

Congressus XI. Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum
Piliscsaba, 9–14. VIII. 2010

Pars VI

Dissertationes symposiorum
ad linguisticam

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Cornelius Hasselblatt: Uralic Contacts / Контакты уральских языков

**István Bátori
Koblenz**

URALISCHE ETYMOLOGISCHE DATENBASIS: DATEN UND REKONSTRUKTIONEN

Die UEDb begann ursprünglich mit der Zielsetzung, den Datenbestand des UESz auf elektronischen Medien zu wiedergeben. Es war von vornherein klar, dass eine eins-zu-eins Abbildung nicht praktikabel sein wird, aber eine Korrespondenz und die inhaltliche Übereinstimmung zwischen UESz und UEDb wurde durchaus angestrebt. Jetzt, nachdem die Überprüfung der Abbildung der RTF-Kodierung auf XML-Formate abgeschlossen ist, und die Gleichwertigkeit der UESz-Daten mit dem UEDb-Datenbestand feststeht, kann die optimale Präsentationsform der Daten in den Mittelpunkt gestellt werden. Aus der Perspektive der traditionellen typographischen Praxis stellen uns die elektronischen Medien geradezu verschwenderische Möglichkeiten für die Gestaltung von Texten zur Verfügung. Terminologisch werden mit UEDb die Datenbasis referiert und mit Uralothek mehr die Benutzersoftwareaspekte.

Die Überlegenheit der neuen Medien lässt sich darauf zurückführen, dass das gedruckte Wörterbuch gleichzeitig Kodierung und Wiedergabe ist, dahingegen fallen Kodierung und Wiedergabe bei Hypertextsystemen (die normalerweise auf elektronischen Medien realisiert werden) nicht zusammen.

Die etymologischen Unsicherheiten können z.B. für den Druck als Fragezeichen vor dem Lexikoneintrag kodiert werden. Für die Bildschirmpräsentation wird für die Anzeige der Unsicherheit eine farbige Unterlage des Eintrags anschaulicher sein. Errata im Anhang – um ein anderes Beispiel für den Unterschied zwischen Kodierung und Wiedergabe zu nennen – sind eine ergonomische Belastung (Es gibt drei Errata-Listen im UEWb: in Bd. II. S. 905–906 und Bd. III. S. 7–10). In einem Hypertextsystem werden die bereinigten Daten sofort präsentiert und können mit einem Hinweis auf Fehler in der Quelle ergänzt werden. Die bereinigten Daten können dann – ohne die philologische Authentizität zu verletzen – normal bearbeitet (z.B. verglichen) werden.

1. Formatierung der Lexikoneinträge

In dem UESz werden die Lexikoneinträge (LE-e) als fortlaufender Text angeboten. Die Strukturierung erfolgt mit Hilfe von 1. Sonderzeichen, 2. Interpunktion und 3. Variation der Schriftarten, d.h. die grammatikalischen und pragmatischen Kategorien, Quellenangaben usw. werden in dem Text lediglich durch Kommata, Klammern oder unterschiedliche Buchstabentypen gekennzeichnet.

Die LE-Strukturen des UESz wurden in der RTF-Version in eine gleichwertige elektronische Repräsentation überführt. (Lediglich vor den Sprachnamen wurde ein Zeilenumbruch gemacht, sonst blieb der Text unverändert.) Der Weg erwies sich allerdings als nicht weiterführend.

Die in einem etymologischen Wörterbuch benötigten Kategorien lassen sich nämlich auf der Textoberfläche nicht adäquat erfassen: Sprache, Dialekt, erste Form, zweite Form, morphologische Ausprägung, Wortart, Bedeutungsangaben, Quellen und Fundstellen usw. müssen systematisch eingeführt werden.

In der UEDb werden Lexikoneinträge als Tabellen konzipiert, wobei die Sprachen (und Dialekte) Zeilen und die Wortformen, die Wortbedeutungen und sonstige Informationen die Spalten sind. Die tabellarische Form vermittelt die Strukturierung der Daten auf einen Schlag, weil darin die jeweils zusammengehörenden Elemente nebeneinander/ auf derselben Ebene oder untereinander in derselben Spalte stehen.

Die Spalten der Tabellen werden einheitlich eröffnet und besetzt. So werden z.B. die nicht explizit in den LE-en eingeführten Quellenangaben durch Default-Werte aus dem Abkürzungsverzeichnis aus der Einleitung des UESz-s ergänzt. Quellen und die benutzte Literatur stehen als Datei zur Verfügung.

Wenn die Werte öfters fehlen, wie z.B. Zweitformen oder morphologischen Informationen, bleiben die Spalten leer (d.h. sie werden übersprungen).

Wenn Angaben nur sporadisch vorkommen (Bemerkungen zu der Verbreitung der Wörter oder Sprachschichten u.ä.), werden die Stellen nur markiert und die Anzeige erfolgt ausgelagert in einem anderen Fenster. Die Anzeige erfolgt nur bei Aufforderung.

Um Auflistung von Belegen übersichtlicher zu gestalten, wenn mehrere Dialekte in einer Sprache oder mehrere Belege in einem Dialekt vorhanden sind, wird das jeweils erste Element einer Zeile mit größeren Buchstaben und nicht eingerückt geschrieben.

Die nicht ersten Elemente der Aufzählung werden eingerückt und kleiner geschrieben. Um die passende Zuordnung der Bedeutungen (und andere grammatikalische Eigenschaften) zu den Formen zu erleichtern werden die Wortbedeutungen als Attribute (im Sinne des XML-Kodierungssystems) zugeordnet, wodurch die aufwendige Indizierung vermieden und die Fehleranfälligkeit verringert wird. Ähnlich werden Zweitformen, grammatische Kategorien usw. als XML-Attribute kodiert. Die Attribut-Notation verschmilzt Form und Bedeutung in eine Einheit: das LEXEM ist ein Element (im Sinne von XML) und ihm wird untrennbar ein Attribut (mit dem Status REQUIRED) beigeordnet. Das XML-LEXEM ist also asymmetrisch: die Formen sind Segmente und die Bedeutungen Attribute.

2. Von Diakritika zu phonologischer Repräsentation

Die Belege des UESz-s stammen aus Wörterbüchern (Quellen), die verschiedene Schreibkonventionen haben, die auch in der Datenbasis übernommen werden sollten.

Für die treffende Wiedergabe der Laute benutzten die Wörterbücher Buchstabenkombinationen, Diakritika oder Buchstaben aus anderen Alphabeten. Die Reproduktion der Buchstabenvielfalt mit Hilfe der Unicode-Notation bereite kein Problem vor. Allerdings musste gewährleistet werden, dass die Daten mit handelsüblichen Tastaturen geschrieben werden können, also nur ASCII-Zeichen enthalten. Das UESz ist transliteration-orientiert: Die Herausgeber bemühen sich den Notationen der verschiedenen Transliterationssysteme gerecht zu werden, wobei der lautliche (phonetische) Gleichklang (oder der fehlende Gleichklang) nicht weiter problematisiert wird. So werden beispielsweise Affrikaten in dem UESz (mindestens) aus vier Transliterationssystemen übernommen:

Notationsstil	stimmlos		stimmhaft	
	alveolar	dental	alveolar	dental
Ungarisch	cs	c	dzs	dz
Baltisch	tš	ts	d	dz
Permisch	č	c	č̣	č̣
Kyrillisch	ч	ц	дж	дз

Um die philologische Authentizität zu gewährleisten sind in der UEDb für die Affrikaten entsprechend vier verschiedene Notationsvarianten aufgestellt worden, ohne eine explizite Markierung ihrer lautlichen Gleichwertigkeit. Anders gesagt: für die vier Affrikaten gibt es (bedingt durch die unterschiedlichen typographischen Konventionen) jeweils vier Unicode-Zeichen:

	1		2		3		4	
Ungarisch	cs	E1F4	c	0063	dzs	0064007A0053	dz	0064007A
Baltisch	tš	E27A	ts	00740053	d	0064E18D	dz	0064007A
Permisch	č	010D	c	0063	č̣	E1C7	č̣	E1C5
Kyrillisch	ч	0447	ц	0446	дж	04340436	дз	04340437

Die notationelle Verschiedenheit täuscht über die phonologische Gleichwertigkeit hinweg. Um die vermisste phonologische Verallgemeinerung der Unicode-Repräsentation in der UEDb zu gewährleisten werden in der Uralothek phonologische Merkmale eingeführt und mit ihrer Hilfe werden die Unicode-Zeichen in Hintergrund phonologisch klassifiziert, d.h. den Unicode-Zeichen werden Merkmale beigefügt, wodurch die Merkmale die oberflächliche (graphische) Verschiedenheiten der Zeichen überbrücken.. (Mit anderen Worten die stimmlosen alveolaren Affrikaten cs, tš, č, ч bekommen dieselbe Merkmale zugeordnet [Affrikate, alveolar, -stimmhaft] usw.).

Das Merkmalsystem als alternative Repräsentation ist so breit ausgelegt, daß mit Hilfe der Merkmale alle phonologischen Klassen (und ihre Kombinationen) erreicht werden können, etwa die Wörter mit stimmhaften Klusilen im Ostpermischen oder die palatalisierten Spiranten im Sysola-Syrjänischen usw. Mit Hilfe der einzelsprachlichen virtuellen Tastatur – unter der Funktion "Derivation/Ableitung" – können die Phonemklassen schrittweise als Schnittmengen ausgewählt werden. Die Auswahl erfolgt dann an hand der Merkmalrepräsentation, während die Anzeige in normaler Buchstabenschrift erscheint.

