail’ (Preminger 2011) without consequence with indefinite objects, as they are independently licensed.

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## Finnish finite clause

Finnish constitutes a topic-prominent language in the sense that the subject position hosts topic phrases and is not restricted to grammatical subjects. Several phrases can be topics, e.g. the thematic subject, direct object and so on (1a-b).

(1)

- a. Graham Greene on kirjoittanut tämän kirjan  
 Graham Greene has written this book  
 ‘Graham Greene (<=topic) wrote this book’
- b. Tämän kirjan on kirjoittanut Graham Greene  
 this book has written Graham Greene  
 ‘Graham Greene wrote this book (<=topic)’

I call (1a-b) ”topic-shifts”. Holmberg & Nikanne (2002), H&N for now, offers a systematic analysis of the phenomenon. To put it in a simple way, their analysis says that there is an optional uninterpretable formal EPP feature at Fin<sup>0</sup> that checks the formal [-foc] (“non-focus”) feature of another phrase, if such constituent is present, and if not, is checked by the expletive. The [-foc] implies that the constituent is a presupposed topic. In (1b), the thematic subject remains at Spec,vP, while the direct object moves to Spec,FinP to check the EPP/[-foc] complex. Hence, it is the direct object that is the topic of the clause in (1b).

The starting point of the present inquiry is the observation that there are both finite and non-finite clauses in which the topic-shifts are marginal or not possible:

(2) *Finite clauses*

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| a. | Me löydettiin talo/                         | *?talo löydettiin me                        |
|    | we found.IMPASS house                       | house found.IMPASS we                       |
| b. | Meidän täytyy löytää talo/                  | *talo täytyy löytää meidän                  |
|    | we.GEN must find house                      | house must find we.GEN                      |
| c. | Pekkaa pelottaa mennä tenttiin/             | ??Tenttiin pelottaa mennä Pekkaa            |
|    | Pekka.PRT is.afraid.of to.go to.examination | to examination is.afraid.of to.by Pekka.PRT |

(3) *Non-finite clauses*

- |    |                                   |                                   |
|----|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. | Pekka käski Merjan kutsua hänet/  | *Pekka käski hänet kutsua Merjan  |
|    | Pekka asked Merja to.invite him   | Pekka asked him to.invite Merja   |
| b. | Pekka näki Merjan nolaavan hänet/ | *Pekka näki hänet nolaavan Merjan |
|    |                                   | (inf., not prtclp)                |
|    | Pekka saw Merja humiliate him     | Pekka saw him humiliate Merja     |

Despite the claim that Finnish is a topic-prominent, flexible word order language, something resists topic shifts. Another problem of H&N's account that has gone unnoticed is the fact that the postverbal subject is not limited to Spec,vP position, but can go all the way to the right edge of the clause (4).

- (4) Tätä kirjaa toivoi voivansa suositella Liisalle Pekka  
 this book hoped could recommend to-Liisa Pekka.NOM

It is not possible to think that *Pekka* occurs at Spec,vP. It occurs at the right edge, where it obtains a non-contrastive focus interpretation. The phenomenon remains unaccounted for. But it now becomes much less obvious if the thematic subject in (2b) occurs at Spec,vP or whether it, too, has moved to the right edge. *Graham Greene* in (1b) has the non-contrastive focus interpretation, much like *Pekka* in (4).

There are also sentences where the occupant at Spec,FinP cannot be a presupposed topic, as in (5). Here the pronoun obtains a variable reading, refers to nobody and cannot constitute the topic, let alone a presupposed topic.

- (5) Kukaan(i) ei usko että (juuri) hän(i) saa ylennyksen  
 nobody not believe that (just) he gets promotion  
 'Nobody believes that he gets the promotion'

The fact that Spec,FinP need not be the topic is, in fact, well-known. But even more generally, it was never quite clear what the topic or – foc interpretation in (1a-b) means. Can a non-referential variable be a topic of the clause in some sense? H&N claim that [–foc] is semantically uninterpretable, which does not make the problem more easy to solve.

One possibility is to say that (2-3) lack the high projection representing the information-structure motivated EPP-requirement. Yet sentences in (2) are finite clauses, contain topics, and have the relevant high projection. The same problem emerges if we propose that they don't have [–foc]. Clearly they can represent focus and topic. A third possibility is to posit independent effects to rule out the offending word orders. But (4) shows that the thematic subject should be able to get to the right edge for focus reasons, and thus something must explain why the operation is lost in (2-3).

There's another well-known specimen without topic-shift: English finite clause, with its mandatory subject-oriented EPP (6).

- (6) John loves Mary      \*Mary(i) loves John \_\_\_(i)  
       'John loves Mary'    'John loves Mary'

Why are topic shifts absent in (2-3) and in the English finite clause (5), but present in many Finnish finite clauses (1)?

Examples (2-3) appear to be united by the *lack of agreement*. Finnish finite clause (1), in turn, is well-known for exhibiting strong agreement. The English finite clause (5) is notoriously weak in its agreement paradigm, while Italian, with rich agreement, allows thematic subjects at postverbal position(s) (7).

(7)

- a. Giovanni telefona a Marco/      A Marco telefona Giovanni  
    'Giovanni calls to Marco'      'Giovanni calls to Marco.'  
 b. A Marco \_\_\_ spera di poter telefonare      Giovanni (<=focus)  
    to.Marco      hopes to.be.able to.call      Giovanni

I present a generalization according to which Finnish (or any language) exhibits topic-prominent behavior with agreement (1) and subject-prominent behavior without agreement (2-3), drawing the distinction on the basis of agreement and not on the basis of language. Hence, there is one universal mechanism and no parameters. An analysis of Finnish finite clause – its left edge, right edge and internal constitution – is presented.

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## Unifying partitive object case in Finnish and Estonian

In the Finnic languages, direct objects are marked with either accusative case or partitive case; the latter indicates unboundedness within the clause. However, a unified picture of the syntax behind this alternation is still lacking. This paper provides a Minimalist analysis unifying the appearances of the partitive case in Finnish and Estonian, accounting for both the underlying system and the ways in which the languages differ.

Object case in Finnish and Estonian is associated with nominal quantity, situation aspect, viewpoint aspect, and clause polarity. Most accounts have discussed only one or two of these factors (e.g., Kratzer 2004). Even accounts that consider all of these factors (e.g., Kiparsky 1998) still separate the appearances of partitive case into distinct categories (nominal, verbal, negation). I argue that partitive case is associated with a single unboundedness feature [ $\beta$ ] corresponding to Krifka's (1992) notion of cumulativity. This feature may appear at any of four syntactic levels; its interpretation depends on its position.

- (1) [CP [NegP  $i\beta$ ] [TP [EventP  $i\beta$ ] [vP [AspP  $i\beta$ ] [KP  $u\beta$ ,  $uK$ ] [DP [#P  $i\beta$ ]]]]]]]]]

Each of these projections may host an [ $i\beta$ ] feature, which represents unboundedness at that level. Any [ $i\beta$ ] in the structure will result in a partitive object; accusative case surfaces in the absence of [ $i\beta$ ]. Given the connection between unboundedness and Case, I argue that the [ $u\beta$ ] probe is in K with the Case feature [ $uK$ ]. The interaction between [K] and [ $\beta$ ] determines the realization of Case: if the probe finds an [ $i\beta$ ], the marked partitive case is realized; if not,

accusative is realized through Agree between [K] and v. As three targets are above the probe and one is below, the probe follows a cyclic agreement pattern (Béjar & Rezac 2009), first probing down into the DP domain, then upwards (Reverse Agree) in the next cycle (Zeijlstra 2012; Wurmbrand 2012). This split parallels Kiparsky's (1998) distinction between verbal and nominal partitive.

Estonian differs from Finnish in its case marking: additional particles indicate telicity, predicative nominals never take partitive case, and objects of stative verbs are always partitive. I show that these differences can be explained within the same framework; partitive case is always related to [β], which is flexible enough to permit cross-linguistic differences.

Béjar, S. & M. Rezac. 2009. Cyclic Agree. *LI* 40:35-73.

Kiparsky, P. 1998. Partitive case and aspect. In *The projection of arguments*, ed. M. Butt & W. Geuder. Stanford: CSLI.

Kratzer, A. 2004. Telicity and the meaning of object case. In *The syntax of time*, ed. J. Guéron & J. Lecarme. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Krifka, M. 1992. Thematic relations as links between nominal reference and temporal constitutions. In *Lexical matters*, ed. I. Sag & A. Szabolcsi. Chicago: CSLI.

Wurmbrand, S. 2012. Agree(ment): Looking up or down? Ms.

Zeijlstra, H. 2012. There is only one way to Agree. *The Linguistic Review* 29:491-539. nominal partitive.

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## Finnish first conjunct agreement

First conjunct agreement (FCA) is a well-attested phenomenon cross-linguistically, but it has received little attention in the case of Finnish. I present novel data on FCA in Colloquial Finnish and demonstrate how these data support analyses of FCA presented in van Koppen (2012) and Walkow (2013) over competing proposals that employ novel theoretical mechanisms (Soltan 2007, Larson 2013). These mechanisms fail to capture Finnish FCA patterns, which are explained here through the interaction of independently motivated constraints on agreement and movement.

The data below are drawn from the web and illustrate cases of FCA in Colloquial Finnish in clauses with (2) and without (1) auxiliaries. An agreement-bearing element may optionally realize FCA if it precedes the subject DP. If it follows the subject, full agreement is obligatory.

- (1) a. Minä ja rumpalimme tuli-mme/\*-n silloin.  
I and our.drummer came-1PL/\*-1SG then  
'Then our drummer and I came.' (S V<sub>PL/\*FCA</sub>)  
b. Silloin tuli-mme/-n minä ja rumpalimme.  
then came-1PL/-1SG I and our.drummer  
'Then our drummer and I came.' (V<sub>PL/FCA</sub> S)

[https://www.facebook.com/jukkaassa/posts/10151903621581576?stream\\_ref=10](https://www.facebook.com/jukkaassa/posts/10151903621581576?stream_ref=10)

(2)a.

Minä ja ystäväni ole-mme/\*-n odottan-eet/\*-ut tätä jo kauan.  
I and my.friends AUX-1PL/\*-1SG wait.PTC-PL/\*-SG this already long  
'My friends and I have already waited for this for a long time.'

(S Aux<sub>PL/\*FCA</sub> Ptc<sub>PL/\*FCA</sub>)

b.

Tätä ole-mme/-n minä ja ystäväni odottan-eet/\*-ut jo kauan.  
This AUX-1PL/-1SG I and my.friends wait.PTC-PL/\*-SG already long  
'My friends and I have already waited for this for a long time.' (Aux<sub>PL/FCA</sub> S  
Ptc<sub>PL/\*FCA</sub>)

[http://www.ksv.hel.fi/keskustelut/index.php?luokka=aiheet&alaluokka1=mannerheimintien\\_pyoratie&action=board&m=50](http://www.ksv.hel.fi/keskustelut/index.php?luokka=aiheet&alaluokka1=mannerheimintien_pyoratie&action=board&m=50)

My analysis of these data assumes the clause structure for Finnish presented in Holmberg & Nikanne (2002). When no auxiliary is present, verbs raise to a functional head F (3a). In clauses containing an auxiliary, the auxiliary occupies F and a participle occupies a Ptc head between F and v (3b). Subjects preceding a finite verb or auxiliary occupy [Spec, FP]. Subjects appearing medially between an auxiliary and a participle occupy [Spec, PtcP].

(3) a. No auxiliary; subject movement to [Spec, FP] is optional

[FP [Spec<sub>FP</sub> Subject<sub>i</sub>][[F Verb<sub>j</sub>][...[<sub>v</sub>P [Spec<sub>v</sub>P <Subject<sub>i</sub>>][...[VP [V <Verb<sub>j</sub>>]]]]]]]]

b. Auxiliary; subject movement to [Spec,FP] is optional

[FP [Spec<sub>FP</sub> Subject<sub>i</sub>] [ [F Auxiliary ] [ ...[PtcP [Spec<sub>Ptc</sub> Ptc <Subject<sub>i</sub>>] [ [Ptc Verb<sub>j</sub>] [ ...[<sub>v</sub>P [Spec<sub>v</sub>P <Subject<sub>i</sub>>][...[VP [V <Verb<sub>j</sub>>]]]]]]]]]]]]

Subject-verb agreement is realized via the operation Agree, whereby functional heads probe their c-command domains for the hierarchically closest node with valued  $\phi$ -features (Chomsky 2000, 2001). Because an auxiliary and participle may have different realizations of agreement (2b), I assume that F and Ptc are independent  $\phi$ -probes. If a clause contains a conjoined subject DP, the first conjunct and the full conjunction are equally local to a  $\phi$ -probe since neither asymmetrically c-commands the other and there is no node that c-commands one but not the other. The second conjunct, being asymmetrically c-commanded by the first conjunct, is not a potential goal. Thus, a  $\phi$ -probe may Agree with either the first conjunct or full conjunction (1b, 2b). Following Chomsky (2000, 2001) and Preminger (2011), I assume that movement of a DP to the specifier position of a phrase XP depends upon an agreement relationship between the moved DP and X<sup>o</sup>. Such movement makes full agreement with X<sup>o</sup> obligatory (1a, 2a), since agreement with a first conjunct followed by movement of the agreed-with DP would incur a coordinate structure violation.

This analysis, which follows van Koppen (2012) and Walkow (2013), is superior to analyses presented in Soltan (2007) and Larson (2013) in which operations making the full conjunction available for agreement do not occur until after Agree has operated. I show that these "late operations" approaches not only carry a greater theoretical burden by positing new operations, but that they also fail to predict agreement mismatches between an auxiliary and participle (2b). In a final section, I briefly show how the analysis presented here can be extended to cover FCA phenomena in other languages, primarily spoken Arabic. The analysis presented here provides both new insights into Finnish syntax as well as new arguments in the debate about the nature of FCA cross-linguistically.



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## Quantificational case in Finno-Ugric

This paper examines the quantificational case construction in Inari Sami, Estonian, and Finnish, and argues that the data support the case-decomposition of Caha (2009).

In Inari Sami the numerals 2 to 6 assign Accusative to the noun; higher numerals assign Partitive (Nelson and Toivonen 2000). In the subject position the case assigned by the numeral wins over the Nominative assigned by finite Tense (1-a, 1-b). In the object position the Partitive assigned by a high numeral wins over the Accusative assigned by the verb (1-c). In oblique contexts the oblique case assigned by V/P wins over the case assigned by the numeral.

(1) Inari Sami

- a. Kyehti **pocuu** lava meecist  
two reindeer-acc be-3du forest-loc  
'Two reindeer are in the forest.' Acc overrides Nom
- b. Meecist laa kvci **pusuid**.  
forest-loc be-3pl eight reindeer-part  
'There are eight reindeer in the forest.' Part overrides Nom
- c. Tun oinih kyehtnubloh **pocud**.  
you saw.2sg twelve reindeer.part.sg  
'You saw twelve reindeer.' Part overrides Acc
- d. Mun adelim kiirjijd viiðâ/kvci **almi**  
I gave book.acc.pl five/eight man.ill.sg  
'I gave books to five/eight men.' Obl overrides Part/Acc

In Finnish and Estonian 2 and higher numerals assign Partitive to the noun (Brattico 2008,

2011; Rutkowsky 2001). In a structural case environment Partitive overrides structural case. In an oblique environment the oblique case overrides Partitive.

(2) Finnish

- a. kolme **auto-a** aja-a tiellä  
 three car-par.sg drive road.ade  
 ‘Three cars drive on the road.’ Part overrides Nom
- b. Pekka katsoli nii-tä kolme-a pien-tä **talo-a**  
 Pekka watches those-partthree-par small-par house-par  
 ‘Pekka watches those three small houses.’ Part overrides Acc
- c. nii-ssä kolme-ssa piene-ssä **talo-ssa**  
 those-ine three-ine small-ine house-ine  
 ‘in those three small houses’ Obl overrides Part

(3) Estonian

- a. Kaks **sõduri-t** tul-i-d  
 two[nom]soldier-par come-pst-pl  
 ‘Two soldiers came.’ Part overrides Nom
- b. Näg-i-n kahte **sõduri-t**  
 see-pst-1sg two.par soldier-par  
 ‘I saw two soldiers.’ Part overrides Acc
- c. kahe-lt sõduri-lt  
 two-abl soldier-abl  
 ‘from two soldiers’ Obl overrides Part

The descriptive generalisation is thus the following. In Finno-Ugric, when a case conflict arises between the case assigned by the numeral and the case assigned by a DP-external case assigner, the conflict is resolved in such a way that the winner is the case that is higher on the hierarchy in (4).

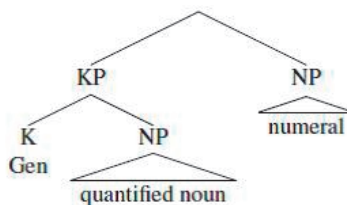
(4) Nom < Acc < Part < oblique

This case strength hierarchy converges with the case hierarchy proposed by Caha (2009).

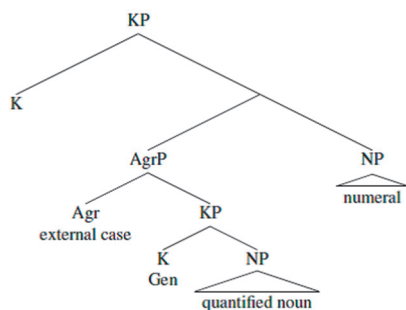
(5) Nom < Acc < Gen < Part < Dat < Abl < Inst < Comit

Caha argues that cases correspond to whole feature matrices, and the number of features monotonically grows as we go higher on the case hierarchy in (5). If Nominative is F1, then Accusative is F1+F2, Genitive is F1+F2+F3, etc. This means that height on the hierarchy correlates with syntactic complexity.

Caha (2013) proposes that the quantificational case construction in Czech should be analyzed in terms of case stacking plus ellipsis. Czech numerals assign Genitive to the noun. Genitive overrides structural case and is overridden by oblique cases. Caha argues that quantified nouns in Czech involve a binominal structure: numerals are nouns, and the quantified noun is merged as their possessor.



As a possessor, the quantified noun gets Genitive case. In addition, it agrees for the case assigned to the possessum, i.e. the numeral.



The smaller (i.e. featureally less complex) of the two cases is elided.

I extend the case stacking plus ellipsis analysis of the Czech quantificational case construction to the Finno-Ugric data in (1) through (3). I suggest that both the numeral and the DP-external case assigner deposits its case on the noun, and of the two cases, the featureally less complex is elided on the surface. This is the reason why oblique cases override Partitive and Accusative, Partitive overrides Accusative and Nominative, and Accusative overrides Nominative.

The Finno-Ugric data also present a complication, however: the case assigned by numerals is not identical to the case borne by possessors (Inari Sami possessors bear Locative, Finnish and Estonian possessors bear Genitive). I argue that this shows that the quantificational case construction in Finno-Ugric is a binominal construction but unlike in Czech, the quantified noun is not merged into the structure as a possessor.

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## Information-structurally (un)ambiguous deverbal nominals in Hungarian

In many languages there are systematically homophonous pairs of deverbal nominals, of which the one type is “more verbal” than the other type. In Dutch, for instance, the infinitival nominal *eten* is claimed (Broekhuis *et al.* 2012: 54) to

belong to the more verbal ‘bare nominals’ (cca. ‘to eat’) and to the less verbal ‘nominals preceded by a determiner’ (cca. ‘eating’). In Hungarian, Laczkó (2000) argues that (complex-event denoting) ÁS-nouns (1a) can be distinguished from a less verbal group (1b) of homophonous deverbal nominals (SED: simple-event denoting nouns). It is a decisive difference between the two groups if the output possessor corresponds to the object of the input verbal construction (1a), or not (1b).

(1) The inheritance of information structure in the case of ás- and sed-nouns

- Imit váratlanul érte  
 Imi.Acc unacceptedly catch.Past.DefObj.3Sg
- a. ... [[*mindkét húgom*]<sub>Theme</sub> meghív-ás-a a koncertre].  
*both sister.Poss.1Sg* invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub  
 narrow-scope reading: [catch\_unawares > both\_sisters > invite]  
 ‘It caught Imi unawares that *both of my sisters* had been invited to the concert.’  
 wide-scope reading: [BOTH\_SISTERS > CATCH\_UNAWARES > INVITE]  
 ‘In the case of *both of my sisters*, it caught Imi unawares that *she* had been invited to the concert.’
- b. [[*mindkét húgom*]<sub>Agent</sub> meghív-ás-a a koncertre].  
*both sister.Poss.1Sg* invite-ÁS-Poss.3Sg the concert.Sub  
~~narrow-scope reading: \*[catch\_unawares > both\_sisters > invite]~~  
 Intended meaning: ‘It caught Imi unawares that *both of my sisters* had invited him to the concert.’  
 wide-scope reading: [both\_sisters > catch\_unawares > invite]  
 ‘In the case of *both of my sisters*, it caught Imi unawares that *she* had invited him to the concert.’

There is another important difference between the two types: ÁS-noun constructions (1a), in contrast to SED-noun constructions (1b), are “scopally” ambiguous. As is shown in (2a-b) below, the same “scopal” difference can be observed between the complex-event-based Ó-nouns (2a), most typically denoting agents of events, and their event-type-based counterparts we call typical-participant denoting (TPD) nouns (2b).

(2) The inheritance of information structure in the case of ó- and tpd-nouns

- a. Letartóztatták [[*mindkét hír*] bemond-ó-i-t].  
 arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl *both news* announce-Ó-Poss.Pl-Acc  
 narrow-scope reading: [ARREST  $\supseteq$  [BOTH\_NEWS > ANNOUNCE]]  
 ‘Those who announced *both news* were arrested.’  
 wide-scope reading: [BOTH\_NEWS > [ARREST  $\supseteq$  ANNOUNCE]]  
 ‘In the case of *both news*, those who announced either of them were arrested.’
- b. Letartóztatták [[*mindkét csatorna*] bemond-ó-i-t].  
 arrest.Past.DefObj.3Pl *both channel* announce-Ó-Poss.Pl-Acc  
~~narrow-scope reading: \*[arrest  $\supseteq$  [both\_channels > announce]]~~  
 Int. m.: ‘Those who work for *both channels* (at the same time) as announcers were arrested.’  
 wide-scope reading: [both\_channels > arrest  $\supseteq$  announce]  
 ‘In the case of *both channels*, those who work for either of them were arrested.’

Our crucial claim is that the above-demonstrated narrow-scope readings in the (a)-examples are due to the inheritance of the input verbal information

structure to the output deverbal nominal construction, which the complex-event derivational basis makes possible.

Broekhuis *et al.* 2012. *Syntax of Dutch – Nouns and NPs*. Amsterdam U. Press.  
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### Null and overt pronouns in the Udmurt non-finite clauses

Udmurt uses both finite and non-finite verbal forms (masdars, participles, converbs) for expressing relative, adverbial and complement subordinate clauses. In this talk I will demonstrate that the null and the overt pronouns are interpreted differently in the finite and non-finite adverbial and complement subordinate clauses. The data comes from my own fieldwork conducted in 2013 and 2014.

In several Udmurt non-finite clauses the subject can be expressed overtly (and it is in the nominative case). However, there is one major difference between non-finite and finite subordinated clauses. In the non-finite clauses the overt pronoun is always interpreted as having disjoint reference, irrespectively of the order of the matrix and the subordinate clause (1) (I provide examples with one of the converbs only, but this holds for all of the non-finites that can have an overt subject). Interestingly enough, this is not the case in the finite subordinate clauses (2).

(1)

[*So<sub>i</sub>/\*<sub>j</sub>*    *uśy-ku*]      *Ko<sub>l</sub>a<sub>j</sub> kuara-ze*      *no*    *ej*      *potty*.  
3SG    fall-NMLZ    Kolya voice-3SG.ACC    PART    NEG.PST.3    let.out[SG]  
'Kolya didn't make a sound when s/he fell down.'

(2)

*Ko<sub>l</sub>a<sub>i</sub> korka*      *pukt-i-z*      *maly ke šuono*    *so<sub>i</sub>/<sub>j</sub>*    *kyšnojašk-i-z*.  
Kolya house[ACC]    build-PST-3SG    because    3SG    marry-PST-3SG  
'Kolya built a house because he got married.'

While the 3rd person overt subjects are always interpreted as having disjoint reference from the 3rd person overt subject of the matrix clause, if the subject of the matrix clause is 1st/2nd person, using an overt 1st/2nd person subject in the non-finite clause leads to ungrammaticality:

3)

???[*Mon uśy-ku*]      *mon kuara-me*      *no*    *ej*      *potty*.  
1SG    fall-NMLZ    1SG    voice-1SG.ACC    PART    NEG.PST.1    let.out[SG]  
Intended: 'When I fell down, I didn't make a sound.'

In the non-finite clauses only null pronouns can be bound by an argument in the higher clause (5). In this case the converb -ku inflects with pronominal agreement suffixes (Siewierska 2004, Fuß 2005, Corbett 2006). Example (3) should be corrected as follows:

(4)

[*pro uśy-ku-m*]    (*mon*) *kuara me*      *no*    *ej*      *potty*  
fall-NMLZ-1SG    (1SG) voice-1SG.ACC    PART    NEG.PST.1    let.out[SG]

‘When I fell down, I didn’t make a sound.’

Generally, in the non-finite clauses the null pronouns can always be bound, but it should be pointed out that their interpretation depends on word order and locality (compare (5a,b,c)):

(5) a.

*[pro<sub>i/j</sub> ušy-ku-z]*      *Koľa<sub>i</sub>*      *kuara-ze*      *no*      *ez*      *potty*.  
 fall-NMLZ-3SG    Kolya      voice-3SG.ACC    PART    NEG.PST.3let.out[SG]

b. *Koľa<sub>i</sub>*    *kuara-ze*      *no*      *ez*      *potty*      *[pro<sub>i/?j</sub> ušy-ku-z]*.  
 Kolya voice-3SG.ACC    PART    NEG.PST.3    let.out[SG]      fall-NMLZ-3SG

c.

*Koľa<sub>i</sub>* *[pro<sub>i/?j</sub> ušy-ku-z]*      *kuara-ze*      *no*      *ez*      *potty*  
 Kolya      fall-NMLZ-3SG    voice-3SG.ACC    PART    NEG.PST.3let.out[SG]

‘Kolya didn’t make a sound when he fell down.’

The contrast between (1) and (5) resembles the obviation effect in the Slavic and Romance subjunctive clauses (Avrutin & Babyonyshev 1997, Drummond 2011). One of the possible explanations for the obviation is that the binding domain is extended over the subjunctive clause, so the co-indexation between the subjects violates Principle B. The domain extension is often motivated with the deficient T-features of the subjunctive clause. I will propose a similar account in order to account for the Udmurt data.

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## The DP-structure of the Finnish noun phrase

Finnish is a language lacking mandatory articles, marking (in)definiteness grammatically with various methods such as case, word order and optional determiners. Despite this I argue that analyzing the Finnish noun phrase as DP is well grounded. First, there are structural requirements for functional elements and A'-positions above NP. Second, tests suggested by Bošković (2008) give DP-language type results in Finnish. Third, the definite article is available in current spoken Finnish.

The noun phrase contains at least three functional projections over NP, and allows A'-movement to this area. The positions host demonstratives, quantifiers and numerals, in this order, yielding a prima facie analysis of the functional heads as D, Q and Num. The possessor at Spec,NP can be raised to a higher position

above the numeral, but here it mandates a definite reading. This can be explained by the possessor raising to Spec,DP, D coding definiteness. Further evidence for A'-movement to Spec,DP comes from a type of snowball-movement, where a noun phrase internal wh-pronoun raises to the left periphery prior to the whole noun phrase moving to Spec,CP.

Bošković (2008), treating the existence of DP as a parameter, has proposed various typological correlations with a language having articles and hence DP. The tests applicable to Finnish clearly place it in the DP-category. First, extraction of a specifier or an adjunct from NP to an A'-position such as Spec,CP is impossible, which Bošković analyzes as resulting from DP blocking the movement. Second, a transitive verb nominalization assigns the genitive case to both its arguments, which Bošković maintains only to occur in DP languages. Third, two semantic phenomena correlate with a language having articles: the so-called majority reading for the quantifier "most", and negation raising. Both appear in Finnish. Finally, Bošković claims that scrambling is not allowed in DP-languages. Here the status of Finnish is less clear, since variation in word order is allowed. Different word orders, however, are not semantically equivalent. More generally, despite lacking some of the features associated with prototypical configurationality, Finnish is considered a configurational language (van Steenbergen, 1989).

It has further been demonstrated that the word "se", typically classified a distance-neutral demonstrative, has developed into a definiteness marker during the last 200 years (Laury, 1997). A syntactic account of such development can be given within a modified DP-analysis. I adopt the analysis that demonstratives are phrases originally merged at the Specifier of a low functional projection in the noun phrase, and subsequently, in some languages, moved to Spec,DP (Brugé, 2002). Further, following Lyons (1999), I propose that in many languages, including Finnish, the free-form definite article is in fact an expletive element at Spec,DP, with the phonologically null D coding definiteness. At least in principle, this makes possible the existence of D even in seemingly bare noun phrases.

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### 3PI and non-finite impersonal constructions: A functional approach

Former comparative studies (Stipa 1962) on the impersonals of the Finno-Ugric languages focused on formal features and defined the category by the virtue of the lack of a canonic subject. This paper aims to describe the impersonal domain using a complex, morphosyntactic, semantic (cf. Siewierska 2008, Malchukov and Ogawa 2011) and pragmatic framework. Impersonals in the present approach are contrasted to the “personal prototype”. In the prototypical case, a canonic grammatical subject of a given construction corresponds semantically to the Agent and equivalent the trajector according to the windowing of attention.

The goal of this paper is to compare Hungarian 3PI (1) and non-finite (2) impersonals with the corresponding Surgut Khanty, Meadow Mari, Udmurt and Finnish constructions focusing on the usage of impersonals. I assume that the speaker’s choice between the two types is motivated by the windowing of attention: the demoted Agent is encoded by the 3PI on the one hand, while an elaborated Agent is expressed by some non-finite form, on the other hand.

(1) Hungarian

Fel-épít-ett-ék      a      ház-at.  
up-build-PST-3PL    ART    house-ACC

‘The house has been built.’ Lit.: ‘They have built the house.’

(2)

A      ház    fel      let              épít-ve.  
ART    house up    become.PST    build-GER

‘The house has been built.’

The data examined in this study have been elicited from native speakers and consultants (3-10/language) by the means of questionnaires. Firstly, morphosyntactic features were studied by using translations tasks after which both semantic and pragmatic characteristics were examined with acceptability tests. In the analysis, a parallel translation corpus (of ca. 60.000 tokens) was used in addition to the corpus collected by the author from literary and journalistic texts in order to understand the usage of impersonals. The latter corpus (containing ca. 400.000 tokens) was compiled by the ELAN software.

The research has proved that different factors can affect the choice between the two constructions. In Finnish, due to being a non-pro drop language in the 3rd person, one can hardly find 3PI impersonals, while in Surgut Khanty the ratio of the 3PI constructions is abundant. The pro-drop parameter, however, cannot account for this variance, thus pragmatic factors might give an insight into the function of these diverging constructions.

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## Finnish subject position and topicality

Finnish is sometimes characterized as "topic-prominent" language, because the subject position is able to host topical elements instead of the grammatical subject, as in (1). At the same time it is common that a topical element fails to obtain the subject position, as in (2):

- (1) Tämän sävelmän soitti Pekka.  
this.ACC melody.ACC played.3SG Pekka.NOM  
'This melody was played by Pekka.'
- (2) Tämä sävelmä on helppo. Kuka tahansa oppii sen.  
this.NOM melody.NOM is easy. who.NOM ever learns it.ACC  
'This melody is easy. Anyone can learn it.'

Although the controversial role of Finnish subject position has been acknowledged since Vilkuna (1989), a comparison of different notions of topicality and their realizations in Finnish has been missing. The first part of this presentation aims to show that the concept of topic fails to characterize the Finnish subject position. The investigation starts from Reinhart (1981) and proceeds to the typology of topics by Bianchi and Frascarelli (2010). Some notions of topicality have already been applied to Finnish, for example the concept of G-topic in Brattico et al. (2013).

In the second part of the presentation, I propose that the "mixed" status of the subject position can be accounted for by assuming that the Fin-head hosts two types of features, phi-features and discourse features. The phi-features enter into Agree with the subject argument and trigger EPP-movement, as in (2). However, sometimes the subject does not move and leaves the position open for discourse-related movement.

The proposed model for discourse-related movement to the subject position, in turn, is based to the accounts by Holmberg and Nikanne (2002) and López (2009, pp. 136–145), where movement is triggered by discourse-features on the moved element. In addition, I show that this movement obeys locality conditions, such as Relativized Minimality (Rizzi, 1990). Finally, it should be noted that the movement can be cancelled if the element is associated with prosodic emphasis indicating contrastive focus.

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### Split noun phrases in Finno-Ugric languages

This paper offers a new analysis for Split Noun phrase constructions in Finnish and Estonian, including remarks on other Finno-Ugric languages, such as Hungarian, Komi, Udmurt and Saami. The Split NP-phenomenon has not, to our knowledge, been studied in detail for any of the Finno-Ugric languages, except Hungarian. In the Split NP construction, the noun phrase is divided into two parts, one part typically occupying a position at the left periphery of the finite clause, and the other part staying *in situ*; cf. Finnish (1) and Estonian (2).

(1) Miehiä saapui paikalle viisi.  
man:PL:PART arrived.3SG place.to five

'Five men arrived to the place.'

(2) a. Palju on Peeter näinud kasse.  
many be.3SG Peter.NOM see.PART2 cat.PL:PART

'Peeter has seen many cats.'

b. Kolm on Peeter näinud kasse.  
three:NOM be:3SG Peter:NOM see:PART2 cat.PL:PART

'Peeter has seen three cats.'

The construction comes in two varieties distinguished by the case (elative (*Kirjoista minä luin kolme*, 'Of the books, I read three') vs. partitive in the above examples). The partitive version is particularly interesting, because it has both properties that suggest that its parts are generated independently of each other, and properties that support the view that the construction is split in an A-bar-movement process (just as in Hungarian and German, cf. e.g., Ott (2011)).

Split constructions such as (3) suggest that the two phrases are not related by movement, because the morphological shape of the left part differs from what it would have to be in a continuous NP, cf. also Hakulinen & Karlsson (1979) and Vilkuna (1996). In both Estonian and Finnish, a numeral requires a singular complement, whereas in the split construction, the NP appears in plural.

(3) (Vilkuna 1996, p.224)

- a. Joutsenia voi nähdä jopa viisi.  
 swan:PL:PART can see even five  
 'Swans you can see even five.'
- b. \*Siellä voi nähdä jopa viisi joutsenia.  
 there can see even five swan:PL:PART  
 Intended: 'There you can see even five swans.'
- c. \*Joutsenta voi nähdä jopa viisi.  
 swan:SG:PART can see even five

On the other hand, the construction displays properties typical for A-bar-movement, such as reflexive reconstruction. In addition, the construction is unavailable for transitive subjects and indirect objects, so that it seems to obey the islands for movement – a property not found in other languages with split constructions such as Hungarian or German.

We compare two syntactic analyses that account for the Finnish and Estonian facts. In the first analysis, the two parts are (first)-merged to the structure as a continuous NP, but separated from each other by sub-extraction. In the second analysis, inspired by Ott (2011), the two parts are merged independently of each other and related to the same argument position of the predicate. However, the two noun phrases must be displaced in an A-bar-movement process because they are, arguably, too close to each other for the linearization component of grammar. The apparent island facts are in this model reinterpreted in terms of a ban against multiple occurrences of the same case.

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### **Grammaticalization of the colorative construction in the Balto-Finnic and Saami languages**

This paper examines the verbal expression called the colorative construction (CC) in the Balto-Finnic languages and also makes some observations on its cognates in the Saami languages. The CC is analyzed through concepts of grammaticalization and verb serialization.

In the CC there are two verbs: a neutral verb (VN) and a colorative verb (VCol), an ideophone which dramatizes or specifies the denotative meaning. Three types may be distinguished depending on the finite and non-finite verb forms, word order, and cohesion. The non-finite verb in the CC is always the A-infinitive (1st infinitive), e.g. Finnish *sano-a* 'to say'.

Type A: North Karelian *akka jälessä astuo hyntsytti* ; *Veps haugot palada pažaadabat*.

An infinitive VN is followed by a finite VCol. This type is known in standard written Finnish, Karelian, Livvi and Veps. Type A is coherent: there can be no constituents between the verbs.

Type B: Votic *koira lakib syvvä*; South Estonian *sina abat ruttu küsida*.

A finite VCol is followed by an infinitive VN. This type is known in standard written Estonian and all other Balto-Finnic languages except for Livonian. In type B there may be constituents between the verbs, e.g. a direct object.

Type C: Livvi *vaste jalgoa ottau lapsi hudelehtoa*; Izhorian *läkäjää hölöttää kaikellaisiita*.

Both verbs are finite and there may be constituents between the verbs. This type is known in all Balto-Finnic languages and it has cognates in Saami languages.

Type C is the least grammaticalized, as it is close to asyndetic coordination. In Balto-Finnic languages, asyndetic compound clauses are common, whether the verbs are ideophones or not. Type B is more grammaticalized, since the VN is an infinitive and the semantic relation between VN and VCol cannot be compared to Balto-Finnic infinitive clauses.

Grammaticalization has processed furthest in type A, as it is most coherent and only ideophones are accepted in the position of VCol. In written Finnish even the word order is grammaticalized up to a point, since in type C the infinitive goes before the finite verb, contrary to normal word order.

Type C meets the formal criteria of a serial verb construction fairly well, but these criteria do not apply to asyndetic compound clauses, and it is this which distinguishes the two constructions. Types A and B are more challenging in terms of serialization, as they can also be compared with other infinitive clauses, where an infinitive could be regarded as the complement of a finite verb. Moreover, the CC has a descriptive or specifying function which is more typical of adverbial clauses than of serial verbs.

The historical development of the CC can be examined in two aspects: particularly type C may have evolved from asyndetic compound clauses, but types A and B may represent an archaic relationship between the finite verb and the A infinitive.

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### **Interplay between case, animacy and number: Estonian speakers' interpretations of grammatical role**

Finno-Ugric languages are known for the differential marking of grammatical relations and the variable use of nominal case-marking. In Estonian, the canonical subject-marking case, nominative, is also used for objects in various constructions; and some subjects are partitive. Likewise, partitive and genitive – the object cases – are also used to mark other syntactic relations. Thus, all the grammatical cases are potentially ambiguous. Crosslinguistic work shows that animacy affects grammatical role assignment [1–4], but it has not been much discussed as a relevant factor in Estonian. Prior work on Estonian argument-encoding has focussed on verb semantics, aspect and the quantity of the noun [5–

7]. We conducted a psycholinguistic experiment to investigate *which grammatical roles native speakers attribute to (sentence-initial) nouns in nominative, partitive and genitive case, and crucially, whether animacy and number of the referent influence grammatical role assignment*. Taking as a starting point the case-marked noun, our study taps into grammatical-role expectations triggered in language users' minds by information from the noun itself.

We conducted a **fragment-completion experiment**, where native Estonian speakers (n=42) were presented with case-marked nouns and asked to write a sentence beginning with those prompts (e.g. *Hiirt...* 'mouse-PART'; *Porgand...* 'carrot-NOM'). We manipulated the noun's animacy (animate/inanimate), number (singular/plural), and case (nominative-NOM/partitive-PART/genitive-GEN) (18 targets, 32 fillers). In this paper we include only the count, not mass, nouns from our study.

**Results:** Animacy, case-marking and number all influence grammatical role assignment. When the **critical noun is NOM**, it is mostly interpreted as a subject (90% of NOM), regardless of animacy and number. This is probably boosted by the sentence-initial (default subject) position [8–9]. When the **critical noun is PART**, it is most likely to be interpreted as an object (average: 65% objects). However, *animate* singular PART nouns are significantly more likely to be interpreted as objects than *inanimate* singular nouns (anim: 81% objects, inanim: 55.6% objects,  $p < .001$ ). Plural PART nouns, however, do not show significant effects of animacy (60% vs. 65.1%,  $p > .5$ ). Animacy effects were even stronger with **GEN nouns**, again in the singular. Singular animate GEN nouns are significantly more likely to be interpreted as possessors (69.8%; e.g. *hiire saba* 'mouse's tail') than are singular inanimate GEN nouns (22% possessors,  $p < .001$ ). Singular inanimates are split between possessors and objects embedded in complex structures (20.6%; e.g. *raamatu lugemine* '[the] reading [of a] book'). Plural GEN nouns do not show clear effects of animacy (animates interpreted as possessors 49.2% vs. 30.16% of inanimates,  $p > .12$ ). The results indicate that case-marking does provide information about the potential grammatical role of the noun (i.e. without information regarding the verb's case assignment), but this information is underspecified.

We find that animacy and number interact with case-marking in guiding grammatical role assignment. These findings are relevant for both production and incremental language comprehension. We might assume for a flexible-word-order language that all possible grammatical functions are initially activated upon hearing a case-marked noun. However, our results suggest that competition will be narrowed by means of semantic cues like animacy and number.

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### **Old Hungarian syntax: Half-way between Ugric and Modern Hungarian**

The syntax of present-day Hungarian, and Khanty and Mansi syntax are so different that the sisterhood of these languages may seem doubtful even to specialists (cf. Marcantonio 2004). This talk will demonstrate that the language of early Old Hungarian texts still preserves the basic features of the strictly head-final Ugric syntax surviving in the Ob-Ugric languages. The talk will illustrate and discuss the following, gradually disappearing, constructions attested in Old Hungarian, pointing out their parallellism with the corresponding Ob-Ugric phenomena:

- i. SOV order with an uncase-marked object
- ii. clause-final interrogative complementizer
- iii. non-finite complement clauses
- iv. non-finite adverbial clauses
- iv. non-finite prehead relative clauses, gap relativization strategy
- v. non-finite clauses and gerunds displaying overt subjects and verbal agreement
- vi. definite noun phrases without any determiner

The talk will also discuss syntactic phenomena which are still active in the Ob-Ugric languages but only left some fossilized traces in Old and Modern Hungarian. They include the deictic-associative use of the possessive suffix, and differential object marking and differential verb-object agreement restricted by an Inverse Topicality Constraint.

### **Possessive clitic climbing as a pattern of agreement with the possessor in Permic and Mari postpositional phrases**

By possessive clitic climbing (henceforth PCC) I mean agreement by the postposition with the possessor embedded in its “object”, i.e. agreement in a non-canonical domain, see the ‘through’-phrases in example (1). In this example, it is not the possessed nouns (‘flesh’, ‘bone’) but the postposition which shows agreement with the (covert) possessor. Sporadic instances of such phenomenon are documented in several Uralic languages, but as a conventional pattern of possessive agreement in PPs, PCC is known only in Komi, Udmurt and Mari.

(1) Komi:

*jaj pyr-ys ly-ys tydalö, ly pyr-ys vem-ys*  
flesh through-3sg bone-3sg be\_visible.3sg bone through-3sg marrow-3sg  
*tydalö*  
be\_visible.3sg

‘his bone shows through his flesh, his marrow shows through his bone’ (Bartens 2000: 121)

In addition to PCC, these languages use in their PPs the canonical domain of possessive agreement as well. In example (2), it is the possessed nouns that show agreement with the possessor.

(2) Komi:

*jaj-ys pyr ly-ys tydalö, ly-ys pyr vem-ys*  
flesh-3sg through bone-3sg be\_visible.3sg bone-3sg through marrow-3sg  
*tydalö*  
be\_visible.3sg

‘his bone shows through his flesh, his marrow shows through his bone’ (Bartens 2000: 121)

In the literature (cf. Efremov 1955 and 1956, Schlachter 1960, Rédei 1962, Bartens 2000, Bereczki 2002, inter alia), there is not much told about the criteria upon which the choice between the two domains depends, neither about the way the PCC pattern might have developed.

Thus, the main questions to be examined in my talk are as follows:

1. What are the functional conditions determining the choice between the PCC pattern and its “normal” alternatives in these languages?
2. Is the distribution of the variants complementary, or is the use of either of them – possibly of the PCC pattern – optional?
3. Can PPs exhibiting the PCC pattern be considered compound words like Rédei (1962: 202) suggested, or are we dealing with an exceptional agreement rule, indeed?
4. What are the prerequisites for the PCC pattern to be possible at all, and what kind of grammaticalization process has led to its formation in these languages?

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### Complex focus structure in Tundra Nenets and beyond

In Tundra Nenets relativisation and topicalisation obey island constraints, but the language displays a total lack of syntactic island effects in questioning: questions are possible out of variety of syntactic environments including subject clauses, sentential complements and indirect questions, as well as relative and adverbial clauses. The present paper only focuses on relative clauses. Relative clauses are headed by participles and the *wh*-word remains in-situ. There are few or no structural restrictions which would permit only certain elements to be questioned: it is possible to question arguments (1) and adjuncts (2).

- (1) [xīb'a-h xada-wi°] ti-m mōne-ca-n°  
**who-GEN** kill-PF.PTCP reindeer-ACC see-INTERR-2SG  
lit. 'You saw the reindeer which who killed?'
- (2) [[xən'ana yil'e-wi°] n'enec'°] xəya  
**where** live-PF.PTC man go.3SG  
lit. 'The man who lived where left?'

Various accounts of the violations of island constraints in in-situ languages have been proposed in the literature, but I will argue that in Tundra Nenets they have to do with how the operation or focussing works. The language formally treats phrases with focussed sub-constituent as focused. The focussed sub-constituent remains in-situ but the focus feature percolates up to the mother node to provide an account of the pied-piping phenomena. Semantically this operation results in the creation of the complex focus structures with the pairwise list reading in the sense of Krifka (1991). This broadens the object of inquiry: question islands inquire about the identity of the whole island, making a crucial use of the identity of the element represented by the question word. For instance, in (2) the question word 'where' denotes a set of locations where men live and the question ranges over the set of men who have the property of having lived in these locations.

I will provide morphosyntactic evidence in favour of this analysis, and also discuss data from another language, Tundra Yukaghir, where similar phenomena are found.



### A Morphological account of agreement exponence in negated Estonian clauses

In affirmative indicative and imperative clauses in Estonian, verbs agree with their subjects.

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|--|---|
| <p>(1) a. Te hüppa-(si)-te.<br/>2PL jump-PST-2PL<br/>'Y'all jump(ed).'</p> <p>b. Me hüppa-(si)-me.<br/>1PL jump-PST-1PL<br/>'We jump(ed).'</p> | <p>(2) a. Hüpa-ke!<br/>jump-2PL.IMP<br/>'Jump!</p> <p>b. Hüppa-me!<br/>jump-1PL.IMP<br/>'Let's Jump!'</p> |
|--|---|

However, in negated clauses, two patterns emerge. In negated indicatives, there is no morpho-logical agreement (3). In negated imperatives, agreement is doubled (4).

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|--|--|
| <p>(3) a. Me ei hüppa<br/>1PL NEG jump<br/>'We don't jump.'</p> <p>b. Me ei hüppa-nud<br/>1PL NEG jump-PST.PCPL<br/>'We did not jump.'</p> | <p>(4) a. Är-me! hüppa-me<br/>NEG-1PL.IMP jump-1PL.IMP<br/>'Let's not jump!'</p> <p>b. Är-ge hüpa-ke!<br/>NEG-2PL.IMP jump-2PL.IMP<br/>'Don't jump!'</p> |
|--|--|

I propose that the syntax of agreement is the same in all these clauses, and the different pat- terns arise for morphological reasons. This analysis is couched within a Minimalist/Distributed Morphology approach, which separates subject-verb agreement into two parts: (i) a syntactic relationship between the agreement trigger and target (i.e., Agree (Chomsky 2000, *et seq*)) and (ii) the morphological expression of the results of that relationship (i.e., Vocabulary Insertion (Halle 1990, *et seq*)).

Across clauses, I propose that the locus of (syntactic) agreement in Estonian is the polarity head,  $\Sigma^0$ . This is the norm for many Finno-Ugric languages, where agreement in negated indicatives is marked on negation, not the verb (Mitchell, 2006). In Estonian, I propose that the syntactic relation underlying agreement (i.e., Agree) holds as normal, but negation is morphologically deficient. I formalize this by proposing that  $\Sigma^0$  always agrees in the syntax, but in Estonian, indicative  $\Sigma_{[NEG]}^0$  only has one Vocabulary Item: *ei*.

A more intricate explanation is required for negated imperatives, where agreement is apparently doubled. First, note that negation changes from *ei* to *ära* in imperatives. Furthermore, note that (some of) the agreement markers change: e.g., indicative *-te* versus imperative *-ge/-ke*. I analyze both of these as allomorphy in the context of imperatives: negation with imperative features spells out as *ära*, and the same features require overt realization of  $\Sigma^0$ 's phi-features.

One possible analysis of negated imperatives is that they are biclausal and thus have two Agree relationships, but I argue that such an account cannot be maintained. First, if negated imperatives are biclausal, we predict that subject pronouns can be doubled, but this is not possible.

- (5) \*Te är-ge te teh-ke seda!  
 2PL NEG-2PL.IMP 2PL do-2PL.IMP that.PAR  
 ‘Don’t do that!’

Second, whereas doubling is normally obligatory, it is optional in the case of 1PL *-me* (6).

- (6) a. Är-ge hüpa-\*(ke)! b. Är-me hüppa-(me)!  
 NEG-2PL.IMP jump-2PL.IMP NEG-1PL.IMP jump-1PL.IMP  
 ‘Don’t jump!’ ‘Let’s not jump!’

It is not clear how we would capture the optionality of 1PL doubling in a biclausal approach, where the agreement on the lower verb is the direct result of a syntactic relationship. Crucially, the 1PL exponent on the “main verb” is only optional when negation is present— otherwise, it is obligatory. Under a biclausal approach, this would mean that whether the lower Agree relationship is established is dependent on material merged later, which is a lookahead problem. Similar problems exist for approaches to monoclausal multiple agreement that posit additional Agree relationships (Baker and Willie (2010), Bhatt (2005), Carstens (2001), Henderson (2006)).

Instead, I propose that these are monoclausal.  $\Sigma^0$  agrees with the subject as normal in the syntax, and doubling onto the main verb arises as a separate morphological copying operation, which is sensitive to the source’s phi-feature values (e.g., optional for 1PL). This allows for a uniform and simpler syntax with rules specific to Estonian in the morphology. These results suggest that postsyntactic copying—possibly value-sensitive—must be countenanced as a possible source of multiple agreement.

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## Syntactic similarities between the non-finite clauses in Udmurt and Tatar

It has been long established that the languages belonging to the Volga-Kama Sprachbund (Mari, Komi, Udmurt, Mordvin, Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash, Russian) have developed several grammatical features due to language contacts (cf. Wintschalek 1993 among others). In this talk we will compare the Udmurt non-finite subordinate clauses with the Tatar ones. Our goal is to demonstrate the syntactic similarities between the two languages.

Both in Udmurt and in Tatar there is a non-finite clause-type that can be used in several syntactic environments (these are headed by the suffix *-(e)m* in Udmurt, and by *-GAn* and *(V)r* in Tatar). These non-finites can form:

- 1) relative clauses
- 2) adverbial subordinate clauses (when they are complements of semantic cases or postpositions) or
- 3) complement clauses.

However, the syntax of the non-finites differs considerably in the three abovementioned positions. The differences concern primarily the case-marking of the subject and the presence/absence of agreement on the non-finite.

Firstly, agreement is not allowed on non-finites used as relative clauses (1)–(2).

(1) Udmurt (Perevoščikov 1962: 259)

[*tue mertt-em-(\*my)*] [*pispu-os-my*]  
[this.year plant-NMLZ-1PL] [tree-PL-1PL]

‘our trees that were planted this year’/‘the trees that we planted this year’

(2) Tatar (Kurbatov 1969: 247)

[*běz sōyleš-ken-(\*ěběz)*] [*kěšě*]  
[1PL speak-NMLZ-1PL] [man]

‘that man we talked to’

If the Udmurt and Tatar non-finites are complements of a semantic case or a postposition, there are two possible patterns: no agreement and subject in nominative (3a) or agreement is present and the subject is genitive-marked (3b). (We exemplify this with Udmurt examples only.)

(3) Udmurt (own fieldwork)

a. [*Kolya uš-em*] [*bere vanyzy šerekja-ny kutsk-i-zy*].  
[Kolya fall-NMLZ] [after everybody laugh-NMLZ start-PST-3PL]

b. [*Kolya-len uš-em-ez*] [*bere vanyzy šerekja-ny kutsk-i-zy*].  
[Kolya-GEN fall-NMLZ-3SG] [after everybody laugh-NMLZ start-PST-3PL]

‘After Kolya had fallen down, everybody started laughing.’

Lastly, if the nonfinite is used as a complement clause, agreement seems obligatory.

(4) Udmurt (own fieldwork)

[*So-len škola-je myn-em-ez]-ly*] [*mon šum poti-ško*]  
3SG-GEN school-ILL go-NMLZ-3SG]-DAT 1SG be.glad-PRS[1SG]

‘I’m glad that s/he started school.’

(5) Tatar (Kurbatov 1969: 248)

[*miněm kūr-gen-ěm*]-*ně*      *běl-dě*  
[1SG.GEN watch-NMLZ-1SG]-ACC know-PAST.3SG  
'S/he knew that I was watching her/him'

Moreover, we will draw parallels with other Finno-Ugric languages. The *-Vm* non-finite is present also in the other Finn-Ugric languages from the Sprachbund, as well as in the Ob-Ugric languages. In all of these languages the non-finite can be used in the three abovementioned syntactic environments. However, the syntax of the non-finites in the other Finno-Ugric languages differs from their Udmurt counterparts. For instance, in Komi-Zyrian the subject of the non-finite can be genitive-marked without any agreement present on the non-finite (Serdobolskaya 2008); in Komi-Zyrian and Meadow Mari the agreement does not seem obligatory in argument position (Serdobolskaya 2008); in relative clauses the agreement appears on the non-finite in Eastern Khanty (Nikolaeva 1999, Csepregi 2012), etc. Our claim is that syntactically the Udmurt non-finites show greater similarity to the Tatar ones rather than to the non-finite clauses of the other Finn-Ugric languages, what can be explained with language contacts.

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## A configurational account of Finnish case

**Background:** Finnish structural-case assignment comprises two processes: nominative-genitive case competition (NGCC) and the partitive-nonpartitive alternation (PNPA). In NGCC, of the DPs without lexical or partitive case, the structurally highest DP receives nominative and all other lower DPs receive genitive (1). The DPs that compete for nominative are the external argument (EA) and the internal argument (IA), as expected, but also a class of adjuncts.

(1) a.

Tarja luotti [Kekkose-en]LEX [yhde-n vuode-n] [kolmanne-n]  
 T.NOM trusted.3sg K-ILL one-GEN year-GEN third-GEN

**kerra-n]**  
 time-GEN

b.

[Kekkose-en]LEX luote-ttiin [yksi vuosi] [kolmanne-n]  
 K-ILL trust-PASS.PAST one.NOM year.NOM third-GEN

**KERRA-N]**  
 time-GEN

[Maling1993]

In the PNPA, the case of the IA corresponds to the eventuality's telicity. When the eventuality is atelic, the IA bears partitive (2a). When the eventuality is telic, the IA bears nominative or genitive (collectively “nonpartitive”) depending on NGCC (2b).

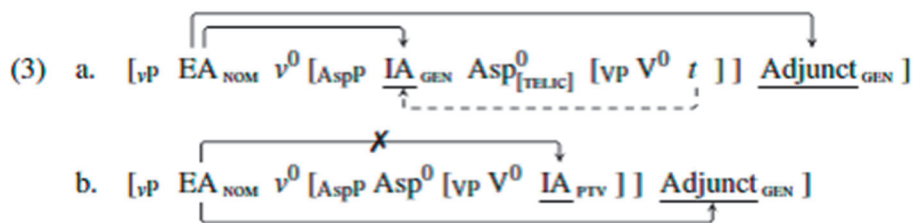
(2) a. Etsi-n {karhu-a / \*karhu-n}  
 seek-1SG bear-PTV bear-GEN

b. Saa-n {\*karhu-a /karhu-n}  
 get-1SG bear-PTV bear-GEN

[Kiparsky1998]

**Configurational case model:** The morphological-case calculus proceeds along the disjunctive case hierarchy: lexical case → dependent case → unmarked case. First, each lexical head assigns the idiosyncratic lexical case to its sister. Second, for each pair of remaining DPs with unvalued case within some local domain, one DP in the pair is assigned dependent case (NOM-ACC languages: the lower, ERG-ABS languages: the higher); this is known as *case competition*. Third, any DP whose case is still unvalued is assigned unmarked case.

**Analysis:** In the vP phase, nominative is the unmarked case and genitive is the dependent case. In the AspP phase, partitive is the unmarked case and genitive is the dependent case. Building on Kratzer's (2004) semantics of telicity, the PNPA reflects whether the IA has moved out of VP to [Spec, AspP] in order to satisfy the [TELIC] feature on Asp<sup>0</sup>. The presence of [TELIC] yields a telic interpretation of the eventuality by asserting that the eventuality culminates. When the IA moves, it raises to the edge of AspP, a syntactic position accessible in the vP phase given the Phase Impenetrability Condition; this allows it to partake in NGCC (3a). When the IA does not move, it receives unmarked partitive case in VP (3b). Solid arrows represent dependent-case assignment and dashed arrows represent movement.



Implications: This proposal widens the empirical coverage of the configurational case model to cover case assignment spanning two domains. It also succinctly accounts for two otherwise disjoint phenomena in Finnish with

fewer stipulations than analyses based on the functional-head case model, e.g. Nelson (1998) and Vainikka and Brattico (2014).

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### Free relatives in Moksha

Free relatives are relatives without an overt nominal head [de Vries 2002: 42]. This paper deals with free relative clauses in Moksha language:

- (1) *Kijeks lank-sə ašč-i-∅ mez'ə*  
 floor on-IN lie-NPST.3-SG what  
*pra-f-əl' is'ak.*  
 fall-PTCP.RES-PQP.SG yesterday

‘On the floor lies (something) that fell yesterday’

The main aim of this investigation have to do with the restrictions of free relatives’ formation in Moksha. The most important restriction of this kind is the matching requirements, which mean, that wh-phrase of a free relative must be of the same category and case as the position, where relative clause itself appears [Izvorski 1997]:

- a. Case Matching: [FR wh-CASE<sub>i</sub> ... ]-CASE<sub>i</sub>  
 b. Categorical Matching: [FR wh-XP<sub>1</sub>... ]-XP<sub>1</sub>

The matching requirements are satisfied in (1). Nevertheless, there are grammatically correct sentences in Moksha, which don’t fulfil matching requirements.

Free relatives in Moksha are always correct, if they appear in the subject (2) position. It doesn’t depend on the case or category of wh-phrase.

- (2) *Sos'ədn'ej kucə er'a-j-∅, ki-n'd'i / \*kijə Kat'ε*  
 neighbouring.house.IN live-NPST.3-SG who-DAT who Katja  
*maks-∅-əz'ə- kniga-nzə-n.*  
 give- PST-3SG.S-3SG.O book-3SG.POSS.PL-GEN

‘In the neighbouring house lives (someone), whom Katja gave books’.

Matching requirements remain clearly unsatisfied in (2). However, this phenomenon is typologically not unique: in some Slavic [Izvorski 1997] and Romanic languages [Süner 1984] the matching requirements can be not applied, if the relative clause occurs in the subject position. The reason for this is pro-drop in subject position. As is exemplified in (3), Moksha allows subject omission as well, so that correlation between presence of null-subject in language and necessity of matching in subject position holds for Moksha.

- (3) *soda-sa-∅-∅ s'ε loman-t'.*  
 know- NPST-3.O-SG.O.1SG.S that human-DEF.SG.GEN

‘[I] know that person’.

More surprising data is presented the following free relatives:

- (4) *Kat'ε maks-∅-əz'ə-∅ kn'iga-nc, kijə/ \*ki-nd'i*  
 Katja give-PST-3SG.S-3SG.O book-3SG.POSS.SG.GEN who who-DAT  
*er'a j ∅ sos'ədn'ej kud-t' esə.*  
 live-NPST.3-SG neighbouring house-DEF.SG.GEN in.IN

‘Katja gave her book (to someone), who lives in neighbouring house’.

Here the predicate of the main clause assigns dative, while wh-phrase receive nominative in the dependent clause. Nevertheless, there are some restrictions on the formation of free relatives:

- (5) \* *Mon pel'-an*[1]                      *ki-n'di*                      *ava-z'ə*  
I                      be.afraid-NPST.1SG    who-DAT                      wife-1SG.POSS.SG  
*maks-i-Ø*                      *jarcama*  
give- NPST.3 SG    food

‘I’m afraid of someone, whom my wife gives food’.

To explain the difference between (4) and (5), we have to appeal to case system of Moksha. It consists of 15 cases, but only 3 of them (nominative, genitive and dative) have forms of the definite declination. Free relatives in Moksha can be formed, only if both relative and main clauses require one of these three cases. Thus there are no limits for the combination among these cases.

We assume, that observed system can be explained by means of the fact, that nominative, genitive and dative, possessing the category of definiteness, form the constituent of type DP, while nouns in other cases are rather nP. If that’s the case, free relatives like (5) violate not only the case requirement, but also the categorical one and therefore are not correct. However, it doesn’t explain absolute indifference to the case matching requirement within one group of cases.

In the report we will discuss case and categorical matching requirements in detail, their failure in Moksha and provide particular analysis for the described data.

[1] The predicate *pel'ams* ‘be afraid’ assign ablative in Moksha.

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### Definite-plural-object drop in Hungarian: Determining the blocking factor

This paper investigates the source of the ungrammaticality of dropping third-person plural definite objects in Hungarian, arguing against the usual (semantic) recoverability-of-the-numberfeature approach and suggesting instead that the relevant blocking factor is morphological and consists in there being no available host in the object-drop structure to which the nominal pluralnumber affix could attach.

**Empirical problem:** As shown in (1) from Marácz (1991: 83), a third-person definite object can be dropped in Hungarian when it is singular, but not when it is plural. The unavailability of plural-object drop has been attributed to the fact that the [PL] feature cannot be recovered from the shape of verbal inflection (cf., e.g., É. Kiss 2012; Farkas & de Swart 2003). As singular nominal can be analysed as lacking the number feature altogether, singular null objects are grammatical, since there is no need for their number to be recovered.

However, the feature-recoverability approach seems problematic in light of the fact that first/second-person singular objects can be dropped, even though verbal morphology does not reflect the person feature of the object (cf. (2) from Marácz 1991: 83). Moreover, Keresztes (2013: 56) presents data from her grammaticality-judgment study showing that the dropping of first/second-person plural objects is acceptable to some extent (cf. (3)).

**Theoretical assumptions and proposal:** Proposing a novel analysis of personal pronouns in Hungarian (cf. (4)), I suggest that the definite-object-drop pattern follows from the structure of pronouns in this language. In short, all personal pronouns are of category DP (contra, e.g., Bartos 1999), with their final shape being determined by morphological realisation rules (e.g. (5) for nominative forms). The [u(n)interpretable)Num:\_] feature is present on the Pers head when the value of [Pers] is [1/2], but is absent from the head when [Pers] is valued as [3]. This derives the fact that whereas third-person pronouns are morphologically transparent as far as number marking is concerned (*ő* ‘she/he’ vs. *ők* ‘they’), in first/second-person pronouns, number is reflected on the portmanteau morphemes realising [Pers] and [Num] simultaneously (cf. *én* ‘I’ vs. *mi* ‘we’). The portmanteau morphemes can be taken to realise the Pers head. In third-person pronouns, Pers is realised as *ő*, to which the suffix realising Num bearing [NUM:PL] can attach.

In accordance with this analysis of the pronominal system of Hungarian, object-pronoun drop can be taken to result from the deletion/non-pronunciation of the content of the Pers head. With Pers being unrealised, there is no available host to which the plural marker *-(V)k* realising Num in the third-person plural pronoun could attach. Hence, dropping third-person plural objects is blocked by the SM-interface requirements. As the [SG] feature is zero-realised/absent from the representation independently, it does not require a host to attach to, which is why the deletion/non-pronunciation of Pers does not result in ungrammaticality when the object is singular. The difference in acceptability between third- and first/second-person-pronoun drop (cf. (1) vs. (3)) follows from the representation of the latter, but not the former, having the [NUM] feature on Pers, as this leads to [NUM] and [PERS] on Pers being realised as a portmanteau morpheme, in which case the content of the Num head is not realised independently. Realising Pers, the portmanteau morpheme can be deleted/unpronounced.

- (1) (Én) lát-om (őt)/ \*(őket).  
 I see-SG.DEF him/her them  
 ‘I see him/her/them.’
- (2) (Ő) lát-Ø (engem)/ (téged).  
 he/she see-3SG.INDEF me youSG  
 ‘He/she sees me/us/you.’



(3) a. (Mi) elbújtunk előletek (ti) mégis megtaláltatok %(minket).  
 we hid1P from.youPL youPL still found2PL.INDEF me  
 ‘(We) hid from you, still (you) found (us).’

b. (Ti) elbújítatok előlünk (mi) mégis megtaláltunk %(titeket).  
 youPL hid2PL from.us we still found1PL.INDEF you

(4) Feature composition of personal pronouns in Hungarian

[DPD<sub>[DEF,uPers:\_,uNum:\_,Case:\_]</sub>[PersP Pers<sub>[Pers:1/2/3,(uNum:\_)Case:\_]</sub>Num Num<sub>[Num:SG/PL,Case:\_]</sub>]<sub>nP</sub>  
<sub>n<sub>[Case:\_]</sub>]]]</sub>

(5) An example of amorphological realisation rule

D<sub>{[DEF],[uPers],[uNum],[Case]}</sub> → D<sub>{∅}/\_\_</sub>{[uPers:1/2],[Case:NOM]} (én, te, mi, ti)

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## Functional categories in Finnish child language

It is well known fact that children's speech is missing elements that are obligatory in adults' grammar. One way to explain this discrepancy is to rely on functional categories. There have been proposals that children lack all clausal functional categories altogether (Radford 1990), or that children have some functional categories but not all (Clahsen 1990), or that children have all the same clausal functional categories as adults have (Poehpel and Wexler 1993). I would like to argue for the latter, "full-spectrum" position.

My data comes from a longitudinal study of two Finnish-speaking girls, between ages 1;8 and 3;1. The corpus contains 8 500 child Finnish utterances. I argue that these children have a full-working VP at the two-word stage. Tense is present, too, so I suggest that we are warranted to posit the TP. From previous studies (e.g., Borer and Rohrbacher 2002) we suspect that if and when children use agreement, it is correct and is not used randomly. In my corpus, children begin to use other verb forms than the 3.person singular at the age of 2;3, but

before this period they use 3.person singular verb forms with and without subjects. I have concluded from this, and from the fact that there were only few agreement errors, that these children have FinP at the beginning of two-word stage. They also use 3.person singular negation at beginning of two-word stage, suggesting that their grammar projects NegP, in agreement with our previous results from two cross-sectional studies (Brattico & Saikkonen, 2010, 2007). In addition, they use imperatives and interrogatives from the beginning of the two-word stage, indicating that have mastered certain properties of the fine-structure of the Finnish CP (e.g., Brattico et al. 2013). In sum, then, I will argue that Finnish-speaking children possess the full spectrum of functional categories CP-Neg-TP-vP-VP at the two-word stage. It is against this background that I will examine what grammatical processes they might lack.

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### **The semantics of the subject and subject-object agreement pattern of complement-taking predicates in Moksha Mordvin**

Sentential complements are defined as clauses that function as arguments of a predicate (Noonan 1985: 52), “complement-taking predicate” (CTP). However, it has been claimed that in some languages the sentential complement does not demonstrate the morphosyntactic properties of an argument of the CTP (cf. (Serdobolskaya 2005) for typological data and (Letuchiy 2012) for Russian). For example, in many languages with polypersonal agreement sentential complements do not trigger agreement on CTPs (or not all the types of complements can do that), i.e. in Adyghe, Itelmen etc. The question rises, which syntactic or functional types of sentential complements show argument properties, and which do not, i.e. what factors determine the “argument” status of the complement. We claim that in Moksha-Mordvin it is the logical presupposition of the truth of the complement clause.

Moksha-Mordvin distinguishes subject vs. subject-object agreement patterns (subject vs. subject-object conjugations in (GMJa). The subject agreement pattern is used with intransitive verbs (1), while transitive verbs can take the markers of both agreement patterns (2ab). The choice of the agreement pattern is regulated by the definiteness and animacy of the direct object, aspectual properties of the verb etc. (Bartens 1999: 125).

Many CTPs can take both agreement patterns (3ab), cf. (Feoktistov 1993: 206). Moreover, one and the same CTP can take both agreement patterns with one and the same complement type (3ab). We claim that the choice of the agreement pattern with transitive CTPs is based on the truth conditions of the complement clause. If its truth is presupposed, the subject-object agreement pattern is preferable, else the subject agreement pattern is chosen. We base our argumentation on the following:

- CTPs that have been argued to be presupposition triggers (e.g. ‘finish’, cf. (Spender 2002: 11), unlike ‘begin’) only take the subject-object agreement;
- CTPs that carry the presupposition of the falsity of their complement (e.g. ‘begin’) only take the subject agreement;
- complement types that are only used in presupposition-inducing contexts (the subordinator *koda* ‘how’) require the subject-object agreement;
- CTPs that allow both agreement patterns take the subject-object agreement in the context of presupposition-inducing expressions (Bäuerle, Reyle, Zimmermann 2010), cf. (3a), otherwise the subject agreement is preferred. Cf. (3b) where the construction and the context suggests the falsity of the complement, and the subject-object agreement pattern is judged as unacceptable.

The criteria for presupposition-inducing contexts are the possibility of negation of the complement (by the same speaker) and the possibility of the performative use of the CTP.

### Examples

(1) son sa-s' kud-u  
 he come-PST.3SG house-ILL  
 ‘He came home.’

(2a) son s'uc'ə-s' c'ora-n'ε  
 he scold-PST.3SG boy-DIM  
 ‘He scolded a/the boy.’

2 6(b) son mon' s'uc'ə-ma-n  
 he I.OBL scold-PST.1.O-SG.O.3SG.S  
 ‘He scolded me.’

(3a) mon iz'-in'ə ars'-ə što son t'aftamə s'ir'ə,  
 I NEG.PST.3.O.1SG.S think-CN COMPLS/he so old  
 son pek octə n'εft'-i  
 s/he very new.EL look-NPST.3SG

{Context: ‘Why did not you help Mariya Ivanovna with the heavy bags? She’s already past 80! –} I didn’t think she’s that old, she looks young.

(3b) t'a-t / \*t'a-k ars'-ə što mon ton'  
 PROH-IMP.SG PROH-IMP.3SG.O.SG.S think-CN COMPL I you.OBL  
 mel'-gə-t šta-sa-jn'ə šava-n'ε-t'n'ə-n'  
 after-PROL-2SG.POSS wash-NPST-3.O.1SG.S[PL.O] dish-DIM-DEF.PL-GEN

‘Don’t think that I will wash the dishes after you.’

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## Micro-comparison of non-possessive possessives

This paper investigates the use of possessive markers in non-possessive contexts in three Finno-Ugric languages, Khanty, Komi, and Mari (dialectal information to be provided). I first show that the conditions on these uses differ from language to language, which was not taken into account in previous attempts to model the behaviour of Finno-Ugric possessives (Fraurud 2001, Nikolaeva 2003, Brykina and Sudobina 2005, Gerland 2011, Kuznetsova 2012). The main goal of this project is to present new distributional data and an initial formal analysis of the semantics of the 3rd person marker (3SG) in the three languages.

Descriptively, 3SG in Komi appears whenever reference is made to a salient individual having the property denoted by the noun. In Khanty 3SG marks a nominal expression in the presence of an antecedent. Finally, in Mari 3SG marks a noun if there is an explicitly invoked set to which the intended referent belongs. The table below summarizes the distribution of 3SG on its non-possessive uses in the three languages. As an heuristic tool, I examine 3SG uses following, loosely, the classification of “definite” contexts of Hawkins (1978).

Table 1: Licensing contexts of 3sg in Komi, Mari, and Khanty

	ANTECEDENT	GROUP	LOCAL UNIQUENESS	GLOBAL UNIQUENESS
Khanty	yes	no	no	no
Mari	no	yes	no	no
Komi	yes	yes	yes	yes

I propose to model the semantics of 3SG in Komi and Khanty using salience-based global choice function of the type proposed by Von Heusinger (2004). The differences between languages correspond to the differences in whether the function is salience-based and what the restrictions on its domain are. Specifically, I propose that the semantics of 3SG in Khanty differs from what it is in Komi only in the requirement that the domain of the choice function be restricted to the explicitly introduced individuals, and that in Mari it is not salience-sensitive, but is sensitive to explicitly introduced sets of individuals. Finally, I show that the semantics proposed accounts for the morphosyntactic patterns of possessive suffixes' (non)-cooccurrence in the three languages.

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### Comitative case in Northern Sámi and the difference between cases and adpositions

A pertinent theoretical question is whether the semantic cases of Uralic languages are simply bound adpositions, or whether there is some deeper difference between a semantic case and an adposition.

In this paper, I argue that there is a difference between semantic cases and adpositions, based on the behavior of the Northern Sámi comitative case.

The Northern Sámi comitative can express accompaniment, instrument, means, accoutrement, interlocutor, and manner, among other things; its semantic range is comparable to (though not identical with) that of English *with*. Nonetheless, it behaves syntactically quite differently.

Cooccurrence of comitative-marked adjuncts is highly restricted, as illustrated below: In each case, either of the two adjuncts in braces is possible, but to have both together is unacceptable (paraphrases are available, often with PPs).

(1) Dat njuvve bohccuid {niibbiiguin/muinna}  
they slaughtered reindeer {with.knife/with.me}

(\*instrument+accompaniment)

(2) Lásse áigu {girdiin Osloi/Osloi áhčiin}

Lasse will {with.plane to.Oslo/to.Oslo with.father}

(\*means+accompaniment)

(3) Son čállá {mášiinnain/fáhcaiguin}

s/he writes {with.typewriter/with.mittens}

(\*instrument+accoutrement)

The corresponding sentences are unproblematic in languages like English, even when the same adposition appears twice, e.g.

(4) He chopped wood with an axe with me.

(5) He left with the 8:00 plane with his father.

(6) He is writing with a pencil with mittens.

The difference is not a surface ban on adjacent sequences of comitative-marked nouns: in (2), the sequence is disrupted by the illative, so the comitatives are not adjacent, but are still barred from cooccurring.

Additional comitatives are possible in a clause if they have independent licensors, such as the associate construction in (7) or the adverbial *ovttas* in (8):

(7) Máhtte-guovttos áhčiin vujiiga billain.

Mattis-two.assoc with.father drove.DUAL by.car 'Mattis and his father went by car'

(associative DP+means; cf. (2))

(8) Sii njuvve bohccuid niibbiiguin ovttas muinna

they slaughtered reindeer with.knife together with.me

(instrument+accompaniment PP; cf. (1))

I argue that the pattern observed here shows that the comitatives in (1–3) are cases licensed by an applicative-like head. This applicative-like head can only appear once in a clause; overt applicatives in Bantu languages and other

languages often show this restriction. The associative construction in (7) and the adverbial *ovttas* in (8) independently license comitative case.

English *with*, on the other hand, is a case-assigning preposition which projects a PP. The PP does not itself need case, but rather has the distribution of an adverb; it may be adjoined to certain verbal projections, and for this reason is not restricted to occurring only once in a clause.

If this analysis is correct, then there is a fundamental structural difference between cases and adpositions, even when they have extremely similar semantics. The conclusion has important ramifications for the possibility of a universal underlying semantic structure for all languages. If this analysis is correct, then languages may have different underlying syntactic structures for the same surface meaning. Therefore, semantic structure cannot be universal, but at least certain aspects of it must be learned.

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### **Differential object marking in Moksha language**

The presentation is devoted to the phenomenon of differential object marking in Moksha. It has been shown in previous works that the particular choice of the Direct Object (DO) encoding is the result of interaction of many factors such as the position of an NP/DP in the animacy/prominence hierarchy, the DO specificity/definiteness (Aissen 1998; Bossong 1985) as well as information structure (Dalrymple, Nikolaeva 2011 e.a.).

The Moksha data deserve special attention. The head noun of the DO could have a genitive marker or no overt marker. However, the real encoding is more complicated. Nouns in Moksha could have two types of affixes corresponding to their referential status: possessive affixes and definite markers. Besides, Moksha verbs have two types of agreement: Subject agreement and Subject-Object agreement. There is one more way of the argument encoding for transitive verbs, that is the postposition construction.

In my work I present the analysis of the possible combinations of encoding. The focus of presentation is the interaction of different factors such as DO referential status, information structure, verb semantics (aspectual properties/actionality) and their role in the DO encoding and the comparison of the Moksha DO encoding system with the data of other Finno-Ugric languages especially with the Shoksha data.

The opposition of overt vs. no overt DO marking poses the following questions: whether the verb without Object agreement could be treated as a transitive verb and what are the class of verbs that could have both unmarked and overt-marking DO. In Moksha almost all the verbs except the verbs denoting atelic states like "be wet" (and motion verb as well, e.g. (2a)) could have the overt DO. Some verbs could be used in four types of constructions: no overt DO (the resulting semantics depends on the verb class) like in (1a) and (2b), the unmarked DO like in (1b) and (2b), the overt marked DO (1c) and (2c), the argument is in postposition construction (1d):

- (1) a. c'ora-n'ε-z'                      mora-s'  
son-DIM-1SG.POSS.SG          sing-PST.3SG  
*His son sang*
- b. c'ora-n'ε-z'                      mora-s'          morə (\*morə-t')  
son-DIM-1SG.POSS.SG          sing-PST.3SG song (\*song-GEN.DEF)  
*His son sang a song*
- c. c'ora-n'ε-z'ə                      mora-z'ə (\*mora-s')          (es' morə-ənc / morə-t')  
son-DIM-1SG.POSS.SG          sing-PST.3SG.O.3SG.S          self song-3SG.POSS.SG.GEN /  
song-GEN.DEF  
*His son sang his(own) song / the song*
- d. c'ora-n'ε-z'                      mora-s' /          \*mora-z'ə          morə-t'          esə  
son-DIM-1SG.POSS.SG          sing-PST.3SG / \* sing-PST.3SG.O.3SG.S song-GEN.DEF in  
*His son was singing the song*
- (2) a. Vasya (t'εn')          mol'-əz'ə          kolmə          čast-stə  
Vasyathis          go-PST.3SG.O.3SG.S          three          hour-EL  
*Vasya passed this (passage) in three ours*
- b. Masa          šta-s'          (pr'ε)  
Masha wash-PST.3SG          head  
Masha washed herself
- c. masa          šta-z'ə es'          pr'ε-nc  
Masha wash-PST.3SG self head-3SG.POSS.SG.GEN  
*Masha washed herself*

The main factor regulating the encoding is the DO referential status. In contrast to many other Finno-Ugric languages with differential DO marking (e.g. Udmurt, Mari, Komi, see Toldova, Serdobolskaya 2012) the definite DO should be marked overtly by means of a definite genitive marker or a possessive genitive affix like in (1c) (excluding pronouns and proper nouns that require indefinite genitive marker). The Object agreement is obligatory in this case:

The so-called unmarked form could have the narrow reading while the definite DP/NP could have only the wide scope reading (3a):

- (3) a. Er'          c'ora-n'ε-s'                      mora-s'          morə  
every boy-DIM-NOM.DEF          SING-PST.3SG song
- b. er'          c'oran'əs'                      moraz'ə                      moranc  
every boy-DIM-NOM.DEF          sing-PST.3SG.O.3SG.S          song-3SG.POSS.SG.GEN
- c. er'          c'ora-n'ε-s'                      mora-z'ə                      mora-t'  
every boy-DIM-NOM.DEF          sing-PST.3SG.O.3SG.S          song-GEN.DEF  
*Every boy sang a song (boys sang different songs); b. Every boy sang his own song; c. Every boy sang the song (the song was the same for all the boys and it was mentioned beforehand in the text)*

The definite and possessive noun phrases differ in their scopes. Thus, the definite marker is possible only under the wide reading as in (3c), while the possessive marker could have both narrow and wide scope (3b).

The only way to express the definite argument corresponding to DO in the imperfective context is the postposition construction with no object agreement (e.g. (1d)).



In other cases the information status could trigger the DO encoding. The definite genitive marker and object verb agreement is possible and even preferable in case of generic referential status of DO when the DO is in topic or topic contrastive position.

Thus, I suggest the following hierarchy for encoding:  
definite, universal, non-imperfective context > generic, animate, topic, non-imperfective context > generic, inanimate, topic, non-imperfective context > generic, focus; indefinite referential > imperfective context

The leftmost features combination and the next one require the obligatory DO marking while the rightmost requires the postposition construction and no DO agreement and the previous one requires the unmarked head noun with no DO agreement on the verb.

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### Impersonal uses of singular person markers in Finnish and Karelian

The person category and the boundary between personal and impersonal have been extensively studied in recent years (among others Siewierska 2008, Malchukov – Siewierska 2011, Posio – Vilkuna 2013). However, little attention has been paid to impersonally used person markers in speech so far. The studies tend to focus on written language while studies based on comprehensive spoken data have been in the minority.

This paper discusses the impersonally used 2nd (2SG) and 3rd person singular (3SG) in Finnish dialects and Karelian languages. The 3SG is common in both standard and dialectal (1) Finnish but in dialects also 2SG is applied impersonally. The 2SG can be found in certain Western dialects (2) but its usage is mainly centered in the East (3). In Karelian the 2SG is the primary pattern (4).  
1. West, Ylä-Satakunta, Kankaanpää [There were several reasons to participate the confirmation class]

*Ni että ripi-llet täyty pääs-tä, ennen ko*  
 so that confirmation-ALL **must.PST.3SG** **get-INF1** before than  
**pääs-i tonnen noin, tanssipaiikko-on-kaa.**

**GET-PST.3SG** over.there well dance.place-ILL-CLI

'one had to take the confirmation class before one could attend the dances'

2. West, Tornio, Ylitornio [An informant is telling about the bird hunting]

*jos si mene-t varastha-an toise-lta linnu-n ninkyllä si-ll*  
 if you go-2SG **steel.INF3-ILL** other-ELA bird-GEN so really it-ADE

*o oma-t ansa-t tyhjä-nä*  
 be.3SG own-PL SNARE-PL EMPTY-ESS

'if you go and steal a bird from somebody else's snare then your own ones shall be empty ever since'

3. East, Border Karelia, Korpiselkä [An informant advices how to make the Karelian pasties]

*uun'i-s kui pie-t puuro-n se\_ol eri magii*  
 oven-INE when **keep-2SG** porridge-GEN it be.PST.3SG pretty sweet

*tulo-o*

become-3SG

'when you make the porridge in the oven, it becomes rather tasty'

4. South Karelian, Tver, Puasinkoi [In the winter, it was pleasant to spend time on the top of the stove]

*mata-šta tul-duo kiugua-lla nouže-t, talve-lla*  
 walk-ELA come-INF/TEMP stove-ALL **climb-2SG** winter-ADE

*l'ämbietšel' l'ü-t, šel'gi-ä l'ittšua-t, ši-d'ä šolaha-t ildaze-lla.*

**warm.up-2SG** back-PAR **press-2SG** it-PAR **come.down-2SG** supper-ALL

'after you come home and climb to the top of the stove, warm yourself up and press your back to the stove, only then you come down for supper'

The 3SG construction (1) contains 3rd person predicate without an overt subject argument. In 2SG, instead, the pronominal person marker may be either expressed (2) or unexpressed (3, 4). There is, however, a clear areal distribution in the preferred patterns.

The paper based on empirical data gathered from dialect interviews and published language samples suggests that the distribution of 2SG and 3SG constructions may be explained not merely by the syntax but also their discourse functions and the speech event itself where the impersonal constructions occur.

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## Abbreviations

ADE Adessive  
 ALL Allative

CLI Clitic  
 ELA Elative  
 ESS Essive  
 ILL Illative  
 INE Inessive  
 INF1 TA-infinitive  
 INF3 MA-infinitive  
 INF/TEMP T A-infinitive  
 PAR Partitive  
 PL Plural  
 PST Past tense

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### Establishing anaphoric dependencies and the puzzle of split antecedents

**Overview:** According to Chomsky (1981) anaphors must be bound in their local domain and pronominals must be free. The discovery of “long-distance anaphors” (e.g. Thrainsson 1976, Giorgi 1984), which violate the locality condition, induced the search for independent criteria. Giorgi (1984: 310) proposed a widely adopted criterion: “pronouns can have split antecedents and anaphors cannot”. An antecedent is split if it consists of (at least) two DPs which occupy separate argument positions. Recent minimalist binding theories derive this property of anaphors from the way a dependency on the antecedent is established – via Agree (Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd 2011), movement (Hornstein 2001) or SELF-movement and Agree-based chains (Reuland 2011). However, this leads to an important problem, since some languages have elements that i) may be locally bound; and ii) allow split antecedents (e.g. Japanese and Korean, Katada 1991, Kasai 2000). To resolve this problem, it is crucial to carry out in-depth studies of languages with such elements – I call them semi-reflexives – and assess which factors are involved. In my talk I review data from one such language, namely Meadow Mari (Uralic).

**Language data:** Meadow Mari employs two nominal reflexive strategies: a complex reflexive *škenžəm ške* and a semi-reflexive *škenže*. The latter consists of a nominal stem *šken-* (derived from a word ‘soul, spirit’) and a possessive suffix, a bound morpheme expressing the number and person of the antecedent. *Škenže* must be bound within the first finite clause and allows split antecedents (1).

- (1) Pet’a<sub>i</sub> Jəvan-lan<sub>j</sub> šken-əšt-əm<sub>i+j</sub> onč’-əkt-en.  
 Peter Ivan-DAT self-P.3PL-ACC see-TR-PRT  
*Peter showed Ivan themselves (on a photo).*

*Škenže* has a structure of a possessive NP, note the similarity between (2) and

- (3). In Meadow Mari possessive suffixes behave as a possessive pronominals (3).  
 (2) Kažne<sub>i</sub> šken-ž-əm<sub>i</sub> jorat-a.  
 everyone self-P.3SG-ACC love-PRS.3SG  
*Everyone loves himself.*

- (3) Kažne<sub>i</sub> joč'a-ž<sub>i/k</sub>-əm jorat-a.  
everyone child-P.3SG-ACC love-PRS.3SG  
*Everyone loves his child.*

**Analysis:** I argue that these facts require a modular approach to binding (see Reuland 2011), and that here the left periphery contains the relevant factor. My account for the Mari semi-reflexive *škenže* is built on its morphosyntactic composition (namely, it contains a possessive suffix, which is pronominal) and the fact that (semi-)reflexives are relational (representing a proxy relation, Reuland & Winter 2009). I propose that this function is grammaticalized. One argument is in the position of the semi-reflexive itself, the other is provided by a functional head in the left periphery, the relevant projection being some Force head F. It is the availability of proxies as values, which enables the possibility to select a contextually available plural containing the value of the subject as a proxy of the latter.

## **Symp. 7. Functional verbs in Uralic – cancelled**

## **Symp. 8 – cancelled**

## **Symp. 9. Computational Uralistics**

**Organizer:** Antti Leino (University of Tampere)

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### **A multimedia lexicographic resource for the Besermyan dialect of the Udmurt language**

Digital representation of data, e. g. in the form of electronic databases or XML, is an inalienable part of modern lexicography (Granger, Paquot 2012), enabling the use of search and filter tools, hyperlinks, multimedia content, etc. However, most Uralic languages lack such resources. The aim of our project is development of an online electronic dictionary for the Besermyan dialect of Udmurt. The project started in 2003, and the number of lexical entries has reached 4.5 thousand by now. A pilot offline version of the dictionary was published in 2013.

The Besermyan dialect (Teplyashina 1970, Lyukina 2008) is spoken in the north-western part of Udmurtia, Russia; 2201 ethnic Besermyans were recorded in the 2010 census.

We use the TshwaneLex Lexicography Software as a basic tool to edit and store the lexicographic information. This software allows creating any number of parameters organized hierarchically, adding multimedia content, building a network of hyperlinks between lexical entries, collaborating on the project online, and exporting the database into MS Word and XML. The development of the web interface is in progress now. The interface allows complex search queries. Apart from the dictionary entry, the user will see all occurrences of a word in our corpus of Besermyan texts and a link to the corresponding lexeme in the literary Udmurt corpus.

The following fields are available for every lexical entry:

1. Phonetic transcription and a sound file.
2. Grammar: part of speech, oblique stems, conjugation, defective paradigms, etc.
3. Semantics: translation, usage examples, and, if necessary, comments; hyperlinks to the lexical entries that belong to the same semantic paradigm

(synonyms, hypernyms, hyponyms, etc.); illustrations (for some types of lexical entries denoting physical objects, i.e. national clothes, dishes, plants, etc.)

4. Syntax: argument marking patterns for verbs and postpositions (including the restrictions on animacy of the arguments).

5. Derivation: hyperlinks to the derived and source lexical entries, as well as compounds.

6. Phraseology with examples.

As a theoretical framework of our project, we employ the methods of semantic fields and semantic series developed in the works of the Moscow semantic school (Apresyan 2009), and the corpus approach to lexicography (Facchinetti 2007; Hanks 2009).

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## Endangered literatures and computational Uralistics

With the rise of Digital Humanities, literary scholars arrived to the point when studying the creative possibilities of FU literatures in the digital age became crucial. In some languages the medium of E-books is getting more and more popular; literary databases have been established; webcomics, interactive fiction, flash poetry etc. are being composed, distributed, and consumed electronically, however most of the Uralic literary fields face existential challenges. How fundamental is the digital turn towards cutting back on literary diversity? How does the endangerment of many languages affect the function of literature, and how can documentary linguistics and computational criticism contribute to the well being of literary diversity?

This lecture explores the shift from oral to print and/ or to digital documentation of literature, as well as the consequences of this transition in the Uralic literary field. Beside defining the term „endangered literature” and contemplate on its relationship to computational Uralistics, we will look to the manifestation of poetic functions in multi-media corpora of endangered languages and address the question on how to filter relevant literary data from larger corpora.

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## **The role of extralinguistic variables in formation of Finnish dialects**

Linguistic variation seen among languages stems from within-language variation analogously to genetic variation seen among species originates from within-species variation. Through the recent advances in the quantitative methodology biological methods have increasingly gained ground in the study of language evolution during the last decade. However, studies on linguistic variation using evolutionary methods have until now concentrated mainly on the diversification of languages while the source of variation that can lead to language divergence, i.e. dialectal variation, and variables associated with dialectal structure has thus far not been a topic of interest.

Language internal variation is rarely random and usually geographically structured. In biology the spatial pattern of genetic variation is often affected by isolation by distance and isolation by environment (e.g. Sexton et al. 2013) and also in linguistics the importance of isolation by distance has been quantitatively determined (e.g. Nerbonne 2010). However, it has remained unstudied whether other extralinguistic variables, such as environmental and cultural features and administrative borders, play a role in dialect formation.

We studied the relative contributions of these variables in explaining the spatial pattern of dialectal variation. We used Finnish dialect data from 1920s (Kettunen 1940a), geographical distance data, ca. 100 years old data from several environmental and cultural variables and data of administrative borders within Finland during the last 800 years collected from 471 municipalities across the area of Finland. The analysis was done in two levels: between each pair of municipalities and between each pair of dialect areas. For the second analysis the dialect areas were determined with a model-based clustering method implemented in population genetic Structure software.

We found that all these variable groups contributed to the spatial arrangement of linguistic variation but that the relative importance varied depending on the scale studied: geographical distance played the most important role over short distances but when moving out from the range of the strongest spatial autocorrelation cultural and environmental differences were the most important ones. Additionally, administrative borders played a role mostly together with geographical distance. Thus, in addition to geographical distance, we show the quantitative contribution of administrative borders, environmental and cultural differences in shaping patterns of linguistic variation, that is, acting in the very first stages of language diversification.

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### **Modern information technologies in higher education**

Universities of Udmurt Republic are an essential resource for promoting the region into the information society. The total number of students is about 40 per year of Udmurtia thous. man. Leading University is the Udmurt State University, which was established in 1972, on the basis of the Udmurt Institute.

Prerequisites for informatization and computerization became to take shape here since the mid-1980 's, when introduced in the curricula of courses of computer science, the first computer (domestic production). Since 1987, the University trains specialists in information technology and programme analysis, developed on the basis of the best Russian and European tradition of fundamental mathematical education, demands practice and a software-oriented approach. The massive participation of students and teachers to computer learning technologies qualitatively changed the information and educational space of the University by accelerating processes of learning and development professionals. Technology Multimedia, virtual reality, interactive stereoscopic playback is particularly effective in the multicultural development of the region, where two official languages-Udmurt and Russian.

Given the important role of information technology in the modern world and their positive over twenty years of experience in university education, the Rector's Office of the Udmurt University initiated the creation of a separate Department of information technology and computer science (2006). Recently a University Institute of information technology.

Of particular note is the introduction of automated systems in library technology that has allowed not only to automate the accounting library, but also introduce electronic catalogue. Scientific Library of the Udmurt University (2014)-one of the largest libraries of Udmurtia, a highly organized system, equipped with the necessary equipment. The library is the regional methodical Centre for libraries of higher and secondary special educational institutions of the Udmurt Republic, a member of the corporate merger "an interregional analysis library-articles" (MARS), a member of the Association of regional library consortia (RBA), the participant of international conferences FACILITIES, libraries and associations in a changing world "(Crimea), IFLA.

Development of information structure in the Udmurt University is carried out in accordance with the accepted concept of informatization on the 2010-2014 years. Among its main tasks is to provide telecommunications connectivity of all departments of the University, the formation of information culture of students in multi-ethnic space of the Udmurt Republic, is a member of the open space.



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### **UraLex - cognate corpus of Uralic languages**

The main objective of the UraLex project was to compile a corpus of Uralic cognate words, for the most part already collected within a prior research project. A secondary objective was to complement the original lexical dataset with a corpus of structural features. This would enable researchers to easily explore structural as well as lexical characteristics in their studies of the relatedness of these languages.

Further, one of the fundamental design considerations was to create a crowdsourcing environment where language specialists can update the corpora with their expertise and state-of-the art knowledge. A similar approach had been used already in IELex, a cognate corpus of Indo-European languages, and our work was done in close collaboration with the researchers responsible for IELex.

At the moment the corpus contains cognate lists from 30 languages across the Uralic language family, with 230–405 words per language, and a typological data set covering 13 languages of the Finno-Sámi sub-family and 65 structural features. The cognate data set is ready to be published, but the structural data is still being collected.

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### **Linguistic macroevolution**

The history and emergence of certain language families has been studied for more than 200 years in the field of historical linguistics. Now there is a change in paradigm going on as an evolutionary framework has been incorporated into this field during the last decade. This approach is still strongly debated. Our multidisciplinary project participates in this discussion by studying the Uralic language family using a phylogenetic framework. Besides revising the evolutionary emergence of the language family, our study tests empirically the speculated problems in the data and methods such as the applicability of a phylogenetic tree model. Using basic vocabulary meaning lists which are coded into binary form according to the cognacy (cf. homology in biology) of the meanings, we found that our phylogeny of Uralic languages is close to the traditional view and also the results of our timing analyses largely are parallel with earlier suggestions. We compared tree models to networks and found that the basic structure of the language relationships remained as in trees, but the networks included more information especially for recently diverged languages than trees. In addition, we found that external forces such as cultural changes or climate fluctuation – corresponding to biotic and abiotic forces of macroevolution – match the divergence pattern of Uralic languages. In all, this presentation provides an overview to a new research area where evolutionary biology can be used for revising old questions of another discipline in a path-breaking way.



## **Symp. 10. Language technology through citizen science**

**Organizers:** Trond Trosterud (University of Tromsø), Jack Rueter (University of Helsinki) and Jussi-Pekka Hakkarainen (National Library of Finland)

Antonsen, Lene – Gerstenberger, Ciprian – Johnson, Ryan – Olthuis, Marja-Liisa – Trosterud, Trond –Tyers, Francis Morton  
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### **Aanaar Saami e-lexicography**

Our paper presents a set of electronic dictionaries and word lists for Aanaar Saami, a language with a lexicographic tradition rich for a language its size (approximately 450 speakers), but so far without any e-dictionaries. Aanaar Saami is in a revitalisation phase, and in need of L2 dictionaries, especially in need of dictionary where the words can be seen in their authentic contexts. Already two generations have lost the language, and tracing the original contexts will get more and more difficult in the future without proper electronic dictionaries.

We will present a preliminary finite-state transducer for Aanaar Saami, and combine it with different Aanaar Saami dictionaries and word lists:

- \* A large Aanaar Saami - Finnish dictionary
- \* An Aanaar Saami - Finnish biology wordlist
- \* A North Saami - Aanaar Saami transfer lexicon

The North Saami - Aanaar Saami transfer lexicon was produced by combining two dictionaries (North Saami - Finnish and Aanaar Saami - Finnish) and pivoting via Finnish.

For each of the dictionaries / word lists, we will show what degree of coverage the combination of dictionary and transducer will give on relevant text types, including school textbooks, children's fiction, biblical and other religious texts, writings on language and blog/Facebook-type prose.

We will run the coverage tests both on analysers representing the standard language, and on analysers including a component tolerating a certain amount of orthographic variation. We will also include a log over actual dictionary usage.

The resulting e-dictionaries will provide improved tools for language learners, as well as acting as facilities for lexicon research and practical lexicography, via the usage log. The work will also lead to a lexicographical foundation for machine translation programs for Aanaar Saami, and it will constitute a basic for further language revitalisation work, especially for the written form of the language.

The work is relevant for other Uralic languages to the extent that it shows the result of combining dictionaries and transducers via a language-independent infrastructure.

## **Language technology support for Finno-Ugric digital communities**

In his survey on language death, Kornai (2013) states that language has become “a function that is performed digitally” and that “a language is digitally viable only to the extent it produces new, publicly available digital material”. Language death implies loss of function, entailing the loss of prestige, and ultimately the loss of competence.

In this context, language technology aspires to become an enabler technology that helps people collaborate, conduct business, share knowledge and participate in social debate regardless of language barriers and computer skills (cf. Simon et al. 2012). However, cutting-edge technologies are typically available only for widely-spoken languages, the so called “comfort-zone languages” (COMF) (cf. Kornai 2013).

In our presentation we introduce an ongoing project whose objective is to provide linguistically based support for several small Finno-Ugric digital communities in generating online content and help revitalize the digital functions of endangered Finno-Ugric languages. The project is based on comparable corpora collected from the web as well as during fieldwork. We generate proto-dictionaries for several Finno-Ugric language pairs and deploy the enriched lexical material on the web in the framework of the collaborative dictionary project Wiktionary.

We collected text material for the following Finno-Ugric (FU) languages: Komi-Zyrian, Komi-Permyak, Udmurt, Meadow and Hill Mari and Northern Sami, as well as for COMF languages that are of interest to the FU community: English, Russian, Finnish and Hungarian. We parallelize all FU Wikipedia entries with all COMF languages, thus we have 24 comparable corpora each containing over one hundred thousand tokens.

The corpora will be linguistically pre-processed, since lemmatized version of each token is needed for generating dictionaries. Since there are no existing tokenizer and sentence splitter for these small FU languages, we experiment with unsupervised methods.

As far as we know, morphological analyzers for Meadow Mari and Komi-Permyak do not exist. The lack of language resources poses more problems on this processing level: even supervised machine learning techniques cannot be used, since morphologically annotated texts for training and testing are not available. One solution can be the mapping of POS tags from an annotated text in a closely related language. We expect that morphological tags in Komi-Zyrian can be transferred to the Komi-Permyak version of the same text.

We are experimenting with several methods for generating bilingual dictionaries containing hundreds of translation candidates for all language pairs. Dictionary entries will be automatically enriched with linguistic information (POS, inflection paradigms), etymological information, lexico-semantic information (synonyms, antonyms, etc.), and translation equivalents across languages. The automatically generated lexical entries will be manually corrected by native speakers then uploaded to Wiktionary.

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## A corpus-based analysis of syntactic structures: Postpositional constructions in Mari

This paper will aim to illustrate the potential of my work group's Meadow Mari morphological analyser (Bradley 2011), when coupled with our recently-published

42,500+-headword-strong Mari-English dictionary (Riese et al. 2014), as a framework for corpus-based research on a 'small' Finno-Ugric language of Russia on a scale unprecedented to date. Special attention will be given to the question of user interface design: how can a tool of this sort be made as accessible as possible to as wide an audience as possible?