3. Die Frage der Rekonstruktionsebenen

1. Im Laufe der uralischen Sprachgeschichte spaltete sich die Ursprache in mehreren Schritten in zwei (oder mehrere) autonome Sprachen. Die Rekonstruktion wird wie die Umkehrung dieses Vorgangs vorgestellt: konzeptuell beruhen die Rekonstruktionen in dem UESz auf den Erkenntnissen der Sprachgeschichte (insbesondere Lautgeschichte und Lehnwortforschung), die hier referiert werden soll (im Allgemeinen in UESz I. S. XV–XXII und im Einzelheiten in dem Abschlussteil der einzelnen Etymologien).

Die Rekonstruktionen sind virtuelle Wörter mit Form und Bedeutung und erfolgen auf einer postulierten Ebene. Das UESz bringt die Rekonstruktion in der Titelzeile der Einträge, die minimal genau diese drei Informationen liefern: 1. Ebene, 2. Form und 3. die Bedeutung.

Die Rekonstruktionen haben allerdings einen grundsätzlich anderen Status als die einzelsprachlichen Belege: Sie stützen sich nicht auf autonome Primärquellen, sondern sind abgeleitete Informationen.

Ermittelt wird immer die ältest mögliche Ebene, die nach dem Stammbaum in der Belegsammlung der vorliegenden Etymologie erreicht werden kann (maximal die uralische Ebene). Das UESz operiert mit fünf Rekonstruktionsebenen: Ur, FU, FP, FW, Ug. Die Integrierung der permischen Rekonstruktionen eröffnet die sechste Rekonstruktionsebene PP.

Das System der Rekonstruktionen in dem UESz enthält drei unscharfe Stellen.

1. Einige Rekonstruktionen werden (scheinbar) zwei Ebenen zugeordnet. Acht Ebenen Kombinationen sind vorhanden: FU-Ur, FP-Ur, FW-Ur, Ug-Ur, FP-fu, FW-fu, Ug-fu, FW-fp. Die Rekonstruktionsebene auf der jeweils zweiten Stelle gilt im Allgemeinen als unsicher.

2. Die fünf Rekonstruktionsebenen im UESz sind (bedingt durch die Verfügbarkeit der Daten) willkürlich ausgewählt worden. Konsequenterweise musste eine Rekonstruktionsebene für jede Abzweigung in dem Stammbaum postuliert werden (also 14–16 Rekonstruktionsebenen in UESz).

3. Inkonsequent ist der Umgang mit den implizierten Rekonstruktionsebenen. Denn nicht nur maximale Rekonstruktionen sind möglich, sondern auch Rekonstruktionen auf den Zwischenstufen, die in einer maximalen Rekonstruktion enthalten sind.

Eine kurze Betrachtung der ugrischen Abteilung (Band II. S. 829–902) macht die Uneinheitlichkeit klar. Die ugrische Ebene kann verständlicherweise nur dann rekonstruiert werden, wenn das Wort im Ostjakischen, im Wogulischen und im Ungarischen belegt ist. Wenn nicht alle drei Sprachen belegt sind, wird die Rekonstruktionshypothese geschwächt. In der ugrischen Abteilung sind Belege in 156 Einträgen vorhanden und entsprechend werden die ugrischen Rekonstruktionen ermittelt. Genau dieselbe Datenlage liegt in cc 1000 uralisch/finnischugrisch rekonstruierten Einträgen vor. Hier werden jedoch die ugrischen Urformen nicht rekonstruiert.

Eine vergleichbare Uneinheitlichkeit ist auch in dem permischen Zweig zu finden mit dem Unterschied, daß hier die nur permischen Rekonstruktionen nicht aufgenommen worden sind, und in den uralisch/finnischugrischen und in den finnisch-permischen und finnisch-wolgaischen Abteilungen die permischen Rekonstruktionen nicht ermittelt werden.

4. Die permische Rekonstruktionsebene

Die permischen Rekonstruktionen liegen jedoch in mit der UESz vergleichbarer Form bereits vor (Sándor Csúcs: Die Rekonstruktion der permischen Grundsprache, Budapest, Akadémiai 2005). Das Werk enthält auch eine Liste der Etymologien mit den permischen Rekonstruktionen.

Eine maschinenlesbare Liste der permischen Etymologien (775 Einträge) ist in der letzten Zeit in das UEDb integriert worden. Zuerst mussten die permischen Einträge in das XML-Format der UEDb überführt werden. Da die Liste alle permischen Etymologien enthalten hatte, mussten die Duplikate, die in der uralisch/finnischugrischen und in den finnisch-permischen und finnisch-wolgaischen Abteilungen bereits vorhanden waren, gelöscht werden, nachdem von diesen Einträgen die rekonstruierten permischen Formen übernommen worden waren. Die Anzahl der permischen Etymologien ist weiter dadurch reduziert worden, dass die permischen Ableitungen und Komposita nicht als selbständige Etymologien geführt werden, sondern in Wortfamilien zusammengefügt sind. Schließlich sind die Einträge neu nummeriert und die Adressen für die Querverbindungen ermittelt worden. In der permisch erweiterten und vereinheitlichten aktuellen Uralothek gibt es zur Zeit 2439 Etymologien (gegenüber 1876 Einträge in dem Uralothek-Basisversion). Die Erweiterung der UEDb mit den permischen Beständen ist exemplarisch. Sie demonstriert, dass die fehlenden Rekonstruktionen auf intermediären Ebenen auch stufenweise aufgefüllt werden können.

5. Die Verfügbarkeit der Uralothek.

Die Uralothek ist im Internet erreichbar: <http://blade.uni-koblenz.de:8080/Uralothek81>

Um mit der Uralothek arbeiten zu können, muss sich der neue Benutzer zuerst das Unicode Zeichensatz einmalig herunterladen, sonst kann er die diakritischen Zeichen nicht richtig lesen. Hierfür erhält er Anweisungen. Die neue Version soll nicht nur auf WINDOWS, sondern auch auf LINUX- und MacIntosh-Rechnern laufen.

Uralothek hat deutsch-, englisch- und ungarischsprachige Oberflächen, zwischen welchen der Benutzer frei wechseln kann. Die Anzeige der Etymologien erfolgt seitenweise, d.h. jede Etymologie ist eine Seite und der Benutzer kann entweder von Seite zu Seite (vorwärts und rückwärts) „blättern“ oder direkt zu den gewünschten Etymologien springen. Die Standard-Seitenanzeige enthält für die belegten Sprachen (Dialekte) 1. Hinweise auf die Quelle, 2. Form und zweite Form (falls vorhanden), 3. Bedeutung. Und 4. ein Marker mit dessen Hilfe sporadische Informationen (in einem besondern Fenster) angezeigt werden können. Die in dem UESz referierten Entlehnungen (aus einer uralischen Sprache in eine andere) werden formatgleich rosa unterlegt und die Unsicherheiten (markiert im UESz mit „?“) hellgrün. In der Titelzeile stehen die Querhinweise (Links) auf andere Etymologien, die aus dem UESz übernommen worden sind. Alternativerweise kann die Maximale-Seitenanzeige gewählt werden, in der die Rekonstruktionsebenen näher angezeigt werden. Hier sind auch die Stämme isoliert angezeigt. und die formatierten Kommentare der WORD-Version, sowie die dem Artikel zugeordnete Bibliographie erreichbar.

Die Minimale-Seitenanzeige ist auf die sprach- bzw. dialektgeordnete Präsentation der Wortformen (erste Form und zweite Form, falls vorhanden) und Bedeutungsangaben beschränkt. Allerdings, hier werden, um die

Zusammengehörigkeit der Sprachen und Dialekte hervorzuheben, die Zeilen farbig unterlegt.

Normalerweise wird in dem gesamten Datenbestand „geblättert“. Man kann aber das Blättern so einschränken, dass nur Einträge angezeigt werden, die Belege einer ausgewählten (uralischen) Sprache haben, so kann man z.B. Uralothek nach Erza-Mordwinischen oder Ungarischen durchlaufen und alle Einträge in welchen Erza-Mordwinisch bzw. Ungarisch nicht vorkommen, überspringen.

Ähnlicherweise kann das Blättern auf die sicheren (weiß unterlegt) oder unsicheren Etymologien (hellgrün unterlegt) eingestellt werden.

Die verschiedenen Einschränkungen (Benutzersprachen, Anzeigumfang, Selektion einer uralischen Sprache und Rekonstruktionssicherheiten) sind auch unter sich frei kombinierbar.

Neben der selektiv orientierten Seitenanzeige kann der Benutzer auch kombinativ suchen. Insbesondere können in Sprachen, Dialekten und Dialektgruppen Laute und Lautsequenzen ermittelt werden. Die Suchergebnisse zeigen an, auf welche Rekonstruktionsebene die gesuchte Lautkomplex zurückgeführt werden kann. Alternativ kann ein Vergleich von zwei oder mehreren Sprachen

(Dialekten und Dialektgruppen) angefordert werden, wobei die oben in Abschnitt 2 behandelte phonologische Merkmale benutzt werden können.

Die UEDb (also der XML-kodierte Datenbestand des UESz-s ohne Software) ist auch verfügbar in dem Sprachwissenschaftlichen Institut der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Uralonet greift mit anderer Software auf dieselben Daten zurück wie die Koblenzer Uralothek: <http://www.uralonet.nytud.hu>

Das Budapester Portal enthält auch einen Link auf die Uralothek.

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EARLY FINNISH – A MEDIEVAL EUROPEAN LANGUAGE

Historical linguists have traditionally liked to go back in time as far as possible. However, the author of this article was happy to find at the conference in Piliscsaba that this view no longer seems to be very common among contact linguists in Finno-Ugristics. It is essential in this context to consider that there are very interesting stages of language development that we know very little about though they are much closer to our times. As soon as they have been thoroughly investigated it is much more secure to take the next step back in time.

So far, very little research has been done on the development of the Finnish language in the time between the breakup of Late Proto-Finnic into its daughter languages and the beginning of the literary tradition with Agricola in the 16th century. Most works on the topic are either outdated (e.g. Ojansuu 1916) or focus only on a small number of specific details (e.g. Häkkinen 2001). The aim of the present article is to show that it is possible to gain valuable knowledge by focusing research on modern Finnish dialects and language contact. Here I will call the linguistic stage in question *Early Finnish* which corresponds to the Finnish term *varhaisuomi*. This almost uninvestigated language form deserves much more attention than it has been given until now. While this article cannot add much to what has been published so far given the limited space in the congress publication it will appear in, the wish shall be expressed that future scientific activity will focus on Early Finnish in the form of a large standard work in that field.

Although little is known about Early Finnish, it is obvious that it never was isolated but rather existed as a part of a network of the North-Eastern European languages of the time. Neighbouring languages of Finnish at this stage were of course Swedish and Russian, as well as some minor languages such as Saami, other Finnic languages – in the earlier Middle Ages even other Finno-Ugric languages which are now extinct – and last but not least Low German influenced Early Finnish, with the latter even functioning as the Lingua Franca of the Baltic Sea area after the rise of the Hanseatic League as the dominating economic power in the region. It is to be noted that prior to the codification by Agricola there was no single unit corresponding to what is now called Finnish but only a continuum of dialects that developed independently of each other and covered even such language Northern Finnic language forms that are today not covered by the Modern Finnish standard, i.e. Karelian, Ludic and Veps. The way Finnish dialects developed differently under the influence of different contact languages shall now be illustrated by the example of the relatively rare consonant cluster *-tv-*.

Traditionally, the Modern Standard Finnish consonant cluster *-tv-* is traced back to Late Proto-Finnic **-tv-* which has developed in different ways in the Finnish main dialect areas. The generally accepted opinion goes back to the Finnish dialect atlas published by Kettunen (1940: 27, cf. Figure 1). According to this, Standard Finnish has retained *-tv-*, like all Eastern Finnish dialects and the neighbouring Western dialects of

Northern Ostrobothnia and the easternmost parishes of the Far North, which have been strongly influenced by Eastern Finnish. In all other Western dialects, **-tv-* has developed via **-δv-* 1.) into *-lv-* in most of Häme, Central Ostrobothnia, most of the Far North and the Eastern group of South Western dialects and 2.) into *-rv-* in Southern Ostrobothnia and large parts of the Northern group of South Western dialects. A smaller area within the Northern group of South Western dialects had retained *-δv-* until recently. The interpretation of this distribution is problematic however, as Kettunen based it on the only word of the *-tv-*-type that indeed is known all over the Finnish language area, *latva* 'tree top'.

The Finnish dialect archives state a total of 481 words standardized in a form containing the cluster *-tv-*.¹ A detailed analysis of these words leads to the result that only 54 of them at all occur in Western Finnish dialects, if one excludes single records from parishes along the border of East and West Finnish dialects. Only ten words (including derivatives and variants) with *-tv-* have been recorded regularly in more than one subgroup of West Finnish dialects, but none of them can be regarded as specifically Western: *hitva(inen)* 'thin peel, small piece', *katve* 'shadow', *latva* 'tree top', *litvii(k)ki* 'salary paid in cash', *lutviintua/lutviutua/lutveutua* 'to come in order, to be sorted out', *otva* 'tree trunk or chain of trunks that keeps the raft away from the shore' + derivative *otvittaa* 'to put up an *otva*' and *vatvoa* 'to work on sth, whip, mix, sort out sth, keep talking about the same topic'. Therefore these words deserve a closer investigation.

Only *latva* and *hitva(inen)* fulfil the conditions postulated by Kettunen and all later fennists, e.g. Virtaranta (1958: 50–51) and Rapola (1966: 218–222), in the sense that variants with *-lv-*, *-rv-* and *-δv-* are found in the Western dialects in the expected geographical distribution. *Hitva* with its cognates is however unknown in large areas of both Western and Eastern dialects. For all other words the actual findings seem to contradict with Kettunen's statements in some way.

Vatvoa and *lutviutua* (*lutviintua/lutveutua*) have only one single and thus probably not genuine record from the South Western dialect group each. Furthermore, *vatvoa* is recorded in some places as *valvoa*, but never as **varvoa* or **vaδvoa*. *Lutviutua* etc. never occur in any forms with *-lv-*, *-rv-* or *-δv-*. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the words in question are relatively recent loans from Eastern Finnish. None of them appeared in written sources before the 20th century. It is therefore very likely that *lutviutua* etc. originates from somewhere in the Eastern Finnish Savo dialect region where a suitable derivational basis has been recorded with the adjective *lutvea* 'soft, flexible'. While the consonant cluster *-tv-* must have been an unknown phonotactic feature in Western Finnish, it is likely that it was borrowed in from Eastern Finnish in such emotionally marked, expressive words as *vatvoa* and *lutviutua* etc.

The other words to be examined are obviously loanwords from Germanic and Slavic languages. The case of *litvii(k)ki* (known already in Lönnrot's dictionary from 1874) has its origin in Swedish *likvid* 'cash' which then underwent a metathesis in large parts of the Finnish language area due to the fact that *-kv-* originally was no phonotactically possible consonant cluster in Finnish at all. However, even *likvii(t)ti*

¹I am very grateful to Mrs Anneli Hänninen from the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland (*Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus*) in Helsinki for providing me a valuable complete list of these words.

was recorded especially in Southwestern Finland where no *tv*-words are known whatsoever.

Otva as a rafting term is generally accepted to be a loan from Russian *ombóð*. Its geographical distribution covers the whole area of Eastern dialects of Finnish from where it then must have spread onward into the Western part of the Finnish language area along with its derivatives *otvittaa* in the South and *otvottaa* in the North. Rafting techniques were rather irrelevant for the economy of the South West, therefore these terms never reached the South Western dialects around Turku and parts of the Finnish coastal areas.

Katve is a special case in the sense that the place from where it spread over the Finnish speaking areas must have been in the Western part of the country. It did not reach the Eastern dialect area before approx. 1600. As proof for this Tuomi (1995: 261–262) mentions the fact that the Eastern border of genuine records corresponds quite exactly with the Swedish-Russian border that was fixed in the Treaty of Teusin in 1595. The most probable etymon for *katve* is according to the author's own research (Bentlin 2008: 218–220) to be found in Low German, cf. Old Low German *skado* (Gen. *skadwes*), Middle Low German *schāduwe*, *schadewe* which would have been borrowed into Early Finnish in the form of **kaðveh*. The development of **ð > l* is dated to the 14th century, which means that the word, quite soon after having been borrowed, must have taken the form *kalve* and did not spread into other parts of the Finnish language area before this development had come to an end. Otherwise we would have to expect a form **karve* in Southern Ostrobothnia and the Northern group of South Western dialects, which, however, has not been recorded anywhere and even those mentioned areas have *kalve* or *kalpe* instead. *Katve* in Eastern Finnish dialects can thus only be explained as a result of awareness of speakers for differences between their respective dialects in relation to such typical cases as *latva*. Parallels can be found in less widespread words as e.g. *atvailla* vs. *arvailla* 'to guess', *lotvailla* vs. *lorvailla* 'to be lazy, to lounge'. Even *setviä* 'to sort out' could belong to this type of hypercorrectness, cf. *selvä* 'clear'.

It can thus be stated that there are not more than two words, *latva* and *hitva*, that probably already existed in the language forms that were later to become the Western Finnish dialects at around 1300AD. Most of the *tv*-words that later have spread into Western Finnish can be explained as loans from Eastern Finnish or other neighbouring languages, mostly Swedish (examples recorded from only a few parishes: *rotvalli* 'pavement, sidewalk' < Swedish *trottoar*, *natvaaka* 'pine grosbeak, Pinicola enucleator' < Swedish dialectal *nattvaka* 'id.'). In Eastern Finnish on the other hand, Russian has played a similar role as a rich source for new *tv*-borrowings: *otverikka* 'screwdriver', *potvaalu* 'cellar', *setvertti* 'quarter' etc.

In summary, with the low total number of *tv*-words in Finnish it seems to me very problematic to postulate a regular development (Late Proto-Finnic **tv >*) **ðv > rv* in some Finnish dialects on the basis of only two words and one place name (*Edväinen*, dial. *Ärväne*, *Äðväne*), whereas **ðv > lv* seems to be built upon somewhat more reliable data (cf. *kalve*, place name *Ritvala*, dial. *Rilvala*). It is clear that the equivalents in other Finnic languages suggest such a development, but on the other hand it seems as if these two cases rather were parallels to the development of intervocalic **ð* than them constituting a rule of their own considering the fact that other *tv*-words obviously did not exist in Early Western Finnish.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the consonant cluster *tv* did not exist in Early Western Finnish after the 13th century. Parts of the Western Finnish dialect area have later adopted it again from other language forms, e.g. Eastern dialects or neighbouring Germanic languages. Later standardization adopted the development of Eastern Finnish where changes had lead to other phonotactical structures.

As a result of this, one has to assume that a closer analysis of linguistic material of Finnish and its contact languages should give a clearer picture that hopefully one day not too far in the future can finally give a complex answer to the question that Kaisa Häkkinen posed on the Ninth Congress of Finno-Ugrian Studies in Tartu in the year 2000: “Millaista oli keskiajan suomi?” i.e. “What was medieval Finnish like?”.

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Figure 1: The distribution of the variants of Finnish *latva* 'tree top' according to Kettunen 1940: 27.