As an example, the usage of participial verbal forms in postpositional constructions, a well-documented feature of Mari and many of its neighbours, was chosen. An example using the so-called future participle in *-faʃ*, which frequently marks necessity rather than futurity:

(1 – Meadow Mari – Alhoniemi 1985:140)

‘Me paʃa ʃʃʃaʃ godɤm tynø modɤn koʃʃaʃ ona ul.’

me paʃa ʃʃʃaʃ godɤm tynø modɤn koʃʃaʃ ona ul  
me paʃa ʃʃʃaʃ -faʃ godɤm tynø mod -ɤnkoʃʃ -faʃ ona ul -Ø  
we work do -PTCP-FUT during outside play -CVB go -PTCP-FUT  
we.do.not be -CNG

pr no vb -adpo av vb -adv vb -adj vb vb -conn

‘We’re not allowed to run around and play outside when we should be doing work.’

While the existence of such constructions is plainly evident in existing grammars, the range of applications – which participles can be coupled with which postposition within which semantic constraints – is not detailed any further, or delimited in any way. This is not satisfactory for the learner's grammar of Mari our project team is currently compiling. The paper at hand will describe, based on this example, how we use our application – a demo of which is publicly accessible at [corpus.mari-language.com](http://corpus.mari-language.com) – to easily garner information on grammatical patterns (Davidse 2014) from a large text collection, in order to create a better description of the language at hand than currently available.

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Riese, Timothy; Bradley, Jeremy; Guseva, Elina 2014: *Mari-English Dictionary*, Vienna, Austria [dict.mari-language.com]

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### **On developing a sandbox for open transducer technology**

When introducing a new technology, especially one that is open-source, new ways must be found to make the public aware. The Helsinki Finite-State Transducer (HFST) being robustly used at Giellatekno-Divvun (GT-D) in Tromsø is an example of such technology. Bringing HFST and its usability into common knowledge and practice has already played a part in GT-D policy, where they have collaborated with a Saami-language newspaper, and produced a spellchecker.

In this paper we will describe yet another step in making transducer technology public and available. We are introducing it for open instruction as a sandbox, which would be available in education, for example.

In schools where information & communication technology (ICT) is taught, there are often teaching habits and even restrictions that curtail the use of specific programs. If there is a teacher who chooses to find a new path, he may still run into administrative difficulties in installing the required software. Hence the introduction of new and open technologies must be forwarded on a platform open to everyone, such as a server on the internet.

Our aim is to make a transducer sandbox available as a web application for anyone using one of the most common web browsers of today. This will mean that ICT instruction will be able to utilize elementary functions of a transducer directly from classroom computers through a webpage.

In the development we are experimenting with node technology, which should allow the construction of a single-page application. This application featuring a text area and buttons will allow the user to enter lexicon content for producing a transducer, and subsequently use the transducer online.

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### **Nichesourcing for the benefit of linguistic research and native-speakers**

The National Library of Finland is implementing the Digitization Project of Kindred Languages in 2012–16. Within the project we will digitize materials in the Uralic languages as well as develop tools to support linguistic research and citizen science. Through this project, researchers will gain access to new corpora

and to which all users will have open access regardless of their place of residence. Our objective is to make sure that the new corpora are made available for the open and interactive use of both the academic community and the language societies as a whole.

The project seeks to digitize and publish approximately 1200 monograph titles and more than 100 newspapers titles in various Uralic languages. The digitization will be completed by the early of 2015, when the Fenno-Ugrica collection would contain around 200 000 pages of editable text. The researchers cannot spend so much time with the material that they could retrieve a satisfactory amount of edited words, so the participation of a crowd in editing work is needed.

Often the targets in crowdsourcing have been split into several microtasks that do not require any special skills from the anonymous people, a faceless crowd. This way of crowdsourcing may produce quantitative results, but from the research's point of view, there is a danger that the needs of linguistic research are not necessarily met. Also, the number of pages is too high to deal with. The remarkable downside is the lack of shared goal or social affinity. There is no reward in traditional methods of crowdsourcing.

Nichesourcing is a specific type of crowdsourcing where tasks are distributed amongst a small crowd of citizen scientists (communities). Although communities provide smaller pools to draw resources, their specific richness in skill is suited for the complex tasks with high-quality product expectations found in nichesourcing. Communities have purpose, identity and their regular interactions engenders social trust and reputation. These communities can correspond to research more precisely. Instead of repetitive and rather trivial tasks, we are trying to utilize the knowledge and skills of citizen scientists to provide qualitative results.

Some selection must be made, since we are not aiming to correct all 200,000 pages which we have digitized, but give such assignments to citizen scientists that would precisely fill the gaps in linguistic research. A typical task would editing and collecting the words in such fields of vocabularies, where the researchers do require more information. For instance, there's a lack of Hill Mari words in anatomy. We have digitized the books in medicine and we could try to track the words related to human organs by assigning the citizen scientists to edit and collect words with OCR editor.

From the nichesourcing's perspective, it is essential that the altruism plays a central role, when the language communities involve. Upon the nichesourcing, our goal is to reach a certain level of interplay, where the language communities would benefit on the results. For instance, the corrected words in Ingrian will be added onto the online dictionary, which is made freely available for the public and the society can benefit too. This objective of interplay can be understood as an aspiration to support the endangered languages and the maintenance of lingual diversity, but also as a servant of "two masters", the research and the society.

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### **The Finno-Ugric languages and the Internet**

We will present a Kone Foundation funded project called "The Finno-Ugric Languages and The Internet", which is part of the Kone Foundation Language Programme 2012-2016. The project started at the beginning of year 2013 and its aim is to build an automated system that searches the Internet for text written in small Uralic languages. During the project, the Internet will be crawled to find sites that have been written in small (Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian sites are not collected) Uralic languages. For this purpose, a prototype of an automated system is built to maintain a list of links to the discovered sites. From this list, it is possible to build web portals, through which the sites written in distinct languages can be reached more easily. In order to harvest Uralic sites, Heritrix, an open source web crawler created by the Internet Archive, is modified and used. For identifying the sites written in Uralic languages, we will use a language identifier, which is currently trained with over 350 languages including 34 Uralic languages. The automated system will create sentence, clause and word corpora for each small Uralic language found. The polishing and the verification of the corpora can be partly automated by existing methods of language technology. Part of the work of the research project is also to produce statistics about the distribution of Uralic languages in the Internet. The results collected during the phase of development may not be consistent, but eventually, when the system is operating, we can trail changes in the number of Uralic sites, for example, over years.

So far we have made test crawls within the national domains of Finland, Sweden, Norway, Estonia and Russia. After automatically identifying the language of over a thousand million files we still have nearly 200 000, which are supposedly written in one of the smaller Uralic languages. However, many of these pages still do not contain the identified language and crowdsourcing will be needed to do the final polish.

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### **Language learner feedback for error-fst development in the GT-D infrastructure**

The infrastructure for error suggestion is currently implemented and under revision for North Saami, within the North Saami Oahpa project. It is currently a part of Oahpa, and functions as an API so that outside services may request error feedback using JavaScript, Python, or practically any language. The idea behind this is to ensure that it is modular, and may be implemented in other systems with little work.

Within Oahpa we use the error suggestion API to return more granular feedback, as well as link users to relevant articles of our North Saami grammar. The client side of this error suggestion within Oahpa is implemented in



JavaScript, using Angular.js. The goal behind Angular.js, is to make the client as easy to install in other services as possible, through the inclusion of a JavaScript file and some simple modifications to the HTML produced. Angular.js in this regard requires the least 'interference' in existing systems to implement.

The backend of the API also uses existing tools: the morphological data is checked using an FST, with some modifications to produce error tags in certain instances. Error messages that will be shown to users are stored in XML, with attributes marking which error tags and the users' intended morphological tasks that the messages are related to. This allows North Saami course maintainers to target for example, constraint grammar errors produced when the user is intended to work on genitive and accusative formation; or diphthong simplification errors when users are working on illative. This solution requires no relational database, and the tools are updated simply by editing the files and updating the morphological analysers.

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### **The national school in the Republic of Karelia and in the Republic of Komi**

The report will be the comparative characteristic of the national schools in the Republic of Karelia and in the Republic of Komi nowadays.

The Republic of Karelia and the Republic of Komi are subjects of the Russian Federation. Finno-Ugric peoples living in these republics.

Culture, being a multilevel system, with no national culture will become uniform. Karelians, Vepsians, Finns of the Republic of Karelia and Komi of the Republic of Komi along with other Finno-Ugric ethnicities have contributed their mite both to the material and spiritual culture of the world. Assimilation is characteristic for each of the Komi and Karelia. Thus the problem of preserving national languages and support of the national school both on federal and republican level seems to be urgent.

National school must comprise three interrelated components: ethnocultural component, intercultural component, multicultural component. One of the functioning and development principles of the national school is cultural pluralism. In this context cultural pluralism is understood as strengthening and improving the Finno-Ugric secondary and high school as the means of preserving and developing the language and culture of Karelians, Komi, Vepsians and Finns, fostering reciprocal respect for the culture, history and language of other ethnicities, moulding the consciousness of all-Russian unity.

Veppsian, finish and karelian languages are taught in the schools of national municipalities, special schools and at the Petrozavodsk State University. But the Faculty of Baltic Finnish philology and culture of the Petrozavodsk State University, which functioned during twenty years, was closed in 2013. In my opinion, the main condition for the development of national schools should be government-guarantees full use of the native language in all spheres of public life. They provide a special legal status of the native language, promote national and cultural development in a multinational and multicultural republics. For example

the Law "On the state languages of the Republic of Komi" not working fully, though Komi language since 1992 year is the official language. The ethnic identity of Karelians, Komi, Vepsians, Finns has grown remarkably. It is furthered by: the competitions of experts on their native language, which have become a tradition, literary contests, republican radio- and television broadcasts in national languages, the activity of chorus, dance and folklore groups with the Finno-Ugric component.

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### **Omorfi – A free and open source lexical database for computational linguistics of Finnish through combination of expert and crowd-sourced data**

This article describes a freely available open source resource for Finnish language. The lexical database consists of all sorts of lexicographical information usable for large variety of computational linguistics and general applications requiring processing of Finnish word-forms in context. The database is an enabling resource for large variety of computational and linguistic research. The data in the database is sourced from different resources representing full range of professional to layman lexicography, most importantly, we have work of research institute of languages in Finland in form of Nykysuomen sanalista, data from various researchers, data from open source project by language enthusiast engineers from Joukahainen project, and finally data from the massively crowd-sourced Wiktionary project. We present the baseline researcher applications such as morphological analysis, as well as end-user facing tools such as spelling-checkers. With these applications we can perform intrinsic and extrinsic evaluation of the data quality.

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### **Multilingual terminology work and lexicography on virtual open source collaboration platforms**

In this presentation we will introduce possibilities offered by virtual wiki platforms for terminology and lexicography work. We will introduce two relevant projects, the Bank of Finnish Terms in Arts and Sciences (BFT) and the lexicographical wiki platform sanat.csc.fi.

Bank of Finnish Terminology in Arts and Sciences (BFT, tietetermipankki.fi) is a database of Finnish scholarly and scientific terminology for all academic disciplines practised in Finland. The project is funded by Academy of Finland in years 2011–2015 and situated at the University of Helsinki, department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies. The BFT is based on limited crowdsourcing using wiki software, and it consists of a multilingual extensive terminology freely available to all researchers. Because the BFT is a national project, it naturally is fulfilling the requirements of development of scholarly terminology in national languages. In future, however, it could be useful to open the interface and contents in English and, for example, in kindred languages of Finnish as well. Various options for widening our wiki platform to related minority languages are the first and major part of our presentation. It is already possible to insert related-language equivalents of Finnish terms, and thus BFT already has some terms, for example, in Hungarian, Estonian, Northern Saami, Skolt Saami and Inari Saami.

Sanat.csc.fi is an open lexicographical wiki platform based on the structure of the BFT but designed for lexicography instead of terminology work. At the moment it is being tested on a Lüdish lexicographical project, building a three language dictionary (Lüdish-Finnish-Russian) for basic education purposes. The platform is hosted by CSC in Finland, but the dictionary editors work in the Autonomous State of Karelia in Russia.

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### **Possible stem correlation between cognate verbs in Meadow Mari and Erzya**

The Finnish traditions of Mari and Mordvin linguistics diverge from one another in more than one point. The purpose of this brief sketch is to illustrate a morphological correlation between the Meadow Mari conjugations and verb stem types found in the Erzya language. This will be extended to include the Hill Mari and Moksha languages, as well.

Traditionally, the two conjugations "em" and "am" in the Meadow Mari language appear to have been connected to the dichotomy transitive versus intransitive, (cf. Ravila FUF XXV). Toward the end of his article Ravila speaks also of a correlation between vowel quality in Finnish and Saami with regard to

Mari, but he does not seem to notice the correlation between the Mari and Mordvin languages.

There are two verb types in Meadow and Hill Mari. In work with finite-state description of the two Maris, it has become ingrained that the "-em" conjugation type indicates a vowel-final stem, and that the "-am" stem type indicates a consonant-final stem. Work with Erzya and Moksha has also brought out a concept of vowel-final and consonant-final verb types. In modern dictionaries, this is indicated in the Erzya-Russian dictionary of 1993 and the Moksha-Russian dictionary of 1997 with a vertical line immediately following or preceding the final vowel in the verbal stems. Hence “вид|емс” ‘to sow’ and “пиде|мс” ‘to cook’ have distinct stem types. One might wonder whether there is a correlation between stem-final vowel and stem-final consonant as attested in these geographically close languages.

It has been noted that a large majority of cognate verbs from the Mari and Mordvin languages correlate for stem-final vowel versus consonant alignment. In the ongoing research three categories have been established: (1) correlation between Mari "em" and Erzya "vowel-stem" versus "am" and "consonant-stem"; (2) dichotomy in Meadow Mari with a transitive Erzya verb correlating to the Mari intransitive, and (3) evidence contrary to correlation hypothesis.

(1)

Meadow Mari	Erzya
вуч аш: вучем	учо мс 'wait'
вўд аш: вўдем	ветя мс 'lead'
кол аш: колем	куло мс 'die'
керт аш: кертам	кирд емс 'hold'
кушк аш: кушкам	кас омс 'grow'
му аш: муам	му емс 'find'

(2) Problematic Verbs: transitive Erzya verb correlating to the Mari intransitive

Meadow Mari	Erzya
код аш: кодем	кад омс 'leave'

(3) Verbs Contrary to Stem Correlation Theory

кошк аш (vi.): кошкем	коськ емс
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### **On the development of open-source morphological analyzers for Uralic minority languages (Kone: 2013-2014)**

This paper describes the development of morphological analyzers with Finnish glossing as set forth in a Kone Foundation funded project 2013-2014. The funded project produced: morphophonological descriptions, and Finnish-language glossing of approximately 20,000 lemmata for each of the major target languages (Livonian, Olonets Karelian; Moksha; Hill Mari, and Tundra Nenets). Minor languages, such as Ingrian and Veps were provided with lesser morphological descriptions, which made OCR word form generation possible. All languages

including Meadow Mari and Erzya were also provided with regular expression descriptions to be used in other OCR strategies.

In addition to fulfilling the two tasks originally set for the project; extensive regular morphological descriptions and Finnish glossing. There were many other achievements worth mentioning. There are four achievements that directly reflect continued development on the open-source Giellatekno-Divvun (GT-D) infrastructure in Tromsø: Testing materials for finite-state generation and analysis; two-directional morphology-savvy dictionaries; spellchecker betas for Voikko on LibreOffice, and ICALL applications directly modeled after the Northern Saami “Oahpa!”. There was experimentation with word form generation to enable text recognition for the Kindred People's Digitation project at National Library of Finland (two media and seven language forms 1920s and 30s), and other work in OCR.

During the second year of the project work was also done on the development of an OCR utility for morphologically complex languages based on Helsinki Finite-State Transducer Technology (HFST) and the open-source OCR application Tesseract. This language-independent work complemented more extensive work within HFST on the post-processing of OCR-ed Finnish newspaper texts from the 1800s.

The resulting resources form a new departure point for open-source development in the targeted languages. At the time of submission of this abstract many of the languages addressed in our project on GT-D had been included in proposals for further development, especially in the direction of ICALL and spellchecking. The current state of the individual language projects offers an ideal point of departure for rule-based syntax for disambiguation, as well as rule-based translation and text-to-speech projects.

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### **Creating open source language technology for Tundra Nenets – development problems and future prospects**

The paper discusses problems of creating online language tools for Nenets and the outreach. The programs created since 2013 contain an online speller, web dictionary and online language lessons in Oahpa! environment. These programs should be helpful for fluent speakers and half speakers as well. The dialectal variability should be taken into account, since spelling rules of Nenets are not strict and dialectal pronunciation is reflected in written language although lexical differences between dialects are not big.

It will be discussed how language technology could increase ethnolinguistic vitality of Nenets people and how to encourage people to create their own texts in Nenets on Internet.

The currently available corpus of Nenets texts is very small. It contains a few school textbooks and weekly newspaper texts covering 5 years. The aim of collecting all published texts in Tundra Nenets and making them digitally available is possible in near future.



## **Symp. 11. Finno-Ugric languages as target languages**

**Organizers:** Pirkko Muikku-Werner (University of Eastern Finland) and Johanna Laakso (University of Vienna)

Belyaeva, Nadezhda  
Mordovian State Pedagogical Institute of M. E. Evseev

### **Modern functioning of the native language (on the example of the Mordvins-Moksha of the Republics of Mordovia)**

The report is based on the materials of field researches of 2011-2013 within "The cultural dialogue in the multiethnic space" project, providing the analysis of a linguistic and ethnocultural situation in the Mordovian (Moksha) villages.

It turned out that the language has been one of the main factors of an ethnic origin. According to respondents the language acts as the most important sign of ethnicity, which ethnointegrates the feature, ethnoforming factor. 99, 2% of respondents regard the Moksha language as a native and coincides with their national identity. All respondents know the native language and can freely express the meanings, 76% of them read easily, 36% of them can write. The Moksha language keeps the status as a mode of communication in daily, holiday and ceremonial culture, at work, etc.

Specificity of a linguistic situation in several boundary villages are defined as a bilingualism at the dominant position of Russian language. Various factors have impact on functioning of the Moksha language: the language of competence and valuable orientations of a rural community, family, mass media, etc.

One of the most significant means of insertion in the ethnolinguistic field is education. The proclamation of the native languages as the second state language of the Republic of Mordovia was able to give the opportunity for purposeful introduction of the younger generation to the national culture and the native language.

Nowadays at national schools with the similar contingent on the ground of nationality of children of the Mordovian nationality in elementary school are taught on the native (moksha, erzya) language, the Russian language is studied as the subject; from the 5th grade training is transferred to the Russian language, Mordovian (Moksha, Erzya) one are studied as subjects. With the mixed contingent on the ground of nationality of children the training at national schools from first to 11th grade is conducted in Russian, the native (Moksha, Erzya, Tatar) language is studied as a subject.

In recent years the Mordvins began to use the native language more actively not only in family and household life, but also in the public sector. This was supported by the conducting of various measures of the international scale in the republic (e.g. a festival "Shumbrat, Finno-Ugriya!", the celebration of the thousandth anniversary of a unity of the Mordovian nation with the people of the Russian state, a victory of the Mordovian athletes at the Olympic Games, the World Cups, etc.).

Nevertheless it should be noted that modern global processes change gradually the language situation. Mass migrations to the large cities significantly influence on both infrastructural, and the outwardly functional substance of the Mordovian languages.

Csire, Márta  
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### **Hungarian heritage language students in Austrian (language) education**

The Austrian Hungarians form a significant, albeit considerably heterogeneous group. In addition to the autochthonous Hungarian minority in Burgenland there are various migrant groups from Hungary or other Hungarian-speaking areas in modern Austria.

Within the Austrian school system Hungarian is taught as a foreign language, in several schools it is taught to Hungarian-speaking students as an elective subject. In addition, in Vienna the so-called 'Viennese Hungarian School' (maintained by the Central Union of Hungarian Associations and Organizations in Austria) offers weekend instruction to the children of the Viennese Hungarians. This latter school does not form an official part of the Austrian school system.

The only exception to the modes of instructions mentioned above is the Burgenland Bilingual Secondary School where Hungarian is not only a subject taught, but is in addition the language of instruction itself. (This is guaranteed to the Hungarian minority in Burgenland by laws on minorities and school education.)

At the university level, Hungarian Studies as a major is offered at the Finno-Ugrian Subdepartment of the University of Vienna where in addition one can major in teaching Hungarian as a foreign language.

In this presentation with the help of a case-study using the example of students with a Hungarian linguistic background studying at the Finno-Ugrian Subdepartment of the University of Vienna we would like to show with what challenges language teachers are confronted when teaching Hungarian heritage language students in a heterogeneous group. In addition, an answer is sought to the question whether it is possible to harmonize and synchronize the learning goals, learning strategies and linguistic competence of students studying Hungarian as a foreign language and those studying Hungarian as the language of their linguistic background within the framework of integrated instruction.

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### **Genre effects in academic learner Finnish (Tekstilajin vaikutukset edistyneessä oppijansuomessa)**

Usage-based models of language have it that acquisition follows in many ways retractable paths that emerge from the actual language use. Further, idiomatic



contextual behavior can also be seen to emerge in a usage-based manner, i.e., from the respective contexts, which is why also second language acquisition is essentially genre- and context-driven. This can be seen in the structural as well as in the lexical behavior.

The present paper reports a study on the typical contextual similarities and differences of three genres of written academic language. The studied varieties are academic texts written by native users (F1) and by advanced non-native users of Finnish (F2), and the genres are exam essays, thesis manuscripts, and course essays. The research questions are following: 1) What are the most consistent differences between different genres of advanced F2? 2) Are the detected, genre-related differences similar in F1 and F2? 3) What is the relationship between the inter-genre differences and F1 vs. F2 differences?

The data of the study is part of the Corpus of Advanced Learner Finnish (LAS2), and it contains both F2 and F1 texts of the aforementioned genres. The data contains both structural and extensive linguistic annotation. The applied method is key-structure analysis, by means of which I detect such linguistic features – words, parts-of-speech, morphological forms, and syntactic functions – that, in terms of their frequencies of occurrence, show the most extensive differences between the analyzed genres and between the F1 and F2 data. I will then go on to analyze the detected differences in terms of their typical use to reveal the potential underlying constructional or phraseological nature of the differences.

The results will widen the picture of the possible genre-specific factors in learner language by providing a Finno-Ugric point-of-view. Analyzing typical genre-related linguistic behavior also makes it possible to shed light on the typicalities that may either help or mislead user of another Finno-Ugric language in contextually conventional language use.

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**Interactional pragmatics and phraseology in learner language: the case of intensifiers in written data  
(Fräseologia ja pragmaattiset keinot oppijankielessä: astemääritteet kirjoitetun kielen korpuksissa)**

The present study investigates how FFL (Finnish as a foreign language) and FSL (Finnish as a second language) learners from different mother tongue backgrounds use pragmatic elements, such as amplifiers (*hyvin, todella*) and downtoners (*melko, aika*). The tendency to overuse, underuse and misuse adjectival intensification among language learners is observed in several studies (e.g. Granger 1998; Lorenz 1998; Jantunen 2009): they are used in places where they are communicatively unnecessary, or syntactically or phraseologically undesirable. There is, however, a lack of research that takes into account the learning context, that is, learning a language as a foreign or second language. Furthermore, the differences between proficiency levels and how L2 development affects the lexical choices and phraseology of intensifiers are not touched in previous research.

To bridge these gaps, the present study makes use of two corpus data, the International Corpus of Learner Finnish (foreign language data) and the Finnish National Foreign Language Certificate Corpus (second language data). Both data are annotated and lemmatized using Connexor functional dependency grammar parser and rated at least by two testing experts according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. The data is analyzed using WordSmith Tools focusing especially on frequency, accuracy and distribution, which are core components of the DEMfad model (see Martin et al. 2010).

The survey produces both statistical and qualitative information on the use of intensifiers in learner data. It is hypothesized that the use of intensifiers deviates from the one in native language and that foreign and second language data differ each other both in frequencies of intensifiers and phraseologically.

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## **Actual and perceived similarity of Estonian and Finnish nominal inflection**

The construct of similarity has been defined or described in many ways within the domains of contrastive linguistics, typology, second language acquisition, language contact, translation, grammaticalisation, and historical linguistics. Quite often, however, this common area between languages is underspecified in research.

The similarity can be divided into **actual** or objective (as defined in contrastive linguistics), **perceived** (in reception), or **assumed** (in production). Actual similarity refers to the cross-linguistic similarity of language systems, and is symmetrical across languages, applying equally from language A to language B and vice versa. This type of similarity has also been called *typological proximity*, *language distance* or *surface similarity*. Actual and perceived/assumed similarities can hypothetically be fully congruous if the language user or learner accurately perceives the actual similarities between two languages, but this appears to be relatively rare. The degree of actual similarity can be based on typological research while the fuzzy concepts of *perceived and assumed similarity* called also *subjective similarity* or *psychotypology* belong to the field of psycholinguistics and involve much more individual, user-related variability. Perceived and assumed similarities, as well as the related concept of intelligibility, are not necessarily symmetrical. (Ringbom 2007)

This paper aims to shed light on the relationships between actual and perceived similarity of Estonian and Finnish inflectional morphology by comparing the actual similarity in terms of the Levenshtein Distance with the results on similarity perceptions. A test of 48 word pairs was constructed to contain different levels of actual similarity between the languages. 43 Estonian and 43 Finnish L1 speakers, as well as 39 Estonian-Russian and 39 Finland-Swedish participants with Estonian or Finnish as their second language respectively, were asked to rate each pair of words as similar, somewhat similar, or not similar. None had previous exposure to the target (Finnish or Estonian). To explore the symmetry between the choices of the participant groups, each "quite similar" answer was given two points and "somewhat similar" one point to create an index of perceived similarity. The "similarity lists" of the groups were then correlated. The participants were also asked to write reasons for their choices.

The results, i.e. the relationships between the Levenshtein distances and the perception data, will be discussed in the light of the comments provided by the participants, which show much interindividual variety and partly verify, partly contradict the statistical results.

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### **On the word order of the existential sentences in written L2-Finnish**

As is known, Finnish word order is syntactically relatively free, but in the words of Vilkuna (1989:9) "discourse-conditioned". The linguistic competency of Finnish native speakers includes the knowledge of which word order is neutral (unmarked) and what interpretation would be caused using another, rarer (marked) word order in a specific context. The acquisition of marked word orders restricted in usage could be a feature which differentiates the most advanced learners of Finnish from others.

For existential sentences the most typical word order is that in which the theme position of the sentence is occupied by a local or possessive adverbial and the so-called e-subject is post-verbal (cf. Hakulinen et al. 2004: 850–852). This word order is also the unmarked one in existential sentences (Vilkuna 1989: 149). In the existential sentences written by language learners and examined by myself this unmarked word order is clearly the most common. With increasing writing skills the word order begins, however, to vary more and more and in particular the more advanced Finnish learners also use other word orders in their e-sentences than the prototypical one.

In this presentation I analyze the contexts in which Finnish learners utilize other word orders in their e-sentences than the neutral, unmarked one. As examples I use existential sentences written by Finnish learners. The sentences were gleaned from the so-called Cefling corpus (cf. Martin et al. 2010) whose texts were judged as being of levels A1-C2 with regard to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. In my previous research (Kajander 2013) I analyzed such sentences detached from context and found several linguistic features which were particularly typical in the texts of the A and B levels. One of the possible indicators of more advanced skill levels could be the word order in e-sentences, but here, however, the sentences should be examined in a broader context.

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### **Use of existential and possessive constructions by English-speaking learners of Finnish as a foreign language**

The present study focuses on the use of existential and possessive constructions in texts written by native English-speaking adult learners of Finnish as a foreign language. The data consists of 93 texts written over a two-year period by 43 students of Finnish at five universities in the United States and Canada. The texts range from short paragraphs written by beginner students to essays by students in advanced courses. For the most part, the informants in this study have been exposed to Finnish almost exclusively in a formal classroom setting outside of a Finnish-speaking environment.

The framework used in the analysis is based on construction grammar. The existential and possessive constructions in the data (410 in total) have been identified and grouped based on grammatical features such as agreement, number and the use of certain adverbials. I have then attempted to formalize the groupings into attribute-value matrices and to pinpoint the features in which the structures produced differ from those of standard written Finnish.

Construction grammar places importance on the study of unusual or atypical structures in a language. The existential and possessive constructions explored in this study demonstrate exceptional features in both English and Finnish and are at the same time an area in which the languages differ greatly from one another. Possessives have been included in the analysis because they are a subcategory of existential constructions in Finnish, whereas this function is coded in English through a transitive *habeo* construction. The function of presenting objects and people in one's environment is also extremely salient for adult language learners in their attempts to describe the familiar world around them using material available in the new target language.

The study thus far demonstrates certain findings about the conceptualization of Finnish existential constructions by English-speaking learners. In particular, the differing features of the subject and the use of agreement in the two languages is apparent, and word order constraints of English can be seen in the Finnish produced. The topics of the texts produced by students at the earliest stages of learning – one's home, family and immediate environment – require the use of existential and possessive constructions before the students have become familiar with their particularities. At later stages, their use becomes less frequent, but the increased complexity of the ideas being expressed can also lead to challenges in producing the structures. As the study makes use of construction grammar theory, it also functions as an experiment testing the suitability of the construction grammar framework for the analysis of adult foreign language learning in a formal classroom setting.

## **Lexicogrammatical profile of Estonian core verbs in learner language at B1 and B2 levels**

In Estonia as in the whole European Union the CEFR is used as the basis for determining second language proficiency. In the CEFR the language levels are described in the "can do" style and these detailed descriptions can be applied to all languages. However, there is a need for more language specific information about vocabulary, phrases and constructions which are important to communicate successfully on particular levels of the language proficiency.

In my research I examine the lexicogrammatical profile of B1 and B2 writing performances in Estonian as a second language, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The study is carried out on a sub-corpora of Estonian Interlanguage Corpus which comprises of Estonian state examination papers on B1 and B2 levels.

The main research questions in my study are the following.

1. Which lexicogrammatical constructions are most typical in the writing performance of B1 and B2 level Estonian learners?
2. How does language proficiency (complexity and accuracy) change from B1 to B2 level in the data?
3. How does the process and characteristic features of developing second language skills from B1 to B2 level differ between Estonian and other languages (like Finnish – as described in projects Cefling-Topling – and other languages in the SLATE Network)?

Theoretically my research relies on three dimensions of language proficiency: complexity, accuracy and fluency (Housen et al 2012). In addition I use the DEMfad model's concepts (Martin et al 2006): domain, emergence, mastery, frequency, accuracy, distribution. In my research I am using the corpus-driven approach and the software suite Simple Concordancer.

In my paper I will present and discuss lexicogrammatical profile of core verbs (tegema 'do, make', tulema 'come', minema 'go', käima 'go, walk', saama 'get, receive', võtma 'take', andma 'give', panema 'put'). I will talk about lexicogrammatical constructions in which these verbs occurs and compare distribution of the constructions between B1 and B2 levels.

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### **Analysing longitudinal development of interactional competence: methodological considerations**

This conversation analytical paper sets out to analyse the longitudinal development of the interactional competence of two immigrant students learning Finnish as a second language (F2). These two students are attending the Finnish comprehensive school and their participation in classroom interaction is followed through two school years (August 2013 – May 2015). By identifying and analyzing the language learning trajectories of these students the paper aims at bringing new perspectives on the methodology of conducting longitudinal research on language development.

The lack of longitudinal studies covering a longer time period than just few months has been a major gap in research on Finnish as a second language (F2) (see Martin 2007; Suni 2012). Also in SLA-research analyzing language learning in interaction, longitudinal analyses based on authentic interactional data are scarce. The few existing longitudinal studies have, however, drawn our attention to the challenges in analyzing such data. First, it is not always clear what the units of analysis should be in order to be able to document the changes in interactional competence across time (see Pekarek-Doehler 2010). Second, it has proven challenging to differentiate the changes in interactional behavior that are caused by learning from those that are caused by changes taking place in the interactional contexts (see Hellerman 2011). The central analytic challenge is thus to identify the changes connected to learning.

The data for this paper is collected ethnographically during two years with a group of young adult immigrants who have arrived to Finland in the final years of the Finnish compulsory education at the ages of 15–17. These immigrants belong to one of the focus groups of the Finnish government's integration programme for the years 2012–2015. They face the difficult task of having to learn Finnish as quickly as possible to be able to follow the language of the instruction in the Finnish school system and to qualify for upper secondary or vocational studies. The data base consists of videotaped classrooms interactions of classes in F2, mathematics, biology, and social studies, recordings of everyday interactions, field notes, and interviews. The main method of analysis is multimodal CA. The paper uses the language development trajectories of the two individual students as a basis for discussing the challenges and possibilities in analyzing language learning in interaction longitudinally.

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### **Constructions as a starting point of language acquisition**

Learning a language is traditionally seen as learning words and grammar. The language, i.e. the linguistic material to be learnt, and the end result of the learning process are described in terms of lexicon and grammatical systems. This view of language makes sense in a foreign language context where language is portioned out by the teacher and words are learned as lists of correspondences between languages and grammar as rules. Most people in the world, however, learn languages without anyone telling them the rules and even without a dictionary. Also classroom learning is increasingly “communicative”, aiming at the ability to use language rather than acquiring knowledge about the language.

In spontaneous or naturalistic language learning the learners depend on the language material accessible to them. They meet words and phrases and have to work out the meaning by contextual clues. Chunks of language naturally relate to events. The language is not structured as separate words or abstract linguistic rules but as stretches of speech or writing which convey meanings. This is the starting point of construction grammar which has during the past decade been applied both to first and second language acquisition (SLA). It is one of SLA approaches loosely labeled as usage-based, indicating that the development of language skills is based on and determined by meeting a large number of occurrences, rather than by an innate language acquisition device.

Constructions are generally defined to be chunks of language that have both form and meaning. They can vary in length and level of abstractness. While the theoretical presentations of construction grammar usually discuss specific, well-formed and stable examples of constructions, the applications of construction grammar in SLA have to deal with constructions in making. The discussion centers on the definition of construction in learner language and the ways of describing the process where a memorized chunk gradually evolves towards a stabilized and increasingly abstract construction. Little work has been done in this vein to date, but the results are promising both in theory and in practice. In my presentation I will show some examples of construction based research, on Finnish as a second language in particular, and discuss the potential of constructions as the basis of structuring learner language in SLA research in general.



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## **Semantic priming and the mutual intelligibility of Finnish and Estonian (Semanttinen pohjustaminen lähisukukielen ymmärtämisen apuna)**

Resemblance between closely related languages is holistic by nature. When Finnish and Estonian speakers skim through a text in their cognate language, they recognize common lexical and morphological elements, and this facilitates their reading comprehension. The semantic relationships that exist between phraseological units also improve mutual intelligibility. A concept that can be used to understand the mechanisms of meaningful connections between lexical items is priming. Semantic priming can be used as a tool for word recognition. The presented word, the “prime”, can activate other words in the same semantic field. The qualities of semantic relations do not depend on the affinity between Estonian and Finnish, but rather the question concerns more universal “regularities”. By utilising the metalinguistic knowledge of these regularities, readers are able to infer the meanings of unknown lexical elements.

In this presentation, I will discuss some of the results of tests in which Finnish and Estonian informants tried to translate longer sequences of their cognate language in which the sequential items were combined in various ways, e.g., through hyponymy or schematic implication. The preliminary results show that if the co-text is not too difficult and the prime is recognizable, the informants are able to infer the second item. For example, in the relevant context the cognate *kallis* (‘expensive’) helps to understand the antonym *odav* (Fi *halpa* ‘cheap’) or the cognate *hyasintti* (Est *hüatsint* ‘hyacinth’) helps to understand the hyperonym *kukka* (Est *lill* ‘flower’).

Learning results improve when the learners are conscious of similarities and differences between L1 and L2. Knowledge of some universal, and thus predictable, regularities of semantic “combinations” can also be useful.

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**Verbs governing local cases in texts written by Swedish-speaking beginner-level learners of Finnish  
(Paikallissijaisen täydennyksen saavista verbeistä ruotsinkielisten alkeistason suomenoppijoiden teksteissä)**

The aim of this paper is to present the results of the investigation on how Swedish-speaking learners of Finnish as a foreign language use verbs governing the six local cases in their written productions. The results of a previous study (Määttä 2013) on the functions of the local cases in learners' texts show that the learners use quite a large number of verbs that demand adverbial complements inflected in a local case. This paper focuses on categorising the governing verbs into semantic groups following Pajunen's model (1999, 2001).

The study is based on the Swedish sub-corpus of the electronic corpus entitled The International Corpus of Learner Finnish and the material consists of 43 496 tokens in total. To find the tokens inflected in local cases, WordSmith Tools software was used but the occurrences of the verbs were compiled manually.

The results show that verbs governing the allative case are the most common verbs in the learners' texts. From a semantic perspective this group of verbs contains e. g. communicative verbs, such as, sanoa 'say', kertoa 'tell' and kirjoittaa 'write' and verbs expressing that one does something good or bad to someone else, antaa 'give', tarjota 'offer'. Even verbs governing the illative case are common in the texts and these verbs express mostly movement, pudota 'fall', hypätä 'jump', space, istua 'sit', and emotion, tottua 'accustom', luottaa 'trust'. Verbs with an adverbial inflected in the elative case vary semantically. There are occurrences of verbs expressing movement tulla 'come', emotion pitää 'like', physiological condition pyörtyä 'faint' and speech act puhua 'speak'. There are 15 verbs in total that govern the inessive case and most of them express some kind of space, elää 'live', käydä 'go'. The ablative case is found, above all, with verbs of perception, tuntua 'feel', näyttää 'seem', but the number of occurrences is low.

At the beginner level, the semantic variation in verbs governing a local case is small. This investigation shows that the majority of the governing verbs express movement and space. The result is as expected given that the number of verbs that are present in teaching and exercise materials at the beginner-level is limited and the same verbs are repeated in various contexts.

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### **Motivation and possibility in minor language education: Example of Hungarian in Japan**

Recent tendency of foreign language education in Japan is, as seen in any other countries in the world, strongly English-dominant. In junior and high schools English is the only obligatory language to learn. At most universities one more language is added, but merely for one or two years at beginners' level. The necessity of multilingual and multi-cultural education is also beginning to spread, which is however based mainly on Chinese, Korean and some other Southeast Asian languages. These languages are recognized to be more and more important not only in cultural but also (and much more focused in) economic and diplomatic context.

In this situation in Japan Finno-Ugric languages – including Hungarian – are so to speak “first-class minor languages”. Any radical ideas of multilingual education may not supposed to include these languages, because they are never spoken by any groups of immigrants and their descendants, nor used in business scene. Then, how the Hungarian learners in Japan can keep and develop their motivation? In this presentation I will introduce some original strategies in my every-day-experience of teaching Hungarian to Japanese university students, using the keyword “3C”, that is, “communicative, creative and contributive” activities in language learning.

To develop communicative skill is not to mention essential in language learning. Traditional reading and writing focused learning is shifting to speaking oriented method in Japan, too (which is by no means evaluated to be successful, anyway). Communicative ability can be the only and sufficient purpose in learning such major languages like English. However, strongly utilitarian goal may cause weakening motivation concerning minor languages, for the learners are not sure in what extent they can utilize the language in the actual life. The teacher of a minor language should be aware of developing other abilities in addition to communication, and try to provide “plus purpose” in language learning.

Here I introduce the other two “C”s, that is to supply creative and contributive purposes through language learning. Teacher gives knowledge and skill of using the target language to the students, which often falls into one way activity. In my trial of so-called “bilingual project” I, as a Hungarian language teacher, try not only to GIVE, and make students TAKE the knowledge, but also the students can GIVE knowledge to the target language speakers, by creating something in target language and contribute to its speakers. I will introduce a project of translation of Japanese ancient poetry into Hungarian, which was dedicated to those Hungarian students who learn Japanese language and culture. I will verify what results the students have achieved in developing motivation of learning Hungarian through this project. It would be not only a clue to find the way to develop motivation of learning minor languages, but also to reconsider potential meanings of language education itself.

## **Cross-linguistic morphological ambiguity of Estonian and Finnish verb paradigms and its influence on second language acquisition**

It is widely accepted that learners exhibit systematic differences based on different L1 and L2 configurations. According to the structural-contrastive theory, cases in which one L1 phenomenon corresponds to one L2 phenomenon are the easiest to acquire. The most difficult are the L2 phenomena not found in L1, and those in which the L1 phenomenon corresponds to many different L2 counterparts (Latomaa 1993).

Although the Estonian and Finnish languages are closely related, the Estonian verb *minema* ‘go’ and Finnish verb *mennä* ‘go’ have developed in different directions. In Finnish two separate and parallel paradigms remain: *mennä*: *menen* ‘to go: I go’ and *lähteä*: *lähden* ‘to start to go, to leave: I start to go, I leave’. In Estonian the two verbs collapse into one paradigm with complementary distribution: *minema*: *lähen* ‘to go: I go’. These typologically interesting paradigms are challenging for Estonian learners of Finnish thus presenting a unique opportunity to study the influence of ambiguous cross-linguistic relations on second language acquisition.

This presentation focuses on the use of Finnish verbs of *lähteä*- and *mennä* in the International Corpus of Learner Finnish (ICLFI) by comparing the data of the Estonian subcorpus to the multi-source-language subcorpus and the native Finnish corpus. To study the influence of ambiguous relations between the source and target language on second language acquisition, the unified methodological framework of Jarvis (2000: 249-261, 2010) and the Three-Phase Comparative Analysis (Jantunen 2004) are used. The data will be discussed in terms of three dimensions of language proficiency: complexity, accuracy and fluency (Housen, Kuiken 2009) by using the DEMfad model (Martin et al 2010).

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### **StepTogether – A possible solution for teaching Hungarian as a target language to migrant students of various cultural background and mother tongue**

The Hungarian public education system faces different challenges in the education of migrants than other countries in the European Union with high number of migrant population.

Migrant students have to attend Hungarian public education in integrated classrooms by their age groups, not by their language proficiency level. These children coming from different cultures and speaking different languages as first language (L1). They speak Hungarian language (L2) at different level as well. However, textbooks used at classes are mainly written for students who speak Hungarian as a native language. This causes low performance at school and difficulties in their integration in the new environment, which increases the risk of dropping out. Due to the small number of migrants it is difficult or impossible to organise Hungarian as foreign language classes in which students are at the same language proficiency level.

In most cases schools do not have the possibility to hire a pedagogical assistant, therefore the teacher has to solve the problem of teaching the subjects mentioned above to children with various language competencies.

The StepTogether project improves language competencies of migrants since 2010. The target groups of the project are migrant children with various cultural and first language (L1) backgrounds. The operative goal of the project is to improve language skills of third country nationals and to promote their integration. Our teaching materials targeting migrants' language development encompass A1 and B2 levels of CEFR. The grammatical and lexical matrices of the materials are compatible with the Hungarian National Core Curriculum and Framework Curricula. Our teaching methodology incorporates the CLIL, CBI and LAK practices (Mehisto, Marsh, Frigols 2008; Zarobe–Catalán 2009) and special programmes elaborated by our team in order to promote classroom and European integration of migrants. This method is termed NyIT in Hungarian (Language, Integration, Content) in the pedagogical literature (CLIL Conference 2012, Utrecht; HAALLT Conferences). This innovation was awarded a European Language Label in 2011 and represents good practices on the EWSI (European Website on Integration). The StepTogether is a successful project since an increasing number of institutions and students are learning from our books.

The previous projects (StepTogether I–IV.) focused on the subject fields of Hungarian language and literature, mathematics, nature sciences, history and Hungarian heritage. The latest, StepTogether V. project is based on the topics of carrier orientation. The main goal is to boost chances of entering a higher level of education, and give a detailed view of the career opportunities linked to the different levels of education. The texts and exercises also help migrant students and adults recognize and understand cultural differences, so they will be able to integrate in the new environment, and become successful communicators in Hungarian as a target language.

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### **Finnish L2 skills as a part of expertise of Hungarian health care professionals in Finland (Suomen kielen taito osana unkarilaisten terveydenhuollon ammattilaisten asiantuntijuutta Suomessa)**

Globalization has started a new era in the Finnish-Hungarian mobility: Hungarian health care professionals' work-related immigration to Finland. In 2013, Hungarian medical doctors were in the top five group among doctors recruited to Finland from the EU/EEA countries (STM 2014).

International medical professionals seeking authorization in Finland demonstrate their L2 skills in Finnish in an intermediate level test of Finnish National Certificate of Language Proficiency (FNCLP) examination. It is evident that specific professional language competence is required in various professional situations. Good communicative skills are essential in patient work (Candlin & Candlin 2002) but also in interaction between colleagues.

This paper presents some key results of the qualitative analysis of Hungarian health care professionals' productive linguistic performance as demonstrated by current language tests. The data originate from the corpus of the FNCLP (B1-C2). The findings concerning the Hungarian test-takers and their performance profiles are discussed in relation to the background information concerning the participants' migration histories, language studies and self-assessments. Also observations concerning certain linguistic similarities between Finnish and Hungarian manifesting in the data are reported. To highlight the problematic distinction between "general" and "professional" language skills (Cummins 2003), the findings are also examined in connection with the Finnish language needs analyses thus far implemented in the health care sector. This study opens new ways of approaching professional language proficiency of Hungarian medical professionals. The findings can also be employed in the applied-linguistic research of other combinations of Finno-Ugric languages.

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**The *tehdessä* construction of Finnish and the typicality of advanced learner language in the light of native users' grammaticality judgements  
(Suomen *tehdessä/tehtäessä*-konstruktio ja edistyneen oppijankielen tyypillisuus äidinkielisten suomenpuhujien hyväksyttävyyssarviointien valossa)**

The present paper introduces a study on the inessive forms of the so-called E-infinitives (e.g. *tehdessä* 'while doing' and *tehtäessä* 'while being done') in academic learner Finnish. The research questions are following: are there differences in the typical active voice use of the aforementioned infinitive between the native users (F1) and non-native users (F2) of Finnish? The data of the study is the exam essay subcorpus of the Corpus of Advanced Learner Finnish.

In earlier studies (Siitonen 2014) we have observed that the passive inessive forms of the E-infinitive are infrequent in both L1 Finnish users' and L2 Finnish users' texts. Further, the construction is more often used by the L1 Finnish writers and the difference is statistically significant, even if the use is qualitatively very similar. In the active inessive forms there are no noteworthy quantitative differences between the F1 and F2 data. The focus of the present study focuses on the typical use of the active form of the aforementioned infinitive construction. The aim is to find out whether the use is qualitatively similar in the two varieties or if the sparse use of the passive form in the F2 data correlates with qualitative overuse of the active forms. The results will reveal whether there is actually a quantitative semantic difference between the F1 and F2 varieties or whether the difference is due to the distributional differences between the active and passive variants of the construction.

There is considerable amount of variation even among the F1 language users, and in the present study we will collect acceptability judgements from the F1 users on actual examples of both F1 and F2 language use. A pool of F1 language users will evaluate the acceptability of pattern of individual example sentences in a likert-scale, after which they will organize the same sentences in a decreasing order of acceptability. The procedure could also be applied when conducting grammaticality judgements in the so-called less-widely known Finno-Ugric languages (cf. Luutonen 1997).

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## Second language learners as 'new speakers': a Finno-Ugric perspective

The aim of this paper is to introduce the concept of 'new speaker' and discuss its relevance and applicability in the Finno-Ugric languages as second languages context. In recent years, there has been a growing interest in using this concept, originally launched by Joan Pujolar in a Catalan context, in various language communities and research groups across Europe. New speakers were first analysed in regional minority language settings only (see e.g. Walsh & O'Rourke 2014), but the concept is now expanding to cover several aspects of transnational migration, too, and the second language learning and use intertwined with it. Some researchers now prioritize the concept of 'new speaker' over such well established concepts as 'learner', 'non-native speaker' or 'second language speaker', mainly to avoid certain labels associated with them, whereas others may just see it as yet another desperate way of categorizing language users.

'New speakers in a multilingual Europe: Opportunities and challenges' is an EU-funded COST Action (2013-2017) investigating and comparing different profiles of new speakers. In this research network led by Pujolar, new speakers are seen as multilinguals who, by engaging with languages other than their "native" or "national" language(s), need to cross existing social boundaries, re-evaluate their linguistic competences and (re)structure their social practices to adapt to new, overlapping linguistic spaces (European cooperation in science and technology 2013).

As one of the Finnish researchers belonging to this COST Action, I will first discuss some key aspects of the concept of 'new speaker', as well as pros and cons expressed in relation to it so far. Then I will move on to data examples illustrating how one's 'new speakerness' or struggle towards getting acknowledged as a legitimate speaker of Finnish manifests itself in the L2 Finnish users' spoken narratives. Some examples referred to in Hungarian and Sámi contexts will serve as points of comparison. This is meant to serve as an invitation to the audience to share their views on the usefulness of the 'new speaker' concept in the Finno-Ugric languages as second languages framework.



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## **Estonian and Finnish as a target languages: code switching and language attitudes of two 10-11 years old bilingual child**

Estonians and children having Estonian as a one of their languages have lately become the fastest growing minority or bilingual group in Finland which underlines the importance of studying this target group. Yet there has'nt been done enough researches analyzing language acquisition in Estonian-Finnish bilingual families, taking in consider both - linguistic and sociolinguistic – aspects. The acquisition of bilingualism by an infant is affected by many different issues like the child's personal traits, language differences, and different environmental factors such as people's attitudes towards languages and bilingualism. In the early years the most important factor is the children's interaction with their parents and siblings (see De Houwer, 1999).

This paper gives an overview to the material and some preliminary findings of my ongoing PhD study concerning code-mixing, code-switching and language attitudes of two bilingual 10-11 year old children who speak both Finnish and Estonian. This issue is a part of my dissertation, which is a wider longitudinal case study about two children growing up as bilingual and how their parents' conversational strategies and attitudes will affect their bilingualism.

Data was collected from two different bilingual families, one of them living in Tampere, Finland and one of them moved during the study to Tallinn, Estonia. The data includes audio recordings of the families' interactions with their children when they were aged 2-3 years old and then when they were 10-11 years old. The data also includes recorded semi-structured queries of the parents, as well as recorded semi-structured queries of the children when they were in the age of 10-11 years.