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DIE ROLLE DES GROBWÖRTERBUCHES DES UNGARISCHEN IN DER UNGARISCHEN KULTURGESCHICHTE

Es mag auch in diesem Kreise bekannt sein, dass die Jahrzehnte zwischen ungefähr 1770 und 1840 eine der wichtigsten Perioden der ungarischen Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte waren. Man pflegt diesen Zeitabschnitt die ungarische Aufklärung und Reformzeitalter bzw. die ungarische Spracherneuerung zu nennen. Diese Epoche war auch in politischer und gesellschaftshistorischer Hinsicht sehr vielfältig und bewegungsvoll. Auch dieser Umstand trug wohl dazu bei, dass sich die Vertreter der damaligen ungarischen Intelligenz mit der Frage der ungarischen Sprache intensiv beschäftigten.

Die Sache der Muttersprache geriet aus mehreren Gründen ins Zentrum des Interesses. Einer der Gründe war der Drang zur Gleichberechtigung bzw. Privilegierung des Ungarischen im öffentlichen Leben gegenüber dem Latein und dem Deutschen. Innerhalb des Habsburgerreiches wirkten nämlich der Zentralisierungsdrang und die Bestrebung von Joseph II. (seit 1765 deutsch-römischer Kaiser und zwischen 1780–1790 ungarischer König), das Staatswesen sprachlich zu modernisieren, stark gegen die ungarische Unabhängigkeit. Der Kaiser führte nämlich statt des Lateins das Deutsche als offizielle Sprache des ganzen Reiches, so auch für das Königreich Ungarn ein. Die ungarischen Stände akzeptierten diese Verordnung nicht und sie blieben (wohl auf anachronistische Weise) im Staatswesen und im akademischen Leben beim Latein.

Sehr wichtig war auch die Erkenntnis, dass die damalige ungarische Sprache nicht genug hinreichend war, an Stelle des Lateins oder des Deutschen als offizielle Sprache zu treten (Dömötör 2006, 386). Man pflegt in diesem Zusammenhang einen Satz aus der Flugschrift „Magyarság“ [Ungartum und Ungarisch] (1778, Wien) der leitenden Figur der ungarischen Aufklärung, György Bessenyei zu zitieren: „Jede Nation erwarb das Wissen in seiner eigenen Sprache, nie aber in einer fremden“ (S. 6). In diesem Werk sind auch die folgenden Worte zu lesen, die die Idee der ungarischen Spracherneuerung recht genau widerspiegeln: „...die ungarische Sprache wird in unserer Heimat erst erlöschen, wenn die Bäuerinnen lateinisch, griechisch, französisch oder deutsch lernen und ungarisch nicht mehr sprechen werden. Solange aber die ungarischen Bäuerinnen ungarisch sprechen werden, werden auch die Bauern so sprechen, und auf gleiche Weise, solange die Leibeigenen ungarisch reden, ist es auch den Herrschaften unmöglich, das Ungarische zu vergessen. Wenn wir also darum gezwungen sind, unsere Sprache zu bewahren, lassen wir sie wenigstens säubern und entwickeln“ (S. 7).

Der größte Teil der Mitglieder der damaligen ungarischen Intelligenz war bestrebt, diese Aufgabe, d. h. die Entwicklung der ungarischen Muttersprache mit Hilfe zweier, mit einander zusammenhängenden Faktoren zu verwirklichen. Der erste war das Vorhaben, den ungarischen Wortschatz und damit auch die ungarischen Wörterbücher

zu erneuern und aufzufrischen. In Ungarn stand nämlich bis jene Zeit der Begriff Wörterbuch grundsätzlich für zweisprachige Wörterbücher lateinisch–ungarisch bzw. deutsch–ungarisch und umgekehrt. Der lexikale Bestand war sozusagen gleich mit dem wohlbekannten Wörterbuch von Ferenc Pápai Páriz: *Dictionarium manuale Latino–Ungaricum et Ungarico–Latinum* (1–2. Leutschau,² 1708). Dieses Wörterbuch wurde 1782, aber sogar noch 1801 im Wesen unverändert herausgegeben. Auch die lexikographische Tätigkeit von József Márton, Verfasser von unterschiedlichen Wörterbüchern in jener Zeit, brachte nicht viel Neues. Mit Recht schrieb Ferenc Kazinczy, die wichtigste Persönlichkeit der ungarischen Spracherneuerung, in seinem Brief an Grafen József Dessewffy am 30. März 1815 Folgendes: „Wir haben nicht einmal ein gut brauchbares Lexikon [d. h. Wörterbuch]. Das von Pápai Páriz können wir auch für seine eigene Zeit für ein schlechtes halten und auch das von Márton [...] ist ja sehr schlecht.“ László Gáldi gibt eine gute Beschreibung über diese Situation in seiner Monographie über die Geschichte der ungarischen Lexikographie: „Die systematische Darstellung des ungarischen Wortschatzes musste von der Herrschaft des Lateinischunterrichtes und der lateinischen Lexikographie wahrhaftig befreit werden und es war zugleich notwendig, den Wortbestand der ungarischen Wörterbücher zu modernisieren“ (Gáldi 1957, 7).

In den hoch angesehenen (großen) europäischen Sprachen (z. B. Deutsch, Englisch, Französisch, Italienisch) war das letzte Viertel des 18. Jahrhunderts bereits die Zeit der Erneuerung der Lexikographie. Es wurden an den im 17–18. Jahrhundert zusammengestellten einsprachigen Nationalwörterbüchern unterschiedliche konzeptionelle und strukturelle Änderungen durchgeführt. So entstanden u. a. die folgenden Wörterbücher:

- Adelung, J. Chr.: *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart*. 2. Aufl. 4 Bde. 1793–1801;
- Campe, J. H.: *Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*. 5 Bde. 1807–1811;
- Dictionnaire de l' Académie française*. 2 vol. 4e éd. 1762; 5e éd. 1798;
- Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* 5 vol. 1729–1738.

Die Förderer der Sache der ungarischen Sprache setzten es sich zum Ziel, die ungarische Lexikographie in diesem Sinne zu reformieren: Damit wurde der erste große Schritt getan, sich der damaligen modernen europäischen Lexikographie anzuschließen. Dieses Vorhaben hatte einen weiteren wichtigen Beweggrund: auf diese Zeit fiel die Herausbildung und Entwicklung der unterschiedlichen Wissenschafts- und Fachgebiete (und ihr Eindringen in die Volksbildung) auch in Ungarn. Diese Tatsache erforderte auch die Erschaffung des Fachwortschatzes in ungarischer Sprache.

Der zweite wichtige Faktor zur Förderung des Ungarischen war die Stiftung einer ungarischen Gelehrtenesellschaft. Man hielt das Zusammenstellen eines monolingualen ungarischen Großwörterbuches für eine der wichtigsten Aufgaben dieser Gesellschaft. Als Muster dienten die bereits erwähnten ausländischen Wörterbücher. Am Ende der 1770er Jahre blieb die Stiftung einer ungarischen Gelehrtenesellschaft aus reichspolitischen, sprachpolitischen und gesellschaftlichen Gründen ein frommer Wunsch. Dies verhinderte aber die langsame Entstehung und Entwicklung der ungarischen einsprachigen Lexikographie nicht. Auf Privatinitiative

²Ung. *Lőcse*, heute *Levoča* in der Slowakei.

wurden unterschiedliche kürzere ungarische Wörterbücher, u. a. phraseologische, etymologische, Bedeutungs-, Dialekt- und Fachwörterbücher verfasst und veröffentlicht. Es wurden auch mehrere Entwürfe zu einem allgemeinen, allumfassenden Großwörterbuch erarbeitet. Einer von diesen war der Wörterbuchplan des Grafen József Teleki: 1817 fasste er seine diesbezüglichen Gedanken unter dem Titel „Egy tökéletes magyar szótár elrendeltetése, készítése módja“ [Konzeption und Erarbeitungsmethode eines vollkommenen ungarischen Wörterbuches] zusammen (im Druck 1821 in Pest erschienen).

Lange Jahrzehnte nach dem ersten Auftauchen der Idee der Stiftung einer Gelehrtengeellschaft konnte dieser Wunsch erst am 3. November 1825 in Erfüllung gehen. Die finanzielle Basis dazu entstand dadurch, dass Graf István Széchenyi am Reichstag ein ganzes Jahreseinkommen seiner Güter (60.000 Gulden) zu diesem Zweck angeboten hatte. Die regelmäßige Tätigkeit der Gesellschaft konnte – wegen der Trägheit und der ungarfeindlichen Einstellung der Habsburger-Administration – erst 1830 beginnen (seit 1859: Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften), zum ersten Vorsitzenden wurde der bereits erwähnte Graf József Teleki gewählt. Auch das Ungarische wurde erst 1844 als offizielle Sprache anerkannt.

Unter den ersten wichtigsten Beschlüssen dieser neuen wissenschaftlichen Körperschaft war auch die Zusammenstellung eines bereits seit Jahrzehnten geplanten Großwörterbuches zu finden: Dieses Lexikon sollte ein Bedeutungs-, historisch-etymologisches, Fach- und Dialektwörterbuch in sich vereinigen und man plante es als ein kollektives Werk der Mitglieder der Ungarischen Gelehrtengeellschaft. 1834 wurden die ersten Vorbereitungen getroffen, und es wurde bald deutlich, dass ein mehrbändiges und vielseitiges, zugleich konzeptionell homogenes Wörterbuch auf die geplante Weise nicht verwirklicht werden kann. Nach mehrmaliger Veränderung der Konzeption und Jahrzehnte langen, oft unter ganz ungünstigen Umständen geführten Arbeit u. a. „in den Jahren der politischen Unruhen“ (d. h. zur Zeit der Revolution und des Freiheitskampfes in den Jahren 1848 und 1849) wurde ein kleineres Bedeutungswörterbuch zwischen 1862 und 1874 in sechs Bänden (25 cm) publiziert: *A magyar nyelv szótára* [Wörterbuch der ungarischen Sprache]. Hgg.: Gergely Czuczor und János Fogarasi. Es enthält ungefähr 110.000 Stichwörter, unter denen es auch relativ viele Orts- und Personennamen und (oft irrig) rekonstruierte Wurzeln gibt.

Damit entstand eigentlich wieder die „Asynchronität“ auf dem Gebiet der monolingualen Nationalwörterbücher zwischen mehreren europäischen Sprachen und dem Ungarischen. In der Mitte und in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts verbreitete sich nämlich in mehreren Ländern die lexikographische Gattung des Großwörterbuches der Nationalsprache. Ein solches Wörterbuch entspricht natürlich seiner Benennung: es steht aus einer Serie (in der Regel mehr als 10) dicker Bände, aber die Spezialität dieser Gattung liegt im lexikographischen Inhalt. Ein Großwörterbuch ist grundsätzlich ein (synchrones) Bedeutungswörterbuch, das auch historische Züge aufweist. Einerseits enthält ein solches Wörterbuch auch zahlreiche Stichwörter, die im Sprachgebrauch der früheren Jahrzehnte der bearbeiteten Periode wichtig waren (und heute vielleicht schon als veraltet gelten), andererseits kann die Bedeutungsstruktur vieler auch heute gebrauchter Wörter um Bedeutungen ergänzt werden, die nur aufgrund älterer Textstellen erschlossen werden können. Einige Wörterbücher dieser Art:

Émile Littré: *Dictionnaire de la langue française I–IV*. 1863–1873 – 1844 wurde die Arbeit begonnen;

The Oxford English Dictionary. A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles 1 (1884)–10 (1928) – die Vorbereitungen fanden bereits Ende der 1850er Jahre statt;

Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika [Akademisches Wörterbuch des Kroatischen und Serbischen] 1 (1880)–23 (1976);

Grimm, Jacob – Grimm, Wilhelm: *Deutsches Wörterbuch* 1 (1854)–16 (1960);

Woordenboek der nederlandsche taal 1 (1882)–29 (1998) – die tatsächliche Redigierung begann 1861, seit 1864 wurde es durch drei unterschiedlichen Verlagen finanziert.

Aus diesen Angaben ist es wohl gut zu sehen, dass die Verfertigung eines vollständigen Großwörterbuches eine wirkliche Langzeitarbeit ist – das liegt im Wesen dieser lexikographischen Gattung, sogar im Zeitalter der modernen Informationstechnik!

In den 1880er Jahren gab es begründete Hoffnungen, dass sich die ungarische Lexikographie den auch in Ungarn gut bekannten europäischen lexikographischen Richtungen anschließen kann. In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts wurden die Ansprüche immer stärker, den ungarischen Wortschatz auch in historischer Hinsicht zu bearbeiten. Erst wurde auf Initiative der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften das *Magyar nyelvtörténeti szótár* [Historisches Wörterbuch der ungarischen Sprache] erstellt (Bd. 1–3., 1890–1893): in diesem wird die ungarische Sprache von den ältesten (fragmentarischen) Sprachdenkmälern ab 1055 bis ungefähr 1750 erschlossen. In der Frage der Notwendigkeit eines neuen Wörterbuches, d. h. des ersten ungarischen Großwörterbuches wie bereits dargestellt, gab es große Einigkeit unter den Akademikern, vor allem hinsichtlich der zu bearbeitenden Periode. Dieses Wörterbuch hätte die jüngere ungarische Literatursprache zwischen der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Anfang der Spracherneuerung) bis 1900 bearbeitet. In konzeptionellen und methodologischen Fragen blieben aber die Meinungen weit voneinander. Einige (u. a. Zsigmond Simonyi) wollten ein mehr homogenes, den Wortschatz der ungarischen Literatursprache des 19. Jahrhunderts zusammenstellen, andere (u. a. Gyula Zolnai) stellten sich dagegen ein bereits auch am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts geplantes „universales ungarisches Wörterbuch“ vor. In diesem Letzteren hätten Wörter der geschriebenen Literatur-, der gesprochenen Standard- und Volkssprache, der unterschiedlichen soziologischen Schichten und Fachgebiete und die ganze erschließbare Phraseologie in historischer Hinsicht einen Platz bekommen. Diese Uneinigkeit hatte natürlich keine gute Wirkung auf die Förderung des neuen Planes.

Im März 1898 wurde die lexikographische Kommission der UAW gebildet. Ihre Aufgabe war, die Vorbereitungen, vor allem das erst spontane, später aber systematische Wortsammeln (Verzetteln von ausgewählten schriftlichen Texten) zu lenken und zu überprüfen. Das Ergebnis war jedoch recht heterogen: viele Sammler „jagten“ nach Wörtern, die bisher in Wörterbüchern nicht registriert waren. Andere waren dagegen bestrebt, je mehr Bedeutungen zu den Stichwörtern zu belegen. Trotz der widersprüchlichen Lage verzichtete die Kommission auf das neue Wörterbuch nicht: die ungarische Lexikographie wollte mit den bereits erwähnten nationalsprachigen Großwörterbüchern Schritt halten.

Wie es in solchen Situationen schon sehr oft geschah, ließ auch in diesem Fall der frühere Schwung nach. Lexikographisch-redaktionelle Arbeit wurde gar nicht verrichtet, das Interesse an der Sache „Großwörterbuch“ verschwand schön langsam, nur noch das Material häufte sich weiter (bis 1964) auf: diese alte Belegsammlung besteht aus ungefähr sechs Millionen Zetteln, die Daten für ungefähr 300 000 potenzielle Stichwörter enthalten.

1949 wurde das Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der UAW gestiftet. Trotz der Tatsache, dass das Großwörterbuch des Ungarischen vom Anfang an unter den wissenschaftlichen Plänen des Instituts stand, wurde es durch andere große, ebenfalls wichtige Projekte (darunter auch lexikographische Werke) verdrängt. Es mangelte Jahrzehnte lang sehr an notwendigem Prestige und finanzieller Unterstützung.

In der fast hoffnungslosen Lage trat in der Mitte der 1980er Jahre die große Wende ein, die die Chancen der tatsächlichen Verwirklichung der damals bereits acht Jahrzehnte alten Pläne in sich barg. Auf Initiative des damaligen Direktors des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft, des Romanisten József Herman wurde 1985 die Arbeit am Wörterbuch aufs Neue begonnen. Als Muster dienten auch diesmal fremdsprachige Großwörterbücher. Das *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* [(verbunden mit dem Namen von Salvatore Battaglia) 1 (1961)–21 (2002), ungefähr 2 Meter Wörterbuchbände] spielte wohl eine wichtige Rolle, wie auch das französische Großwörterbuch *Trésor de la langue Française 1789–1960* [1 (1971)–16 (1994), ungefähr 1 Meter Wörterbuchbände]. Die Arbeit an diesem letzteren Wörterbuch wurde auf Basis der neuen, modernen informationstechnischen Basis in der Mitte der 1960er Jahre begonnen.

Die erste, zugleich wichtigste Aufgabe beim Neubeginn des ungarischen Großwörterbuches war es, ein digitalisiertes Textcorpus zu erstellen, das als sprachliche Grundlage zum Wörterbuch dient (es enthält zurzeit 27,5 Millionen Textwörter). Aus unterschiedlichen Gründen dauerte diese Arbeit etwas länger als geplant, bis 2000. Später wurde dem Corpus auch noch das unentbehrliche, reiche sprachliche Material der alten Zettelsammlung und das auf ungefähr sechzig elektronischen Datenträgern gespeicherte Material mit 240 Millionen Textwörtern hinzugefügt.

Die Konzeption wurde 1999 festgelegt. Aufgrund dieser soll das Großwörterbuch vor allem den Wortschatz der Belletristik seit 1772 bis aufs Jahr 2000 enthalten. Darüber hinaus wird aber auch das lexikalische Material von mehr allgemeinem Interesse aufgenommen, das in politischen, wissenschaftlichen und religiösen Werken und in Publikationen privaten Charakters belegt werden können. Es wird auch Rücksicht genommen auf die Sprache unterschiedlicher Periodika, Lehrbücher und der populär-wissenschaftlichen Literatur. Auch der Umfang des Wörterbuches wurde festgestellt: das in ungefähr 120.000 Wörterbuchartikeln bearbeitete sprachliche Material soll in 16–18 Bänden (von je ungefähr 1500 Seiten) erscheinen, und es wird natürlich auch eine elektronische Ausgabe geben. Das Verfassen des Wörterbuches aufgrund dieser Konzeption begann im Jahre 2002.

Im November 2006 wurden die ersten zwei Bände des von vielen seit langem erwarteten Großwörterbuches des Ungarischen (im Weiteren als GWU abgekürzt) veröffentlicht:

A magyar nyelv nagyszótára. Erarbeitet im Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften unter der Leitung von Nóra Ittzés. Band I: Segédletek [Apparatband], 1119 S.; Band II: *A–azsúroz*, 1550 S.

Die bearbeitete Periode, die 230 Jahre bilden nur einen kurzen Abschnitt der langen Geschichte des ungarischen Wortschatzes. Doch kann dieses Wörterbuch als Bedeutungsinventar die lexikologisch-semanticen Fakten des sprach- und kulturhistorischen Prozesses der Entstehung des heutigen (allgemeinen) ungarischen Wortbestandes gut darstellen. Das GWU ist das erste korpusbasierte monolinguale ungarische Wörterbuch. Die unterschiedlichen Bedeutungen werden mit ursprünglichen, philologisch zuverlässigen Korpusbelegen illustriert. Dadurch bekommt der Leser ein authentisches Bild über den Sprachgebrauch der verschiedenen Epochen. Diese längeren oder kürzeren Textausschnitte gewähren uns einen Einblick auch in historische, kulturelle, wissenschaftliche Ereignisse – nicht nur in Ungarn, sondern auch in Europa, sogar in der ganzen Welt.