According to Genesee (2006), the features of code-mixing can vary depending on norms or models in the families, or even according to its use by two parents in same family. This study uses both – linguistic (code-mixing and code-switching) and the sociolinguistic (attitudes and conversational strategies) approach.

The aim of this paper is to find out whether there is a connection between children's attitudes and their daily language use. Additionally this research examines, if there are some special issues concerning the acquisition of close language relatives. It would be also interesting to find some evidence, as to whether living in different countries has different impacts on using two languages.

In the broader perspective, I hope that the results of my dissertations will give some directional suggestions on how language maintenance of Estonian-Finnish bilinguals could be supported, although generalizations on the base of case study could not be done.

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## **Symp. 12. Expressions of evidentiality in Uralic languages**

**Organizers:** Seppo Kittilä and Lotta Jalava (University of Helsinki)

Arslan, Seckin – Bastiaanse, Roelien  
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### **An account on Turkish evidentials as the grammatical category of information source marking**

Turkish, being an Altaic language in close contact to Uralic languages, is thoroughly described with regard to its inflectional paradigm; however, accounts on how evidentiality finds its place within the paradigm is controversial. Evidentiality, the linguistic indication of information source of how the speaker knows his statement, is grammatically obligatory and is expressed through inflection morphology for direct and indirect information sources in Turkish, see Slobin and Aksu (1982), Aksu-Koç (1988), and Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1986) and Aksu-Koç (1988). Although it is well-studied system, some issues, such as how Turkish evidentials behave in other modalities (e.g., in interrogative and indirect speech) and how time reference is organized, are less understood. In this paper, integrating the perspectives from earlier monumental work (Aikhenvald, 2004; Aksu-Koç, 1988; Aksu-Koç & Slobin, 1986; Enç, 2004; Sezer, 2001; Slobin & Aksu, 1982, and many more), it is proposed that evidentials in Turkish constitute an independent category above the level of tense/aspect or mood, one of their functions may be to mark temporality or modality but information source is their primary function. This resolves a number of analytical problems. The analyses offered in the present work constitute its empirical basis from our earlier experimental studies (Arslan, Aksu-Koç, Maviş, & Bastiaanse, 2014; Arslan & Bastiaanse, *Subm.*; Arslan, de Kok, & Bastiaanse, *Subm.*), and partially arose on the basis of the questions in ‘fieldworker’s guide’ of Aikhenvald (2004, pp. 385-390). In the paper, we will focus closely on how Turkish evidentials behave in declarative, interrogative, and indirect speech clauses and how time reference is organized.

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### **Adverbs of knowing in interaction: The case of Finnish *tietää* ‘know’ and *luulla* ‘suppose’ derivatives**

The paper analyses the use of evidential adverbs interaction. It follows the broad definition of evidentiality: the information source is somehow displayed, and therefore relevant in a situation. Under scrutiny are the Finnish adverbs derived from the verbs *tietää* ‘know’ and *luulla* ‘suppose’, ‘think’. The focus will be their interactional and rhetoric uses in argumentative text type.

In Finnish, majority of modal adverbs are instantiations of some derivational-inflectional construction, and their meaning is motivated by the morphological elements in this construction. Moreover, the derivational and inflectional syntax of Finnish provides semantic resources for marking the different epistemic access of the interlocutors. The stems *tietää* and *luulla* represent also different level of certainty and commitment to the truthfulness of expression. For example, the *tietää* and *luulla* adverbs express certainty and shared knowledge (*tietysti* ‘of course’), second hand or conditional information (*hänen tietääkseen* ‘to one’s knowledge’, *tiettävästi* ‘as far as is known’), or that the access to the knowledge is somehow limited (*tietääkseni* ‘as far as I know’, *tiemmä* ‘evidently’; *luullakseni* ‘I suppose so’, *luultavasti* ‘presumably’).

The most important features of *tietää* and *luulla* adverbs concern the epistemic authority and the access to the knowledge (c.f. Stivers et al. 2011), which in turn lead to different interactional and rhetoric functions. In the paper, the concept of access is analysed also by studying the characteristic of the topics and the states of affairs in the scope of the adverbs. In this case, the continuums between generic vs. specific, conventional vs. non-conventional, and irrefutable vs. negotiable knowledge are relevant (c.f. Langacker 1987: 159–161, #omitted reference#). Textual analysis confirms the view that evidentiality is also used to organize intersubjectivity and coherence (Mushin 2001, Simon-Vandenberg & Ajmer 2007).

The data come from the internet discussions on the website of the Finnish largest newspaper, Helsingin Sanomat. This compilation includes the news texts from the domestic section and their reader comments during one year.

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## Remarks on the secondary uses of the Finnish evidential particles

Evidentiality as a linguistic category refers to the source of information the speaker has for his/her statements. In Finnish, evidentiality is not an obligatory category, but the speaker can refer to the source of information by lexical verbs and different particles. In this presentation, the focus lies on the evidential particles *näköjään* and *kuulemma*, the first of which may code different kinds of direct sensory evidence and inference, while the latter is related to hearsay evidence. Consider:

(1) *Aino on kuulemma/näköjään söpö*  
Aino COP.PRES.3SG hearsay/seemingly cute  
'They say/it seems that Aino is cute'

In (1), the particles express their primary meanings, i.e. they primarily refer to the source of information. In the first case, the statement is based on hearsay evidence, while in the second the speaker bases his/her statement on direct sensory evidence.

In addition to the primary uses of the particles illustrated in (1), the evidential particles of Finnish have an array of other functions. The secondary functions expressed include sarcasm, politeness, insulting, indirectness and lack of volitionality. An example is provided in (2):

(2) *sinä näköjään tiedä-t kaike-n*  
2SG seemingly know-2SG everything-ACC  
'It seems that you know everything.'

Example (2) is best seen as insulting or sarcastic, i.e. the evidential particle is not related only, or even primarily to the source of information for the speaker's statement.

The secondary uses, as illustrated in (2) constitute the topic of this talk. The main uses will be illustrated in light of actual linguistic data gathered from chat forums in the Internet. First, it will be shown that person makes a very important contribution to the readings the particles acquire. For example, with the second person, politeness is important, while it is not with first or third person. Second, the two particles differ drastically in what kind of secondary functions they get.

*Näköjään* may express a wider range of functions than *kuulemma*. On the other hand, *kuulemma* is always related to indirectness. These differences can be explained by the origin of the particles; *näköjään* is based on the verb ‘see’ and *kuulemma* on the verb ‘hear’. These uses will be compared to similar uses of evidentials in other languages (see Curnow 2003 for a cross-linguistic study of first person), mainly based on studies of first person, but in this talk, the discussion is extended to other persons. In so doing, the paper shows that evidentiality is not only about the information source, but a full description of evidentials must also consider the other functions expressed by evidentials.

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### Reported speech and narrator’s perspective in Tundra Nenets mythic poetry

In our paper, we analyse the evidential strategies that are used in Tundra Nenets narratives, focusing on epic, sung poetry collected by Matthias Alexander Castrén in the 1840s (Castrén 1940). These notes comprise the earliest systematical collection of texts of Tundra Nenets epic poetry, representing genres called *syudbabc* and *xinabc*. They are heroic, mythical tales that center on marriage, war and blood vengeance and their common denominator is travel. Despite the overviews by e.g. Tereshchenko (1990) and Niemi (1998), Tundra Nenets poetic register(s) have not been studied in detail before. Our paper approaches the texts collected by Castrén as poetic registers focusing on the use of mood and evidential markers and other evidential strategies as a meaning creating strategy.

Evidentiality as a linguistic notion refers to encoding the source of information. The source of information can be, for example, the speaker’s direct sensory perception, something that s/he sees or hears, or second-hand information, something that is heard from other people and quoted or retold by the speaker. Evidentials are also often conceptualized as genre markers of a narrative genre (Aikhenvald 2004: 310). In Nenets folklore, evidential strategies are used, for instance, for shifting voices and perspectives of the narrator. Traditional narratives are mainly told in the unmarked indicative mood, but also other modal and evidential forms are used, for example the so-called narrative mood. Direct quotations of different speakers are usually marked with the verb *ma-* ‘to say’ that can also be marked with the direct non-visual evidential suffix, the auditive.

In this paper, we concentrate on semantic analysis of the narrative mood and the auditive evidential in four mythical narratives. One of the chosen narratives is a long heroic epic poem (*syudbabc*), and the three others are shorter *xinabc* poems, two of them told in the first person. The aim is to discuss how the cultural

content and genre of the narrative, and the way in which evidential strategies are used, are intertwined.

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### Evidentials-miratives in Northern Mansi

Two subsystems can be differentiated in the verbal system of Northern Mansi: realis (+tense) and irrealis (-tense). The latter includes the imperative and conjunctive-optative, the former the indicative and evidential-mirative. While the indicative employs specialized finite forms (past in *-s* vs. non-past in *-eγ*), the evidential-mirative – also known as absentive, renarrative, Russ. “повествовательное” or “неочевидное наклонение” – is encoded by participial forms used as finite predicates: present (*-n*, = present participle), past active (*-m*, = past participle), past passive (*-ima*, = passive participle). In a preliminary description of these forms and their basic meanings (Skribnik 1998, in Russian) it was argued that the evidential meaning, supposedly primary, is not central in the modern use, and that the mirative component has become predominant, hence the label evidential-mirative (EM) or just mirative.

These three forms have completely different strategies of personal marking:

- The present EM in *-n* allows only subject agreement (1) expressed by the nominal possessive paradigm (3sg *-te*);
- The past active EM in *-m* allows both subject agreement (2) – in this case expressed by the finite personal paradigm (3sg  $\emptyset$ ) – and subject-object agreement (3) expressed by the nominal possessive paradigm (Obj.sg x Subj.3sg *-te*);
- The past passive EM in *-ima* (4) allows only subject agreement expressed by the finite personal paradigm:

(1)

*Ań ām jujipāl-um-t taj mākoləŋ ōjka ta jōmiγt-anē-te*  
 now I behind-1SG-LOC PTL bear PTL lunge-MIR.PRS-3SG  
 ‘(And suddenly) there is a bear lunging out behind me!’

(2)

*Iχixixixi, tēham! Kātra āmp sōŋχ tayləŋ kossum tot-am!*  
 hihihī friend old dog dung full knapsack bring-  
 MIR.PST(3SG)

‘Tee-hee, friend! He brought a birch-bark knapsack full of old dog’s dung!’

(3)

*taw nāl-ane jōwt-ane jiw-en tayat-am-ane*  
he arrow-PL<3SG bow-PL<3SG tree-DAT hang-MIR.PST-PL<3SG  
'He hung his bow and arrows up on a tree (which is unusual).'

(4)

*Ta māχum-n āś-anəl ta al-ima*  
that people-DAT father-SG<3PL PTCL kill-MIR.PASS(3SG)  
'Their father, as it turned out, was killed by those people.'

It means that the nominal possessive paradigm has different functions with different EM forms: with *-n* it encodes subject agreement, and with *-m* subject-object agreement.

In this paper the analysis will concentrate on a) differences in the personal marking and their possible explanations, b) the set of evidential and mirative values expressed (cf. Aikhenvald 2012), c) the functions of these forms in different genres and d) their combination with the mirative particle *nasat'i*.

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## Evidentiality in Udmurt context

In Udmurt there is the simplest evidentiality system with two choices: firsthand and non-firsthand evidential marks (terms were suggested in Aikhenvald 2004). The imperfect and the analytic forms with a particle *val* (the imperfect of the verb 'be') refer to firsthand information, and the perfect and the analytic forms with a particle *vylem* (the perfect of the verb 'be') have a non-firsthand meaning. Firsthand refers to what the speaker could see (no other senses for Udmurt), and the non-firsthand refers to what he couldn't see, for example, this may cover hearsay, inference or if the statement is based on logical assumption etc. The exact meaning of the non-firsthand form is understood from the context or the speaker may choose to emphasize the precise source.

The aim of my report will be to describe evidentiality choices and their functions in different discourse genres or in context. Evidentials are conceptualized as genre markers. In Udmurt personal narratives (narratives involving the speaker's personal experiences) are cast in firsthand evidentials. Traditional narratives (traditional stories and folklore) are cast in non-firsthand evidentials. However the most important factor of choosing evidentials in different types of narrative is the speaker's perspective. There are some reasons why the speaker can use firsthand evidentials in the traditional narrative and non-firsthand evidentials in a personal narrative. Manipulating evidentials in different types of Udmurt narrative and its functions are of exceptional interest.



My report will be based on the 30 personal and traditional narratives corpus. In my view, it's important to see how evidentiality operates exactly in context, not in a sentence. When the traditional narrative switches into the firsthand and when the personal narrative switches into the non-firsthand, this achieves a stylistic effect and brings polyphony to the narrative.

You can find some functions of manipulating evidentials below. The main of them is an access to the information source. Personal narratives involving the speaker's personal experience are cast in firsthand evidentials. Sometimes the speaker can manipulate evidentials, i.g. he can use non-firsthand evidentials in personal narrative. In Udmurt the non-firsthand evidential has a 'distancing' effect. When speakers choose the non-firsthand term, they 'are placing themselves at a distance from what they are saying' (Lazard 1999: 93-96) even their narrative involves their personal experience. Traditional narratives are cast in non-firsthand evidentials. However, there are a lot of examples of using firsthand evidentials in traditional narratives, i.g. the narrative can switch into the firsthand for 'vividness' or the speaker can refer to authenticity of information even he couldn't see that.

During my report examples will be presented.

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## **Symp. 13. Personal name systems in Finnic and beyond**

**Organizer:** Terhi Ainiala (University of Helsinki)

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### **Ethnic values in Mari personal names**

The analysis and interpretation of 9348 Mari personal names (Chernykh, 1995) have revealed their specific properties. Investigation into semantic nature of the names brought to light an ethnic values system. The componential analysis has shown that Mari personal names contain the inventory of 21 values. The main group includes five of them. The results allow the arrangement of Mari basic values, reflected in personal names, in the following order of priorities: 1) family; 2) health; 3) ethics (a strict hierarchy in the family); 4) wealth; 5) clan.

The algorithm of the research includes: 1) componential analysis of personal names; 2) compilation of the values list; 2) estimation of their incidence; 3) calculation of the usage probability; 4) ranking in descending order of probability; 5) singling out main, auxiliary, additional and insignificant values by the consecutive dichotomy technique using a simple majority criterion; 6) building a histogram of probabilities; 7) compilation of a matrix of values; 8) conclusions and summarizing, which have been statistically proved and visually represented by graphic metalanguage (Glukhov, 2007: 137-144).

The importance of the family is proved by a large amount of names where there are concepts, expressed by lexemes: 'child', 'son', 'father', 'mother' etc. (Ilibika, Ilvika < il 'a tribe', 'an offspring of the tribe', 'bika, vika' 'a woman, a housewife', meaning 'a mistress, a housewife').

Everyday family life depends on health. This factor is expressed in such lexemes as 'viability', 'energy', 'strength', indispensable qualities for manual labor. They are present in the names as wishes. Markers of such names are: 'batyr, hercules', 'damask steel', 'panther, ounce' etc. (Isanbai < isan 'healthy' + bai 'a rich man', meaning 'a healthy man').

Ethics is considered one of the leading values in the life of the Mari. In the names this notion includes: 'peacefulness', 'concord', 'devotion', 'kindness' (Symanai < syma, shyma 'tender, gentle'+ -nai, a suffix, meaning 'a tender woman').

Wealth shows an inheritance for a child in the form of the land, household goods, bread abundance (Kindebai < kinde 'bread' + bai 'a rich man', meaning 'rich in bread').

More than two dozens totems and tribes are mentioned in Mari names (Tomona < tumna 'an owl', meaning 'belonging to the owl tribe'), thus showing an importance of a clan for people's survival.

In summary, the analysis of Mari personal names testifies to pragmatism and wisdom of name originators: the majority of names do not contain any

contradictory or useless wishes showing our ancestors' harmonious attitude towards life.

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### **The relation of a personal name-examination and literary naming in the Hungarian literature in Vojvodina (Személynév-vizsgálat és irodalmi névadás relációja a vajdasági magyar irodalomban)**

The personal name examination enables understanding of the complexity of the features, namely the one that is substituted by one single nominal element. According to Roland Barthes, what is impossible to write down anymore is the Proper name. So, the object of the research is the proper name discourse that can be launched in the Hungarian literature in Vojvodina, respectively the theoretical problem of the separability of the proper name. The research extends to the examination of the proper names appearing in the title, the literary naming, the inter-textual and inter-medial samples, the mythological aspects, the telling names, name and identity, respectively to the autobiographical concerns and to the cultural context. From the viewpoint of psychology of creativity, it is important to observe the individual and socio-cultural background influencing the literary naming, the emerging sociolinguistic questions, and the attitudes of naming, its motivation and strategies. Vojvodina, as a multicultural space, also presupposes the contact of the languages being effective in the literary naming. The literary naming has also the aspects of the question of stylistics interest, consequently the name connotation, the aesthetic and metaphorical aspects of the name, its atmosphere creator role in the work are relevant. The linguistic analysis of the personal name corpus covers the classification and analysis of the name origin, the phonetic form-up, as well as the components of the name. The examination primarily focuses onto the actual substance of the contemporary Hungarian literature in Vojvodina, to the lingual questions of the corpus.

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### **User names – personal names in Internet**

The presentation is about the relatively new onomastic category of user names. The term user name refers to a name which a user of a website has registered to him-/herself in that website. That name is the marker of person's virtual identity. Consequently, user names can be called the personal names of the Internet.

User names are in many ways different to real life personal names. The person who carries the name also chooses it (and not, for example, his/her parents). Semantic content of the name is free but the length of the name is usually limited. Each user name must also be unique in the website where it is registered to. In the presentation it is discussed, how these characteristics can be useful for onomastic theories.

Joalaid, Marje

### **Estonian unofficial anthroponymy system (Virolaisten epävirallisten henkilönnimien järjestelmä)**

There are two different name systems in the Estonian anthroponymy: official and unofficial. The official system is similar to the system usual in Europe, the Indo-European one. The order of the person's names is: first name + family name. A main difference in comparison with the unofficial name system is that the order of the person's names of the last one is opposite: family name (in the genitive case) + first name.

The unofficial name system of the Estonian anthroponymy has preserved many of the features, which existed in the ancient personal name system.

The first records of the Estonian personal names belong to the 13th century. Eight Estonians mentioned by name in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia and couple of men in the lists of Estland of the Liber Censur Daniae (a Danish tax-book) have mostly one name. The personal names of the Estonian origin kept existing until the 16th century and even later.

Today the Estonians use Christian names, which are borrowed. The unofficial name system modifies the official names mainly by the use of suffixes.

The Estonians got their family names in the beginning of the 19th century. Earlier surnames, for the most part patronyms, or farmstead names were used and these were placed before the first name in the genitive case. Such usage is alive also today's Estonian unofficial anthroponymy.

Two main types of anthroponyms are used in the early sources: compound names and suffixial names. The suffixial name type have been preserved. Some of the suffixes have persisted at least from the 13th century up to the present. The forming names with the suffixes is most productive in the unofficial Estonian anthroponymy.

The most popular of the suffixes is -u. Actually the two suffixes are originating in u-suffix. Mostly it is an old Balto-Finnic suffix \*-oi, which is turned to -u. It was popular in the Balto-Finnic personal names of the 13th century

already and is productive in the all Balto-Finnic languages except Livonian also now. In Estonian the suffix has mixed up with the other quite old suffix -u.

Very popular in Estonian anthroponymy are suffixes explosive (p, t, k) + s. These are popular in Finnish and Livonian personal names too. The other personal name suffixes appear more rare.

The ancient compound names have disappeared from the Estonian anthroponymy, but the model still exists in the Estonian family names, which are of later origin.

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### **Animal-themed personal names among the Savonians, Karelians and Vepsians**

Analysis of onomastic data from the eastern Baltic-Finnic languages demonstrates that fauna vocabulary has left noticeable traces on the personal names of the Savonians, Karelians and Vepsians. Material related to animal-themed personal names has been preserved in surnames, in nicknames used within communities and in place names, as can be seen, for example, in the following hawk-themed names: Veps surname Gabukov < nickname Habukahn'e (Šokšu, Onega Veps); Lude surname Gabukov < nickname Habuk (Kuujärvi); Karelian Proper surname Gavkin < nickname Haukka (Suikujärvi, White Sea Karelia), personal name \*Haukka < village name Haukanvuara (Suojärvi, Border Karelia); Savonian Haukka(nen), Havukka, Havukainen (Mikkonen 2000).

This study aims to identify the animal names found in eastern Finnish personal names, to determine which of these are common and which are not popular themes for naming, and to present their distribution and structure. The personal names are analysed from the perspective of etymology, possible motives for naming are discussed, and comparative conclusions are drawn based on the collected Karelian, Savonian and Vepsian onomastic data.

In earlier onomastic studies, names containing various expressions related to nature were considered to fall into the category of ancient Finnish proper names (e.g. Forsman 1894). Animal-themed personal names have thus been connected to totem beliefs, according to which a person or their kin had a specific protective totem animal. In later studies (e.g. Nissilä 1975, Kiviniemi 1982, Mullonen 1994, Ainiala 2008), these were considered nicknames with a clear function – to describe characteristics of the person being named: cf. Karelian lokka (= gull) 'large being or lazy one'; Finnish dialectal kuikka (= loon) 'small and skinny or hungry', kiiski (= ruffe) 'resistant'; Veps harag (= magpie) 'loose-lipped or laughing one'.

The sources for the research data are: 1. Personal name-based toponyms, mainly -l(V)-type house and village names containing old personal names; 2. Official surnames based on traditional personal names; 3. Unofficial surnames, or hereditary nicknames (name information collected from field trips; name archives); 4. Personal name data from old documents. The reconstruction of old personal names and their etymological analyses are conducted taking into

consideration the Proto-Finnic personal naming system as a whole, with its naming models and features, which are characteristic of the entire traditional (pre-Christian) Baltic-Finnic naming system.

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## **The contemporary revival of historical Hungarian forenames**

The paper investigates the contemporary Hungarian practices of forename giving in which several, often opposing trends can be observed. In the background of all these practices a uniform endeavour is detectable: the parents want to endow their children with unique names, therefore in their selection of possible and actual names they no longer rely on family traditions or the most popular saints, but rather focus on euphony and distinction. To achieve these goals, several solutions have taken shape. On the one hand the adaptation of foreign names (that have not been formerly used in Hungarian language) especially under Anglo-American and, to a lesser extent, Spanish cultural impact takes place. In this way Patrick and Kevin or Jennifer and Jessica have become more and more frequent names in Hungary. At the same time a differing trend gives priority to so-called historical Hungarian names. The parents choose names from historical sources, whose original meaning is unknown, moreover, in some cases it is even questionable whether these words were personal names at all. For instance, names are selected from the 12th century chronicle of Anonymus, and from other medieval sources. Due to the lack of source criticism a lot of lexical items are enlisted as ancient Hungarian names that did not function as names at all. These words usually evoke the image of ancient culture. In this way names are created, for example, from settlement names (e. g. Örkény, Bercel), and from common

nouns (e.g. Rege female name, meaning ‘legend’). The vogue of unique names often makes use of ethnographical data, for example Zoltán Kodály’s composition made Villő as female name popular, although formerly it denoted a calendar custom.

The paper reveals sociological and cultural-historical background of this phenomenon inspecting some typical cases of contemporary name giving.

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### **Tools used for creating anthroponyms in the Old Hungarian language**

In the Middle Ages several name forming processes played a role in the creation of the anthroponyms in the Hungarian language. The main naming mechanisms were:

1) Semantic name forming. Within this mechanism the anthroponym develops through the use of internal elements of the language in such a way that the anthroponymic meaning is created without any change in morphological structure. In Old Hungarian naming practices the most frequent types of semantic name forming were:

a) metaphorical naming (e.g. farkas ‘farkas’ [wolf] > anthroponym Farkas),  
b) metonymic naming (e.g. when an “instrument” of a profession becomes the name of the person practising the given profession; ökör ‘ökör’ [ox] > anthroponym Ökör as the name of a butcher),  
b) semantic split: e.g. ethnonyms, names of professions, etc., often become anthroponyms without the use of any morphological tool (kovács ‘kovács’ [smith] > anthroponym Kovács, német ‘német’ [German] > anthroponym Német, etc.).

2) Morphematic construction. In the Old Hungarian period, several suffixes contributed to the creation of anthroponyms, among which the most common ones were: -d(i) ~ -t(i): munka ‘munka’ [work] > Muncadi; -s and its suffix clusters: szem ‘szem’ [eye] > Szemes; the suffixes -a/-e: hazug ‘hazug’ [liar] > Hozoga, etc. Among the cases of name formation with suffixes one might encounter the process during which the Hungarian suffixal morphemes are added to the radicals of foreign anthroponyms, mainly of Latin origin, used by the Church: Petrus in Latin > Petr-e, Petr-i, Petr-es; Pet-e, Pet-a, Pet-i, Pet-es in Hungarian. This morphological solution was the most important tool for adapting foreign names in the Middle Ages.

3) Syntagmatic construction. This process, through the combination of two existing lexemes, creates an anthroponym composed of two constituents, in which both elements provide a certain information about the named person: Kis ‘kis’ [small] + Gazdag ‘gazdag’ [rich] > Kisgazdag, etc.

In my presentation I will give an overview of the typical name genesis processes characterising the formation of anthroponyms in the Old Hungarian language, illustrated by examples of anthroponyms found in medieval deeds, and I will also explore the frequency of the different name forming mechanisms in



that period, as well as the possible linguistic factors underlying the difference in productivity.

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### **On the sources of Vepsian family names (Vepsäläisten sukunimien syntyjuurista)**

In the official (Russian) usage Vepsians have Russian first, patronymic and family names. Official family names were finally established not earlier than the late 19th – early 20th century, a substantial part of them derived from patronymic names, which were officially documented and inherited thereafter. This process is clearly demonstrated by archival peasant family listings from Vepsian villages. They also prove that wealthier citizens with an own business were the first to get officially documented tripartite names (Avvakum Filippov Shlipakov), where the third term was in fact the family name.

Alongside patronymic names, another source for official family names was so-called ‘street’ names, i.e. unofficial family names traditionally used in Vepsian communities. They are now sometimes used as village home names and formalized by the possessive suffix *-hiiñe* ~ *-hñe*: Habukanhe – Gabukov (Veps. habuk ‘hawk’), Rämhiine – Gromov (Veps. rämä-, rämeg- ‘to pound, to thunder’), Mugačuhne – Mugachyov (Veps. muhač ‘smiling’). They have fixed the names and nicknames, including parental ancestral nicknames (patronyms). The relationships between official and unofficial family names are varied: the unofficial name may correspond to the official one, be older or, sometimes, younger than the official name. The best preserved system of unofficial family names is found among Northern (Prionezhje) Vepsians, presumably owing to substantial backup by the corresponding Karelian system.

Vepsian family names (both official and unofficial) perpetuate the memory of traditional Vepsian names and nicknames, and it is not always possible to distinguish between them. They generally fit into the common Balto-Finnic anthroponymic system. One of the sources for reconstructing Vepsian personal names is place names, especially the names of settlements (Kurikal, Hübjoil, Valdal, Kokoil). The family name descending from the ancestral patronym may sometimes be preserved also in the settlement name.

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### **Emma and Lumi, Eetu and Sisu – Name-giving trends in Finland in the early 21st century**

What kind of names are Finnish children given today, and how do they differ from the names that were given in the 20th century? This paper analyses current name-giving trends in Finland. The data for this study come from the Population

Register Centre of Finland, including the forenames of 736 003 children who were born in Finland during the years 2000-2013. Of these children, 359 462 (48,8 %) are girls and 376 541 (51,2 %) boys. Altogether, the girls in the data have 844 687 names (2,35 names per child), and the boys 520 542 names (2,38 names per child).

The most common forenames for the girls in the data are Emma, Ella, Aino, Venla, Iida, Sara, Anni, Emilia, Aada and Siiri, and the most popular names for the boys are Eetu, Aleksi, Veeti, Elias, Joonas, Onni, Leevi, Lauri, Juho and Matias. Many of these names reflect a typical name-giving trend in Finland: the bestowal of traditional forenames that were fashionable also in the early 20th century, i.e. roughly a hundred years ago.

Another popular trend in Finnish name-giving is the creation of new Finnish-language names. Some of these, such as the female names Hilla 'cloudberry' and Lumi 'snow', and the male name Sisu 'persistence', have also become quite popular. On the other hand, the individualisation of personal naming has led to the creation of hundreds of new extremely rare, or even unique, names, and many of these are Finnish-language names. All in all, 64 % of the female names in the data were given to one girl only, and 63 % of the male names for one boy only.

Many new names have also been created after the model of already existing names. This phenomenon can be seen especially in girls' names. The name Minja, for example, has been formed under the influence of other female names ending with -nja, such as Anja, Sonja and Tanja. Also many new foreign names have been adopted to Finnish personal nomenclature in recent years, such as Isla and Neela for girls, or Luca and Noel for boys.

An interesting trend is also the rapid spread of giving three forenames for the child, instead of one or two names. In 2000, only 30 % of the girls and 34 % of the boys received three forenames, whereas in 2013, the figures were 43 % for the girls and 45 % for the boys.

This paper also presents a comparison between the most popular names for girls and boys born in the 20th and early 21st centuries.

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### **Finnish female names and the name pattern with the suffix iina**

The presentation is based on my doctoral thesis on Finnish given names. The topic of my thesis is the women's names ending in iina, such as Eveliina, Josefiina, Katariina, Pauliina and Vilhelmiina. My data consists of all the given names that end in iina given between the end of the 19th century and the year 2012 to Finnish girls who have Finnish as their mother tongue. The suffix has originally been written as ina, but since the Finnish names are usually written as they are pronounced, the form iina has been more common since the Finnish national awakening of the 19th century.

My aim is on one hand to study name formation and the structure of the different names, and on other hand to study the variation in popularity of this name type during the past 150 years. It is my aim to combine onomastics and linguistics, with statistics and gender studies.

The suffix *iina* can be considered as a productive pattern for creating new women's names in Finland, since there are more than 600 different names ending in *iina* in my data. In some names the beginning of the name can be conceived a root. In most cases (approx. 10 % of the names in the data) the root is a male name: old names like Josef > Josefiina and Paulus > Pauliina and new names like Antti > Anttiina and Tomi > Tomiina. Much more rare is that the root is a female name: for instance, Jenni > Jenniina and Elli > Elliina. The root can also be a lexeme: for instance, Manteliina ('manteli' = 'almond') and Sipuliina ('sipuli' = 'onion'). In most cases, however, it's impossible to see a root in a name before the suffix *iina*. According to my interpretation, most of the names in my data are formed not by combining a root and a suffix but by using the pattern.

I will also focus on the factor that all the Finnish names that end in *iina* are women's names. In most naming systems and also in the Finnish language, male names and female names are usually separated. Usually at the time a child is given a name, he or she is also at the latest becoming a representative of one or the other sex. By naming a child, we are also representing gender and attesting the sexual distinction.

Another aspect is the concept of name in general. Because of the existence of the clear pattern, many new and unique *iina*-ending names are understood as female names. But must a first name have at least that one bearer for to be considered a name?

Sjöblom, Paula  
University of Turku

### **The use of personal names in early Finnish newspaper advertisements (Henkilönnimien käyttö varhaisissa suomalaisissa sanomalehtimainoksissa)**

Advertising as we see it today, all-embracing and appealing, is quite a new phenomenon. The true breakthrough of advertising was in the Western world in the 19th century, when industrialization and mass-production took place. (Vestergaard and Schröder 1985.) In Finland, commercial advertisements appear to newspapers only after the mid-19th century after the models taken from Western Europe (Sjöblom 2006). At that time, Finns had minor experience in the language of advertising.

At present, we know that there are several linguistic and non-linguistic ways to affect the consumer (e.g. Vestergaard and Schröder 1985). The means can be direct and informative or more indirect and associative. One of the linguistic tools is to use proper names. In the first beginning, they were mostly personal names of entrepreneurs, and only gradually the product and company profile was raised by mentioning the name of the place-of-origin, the name of the company and finally also the name of the product. (Sjöblom 2012.)

The purpose of this paper is to clarify from a diachronic and functional perspective, how personal names were used in Finnish newspaper advertisements during the 19th century. The data consist of commercial advertisements published

in the Finnish newspapers *Suometar* and *Uusi Suometar* in 1865–1899. The research material is outlined on the bases of text function: advertisements aiming to sell a product or a service or notifying of some private entrepreneur or company are included, in spite of the form and structure of the text.

Supposing that the language users make linguistic choices according to their aims, it is eligible to assume that there is a reason when an advertiser chooses to use a proper name. These reasons will be contemplated.

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Tóth, Valéria  
University of Debrecen

### **Presentation of the history of the Hungarian system of anthroponyms in the context of cognitive pragmatics**

The most typical features of anthroponyms as linguistic elements include linguistic and linguistic-taxonomical determination, as well as cultural determination. Therefore, the analysis of the different name systems gives us the opportunity to make a comparative analysis of linguistic and cultural interferences. First of all, this requires a standardised analysis framework that can be extended to most languages. In my presentation, I will propose for this purpose a model for the analysis of anthroponyms, which is based on cognitive pragmatics and is suitable for the appropriate treatment of both linguistic and cultural characteristics. I would like to illustrate the applicability of this model through the history of Hungarian anthroponomastics, hoping that the extension of the analysis to the name systems of related languages and non-related languages may shed new light not only on the different systems of anthroponyms, but also on the interaction of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors of linguistic changes in general.

Valtonen, Taarna  
University of Oulu, Giellagas Institute

### **Personal names in Saami place names**

I have studied in my doctoral dissertation (Valtonen 2014a, 2014b) place names of four Saami languages: South Saami, North Saami, Inari Saami and Skolt Saami. I have chosen as my research material the place names of one community

in each of the language studied. The aim of the dissertation is to present new information about the construction and the vocabulary of the Saami place names as well as to study the possible loan relationship between the Saami languages and the majority languages in place names. This new information gained is interpreted first within the frame of comparative Saami linguistics and then with the focus on the existing loan material, its origins and nature. The whole interpretation process is enriched with the information that has been acquired with a detailed study of the cultural context. The time span studied reaches from the 1880's to the middle of the 20th century.

In this presentation my main focus is on the results that I gained in my doctoral dissertation about the use of personal names in Saami place names. Also some new interpretations that go beyond these results are presented. Especially the role of cultural models in the name giving is discussed.

The most frequently used explanation, also in Saami onomastics, for using a name referring to a person as a part of a place name is that it functions as an indication of ownership, use or homestead of the given person (f. ex. Kert 2005: 36; Rautio Helander 1991: 81). All these functions are present also in the Saami place names that I studied but other functions were detected as well. It seems that these functions have also an influence on how often personal names have been used in the place names. Some interesting differences between the Saami languages have been found and will be discussed further. As Saami languages share a common linguistic background, which includes also the linguistic rules concerning place names, these differences must be seen as a result of a separate cultural development or as a signs of loaned cultural practices.

Along with the function of personal names in place names several other issues are discussed. The two most important ones being what sort of personal names, forenames, family names or others, are used and what sort of connections between Saami groups and other people these names are reflecting on. Personal names as well as other words can be studied within the framework of historical-comparative linguistics those gaining information about their origins. Some interesting similarities and differences between Saami languages are presented and discussed. The influence of Christianity and the traces of pre-Christian nomenclature are also taken into discussion.

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Wiklund, Eva  
University of Helsinki

### **Given names from Kalevala in Finland from 1880's to 2013 (Kalevalaiset etunimet Suomessa)**

In the end of the nineteenth century, during the era of nationalism in Finland and in many other countries, the use and popularity of Finnish given names (for example Aino, Suoma, Toivo) increased. During years 1917–1947 the popularity of Finnish given names was at its highest, about 25 percent of all given names given to boys and about 30 percent of all given names given to girls.

In my dissertation research, names from Kalevala are personal names or names of mythical creatures mentioned in Kalevala, the national epic of Finland. These names are used as given names in Finland. Most of names from Kalevala are considered as original Finnish names. They have connections to many Finnic personal names. Names from Kalevala, for example Ahti, Kauko and Väinämöinen, occur in folk poetry. Moreover, many names from Kalevala are also used as family names.

I examine how names from Kalevala have become to a significant part of Finnish given names, how their popularity has changed, and which names and what kind of names are names from Kalevala given to children during years 2000–2013. In addition, I examine what kind of attitudes people have to names from Kalevala and to the choice of them. How they describe these names? How they connect these names to their identity? For this, I intend to interview people with names from Kalevala or people who have given such names to their children.

Among the most usual names from Kalevala are Aino, Ilmari, Kyllikki, Osmo, Seppo, Tellervo, Tuulikki and Väinö. On the other side, many names have been quite or very unusual as given names. Unusual names are for example Lemminkäinen, Pihlajatar and Tiera.

## **Symp. 14. Multilingualism and multiculturalism in Finno-Ugric literatures**

**Organizers:** Johanna Domokos (Bielefeld University) and Johanna Laakso (University of Vienna)

Atnabaeva, Nataly  
Izhevsk State Agricultural Academy

### **Traditions and innovations in the Udmurt sonnets (Традиции и новаторство в удмуртских сонетах)**

The most complex solid poetic form, a sonnet, is taken into the Udmurt poetry from European literature through Russian and found its recognition. This genre naturally and organically rooted in the structure of the Udmurt verses, enriched the national lyrics in terms of content and form. The history of the Udmurt sonnet has more than 90 years. Structurally oriented on the European and Russian models, the Udmurt sonnet at the same time is a deeply national phenomenon. There are falls and climbs in the history of the genre. It has three stages in its development.

The first stage is the twenties of the twentieth century. It is the emergence of the Udmurt sonnet, associated with the name of Gerd K, the genius of the Udmurt literature and culture. Gerd K. is the first author of sonnets in the Udmurt poetry; he awakened an interest to this poetic form. A genre of sonnet in Gerd's heritage, on the one hand, represents the imagery, rooted in folklore and archetypes, on the other hand in literature and Europeanism. A method of antithesis and contrast was developed in the internal structure of his sonnets. A social content of Gerd's sonnets expanded the thematic frames of this genre.

An interest to a sonnet has been increased until then. The second stage (60-70 years. XX century) is characterized by a new revival of a sonnet. The flowering of sonnet art always shows the national culture activation at a particular historical stage of its maturity. During this period, the sonnet has developed along the way of enriching the content, enhancing the natural philosophy and psychology. The sonnets of Udmurt classic F. Vasiliev are the fine examples of the genre. They are structurally oriented on the European and Russian models.

The third stage is the end of the second and the beginning of the third millennium. The popularity of a sonnet increases again in the works of Kuznetsova, A. Perevozchikov, Matveev, T. Chernova. During this period, a sonnet became a genre of a lyrical, psychological and philosophic poetry, capable to express the inner world of a man in modern era. In modern works of this genre strengthening of personal, subjective principles, mysticism and cosmism should be noted. Metaphorical, complex associative elements of modernism are the features of modern sonnet. The contradictions of post-perestroika surrounding absurd world are realized in the antithetical sonnets of a poet S. Matveev. This genre is a bright page of Kuznetsova's poetry, which is one of the peaks of the Udmurt sonnets. The Udmurt sonnets are the connection of tradition and

innovation. Preserving a general nature of the genre, they did not mechanically copy it, they thought it is possible to vary the canon. But at the same we cannot justify impossible poetic freedom used by some modern poets: a complete lack of "inner form", the absence of catastrophic lines and graphic division into quatrains and tercets, conversational tone, inexact rhymes. Such wraps degrade a sonnet to a usual poem consisting of 14 lines.

The novelty and originality of the Udmurt sonnets are in Udmurt imagery and national color.

In the architectonics "English" ("Shakespeare") types are prevailing. The "Italian" and "French" types are less used.

Thus we can say about a national version of this complex solid poetic form. The Udmurt sonnets make a unique contribution to the world literature, increasing its wealth.

Bence, Erika  
University of Novi Sad

### **Multicultural dialogue in László Végel's novel *Neoplanta, avagy az Ígélet Földje* (Multikulturális párbeszéd Végel László *Neoplanta, avagy az Ígélet Földje* című regényében)**

László Végel is a Hungarian writer from Vojvodina (Serbia), his novel titled *Neoplanta, avagy az Ígélet Földje* (2014) was published in Budapest. It is a city novel; its virtual hero is Novi Sad, the capital of Vojvodina. The novel has two storytellers, the author-narrator and Lazo Pavletić the fiacre driver, they are telling the story of Novi Sad, and beyond that of course the 20th history of Vojvodina, during a fiacre drive, from their own point of view in their own language. The discourse between the Hungarian writer and the Serbian fiacre driver is necessarily multilingual and multicultural, because since its foundation the city has been functioning as a collector of the lingual and cultural differences, the diverse habits and the separate collective memories of its inhabiting nationalities (Hungarians, Serbs, Germans, Slovaks, Jews and others). The paradox of our story is, that although the city was founded in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, during the centuries its inhabitants have been continuously exterminating and murdering each other; they stood on opposing sides during world wars/wars and power transitions, even so their disaster and failure experiences are the same or at least similar. The study examines what kind of lingual code the two narrators with different identities find and apply to narrate and represent their almost identical fates and experiences.



Chikina, Natalia  
Karelian Research Centre, Russian Academy of Science

**Use of English in M. Pakhomov's poetries as step to multilingualism**  
**(Использование английского языка в поэзии М. Пахомова как шаг к мультилингвизму)**

Karelia's local people are Karelians, who live here, alongside with Russians, Finns and Vepsians. The Karelians are divided into three groups: livvis, lydians and proper karelians. Livvis and lydians live in the south of Karelia in Olonetsky and Pryazhinsky regions. Proper karelians – in middle and north Karelia. Accordingly, three dialects are formed livvi, lydic and proper karelian.

Poet-lydic Miikul Pakhomov now lives in Finland. His creative activity began in Russia. In the book "Lüüdiland" poetical works are divided into three parts: red, blue and green. In Pakhomov's opinion, these colours should represent a flag of lydians. Blue colour speaks of water, red – on sandy coasts and villages, green – on the beauty and natural wealths. The book's name was the symbiosis Karelian and English ("Lüüdi" is translated from karelian as "lydic", "land" in English is "land"). Pakhomov used English in other verses too. For instance, he has poems "Lemben story" and "Englandilaane pagin".

At the presentations of his book professor of Baltic-Finnish Languages Seppo Suhonen noted: "Beside each people is their language and literature. On speak lydic only one thousand people, but from this group risen a speaker on native language, writer and scholar Miikul Pakhomov", is one of them.

M. Pakhomov used English in their own poems "Born in Pohjola", "You and me". This phenomena at present much wide-spread in Finland, where and lives the poet. How note Jelena Soini, "Appearance of English words and expressions on English has enriched Finnish poetry". Thereby, M. Pakhomov supports the trends of modern world.

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Drabekova, Zuzana  
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**On myths and stereotypes concerning mutual relationship of Finnish and Finno-swedish literature**

The article illustrates differences and similarities between Finnish language and Swedish language literature in Finland by means of comparison, while focusing on the period from 19th century to the present.

Main topics:

1. From majority to minority. 1863 as a milestone for change of positions of Finnish and Swedish language in Finland. "Yksi kieli – yksi mieli": One language

– One mind – a Fennomans’ dream or current reality? (Johan Vilhelm Snellman and different views of Finns and Finland-Swedes towards this figure...etc.)

2.Land of thousand lakes and ”Land of thousand islands”. How does this stereotype work in Finnish and Swedish language literature and culture (example: Eino Leino – Arvid Mörne, and others, Tove Jansson).

3.„Narrow room of Finno-swedish literature“ and how to get out of this narrow room. „Free peasants“ and „Vikings“ – local patriotism and cosmopolitanism in Swedish language and Finnish language literature. (Parallels with Hungarian literature in Slovakia, e.g. Tözsér Árpád, etc.). Source literature: studies of Merete Mazzarella and others.

4.Social status and reflection thereof in the works of Finnish and Finno-swedish authors. Myth of Finno-swedish literature illustrating only higher classes, while Finnish language literature depicting mainly working-class characters and peasants; and „a dream of a big Finno-swedish novel,, related thereto.

5.Literature of so-called first and second grade. Humor and irony in Finnish and Finno-swedish literature.

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Gröndahl, Satu

The Hugo Valentin Centre

### **Constructing “Transethnicity” in Sámi, Sweden-Finnish and Tornedalian literature**

As late as the 1970s and 80s, it was quite common that authors with their roots in the Nordic minority groups Sámi, Sweden-Finns and Tornedalians (formerly called Tornedalian Finns), denied or tried to hide their ethnic background. The feelings of shame, connected to one’s family background and mother tongue,

have been widely documented for example by the Tornedalian author Gunnar Kieri (born 1928). Nevertheless, in all the Nordic countries, historical minorities have received extended or better minority rights during the last decades. Along with enhanced cultural rights, and appreciation from the majority society, it seems that the situation has changed and today, there is noticeable interest concerning the history of old minorities. Many authors who belong to the younger generations talk proudly about their ethnic background in interviews and one could even ask whether during the 1990s and 00s, there has been a new, positive boom within ‘minority writing’. There seems also to be a demand on the book market for novels about the history of old Nordic minorities.

In this paper, I will discuss how the narrators are describing the young protagonists’ identity formation. I will especially focus on in which way the protagonists’ bilingual or multilingual background affects their consciousness about their own, private identity and the borders of “us” and “them”, i.e. group identity. I will concentrate in my paper on novels written by four contemporary Nordic authors who have their roots in, and identify themselves as, members of national minority groups. While Mikael Niemis’s *Populärmusik från Vittula* (‘Popular Music from Vittula’, 2010) is about the life of the Tornedalian minority in Northern Sweden during the 1970s, Susanna Alakoski’s and Eija Hetekivi Olsson’s production deals with the adolescence of Sweden-Finnish teenagers. The fourth object for my paper is Annika Wennström’s novel *Lapps katteland. En familjesaga* (‘Lapptax Land. A family saga’ 2006), whose young protagonist, living in Stockholm, discovers that she is of Sámi origin, although her family have tried to hide their background. All these works deal with the definition of identity and transethnicity when living in between situations within one’s own ethnic group and the majority, as well as in between different languages. One interesting question is whether the minority language is described as a positive source, or do feelings of shame still affect the consciousness and identity of the young protagonists.

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### **Language biographies in a monolingual context**

My current research project deals with the ways in which language, remembering and forgetting are intertwined in autobiographical writing in contemporary literature in Finland. The memoirs and autobiographies by such authors as Umayya Abu-Hanna, Rita Magga-Kumpulainen, Kjell Westö are read as a personal recollection of movement between languages and cultures but also as an outline of a broader history of multilingualism. At the same time as I am interested in looking at multilingualism in a historical perspective, I find it important to also relate the phenomenon to institutional practices as the idea of linguistic purity and monolingualism has been and still is important – if not fundamental – to modern nation states, cultures, disciplines, and institutions, be it that not all nation states assume only a single language.

In recent years, questions about memory, language and the relationship between the personal and collective history have been addressed not only in

studies on minority literature and migrant literature, but also in memory studies. There has been already for some time an increasing attention to the processual aspects of memory, i.e. to the circulation of memories and how the sharing of them takes place (e.g. Crownshaw 2011; Radstone & Schwarz 2010). Drawing on these ideas, I will explore in my paper what happens when the memories about language cross linguistic and cultural borders and are mediated to readers who do not necessarily share the same linguistic competence and experience as the narrator of the autobiography.

An important concept in my analysis is 'language biography', defined broadly as a biography in which the narrator reflects on his/her experiences and memories of living in two or more languages or the shift from one language to another language or several languages and cultures. On the one hand, I will pay attention to the ways multilingualism is represented in the biography, but, on the other hand and more importantly, what kind of a reader and a community do these representations construct. And, after all, do the 'the language biographies' actually form a history of the dominant culture and its language norms and language discrimination?

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Kokai, Karoly

University of Vienna

### **Hungarian migrant writers in the West since 1945**

The situation of Hungarian migrant writers in the West in the second half of the 20th century can be discussed within the categories of multilingualism and multiculturalism. They worked in German, French, English, Italian cultural environments, and were confronted with the choice to continue working in Hungarian or to shift to the language of the majority where they were living. Some prominent examples include, Sándor Márai, György Sebestyén, and Agota Kristof. Sándor Márai migrated to Italy in 1948 and later to the United States of America. Márai wrote in Hungarian despite the fact that he grew up in the multicultural environment of Kassa, was member of the German minority (having the family name Grosschmid), and used German as a second literary language before the Second World War. Both György Sebestyén and Agota Kristof left Hungary 1956. Sebestyén published his first book in the West in Hungarian and was an editor of a Hungarian language daily in Vienna for several years before switching to the German language and becoming, in his own words, an "Austrian writer". Kristof lived in Switzerland and wrote in French. Both Sebestyén and Kristof chose subjects for their literary works that were derived from their experiences in Hungary, telling their stories in new languages and for a public foreign.

It is evident that the minority culture that migrants experience is different from those of the minorities who live traditionally, for multiple generations, in an environment dominated by a majority culture. This raises questions such as: What are the dynamics of adaptation and conservation that are specific to migrants? What does mutual cultural transfer mean in these cases?

To use the examples of Márai, Sebestyén and Kristof: all three lived in multicultural societies, not the least because they brought their own culture and language with them. There was a forced political migration, and they arrived in foreign societies and had to adapt themselves to entirely new worlds. All of the producers of migrant literature discussed here are first generation writers, as there was no second one. The members of the second generation were assimilated to the host culture of their parents, and, if they produced literature, it can't be discussed in terms of migration. The migrant status of Márai, Sebestyén and Kristof, the knowledge to be not only the first but also the last generation, clearly shapes their literary work. Their literature reflects the dynamics of adaptation and conservation as well as mutual cultural transfer. The adaptation occurs by means of the conservation of the memories of traumatic experiences. The cultural transfer is basically mutual, but is first formed by the need of the author to give witness, to reflect on his/her confrontation with the new environment and with a fading past, and thus to problematize the act and the reasons of his/her migration.

This lecture will discuss the issues of multilingualism and multiculturalism by using examples from the works of Márai, Sebestyén, and Kristof.

Molnár Bodrogi, Enikő  
Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca

### **The voice shouting from the barren wilderness? Possible similarities between Transylvanianism and Meänmaa-ideology**

This study focuses on two Finno-Ugric minorities, the Hungarians in Romania and the Meänkieli-speaking Tornedalians in Sweden, from the perspective of two analogous ideologies which can be detected from their literature, as well.