Darüber hinaus handelt es sich auch um eine riesige, gut geordnete Datenmenge, die mit Hilfe der modernen Technik auch zu unterschiedlichen linguistischen Forschungen gut genutzt werden kann. (Zur Entstehungsgeschichte vgl. noch: Gerstner 2006. Zu den mehr speziellen lexikographischen Aspekten des GWU vgl.: dwb.bbaw.de/tagung09/pdf/Gerstner.pdf)

Das komplexe Wörterbuchmaterial enthält zahlreiche Beispiele zu Veränderungen in der Orthographie, Morphologie, Phraseologie, Semantik und Stilistik – also auf den enger genommenen linguistischen Gebieten. Im Folgenden möchte ich mit einigen Gruppen von Stichwörtern darauf hinweisen, wie sich die wechselvolle und wechselhafte, aber auch viele unvergängliche Faktoren enthaltende Kultur im Wortschatz widerspiegelt.

A) Auch heute bekannte Begriffe mit anderen lexikalischen Mitteln ausgedrückt

In Anführungszeichen („...“) die wortwörtliche Bedeutung; in eckigen Klammern das heute gebräuchliche Wort mit eventuellen etymologischen Hinweisen.

<i>ájtatosrend</i> 'Orden der Piaristen'	„andächtiger Orden“ [<i>piarista rend</i>]
<i>bankír</i> (< dt. <i>Bankier</i>)	[<i>bankár</i> (zu ung. <i>bank</i> 'Geldinstitut')] [<i>bankjegy</i> ; vgl. dt (va) <i>bankzettel</i>]
<i>bankóta</i> (< dt. <i>Banknote</i>)	
<i>bankóház</i> 'Bankhaus'	[<i>bankház</i> ; beide aufgrund des dt. Wortes]
<i>bányavirág</i> 'Quarz'	„Minen- od. Grubenblume“ [<i>kvarc</i> < Dt.]
<i>bélyegadó</i> 'Gebühr' „Markengebühr“	[<i>illeték</i> (zu ung. <i>illet</i> 'zustehen')]
<i>bolondház</i> (aufgr. von dt. <i>Irrenhaus</i>)	[<i>elmeógyógyintézet</i> „Heilinstitut des Geistes“] „der Fastenzeit erster Monat“ [<i>február</i> < Lat.] „der Fastenzeit zweiter Monat“ [<i>március</i> < Lat.]
<i>böjtelő</i> 'Februar'	
<i>böjtmás</i> 'März'	[<i>tukán</i> < Fr.]
<i>borsevő</i> (aufgr. von dt. <i>Pfefferfresser</i> 'Tukan')	
<i>bőrláda</i> 'Koffer'	„Lederkiste“ [<i>bőrönd</i> (zu ung. <i>bőr</i> 'Leder')]

<i>büdösféreg</i> ‘Wanze’	„stinkendes Ungeziefer“ [<i>poloska</i> < Slaw.]
<i>combruha</i> ‘Hose’	„Oberschenkelkleid“, aufgr. von dt. (va) <i>beinkleid</i> [<i>nadrág</i> < Slaw.]
<i>cukorsütő</i> ‘Konditor’ (aufgr. von dt. (va) <i>zuckerbäcker</i>)	[<i>cukrász</i> (zu ung. <i>cukor</i> ‘Zucker’)]
<i>cukorpálinka</i> ‘Rum’	„Zuckerbrandtwein“ [<i>rum</i> < internat. W., über das Dt.]

B) Neue Begriffe – neue Wörter

autópálya-matrica ‘Autobahnvignette’
bankjegy-automata ‘Geldautomat, Bankomat’ (eig. „Banknotenautomat“)
bébiszitter ‘Babysitter’
bértárgyalás ‘Tarifverhandlung’
bioaktív ‘bioaktiv’
cirkálórakéta ‘Marschflugkörper’ (vgl. engl. *cruise missile*)
drogambulancia ‘Drogenambulanz’

C) Fremdwörter

In eckigen Klammern die heute allgemein gängigen Wörter.

akcidencia ‘Zufälligkeit; Nebeneinnahme’ [*esetlegesség; mellékjövedelem*]
baronesz ‘Baronesse’ [*bárónő, bárókisasszony*]
bekk ‘Verteidiger (z. B. im Fußball)’ [*hátvéd*]
cifferblatt ‘Zahlenscheibe der Uhr, Zifferblatt; Gesicht’ [*számlap; ábrázat*]
cirkumstancia ‘Umstand’ [*körülmény*]

Hoffentlich ist es aus meinem Beitrag deutlich geworden, wie wichtig für die ungarische Sprache und Kultur das Großwörterbuch des Ungarischen ist. Seine sprachliche Zugänglichkeit ist zwar beschränkt, doch ist es ein lexikographisches Werk, wodurch auch die europäische Kultur reicher geworden ist.

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MAGYAR TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA

A MAGYAR NYELV NAGYSZÓTÁRA

SEGÉDLETEK

MTA NYELVTUDOMÁNYI INTÉZET
BUDAPEST, 2006

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A – AZSÚROZ

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Főszerkesztő

ITTZÉS NÓRA

Szótári főmunkatársak

ELEKFI LÁSZLÓ, GERSTNER KÁROLY,
KISS LAJOS, PUSZTAI FERENC

Szerkesztők

CSENGERY KINGA, FIERS MÁRTA, GYENESE ILONA,
KISS CSILLA, MÁRTONFI ATTILA

Szerkesztők

BARCZA VIRÁG, CSENGERY KINGA, FIERS MÁRTA,
GYENESE ILONA, GYÖRFFY ANDRÁS, ITTZÉS NÓRA,
KÉTHELY ANNA, KISS CSILLA, KISS MARGIT,
P. MÁRKUS KATALIN, MÁRTONFI ATTILA, ONODY CSILLA,
G. OROSZ RENÁTA, PAIS JUDIT, SZENTGYÖRGYI RUDOLF,
SZIRMAI DIANA, TÓTH LAJOS PÁL, VARGA ÉVA KATALIN

Általános lektorok

GERSTNER KÁROLY, KEMÉNY GÁBOR, PUSZTAI FERENC

Informatikai munkatársak

MÁRTONFI ATTILA, PAJZS JÚLIA

Filológiai munkatársak

ISTVÁNFY ANDRÁS, SIMON LÁSZLÓ, SZÉKÁCS ISTVÁN

László Honti
Budapest

**ZU MORPHOSYNTAKTISCHEN ENTLEHNUNGEN
ZWISCHEN DEN URALISCHEN SPRACHEN UND IHREN NACHBARN
(EINE SKEPTISCHE STELLUNGNAHME)**

Einführung

Sprachen stehen ständig in Kontakt miteinander (natürlich mit Ausnahme der geographisch isolierten Sprachen) und die Erforschung der Konsequenzen dieses Nebeneinanders hat eine sehr große Fachliteratur ergeben. Die uralischen Sprachen sind meistens mit germanischen, slawischen, baltischen und Turksprachen in Berührung gewesen. Viele Verfasser, die die Wechselwirkungen der uralischen Sprachen untersucht haben, haben gefolgert, dass sie u. a. morphosyntaktische Strukturen von ihren Nachbarn kopiert hätten. Im gegenwärtigen Vortrag will ich meine diesbezüglichen Erfahrungen, Erkenntnisse kurz zusammenfassen, wobei ich einige „kontaktverdächtige“ Erscheinungen in unserer Sprachfamilie erwähne.

1. Die sogenannten Verbalpräfixe

In mehreren Mitgliedern der uralischen Sprachfamilie können Verba mit sog. Präfixen versehen werden. Solche Sprachen sind das Ungarische, das Wogulische, das Ostjakische, das Estnische, das Livische, das Wepsische und das Selkupische.

Die estnischen Partikelverba haben sich wohl unter niederdeutschem Einfluss herausgebildet, was meiner Ansicht nach nur deshalb möglich war, weil die estnischen Adverbien (wie überhaupt die Adverbien in allen Sprachen) geeignet waren, eine ähnliche Funktion wie die Verbalpräfixe im Deutschen auszuüben. Da das Livische eine Menge lettischer Präfixverben entlehnte, hat man begonnen sie auch an eigenständige Verben anzuknüpfen, und gegenwärtig kann schon jedes livische Verb ein lettisches Verbalpräfix, das zur Modifizierung der Bedeutung dient, bekommen.

Im Finnischen werden sog. „Verbalkomposita“ im Vergleich zum Estnischen viel seltener gebraucht, was sich nach Hasselblatt (2003: 164–165) dadurch erklären lässt, dass der schwedische Einfluß auf das Finnische wesentlich schwächer gewesen ist als der deutsche auf das Estnische, und es – dank des Purismus in Finnland – gelungen ist, den größten Teil der als Lehnübersetzungen ins Finnische geratenen Verbalkomposita auszumerzen. Ähnliche Konstruktionen sind auch im Karelischen, Ingrischen und Lappischen anzutreffen.

Hasselblatt hat zweifelsohne recht, dass man ähnliche Erscheinungen wohl in allen uralischen Sprachen finden könnte (Hasselblatt 2003: 165), was nur dafür sprechen kann, dass verbalpräfixartige Elemente spontan entstehen können und der Prozeß durch fremdsprachlichen Einfluß begünstigt werden kann. Im Falle aller uralischen Sprachen mit Verbalpräfixen stellen die Forscher einstimmig fest, dass die Verbalpräfixe eigentlich lativische Adverbien sind oder sich wenigstens als solche erklären lassen. Dieses synchron unverkennbare Faktum stellt auch die diachrone Lösung des Problems dar, was man unzählige Male in der Fachliteratur wiederholt hat: Die als Verbalpräfixe

bekanntem oder als Verbalpräfixe bezeichneten Elemente in uralischen Sprachen sind ursprünglich die Richtung der Handlung von Bewegungsverba ausdrückende Adverbien gewesen.