On the one hand, there is the ideology of Transylvanianism, It was elaborated by Hungarian writers, historians and journalists in Romania after the Treaty of Trianon (1918). However, its roots can be traced back to the Hungarian national movement in the 19th century. This complex ideology aimed to reinforce the collective identity of the Hungarians who became an ethnic and linguistic minority in Romania and have ever since stuck to their own language and cultural heritage.

On the other hand, there is the Meänmaa-ideology, elaborated by Bengt Pohjanen during the last few decades. The name Meänmaa, though it mainly denotes a geographical territory ('our land'), in reality is the name of a virtual country the inhabitants of which are connected by their common language (Meänkieli) and culture. This imaginary community is actually a frontier territory not only from geographical, but also from cultural point of view: it belongs neither to the Swedish, nor to the Finnish community; it is an intermediate zone. Tornedalians have been living the life of a minority for over two hundred years, since 1809, and the general tendency was to assimilate in the Swedish nation.

There are, obviously, quite a lot of differences between Transylvanianism and Meänmaa-ideology, as also the history of the Hungarians in Transylvania, on the one hand, and the history of Meänkieli speaking Tornedalians on the other present important differences. However, in this study, the researcher will concentrate on the possible similarities between the two systems of ideas and their impact on the literature of these minorities. There will be analyzed topics like the interpretations of historical existence, the principle of duty and collective commitment, the traumas of the history and the strategies of processing them, the bidirectional act of constructing and deconstructing borders.

In a world of shifting identities and languages as well as in the context of inter- and multicultural and –lingual exchange, the aim of this study is also to highlight the attempt of some minority language speaking writers to make a contrast between their language and culture and the majority language and culture, as well as to create and/or reinforce the identity of their own ethnic and linguistic group.

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### **On the history of the Udmurt translated fiction**

Electronic bibliographic index of “Literary translations into the Udmurt language” (2009) contains 4152 units of bibliographic descriptions of translated fiction books and some other works. This was the first systematized rich layer of the Udmurt translated fiction chronologically functioning from the first half of the XIX century and to the present. Almost all literary works translated into the Udmurt language from the Russian language, from the languages of the peoples of Russia and the world, including the Finno-Ugric languages came in the view of bibliographers.

This index, in fact, is “the first page” of the extensive, but so far poorly studied and not written history of the Udmurt translated fiction. Systematization of the practical experience in the field of literary translation which is gained over the period of two hundred years allows to reveal a number of problems which demand the fastest scientific understanding. The problem of periodization of the translated literature history is among the priorities. The experience gained in this area with relation to the stages of formation is not a homogenous phenomenon. The development of the Udmurt translated fiction should be considered within the historical and evolutionary process in which each certain period has its own specifics connected with the history of original Udmurt literature development and formation of the Udmurt literary language.

It is necessary to consider the fact that the phenomenon “translated fiction” also includes translated religious texts. The point at issue is that the layer of religious texts in the history of any national literature development plays an enormous role in the formation of its identity. The Udmurt literature is not an exception and therefore studying of genesis of the issue can not be complete without analysis of religious and spiritual texts’ translations.

In consideration of the foregoing in our opinion it is possible to distinguish five periods of formation and development in the history of the Udmurt translated

literature: 1) The beginning of the XIX century – the beginning of the XX century; 2) The beginning of the XX century – 1918; 3) 1918 – the middle of the XX century; 4) The middle of the XX century – the middle of the 1980th; 5) The middle of the 1980th – the present. As we see, the borders of specified periods are vague and there are many reasons for that. The main difficulty is the lack of fundamental research on this problem therefore it is more interesting to reason our vision of the subject. We are convinced that literary translation as the participant of interlingual and interliterary communication has always performed a high mission of cultural transfer.

Pekshieva, Marina  
Petrozavodsk State University

### **Finn Jaakko is a person of two cultures (Based on the novel "Salamandra" by V. F. Odoyevskiy)**

In the period of romanticism many Russian poets and writers devoted their literary works to unknown exotic Finland. V. F. Odoyevskiy is one of those writers-romanticists. His novel "Salamandra" (1844) tells about the Finns and refers to the beginning of the 18th century, the time after Northern war.

The Finn Jaakko is the main character of the novel. When he was a child, he was taken from Finnish village to Peterburg and then to Holland to study. Peter the Great invites him to civil service. Still, will the educated Jaakko be happy? In Russia the young Finn has success and fame, but he loses his roots. Terrible thing happens to Jaakko: "he had learnt almost all European languages, but he forgot his mother tongue and could not find the most common words or used wrong words" (Odoyevskiy, 1988, 261).

The Finnish woman Elsa is completely different from the main hero Jaakko. She can not imagine her life outside her motherland. Finnish nature, the language, household, songs are essential for her understanding of motherland. She refuses to go with Jaakko to a strange country, to Russia. In her opinion, she can not find Sampo there. Jaakko does not want to return home to Imatra, because he has found the second motherland in Russia, in Sankt-Peterburg "with its activities and educated life (Odoyevskiy, 1988, 288).

Jaakko appears to be a person of two cultures. He is constantly in two minds. He has two motherlands and two women, his beloved Finnish woman and her Russian wife. There is no peace in his soul. Odoyevskiy does not give the answer to the question where the main hero should remain.

In his central novel "Russian nights" Odoyevskiy thinks, that "Our 19th century is considered to be educated, but are we really happier than that fisherman who spread his nets some time ago on this very place where we now see bright crowds in gas-lighted streets? What is around us?" (Odoyevskiy, 1975, 10).

Odoyevskiy depicts his hero in the complicated circumstances of his own life-time. Thanks to one culture the Finn gets in the way of education and finds his destiny. Thanks to other culture he gets in touch with the world spiritually. Both the sides are equally essential for living, but they both together turn to be destructive. The life of the characters is ceased by fire, this is the way the author

finishes the novel with an ellipsis. Once again the author makes us think of the meaning of human life.

The list of the authors used in the article:

Odojevskiy V.F. Grot J.K. Karhu E.G. Keltikangas-Järvinen L. Kiparskiy V. Lönnrot E. Meletinskiy E. M. Mashin A. I. Pesonen P. Pletnev P. Sakulin P.N. Saharov V. I. Turjan M.A. Eman I.M.

Polgár, Anikó  
Comenius University, Bratislava

### **The allegorization of the minority space in the Hungarian literature in Slovakia**

In this paper the attention is going to be focused on the phenomenon how minority space has been allegorized in the different genres (essay, tale, lyric poetry, drama), and how this aspect could be utilized in the interpretation of works depicting minority experience. The allegorization of the minority space is going to be examined in children's literature with the use of comparative methodology. The narrow space of Palóc Land in the tale by Anikó N. Tóth is the symbol of proportions of Hungarian minority in Slovakia. Similarly could be interpreted some essays, dramas and poems of Árpád Tózsér, Lajos Grendel etc. Besides the self-representational approach of the minority come to the front also other aspects, such as stereotypes, the problem of supremacy and the sense of superiority in the majority culture.

Toldi, Eva  
University of Novi Sad

### **The structures of belonging in the Hungarian literature of Vojvodina (A hovatarozás megjelenítésének alakzatai a vajdasági magyar irodalomba)**

The presentation, in Hungarian, focuses on Hungarian texts from Vojvodina. It examines linguistic and stylistic features of literary works thematizing the experience of migration and its social-cultural background at the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century. This was the time of traumatic experiences both to those who left and those who stayed. The initial thesis of the lecture was that it has become essential to define the notion of identity since this era substantially changed the attitude of authors. Meanwhile feelings of facing or experiencing strangeness and estrangement came to the fore, whereby one's own and the strange became intertwined, reversed or transformed. Feelings of ethnic identity loosened due to intercultural contacts, hence forms of identity have emerged which place ethnicity also into a new context. The multilingual and multicultural social and literary media point out the phenomenon of hybridization. While in the second half of the 20th century hybrid identity was clearly



undesirable, nowadays forms of interculturality are used knowingly and ever more frequently in an increasing variety of forms for linguistic or stylistic effects; hybridization has become a common phenomenon in literature. The author also tackles the question of the extent of acceptableness of hybridization by the use of cultural specificities. She also attempts to typologize phenomena found in contemporary literary works, primarily focusing on linguistic contact phenomena, prominent role given to interference, linguistic code-switching and embedding of phonetic differences into the text, and also deals with characteristics of metalanguage. Meanwhile, she does not confine herself to cataloguing but also proposes a postcolonial approach to linguistic and stylistic changes in Hungarian literature in Vojvodina.

The lecturer has published several works in Hungarian, Serbian and German and has researched the relationship between literature and code-switching for several years. Her more important studies on the topic are:

Az otthonosság és idegenség alakzatai rendszerváltás idején a vajdasági magyar irodalomban. [Forms of Familiarity and Strangeness in Hungarian Literature in Vojvodina during the Time of Regime Change] Budapest : Kortárs, 2009/6., 96–109.

Nyelvváltás és regionális hovatartozás-tudat. [Change of Language and Regional Identity Consciousness] In: Kortárs magyar kisebbségi irodalmak. [Contemporary Hungarian Minority Literatures] (Előadások a VII. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszuson. Lectures at the 7th International Congress of Hungarian Studies) Kolozsvár, 2013. 44–53.

Metafore postkolonijalizma u mađarskoj književnosti u Vojvodini. [Metaphors of Postcolonialism in Hungarian Literature in Vojvodina] Novi Sad: Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu, 2011. XXXVI. 227–235.



## **Symp. 15. Ethnofuturism and contemporary art of Finno-Ugric peoples**

**Organizers:** Elvira Kolcheva (Mari State University) and Esa-Jussi Salminen (University of Turku)

Anfinogenov, Bogdan  
Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature of the Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences

### **Ethnofuturism and modern urban culture (on the example of the Volga-Urals region)**

From the very beginning of the movement of ethnofuturism in Estonia, its founders, the first theorists have noted that one of the main, the primary tasks of ethnofuturism is the creation of small people own national urban culture. The main tool for the development of ethnofuturism, in the opinion of Estonians, was to become the Internet. Already in the beginning before ethnofuturism task was the establishment of the urban (and hence mass) culture, while preserving the ethnic identity of the cultures, while maintaining the traditional features of consciousness, psychology, philosophy. In scientific works dedicated to the ethnofuturism, we also find the information to support these theses.

However, ethnofuturism as elitist trend in literature and art of the Finno-Ugric peoples does not solve the primary task of creating a urban culture, spoke in his first Manifesto of the Estonian movement theorists. As we found out by calling to the original sources ethnofuturist movement, the concept of ethnofuturism involves the synthesis of traditional and innovative not only in literature and contemporary art, but also on the level of everyday life (because ethnofuturism most researchers called it the "way of life, way of thinking, worldview"), at the level of urban culture (i.e. not only in the environment of exhibitions, galleries, literary circles, but in the space of the music industry, products, show business, cinema, night clubs, modeling agencies, restaurants, supermarkets etc), and actually The Internet (social networks, blogs, various sites, forums, video hosting sites and so on).

Representatives of the literary ethnofuturism in most cases very sharply deny the relationship of ethnofuturism with modern mass, "pop" culture, even if it uses ethnic elements, traditional motifs, or simply the language of the indigenous people. From the outside it looks like a kind of "privatization" name "ethnofuturism" representatives of this direction of modern literature and art, as well as literary critics and art historians, students of ethnofuturism as the direction.

As an example, not by accident identified the culture of the peoples of the Volga-Ural region. In this region since ancient times intertwine a variety of cultures. This and the Finno-Ugrians, Turks and Russians. Not accidentally ethnofuturism was developed here not only as the Finno-Ugric phenomenon, but also reflected in art and literature of the Turkic peoples. Representatives of Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Chuvashia took and take an active part in ethnofuturist

festivals and symposia. All this suggests that ethnofuturism is not isolated within the Finno-Ugric world, the idea of ethnofuturism finds the development of different ethnic cultures. As an example of the possible use of the term "ethnofuturism" in the modern, mass urban culture of the peoples of the Volga-Ural region, we have selected two objects: the Udmurt rock band "Silent Woo Goore" and film of A. Fedorchenko on the book by D. Osokin "Celestial wives of the meadow Mari".

In his article the author tries to give examples and justify a point of view on ethnofuturism, as an ideology, which is reflected not only in the artistic and literary fields (which are called ethnofuturism), but also, for example, in modern rock music, cinema. We were interested to examine examples it is from the Volga-Urals region, because this region is actively used the term "ethno-futurism" in scientific and creative environment, there are still topical issues of modernization of the ethnic culture of different peoples, the solution of which was directed to the idea of ethnofuturism, since its occurrence.

Dugast Casen, Marie  
INALCO, Paris

### **Udmurt folk songs as a pattern of the contemporary music**

This presentation aims at highlightens the role of the Udmurt folk song in the contemporary music, from historical, sociological and artistic points of view.

Eltsova, Elena  
Komi Science Centre, Ural Branch, Russian Academy of Sciences

### **Some ethnofuturist features in modern Komi literature (Некоторые черты этнофутуризма в современной коми поэзии)**

In 2005, the Udmurt poet and the specialist in literature V.L. Shibarov wrote that "in the Komi, Mari El, Mordovia, Khanty and Mansi cultures ethnofuturism is mostly represented just in the fine arts and culture ... but it's features can be also easily found in poetry" [Shibarov 2005: 114-115]. Indeed, in the 1990s the Komi artists P. Mikushev, Y. Lisowski, I. Kotyleva, V. Ostashova were the first to become the followers of this artistic and aesthetic trends. However, the Komi writers together with the ethnofuturist artists became participants of ethnofuturist seminars; in a collection of works by ethnofuturist writers «Neiu ja karu» (Girl and bear, Tartu, 2005) were also published the poems and prose by Komi writers N. Obrezkova, A. Yeltsova, A. Polugrudov. Art and Literary magazine "Art" (Harmony) is designed today by the artist-ethnofuturist Y. Lisowski, the poetry collections of modern Komi poets G. Butyreva "Burö-vizö" (For good, 2005), "Lov shy" (The Breathing, 2008), M. Elkin "Kodzula ezha" (Starry virgin soil, 2013), a collective book of poems and short stories "Edzhyd voyyas" (White Nights, 2010) published in recent years were equally designed by him. It indicates the openness of modern Komi poetry, its availability to

contact with the other arts achievements, and to develop the methods in this direction.

Ethnofuturist ideas, based on traditional spiritual culture, reinterpreted in a contemporary cultural context, do not conflict with the ideas and the very essence of modern Komi literature, so its features can be found in the works of many contemporary Komi authors (G. Butyreva, A. Luzhikov, N. Obrezkova, O. Ulyashev, A. Polugrudov) both in a form and a content level of literary works.

The ideas of preserving the native people, their traditions, language and culture in the modern Komi literature are combined with the ideas of its aspiration for the future: the theme of a small country (native village) – is a source of moral and spiritual values of the people – one of the leading themes of modern Komi poetry. Its main themes are a motive of returning to the origins, the motive of preserving the memory of the past, in which is expressed the desire to save the spiritual values of his people and pass them on to future generations. The drama and prose frequent references to the subject of ancient history of the Komi people, rethinking its facts in the present context (O. Ulyashev, V. Thymine, Yushkov). In the Komi poets verses (A. Luzhikov, O. Ulyashev) are frequently used the traditional folklore and mythological characters in a modern context.

The well-known form of modern Komi lyrics is the free verse (the works of G. Butyreva, N. Obrezkova, L. Anufriyeva A. Shomysova). On the one hand it is related with the free verse tradition of Komi folklore and its transferring to the modern Komi verse. On the other hand, it is related with the popular and promising tendency of parental literatures (Finnish, Estonian, Udmurt).

Today, in all kinds and literature genres the Komi language go through the renaissance and reconstruction process.

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Ilina, Natalia – Kondratieva, Natalja  
Udmurt State University

### **Poetic worldview of a Bessermyan poet Mikhail Fedotov in the context of ethnofuturism**

The mythopoetic tendencies of current Udmurt literature are usually associated with ethnofuturism in literature that is interpreted as a phenomenon combining the complex of the 'ethnic/past/traditional' (e. g., folklore, mythology, archaic history, etc.) with the complex of 'present/future' (e. g., modernist and post-modernist experiments) in order to create the strategy of survival for the minority ethnic cultures in the era of globalization. In the Udmurt prose and poetry of 1990s-2010s myth is used as an instrument for building up national (ethnic) identity and self-consciousness and preserving ethnicity in the globalizing world. Due to the symbolic and universal character of myth it is actively used in the sphere of philosophical prose. Quite specific interactions between myth and literature are observed in the case when the magical enters the world of reality.

One of the best illustration of these trends in Udmurt literature is the poetry of Mikhail Fedotov whose texts are interesting from many aspects and mainly for

the fact that the author himself was a Besermyan – a representative of a minority ethnic group within the Udmurts. The essence of M. Fedotov's poetry may be formulated as looking for ethnic identity. In his early works the poet concentrates on depicting the peculiar features of the Besermyan traditional culture at almost ethnographical level. But in his later works the author turns to the sphere of ethnic traditional animistic mythology and discloses its depth as a person who perceives mythology not as an onlooker but a person who admits and appreciates the sacred nature of myth. His poetic world includes specific interpretation of traditional worldview of Udmurts and Besermyans (traditional model of macrocosm and microcosm, binary oppositions between its elements, etc.). Quite often his poetry develops at the level of the “uncanny”; it is full of such mythological personages as water- and household sprites, witches, etc. Some of his ballad-like poems resemble to folklore genre of *ishan* – narratives which tell about penetration of the realm of the supernatural into the real world. Given in the binary opposition to the world of urbanized space, which is interpreted by M. Fedotov as the variant of hell, these infernal mythological characters, traditionally treated as evil and dangerous, become in his poetry positive or at least ambivalent.

The presentation will include analyses of texts by M. Fedotov.

Kolcheva, Elvira  
Mari State University

### **Search for national originality in contemporary Mari artists' creative work**

#### **(Поиски национальной самобытности в творчестве современных марийских художников)**

At the end of the 80s of the 20th century in the Mari artistic culture there appeared a galaxy of national artists who gave grounds to state the beginning of a new stage of the Mari fine arts. Those artists' creations have become the expression of nation's mentality, its spiritual and emotional life. The pictorial forms of those productions differ greatly from conventional academical style, from realistic way of portrayal. Some artists – I. Yamberdov, V. Bogolyubov, I. Yefimov known to be realists, suddenly changed their manner having turned to symbolism and conventionality. At the same time there appeared young artists Yu. and S. Tanygins, S. Yevdokimov, A. Ivanov who manifested themselves to be avant-gardes.

Despite different ways of artistic expression the thing that united them was the fact that their paintings showed not only historical and folklore past but also mythology as a kind of world perception; ancient archetypical images gained new matter. The artists came to be myth creators. This phenomenon can be defined as mythologism. Its main features of the productions are:

- change in the principles of composition in the picture since it has become now the expression of mythological chronotopos in which the space is dynamic and physical time is absent,
- change in the principles of coloristic representation, it has become similar to either decorative principles of folk art or turned to dark and toneless “world of subconsciousness”.

Unusual often sinister characters started to appear in the pictures: ancient archetype of Wise Old Woman, Wise Old Man (after K. Young), spirit-patron of various things and phenomena, conventionalized archeological images. Ancient artifacts in the paintings as if awaken ethnical memory bursting through the nation from the past or collective subconsciousness.

Such a synthetic feature of this phenomenon as elimination of the distinction between conventionality and reality, artistic and ritual is of a particular interest. The artists practice the traditional religion of their nation, some artists minister to their religion; somebody synthesizes his own religious and philosophic system on the basis of various beliefs. Special energy is inherent in the pictures.

The organizers of the International Exhibition Ugriculture-2000 (Espoo, Finland) wrote: "The artists with their creativity support national self-respect of the nations. Finno-Ugric modern art is characterized by powerful belief in its importance and it has a specific mission in the present-day world".

Kotylev, Aleksander  
Syktyvkar State University

### **The North-Western direction of ethnofuturism in Russia: main characteristics and features of the development**

Ethnofuturist development direction in the North-West of Russia (and Finno-Ugric North as a whole) is characterized by the historical and cultural foundations. It begins to be put in the XIV century, baptismal Perm (Komi region) Stephen of Perm, which belonged to a rare type of the Christian educator. In his career, he does not erase the ethnic and cultural identity, but it fixed the. Permian original writing and translation of Scripture on drevnekomi language became the first principles of the book culture of the Finno-Ugric peoples. Early baptism of Permian and Karelians, probably did not contribute to the development of neo-paganism in the modern period.

The second component is related with the design of the epic cultural traditions in the late XIX - XX centuries. This process had scientists and writers, beginning with E. Lennrot. A special place belongs to the thinker and writer K.F. Zhacov. He was for many years occupied by search of identity Komi and close to them peoples. Lack of cultural specificity of the native people of his very distressed but, recognizing this as a scientist, he believed entitled to confront him as a writer. Zhakov - writer, storyteller and philosopher - tried to give the native culture, the qualities of which it did not find the scientist. In the spirit of neo-romantic searching, he found it possible to compose that what homeland is not pulled, and, above all, the epic poem "Biarmia".

At the same time, the specificity of the north-western direction ethnofuturism determined by an appeal to the ancient layers of culture that emerged in the territory of the Finno-Ugric peoples. The most archaic systems of cultural heritage, developed ethnofuturism, steel ancient rock carvings (petroglyphs) and multi-temporal works of bronze sculpture, decorated in several "styles". These visual system breaks fruitfully developed over many centuries from the Neolithic to modern times. An important factor contributing to the urgency of the treatment is to these types of cultural heritage, is a lack of demand for their modernist and

avant-garde. There is also clearly seen growing throughout most of the twentieth century, the intensity of the relationship between culture and science fiction. Petroglyphs and ancient bronze opened gradually in the course of research and only then become the focus of artists. The earliest visual system, epic works and scientific developments combined in Ethnofuturism based on ethno-cultural heritage of the peoples of modern and personal life experience of artists.

Kotyleva, Irina  
The National Museum of Komi Republic

### **Archetypical motives in contemporary art: from experience of ethnofuturistic art representation**

In basis of my reflections on this theme is an exhibition «Man and woman. The archeology of an archetype», which was presented in halls of the National museum of Komi Republic within the frames of the Russian-Norwegian Forum (Syktyvkar. June, 11-12th, 2014). The conception of an exhibition has been built on the basis of that concept, which have power on genesis of art of different epoch, people, and formations.

For this exhibition have been chosen works of artists-ethnofuturists as already known in our Republic (Jury Lisovsky, Paul Mikusheva, Irina Fedosova), such as of those who do not connect itself with ethnofuturism (Angela Razmanova, Valery Ostashov, Anastasia Denisova, Christina Ovsjankina). At an exhibition have been presented the works of artists created in 2014th, and earlier, both from funds of museum, and from private collections and workshops. At the exhibition have been presented different ethnographic subjects: female and man's suits, stupa with pestle, female headdresses and powder flasks of Komi hunters. An original symbol of an exhibition became a de-tail of a harness for deers (the end 19th – beginning 20th centuries) with the image of a man and women coitus from collection of the National museum of Komi Republic.

After the artist, spectators were offered to enter in a game to interpret primary images, to do the «archeology of an archetyp. In the certain degree an impulse for formation of an exhibition be-came Paul Mikushev's triptych «Chudskoe», created on the basis of archeologic artefacts (bronze cast anthropological figures) in which man-female beginning appears as a part of a mythological picture of the world.

Research and decoding of contemporary art in a context of archetypical models "man-female" assumes a variety of approaches, each of which will be connected with some acquaintance of works on culture (especially researches ancient and traditional symbols, texts, ceremonies) and with psychoanalysis, and with personal experience.

To one of dominating semantic lines at the exhibition became display of female archaic symbols that is absolutely natural in a context of archetypical models. The special place at the exhibition has occupied Paul Mikushev's work «Sign of woman», created on the basis of a tradition-al(zyrjan) female headdress embroidery.

In the works presented at the exhibition the theme «man-women» acted as a conductor of ancient archetypical models, and as "mirror" of personal



experiences. The theme «Man and wom-an» in this or that perusal is presented in creativity of each artist, therefore it was supposed, what exactly it will promote project as a part of cooperation of artists and museums of the Barents region countries.

A forming of exhibition concepts on the basis of archetypical motives is perspective. It can be interesting for artists of both ethnofuturist and non-ethnofuturist directions, will allow to reveal new senses in contemporary art, will promote development of interest to the modern art in the broad audience of spectators.

Kudryavtcev, Vladimir – Kudryavtceva, Alina  
Mari State University

### **Art of Finno-Ugric peoples in art history**

Russian science acquired great experience in studying the art of peoples inhabiting the country. But at the same time there is a considerable gap in modern art history concerning specific cultural branch of Finno-Ugric peoples. Paul Ariste remarked that Finno-Ugric study should research not only languages and history but art history as well.

While studying the art of Finno-Ugric peoples several periods are marked out.

The first one is linked with academic expeditions' activities which in 18th century stated their ethnographic observations on folk art. Later thanks to the Russian Geographic Society, the Society of Archeology, History and Ethnography at Kazan University and the Finno-Ugric Society in Helsingfors. Russian and foreign scientists and artists published a lot of other important information on traditional culture of Finno-Ugric peoples. It was the time when traditional branches of Finno-Ugric study were founded. Finnish artist Agaton Reniholm (1857-1887) was a bright artist and researcher of Finno-Ugric peoples. The artist persistently acquired and reflected the culture of indigenous peoples. In late 19th and early 20th centuries Finno-Ugric study became a separate branch in science. Languages, folklore and art became objects of comparative study. They co-operated with local scientists as well as professional artists.

In the history of cultural relations between Russia and Finland artistic ties have always been important. They began in early 18th century when I.Vaklin studied at Petersburg Academy of Art and continued in 1870s, at the edge of 19-20th centuries the artistic links were growing.

Russian researchers M.Bezrukova, L.Suvorova, E. Soyni and others made a considerable contribution to Finland art studying. They note that Finnish artists' paintings attracted attention of Academy of Art in Dusseldorf and Petersburg. In mid-19th century their own art schools came into being in Finland. Russian critics V.Stasov and S.Dyagilev were interested in Finnish art.

The next stage is linked with scientists' and artists' activities in Soviet time. Most of publications concern art after 1917. In researching folk art the ethnographer T.Kryukova used the comparative-historical way which helped her to define common features and it was the evidence of kindred ancient sources.

In Finland the first attempts to collect data concerning Finnish-Russian ties were made by art historian A.Reitala (in 1980 the exhibition “Finland-USSR”).

In post-Soviet time new tendencies came into being in art history research. Due to professor S.Chervonnaya creative work religious art research was developed. Another tendency is defined in studying modern arts problems and it is called «ethno-futurism» of Finno-Ugric peoples. It reflects archaic religious ideas (researches by K.Kivimyaki, E.Kolcheva, V.Kudryavtsev, N.Rosenberg a.o.). An International modern art exhibition «Ugriculture – 2000» took place in Helsinki in 2000. Folklore and mythological topic became its basis.

Dissertation thesis, art books publications, artists’ participating in festivals and art symposiums ensure opening a lot of unknown pages in history of Finno-Ugric peoples’ art. Till now there is no generalizing research of Finno-Ugric peoples’ art of Russia which requires further scientific study. Urgent study of Finno-Ugric peoples’ spiritual culture remains important not only for Finno-Ugric study but for art and culture history as well.

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### **Samboka, a constructed Uralic language**

Constructed languages have been created for different reasons, among others for easier international communication and for artistic expression. The most famous constructed language, Esperanto, is based on various European languages. Relatively few Uralic words are used in Esperanto and other constructed languages of the same type (Libert, 2013).

There are many less known constructed languages that have a narrower base than Esperanto. Their base consists of only one family or subfamily of languages. Many constructed languages are based on Romance, Germanic and Slavic subfamilies, but only two constructed languages are based on the Uralic language family. The first one, Budinos, was published in Udmurtia in 2009 with the goal to become the common language of the Finno-Ugric peoples (Arzamazov, 2009). Budinos has been examined by linguists (Ernits, 2010). The second one, Samboka, was published in 2014 in Finland.

The name of Samboka derives from Sampo, which is a mythical object of prosperity in the Finnic folklore that got destroyed and its pieces got scattered across the world. It is an allegory that can be applied to the linguistic past, the divergence of the proto-Uralic language to many branches. Samboka is an attempt to gather the pieces of the ancient parental Uralic language together, pieces that still remain in contemporary Uralic languages.

The long term goal of Samboka is to act as a communicative bridge between Uralic peoples in an imaginable future scenario where the need for direct communication between Uralic peoples is greater than today. However there appears to be no immediate need for Samboka as a medium of communication. Therefore the current function of the language is to serve as a work of ethnofuturistic art.

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### **The main features of laugh culture in Udmurt literary ethnofuturism (Специфика смеховой культуры в удмуртском литературном этнофутуризме)**

In the article the authors through the analysis of the comic elements in both images and situations in books by different Udmurt writers examine literary ethnofuturism phenomenon in 1990-2000-es.

To understand the specificity of Udmurt people comic imagination in the s1990-es the authors apply to literary heritage of Kuzebay Gerd (1898-1937) and Flor Vasilyev (1934-1978). Special attention is paid to such Gerd's work as «Parsy» (A Swine), «Punyo», «En tyshkasyke» (Don't scold), «Bazar» (Market place), «Shaitan ullyan» (Driving out of demon) and "lullabies" by Flor Vasilyev. Ambivalence of the Kuzebay Gerd artistic system is considered as transient phenomenon between the folk aesthetics and the aesthetic principles of individual and very personal creative activity. Structure of utterances with two conflicting with each other meanings producing ironical effect is typical of Flor Vasilyev poetry.

In ethnofuturism of 1990-2000-es Sergey Matveyev (b. 1964) plays an important role. Matveyev's comic imagination is devoid of humor and satire; instead of it it contains elements of irony and self-irony. The author defines his novel «Shuzi» (Half-wit, 1995) a "chatter-novel" and the novel «Tchoryglesy lushkam kylburanyos» (On behalf of fish, 2006) as «delirium-novel». The narration of the first novel is constructed as a love story: the main hero tells about his love affairs with seven females. However, these love stories the author uses as the background, actually his aim is quite different. He focuses his interest on ironical criticism of representatives of Udmurt intelligentsia. The structure of the novel «On behalf of fish» is based on the rhizome principle. The main character, a refined intellectual wanders inside of his night dreams, searching for his beloved woman who can turn into various beings. This labyrinth depicts the ambivalent reality of the Udmurt world.

This is the way Sergey Matveyev as many other Udmurt writers integrates ethnic laugh culture traditional elements into a postmodern context.

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### **Integration of ethnofuturism and folk traditions in the space of Mordovians' family-ancestral culture**

At the present stage of development of the Russian society some questions related to the strengthening and growth of national identity, ethnic identity, and with the revival of cultural and spiritual values become a priority.

Searching for a new and actualization of spiritual became the basis for the formation of a new direction in art – ethnofuturism, which consolidated ancient layers of national culture with modern trends. The emergence of this trend is associated with global social change in the world and in the spiritual life, in particular, which led to the crisis of the collective identity and awoke the culture of the sovereign republics to the national consciousness based on their history, religion, oral poetry.

The report focuses on the problems of integration of modern art with traditional religious beliefs, family and tribal relations of the Mordovians. One of the most important components of the clan culture is the cult of ancestors, which played a primary role in the worldview and religious practice of Moksha and Erzya. It is based on the faith in the protection of the dead ancestors and relatives to living descendants and some family ancestral ceremonies held in their honor.

The cult of ancestors became the basis for creative work of ethnofuturism artists. They are characterized by the rejection of the image of modern life and return to the mythological and folk stories, to "the historical memory of ethnos". The art of ethnofuturism is turned to the verbal folklore tradition, where the ethnic identity of the people is the most obvious. In this regard, Mordovian artists, relying on traditional worldview and generational continuity, chose the direction of ethnofuturism and ethnosymbolism which traced the address to the archetypes that underlie the collective unconscious and having a defined relationship with ethnic identity and come to reflect in his work innovation information culture and anarchici. Painters use symbolism and the conventionality of popular culture to reflect the images of forgotten ancestors. For example, in the paintings of A. Aleshkin the main emphasis is placed on the mythology of the Mordovians, national origins, ancient signs and symbols. In the same vein many of the masters of painting and design are working: L. Kolchanova "Prayer of horses"; N. Ryabov "The Message of the Ancestors"; B. Popkov "Our grandfathers"; G. Loseva "Inenarmun".

Nowadays ethnofuturism is regarded as one of the way of countering the increasing globalization. In this context, it is a driving force of ethnic cultural progress, communicating time and generations.

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### **Ethnofuturism in Finland (Этнофутуризм в Финляндии)**

Ethnofuturism is not very commonly used word in Finland. Only some researchers and journalists have actively used the word and analyzed the phenomenon. Almost no artists or writers have felt it necessary to stick to the word ethnofuturism nor felt importance of forming theories of their art using that kind of terminology.

This doesn't mean of course that there isn't any artists, whos art is actually ethnofuturistic. In music, painting and literature we can see many works, that represent pure ethnofuturism, as it is defined in theories of ethnofuturism.

Moreover the typical feature of Finnish ethnofuturism is that it is somehow connected to general Finno-Ugric movement. At least the word ethnofuturism can be seen more often in such contexts.

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### **Folklore and ethnographic traditions in the prose of M. T. Ushakova (Фольклорно-этнографические традиции в прозе Маргариты Ушаковой)**

Answering the question about folklore and ethnographic trends in prose, scientists use the following expressions: factual, documentary nature of the narrative, exact dating of the depicted events, richness of ethnographic materials - observations, knowledge of images, customs, material and spiritual culture, rich ethnographic information about life of people, concepts reflected in the author's mind.

As we know, the formation of Mari literature was strongly influenced by the aesthetics of folklore. Many works of Mari prose writers have traits of folklorism and ethnographism, reflect national way of thinking and peculiarities of the national character.

One of the most interesting contemporary writers who managed to convey the essence of the national mentality and national character is Margarita Ushakova. She belongs to the generation of Mari writers, who became well-known in the 70s of the twentieth century. M. Ushakova tried her hand at writing poems, plays, but readers know her better as a prose writer. Her author's individuality and ethnopoetic originality of prose have not received sufficient attention from Mari researchers yet. In this work, we make a try to analyze folklore and ethnographic traditions in the prose of Margarita Ushakova. She is the author of numerous short stories and novels («Тоштопртынмонологшо» 'Monologue of the old house', «Мий, кунамжыт; тол, кунамвучат» 'When you are invited come, when you are waited for, come'). In her works, she focuses on the lives of ordinary people (and in most cases –women), explores their fate and

finds something unusual and special in each character. Characters of M. Ushakova are individual, they are alike in their love towards a man and their native land, inexhaustible natural gifts and diligence. This suggests that the writer reveals philosophical and ethical traditions of the Mari people.

The impact of folklore in the works of the prose writer is seen not only in the description of village, landscape, national customs, faith, peasant attitude, but also in her desire to get into the specific character of folklore, combine concrete nature of life and folk convention. Margarita Ushakova is especially good at conveying a generalized image of the national reality in an individual, in his figure, gesture, movement, and in each thing, tree, animal, plant, etc. as well. In the material world which is depicted by the author we can see the roots of the Mari culture and history. The images created by Ushakova possess original national traits and at the same time thanks to a lively, dynamic form of the narrative, get timely sound and universal significance.

Thus, the use of folklore and ethnographic traditions in the prose of Ushakova is caused by the idea of preserving spiritual and material culture of the Mari people.

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### **Selkup mythological characters**

Selkups are one of the small nations of Russia, located in the north of Western Siberia, in the midst of dense forests, along the banks of turbulent rivers. Selkup language belongs to the northern branch of the Samoyedic language group, whereof other languages are already expired. Thus, Selkup language and folklore present a relic of sorts, containing archetypical mentality of West-Siberian taiga aborigines.

The author's report will cover images of Selkup mythological characters, namely messenger birds, which may warn a man of a forthcoming disaster, and may sometimes be the reason thereof. Besides, the author will speak about visualization strategies concerning these characters, status quo of Selkup folklore and recent transformations within the latter.

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### **Representations of space and time in mythology of the Finno-Ugric people**

**(Представления о пространстве и времени в мифологии финно-угорских народов)**

Categories "space" and "time" are in the most important in the description of a mythological picture of the world of the Finno-Ugric people, defining specificity of model of the world possessing considerable lines of similarity; at the same

time each culture develops the set of means for the expression, that, finally, determines uniqueness and originality of ethnic cultures.

In a regional scientific approach one can find the idea of hopelessness of the Mordovian mythology studying, some researchers believe that everything had been already investigated.. The reason for it is a poor knowledge of the European theoretical researches in the field of mythology, absence of skill in carrying out the anthropological researches in classical and new academic traditions.

Some exception makes a number of articles of the project "Encyclopedia" "Mythology of mordva" (Scientific research institute of the humanities at the Republic Mordovian Government) whose authors have carried out cultural studies within the limits of European program TEMPUS/TASIS.

Definition of specificity of ethnic interpretation of these categories in mythology and traditional culture gives the chance: first, to reveal and analyze uniform images for all Finno-Ugric people («the world centre», «the World tree», representations about "Golden Age", трехчленная world model), secondly, to define a circle of mythologies for which these categories dominate at the description of a picture of the world, thirdly, to reveal, in what mythology of the Finno-Ugric people other categories prevail.

The mythology of the Russian Finno-Ugric people is not only scientific subject, but also an art of visualization that is reflected in dominating in art of the Finno-Ugric people movement of ethnofuturism, joint ethnic futuristic projects. Art of Mordovia brightly illustrates occurring inversion of ethnic aspect onto the mythological one. On political level optimum strategy of development admits archaic basis as a part of projective myth creation. This tendency is being investigated within the limits of grants «Plastic expressiveness of Mordovian dance», «Modern art of Mordovia: non traditional forms and their development». From researching point of view the analysis of display of similar tendencies in art of Hungary is interesting.



## **Symp. 16. Rethinking family values. The conception of family in the context of new rural everyday life**

**Organizer:** Ildikó Lehtinen (University of Helsinki)

Baydimirov, Dmitry

The National Museum of Mari El Republic named by T. Evseev

### **The symbolism of a well in the culture of Mari people**

The ceremonies and rituals connected with construction of wells in everyday life of a rural family played an important role. Process of a construction of a well had the stages: a choice of a place and time for a construction of wells, a choice of material and preparation of a felling, installation of a well. All these processes were followed by certain ceremonies and rituals: introduction of existential parameters; material choice; transformation of material by means of the elements or an instrument of labor.

For construction of a well chose places far from economic constructions, bathrooms. The place where earlier the bath settled down was considered as an adverse place. The place choice was especially important for a well, on it depended, whether there will be on this place a water.

For the well device, in the absence of a natural water source used a traditional way of definition of ground waters. In dry weather watched packs of geese: where they gathered, by all means underground in small depth there is a water. It is known that Mari's geese were always considered as a divine bird (Yumynkayyk). This poultry was sacrificed almost on all religious holidays therefore kept geese in significant amounts.

Modern researchers note that water has the power, bears in itself certain information. The cult of water was available practically for all people of the world and exists so far. Clarification ritual by water was the most widespread ritual. In traditional religion of the people of Mari, only after a bath went to a sacred grove, carried out family prayers. Otherwise it was a great sin.

At Mari's people exist a grove in which prayed to a rain. These groves settle down near the rivers. In droughty years when long time wasn't rains, in these parts carried out prayers to a rain, sacrificed a black sheep that Osh Kugu Yumo sent a rain. And when there were long pouring rains, sacrificed a white sheep that rains stopped.

During celebration of "Shorykyol" according to old residents that the main characters Vasly of a kugyz and Vasly of a kuv appeared from a well or an ice-hole. And small children were frightened by that they didn't approach water sources that Vasly Kugyza or Vasly Kuva can take away to themselves in an ice-hole or a well.

Therefore, the most part of homework in the Mari traditional family lay on the woman's shoulders. Fire and water as the most important elements of a life support system of the person in daily cares of women played the central role. As a rule, the Mari villages are generally located at water sources. Mari's people to

water always treated with honoring that was reflected in many ceremonies and representations.

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### **Rural everyday life in the etno-settlements of the Republic of Karelia: in the youth's opinion**

A rural settlement is a special type of community with certain difficulties for its residents, often remote from the regional centre, and with poorly developed economy. Rural labour market is noted for a lower level of economic activity and employment, the outcomes being higher unemployment, considerable seasonal fluctuations, lower quality and price of manpower, massive use of inkind payments and unpaid occupations. On the other hand, it is worth mentioning the high mobility of the youth in the rural labour market, which has two aspects: search for additional employment and job change. The surveys helped reveal the living conditions of the youth in the Republic of Karelia rural etno-settlements and the principal reasons for them to leave the countryside, given that the main factors for social mobility are the education and labour market arrangements. The local community is now becoming a key concept since the transformations underway in the country require that it turns into an actor that does not simply adapt to the change around, but actively chooses the lines for socioeconomic and socio-cultural development of the territory, as well as sets the criteria for assessing the quality of the development. This first of all refers to the youth, which is the most interested and active part of the population. The main factors hindering individual initiative, in the youth's opinion, were the lack of seed capital, and the lack of skills and basic knowledge (of how to start a business). The least important items, as assessed by the respondents, were high competition, lack of knowledge in drawing up the required papers, and lack of production facilities. The main proposals from the respondents on how to develop the settlements were: to create new jobs, to build new housing facilities, to allocate company housing to young specialists taking up jobs in the social sphere, to improve the social dimension of life (organized leisure, possibilities for sports, improved educational services). An integrated approach is needed to address the problem of rural employment and youth drain. A potential impetus for revival of the rural economy is development of the tourism business, but in the modern situation it requires fundamentally new approaches on the part of local administrations in managing its development, and the local community must recognize it as a promising and beneficial economic activity.

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**Chuvash and Finno-Ugric peoples: the experience of intercultural contacts in the Ural-Volga region**  
**(Чуваши и финно-угорские народы: опыт межкультурных контактов в Урало-Поволжье)**

During the settlement of the Chuvash among Finno-Ugric Peoples (Mari, Udmurt and Mordovians) in the 16-19 centuries there were formed contact zones, in which the interaction between ethnic groups took place. Contacts with Mari historically occurred in the northern part of modern Chuvashia, but in 18-20 centuries were limited mainly by the north-west of the Republic (verkhovye Chuvashes and gornye Mari). Outside the main area the Chuvash come in contact with Mari in the north-western part of Bashkortostan and the south-east of Tatarstan. In these regions the Chuvash also communicated with the Udmurt people. Much more scaled Chuvash-Mordovian interaction can be seen in the area of nizovye Chuvash i.e. Chuvash living in the southern and northern parts of the Ulyanovsk region as well as in the right-bank Volga areas of the Ulyanovsk region, on the left Volga bank of Samara and Orenburg regions, partly in the Trans-Kama districts of Tatarstan and in the Ural region (western and central parts of Bashkortostan).

Historically the Chuvash contacted with Finno-Ugric peoples in different forms: they have joint settlements or communities, and in areas of intensive interaction there were observed mixed marriages, the leveling of cultural differences, bilingualism, co-participation in public life, celebrations and ceremonies. One of the most important indicators of the level of the Chuvash interaction with neighboring Finno-Ugric peoples is functioning of the festive ritual complex in both ethnic groups: the form of the ceremonies, the participants and the nature of participation of ethnic groups, the interpenetration of ritual elements, mutual ceremonial traditions, etc.

The factors of ethnic group integration were similarities in lifestyle, economic life, religious traditions, mutual cultural and linguistic competence, positive perception of ethnic and cultural differences and of the fact of the neighborhood itself. Various social institutions (communities, schools, collective farms, etc.) serve as a platform for socio-cultural interaction.

However, the Chuvash retained a cultural distance from their Finno-Ugric neighbors: they settled in separate "ends" of the villages, had separate cemeteries or parts on the common cemetery, kept their customs, celebrated their Chuvash festivals and rituals, preferred to marry the Chuvash, etc. The reasons of the Chuvash isolation from the neighbors were the number of population sufficient for reproduction as ethno-cultural community, motivation in preserving ethnic

and cultural identity supported by a positive perception of the Chuvash language and culture.

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**Education in the reindeer-breeder's family: Acculturation or conservation of traditions**  
**(Образование в оленеводческой семье: деэтнизация или сохранение традиций)**

The paper deals with the Nenets reindeer-breeders' attitude to the education in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Region (Okrug). It is based on the field data collected by the author in 2011, 2012. Today the Nenets reindeer-breeders' families face a dilemma: either to provide their children with an adequate school education and thus to tear them away from their nomadic lifestyle and unique culture or to leave them in the tundra when they are teenagers. The latter choice means that the children won't complete their secondary and sometimes even basic education, but they will acquire skills in reindeer-breeding and will keep up their traditional Nenets cultural values.

The young Nenets generation gets accustomed to a modern life style in the settlements, they enjoy living in the houses with electricity and running water, where they are well-fed and well-clothed. They are unwilling to return to the difficulties of an uncomfortable nomadic life. Finishing boarding schools, the children have to choose between a traditional Nenets nomadic life in the tundra and a modern lifestyle in the settlement. More than once our interviewees remarked that after completing their education in boarding schools some children couldn't find their place in the settlement or town life because they lost their links with the world of their parents (reindeer-breeding and tundra). In the value system of the tundra's inhabitants a reindeer-breeding and a traditional nomadic lifestyle are considered to be more important than education. Many parents take their children away from schools after they finish 6th or 7th forms. First of all it concerns the boys, while the girls from the nomadic families usually leave school after the 9th form. The parents claim that their sons, first and foremost, should shepherd reindeer and keep up their traditional way of life. Moreover, according to the popular belief, the boys are the subjects to so called "bad influence" of a settlement life such as drinking and drug addiction. Today men outnumber women in the tundra because the girls from the nomadic families try to find jobs in the settlements after finishing schools. As a result, there is a gender disproportion among the Nenets: a lot of men living in the tundra are bachelors, while in the settlements there are a lot of single mothers.

It is important to understand that the future development of the traditional branches of the economy including a reindeer-breeding is impossible without a sufficient number of ingenious people who received good education. Nowadays it is essential for tundra lifestyle not only to shepherd reindeer and catch fish but to also to acquire knowledge and skills in management, marketing and law.

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### **Traces of group marriage in Mari terms of relationship**

With the help of relationship terms people prevent chaos and dangerous conflicts in family relationships, regulate intersexual relationships, improving social well-being.

In Mari terms of relationship and customs associated with them different stages of development of marriage, family, genus are reflected: from uncontrolled relationships to the group marriage, to the pair- and monogamous marriage.

From uncontrolled stage only indirect evidence is preserved : bans for relationships between brother and sister and mother with her son. Punishment for violations are reflected in the Mari mythology.

To the archaic form of marriage "classification" terms with the group meaning belong. They arose simultaneously with the formation of clans and tribes ancestors of the Mari people and have parallel in the languages of kindred peoples.

It is reconstructed that marriage was between marriage age groups of two clans (phratries) through the exchange of groups of women.

The crucial matter in revealing the mechanism of archaic marriage is the term "Chuchu"("чӱчӱ") (younger brother of the mother; son of the elder sister of the father). The content of the term implies that the elder sister of his father bore younger brothers of the mother and the mother herself ego (эго). The father of ego married the daughter of his elder sister. For this daughter he is the younger brother of her mother.

The principle of marriage with the term "Chuchu"("чӱчӱ") and other terms was of such way. Women married the younger brothers of his mother and they were also the sons of the elder sisters of the father "соча"("кока), a marriage class of "husbands." Men married the daughters of the elder sisters and they were also the daughters of the younger brothers of the mother. There were marriage classes of grooms "рогуз"("пӱрыж"), mothers "ака"("ака"), fathers "иза"("иза"), brides "нудо"("нудо"), etc.

Typologically reconstructed form of marriage is called "cross-cousin marriage" with matrilineal filiation of relationship, with the inclusion of the levirate and sororate.

This system of marriage broke up with the growing role of the family and the individual, and as a result of marriage contacts with Iranian-lingual and ancient Chuvash tribes. Chuvash origin have the terms denoting wife, "vate"("вате"), the husband of the older sister "kurska"("купска") determinant "оню"("оньо") for the denotation the members of the family of the husband, and the family of the the wife and other ones.

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### **Family and cultural tradition: Based on the life stories of the Ob-Ugrian peoples**

**(Семья и культурная традиция [по материалам жизненных историй обских угров])**

On the one hand, the report reviews a role of a family in maintaining the cultural (ethnic) traditions of the Ob-Ugrian peoples (Khanty and Mansi), and, on the other hand, a significance of these traditions for the particular families and their representatives. The focus of the study is the modern families of the Khanty and Mansi. The term "tradition" refers to a transfer of some cultural properties by inheritance, including their ethno-cultural values and orientations.

As the method of the research the author uses an analysis of the biographies of various generations of the Khanty and Mansi obtained during the field studies. Private stories, stories about the local people and their generation enable the author to identify important public events and processes. Thus, studying some personal "life stories" make it possible to view a manifestation of the processes of modernization and a revival of the traditional culture through one's personal experience.

The empirical data showed, that the Soviet modernization had ruined the continuity of the cultural development of the indigenous peoples of the North including the Ob-Ugrian peoples. The family ceased acting as a primary element in the system of formation and delivery of the ethnic culture.

Teaching of the indigenous children at boarding schools deprived their families from participation in educating and up-brining their children, it separated the children from their parents (in fact, there was a generation gap), and destroyed the custom of taking care of their children, and it didn't contribute to the formation of skills in up-bringing their future children. Instead of large families with many children there are now small families with 1 child or 2 children. Ethnically mixed families became widespread, and an intergenerational transmission of the ethnic and cultural values takes place in a different way.

During the Soviet period of reforms the indigenous peoples of the North lived in an atmosphere of rejection of a traditional life style, which was presented as an archaic and disharmonious with the new socialist way of life. A lot of indigenous people, especially young men, wanted to abstract themselves from their own unique culture and to join the dominant majority of the Russian-speaking population. In some families the parents didn't communicate with their children in their mother tongue and tried to speak only Russian in order not to limit the social perspectives to their children. According to a number of our interviewees "*a lot of our people had such an orientation – if you know the mother tongue, it will be hard to study Russian, and it will be more difficult to enter the university*". Although at the same time there were many examples of careful attitude towards the ethnic languages and traditions.

In the present social and political situation which is characterized by an increased interest in the ethnic culture many representatives of the indigenous peoples, who "have got in touch" with the traditional culture of their families (in general due to their grandparents) have become "at price." The competence in

their mother tongue, knowledge of the native culture enable these people to use additional opportunities for the realization of their career plans, social and psychological adaptation.

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Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature

### **The role of kinship relations in modern family customs of the Besermyans**

The changing family structure, the migration from the countryside into town as well as within the Russian Federation brought a lot of changes into the character of kinship relations of the Besermyans. Nevertheless, the family, consisting of several generations, and a wide circle of relatives come together like in former times in order to take part in family customs, important for individual community members, i.e., the feasts on the occasion of childbirth, wedding, escorting recruits to the military service, burial rites and funeral feasts. The participation of relatives plays also an important role when collective collaboration for an individual relative or a family is carried out. The importance and structure of family ties are preserved in patronymic designations, on the level of texts about the history of the family and relatives. The aforementioned family customs are a reason to come together and meet relatives who live in different areas of Russia. The participation of the relatives is expressed by the help in executing the customs, organizing the meals and taking part in them which symbolises their common origin and closeness of cultural and family traditions.

The presentation is based on original research, I will also show photos and videos from my own field studies.

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### **Rural tourism in the creation of the new everyday life: case of the Republic of Karelia**

Tourism now appears as one of promising lines for regional development in the Republic of Karelia, which can mitigate social problems, and act as a factor for conservation and reproduction of the natural, historical and cultural potential of the territory. Nowadays tourists are looking for new destinations for exploring where local culture, ethics, indigenous customs and the historical heritage are becoming increasingly important. Undoubtedly, tourism could favour the progress of local communities, offering tourists the opportunity to learn about its cultural heritage and to enjoy its natural resources, always on the basis of one fundamental central theme: the initiative and the management of the use of these natural and cultural resources for tourism purposes must come from the local community itself requiring changes of the everyday life of the local community. If tourism is developed as a sphere of economic activities bringing extra and/or

basic revenues to the local community, the possibilities lie in the selling of tourist services (lodging, catering, excursions and uiding, gear rent, etc.), souvenirs, foods to tourists, arrangement of master classes, leisure activities based on the cultural and historical traditions of the land, etc. The preservation and development of traditional land use including development of the traditional farming, of traditional crafts (weaving, embroidery and others), also the preservation and development of the traditions, customs and ceremonies local culture is becoming the base for showing to tourists which can be presented only by local community: creating, organizing and holding cultural events (national holidays, folk festivals) with inclusion of local gastronomy, traditional music, games and costumes in the tourist products, enriche the tourist experiences, helping the local culture pass on to the next generation.

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### **Connection between nowadays' Udmurt people and traditional healing methods**

My presentation is based on structured interviews which I made with Udmurt people living in the capital of Udmurtia, Izhevsk, and in villages around Izhevsk. I aim to use about the same amount of answers of the informants from different generations.

My previous smaller researches have shown that the traditional healing methods in the everyday life of nowadays' Udmurts play an important role,



although the knowledge of the younger generation is not as living as the older generations' knowledge. Almost each of my earlier respondents knows in his/her closer living quarters a healer, who can cure with using incantations. However more recently the number of traditional healers whom – mostly in case of the Udmurts – villagers consulted with about their mental and physical problems is reducing in the Udmurt society. In doctors' offices or in hospitals today, there are hardly any opportunities for Udmurts to use their native language due to “the small number of doctors speaking the Udmurt language on the one hand, and to the lack of medical terminology on the other”[1]

As we can read in the dissertation of T. I. Panina, „[T]hose illnesses count mainly as curable, who's reason is clear and defined, so knowing the „enemy” permits of selecting the right way of defiance.”[2] In the Udmurt culture we can find a lot of factors, which can cause illness, and as a result there are many of preventive and overcoming practices.

In connection with these in my presentation I would like to imply how my informants' attitude relates to the traditional therapies, and what kind of preventive acts they usually do. How do the habits of each generation differ, for example in the choice of the curing person? What kind of diseases can they cure themselves and in which situations do they go to a doctor? What kind of lingual formulas do the younger generations know and use in the constantly increasing Russian-speaking environment? „In the mind of people the protecting and mainly the healing magic is unthinkable without magical words. The faith in the power of word is manifested in lots of acts and rituals, [...] but most strongly in the magic of healing.”[3] We can find many magic words, incantations collected earlier in different Udmurt textbooks, so I am interested in the relation of each generations with these kind of texts, for example in which way, with what kind of intensity can they transmit this knowledge to younger people.

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### **Role of summer residents in preservation of cultural traditions of native village (by results of expeditional research of Vepsians)**

Disappearance of villages as a result of massive migrations of villagers in cities - one of sad all-Russian processes of our time. Loss of "the small native land» especially negatively affects development of the small peoples, conducts to loss of their original cultural traditions, a native language, ethnic identity. In disappearing villages, however, it is possible to find out the phenomena

suspending a course of this fatal process. They are connected with differentiation of rural population and formation of innovative groups - farmers, summer residents (in Russian – dachniki). Among summer residents it is possible to allocate two groups. The first group represents newcomers, that are not having any ties of blood with territory where there is their summer house. As a rule, they do not contact almost to natives.

The second group which also villagers is called as "dachniki" includes natives of these places mainly the pensioners who for a long time already have left on a constant residence in cities, but come for the summer in native villages with the children and grandsons. In the report such group of summer residents is considered – natives from Vepsian villages Ladva and Vonozero of the Leningrad region - in a context of their role in preservation of ethnocultural traditions.

Interviews have shown that summer residents are carriers of knowledge of some Vepsians traditions - religious-mythological, ceremonial and celebratory. The main sources of knowledge interrogated were personal observation and the oral information acquired from representatives of the senior generation. The layer of cultural memory depended on age in which the person has left village, and the period in the history of Russia.

Summer residents, as a rule, live in native village under laws of "the small native land». Especially well it is appreciable on an example funeral ceremonialism which in general does not change. All village participates in funeral. Despite presence on funeral of summer residents and relatives of died - townspeople, in Vonozero and Ladva some steadily remain traditions of carrying out of funeral which cannot be observed in cities: execution of lamentations; burial in the forenoon; the bath device in day of funeral and on the eve of the fortieth day. Installation of fences round tombs - the phenomenon connected with city influence. In Vonozero, Ladva and others Vepsian villages elderly inhabitants negatively concern fences.

Judging by many interviews, summer residents express desire after death to be buried on the native earth. Their will is carried out by relatives.

“Dachniki” actively participate in significant events of “the small native land” - traditional and folklore holidays, performances of amateur collectives. Therefore functioning traditional and folklore holidays are mainly summer holidays.

One more role of summer residents in native villages - the material and physical help in building of chapels. In villages Jubenichi and Sarozero which completely have turned to settlements of summer residents, chapels are recently constructed.

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### **Thing as a part of the soul of the Ob-Ugrians**

Things represent a person; they are spiritualized by him / her and carry information about him / her. They are continuation of it which is the manifestation of possibilities of the human body as material substance. It is closely connected with its "images" which are sensually perceived similarity of

a man. A thing symbolizes his/her coming to this world and represents male and female origin (for example, a knife, a bow, an arrow or a needle, a thimble, a needle case). In the traditions of using personal things, except their direct appointment, the sex of the owner, his/her age, the social status, personal characteristics are important.

Personal things demand some protection and ritual purification by fire, fumigation from undesirable installation of evil spirits to remove negative energy. A man also performed this ritual from time to time. At the same time, such things give a certain protection to the owner, affect his health and wellbeing. One of the observed traditions is an inviolability of personal things. It is of great importance who made a thing, for what purpose and reason, as well time of day and condition of the person at the moment of work.

If the person who made the thing died, it got a special status, it was called «ЭНКӨҮП», it is the memory of the man. Sometimes certain owners were assigned to these things, mostly they were teenagers and children. The aim was to stretch the memory of the man who made the thing for a long time.

Things which have served their time, it is not allowed to throw out anywhere. The broken thing was not thrown out. It was given to the fire with prayers and a ritual. Sometimes they were left in old huts forever. It is not allowed to break anything specially; they must "live out their life". Worn-out things may "be given" to young growing trees.

Things of a dead man are dealt in other way. Things and items which "he / she need with him/ her" are selected. Then they determine what things to keep the memory of loved ones. And there are things and items of a dead man, which is solved to give "anyone": they are taken away into the night side regarding place of residence, and are left under an old cedar.

In the literature devoted to the culture of the Ob-Ugrians you can find information about dolls. They are substitutes of a man, made after his/her death. The attitude towards them was similar to the man. They were kept for some time in the family of the dead man, and after a certain time they were burned performing a special ceremony of final farewell to the dead.

These data clearly demonstrate that in the tradition of the Ob-Ugrians the world of personal things is identical to the man; it is a part of himself, his/her spiritual essence. Personal thing and its soul (is as the carrier of the vital force) are phenomena of the same order. This relationship was determined in developing norms and rules of magic-mystical character associated with special handling of things. Mental and physical health of people was supported through them. A thing can be the protector of clan, link together different generations and protect living men.



## **Symp. 17. Body – identity – society: Concepts of the socially accepted body**

**Organizer:** Katalin Juhász (Institute of Ethnology, Research Center for Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

Baba, Laura  
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### **Symbolic meanings of personal and beauty care in Sofi Oksanen's novels**

Body conveys various symbolic meanings in all of Sofi Oksanen's novels: the central themes of the books have always some bodily representation, too. In connection with body, personal and beauty care are also returning elements. The aim of this paper is to reveal these latter by using the method of close-reading and to analyse their role in the thematic network of the novels. The theoretical background of the paper comes from symbolic interpretations of body (1) and from thematics (2).

Finnish author Sofi Oksanen has published four novels so far, three of which belong to the *Quartet* series discussing 20th-century history of Estonia. *Stalin's cows* (3) has a young Estonian-Finnish woman as its protagonist, who has been struggling with her identity and suffering from bulimia. *Purge* (4) has a young and an old heroine, both of whom have undergone psychical, physical and sexual violence. When the *Doves Disappeared* (5) (=Doves) has three main characters: a self-interested traitor, a desparate woman and a failing nationalist. Outside the series, *Baby Jane* (6) is the love story of two women suffering from mental disorders.

In *Stalin's cows*, the motif of cleaning the body appears as inner purification through bulimia. The issue of controlling the body intertwines with the theme of identity. Womanish Estonian and mannish / asexual Finnish female identities are opposed: the protagonist is struggling to get along in the world of the latter while being attracted to the former. Besides, as Finns consider Estonian women to be whores, having a feminine style is equated with being a prostitute.

One of the central themes in *Purge* is mental purification, both of committed and of suffered violence. The latter is expressed on the physical level, too: ritual body washing scenes come up in connection with both of the heroines.

Being rejected by her true love, the narrator of *Baby Jane* has chosen a life of appearances with a man. The only refuge from this new reality is the bathroom: here she can submerge into past memories. Yet it is also the place of creating her new, false identity: elaborate scenes of making up underline the idea of wearing a mask.

In her striving for happiness and survival, the heroine of *Doves* is adapting to prevailing beauty ideals. When later on she loses all hope of a happy life, she loses her interest in keeping up her looks, too. The central character of the novel has always lead a life of pretention: both because of seeking for his own interests

and of hiding his homosexuality. His care about his looks belong to his so-called feminine features, yet it also intertwines with his efforts to create a false identity.

The aim of this paper is to analyse relevant excerpts to find out how these elements are represented in the texts and how they add to the thematic network of the novels. The paper is intended to be a companion to that of Krisztina Karizs, *The bodily representations of the shame of inferiority in Sofi Oksanen's novels*. Thus, a wider thematic approach and a more detailed textual analysis would reveal together the symbolic meanings of body in Oksanen's works.

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Czingel, Szilvia  
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### **Changes of hygienic conditions in Budapest between 1900 and 1945 of the middle class Jewish families**

The presentation describes the hygienic conditions of Budapest between 1900 and 1945 with a special focus on middle class Jewish families and their maids and laundresses. The changes in hygienic culture were all reflected in the quickly spreading habit of building bathrooms, the increasing choice of toiletries (especially soaps and washing powders), or employing staff particularly for these tasks (maids and people who had specialised skills like laundresses and ironing women). The presentation analyses the process of changes along the double lines of traditionalism and modernity, focusing on the development of social values, norms, the rules of penetrating social layers and the modifications in mentality in the half of the 20th century, which can also be detected in hygienic and cleaning practices and washing culture.

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### **Body – identity – society: Concepts of the socially accepted body in the 20th century Hungary**

Ethnographers tend to neglect the study of simple, stereotypical acts of everyday life, such as the act of washing oneself. In the broad sense we understand by the term of washing (oneself) not only the gestures necessary to clean the body or parts of it from any material dirt or filth but also the acts which satisfy the social demands linked to proper cleaning. Hence washing can assume magical connotations as well. In premodern societies the ritual of washing took place in the community, in accordance with its norms. Quite a few procedures aimed at healing and/or protecting the body or the soul from bewitching or witchcraft are based on the real, imaginary, or mythical virtues of water. There are also such rites linked to transition (birth, initiation, wedding, death etc.) as well as cathartic rites that can renew or ensure health and beauty at some well defined day or period of the year (mainly in springtime). Wide-ranging research has shown that cleanliness is both a social and a historical construction, that is, a relative rather than an absolute concept. The rather complex psychological and social causes of washing change with time and space. The social change characterized by modernization and urbanization in the first half of the 20th century had a profound effect on the mentality, way of life and social behaviour of Hungarian peasantry. This change in turn completely modified the meaning of washing and the related customs. With the advent of modernity, washing and bodily hygiene became individualised. Thus the individual freely decides where to belong to and creates his or her appearance according to the demands of the community. From this point of view washing is a rite de passage. With its additional activities it aims to achieve an ideal, clean and perfect outlook, intended to conform to the liking of the community. Purity indicates to the outside world that the given person is a full member of the community. The aim of the paper is to analyse the customs related to washing and bathing and their modification triggered by social change. It contains a brief clarification of the terms “cleanliness” and “hygiene”, a short historical review of Hungarian and international research and a short history of washing as a universal custom, and an overall picture of the major stages in the change in village habits of cleanliness.

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### **The bodily representations of the shame of inferiority in Sofi Oksanen's novels**

Every act that hurts its victim physically or mentally is considered as violence (Bacon, 2010). The word violence defines a wide range which includes either severe physical abuse or different methods of mental torturing or social

discrimination. Besides of the traumas, these acts force the victims into the burden of shame.

Sofi Oksanen, the young Finnish writer, who published four successful novels in the past ten years, discusses these issues in her *Quartet* series. She analyses the influence of shame in our lives, and her characters demonstrate several different responses to the feeling.

The theoretical background of this paper is based on the psychiatric research of the affect called shame, to be more precise the shame of inferiority (Probyn, 2005). In all cases this affect is caused by the lack of interest towards someone, or the fear for losing the appreciation of others. Moreover it becomes part of one's personality and penetrates the whole identity (Tomkins, 1987). Most of Oksanen's characters suffer from the shame of inferiority caused by physical or mental violence.

Eyesight and our looks play an important role in recognising or hiding the humiliating episodes of our past (Lappalainen, 2011). Appearance often reflects all our inner struggles and represents our mental state, wherefore the ways of personal care and the habits of shaping the body tell a lot about a person. In the novels of the series the characters' attitudes towards their own bodies are ruled by the feeling of shame.

The narrator of *Stalin's cows* inherits the feeling of inferiority from her mother and develops her eating disorder into a method of purification. She also uses her perfect body to hide her true identity behind the image of the modern Western woman.

The heroine of *Purge* loses the connection with her body due to physical violence, and to escape that situation and win the love of her life, she uses her sister's beauty practices. With the same tactic she also tries to reach the perfection represented by her older sister.

Juudit, one of the central characters of *When the Doves Disappeared* is rejected as a woman by her husband from the beginning of their marriage. Her shame feeds upon this circumstance, and she tries to correct the failure and hide the unwanted parts of her identity with beauty care. Her husband's habits in connection with his appearance are also part of the identity he imitates and wants to create for himself.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the bodily representations of the shame of inferiority in Sofi Oksanen's *Quartet* series. It is planned to give a wider background to the paper *Symbolic meanings of personal and beauty care in Sofi Oksanen's novels* presented by Laura Bába, and to explain the reasons behind beauty care. Moreover I want to highlight the dangers of the character's false identities partly built by the tactics analysed in her paper.

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*Kun kyyhkyset katosivat*, 2012. Helsinki: LIKE.

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### **Cleanliness as a part of of Mari mentality**

Water is the source of life. Alongside cleanness, water is important in everyday life as part of cooking. It is needed for daily life and the basic need of eating. Another basic need coming close to norms and customs is cleanness, being associated with both personal hygiene and keeping the environment clean. Cleanness is also associated with rites and it is an indication of a striving to keep the world, one's own Mari identity. Bathing in the sauna, clean clothes, the sacred spring and sacred water not only belong to the rites maintained by women but also to the rites of the whole community and of men. In offering feasts conducted by men, women and water represent the "invisible part", which is nonetheless markedly present. Cleanness is in some way comparable to the concept of the sacred, which is similarly invisible and present. (Giddens 1995, 144)

Mary Douglas notes that contacts regarded as dangerous have symbolic value. She notes, "But as we examine pollution beliefs we find that the kind of contacts which are thought dangerous also carry a symbolic load." (Douglas 1991, 3). The *semyk* feast was a feast of the whole community, in which both genders and all age-groups participated. The role of women was prominent especially as creators of cleanness and at the same time as keepers of water. Contact with the dead is a central idea of the Mari world view. The dead, however, may in this connection represent beliefs associated with pollution. According to this theory, meeting the dead at night again requires purification: the living might be at risk if they come into contact with the deceased, and therefore the rite of purification before an encounter with the dead is an important element. The dead, however, may here represent beliefs concerning impurity, and therefore a rite of purification may again be required according to this theory if they come into contact with a deceased person.

In the Mari village, cleanliness is a norm that is kept. In many places, the activities of everyday life follow the pattern that has been maintained previously: water is drawn from the well and cleaning is done with water and rags. In modern life, the continuum has been regarded as an impediment of change. Change, water mains, however, calls for modernization at the municipal level, which is lacking for the time being. Does genderized mentality have meaning with regard to technological application? This is probably the case. The home is the women's field, whole machines are those of men. Here, they do not necessarily meet. Without water mains, fetching water is the same task as before; it requires the decision of the municipality. How about decisions within the family? For some

people, a washing machine is a part of everyday life, while for others it is still a dream. The washing machine, however, still requires water, which is fetched in the old way. People also go to the spring to rinse their laundry. Here, however, a different meaning is emphasized. Rinsing the laundry in the water of a spring, the woman is spared the work of carrying the water – in other words, the meaning is a practical one, seeking to save labour. Everyday activity is thus continuous, continuing as before, upon the strength of tradition. I would claim that the routine nature and repetition of everyday life are close to the concept of tradition. Tradition specifically continues as repeated activity. Women are also actors of traditions. Today, in tradition-related activity women are both actors and objects.

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### **Educational organization of higher professional education as an element of language preservation and development in the context of modern assessment quality indicators**

The most important directions of modernization of Russian Federation Educational system, its main purposes, effective means of achievement, characteristic indicators and expected results are pointed out in some basic-law documents of educational system [1,2,4]. Due to new radical requirements applied to all Higher Educational Institutions all the approaches to assessing their basic activities have been changed.

Russian Federation is a multinational state. Its main tasks are aimed at preservation and popularization of different languages including the challenges of developing national identity, ideological culture, ethnic and inter-ethnic variety and, of course, strengthening international relations. In Russian Federation the development of national policy is determined in accordance with the Government National Policy Strategy of Russian Federation for the period up to 2025, where one of the main goals is called “the preservation and development of nations cultures and languages of Russian Federation, the strengthening of their spiritual community” [3].

Universities play a very important role not only in a broad educational process and research work but in the harmonization formation of national and international relations as well. If universities and other Higher Educational institutions are aimed at preserving and developing Finno-Ugric languages it seems more reasonable to create specialized platforms to carry out a very important task of systematic activities providing development of languages and cultures of Finno-Ugric people. Such platforms will be able to unite the main directions of our state policy, to coordinate all the measures of preservation and development of languages and cultures in close connection with international

organization, non-government Finno-Ugric organizations, scientists-linguists in the field of Finno-Ugric studies and experts-specialists in the sphere of language teaching, literature and culture on the whole.

Consequently, the current requirements for universities and available opportunities allow to realize measures aimed at the preservation and development of the Finno-Ugric languages perfectly. In this paper an example of specialized platform for the preservation and development of Finno-Ugric languages and cultures on the basis of the university is considered.

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### **Concept of a clean and an unclean body (an example of Udmurts)**

Conception of cleanliness from the religious-ritual, ritualized and everyday life points of view concerns the notion of a clean/unclean body in the tradition of Udmurts.

In the Udmurt language “clean” is *chylkyt*; at the same time it has also meanings as “healthy”, “beautiful/pretty/handsome/attractive (about one’s appearance)”, “comfort/order”, and “clear/fine/evident”.

In everyday life as a rule every Thursday a family took and nowadays at the end of a week takes a steam bath and dresses up in clean clothes; usually there are in use birch (oak, conifers) twigs and wash means in a sauna; by healing some ailments people use also herbs, plants and other folk therapeutic substances there.

The concept of a clean body includes also being clean space around one’s habitation. Traditionally to the Friday a house should be cleaned, a table-cloth and towels substituted for fresh ones, dishes washed.

Special sense and significance finds the notion of cleanliness in religious life and ritual practice, when people pay very importance to all cleaning and purification acts and ceremonies. These activities are clearly structured in the folk calendar. Cleaning of a body for ritual purposes means to be clean in the wide sense: washing, purification before the sacral ritual period is one of the meaningful and polysemantic ceremonies. For example, one uses for this purpose prepared herbs or bathes his body under “silver water”; one dresses up ritual clothes and uses amulets; cleans and smokes a space around. The ritual cleaning acts include the cutting of nails and hair, shaving bread, and doing up the coiffure by females.

There is a custom to pick up plants early morning on the 14 of May; along with some aims these plants will be used for cleaning body in a sauna at the same day tonight.

There is some ritual regulations concerning the women considered to be dirty; the woman is “dirty” forty days after the birth giving and at the periods of menses, and it is strictly forbidden to take part at the religious events, use ritual items, and prepare ritual food. One can become “dirty” and dangerous after contacts with death; for deliverance of perilous influence one uses fire, smoke, ashes or bathes in a sauna.

Many customs are devoted for caring of a new-born; in the past its body was washed with salted water using fleece of sheep; there is a rite “three saunas”, when a child will be bathed three times day after day in a sauna; a baby is considered as a member of a society after forty days after the birth, when it is clear that its body physically had grown stronger.

The mentioned regulations are socially controlled and observed. The conception of a clean/unclean body is perfectly observed in cosmology, mythology, and ritual practice of the Udmurts.

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M. Vasilyev

### **Mari embroidery in contemporary of Mari culture**

Ornamentation of clothes and interior embroidery is the oldest home craft of Mari women. Mari embroidery is the calling card of the people, an ancient art that embodies a centuries-old experience of skilled workers, perceptions of beauty, harmony and expediency. Significant evolution of Mari embroidery suffered in the first years of Soviet power (20-30 years) when traditional forms of dress and ornamentation denied. Gradually, the old kinds of embroidery threads in a row were replaced cross and satin ornamentation with stitch thread floss bright factory. Floral ornaments were the main subjects of upgraded embroidery. But Mari traditional embroidery has not disappeared, the factory "Truzhenitsa", which produced for many years (30-90 years of XX century), dresses, skirts, women's blouses, men's shirts, and textile home furnishings with Mari embroidery played a major role in the preservation and development of new social and economic conditions, the introduction of new uniforms. In the products of this company modern tailoring clothes successfully combines with Mari ornamentation. Present stage is characterized by the fact that at present there is a growing interest in the Mari embroidery as the rich heritage of traditional culture. In the 90 years the Ministry of Culture created studio (Zvenigovo, Medvedevo, Medvedevskiy district, village Chodrayal Morkinskiy district), where craftsmen engaged in traditional embroidery, sewing folk clothes, weave and create contemporary dress with elements of Mari ornament. Namely embroidery decorates and gives holiday and festive contemporary forms of dress. A female costume is largely the object of the simulation. The need for national costumes with Mari embroidery exist not only artists, pop singers, representatives of Mari intelligentsia, but also

the general population of the Mari. Atelier "Saiver" in Yoshkar-Ola, rural studios, as well as DIY enthusiasts sew Modern clothes with Mari embroidery.

Revival of Mari embroidery plays a big role in the development of contemporary applied art in the creation of various modern costumes as well as a number of decorative textiles. Maris using Mari embroidery in modern dress emphasize their identity.

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### **Public diplomacy and environmental problems of the Finno-Ugric peoples of Russia**

*«They [human] are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature»*

Rio declaration on environment and development [1].

Environmental issues in the context of the protection of the environment and its effects on human health are constantly in the focus of the International Finno-Ugric movement. More than once ecological safety questions raised in the movement's main forums. At the III World Congress of Finno-Ugric peoples these issues was discussed on the section «Environment and Health», at IV – «Health, demography, ecology», on V – «Health, demography, family and the environment», in VI – «Health demography and ecology». In the framework of the decisions of the III Congress in 2003 in Izhevsk was an international symposium «The main directions in the study of health of the Finno-Ugric peoples» in which was attended by ecologists, doctors, psychologists, historians, members of the public. Environmental issues was devoted to VI Scientific and Practical Conference «Current state of the environment in the Republic of Mari El and the health of the population» (Yoshkar-Ola, November 2012).

In Finno-Ugric regions of Russia there is an understanding that the life of the population is directly dependent on the quality of habitats, from the environmental situation. One of the ways to improve it are the events and activities that have wide public resonance. In the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area in 2013 was held XVII International Environmental Television Festival «To Save and Preserve», in which there was a round table discussion on «Environmental Security of the Ugra». Wide international response was received owing to ecological festivals in other Finno-Ugric regions: «White Noise» in Karelia, «People of the forest» in Komi, «Visiting Badkuzë» in Udmurtia. These events are postulated Ecophilosophy as an essential component of general cultural consciousness.

Tools of public diplomacy are varied, the most important thing that they have been effective. Public events can be used as a tool to raise public awareness of environmental issues and to find common solutions.

## **Literature**

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Sildushkina, Nadezhda  
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## **Socio-psychological peculiarities of the Hill Mari: the results of the research**

### **(Социально-психологические особенности горных мари: результаты исследования)**

Hill Maris - sub-ethnic group indigenous population of the Mari El. The territory of living area is the right bank of the Volga and Povetluzhye, where formed the Mari ethnic group.

Their total number is 23502 (census 2010). The results of the empirical research "Hill Mari" herself aware of 40-50% of all survey participants in subgroups divided by age and sex. This suggests that representatives of the Hill Mari in 2-2,5 times more, i.e. they may be from 47 to 58.8 thousand people.

In written sources that mention or describe the Hill Mari, there are the terms "Hill Cheremisa", "upland Cheremis".

In notes, descriptions researchers, historians, ethnographers 18-19 centuries noted that by the characteristic Hill Maris are:

- intellectual-cognitive: mental (Krakowski), capable (Peretyatkovich), talented, educated (Znamensky), the pursuit of education (Yablonsky);
- emotional-volitional: energetic (Znamensky), hardworking (extends the range of its activities), sloths exception (Krakowski);
- communicative-behavior: moral (Krakowski, Yablonsky), the meekness of character, cleanliness, the avarice of the needs necessary (Yablonsky), akin frugality and stinginess, community life (Krakowski).

On the anthropological features of the Hill Mari big, beautiful, dark-haired and brown (Fuks), tall, light brown (Yablonsky), of medium height, slender and strong, wide face, black hair (Haxthausen), tall, strong, handsome (Smirnov), beautiful (Peretyatkovich) have a difference with meadow growth, harmony, correct person, whitish color of the body (Krakowski).

Data conducted empirical studies (2012-2013) indicate that Hill Mari on the cognitive level has a positive ethnic identity; conscious of itself Hill Mari resident of the Mari El Republic; awareness of their ethnicity continuous, practically does not distinguish between themselves and their nationality ("remembers"); calls the single name "Mari" or "Hill Mari", which indicates a clear idea of belonging to a particular ethnic group; Hill Mari (according to Hill Mari) distinguishes "courage", "diligence"; has knowledge of key historical events and historical figures (Akpars), on the origin of the ethnic group (Onar), which represent the nation;

on the affective level expresses high sense of belonging and ethnic affiliation, the development of the emotional component is associated with self-esteem;

positive emotional experience creates a desire to identify with their ethnic group, to belong to it in virtue of its attractiveness;

on the behavioral level in relations with other Nations in the first place will prefer their own ethnic group.

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### **Acculturation orientation of modern Mari people**

Mari, one of Finno-Ugric peoples, living in the territory of Russia, are known as an ethnic group with well retained traditional culture. It is commonly accepted that Mari had succeeded in maintaining as an ethnic group due to their strong attachment to traditions and relative isolation from Russian society until the second half of the last century. However, active involvement into economic and social life caused modification in the value system of Mari, that, in its, turn, promoted their assimilation. The situation commenced changing in the 90s when on the background of language revitalization activity the significance of culture for preservation of Mari as an ethnic group was established.

One of the most important factors of any ethnic groups survival/loss is its acculturation orientation. There are two sets of cultural values, utilitarianism (Ut) and traditionalism (Tr), that imply different (but not polar) principles. While utilitarian values enhance assimilation, traditional values support language and identity maintenance (Ehala, 2012).

Conclusions about acculturation orientation of Mari are given in the current study. Operationalization of quantitative data (collected in 2013) on basis of Ut model (Ehala 2012) allowed to determine the level of of

utilitarianism/traditionalism of Mari and make some predictions concerning further development of language.

### **Literature**

Ehala, M. (2012) Cultural values predicting acculturation orientations: operationalising a quantitative measure. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*. 11. 185-199.

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### **To ethnological data in the interpretation of archaeological material (on the example of the house-building on the territory of the Mari Volga region in the II-I Millennium BC)**

**(К вопросу использования этнологических данных при интерпретации археологического материала [на примере домостроительства на территории Марийского Поволжья во II-I тыс. до н.э])**

The house-building is an important and integral component of traditional material culture. To identify and understand the uniqueness of the dispensation in the II-I century BC on the territory of the Mari Volga region is possible only in the comparison and based on the systematization of multiple sources of different nature.

Archaeological survey (64.4% of all 105 of the investigated settlements of this period) indicate coastal river-location of settlements, especially along the left coast of the Volga river. The location of settlements along the riverbanks, lakesides in the XVIII-XIX centuries were noted and many ethnographers (P.N. Krotov, D.P. Nicholsky, P.S. Pallas and others).

The predominant location of the Mari villages near rivers, streams in the XVIII-XIX centuries reflected in the wide distribution of settlements, containing the names of water sources: Ullal (village situated on the bank of Volga river), Enersola (village by the river) and other.

Analysis of ethnological and archaeological field records points out that the settlement tradition in the dispensation of the population Mari Volga region in the II-I Millennium BC is also the location of dwellings in the settlement in most cases in parallel in two rows, except in a few isolated cases or in one row or in 3-4 series, or "cumulus" on the plan.

In the organization of living space population Mari Volga region has also developed its own principles. In the II-I Millennium BC in the area existed as a single chamber so and double-chamber dwelling. This separation of living space on two halves could have two options:

- 1) directly through the septum;
- 2) conditionally in the form of concentration in one half several foci.

Carbon strip, the remains of pits from the posts indicate that the main construction material in the population Mari Volga region during two millennia served as a tree. Modern ethnographic material suggests that for the construction of residential buildings was used aspen, basswood, oak.



When states remote archaeological material can be observed that the prevalence of homes with depth of excavation more than 0.4 m Ground dwelling recorded since the second half of the second Millennium BC.

A kind of "conservatism" traditions can be seen in the interior parts.

One of the striking examples can serve as the input device, which in the II-I Millennium BC in most cases was done in the form of short (up to 2.5 m), but wide (3-4 m) reels-corridors. Residential construction had 2-3 input device that must be explained as:

1. spare input in case of danger.

2. conditional separator living space into two halves.

3. the philosophical tradition. Conducting ethnographic parallel with other Finno-Ugric peoples, one can observe the following. For example, the Saami in the wall opposite the entrance was another entrance, which had considered sacred. The hunters and the fishermen going and returning to the craft walked through it.

During the II-I Millennium BC for residential structures on the territory of the Mari Volga region is characterized by typical simple interiors with three mandatory elements: fire, economic pits and side corner plants-beds.

Thus, the archaeological categories as "settlement" and "dwelling", adequately reflect the way of life, economic life, social development, ideological representations of a nation that finds confirmation in Ethnology.



## **Symp. 18. Borderlands in the North-East Europe – complex spaces and cultures of Finno-Ugric peoples**

**Organizers:** Sirpa Aalto, Titta Kallio-Seppä, Sami Lakomäki and Timo Ylimaunu  
(University of Oulu)

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### **Imagined, constructed or real borders? Textual evidence of Scandinavian-Sámi contacts in the Middle Ages**

The contacts between the Sámi people and the Scandinavians in the Middle Ages have been studied (Hansen & Olsen 2013) but they are still contested. Archaeological excavations cast light on this matter and the picture of the Scandinavian-Sámi relations is constantly renewed. Therefore it is important to look at the latest results in the light of the few, written sources from the Middle Ages. The written sources consist of diplomatic documents, Old Norse-Icelandic sagas and Norwegian and Swedish laws. Because the written sources do not give a covering, overall picture of the Sámi people and their contacts with the Scandinavians, it is necessary to compare and contextualize the archaeological evidence with this data.

The medieval documents in general refer to the presence of the Sámi in the periphery of the Norwegian and Swedish kingdoms, but their presence is not restricted to these areas. The Norwegian *lanskapslagar* from Borgarthing and Eidsivathing in the southern part of the country, dated to the 12th century, prohibit Norwegians (or Christians in general) to be in contact with the Sámi. This has been seen as a proof that there really were Sámi people living in southeastern Norway (Mundal 1996). Considering this background, it is curious that the Swedish *lanskapslagar* do not mention the Sámi at all – not even Hälsingelagen that was applied in the northern peripheries of the Swedish realm. It would imply that the Sámi have been outside the Swedish jurisdiction, but it does not explain why the Sámi are mentioned so seldom in Swedish context. The Sámi appear only in the 14th century in Swedish documents and first as objects of taxation (of *birkarlar*).

The Old Norse-Icelandic saga evidence implies that the Norwegians and the Sámi had close relations, but there is no similar evidence from the Swedish side. Therefore it is relevant to ask to what extent the borders that we see in the documents between the Scandinavian and the Sámi were constructions of the emerging royal bureaucracy and to what extent they are based on real conditions. What are the possibilities of gaining information about the Scandinavian-Sámi contacts and relations from sources that have been selective and biased?

Lars Ivar Hansen & Bjørnar Olsen, *Hunters in Transition. An Outline of Early Sámi History*. Brill 2014.

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### **Language in education in Estonian Ingria between the World Wars**

In the peace treaty between Estonia and Soviet Russia in 1920 a number of villages previously a part of the region of St. Petersburg and inhabited by Finnish and kindred peoples were ceded to Estonia. The borderland east of the Narva river where these villages were situated was called Estonian Ingria. Approximately 1,100 Ingrian Finns and 800 inhabitants of kindred Finno-Ugric origin – Ingrians and Votians – lived in Estonian Ingria, constituting 25 % of the local population in this relatively narrow strip of land (the rest being Russians and Estonians).

The main disputes between the different ethnic groups in Estonian Ingria arose in the matter of school language. Traditionally, the school language had been Russian to all pupils in spite of their native tongue, but this was no longer acceptable in independent Estonia. According to the Estonian Constitution (1920) it was not only the right but also the obligation of all ethnic groups to be educated in the mother tongue, with few exceptions. In practice, however, the application of the law was problematic in multiethnic areas where at least a part of the population was uncertain of their ethnic identity.

My paper focuses on the complicated situation in Estonian Ingria in the field of language in education. The issue is almost completely unstudied. The only existing scholarly article so far originates from the pen of the author of this abstract and deals with the early 1920s. On the basis of the former studies it can be said that there were four main opposing parties in the dispute over language: the Estonians, the Finns, the Russians and the mixed group of Ingrians and Votians. At the same time it must be taken into account that opinions were to some extent split even within the main parties and not only between them.

Thus the main research questions are as follows: why were there such differences of opinion around the "right" solution of language question at local schools? How was the issue resolved at practical level and why was it done in a certain way? What kinds of changes took place in the matter during the interwar period, and why? In the analysis attention is given to theoretical and methodological viewpoints in relation to the formation of ethnic identity, nationalist currents of the time, acculturation and assimilation, and rhetorical argumentation all the involved parties used to justify their own position and undermine that of their opponents.

Chuvjurov, Alexandr – Yarovaya, Olga  
Russian Museum of Ethnography, Social movement of the Komi-Izshma people  
(izvatas)

**Kola Komi-Izshma people: issues of self-identity and exploitation  
of natural resources**  
**(Кольские коми-ижемцы: проблемы самоопределения и  
природопользования)**

Migration of the Komi-Izshma people in the Kola Peninsula occurred at the end of the 19th century. Migration of people was caused by large-scale deer mortality due to epizootic diseases, shortages and pasture exhausting within their ethnic territory (Konakov N.D., Kotov O.V. 1991, p. 75).

According to population census data of 2010 totally 1649 Komi-Izshma people lived in Lovozerskiy district, Murmansk region. In the beginning of the 1990s among the Komi-Izshma people as long as other ethnic communities issues related to preservation and development of the national culture and language are started to rise. In 1994 in Lovozero a social movement of the Komi-Izshma people (izvatas) was organized. Additionally Komi language optional training was held in Lovozero. At present the language training is being held only in kindergarten. Some informants shows a steady prejudice against teaching of the literary Komi language because as to their opinion it can result in a loss of their dialect that is considered by them as one of the most important features of their ethnic identification. It should be emphasized that a number of people speaking Komi language is decreasing every year.

Another problem of a modern social and economic life of the Komi-Izshma people is a matter related to their status. In 2000 a uniform list of indigenous peoples which included 40 nations and ethnic groups was approved by the Government of the Russian Federation. Giving a group the named status means granting of priority rights to use land resources, land tax remissions, free benefits for fishing etc. The Komi-Izshma people are not in the list of the indigenous peoples of the Murmansk region and are deprived the benefits which the Sami people have living in the same villages. Under such conditions many Kola Komi people from mixed families (Komi, Sami) prefer to register themselves as the Sami people.

As one of the most important conditions of preservation of their cultural features the Kola Komi people regard deer breeding development but during the last ten years there is a tendency toward a decrease in number of deer which is related to reduction of the territory for deer pasturing due to industrial development of the region and reduction of deer breeding human resources as young people leave for big cities looking for a higher wages. A shortage of human resources in deer breeding teams resulted in the fact that in Krasnoscheliye they stopped to use an all year round convoy of deer herds by herdsmen and deer pasturing was made as the Sami people did before – in summer deer are pastured without shepherds that considerably decreases a deer farming value.

**Literature**

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### **Narratives on the Civil War in Russian Karelia (1918 – 1920)**

The paper deals with complicated problem of the Karelian borderland history in especially intricate period of 1918 – 1920. Russian Karelia is considered as the North-Western territory of the former Russian Empire, including the White-Sea Region Karelia inhabited both with the Karelians and the Russians. Upheaval of the Civil war was combined with involving Russian Karelia into the orbit of «big foreign policy», into reality of «intervention on invitation».

The relations between the white Russian Government in Archangelsk headed by general E. Miller and the Northern Expedition Corps of the Entente-states, former Russia's allies in the World War I (Great Britain, France, United States), led to the landing of the allied forces in Murmansk in 1918 and penetrating to the Karelian borderland. The paper is based on a vast amount of either published materials or documents from the National Archive of the Republic of Karelia, the National Archive of Finland, the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland as well as on the sources from the Archives of the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki ("1918" collection).

Until 1950-s most personal reminiscence was restricted by scripted talk, although all history was initially oral. The Archive of the Karelian Research Centre (RAS) in Petrozavodsk disposes a rare folklore collection "Narratives on the Civil War in Karelia" formed in 1930-s. It was never used by historians partly for the problems arising while interpreting folklore sources. Such sources deal with, for example, family stories, which include narratives about legendary relatives by their survived parents or more distant members of the family. The narratives mentioned were fixed by prof. Anna Astahova (Leningrad State university) and specialists in folklore studies from the Karelian Research Institute (Petrozavodsk) during expeditions to the White-Sea Region Karelia and the Onego-lake districts in 1932 – 1933.

Personal plight of a narrator is an instrument to describe the events of the Civil War and intervention in Karelian borderland, the activity of the "Karelin Regiment", the details of military confrontation between the militants of the former and new regime in the adjacent northern regions.

At the local Karelian material we can follow how in Civil war previous compatriots, representatives of the same ethnos, countrymen or former friends, even relatives and members of the same family are opposing each others, while traditional dichotomy "We /Ours" opposing hostile "They /Others" appears to be tragically broken and tangled at the same time.

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University of Eastern Finland

### **Formation and meanings of an urban space of a borderland town: case Vyborg**

The aim of the presentation is to look at the centre of the borderland town Vyborg as a result of complex historical processes and as an urban space with intentionally produced meanings. The two principal questions to be answered are: 1) What are the historical processes by which the present-day urban space of Vyborg has taken shape? and 2) What meanings are given to the town and its buildings and spaces? The formation of the town centre from the 17th century to the present day is studied from the old town maps in the Swedish, Finnish and Russian archives and using the GIS-technology. The meanings of the town spaces are studied with interviews and survey studies. The presentation will show how Vyborg town centre owing a rich history, has taken shape and how it is understood by the Finns who left the town after the WWII and their descendants who cherish the memory of the town and by the Russians living in the town today.

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### **Historical province of Ostrobothnia as borderland of languages and cultures (Historiallinen Pohjanmaa kielten ja kulttuurien rajaseutuna)**

The objective of this presentation is to demonstrate what the present studies know about the settlement history of the area of old province of Ostrobothnia, in other words the present area of South, Central and North Ostrobothnia, Kainuu and Peräpohjola in time period which from the Middle Ages until the beginning of the modern era. The presentation concentrates especially on the information given by the study of the place-names but other disciplines are also utilised.

According to our present knowledge humans have lived in the area of modern Finland continuously after the termination of the latest ice age although the number, ethnicity, language and culture of the population have indeed varied from one period to another. When studying the settlement history of Ostrobothnia or any other area, one must remember that since the Stone Age there has probably been an old population living in the area and the new inhabitants have mixed with them and left some traces behind. The settlement history can be studied from genetic, linguistic and cultural point of view but it is important to notice that these three factors do not always go hand in hand. New population can arrive to the area without significantly changing the language or the culture of the people already living in there. Correspondingly the influence into culture and language can spread without changing the genetic background of the people who live in

the area. Therefore when studying the settlement history of some area, several different source materials must be used side by side.

The settlement history of Ostrobothnia is a very multi-phased process and we do not know all its details. The main lines are that new inhabitants have come from the more dense populated areas of the south but the relative shares of western and eastern influences have varied on different areas. The different settlement currents to the Ostrobothnia did not end in the 1500's but they have continued also after that. The difference to the settlement history of the Middle Ages and of the beginning modern era has been that the own population of the area was strengthened after the 1600's to such an extent that the migrations did not have so considerable effect on the population or for example to the language spoken in the area. The borders of traditional dialect areas can be explained mainly on settlement development which took place before the end of the 1600's.

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University of Greifswald

### **Language and dialect use in Karelian literary texts of the 20th century up to today**

In the twentieth century language use in Karelia changed rapidly more than once: In the first two decades of the Soviet Union the use of Finnish as official language was encouraged in the Karelian Soviet Republic and Karelian was considered merely a kind of Finnish dialect. Shortly before the outbreak of World War II Karelian became the only recognised official language of the Republic. It got a new writing system and fixed rules. After the war again Finnish was propagated as the language of Karelian cultural life. Only after the end of the Soviet Union in the 1990s Karelian culture and language were becoming more popular, and political actions to strengthen Karelian culture were demanded openly. Today the general tendency to more centralisation in the Russian Federation is again marginalising Karelian in the Karelian Republic, and the future of Karelian culture is rather unclear.

On the Finnish side of the border Karelian over long period of time was belittled as a mere dialect of Finnish proper. Only in the last decades the activity of linguists, folklorists and historians has evoked a more sensitive appreciation of the different forms of Karelian: Karelian can be studied in some Finnish schools and at university, there are books and CD's with Karelian texts, and historical and ethnographic information about Karelian history, culture and tradition are spreading more widely.

The question of Karelian language thus again and again drew and re-drew the borders and borderlands of Karelia and Karelian culture: Depending on the political situation it was at times considered a mere dialect of Finnish or appreciated as an own language. Depending on the political situation the closeness to or relatedness off Finnish was stressed as a dividing border or as a connecting bond. Also the influence and impact of Russian culture, loan words and linguistic structures for Karelian were at some times overtly stressed, at other times totally neglected.



The process of mapping the borders of Karelian and Karelia with the help of language practices can be demonstrated by analysing different literary texts, written in Finnish and Karelian about Karelia, Karelian history and culture throughout the twentieth century up to today. In Soviet short stories of the 1930ies it was merely a stylistic device to mark a literary person's backwardness. After the Second World War the estimation of Karelian grew especially in the works of the Northern Karelian poets: It was used to enrich the literary possibilities in drawing a colourful multifaceted picture of Karelia, its people and nature. In 2004 finally the first novel in Karelian *Puhtasjärven Masha* was published.

In my presentation I shall demonstrate the importance of language, language policy and the use of language in literature for mapping and drawing, closing and opening the borders within the culturally complex area of Karelia.

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### **Constructing borderland – encountering of people and becoming local in the early medieval eastern Bothnian Gulf**

The early 14th century and the emergence of rural villages in the estuaries of northern rivers on Bothnian Gulf have been seen as a beginning of Ostrobothnia medieval period. For long the northern extremities were seen as virtually uninhabited wilderness, but recent research has been able to challenge this view by shedding a little light on the late Iron Age settlements and Karelian origins on the region. The cultural continuity in the region seems evident today, but the interaction and encountering of the local population behind history and the arriving new populations has not yet been much discussed.

The archaeological research data from Tornio-, Kemi- and Ii-river regions indicate how the new arriving populations settled into the same landscape with the local existing populations. The populations lived in close vicinity, but were apparently living separately, or at least were keeping certain elements of their daily lives separate at the early stage. In the early phase the local populations and new settlers were had their own graveyards, for example. The different ecclesiastic roots of local eastern orthodox church and arriving western catholic church were apparently one influencing factor, although later populations merged into using the same graveyards regardless of the religious roots.

Historical narratives have created an image where the 14th century migration of Swedish and Finnish peasants to north would have constructed the northern borderland of the Kingdom of Sweden and Novgorod. From the local point of view, however, this arrival of new populations and the emergence of new settlements did not construct the conception of border, but were new elements in their landscape. Despite the clear early separation of the groups the populations were quite soon merged together into the medieval rural population of Ostrobothnia.

### **Of collecting folklore in North-East Estonia in the 1950ties**

In late 1940ties and early 1950ties, folklorists of the Soviet Estonia were dominated by the ideologically designed and politically enforced interest towards collection of the current folklore of the working class. After Stalin's death, folklorists were able to return to more classic genres of folklore, such as runo songs, fairytales, legends etc. Runo song has been in the core genre in Estonian folkloristics. Collection and publication of runo songs used to be a major effort, one can say that patriotically charged challenge, already in the focus by the time of national awakening. Publicising runo songs has not been that successful task as collecting them, though.

In 1955, various institutions and interested parties – The Institute of Language and Literature (ILL), the Chair of Literature and Folklore of the Tartu University, the Literary Museum (LM) and others – met in Tartu in order to discuss the publication of runo songs. The workgroup established at the meeting allocated, among other tasks, runo song regions for separate institutions to concentrate, also in terms of publication. The scientists of ILL were assigned a region consisting naturally of Northern Estonia, or of North-East Estonia (Eastern Virumaa) and the runo song area of Alutaguse, to be precise. This assignment led to additional expeditions to Eastern Virumaa, to the parishes of Jõhvi, Iisaku, Lüganuse and Vaivara. Expeditions extended from the beginning of 1950ties up until to late 1980ties. The purpose of expeditions was to collect the "last" remains of runo songs, record the still living performers of runo songs as well as collect data regarding deceased performers and collectors.

Alutaguse used to be a very ample runo song area - as attested by successful collections of runo songs in the end of 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. North-East Estonia is a peculiar region, featuring very old human habitation. Later centuries added to this region of mixed Baltic-Finnic habitation an influence of Slavic language and culture, which, in turn, was the politically preferred subject of scientific research. On the other hand, the region has a particularly tragic history, its traditional habitation has been influenced by the development of mining industry and establishing of mines in the 20th century, WWII, and in particular, alternation of political systems.

In addition to written transcripts, the expeditions of 1950ties resulted to tape recordings and photos. As expected, the amount of runo songs collected was scarce. Field workers filled their diaries dutifully, thereby providing us an overview of goals and work methods of folklorists at that time. Also, the diary entries depict the conjuncture of the 1950ties in Eastern Virumaa. Sporadically diligent emotionless commentaries provide us clues on tensions caused by the political reality and constrictions in the region that heavily suffered from deportations at the time the deportees began to return.

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### **Female ornaments as indicators of local and remote ties of Karelian communities in the Crusades era**

During the Crusades (11-13 century A.D.), a Karelian community formed in the Karelian Isthmus and the area northwest of Lake Ladoga. Its archaeological markers are fortified settlements, villages, and cemeteries with rich and diverse funerary assemblages. The community blossomed in late 1100s and 1200s.

The fact that small flat-grave cemeteries with timber frames and collective burials are located in the immediate vicinity of small villages indicates changes in settlement patterns, economy, material culture, and ideology of the medieval Karels.