2. Die Attributivkongruenz

Die Kongruenz – in den konsistenten SOV-Sprachen eine systemfremde Erscheinung – ist im Finnischen fast vollständig; im Lappischen, Ungarischen und Nordsamojedischen beschränkt sie sich nur auf einige Fälle, vereinzelt tritt sie aber auch im Mordwinischen, Tscheremissischen, Wotjakischen und Syrjänischen auf, insbesondere dann, wenn das Attribut ein Demonstrativpronomen ist. In den obugrischen Sprachen, dem Jenissej-Samojedischen, dem Selkupischen und dem Kamassischen ist sie dagegen unbekannt.

Im Ungarischen ist die Kongruenz vollständig, wenn das Attribut ein Demonstrativpronomen ist, und zwar nicht nur hinsichtlich des Numerus und Kasus, sondern sogar auch bezüglich der Postposition, die ebenso hinter beiden Konstituenten auftritt, z. B. *ez-zel a ház-zal* 'mit diesem Haus', *ez-ek-kel a ház-ak-kal* 'mit diesen Häusern', *ez előtt a ház előtt* 'vor diesem Haus', *ez-ek előtt a ház-ak előtt* 'vor diesen Häusern'.

Was die Herausbildung der Kongruenz im Ostseefinnischen betrifft, hat man sowohl mit einer inneren Entwicklung als auch mit einer äußeren Beeinflussung gerechnet. Manche Forscher haben auch eine gleichzeitige Wirkung beider Faktoren für möglich gehalten. Seit Georg von der Gabelentz (1901: 271) spukt der Gedanke in den Köpfen, dass die ostseefinnische Kongruenz einem vom Germanischen her gekommenen Einfluß zu verdanken bzw. sogar eine baltische und slawische Wirkung in kleinerem Maße nicht auszuschließen sei.

Meines Wissens war Schlachter der einzige in der Geschichte der Uralistik, der nicht bloße Vermutungen aufstellte, sondern auch Argumente zu finden suchte (Schlachter 1958: 12, vgl. noch 13–23). Schlachter hat zwei wichtige Umstände, die gegen die Möglichkeit der Nachahmung eines fremden Modells sprechen, unterschätzt. Von diesen erwähne ich hier nur einen, der den tiefgreifenden Unterschied in der Natur der morphologischen Gestaltung der Kongruenzträger im (älteren) Germanischen und Ostseefinnischen zeigt (zum anderen Umstand s. Honti 1997: 140). Es handelt sich hierbei darum, dass die agglutinierenden ostseefinnischen Sprachen die Numerus- und Kasusmorpheme in gleicher Form und voneinander eindeutig abgegrenzt gestalten, während das flektierende Germanische meistens unterschiedliche Endungen in dem attributiven Adjektiv und in dem als Bezugswort funktionierenden Substantiv verwendet, wobei die Endungen in verschiedenen Deklinationstypen und in unterschiedlichen Geschlechtern anders gestaltet, die Numerus- und Kasusfunktion in einem Portmanteaumorphem realisiert sind.

Ravila (1960) hat eine überzeugende Erklärung für die Entstehung der ostseefinnischen Kongruenz gefunden. Mit Hinweis auf die ungarische Attributivkonstruktion mit Kongruenz *ez-t a háza-t* 'dieses Haus (Akk.)' stellte er fest, dass die Kongruenz auch in anderen uralischen Sprachen gerade in demonstrativpronominalen Attributivkonstruktionen zur Geltung kommt. Das Pronomen gab das Denotat an, das Substantiv trat als Apposition des Pronomens auf. So war auch das Pronomen Träger der Numerus- und Kasusuffixe, deren Morpheme

normalerweise auch dem appositionellen Substantiv angeschlossen waren. Die appositionelle Konstruktion wurde allmählich zu einer attributiven umgewertet, in der die ehemalige Apposition zum Hauptglied, zum Bezugswort geworden ist. Ravilas Ausführungen werden von den ähnlichen Konstruktionen des Lappischen, Mordwinischen, Tscheremissischen, Wotjakischen, Syrjänischen, Ungarischen, Jurakischen und Tawgy bestätigt.

Die Kongruenz in uralischen Sprachen in Konstruktionen „Demonstrativpronomen + Substantiv als Apposition“ scheint entstanden zu sein. Nachdem sich die appositionelle Konstruktion in eine attributive gewandelt hatte, hat sich die Kongruenz auch auf Attributivkonstruktionen mit Adjektiv als Attribut analogisch verbreitet.

3. Die Izafetkonstruktion

Die Uralisten operieren meistens in Anlehnung an die Verhältnisse in den Turksprachen mit ihr, deswegen beachte ich auch nur diejenigen Auffassungen, die sich auf die Turksprachen beziehen (vgl. Majzeľ 1957: 11–17, Jarceva 1990: 172). In der mir zugänglichen Fachliteratur wird jene possessive Konstruktion als Izafet bezeichnet, in der zumindest das Besitzwort markiert ist, und zwar mit Possessivsuffix, sowie das Possessivattribut ein Substantiv ist, z. B. *a ház-0 tete-je* ~ *a ház-nak a tete-je* 'das Dach des Hauses' (vgl. *ház* 'Haus', *tető* 'Dach'). Unter Izafet versteht man in der Uralistik eine markierte possessive Konstruktion.

Die Izafetkonstruktion — mit Ausnahme des Ostseefinnischen und Lappischen — ist in allen Mitgliedern der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachfamilie bekannt (obwohl nicht ganz allgemein).

Als Kuriosität erwähne ich, dass es ein der uralischen und altaischen Izafetkonstruktion ähnliches Possessivsyntagma auch im Germanischen und Italienischen gibt, vgl. dt. *wem sein Hut* 'wessen Hut', *dem Vater sein Haus* ~ *des Vaters sein Haus* ~ nl. *de vader zijn huis* 'id.', it. *della mia sopravvesta il suo colore* 'die Farbe meines Gewands'. Der Besitzer als Vorderglied erscheint des öfteren (zumindest sprachgeschichtlich) im Dativ. Im Italienischen wird das Possessivverhältnis am Besitzer durch Genitiv (*della*) markiert, und in allen angeführten Belegen wird dem Besitzwort ein Possessivpronomen der 3. Person hinzugefügt. Diese indogermanischen Konstruktionen entsprechen also genau den zitierten uralischen Beispielen, der einzige Unterschied besteht darin, dass die indogermanischen Sprachen Possessivpronomina und keine Possessivsuffixe verwenden.

Die Fachliteratur über die Izafetkonstruktion im Uralischen ist nicht besonders reich, sie enthält jedoch drei verschiedene Erklärungen für ihren Ursprung.

Meiner Ansicht nach haben die ugrischen Sprachen diese Konstruktion herausentwickeln oder (mehr oder weniger) bewahren können (hierzu vgl. Hajdú 1987: 222–223, Benkő 1979: 57, 1988: 24–25), da sie das uralte Genitivsuffix verloren haben und es in gewissen Fällen notwendig war, das grammatikalische Verhältnis zwischen den Komponenten der possessiven Konstruktion widerzuspiegeln; das Possessivsuffix war von den zur Verfügung gestandenen Mitteln dazu am geeignetesten. Das Possessivsuffix der 3. Person kann nämlich das Substantiv als Possessivattribut topikalisieren. Dieses Verfahren im Ungarischen hat sich verallgemeinert und ist obligatorisch geworden (das Ungarische verwendet also die Izafetkonstruktion – von

den Turksprachen abweichend – absolut konsequent), in den obugrischen Sprachen dagegen hat es seine topikalische Funktion bewahrt. Dazu hat sicherlich auch die Analogie der Possessivkonstruktion mit Personalpronomen als Besitzer beigetragen, wie dies Fokos anmerkte: „Nach dem Muster der Konstruktionen vom Typ *az ő háza* 'sein Haus' wurden die Konstruktionen vom Typ (*az*) *apám háza* 'das Haus meines Vaters' gestaltet“ (Fokos 1939: 16; meine Übersetzung – L. H.). Laut Beke (1914–1915: 21–27) und Bereczki (1983a: 214) ist die Izafetkonstruktion in den wolgaischen und permischen Sprachen unter dem Einfluss der Turksprachen der Wolga-Gegend erschienen, letzterer meint übrigens auch, dass dieses Phänomen im Ungarischen auch Ergebnis einer inneren Entwicklung sein kann (Bereczki 1983b: 65). Wie auch immer die Izafetkonstruktion in den uralischen Sprachen in Gebrauch gekommen ist, würde ich nicht wagen zu behaupten, dass es reiner Zufall wäre, dass das Tscheremissische, das Wotjakische und das Syrjänische sie ziemlich breit verwenden, da die benachbarten Turksprachen (das Tschuwaschische und das Tatarische) nämlich auf ihre Festigung stimulierend wirken haben können. Ich lehne also die eventuelle Rolle des turksprachlichen Einflusses im Tscheremissischen Permischen nicht entschieden ab, ich sehe sie aber auch nicht als entscheidend an. Auch die Tatsache, dass nicht alle uralischen Sprachen mit Izafetkonstruktion intensive und dauerhafte Beziehungen zu Turksprachen gehabt haben, spricht für die Möglichkeit der spontanen Entwicklung oder die Bewahrung der Izafetkonstruktion; die ungarisch-turksprachigen Kontakte können übrigens geschichtlich als ein nur eine sehr kurze Periode umfassendes Ereignis angesehen werden. Wie ich die Sachlage sehe, ist die Topikalisierung durch Possessivsuffix im Ostseefinnischen und Lappischen nicht eingetreten, obwohl sie hätte eintreten können, da der Besitzer mit Genitivsuffix topikalisiert mit Nachdruck artikuliert wird; dies kann ein genügender aber kein notwendiger Grund für das Fehlen der Izafetkonstruktion sein. Die Izafetkonstruktion der uralischen Sprachen kann das Ergebnis einer spontanen Entwicklung oder sogar ein uraltes Erbe sein und nicht die Nachahmung eines fremden Musters.