As a result of these changes, a set of Karelian female ornaments emerged. Female graves dating to the 13th century evidence a distinct and peculiar set of jewelry attesting to elaborate handicraft, and possibly to the existence of respective craft centers. Local variants in shape, artistic manner whereby the design was applied, and the designs themselves offer a possibility to specify artifacts made at the same center, to outline their distribution area, and to reveal ties between villages.

The changing directions of those ties are also becoming apparent because such ornaments are abundant in the northwest of the Novgorod Republic and in Novgorod itself. Their chronology and typology have been elaborated in detail, mirroring the esthetic preferences of specific Karelian communities. The latter fact has implications not only for the intensity and distribution of trade ties between these groups but also for other affinities such as marital.

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### **The quest for supernatural knowledge in Finnish and Old-Norse epic poetry**

This paper aims to present a comparative insight into the adventure of obtaining supernatural knowledge in Old-Norse and Finnish-Karelian epic poetry. It will introduce selected poems from the Eddic Corpus (Neckel 1983), which dates back to the 13th century, and the rich tradition of songs in Kalevala metre, mainly found in 19th century Viena Karelia (SKVR 1908-1948), and examine their typological relationship, special aspects of narrative structure and the system of motifs used by singers and poets. The two diverse but neighboring traditions are to be compared in order to carve out their referentiality to mythical themes and mythological worldview and to present the possibility of a shared narrative model which can be traced back to the Viking Age, a time of an intensive contact between Baltic Finns and Scandinavians affecting both cultures and best preserved in the genre of epic poetry developed from the former oral tradition. This approach aims, as Lauri Honko (1990: 7) has pointed out, “at a better understanding and criticism of our sources, and ultimately it enables us to

decipher the meaning and function of epic expression in its cultural diversity.” The paper discusses not only the parallels to be found, but tries to answer the question if the narratives of the acquisition of knowledge follow cultural models and how they are incorporated into the mythological system, also in illuminating the image of the wise and gifted with special knowledge and therefore magical power. There will be introduced the special cultural meaning of epic poetry in transmitting supernatural knowledge and myths. In illustrating the way the journey to the other-world is depicted in the poems, the acquisition of special knowledge is clearly emphasized. There will be examined selected examples of narratives of wooing the other-world's bride to point out the maiden's function as the keeper of wisdom. The typical features for the adventures connected to the acquisition of knowledge show several stages of a particular narrative structure with their according motifs. In Old-Norse tradition, the acquisition of magical knowledge is directly linked to the mead of poetry. The comparison of the examples from Old-Norse wooing adventures show, that the hero's quest for the other-worldly bride is linked to his search for wisdom. This indicates that the journey to the other-world of the famous Finnish heroes has the same purpose as its basis.

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### Archaeology of Russian Lapland and the “Sami enigma”

Archaeological evidence relating to material culture and ideology suggests that the evolution of the ancient population of the Russian Lapland proceeded gradually and were mostly influenced by intrinsic factors. Occasional innovations such as the appearance of ceramics and metal indicate borrowings from people residing in more southerly areas. Certain ideological changes, dating to the early metal age, were evidently caused by migrations from the east. Judging from archaeological data, these changes should not have affected either the traditional system of values or the gene pool of the natives.

However, new biological facts suggest otherwise. The analysis of DNA (23 individuals) extracted from the bones of the people buried (nearly 40 in number), on the Bol'shoy Oleniy Ostrov (Big Reindeer Island) in the Kola Bay of the Barents sea (Kola Oleneostrovky cemetery) and dating to mid-second millennium BC, demonstrates that these people cannot be regarded as Sami ancestors. Instead, they display a northwestern Siberian tendency, linking them to members of the so-called Uralian race.

We might suggest that the Bol'shoi Oleniy Ostrov people represented a small immigrant group; however this disagrees with the fact that archaeological finds from that cemetery show no typological differences from those coming from other cemeteries and camps across the entire sea coast of Lappland. Possibly the ancient Lapplanders were representatives of one of the earliest populations, who had migrated to the north and east of Eurasian Arctic in the early Holocene.

The only migration to Russian Lappland from the east evidenced by archaeology and history occurred in the latest 1800s, when the Izhma Komi began settling in central Kola peninsula.

In sum, cultural and historical events in northern Fennoscandia were much more complex than we tend to believe, whereas the real history and, as the current evidence suggests, also continuity between the ancient "Lapplanders", the "Oleniy Ostrov people", and Sami have become even more enigmatic than before.

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Estonian Literary Museum; Estonian Folklore Archives

### **The childhood and playworld: Memories of children growing up in Estonia after WWII**

Childhood is a remarkable time in human life. It is generally viewed as a good and golden time, especially by the elderly in their recollections of the past.

In 2013 a campaign for collecting children's games was organized by the Estonian Folklore Archive. A questionnaire was formed to facilitate memories. In addition to the description of games there were also broader questions in the questionnaire about their childhood in general: they were asked to describe their childhood playing environment, places where they could play, playfellows and describe the time of playing. In addition to multiple choice questions the respondents could also write their response in open form.

In this presentation I will take a closer look on the answers of the 17 people born in the 1940s. The games and toys of children that lived in the country as well as urban areas were described. During the research the respondents were over 60-years old and mostly retired. A number of the respondents have written biographies and memoirs and a few of them have been long-time correspondents of the Folklore Archive.

During the period called late Stalinism (1944-1953), the wide-range Sovietisation of social life. The application of the command economy were all started, a number of kolkhozes were formed. The oppression of the Stalinist regime that peaked with deportations in March 1949 caused a general atmosphere of terror.

The struggling economy and the atmosphere of terror had an effect on how children were brought up. Sociologists have described the generation that was born directly after the war as a split generation. Double standards were in effect – the older ones had not yet been thrown away and the new ones had not been fully accepted.

In the presentation I will take a closer look on how the participants of the collection competition describe childhood and playtime at the time, what they think is notable and what is seen as positive and what is seen as negative.

One of the topics that was not directly covered in the questionnaire but which is often noted by the respondents is toys. The main points are often the lack of toys and the yearning for toys. Also they describe their toys and the joy of getting a new toy. Freedom of action and a lack of supervision as well as having playfellows and places to play are brought up as positives. Working is also described as it was mandatory for children and thus interacted with playing time. When comparing their childhood with that of a modern-day children, they view their childhood as being the better one.

Some of the respondents have described their family quite thoroughly, some less so. In the descriptions we can see the different financial situation of families and also the existence of great grandparents. Even though the respondents describe their childhood as poor and at times as a hard it is still generally seen as a happy and resplendent time. Demonstrative of the post war period were the nature of the games played, children played prisoners escape, chasing soldiers, hanging and deportation related games and games with actual ammunition. Kolkhoz-life appears as a new theme in games as well.

To draw comparison other researches regarding the same generations' childhood and playtime by Estonian ethnologist were used.

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### **Russian Karelians in the Civil War according to Finnish sources (Российские карелы в Гражданской войне: по финским источникам)**

The period of the Russian Civil War (1918–1922) was one of the most dramatic in the history of the Eastern Karelians. It was a time when the winds of change that swept through Russia penetrated even into the backwoods of Karelia, so that the local people found themselves facing numerous quite new challenges – political, economic, social and national ones, and the task of responding to these challenges forced the peasant farmers of Karelia to develop a host of new strategies to ease their transition to the world of “big-time politics”.

Studying the role of the Karelian peasants in the Civil War is especially complicated by the fact that sources on the topic a little bit. Russian archives, and, in particular, the archives of the Republic of Karelia mainly contain materials related to the Bolshevik and Soviet movement. To resolve the difficulty of searching sources became possible by attracting several funds of Finnish archives. In the National Archives of Finland, archives of Karelian educational society (Karjalan Sivistysseura), as well as in the archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland there are many important documents that help reveal mood and strategy of peasant during the war. Among them there are memories, interviews and letters of Karelian peasants, including Karelian refugees. There are also many memories of Finnish participants of armed conflicts, which are called in Finnish historiography “tribal wars” (heimosodat) - campaigns of Finnish volunteers in Karelia, Estonia and Ingria in 1918-1922. Finnish archives contains also information by the Finnish military intelligence and military leadership about the situation in the Russian Republic of Karelia, as well as about

the mood of the inhabitants. There are too the information about the situation and the mood of the inhabitants of the so-called Ukhta Republic (1919-1920), which is contained in the reports of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland from Finland at the Ukhta provisional government. There are a lot of protocols of peasant meetings in Karelian areas, as well as protocols of meetings of Karelian refugees in Finland.

All of these materials are unique and make it possible to see in the new light situation in Russian Karelia during the Civil War.

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### **Ethnic religion in borderlands – multiple users of Sámi offering sites**

Some Sámi offering sites have been used for over a thousand years. During this time the offering traditions have changed and new people have started using the places. Contemporary archaeological finds give evidence of both continuing traditions and new meanings attached to these sites, as well as to sites that were probably not originally used for rituals in the Sámi ethnic religion. In some cases the authenticity of the place seems to lie in the stories and current beliefs more than in a historical continuity or any specifically sacred aspects of the topography or landscape it is situated in. Today's new users include e.g. local (Sámi) people, tourists, and neo-pagans. This paper discusses what informs these users both about what places are offering sites and about how they should relate to them. What roles do scholarly tradition, heritage tourism, and internal cultural have in (re)defining Sámi offering sites and similarly what roles do "appropriate" rituals have in ascribing meaning to particular places? How do heterogeneous users affect the site biography of ethnic offering sites?





## **Symp. 19. Archives enriching the present cultures of the Northern peoples**

**Organizer:** Marko Jouste (The Giellagas Institute of the Oulu University)

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### **A critical evaluation of past, current and future approaches in Uralic language documentation**

Language documentation is an emerging sub-field of applied linguistics. Although it evolved out of traditional fieldwork methodology used primarily by descriptive linguists and linguistic anthropologists, language documentation is no longer merely a method, as it has its own primary aims and methodologies. One of the most important purposes of language documentation is making data available for further research on and for endangered languages, for both further theoretical and applied research, as well as for direct use by the relevant language community. “Archiving” is but one (albeit very important) aspect of language documentation.

Ideally, the data pool—“archive” or “corpus”—provided by the language documenter includes a comprehensive, deeply annotated and easily accessible multimedia corpus of a spoken language. Metadata annotations concern both the “content” (such as phonological, morphological or syntactic transcriptions and translations) of the recorded speech sample as well as the “context” (e.g. actors, places, speech events, but also meta-documentation about the actual project) and are crucial for the intellectual accessibility of the documented data. Resource discoverability, physical availability, data safety and the protection of copyrights are other methodological challenges.

Although a vast amount of Uralic linguistic and cultural research material has been gathered and stored in different formats in various places in the Uralic-speaking countries since the late 19th century, it has only been over the last few years that true “language documentation”—including documenting, safeguarding and (particularly) making data available—has started to be put into practice. Furthermore, we are as yet not aware of any language archives operating in any of the countries where Uralic languages are spoken which fulfil these current standards for language documentation.

Our methodological paper critically examines common practices in language documentation and archiving (including our own on-going documentation projects on Saamic and Permic varieties) in order to promote and achieve “better practice” in future Uralic language documentation.

**Komi religious movement *bursylysyas* (singers of kindness):  
doctrine, ritual practice  
(Коми религиозное движение *бурсьылысьяс* (певцы добра):  
вероучение, обрядовая практика)**

Among the various confessional movements prevalent in Komi, a special place is occupied by the religious movement *bursylysyas* (singers of goodness). Researchers have noted similarities between individual parts of this doctrine (prophecies, vision) with mystic sects (whips, Pentecostalism), but, as well as representatives of the official Church, considered this trend as part of the official orthodoxy.

Appearance of *bursylysyas* refers to the end of the 19th century. The founder of this teaching became a farmer from Myeldino village (Verchnyaya Vychegda). Acts of worship of *bursylysyas* – *bur kyvzyom* (spiritual discourses) included preaching and interpretation of Scripture (in Komi), singing religious songs and hymns. A sign of a special grace were visions, prophetic gifts.

In early 1920s, the religious movement *bursylysyas* penetrated 8 Verchnyaya Vychegda volosts - Myeldinsky, Ust-Nemsky, Pozhegodsky, Donsky, Bolshelugsky, Podelsky, Ust-Kulomsky and Kerchemsky. An active role in communities of this period was played by people with prophetic gifts. The prophets were spreading various rumors of eschatological nature that "students and teachers in Soviet schools are horned and the Beast will soon descend from heaven and will stigmatize them" and the end will come to this world – everything on the Earth will be destroyed, only true adherents of *bursylysyas* will find salvation.

In 1930s influence of *bursylysyas* among Verchnyaya Vychegda Komi noticeable decreased. Mystical traits (prophecies, visions) are gradually disappearing from *bursylysyas* ritualism which is to some degree related to repressions against this movement management front line (heads of *bursylysyas* communities were arrested and sent to concentration camps).

There was a slight recovery of *bursylysyas* during the Great Patriotic War – 1943-1944. Documents of this period note intensification of *bursylysyas*; it is noted that some kind of "holy letters" of anti-Soviet nature are distributed among *bursylysyas*. In 1960s *bursylysyas* small communities continued to operate in Verchnyaya Vychegda villages Myeldino, Pomozdino, Ust-Nem and in lumber camps - Ust-Nembaza, Timsher.

In 1999-2001, we have conducted ethnographic research in Ust-Kulomsky district of the Republic of Komi - Ust-Kylom, Kerchomya, Myeldino, Ust-Nem which are known to be *bursylysyas* movement centers in the past. Survey in these villages showed that at present there is no active group of believers in religious ritual life of which one could detect any features characteristic of *bursylysyas*.

In ceremonial life of local population there still exist various religious texts in Komi, emerged in *bursylysyas* environment: spiritual poems, dedicated to specific calendar dates and ritualistic action (funeral, funeral meals), various verbal texts of a religious nature.

### **Skolt Saami *leu'dd*-tradition, a history told by people's own voices**

The traditional living areas of the Skolt Saami are located in the cultural melting pot of Northern peoples in the Western Kola Peninsula. Around Skolt Saami there lived Karelian, Russian, Norwegian and Finnish people. This multi-cultural environment had an impact on the Skolt Saami oral history and also shaped the musical tradition so that it became multi-layered during the late 19th century and early 20th century. The multicultural environment on the traditional living areas, which had existed in this area for centuries, began to break down when the Skolt Saami territories were divided by the border of Finland and Russia in 1920 in the Treaty of Tartu. Saami village areas Paččjok, Peäccam and Suõ'nn'jel were incorporated to Finland, and the area was named Petsamo. The contacts across the border began to decline and ceased to exist completely during and after the Second World War, when the Petsamo area was ceded to the Soviet Union and Skolt Saamis of Finland were forced to migrate to new areas, namely to Sevettijärvi and Nellim in Inari district.

Skolt Saami oral history and musical tradition has been gathered from the last decades of the 19th century onwards by the Finnish researchers and the material has been stored in Finnish folklore archives. In the centre of the Skolt Saami oral history and musical tradition is the genre of vocally performed individual song called *leu'dd*. It is an unaccompanied song, and as a genre it has equivalents in other Saami individual song traditions (e.g. Northern Saami *yoik*, Aanaar Saami *livde*, Kildin Saami *luvvjt*). With a *leu'dd* singer refers to a large, traditionally orally transmitted local historical knowledge of Saami society. Thus, Saami individual song can be defined as "the contents" of the oral tradition. In this way, the traditional Saami song differs also conceptually from the Western song tradition, in which the song texts reflect more general subjects. However, we must keep in mind that a particular *leu'dd* is not a proof of a historical event as such but a *leu'dd* refers to a historical event and it can be studied in the broader context of local oral tradition.

In my paper I will focus on the multi-culturality of the Skolt Saami musical and oral tradition of the early 20th century. I have studied the *leu'dd* tradition found in the archives and by fieldwork among the present tradition holders, observing the texts and their cultural context, paying close attention to the way in which Skolt Saami singers describe their own culture and comment on the contacts to the other ethnic groups living in the same area. I shall discuss, what was the Skolt Saami experience of the multicultural environment and how this is articulated in the *leu'dd*-tradition.

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### **A multi-media Selkup archive as a linguistic laboratory and an instruments of revitalization**

The paper is supposed to present the Selkup pool of the Multimedia Computer Linguistic Archive of Laboratory for Computational Lexicography, Research Computing Centre, Lomonosov Moscow State University, a part of which is now accessible on the web-site “Minority Languages of Siberia: our cultural heritage” <http://siberian-lang.srcc.msu.ru>. The archive contains text corpora in eight local dialects of the Northern Selkup dialect and sounding dictionaries in these local dialects recorded in 13 settlements with Selkup population during the last two decades. The volume of the Selkup text corpora is about 60000 running words. All the texts have an audio and several graphic representations, the majority of the texts also have a video representation. Not to make our archive a “data graveyard” we developed a web-site to make it accessible to those who are interested in it. For the moment, beside Selkup linguistic materials, the site also contains Ket and Evenki linguistic data. Working at the web-site, we kept two target groups in focus: on the one hand, we addressed the academic community – linguists, anthropologists, historians, on the other hand, we addressed the speakers of the languages presented on the site, those who teach or learn these languages at schools and colleges, who want to learn them or just to get acquainted with languages and cultures of Siberian peoples, an integral part of our cultural heritage. Now the web-site contains information on the present-day situation of the three endangered minority languages of Siberia Selkup, Ket and Evenki, three multi-media lexical databases and annotated text corpora in local dialects of these languages, as well as language learning materials and software, which can help to acquire Selkup, Ket or Evenki grammar and lexicon. Though the main informational source for the site is the Multimedia Computer Archive of the Laboratory, we also try to draw relevant information from other archives. As for Selkup, now we are working with the Selkup texts of the Prokofievs’ Archive in Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Russian Academy of Sciences, St-Petersburg. In case we receive a permission from the Museum, we’ll place at least some of the annotated Prokofiev’s texts on our web-site.

Kivelä, Suvii  
The Sami Archives

### **How can the Sámi Archives support the Sámi cultural emancipation in Finland?**

In my paper I will introduce ongoing projects where the Sami archives works together with Sami cultural organizations efforts for cultural emancipation.

Sámi culture has been in the past in many ways affected and depressed by the assimilation politics. The aim of assimilation politics was integrate minorities into the dominant culture. The assimilation politics in Finland has meant that the Sámi people were forced to adopt Finnish language and culture by not having the

right to study and learn their own mother tongue in school. Behind the policy lay the intention of integrating minorities quickly and efficiently into the dominant society. This assimilation politics have caused that many Sámis began to feel ashamed of their language, their culture and their background. The consequences were often rootlessness and feeling of lacking full command of any language as a mother tongue in turn caused denial of own identity and cultural background. This process has again prevented natural transmitting Sámi cultural knowledge from one generation to the next.

As a consequence of the assimilation politics the Scott- Inari- and North Sámi languages are endangered in Finland. In addition to this Sámi people do not have enough information of Sámi history and causations of destinies of many Sámi people and societies are not available.

In past years there have been several efforts for cultural emancipation and language revitalization conducted by Sámi organizations. During these revitalization processes it has been found out that the psychological consequences of the assimilation policies, like the language shame and cutting out the natural transmitting of cultural knowledge as well as silence about own history, have complicated the processes of cultural emancipation and in several cases prevented revitalization projects from being successful.

The past history can be explained in an open discussion and remembering work within the society. When working in order to understand the causations in the past events the members of Sámi society can recall the past and present as well as the future to the present moment. In the remembrance work the historical documents as well as old and new research materials can be used to explain the past and open causations of the historical events. At the same time new information is collected and the Sámi history is rewritten from the Sámi viewpoint.

In this cultural remembrance work open access to historical documents as well as old research data as an explanation and documentation of the past is important. In this emancipational work archive materials can be of crucial importance. The Sámi archives work together with the Sámi organizations for the open access and knowledge of archive documents.

The Sámi Archives in Inari has a collection of different archives that enlighten the Sámi history. At the same time new archive materials are collected. The Archive materials can work as a source of emancipation and revitalization work as well as a source of remembering the past and being able to make peace with the past.

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### **The correspondence of Wiklund and Grundström**

Modern Saami and Finno-Ugric research in Sweden started with the work of Karl Bernhard Wiklund. In 1922, when Wiklund was already an established researcher, he started a correspondence with Harald Grundström, a clergyman in Jokkmokk, the centre of the Lule Saami area in Sweden. Grundström had a keen interest in the Saami people, their language and culture, and worked in Jokkmokk for many

years. He was later to become the editor of the great Lule Saami dictionary (LO). Through their correspondence, which continued until Wiklund's death in 1934, one gets a clear picture of Grundström's labour in the field and Wiklund's guidance and support, as well as of the research problems engaging both of them.

Considering the fact that Wiklund was the founder of Saami and Finno-Ugric studies in Sweden, surprisingly little is known about his person. His correspondence is the best source of information on his person.

Of particular interest are the insights we get into Wiklund's way of working (Larsson 1996:361-362) and into Grundström's diligent work in the field, as well as all the information about Lappland of that time that can be obtained from their kind gossiping.

I am preparing the publication of this correspondence, and in my lecture I will give some illustrative examples of the discussions of Wiklund and Grundström and also of the scholarly problems that engaged both of them.

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### **The process of creating Sámi handicraft *duodji* – From national symbol to norm and resistance**

Sámi traditional handicraft, *duodji*, is one of the main symbols of the Sámi culture and for the most part of the Sámi it represents an unbroken tradition, which has continued from the past to the present. In my paper I shall discuss the meanings of *duodji* in three social-cultural perspectives: *duodji* as a symbol, *duodji* as a norm and *duodji* as resistance.

There is an interesting history, which shows how the status of the traditional Sámi handicraft has varied in different socio-cultural and political situations during the last decades. After the Second World War the use of traditional crafts and the interest of maintaining their manufacturing techniques decreased because of the introduction of new influences and new materials in clothing. During the 1970's, Sámi ethno-political activists defined the crafts as one of the central cultural symbols of Sámi culture. The Sámi handicraft became a symbol of the Sámi side by side with the yoik, Sámi flag and the national anthem. Craft courses were organized in order to rescue handicraft, and during this process criteria for a genuine Sámi handicraft was defined.

In my research I have investigated the unwritten norms of *duodji*. These are based on the worldview and social structure of the Sámi society but it is also a question of building the national symbols of the Sámi. Furthermore, I have

explored the contemporary craft culture as a form of resistance from entrepreneurship perspective. Modern handicraft gets its strength from Sámi symbols and from the unwritten norms. Hence tradition can be considered the most important ideological starting point for the entrepreneurship. However, there is also resistance towards these norms among the present-day craftsmen.

Video and audio materials of the archives are in a key role in the study of *duodji*. Archive material represents indigenous historical memory, which offers data on the use of crafts and cultural context, but also the role of craft for the past generations. Furthermore, the institutional process of creating the *duodji* brand has been saved in newspaper articles and personal interviews.

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### **Archive materials in Skolt Saami documentation**

The Skolt Saami documentation project at the Department of Modern Languages, University of Helsinki, currently funded by the Kone Foundation, aims at producing a linguistically analysed and annotated Skolt Saami corpus, based on archive materials available in the archives of the Institute for the Languages of Finland (Kotus).

The Skolt Saami recordings available in the archives have been collected over several decennia. The recordings to be included in the present corpus mostly date from the 1960s and 1970s as well as from a recent documentation project by Kotus in the 2000s. In our project, the linguistic analysis is done with methods and tools current in modern documentation practices that are informed by research in linguistic typology. Different levels of linguistic analysis – transcription, translation, parts-of-speech analysis, and morpheme-to-morpheme glosses – are combined with the original audio files using the annotation software ELAN developed for this purpose. The corpus including the audio files and the linguistic analysis will be made available to researchers and to the Skolt Saami community via the Language Bank of Finland (Kielipankki).

This presentation will give a general overview of the project – its material, method and aims – and discuss how the corpus based on the archive materials can be used by the scientific community in future research as well as how it can benefit and enrich the Skolt Saami community in its efforts to preserve and revitalize its language and culture.

Valovirta, Aino – Guttorm, Mari  
University of Oulu, Giellagas Institute

### **Corpus of spoken Saami languages – Annotation process and research opportunities**

In May 2014, Giellagas Institute was awarded funding for a FIN-CLARIN project that aims at collecting a corpus of spoken Saami languages. Although spoken language can be considered as the primary form of language and there is

a significant amount of interviews and other archived sound material, similar corpora have not been produced before. This makes our work unique, but naturally brings about some challenges as well. The corpus consists of samples of Northern Saami, Inari Saami and Skolt Saami. The ultimate object is to have 30 minutes of annotated speech from each dialect of every Saami language, 15 minutes from a male speaker and 15 from a female speaker. The dialect division is based on analysis presented by Pekka Sammallahti in his book, *The Saami Language: an Introduction* (Karasjok: Davvi Girji 1998).

In this presentation we will describe the annotation process by samples of Northern Saami. Each annotation file contains an audio file with approximately 15 minutes of speech/conversation, its morphological and syntactical analysis and translations to both Finnish and English. There will also be a short introductory text giving some background data on the informant and on the subjects discussed on tape. This has proven problematic as well: how to provide sufficient information about the speaker while protecting her/his privacy.

Working with a relatively small language, there is only a limited selection of written and technical resources available to support the annotation process. We will discuss the best (as well as the worst) practices tried out during this process. We will then proceed to examine the variety of research opportunities created by this corpus and by the detailed analysis it contains. The corpus provides material for language technology, as the same scripts used for producing the analysis can be developed by correcting found issues. Furthermore, the material can also be used for purposes of teaching and language revitalization work. This offers a valuable chance to returning the archived material to the community.



## **Symp. 20. Music as culture in an Uralic language context**

**Organizers:** Pekka Huttu-Hiltunen (Runosong Academy / Juminkeko Foundation)

Almeeva, Nailia  
Russian Institute of Art History

### **Kryashen melodic-rhythmic structures in the Finno-Ugric context of the Volgo-Urals region (Мелодико-ритмические структуры фольклора кряшен в финно-угорском контексте Волго-Уральского региона)**

The Volgo-Urals region is an ancient contact zone in the middle of Eurasia that has preserved priceless layers of traditional singing.

The ancient ethnic massifs (Indo-Iranian, Finno-Ugric, Turkic, Indoeuropean ethnoses and tribes) have become the components of ethnogenesis of the modern peoples of the region: Finno-Ugric (Mari, Mordva, Udmurt) and Tukic (Chuvash, Tatar, Bashkir). Diffusion is characteristic of the formation of these cultures.

Kryashens (“Christened Tatars”) are a Tatar speaking Orthodox Christian community formed in the ancient contact zone of the Volgo-Urals region. The Kryashens are settled on the territory of Tatarstan, Bashkortastan, Chuvashia, Udmurtia.

Within the Tatar language sphere this culture is marked by (1) a characteristic genre system focused on rituals of the agricultural year and the Orthodox calendar, and by (2) multivoice singing of the agrarian community. These same features bring Kryashen close to Chuvash, Mari, Udmurt and Mordva. And the traditional Kryashen costume gives additional evidence of that.

The comparative study of the Kryashen singing culture in the context of the region shows the similarity of their ritual melodic with the melodic of the Eastern Mari, the Lower Chuvash-Anatri and the South Udmurt.

I mean the following:

1. anhemitonic and oligotonic modes;
2. whole melodic-rhythmic structures based on quantitative rhythm from 3-5 sound combinations to compositional units amounting to two-line fits of song verse. This means that there is a yet ethnically unattributed common melodic layer in the ritual folklore of the peoples of different linguistic groups of the region

I propose to examine the rhythmic compositions common for Kryashen and the Eastern Mari, and also for Kryashen and the South Udmurt.

There arise two problems in connection with the comparative study of these rhythmic compositions: a) their different intonational content and b) their ethnic identification in the Volgo-Urals context.

Videos and audio-recordings of the Kryashen traditional collective singing will be included in the report.

## The modern musical culture of Nganasans

The topic is devoted to the problem of contemporary condition of Nganasan musical culture. Nganasans are a very small Uralic people: they amount 847 persons. They live in some villages and cities in Taimyr Peninsula in the Northern part of the Eurasia continent. Now their main activities are hunting, fishing and hand-crafting. Traditional musical culture of Nganasans was formed as the ancient culture of arctic reindeer hunters and preserved to the last quarter of XX century. It was the object of ethnomusicological investigations by A. Brodsky, O. Dobzhanskaya, T. Ojamaa, Yu. Sheikin in 1980-1990-th [1].

Unfortunately, the Nganasans traditional culture now is under the press of globalization process which is typically for many cultures of small Siberian native people. Negative social and economy factors provide some unconstructive process in traditional culture and musical life (such as not keeping of native language, the oblivion of musical tunes and instruments, and even musical genres).

The aim of the topic is to introduce scientific audience with the last Nganasans singers and storytellers N.D. Chunanchar, S.M. Yarockaya, F.L. Yarockaya who keep traditional genres and tunes in their repertoires. New author's publications on Nganasan musical folklore will be presented during the lecture [2].

Beside of it, the author is planning to light up some innovation process in modern urban culture life of Nganasans. From 2000-th some Nganasans clubs and folk collectives were constructed by territory administrations and culture institutions in Taimyr cities and villages. There are Nganasans family club "N'a tansa" – "Nganasan people" (directed by M. Chepalova), folk ensembles "D'entadie" – "Northern light" (dir. by S.N. Zhovnickaya) and "Hendir" – "A Drum" (dir. by S.M. Kudriakova) from Dudinka, new folk collective for children (dir. by L.M. Blendonogaya) from Volochanka village and others. Some photo- and video-recordings from public appearance of these ensembles on the concerts and native festivals (in 2010-2014) will be shown during the presentation.

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2. Pevcy i pesni avamskoi tundry: Musical'nyj folklor Nganasan. Ed. O. Dobzhanskaya. Noril'sk, Izdatel'stvo APEKS, 2014.

Huttu-Hiltunen, Pekka  
Runosong Academy

### **Song as cultural media in an Uralic language context**

My study which I present in the symposium is based on the presupposition that singing is a form of human musical communication, which is subject to universally applicable cultural, sociological and even biological factors and circumstances. Moreover, singing presents a constant interplay between elements of musical structure on the one hand and language with its structures on the other. In order to understand and identify these significant structural features, it is necessary to introduce specific concepts, which are neither derived or adopted from literary (poetic) research tradition, nor from the general concepts of musicology (or music). Song and singing constitutes more than just the combined layers of poem and music.

I part of my presentation, aim to introduce several examples and interpretations of Uralic singing styles, their similarities and differences. Singing and song is a cultural media very closely connected with the language, and that's why it is relevant to study them in perspective to one another.

Isaeva, Svetlana  
Ogarev Mordovia State University

### **The problem of preserving and continuity of the musical heritage of the Mordovian people (Проблема сохранения и преемственности музыкального наследия мордовского народа)**

Nowadays the main factor of the formation of the modern society's spiritual and moral values seems to arise from the interest in ethnic musical heritage, historic reenactment, culture preserving and culture continuity problems and in regeneration of national traditions. The fruitful influence of Mordovian musical folklore can be seen in the new forms of its close examination as well as in the appearance of unique styles in professional music and performing practice. The ways of preserving and promotion of Mordovian musical heritage are quite diverse: folklore and ethnographic expeditions, festivals and feasts, folk music concerts, Finno-Ugrian music culture educational programs leisure activities. Such variety may not always give a possibility to observe the actual ethnographic music pieces which would preserve the historically formed Mordovian music and style traditions. The listener may be offered to listen to the songs of stylized folklore where some irrelevance often takes place, as well as there might be the ignorance of artistic language elements (principles of traditional Mordovian voice polyphony, dialectal peculiarities of styles). In order to solve the problem stated above the collecting of information becomes the activity of the primary interest. It became part of the research principles in 1930-s. Many folklore expeditions materials (such as traditional Moksha and Erzya songs, instrumental tunes) were collected by E.V. Geppius, N.I. Grekhovodov, M.I. Dushskin, G.I. Suraev-Korolev and others and they attract modern composers and performers as

the original material. Studying melodies of different layers of folk singing genres and styles, concinnous and sonorous ways of ethnic anhemitonics as well as composition methods which help combine them with the modern means of musical notation. Folk melos is naturally put together with the stylistics of different compositions. Means of expression become more widely used by means of the polyphony and instrumental melodies. Those tendencies are mostly noticeable in the works of L.P. Kirukov, G.I. Curaev-Korolev, G.G. Vdovin. At the moment various folk singing ensembles perform in the Republic of Mordovia, which shows the attempts to preserve and promote archaic folklore traditions (folklore ensemble «Gaigi Moro» and folk choral chapel of Mordovia State University, folklore ensemble «Kelu», folklore ensemble «Merima», youth art-folk ensemble «Mordens», male ensemble of Mordovianfolk music «Torama»). The main direction of their creative activity is considered to be the live voicing and mastering the improvisational culture of folk artistic performance.

Jouste, Marko  
University of Oulu, Giellagas Institute

### **Historical turning points of multilayered music tradition among the Skolt Saami in Finland**

Musical tradition of the Finnish Skolt Saami has been studied previously focusing mainly on the indigenous and "authentic" features, while foreign influences have been interpreted as "un-authentic" elements. My research on the Skolt Saami musical culture is based on the fact that the Skolt Saamis have always lived in a multi-cultural environment and their musical tradition is inherently multi-layered. I explore the ways in which Skolt Saami have shaped these overlapping traditions of own and neighbouring Karelian, Russian, Norwegian and Finnish cultures and incorporated them into their own musical culture during the 20th century.

There are historical turning points in of the 20th century Skolt Saami history, which have had a crucial impact on Skolt Saami culture. The first was the division of the Skolt Saami territories by the border of Finland and Russia in 1920 in Treaty of Tartu. The multicultural environment on the traditional living areas, which had existed in this area for centuries, began to break down. Saami village areas Paččjok, Peäccam and Suõ'nn'jel were incorporated to Finland and the area was named Petsamo. The contacts across the border began to decline and ceased to exist completely during and after the Second World War, when Petsamo area was ceded to Soviet Union and Skolt Saamis of Finland were forced to migrate to new areas, namely to Sevetijärvi and Nellim in Inari district.

In my paper I shall compare historical archive material gathered from the three Skolt Saami siida areas Paččjok, Peäccam and Suõ'nn'jel and point out how was the local historical musical tradition formed with several overlapping genres and how this shows in the structural analysis of historical music sources. I shall also discuss of the changes in the Skolt Saami music tradition, which occurred after the Second World War in the new Finnish cultural environment. The key questions are: Can we see the old tradition continuing its life? What was the impact of the Finnish culture? Did Skolt Saamis stop creating new tradition after

the migration as it has been claimed in the previous research? What tradition can be heard on the vast archive collection of recordings made from 1950s to 1970s?

Kinyakina, Lyudmila  
Mordovian State University

### **National traditions in the modern sacred music of Mordovia**

Christian choral traditions in life of the Mordovian people are a component of modern culture. The important role in distribution of Christian singing traditions among the Mordovian population was played by the church and singing education which originates in the second half of the XIX century in system of mental educational institutions – parish schools, gymnasiums, seminaries and academies which graduates were many eminent persons of the Mordovian musical art (F. Vazersky, K. Promptov, L. Kiryukov, P. Organov, etc.).

Sacred choral music in composer creative work of Mordovia is rather young genre and style course the address to which is caused by the great public interest which arose in the last decades of XX century.

Separate samples of this genre were connected with stylization of orthodox church singing and found realization in L. Kiryukov and G. Vdovin's musical dramas.

The first independent works of sacred choral music in Mordovia were created in the late eighties of the XX century by N. Boyarkin on verses of the Mordovian poets A. Arapov, A. Doronin, A. Pudin. In 1994 numerous processings of spiritual anthems of modern Finnish writers were made: M. Vuolanne, Ya. Lyoyttyu, Yu. Salminen, P. Simoyoki in translations of texts on the Erzya language of the composer in a co-authorship with R. Pyuyukko.

Unlike spiritual compositions of L. Kiryukov (stylization of orthodox church singing) and N. Kosheleva's works (orthodox psalmodies singing) which appeared at the boundary of the XX-XXI centuries, S. Terkhanov, D. Buyanov (which stylistics mainly are based on orthodox and Christian choral traditions), deep connections with the Mordovian national musical tradition are traced in N. Boyarkin's work (an original angemitonny melodics and polyphony, composite structure), and also a support not only on the orthodox singing traditions apprehended the Mordvian at the Russian are distinctly traced but also are broader – all Christian music, including West European.

Originality is so brightly shown in tartness of the harmonious language caused by specifics of structure of chords, existence the sekundovykh and the kvarto-kvintovykh of combinations unlike classical the mediant; expressive opportunities of the Mordovian tool timbres: bagpipe – organ; a kayga – string-bow; nyudi, veshkoma – wooden wind instruments.

In recent years sacred choral music of Mordovia was replenished with S. N. Boyarkin's compositions. Created under the leadership of the Finnish composer, the conductor and the organist P. Vapaavuori who opened the new direction of creative work on use of Finno-Ugric musical traditions in a modern sacred music, national and song mass of «Pryaozks» was the first composition of this genre in the Mordvian music.

### **Tradition of crying in life of the modern Mordovian village**

One of the major kinds of the traditional ritual culture of Mordovia (erzya and moksha) is weeping and wailing that accompanies many events in the life of the Mordva people. They belong to the genus of family ritual songs of Moksha and Erzya, and are divided into wedding, burial memorial lamentations-memories, re-cruiting.

The interest of domestic and foreign researchers to the traditional mordvinian musical art, and in particular to the genre of lamentation appeared in the XVIII century. The earliest evidence of musical folklore of the mordovians is contained in the notes of Russian travelers and ethnographers I.I. Lepekhina, P.S. Pallas, I.G. George, M.D. Chulkova, M. Popova.

Due to the activities of the Finno-Ugric Society (1883), whose members (O. Donner, A. Geykel, W. Harvey, H. Paasonen, P. Ravila A. Vyaysyanen) studied the material and spiritual culture of the Finno-Ugric peoples, the second half of the XIX century was qualitatively new stage of collecting works of folklore of the Mordovians.

The first printed editions, where represent the poetic texts of lamentation, were mentioned collections «Mordwinische Volksdichtung» H. Paasonen, published by P. Ravila.

After H. Paasonen, in 1948 followed the release of A. Vyaysyanen's named «Mordwinische Melodien», where the notations of the melodic and instrumental tunes were published. The author systematized sheet material on the basis of "melodic relationship", proposed in 1903 by I. Krohn.

The well-known Mordvinian educator, founder and the head of Mordovia Cultural and Educational Society M.E. Evsevjev published the work "Mordovia Wedding" in 1931, which brought together a large number of the Erzya wedding laments of the Middle of Zavolzhja.

The significant contribution to the art of singing of the Mordovians of the Middle of Zavolzhja M.I. Chuvashëv made. For ten years he had collected many examples of traditional Erzya poetry, mainly - wedding and funeral laments and others. A small part of the folk music in the notations of G.I. Suraeva- Koroleva and I.A. Kasyanov was published. In 1979 I.A. Kasyanov and M.I. Chuvashëv published "The Mordovian (Erza) lamentations."

The result of years of expedition activity of the Mordovian Ethnomusicology N.I. Boyarkin, his intensive work on the notation and explanation of works of folk music was the publication of three volumes of "Monuments of the Mordovian national musical art", which provides the Moksha (T 1) and the Erza (T 3) laments.

Nowadays, the lamentations are one of the few genres of song tradition, which are most fully preserved in the present-day village life. The wedding bride lamentations can be heard mainly from older performers since the wedding ceremony remained a little in the home of the Mordva people. The laments associated with the best-preserved burial and memorial ceremonies are performed by both mature and younger women as well.

Kovyrshina, Julia  
PGK

### **Rhythmic and melodic patterns of Karelian laments**

Lamentations (itkuvirsi) is one of the oldest genres and centralizing component of the genre system of Karelian local traditions. Study of metrics and poetics Karelian laments dedicated impressive body of scientific works of the Finnish and Russian researchers. The Russian ethnomusicology on intonation and rhythmic structure of the Karelian laments were devoted to work Terttu Koski, Alla Gomon, Tamara Krasnopolskaya and others. Nevertheless, the question remains about the constructions musical and poetic compositions Karelian laments. One of the problematic positions of ethnomusicological analysis of Karelian laments is the allocation unit rhythmic and melodic songs of lamentation, which can be organized and classified; ambiguous and transcription (musical notation) laments; leaves open the question of the relationship of alliteration and intonation patterns of laments tunes and so on. The author proposes a technique allocating basic "generative models" rhythmic composition Karelian laments, on the basis of which lexical structure get rhythmization in singing, word / phonetic words in poetic texts of laments. Identified a set of "generating" deep rhythmic patterns is limited and reveals cross-genres parallels in the folk traditions of Karelia, and also to adjust the hypothesis of areal distributing musical rhythmic forms. "Generative model" identified at the level of melodic composition in Karelian laments, however, the unit of structuring tunes are not tokens, not poetry and verse, and phrasal construction of poetic texts. Rhythm and intonation patterns tunes Karelian laments certain way correlated with the major compositional and rhythmic structures of poetic texts of Karelian laments - sequences of alliteration and metaphorical substitutions. Thus, cell composition of one of the most complex musical and poetic forms Karelian folk tradition - lamentations - defines coordination differently structured layers: the poetic texts, rhythmic compositions, constructed on the basis of "generative models" and melodic compositions, which formed by a phrasal constructions, organized in melostrophes-tirades.

Kõmmus, Helen  
Estonian Folklore Archives

### **Songscales of Western Estonian islands in the end of 19th century: Finnish scholar's folksong fieldwork to Hiiumaa in 1877**

The first and outstanding folksongs fieldwork in Western Estonian islands Hiiumaa, Saaremaa and Muhu was made by Finnish scholar and pedagogue Oskar Anders Ferdinand Lönnbohm (Mustonen, 1856–1927) in 1877. The results of this substantial and exhaustive expedition were published with comments and translations in book „Virolaisia kansanrunoja” ("Estonian folksongs") in Helsinki in year 1893. During the preparation of fieldwork publication did the Lönnbohm cooperation with first Estonian Doctor of Folkloristics and organizer of Estonian folklore collecting Oskar Kallas. Lönnbohms humanitarian activities were

influenced as well by his brothers writers Eino Leino and Kasimir Leino. Lönnbohms furthermore cultural fieldwork interest were in Saami and Siberian areas.

In 1877 Estonian collections consists 202 folksongs' texts. 65 of these are from island Hiiumaa: 34 are older runic songs and 31 newer end rimed folk songs. Singers have remained anonymous and collecting place is marked generally as Hiiumaa. But song type based classification of collected material is systematic and detailed. Compendium comprises men, women and childrens songs, ritual wedding songs, lullabies, amusement songs, instrumental pieces with words and varia. These categories gives the picture the collecting situation, singers entity, erstwhile popular repertoire and songs' structures.

Island Hiiumaa is interesting area of cultural contacts. Here have existed side by side hundreds of years Estonian and Swedish societies poetical tradition and sea have brought the musical influences of other neighbors, for example Finns and Germans. But in same time in this periphery area has preserved old work songs and archaic bagpipe tradition. In the basis of Lönnbohms early folksong collection is possible to see that in the end of 19. century in Western Estonia the runic song existed parallelcly with Western Europe influenced folk music (ballads, folk hymns) and was still viable and active self expression in festive and work situations.

Presentation will concentrate to Lönnbohms collected runic songs' texts structure and form, archaic song types representation and distribution and this material's position in context of late collections of Estonian Folklore Archives from Hiiumaa. In addition of song texts' analyze is interesting to observe the cultural contacts phenomena in field: that were the scientific interests of Finnish scholar during the meeting of Estonian folk singers, how have his notations, comments and translations reflecting the fieldwork situation, real state of heritage and folk tradition collecting ideologies.

Leisiö, Timo  
University of Tampere

### **Proto-Uralic music. Did it exist?**

It is obvious that all Uralic languages go back to a Pre-Uralic language of West-Asian origin. The people who later spoke the Uralic protolanguage were living at the southwestern foot of the Ural Mountains more than 4,000 years ago.

If there was Proto-Uralic music, it was mainly singing, but the song traditions of Uralic populations differ so much from each other that they cannot be traced back to any common Protosong.

It is more or less useless to try to identify Proto Uralic song without taking all Eurasia into account. For instance, the African Pygmy hocket technique has also been used by the Ainu, Yukaghir and the Swedish Saame singers. Moreover, we know that the Saame people are the only representatives of the modern humans who first populated Europe about 40,000 years ago. The rules underlying their yoik are only sporadically found in Eurasia (the Ob-Ugrians, the Ainu, the Čukči, and the LaHu in Thailand etc.) but are prominent in Amer-Indian song.



These traditions cannot be Proto-Uralic but, say, the Udmurt trichord c1-d1-e1 may be related to the Paleo-European proto-yoik.

The Kildin Saame song is related neither to any European song style nor to yoiks. It is more related to the Yukaghir, Nivhk and Japanese traditions (but not to the Ainu). Their singers may bark like dogs by using descending tones c2-b1—g1-fis1. This structure (minor 2nd + major 3rd) easily leads to a Japanese mode b-c1—E1-f#1-g1—b1.

The rules underlying Samoyed song are of a kind related to those found among the Yukaghirs, the Eskimos and the Javanese. Typical of the Nganasan and the Nenets song is the additive production of rhythm as well as the melodic teasing: the listener stays uncertain of the modality in use. This trait is also to be found in Kildin Saame song on the Kola Peninsula. The Samoyed style is obviously related to a song style which emerged during or after the Glacial Maximum in southern Siberia. The Paleo-Indians did not know it, while the Eskimos did. When a moon-faced population migrated from NW China to the Yenisei during the 2nd millennium BC, they obviously imported this style to the Taimyr even if adopted a new language now known as Nganasan. Another Siberian group introduced it to the Kola while the Proto-Yukaghirs took it to North-Siberia from the Amur, their glacial place of refuge. This Siberian macro style seems to have spread to South-East Europe during the Ice Age (still known as laments) but it had nothing to do with Proto-Uralic song.

As claimed by some, Proto-Uralic was spoken by a minor population 5,000 years ago by the Kama River. It started to diffuse to the west specifically during the Bronze Age when armed male groups started to sell metal and metal artefacts as tradesmen in an international network known as the Seima-Turbino Phenomenon in the 2nd millennium BC. According to this hypothesis, their activity extended all the way to Estonia and Scandinavia. As a result, several cultures shifted to Uralic languages between West-Siberia and Lapland over 20 centuries or more. Thus, the Proto-Uralic epoch was relatively recent. To understand what kinds of melody those people sang, it is necessary to compare (1) the metric systems underlying the poetries of both Uralic and Altaic cultures as well as (2) the rules, the syntaxes, governing their formation of melody. Then we may know if there ever was a unitary Uralic proto-music.

Oras, Janika

Estonian Folklore Archives (Estonian Literary Museum)

### **Historical singing spaces and practices in Central Estonia – Shared and personal experiences**

The understanding of Estonian *regilaul* and the other historical Baltic-Finnic singing cultures is made more complicated by the text-centeredness of the documentation in our use. In the study of older tradition we are used to focus on the mental aspects of singing.

This paper however concentrates on the bodily and spatial aspects of historical singing culture, inspired by several Finnish researchers' (Kati Kallio, Lotte Tarkka, Senni Timonen, Anna-Leena Siikala etc.) work and previous Estonian research done on singing performance (Ottillie Kõiva, Herbert Tampere),

as well as soundscape studies, culture geography and phenomenological anthropology. The main focus is set on the typical traditional „singing places“, performance arenas, the bodily practices of singing in various situations and their connections to the specifics of musical expression. The analysis is based on the 19th and 20th century records from Kolga-Jaani parish and its surroundings in Central Estonia, also considering the tradition of Estonia in general and of the neighboring territories. Beside the song texts, melodies and scarce general contextual data the memories of the individual experiences of singing occupy quite an important place in the sources, creating a diverse and multivoiced image of the past practices and their meanings for the community members.

Tamás, Ildikó  
Institute of Ethnology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

### **Text-panels and deep structure of Sami yoiks**

In the first part of my lecture I present the major textual characteristics of the archaic Sami yoik-tradition with the analysis of the material collected by György Szomjas-Schiffert (1966) available in the Folk Music Archives of the Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Budapest). The traditional approach to folklore studies and ethnomusicology is not sufficient during the investigation of these loose, motif repeating, cyclically structured works. Since the research of folk poetry focuses primarily on the typological features and the structure of lines, the Sami folklore texts, having loose, unbound structure and inward oriented, hardly interpretable and fragmentary character, can only be partially analyzed with traditional methods.

The pragmatic approach in the investigation of yoik texts would be important and I find it necessary to apply some methods of cognitive linguistics as well. In addition, problems of semiotics and linguistic philosophy just as well as the emergence of synesthesia are also touched upon in the lecture. I reveal that the gap filling textual elements (linguistically “meaningless” panels) can be autonomous subjects of investigation. Their role is to reinforce the message, expressed musically and separated from ordinary speech, and to evoke (culturally bound) associations in the audience. Mainly among local communities. Relying on an investigation of cultural contexts, I point out that both the tunes as well as the panels are under community control. The creator (singer) is not absolutely free in shaping the text, not even if (s)he uses exclusively panels. Even during someone’s improvisation, several expectations and structural rules should prevail.

In the second half of my lecture I will draw attention to some so-far unnoticed phenomena. Through the several examples of yoiks from Nunнанen, I outline the deep structure of the yoiks and the regularities of the linking structural elements with an explicit graphical method. I pick apart the melody of hundreds of yoiks, and divide them into units. I reveal that melody construction is always based on a cyclical permutation in which repeating codes prove the existence of a formal frame of mind with identical basis. The method I have created and demonstrate shall be important in the mapping of style determining general elements and in the production of a more tinted musical typography.

## **Symp. 21. Diaspora Mordvins and their neighbours**

**Organizer:** Merja Salo (University of Helsinki)

Abramova, Olga  
Ogarev Mordovia State University

### **The role of Mordovian national organizations for preserving Mordovian ethnicity (Роль мордовских национальных организаций в деле сохранения мордовского этноса)**

The end of the twentieth century for Russia, as for a multinational country, was marked by such a new ethno-political phenomenon as the national movement. It is true for the Republic of Mordovia, where the national movement has been a major instrument of the preservation of the Mordovian ethnicity.

In the course of its historical development, the national movement of the Mordovians has gone through several stages from all sorts of popular uprisings (from the mid-17th century) to organized enlightenment of the masses attributed to the appearance of the social category of intellectuals among the Mordovians in the second half of the 19th century.

Officially, the present day's Mordovian national movement dates back to the formation of "Mordovian cultural and educational society" in Kazan in 1917. The traditions of the society were held up and developed by the society "Syrgozema" (Awakening) founded in Moscow in 1923.

Revitalizing the national intelligentsia in the late 20th century led to the emergence of such national organizations as the "Velmemma", "Weigel" and "Mastorava" which have made a significant contribution to the national revival of the Mordovian people. The said organizations became the forerunners of today's organizations in the Republic of Mordovia, such as the associations Erzya and Moksha Women - "Litova" and "Yurkhtava", the Interregional Public Movement of the Mordovian (Moksha and Erzya) people", and others. The holding of the Mordovian People Congresses had a special importance for the political development of the Mordovian nation and for the Republic of Mordovia as a whole. In 1998, thanks largely to the Congress, the State Assembly of the Mordovia Republic adopted the law "On the state languages of Mordovia" and "On Education in the Republic of Mordovia" obliging the public authorities to build a system of educational institutions for mother tongue-based teaching in the Republic of Mordovia.

The growth of national consciousness manifesting in the interest in national culture, preservation of the mother tongue, and national traditions and favourable political, economic and social conditions of the late 20th - early 21st century impacted positively on the ethno-political processes in Mordovia, which led to the strengthening the position of the Republic of Mordovia on the All-Russian background and increasing the proportion of the Mordovians in the population of the Republic.

Thus, the national movement in Mordovia has become an integral part of public life and expresses the interests of the Mordovian people. A positive change in the people's attitudes toward the Mordovian language and national culture can be considered as an important achievement of the national organizations.

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### **The system of possessive suffixes and their variation in the Erzya dialects (Система посессивных суффиксов и их варьирование в эрзянском диалектном ареале)**

This paper analyzes the dialect diversity of possessive suffixes the Erzya dialects. The topics dealt with in this presentation include the possessive suffixes and their dialect variation; the identification of dialect subsystems of possessive suffixes; the examination of the structural features of the possessive-nominal paradigms and the forms of possessive declension governed by morphophonological conditions.

It is known that possessive relations are marked with possessive suffixes when the possessor expressed indicates one of the three grammatical persons. This is a pre-Uralic phenomenon. So in every language in addition to the personal suffix, there are two grammatical indicators: *-k* (number of the possessor) and *-n* (number of the possessa), which were indispensable markers of the ancient system of possessive suffixes in all Finno-Ugric languages. Possessive indices are especially well preserved in the Erzya northwestern dialect type (e.g. the village of Atyashevo, the Ardatovski and Bolsheignatovski raions of the Republic of Mordovia, as well as the dialects of the Chuvash Republic, Nizhny Novgorod and Ulyanovsk oblast).

In these dialects, the existence of two series of possessive suffixes has been documented in almost all ranges, with the exception of the second person plural possessor 'your'. For example, the first person plural 'our': *ava-mok* 'our mother' – *ava-nok* 'our mothers', *vir-e-mek* 'our forest' – *vir-e-nek* 'our forests', *pakša-mok* 'our field' – *pakša-nok* 'our fields'; the third person plural 'their': *ava-sk* 'their mother' – *ava-nsk* / *ava-nst* 'their mother', *vir-e-sk* / *vir-e-st* 'their forest' – *vir-e-nsk* / *vir-e-nst* 'their forests' *pakša-sk* / *pakša-st* 'their field' – *pakša-nsk* / *pakša-nst* 'their fields'.

In other Erzya dialect types the possessive suffixes have become equalized in their linguistic functions and the *-k* and *-n* markers. This has resulted in the inability to distinguish between singular and plural possessa. Hence a contradiction has evolved between the grammatical form and content. Due to these developments new or analytical constructions for the expression of plural possessa have come into use.

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### **National-cultural autonomy as a means of preserving the ethnic identity of the Mordvins (on the example of the Ulyanovsk region)**

The Mordvins is one of disperse settled Finno-Ugric peoples. A significant proportion resides on the territory of the Ulyanovsk region, which began to be settled in the tenth century. Modern ethno-demographic processes among the Mordovian population are characterized by a decrease of qualitative and quantitative indicators. Since the twentieth century, the number of Mordvins were reduced by 22%, according to the census of 2010 is 39 thousand people.

Negative trends of ethno-demographic development associate with assimilation, increased migration to large cities, the reduction of natural growth, decline in fertility. One of the consequences of such processes has been the devaluation of ethnic identity. All this has highlighted the need to preserve their national image, language, culture, ethnic identity. "Ethnic Renaissance" at the turn of the 80-90-ies of XX century led to the formation of many national movements and autonomies, including the Ulyanovsk regional Mordovian national-cultural autonomy.

Currently autonomy has 19 regional branches. Their activities involve citizens of different ages and professions, political opinions, religious faiths and principles of life united by the desire to help their people, to find a way out of the crisis, to solve the problems of the revival of the language, culture, national identity.

Ulyanovsk regional Mordovian national-cultural autonomy is actively working to preserve the Mordovian language and cultural traditions among the Mordovian population. The national newspaper "Algal" is published. The Mordovian language as a subject or course is studied in nearly one hundred schools.

Ulyanovsk region has a rich experience in conducting regional and district competitions on the Mordovian language and literature. In the framework of the autonomy the work with young people is conducted, clubs for the study of the Mordovian language, tours, and various cultural events are organized. The regional festival of Mordovian family, ritual winter holidays, the Day of Mordovian language, as well as numerous festivals and folk art exhibitions, seminars, anniversaries of prominent representatives of the Mordovian people are very popular.

Thus, the national-cultural autonomy is an important means of identifying and meeting the ethno-cultural needs of the citizens, achieving international stability, conflict prevention on a national basis, plays an important role in the preservation of ethnic identity of the Mordvins.

## Disease names in Erzya and Šokša Mordvin

In this talk I will discuss the Erzya Mordvin disease names with respect to their motivation in a cognitive semantic framework. I will also compare the Erzya data with Šokša Mordvin examples. The data comes from my own fieldwork in 2013 and 2014.

I propose that based on their motivation Erzya disease names should be divided into ten groups. In my talk I will discuss these ten groups in detail.

The first group consists of the unmotivated words, for instance *s'ilge* 'wart, birthmark'. The second group consists of the Russian loanwords/borrowings, whose usage is becoming more and more wide-spread. As I will point out that, certain disease names are used only in Russian (*gemorroj* 'hemorrhoids'), others have their Erzya equivalents (for example, Russian *vospalenije*, Erzya: *targožema* 'infection'), others are used only in Erzya (for instance, *pil'e čulksit'i* 'ear aches'). I list in a separate group the Russian loanwords that serve as a base for further derivation, for example *kosojči* 'strabismus', and the ones that have been adapted, for instance *ospalenija* 'infection' (< Russian *vospalenije*). Besides, I separate the onomatopoeic words (*pupurka*, *puporka*, *pupuruška* 'acne') and also the words denoting the outcomes of the diseases (for instance, *keřavks* 'cut').

Besides the Russian loanwords, the other big group is formed by words denoting the diseases based on their symptoms (*přaň seřed'ma* 'headache', *šed'ej orma* 'heart disease'). This is cross-linguistically common denotation pattern. In Erzya the symptom-based denotation has several types. For instance, it can be metaphoric (*řivežeň* tol 'chickenpox', lit. 'fox's fire'), or based on specification (*venčamoň škazo saš* 'pimple', lit. 'someone who has to get married soon'). I will investigate these types from cognitive semantic perspective.

Another group consists the disease names based on similarity (*sarazmukorvařa* 'wart' < *saraz* 'hen' + *mukor* 'bottom' + *vařa* 'hole'), or on how the symptom develops (ninth group): *koškilda* / *koškelda* 'impetigo, scabies' (*koškems* shrivel, dry). These disease names are formed via meaning extension.

Moreover, my results show that some disease denoting words are polysemic (for example, *aparo orma* 'cancer, syphilis, heart attack, paralysis, long lasting fatal disease, sudden death disease, not curable disease'). In order to account for these cases in this group I propose a polysemic network. Following Tolcsvai Nagy (2010: 116) I assume that there are family resemblance relations between the meanings and that these meanings build a network. The proposed network is based on the features of the diseases and their meanings. This network shows how the meanings connect to each other. However, creating a complete polysemic network is complicated by the limited number of interviews with native speakers, as well as by the fact that diseases are considered to be a taboo topic in the language community.

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**Development trends of ethno-demographic processes of the Mordovian population in Trans-Volga region in the late 20th and early 21st centuries**  
**(Тенденции развития этнодемографических процессов у мордовского населения Заволжья в конце XX– начале XXI в)**

The report addressed ethnodemographic processes Mordovian population in the Samara and Orenburg regions in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The most important of these processes is the decrease in their population. This is due to the natural decline of the population by reducing fertility, migration and assimilation processes. Important factors influencing the processes of assimilation, are inter-ethnic marriages, the dispersion of settlement Moksha and Erzia and urbanization processes. The presence of assimilatory processes is confirmed by the increase in the Mordvins in this region the number of people who replaced their native language.

Trans-Volga region (Samara and Orenburg regions, the southern regions of the Republic of Tatarstan) is a large settlement area of the Mordvins. The 2010 Census recorded here 114129 Moksha and Erzia (65447 – in Samara region, 38682 – in Orenburg region and about 10000 – in the southern part of Tatarstan). [1]

Most Mordovian population of Trans-Volga region is the Erzia. The Moksha and Erzia often settled in the area in the same villages what did not occur in the territory of Mordovia. The predominance of the Erzia population caused a gradual transition of the Moksha to the Erzia language, and then to the change of their national identity. Only in a few villages, such as in Pronkino, Buguruslansky district, Orenburg region, a mixed dialect was formed as a result of cohabitation of the Moksha and Erzia.

One of the main trends in ethnodemographic processes of the Mordvins in Trans-Volga region is decrease in their population. During the period between the Censuses of 2002 and 2010 it amounted to more than 38000. This is due to natural population decline caused by decline in birth rate, migrations and assimilation processes, which existence is confirmed by the increasing number of the Mordvins in this region who changed their native language. According to the materials of the All-Union Census of 1989, they were 39.4% of the total Mordovian population in Samara region, in 2010 – 52.3%; 30.9% and 41.5% in Orenburg region, respectively. [2]

This trend is caused by a number of reasons. This is geographical dispersion of Trans-Volga Mordvins who live together with other peoples, and quite often in mixed villages. Thus, in Isaklinsky district of Samara region the Mordvins live in 24 villages, of which 16 are purely Mordovian, in 3 villages the Mordvins live together with the Russians, in 2 – with the Ukrainians, in 1 – with the Chuvashes.

An important factor influencing assimilation processes is intermarriages which are widely spread among Trans-Volga Mordvins. Such marriages have a significant impact on ethnic orientation of children. The vast majority of children in Mordovian-Russian families (76.6%) are recorded in the rural household

registers as Russian. National orientation in all other intermarriages is determined by a prevailing ethnic group in the village. [3]

Assimilation processes are amplified by urbanization processes as well. Urban share of Trans-Volga Mordvins is constantly increasing. In 2002, it amounted to 56.7% in Samara region, 35.1% in Orenburg region. Assimilation of citizens is growing more rapidly than among countrymen.

[1] [http://www.gks.ru/free\\_doc/new\\_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis\\_itogi1612.htm](http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm)

[2] The RSFSR Goskomstat. Statistics Administration for Samara and Orenburg regions. All-Union Census 1989;

[http://www.gks.ru/free\\_doc/new\\_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis\\_itogi1612.htm](http://www.gks.ru/free_doc/new_site/perepis2010/croc/perepis_itogi1612.htm)

[3] Author's personal files.

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### **Printed media of Russia in XIX century on the relationship between the Russian and Mordovian language (Периодическая печать России XIX века о взаимоотношениях русского и мордовских языков)**

The vocabulary composition of Mordovian languages is not homogeneous. Among the basic word stock, mainly of Finno-Ugric origin, the lexis of contemporary Moksha and Erzya languages, in researchers' opinions, contains words borrowed from Iranian, Baltic, Turk, Slavic linguistic layers. First place belongs to words of Russian origin including old Russian borrowings. Living in ancient times in the neighborhood, and sometimes together with the Mordvins, the Slavs had a strong influence on the lifestyle, culture and language of Moksha and Erzya people. Moreover, periodical press repeatedly stated about the approaching extinction of the Mordvins, about the imminent disappearance of Mordovian language, full assimilation of Mordvins by Russian people.

It should be noted that in general periodicals interpreted language processes unilaterally: more has been written about assimilation of Moksha and Erzya people, about the impact of the Russian language and to a lesser extent about their consolidation, the development of ethnic identity.

Nevertheless, in 1890, the journal «Proceedings of the Society of Archeology, History and Ethnography at Kazan State University», published a detailed article by «a teacher of Finnish dialects» from Kazan State University M. P. Veske "Slavic-Finnish cultural relations in references to given language", the first part of that paper was concerned with identification of words of Finno-Ugric origin in the Russian language.<sup>1</sup> Materials of Veske's paper arousing a considerable interest, and thus proved by its publication as a separate book<sup>2</sup> in the same year have still not been introduced into scientific use.

In general, in three sections of this book (the third is devoted to commonly used words in Slavonic, Russian, Lithuanian and Finnish languages) 112 words of the Moksha and Erzya languages were analysed. In quantitative terms, more attention was given to the Russian, Finnish and Estonian lexis. With this, the author reserves that not all examples of borrowings in the Russian language from



the Finnish language and vice versa – in Finnish language from the old Slavonic and Russian were studied, «in fact, the material is much more extensive»<sup>3</sup>.

The main conclusion that Veske comes to, exploring the old Slavonic, Russian, Baltic and Finnish, Povolzhsky-Finnish and Lithuanian lexis, is that «the Baltic Finns might have moved to the Gulf of Finland certainly from the South or South-East, where they had lived in the vicinity of the old Slavs»<sup>4</sup>. Therefore, Veske does not share Ahlqvist's point of view, who believed that the Finns moved to the Gulf of Finland from Asia through Northern Russia.

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1 See.: Veske M. P. Slavic-Finnish cultural relations in reference to given languages. Proceedings of the Society of Archeology, History and Ethnography at Kazan State University. v. 8, issue 1. 1890. pp. 1 - 303.

2See.: Veske M. P. Slavic-Finnish cultural relations in reference to given languages. Kazan. 1890.

3 Ibidem. p. 136.

4 Ibidem. p. 303.

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### **Ethnic processes among the Mordvins in the modern times**

The Mordovian people today experiencing several ethnic processes, of which the greatest threat to his self-preservation is ethnic assimilation, took the character of depopulation. A proof of this data series of all-Union and last held recently (in 2002), all-Russian census. If the highest peak in the number of Mordva was recorded the all-Union census in 1939 - 1 million 456 thousand (compare: in 1897 -1 million 24 thousand, 1926 - 1 million 340 thousand), in 1959 it was 1 mln thousand in 1970 to 1 million 263 thousand in 1979 to 1 million 192 thousand in 1989 to 1 million 153 thousand According to the last Soviet census (1989), the number of Mordvins in the RSFSR was 1 million 73 thousand In all-Russia population census of 2002, this figure decreased to 845 thousand.

We do not share the claims of some modern authors that marked depopulation is a consequence of this genocide carried out by the Russian government. But this depopulation is obvious, and it needs to be an objective scientific interpretation, because only a professional diagnosis of the problem may contribute to the development of possible ways out of this ethnodemographic situation.

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**The series “The Mordvins of Russia” as a contribution of researchers of the Department of Ethnography and Ethnology of the Research Institute by the Government of the Republic of Mordovia**

The Research Institute for the Humanities by the Government of the Republic of Mordovia in its scientific work continues purposefully studying on the history of resettlement and traditional culture of the Mordvins throughout Russia, where, according to the 2010 National Census, the Mordovian population was 744200 people. 333100 people or 44,8 % of them are the residents of the Republic of Mordovia. Among the regions of the Russian Federation the leaders in the number of the Mordvins are the Samara (8,8 % of the total Mordovian population of Russia), Penza (7,4 %), Orenburg and Ulyanovsk Oblasts (5,2 % each one), Bashkortostan (2,7 %), Tatarstan and the Nizhny Novgorod Oblast (2,6 % each one) and the Moscow Oblast (2,5 % of the total population of the Mordvins in the Russian Federation). Since 2001 the researchers of the institute have organized some ethnographic expeditions to the Krasnoyarsk (2001) and Altay Territories (2002), the Kemerovo Oblast (2003), to the Far East (2004) and Kamchatka (2005), the Irkutsk and Saratov Oblasts and the Republic of Khakasia (2008), to the Saratov City, the Tyumen, Tomsk, Omsk, Novosibirsk and Amur Oblasts and to Magadan (2009), the Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk and Kurgan Oblasts (2010), the Perm Territory and the Vladimir Oblast (2011), the Moscow and Ryazan Oblasts (2012 – 2013), to the work settlement of Dikson in the Taimyr Peninsula (2013) and the Kaliningrad Oblast (2014) (all expeditions were headed by professor L. I. Nikonova). According to the results of studies a series of scientific works “The Mordvins of Russia” was began publishing in 2007 [1 – 8]. It met positive reviews in scientific journals as well as in the media, and was awarded in Russia as “The Best Publishing Project”. Thus, preliminary results of researches on the Mordovian diaspora suggest that the series “The Mordvins of Russia” makes a significant contribution to the study of Finno-Ugric peoples of the world.

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### **Variation of the dative forms in the Erzya dialects**

The Erzya language has a complex and interesting system dialects, consisting of five types, with slight differentiation between the individual dialects. Each type can be identified at the different levels of: phonetics, morphology, syntax and lexicon.

The main dialect differences in morphology are associated with numerous grammatical categories. This is especially evident in the form and structure of oblique demonstrative forms in a distinctive system of possessive affix paradigms, declensions and conjugations, and the differences between variable dependent and independent case forms.

The case system in Erzya and its dialects, is a very complex and unique. Each type has a different array of cases, both in form and semantic content.

The dative suffixes in the Erzya literary language are: *-nen/-nen*. In the case paradigms of different dialects and sub-dialects the dative morpheme is realized in heterogeneous ways. In the dialects variation can be observed in several allomorphemes: *-nen* [ava-**nen**], *-nen* [skal-**nen**], *-jen* [ava-**jen**, r'ev'e-**jen**], *-ne* [skal-**ne**], *-ne* [r'ev'e-**ne**], *-nd'i* [skal-ə-**nd'i**]. As can be seen, there is a variety of character and structure in the case morphemes of the Erzya dialects and sub-dialects.

Morpheme selection depends on the morphological and phonetic structure of the word. It is therefore important to establish morphophonological characteristics and functions of the morphemes.

This article assumes a detailed study of the morphological structure of dative forms from an areal aspect of the Erzya dialects. Mapping of morphological phenomena labeled isoglosses reflects the variation of morphological features. Isoglosses help to establish genetic relationships, present the distribution of phenomena, develop the reconstruction of the evolution of language in its dialect diversity.

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### **Mordva-Murza in the Republic of Bashkortostan**

There is a small group of Mordva-Erzya in the Republic of Bashkortostan, which name itself “Murza”. They live in the villages of Kozhay-Andreevo and Kozhay-Maksimovo of the Tuymazy and Bizhbulyak districts respectively. Although the inhabitants of these villages associate themselves with the ethnic name Erzya but they note definitely “we are the Murza”. According to their opinion, the main distinction of this group from other Erzyas consists in the language (i.e. dialect), which includes a number of Russian loanwords. Other Mordvin villages also note this feature of the Murza-group. They mark that the language of the Murza is different from “ours, the Erzya”.

In the essay published 1905, M. Burdukov wrote that “the Mordva of the village Kozhay-Andreevoy believe to be descendants of an Mordvin Prince (Murza). It was claimed that the very earlier times they possessed large lots of land and woods, which subsequently had been forfeited; nevertheless they are not capable to prove their possession of those lands because of the loss of ancestral documents” [Ufimskie Gubernskie vedomosti, no. 176, 1905]. More information about Mordva-Murza we can inquire in the same volume in the publication of an anonymous author: “The term “Mordvin” encloses the notion of a known folk in a whole, and the terms “Erzya”, “Moksha” and “Murza” combine the concepts of the definite tribes of this folk”. Further he notes that “the dialects Erzyanskiy and Murzinskiy are very similar, just in the Murza (dialect – S.R.) are numerous of the Russian words in the use, disfigured in the Mordovian manner [Ufimskie Gubernskie Vedomosti, no. 188, 1905].

In 1894, the Mordovian scientist and educator M.E. Evseyev visited the villages of Kozhay and Maksimovo; the researcher had ascertained that the inhabitants of the village migrated from the village of Turdaki of the Saransk Province. There are the villages Toshto Murza (The Old Murza) and Od Murza (The New Murza) in the Kochkurovskiy district of the Republic of Mordovia; the official names of these villages are The Old Turdaki and The New Turdaki. Probably the Murza-migrants by origin are from The Old Turdaki. Evidently this phenomenon requires special detailed researches and analyses.

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### **The Mordovian holiday *Arta* on the Chuvash ground (Мордовский праздник *Арта* на чувашской земле)**

*Arta* is one of the most important national holidays of the Mordovian people living in Chuvash Republic. Translation from the Erzya, *Arta* means "revival". 90 percent of the Mordovian diaspora in Chuvashia live in Poretsky and Alatyrsky areas. There is a lot of them in Ibresinsky, in Shemurshinsky, Batyrevsky, Shumerlinsky areas. This holiday has solemn and multiple-valued character: it symbolizes also completion of spring and field works on the Mordovian earth, and revival of cultural traditions of ancestors, and at the beginning of summer. The holiday is revived by the Mordovian cultural center in 1992 and was carried out annually to the village Napolnoe of the Poretsky area as the holiday of the Mordovian national creativity, and on June 21, 2014 for the first time passed the XXIII Interregional holiday *Arta* in the village Atrat of the Alatyrsky area. The village Atrat is chosen not casually, after all it is the biggest Mordovian village of the Alatyrsky area. Today in the Atratsky rural settlement lives 1668 people, and 96 percent from them are Erzyans.

As well as many national holidays, *Arta* is strong fidelity to century traditions. The festival begins with a sacred ceremony – from ignition of a patrimonial candle *shtatol* (a *shta* – wax, *tol* – fire). Under blinking of a *shtatol* performances of official guests begin. By long-term tradition on *Arta* notable residents of the village, winners of competitions on improvement, *tuzhenik* of agriculture, long-livers, the most young villagers are celebrated.

Main objective of a holiday – revival of song folklore, preservation of traditions, customs and ceremonies, language, national crafts and crafts, amateur art creativity of the Mordovian people, establishment and strengthening of international cultural ties. It stores ancient traditions of the Mordovian national creativity, unites people, attaches to appreciate future generation heritage of ancestors.

Annual carrying out this holiday confirms continuity of national traditions, is a striking example of preservation of cultural wealth and original Mordovian national culture on Chuvash ground.

Founders of a holiday are the Mordovian cultural center of the Chuvash Republic, department of culture of administration of the Poretsky area. Successful carrying out a holiday is promoted by financial and methodical assistance of Ministry of culture of Chuvashia.

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### **Mordovian diaspora in Canada**

Until recently ethnography had a very fragmentary information about the ethnic composition of the Dukhobors - one of the unique units of Russian sectarianism discussed in the literature as an integral part of the Russian people. Only a few

studies on this subject briefly discussed the multinational origin of the Dukhobors, uniting not only Russians, but also the Mordvins, poles, Gypsies, Tatars, Ukrainians, etc. Itself sect was the social organism, in which, as in a kind of melting pot, representatives of various ethnic groups became a single entity, the power of the idea of chosenness and faith in its special mission, who considered himself a peculiar people, and demanded not only from other peoples, but also the authorities, recognizing them as such.

Surrounded by native peoples from their ethnic and religious characteristics, the Dukhobors really gradually took on the characteristics of the ethnic community. Already in the past on the question of their nationality they said, not Russian, and the Dukhobor. However, this process was not fully completed, as confirmed by field materials among the Dukhobors of the Canadian province of British Columbia. Among Doukhobors in Canada there are those who belong to Mordvin ethnoses, long living outside their historic homeland, still remember about their ethnic roots, and retain some features of their culture.

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### **The ethnocultural processes among the Mordovian people of Samara at the end of XX – the beginning of the XXI centuries**

Samara region represents one of the polietnichnykh and polyconfessional regions of the Russian Federation where representatives live more than 200 nationalities including the Mordovian people. It took the most active part in development of this edge. By the end of the XIX century the Mordovian people of Samara took in the region the second place after Russians. However, already since the second half of the XX century, the number of the Mordovian population began steadily to be reduced. Modern ethnic processes are characterized as ethnoevolutionary, caused by social and economic development of ethnic communities, their contacts with other people, brought to change of elements of culture and a life; and ethnotransformational, connected with change of ethnic consciousness at which the ethnic origin of the person becomes other. The assimilatory processes caused by dispersion of moving have essential impact on a demographic situation, in one of regions of area the Mordovian people didn't make the majority, the considerable part lives in national the mixed settlements. The urbanization, increase in number of urban population, growth of national mixed marriages has considerable impact.

Has changed significantly and qualitative parameters. The Mordovian languages began to be forced out not only from public and cultural life, but also the family and household sphere. All this led to that the whole generation of the Mordovian people grew, torn off from national culture, language, with the weakened ethnic consciousness, the continuity of generations etc. is in many respects interrupted.

The reduction of number of the Mordovian population, devaluation of ethnic signs caused strong concern in the Mordovian intellectuals, rural teachers. The aspiration to preservation at the Mordovian people, its ethnic shape was expressed in creation of public organizations and autonomies which assumed a

problem of cultural revival of ethnos. Their activity is directed on revival of national traditions, memories of ancestors, stories and cultures of the people. With this purpose, they began to revive folk festivals, folklore, music, arts and crafts. Steps were being taken to the revival of national education, the search continues for measures aimed at the realization of national interests, updating and further development of the cultural life of the Mordovian population.





## Symp. 22. Linguistic reconstruction in Uralic: Problems and prospects

**Organizer:** Ante Aikio (Sámi University College, Kautokeino)

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### On regular, irregular and "sporadic" sound change

It is generally accepted that sound change can be regular (i.e., affecting all cases covered by its phonological conditioning) or irregular (i.e., affecting an individual lexical item and seemingly lacking any underlying rule). In addition to regular and irregular sound changes, in Uralic comparative linguistics one often encounters references to "sporadic" sound change. The notion of "sporadic change" has usually not been explicitly defined, but assumed instances of sporadic change seem to differ from both regular and irregular change by being semiregular: a "sporadic" sound change is assumed to have taken place in a significant number of lexical items, but its application in each individual case nevertheless remains unpredictable.

If "sporadic" sound change is a real phenomenon, it forms a very serious problem for linguistic reconstruction, because the comparative method has no standard tools for dealing with semiregular change. In my talk I will examine the validity of the concept of "sporadic" change in light of four Saami sound changes where the data seem to show a "sporadic" pattern:

- 1) In South Saami, the reflexes of Proto-Saami first-syllable \*o and \*e show an unpredictable duality in the context /\_Cɛ (\*o > South Saami o ~ å, \*e > South Saami i ~ a).
- 2) In many Saami languages word-roots of the shape \*(C)V(C)Cɛs- appear to have undergone a methathesis of the sibilant (\*-Cɛs- > \*-Cse-): e.g. Lule Saami ruohtsa ~ North Saami ruohtas 'root' (< Proto-Saami \*ruohtes).
- 3) Most North Saami dialects have changed initial v- to f- in some word-roots (e.g., vatnat ~ fatnat 'to stretch', vanas ~ fanas 'boat').
- 4) In many Saami languages Proto-Saami \*o has changed to \*e in some word-roots: e.g., Inari mane, Skolt mââ'nn, North (dialectal) manni 'egg' (< Proto-Saami \*mɛnē < \*monē) vs. South munnie, Lule mánne, North monni 'egg' (< Proto-Saami \*monē). This change is almost always found in the vicinity of labial consonants (\*p, \*v, \*m).

Some of these examples of "sporadic" sound change turn out to be only apparent: 1) turns out to be a result of dialect borrowing, whereas 2) involves analogical levelling of a morphophonological alteration that lost its productivity in all daughter languages. In some other cases "sporadic" change seems to be a reality, but often has an explanation: 3) results from the spread of a foreign phoneme from loanwords to native vocabulary. It can be proposed that 4) is a result of historical near-merger of two vowels.

The presentation will also discuss what methodological implications the various types of apparent and real "sporadic" change have for phonological reconstruction. It is shown that "sporadic" changes are a real phenomenon, but they seem to fall into specific types which can be identified and analyzed.

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### **Reconstructing mediaeval Finnish with the help of Swedish loanwords**

Swedish has had an important impact on the Finnish lexicon over the last thousand years. However, Swedish loanwords are in etymological literature seldom marked more exactly than with terms like "modern Swedish", "old Swedish" etc. In the light of the very intensive contacts that have brought about several thousands of loanwords, a classification in such rough categories is not very helpful. Based on a corpus of about 2000 lexemes that have been borrowed into both literary Finnish and Finnish dialects from different forms of written and spoken Swedish, I attempt to demonstrate how the Swedish loanwords should be grouped in order to get a clearer picture about the whole complex and shed linguistic light on historical processes like the arrival of the Swedish-speaking population to Finland which is poorly documented in historical documents.

Of course one has to take into account the fact that many, maybe even most of the words of the corpus do not provide any characteristics that could be helpful for dating the borrowing more exactly. However, the mere size of the corpus makes it probable that internal developments of both Finnish and Swedish can be traced with the help of Swedish loanwords in Finnish. Finally, it should be possible to achieve a similarly detailed timeline of the development of these two languages as it has recently been sketched by Mikko Heikkilä (2014) for the contacts between Proto-Germanic, Proto-Finnic and Proto-Saami.

At the CIFU congress in Tartu in the year 2000, Kaisa Häkkinen posed the question: "Millaista oli keskiajan suomi" (What was mediaeval Finnish like?) and pointed out that this topic was still poorly discussed among Finnish historical linguists. For a profound understanding of the question, it is important to investigate thoroughly the evidence that loanwords – especially the Swedish ones – can offer, especially due to the lack of written documents in Finnish language from the period in question.

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### **On western boundaries of old Mansi dialects: evidence from substrate appellatives in the Russian dialects of the Upper Kama**

The interest in demarcation of former settlement area of Mansi has been rekindled recently. The western boundaries of old Mansi dialects that are considered to be shifted far to the west in the works of A. F. Teplouhov, A. Kannisto, and J. Gulya are generally accepted to keep within foothills of the Urals. Numerous conclusive proofs of this fact are adduced in treatises of A. K. Matveev, V. V. Napol'skih, O. V. Smirnov and others, but mainly are based on the toponymic data.

In my presentation I aim to solving the following research problems: 1) discover old Mansi data in substrate appellative lexis in the Russian dialects of the Upper Kama; 2) discuss some linguistic features of those substrate Mansi dialects; 3) delineate boundaries of former settlement areas of Mansi on the Western Urals.

Earlier I cited some examples of substrate Mansi borrowings in the Russian dialects of the Upper Kama (Gaidamaško, 2013: 210): *эхала* (*ëxala*) 'dried fish' [Lys'venskiy district]; *кулуп* (*kulup*) 'hunting net on a sable' [Aleksandrovskiy, and Čusovskoy districts]; *рып* (*ryp*) 'scarred knag on a tree', *рыпной*, *рыповый* adj. [Krasnovišerskiy district]; *туман* (*tuman*) 'lake' [Krasnovišerskiy district]; *урот* (*urot*), *уротина* 'a valley between mountains' [Krasnovišerskiy district]; *юкора* (*jukora*) 'overturned tree with roots' [Aleksandrovskiy district].

Newly published A. Kannisto's *Wogulisches Wörterbuch* (2013) and recently discovered evidence in the Russian dialects of the Upper Kama allow to differentiate substrate Mansi idioms even within the Upper Kama region and to make dialectal distinctions between Višera dialect and more southerly substrate Mansi idioms.

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#### **Stratification of Iranian loanwords in the Ugric languages**

The Iranian loanwords in the Ugric languages have not received much attention since the works of Korenchy (1972) and Joki (1973). Koivulehto (1999; 2007) deals only with a couple of Ugric or Ob-Ugric words of Indo-Iranian origin, but in general the Ugric languages have been out of the focus in the remarkable

studies of the Indo-Iranian-Finno-Ugric contacts in the 1990s and 2000s. Although the etymological work by Korenchy is important, it is a fact that the research in both historical phonology of the Uralic languages (for instance, Zhivlov 2007 offers a more regular reconstruction of Ob-Ugric vowel system) as well as in the field of Indo-Iranian-Uralic contacts has developed greatly since the 1970s, and in order to keep the standards of loanword research high, the earlier etymological material has to be reevaluated with the help of the new results.

It is the aim of my presentation to apply the new findings of historical phonology and loanword research, such as the more regular substitution rules and the clearer picture of different Indo-Iranian loanword layers in other Uralic languages, in the study of the Iranian loanwords in the Ugric languages, and review the earlier etymologies.

The loanword research can also have relevance in studying the relationship of the Ugric languages, at least during the time of the Iranian contacts. The loanword corpus contains irregular cases: for example, Sammallahti (1988: 504) observes the irregular vowel and consonant relations between Hungarian *hét* and Ob-Ugric *\*θāpet* ‘seven’, and also some other loanwords such as *\*mańćV* ‘human’ (Korenchy nro 13.), *\*mēńkV* ‘forest spirit’ (nro 14.) and *wāryV* ‘fishing object’ (nro 41.) feature unclear vowel developments, so a more critical study of the etymologies with Ugric or Ob-Ugric distribution can prove that some of them are not cognates but separate, parallel loans instead.

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## Revisiting the ‘separate Proto-Balto-Slavic borrowings’ of Saami

According to Korhonen, S(aami) š originates from a change of Pre-S(aami) clusters \*šk and \*št through E(arly) P(oto-)S(aami) \*čk and \*čt to Late PS \*šk

and \*št. Elsewhere, Pre-S ~ P(roto-)U(ralic) \*ś has given PS \*ć > S č. Before the new š emerged, Pre-S (PU) \*š had changed into S s. The new phoneme š integrated into the system by increasing its distribution through numerous loanwords from P(roto-)F(innic), where PU \*š, later resulting in F(innic) h, was still unchanged. It was not the only PF sound substituted for PS \*š, but also instances of PF \*s before palatal vowels went the same way. (Korhonen 1981: 130, 163, 178)

Sammallahti, instead, proposed that the Pre-S \*ś never changed to PS \*ć (> S č) before consonants. Instead, the clusters \*šk and \*št remained, and \*ś reconquered prevocalic positions through some P(roto-)B(alto-)Sl(avic) borrowings. This \*ś changed later to \*š. Sammallahti's hypothesis is based on his two PBSI loan etymologies, N(orth) S šuvon 'good dog' < EPS \*šōvonji ← PBSI \*śowon(i)- > Lith(uanian) šuo 'dog', NS šearrat 'bright' < Pre-S \*šerä- ← PBSI \*žer- > Lith žerėti 'to shine' and a third one by Aikio, NS šielbmá 'threshold', cf. Lith šelmuo 'frame (of a window or roof)'. (Sammallahti 2001: 400–401, Aikio 2012: 107)

The PBSI palatal sibilants \*ś and \*ž originated from P(roto-)I(ndo-)E(uropean) palatal stops \*k, \*g and \*gh. This stage can be reconstructed for the earliest I(ndo-)E(uropean) borrowings in S, e.g. PIE \*kuk- → Pre-S \*śuka > PS \*ćokō- > NS čohkut 'to comb'. In B(altic), the palatal sibilants developed to \*š and \*ž. In the B loanwords shared by S and F, their substitution in S is s, as in NS suoidni, Fi(nnish) heinä 'hay', cf. Lith šienas id. In somewhat later B loans, undoubtedly mediated by F, S š occurs: Aanaar S šišne 'tanned leather', Fi hihna 'leather strap', cf. Lith šikšna 'tanned leather'. (Kallio 2009, Aikio 2012: 75)

It is problematic to suppose a PBSI layer of three exclusively S words, while the earlier stratum is widely spread throughout Western U(ralic) and the later one shared with F. In addition, the three words have a narrow distribution among S languages, as Kallio points out. He proposes that the šuvon group is in fact later than the suoidni group: "As PS \*ś was frequently substituted for Middle PF \*š, it can very well have been substituted for PB \*š, too". In this case, the šuvon words should be contemporary with the šišne words, but borrowed directly from B, without F mediation. (Kallio 2009: 35)

This suggestion solves one problem but creates another, geographical one: the later any direct B-S contacts are dated, the more difficult it gets to find a suitable context for them. If F was the mediating link for the presumably earlier suoidni group, why could not it have brought the šuvon words to S as well? In fact, this seems to be the case with šielbmá as proposed by Aikio (2012: 107). As a new etymology, I suggest a similar solution to šearrat: it was borrowed from PF \*šeretä, cf. Estonian ere, Võro herre 'bright' and the PF form from B. Šuvon, in turn, is probably not from BSI at all, since the reconstruction \*śowon(i)- is not valid: the IE stem is monosyllabic and its BSI form was \*śwon(i)-.

Without the hypothesis of 'separate PBSI' words in S, there is no need to postulate a PS \*ś in prevocalic positions. Further, it means there are no certain traces of IE loanwords representing a stage between PIE \*k, \*g, \*gh and PB \*š, \*ž in any U languages.

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## Saami labial vowel stems and their background

The Saami languages have two types of labial vowel word stems, one containing a Proto-Saami palatal glide (\*-ōj) and one without the glide (\*-ō). Both stem types appear in nouns as well as verbs. So far there has been little account for explaining the difference of these stem types: Formerly the \*-ōj stems were occasionally connected with Finnic -oj (<\*-aj) derivatives, but since Sammallahti (1999), both \*-ō and \*-ōj stems have generally been derived from Pre-Saamic (Saamic-Finnic-Mordvinic) \*-aw/-äw/-ew. The current presentation investigates different possibilities of explaining the background of these Saami stem types, starting from internal reconstruction of Saamic but taking into account the historical relationship with Finnic and other Uralic branches as well. A central question is, whether the differing morphological types require reconstruction of two (or more) different derivational suffixes in a former state of the language, or whether the differences can be accounted for by conditional sound changes (and possible later analogical levelling). It is noteworthy that amongst the North Saami translative-continuative -u verbs (Proto-Saami \*-ō), all verbs having etymological stem cognates in other Uralic branches seem to be derived from a former \*-a stem (*čoallut* ← \*šola; *duorbut* ← \*tarpa, cf. Veps *tarbād'a*; *noaidut* ← \*nojta; *gohččut* ? ← Proto-Baltic \*kuaitja-/o-; *loggut* ? ← \*lunka; *molljut* ? ← \*mulja-; *njoallut* ← \*ńola-; *oažžut* ← \*oša; *oskut* ? ← \*uska-, cf. Fi. *uska-ltaa*; *soallut* ← \*šola). Also a great majority of other North Saami -u verbs which have a “primary” illabial stem correlate seem to correlate with an -i (\*-a/ä) stem instead of -a (\*-e). In contrast, many of the oldest passive-automotive -o verbs (\*-ōj) seem to derive from former \*-e stems (e.g. *gullot* ‘be heard’ < \*kullōj- < \*kūle-v-). Despite these tendencies among the verbs, the nouns seem to exhibit more diverse correspondences: For about half of the Common Saami \*-ōj nouns (from Lehtiranta 1989), a derivational correlation with a former \*-a/ä stem can be established, and a lesser number can be correlated to a former \*-e stem. Even if theories can be made about the original conditions of the emergence of different stem types, it must probably be recognised that later generalisations in derivational types and other kinds of language-internal and contact language influences have altered the situation considerably, as is the case with Finnic labial vowel stems too.

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## Morphosyntactic contribution to the reconstruction of pre-historical past: the case of Nganasan

The aim of my presentation is twofold. Firstly, I want to explore those morphosyntactic features specific to Nganasan (NG) which differentiate this language from its close relatives and which have possible correspondences in non-relative languages which are in other ways related to NG. These languages are Dolgan (Turkic) and Evenk (Tungusic) which have been in contact with Nganasan, and Yukaghir, whose speakers' forefathers Second, referring to my linguistic material I will raise questions on the methodology of syntax reconstruction and suggest that syntax reconstruction can make a useful contribution to the multi-disciplinary research of the pre-historic past.

Nganasan (NG) is spoken on the farthest eastern and northern extremities of the Uralic language family, on the Taimyr Peninsula, the northernmost extension of the Eurasian landmass. The compact location in the remote North-East saved NG from Russification and the Russian influence on NG is limited to the two latest generations. Sakha, Dolgans and Evenks, the latter mentioned in Nganasan folklore as *xorə* "sot'emə" 'stitched faces', were nganasans' neighbours to the South-East. Nganasans differ from other Uralic peoples genetically and anthropologically. Population genetics research has established a close connection between the Nganasans and Yukaghirs, suggesting that the Nganasans are actually Yukaghirs who began to speak a proto-North-Samoyedic language due to a process of language shift. Common features in NG and Yukaghir phonetics and morphology are explored by Nikolaeva (1986, 1987, 1988).

North-Samoyedic languages gradually diverged through a dialect continuum. NG differs from its close relatives, the other North-Samoyedic languages (NSm), to a greater extent than such a differentiation pathway can suggest. The following Nganasan-specific syntactic features, categories and their functions can be mentioned.

In Negation, NG has demonstrates verbal – existential – nonverbal tripartition, while in the other NS the negation is bipartite; verbal (and nonverbal) as opposed to existential negation.

In NSm, the interrogative mood is possible only in the Past tense. In addition to this, Nganasan has the Present interrogative.

Morphological causative can be formed in NG on a regular basis of intransitive and transitive verbs, while in the other NSm causativization on a regular basis is impossible.

N<sub>Sm</sub> word order is strictly SOV. In NG verb-finality is not obligatory and the verb position is sensitive to information structure.

In NP the adjectival modifier agrees with the head in number and grammatical cases while in the other contemporary N<sub>Sm</sub> only number agreement is possible.

In all the N<sub>Sm</sub> excluding NG the predicate morpheme order is AGR-TENSE. In these languages, nonverbal predicates do not need a copula in the present and past tenses of the indicative mood, and they bear AGR and tense morphemes. NG, consistently with the other Uralic languages, has TENSE-AGR morpheme order and its nonverbal predicates cannot take a tense morpheme and need the copula in all the tenses and moods except in the present indicative.

In addition to the Dative-Lative case common to all the Samoyedic languages, Nganasan has developed a Dative Allative *d'aa* from the postposition.

All N<sub>Sm</sub> have a category of the predestinative, which can also be considered a nominal future tense. Nganasan has extended the nominal TAM categories to the Past tense the Future-in-the-past mood.

Nganasan is the only Uralic language with a dubitative–admonitive modality which expresses an improbable or undesirable future.

NG had and in its Vadey dialect still retains a functionally motivated use of Accusative *-m*, while in the other N<sub>Sm</sub> the functional motivations for the use of the ACC have only been attested in several particular structures.

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## Internal borrowing within the Uralic language family

My field of research is internal borrowing within the Uralic languages mainly focusing on the lexical contacts between Mari and Permic languages and between Permic languages and Hungarian.

My research stems from the observation that there is a notable discrepancy in the amount of words projected back to Proto-Uralic between Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (UEW) and later research, notably Janhunen and Sammallahti. While UEW reconstructs around 700 Proto-Finno-Ugric words according to Janhunen and Sammallahti only about 140 words go back to Proto-Uralic and around 300 to Proto-Finno-Ugric. Saarikivi has proposed that most of the vocabulary discarded by Janhunen and Sammallahti is in fact Uralic, but rather than being etymological cognates stemming from Proto-Uralic, words displaying irregularities are loans between different branches of Uralic.

In theory distinguishing between etymological cognates and internal loans should be straightforward. Problems arise however when two adjacent branches share a number of seemingly similar sound changes which is the case, for example, with Mari and the Permic languages. Some of the congruent sound changes proposed for these two branches result from misinterpreting etymological data. For example in Mari two different reflexes have been postulated for PU \*č in intervocalic position. PU \*č has either remained or it has changed to ž. In Permic the assibilation (PU \*č > ž) is the only possible outcome of PU \*č in intervocalic position and a closer examination of the words used to



postulate a similar development in Mari would seem to suggest that those words are more likely to be loans from Permic rather than cognates.

MaW *mâž*, MaE *mužo* ‘sickness, an evil spirit that causes sickness’ < Udm *mjž* ‘an evil spirit’,

Ko *mjž* ‘guilt, sin, crime’ < \*muča

MaW *âžya*, MaE *užya* ‘sheepskin’ < Udm *jž* ‘sheep’, Komi *jž* ‘id.’ < \*uwči

MaW *ožâ*, MaE *ožo* ‘stallion’ < Udm *už* ‘stallion’, Komi *už* ‘id.’ < \*oč(w)a

So rather than postulating two unconditioned changes in Mari it would seem more sensible to interpret those few cases where Mari displays ž as a reflex of an earlier \*č as Permic loans.

Some congruent developments are less readily explained however. Such is the case of denasalization. In the Permic languages denasalization is a fully regular development. In Mari there is also a tendency towards the loss of a nasal element in clusters like \*mp > w, \*nt > δ, but also nd and \*ns > ž. Not understanding the conditioning factors behind this tendency makes it more difficult to distinguish between cognates and internal loans because the results oftentimes coincide with the substitution patterns observed in Permic loans, e.g. Mari substitutes δ for voiced d in Permic.

It would seem that in order to establish words as internal loans based on irregular sound correspondances we would first have to be sure that we understand what exactly is regular. This is especially true of vowels, but there are consonantal developments that aren’t fully understood either like the aforementioned tendency in Mari. Taking into account the possibility of internal borrowing is essential for the advancement of etymology and better understanding of historical developments.

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### On semivowel losses and assimilations in Finnic and beyond

Sequences of semivowels followed by vowels of the same frontness frequently undergo loss or assimilation developments. I argue that a previously unrecognized sound law of this type, \*je- >> \*i-, may be posited for the Finnic languages, allowing more regularly accounting for the background and development of several lexemes both within Finnic and in other Uralic languages. A small number of new etymological comparisons can also be established.

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### Reflexes of Proto-Uralic velar nasal in Ugric: an attempt at a Neogrammarian explanation

It is a well-known fact that Proto-Uralic \*ŋ has two different reflexes in Ugric languages: Proto-Ugric \*ŋk (> Proto-Khanty \*ŋk, Proto-Mansi \*ŋk, Hungarian g) and Proto-Ugric \*ŋ (Proto-Khanty \*ŋ, Proto-Mansi \*j/\*w, Hungarian j/v/zero). This is one of many cases in Uralic historical phonology where sporadic sound change was postulated to account for unexplained split in reflexes.

- 1) Syllable-finally, PU \*ŋ yields PUG \*ŋ:  
PU \*aŋti 'spear, blade' > PKh \*aŋtV, PMs \*awtaa;  
PU \*oŋti 'hollow (in a tree)' > PKh \*aŋət, Hung. *odú* (we omit examples of PU homorganic cluster \*ŋk > PKh \*ŋk, PMs \*ŋk, Hung. g).
- 2) In PU \*a/ä-stems, PU \*ŋ yields PUG \*ŋk:  
PU \*aŋa- 'to open' > PKh \*iiŋk-, PMs \*iiŋk<sup>w</sup>-;  
PU \*čaŋa- 'to hit' > PKh \*čəŋk-, PMs \*čiiŋk<sup>w</sup>-;  
PU \*müŋä- 'after' > Hung. *meg*.
- 3) In PU \*i-stems, both reflexes are possible (different Ugric languages may have different reflexes in one etymon):

PU \*aŋi ‘opening’ > PKh \*ᵛᵛᵛᵛ, Hung. *ajak*;  
 PU \*saŋi- ‘to enter’ > PKh \*Liŋaa-, PMs \*tuu-, Hung. *av-*;  
 PU \*suŋi ‘summer’ > PKh \*Luŋ, PMs \*tuj;  
 PU \*tūŋi ‘base’ > Hung. *tő*;  
 PU \*wi/āŋi(w) ‘son-in-law’ > PKh \*wāŋ, Hung. *vő*;  
 PU \*pāŋi ‘head’ > PMs \*pāŋk, Hung. *fej, fő*;  
 PU \*kīŋiri ‘curved, concave’ > PKh \*kᵛᵛᵛᵛkaarV, PMs \*kīŋraa;  
 PU \*jāŋi ‘ice’ > PKh \*jāŋk, PMs \*jääŋk, Hung. *jég*;  
 PU \*piŋi ‘tooth’ > PKh \*pāŋk, PMs \*pāŋk, Hung. *fog*;  
 PU \*pūŋi ‘grouse’ > PKh \*piŋk, Hung. *fogoly*;  
 PU \*sāŋi ‘air, weather’ > Hung. *ég*;  
 PU \*soŋi- ‘to wish’ > PKh \*Liŋkaa-, PMs \*taŋk-;  
 PU \*šiŋiri ‘mouse’ > PKh \*Lāŋkər, PMs \*täŋkər, Hung. *egér*;  
 PU \*wiŋi ‘last’ > Hung. *vég*.

Our hypothesis is based on the fact that Proto-Uralic \*i-stems had consonantal allomorphs. For example, the PU word for ‘water’ had vocalic stem in nom. sg. \*weti, but consonantal stem in abl. sg. \*wet-tä and loc. sg. \*wet-nä.

If Proto-Ugric preserved the alternation of vocalic and consonantal allomorphs in \*i-stems, and the change of PU \*ŋ to \*ŋk was regular in intervocalic position, the following development must have occurred (illustrated here by the forms of the word for ‘head’):

PU nom. sg. \*pāŋi > PUG \*pāŋki,  
 PU loc. sg. \*pāŋ-nä > PUG \*pāŋ-nä.

The resulting paradigmatic alternation was eventually levelled in favour of either \*ŋ or \*ŋk. In most cases the levelling may date back to Proto-Ugric, but in the word for ‘head’ it occurred separately and with different results in Hungarian and Mansi.

The proposed explanation does not require us to postulate any new conditions for the development \*ŋ > \*ŋk: the fact that it occurred between vowels is widely known. The only new assumption – that this development was regular – is required by the Neo-grammarians doctrine.

One more case of supposed sporadic sound change in Uralic historical phonology dissipates on a closer look.