4. Die uralischen habitiven Konstruktionen

Eine der Eigenschaften der uralischen Sprachen ist es, dass die meisten von ihnen nur sehr begrenzt 'habere'-Verben verwenden, um das Haben auszudrücken. Normalerweise besteht die habitive Konstruktion bei ihnen aus einem Nomen in einem Ortsbezeichnungskasus oder mit einer Postposition und einem Verb 'esse; non esse' (+ Nomen-0/Gen/Adv + Nomen-0/Px); eine der Konstruktionen ist dabei dominant. Die meisten uralischen Sprachen haben nur eine Konstruktion, die nicht widerspiegelt, ob etwas eben in den Besitz des Besitzers gerät oder bereits da ist oder der Besitzerstatus des Besitzers gerade aufhört (statische bzw. dynamische Possessivkonstruktion). Die ostseefinnischen Sprachen – obschon nicht konsequent – spiegeln dieses Verhältnis wider, auch die permischen, allerdings noch inkonsequenter.

Eventuelle gegenseitige uralisch-indogermanische Einflüsse bei der Herausbildung habitiver Konstruktionen

Das oben Gesagte z. T. zusammenfassend gebe ich eine Übersicht der Stellungnahmen aus der Fachliteratur zu dieser Frage. Hinsichtlich der habitiven und possessivattributiven Konstruktionen im Uralischen, enthält die diesbezügliche Fachliteratur eine Menge einander entgegengesetzte Meinungen und unbegründbare

Auffassungen. Diese Ansichten zähle ich hier auf, ohne auf sie näher einzugehen (s. aber Honti 2007: 58–65).

(a) Winkler (2003: 205) stellt die Frage, ob die ostseefinnische Struktur (z. B. *fi. minu-lla*(Adess) *on...* 'ich habe...') nicht russischer Herkunft sei.

(b) Mehrere Forscher (Misteli 1893: 74, Veenker 1967: 117–119, Kiparsky 1969: 15–16, Stolz 1991: 73–74, Suhonen 1993: 161) rechnen bei der Entstehung der lettischen und der russischen Konstruktion mit finnisch-ugrischem Substrat, andere (Birnbäum 1997: 28, Winkler 2003: 203) dagegen lehnen diese Annahme ab.

(c) Nach Kettunen (1938: XLI) und Winkler (2003: 201) hat das Lettische die Funktion des Dativs im Livischen beeinflussen können.

(d) Im Ostjakischen „wird der Lokativ der Personalpronomina zum Ausdruck des Besitzers verwendet. Die ostjakische Konstruktion weist mutmaßlich auf russischen Einfluss hin“ (Winkler 2003: 201). Es muss aber bemerkt werden, dass nicht nur ein Personalpronomen, sondern auch ein Substantiv als Possessivattribut durch ein Lokativsuffix erweitert werden kann, z. B. *Vj mēn-nə*(Lok) *wăy-Ø ěntim* 'ich habe kein Geld', *Kr χuj pēŋət-nə*(Postp-Lok < Subst-Lok) *wăy-Ø ut* 'der Mann hat Geld'.

(e) Nach Riese (1990: 178) und Winkler (2003: 201) ist die wogulische Konstruktion mit postpositionellem Possessivattribut der russischen habitiven Konstruktion zu verdanken. Bartens' Argument (Bartens 1996: 63), nach dem es sich hier nicht um ein Anzeichen des russischen Einflusses handeln kann, da auch das Ostjakische eine ähnliche Fügung hat, weist Winkler zu Recht ab. Bartens hat aber zweifelsohne Recht, dass es unnötig ist, hier mit russischer Wirkung zu rechnen.

(f) Nikolaevas Auffassung hinsichtlich der Entfaltung des Dativus possessivus im Ungarischen ist widersprüchlich: sie behauptet, die ungarische Konstruktion sei das Ergebnis einer konvergenten Entwicklung mit „europäischen Sprachen“ und beeinflusst von der lateinischen Schriftlichkeit und das Ungarische hat die Morphologie der benachbarten (indogermanischen) Sprachen kopiert... (Nikolaeva 2002: 283, 284).

(g) Winkler (2003: 201) vermutet auch im Falle des selkupischen postpositionalen Syntagmas, vgl. z. B. *eraga-nan*(Postp-Lok) *jezan ĭ-t*(PxSg3) 'у старика был сын-его' ein Kopieren der russischen Konstruktion – ohne Grund.

Aufgrund der Parallelität, die man zwischen den uralischen habitiven Konstruktionen mit Besitzer mit ortsbezeichnenden Kasussuffixen oder Postpositionen und den präpositionellen russischen Konstruktionen sehen kann, könnte man in jedem einzelnen Fall entweder einen Einfluss „russisch > uralisch“ oder „uralisch > russisch“ annehmen, wenn die Markierung des Besitzers mit einem ortsbezeichnenden Element insbesondere in den Sprachen, die kein Verb 'habere' haben, nicht ziemlich allgemein wäre (vgl. z. B. Rocchi 2003: 196). Da ähnliche Konstruktionen in vielen uralischen Sprachen bekannt sind, handelt es sich sicherlich um eine selbständige, spontane Entwicklung, die auch in vielen anderen Sprachen keine Seltenheit ist.

5. Zusammenfassung

In den letzten Jahrzehnten wurde das Interesse an den Kontakten der uralischen Sprachen mit ihren Nachbarsprachen und an den Arbeiten von früheren und zeitgenössischen Forscherkollegen immer größer. Ich habe dabei oft die Erfahrung gemacht, dass, wenn übereinstimmende oder ähnliche syntaktische Konstruktionen in einander genetisch nicht verwandten Sprachen auftreten, diese durch den Einfluss der

einen Sprache auf die andere erklärt werden, in der Regel ohne die Möglichkeit einer inneren, spontanen Entwicklung in Erwägung zu ziehen. Aufgrund meiner Beobachtungen kann man am ehesten dann übereinstimmende oder ähnliche Konstruktionen in Nachbarsprachen finden, wenn sie der „übernehmenden“ Sprache typologisch nicht fremd sind, oder bereits als zumindest marginale Erscheinung existieren, das heißt – um es mit einer etwas saloppen Redewendung zu charakterisieren – wenn die betreffende (morpho)syntaktische Struktur schon im Paket inbegriffen ist.

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RESEARCH ON THE LANGUAGE CONTACTS BETWEEN RUSSIAN AND KOMI

Russian has had, and continues to have, a strong influence on the neighbouring Fenno-Ugrian languages on all linguistic levels. This fact is so obvious that it has aroused comparatively little interest in Fenno-Ugristics. In the research of Komi (Zyrian), however, this particular contact has been covered almost fully. What follows is a list, naturally far from complete, of the main topics, authors and results of that research.

The contact of the Komi with the Slavs and Novgorod began in the XI century, as shown by the evidence in the material culture. At the end of the XIVth century, Christianity was introduced, resulting in the spreading of Old Russian culture, Russian rule and Russian settlers. However, according to K. Rédei, the flood of Russian loans into Komi began in the XVIII or the beginning of the XIX century only (Redei 1996: 4).

The first remarks on the influence of Russian on Komi by a native researcher were made by G. S. Lytkin, who criticised the Russian-type syntax used in Komi texts of the XIX cent. This referred to the translations used in the seminary where teachers and priests for the Komi area were educated. After the revolution of 1917, the 1920s saw a period of purist language planning, which, however, was stopped in due time. From the end of 1930s onwards, the influence of Russian in syntax, grammar and lexicon was seen as enriching the underdeveloped Komi language system (for details see Leinonen 2002a).

1. Overviews of the influence of Russian

One of the leading Komi linguists, and formerly a supporter of the Marrist mixing of languages, **A. S. Sidorov**, wrote in 1951 an article on the influence of Russian on the grammar of Komi (Sidorov 1992). In it, he treats all the levels of language: phonetics (also in dialects), phonotaxis, morphology (e.g., adjectival endings, suffix *-t'é* in the plural inclusive imperative, verbal suffixes), certain pronouns with *ńe-*, *ńi-*, the negative particle *ńe*. In the verbal system he describes the "aspect", notes the new Russian-type functions of the reflexive verbs with *ś-* (i.e., impersonals, passive). Results of Russian influence on syntax are:

- modal predicates *objazan*, *dolžen*, *vynužden*, with congruent nominative subjects;
- in translations, spread of the Russian-like passive;
- development of subordinate and coordinate sentences, and coordinative conjunctions.

Next, a larger overview by a native researcher, **V. I. Lytkin**, was included in the publication "Osnovnye processy vnutristrukturnogo razvitija tjurkskih, finno-ugorskih i mongol'skih jazykov" (1969). In the lexicon, the main sources of new lexemes during the Soviet time were 1) Komi, with dialects and prerevolutionary texts, 2) Russian, especially for neologisms. In morphology, Russian influence is shown by the extended use of certain derivational suffixes. e.g., *-lun*, for creating neologisms, *-öj*, *-sa* (the

latter was used earlier for locations only: *karsa*); certain case forms have extended their function: *jözlön šud* (instead of *jöz šud*) 'people's happiness'.

In phonetics, lexemes with *f*, *x*, *c* had Komi forms, e.g., *pront*, *kolkoz*, *cirk*. Later these phonemes were included in the Komi alphabet for Russian loans. From Russian *r* and soft labials were taken, consonant clusters word-initially and -finally were adopted. In syntax, Russian-type clauses appeared after 1917 in schoolbooks, translations, and original literature. More complex sentential structures were introduced: subordinate clauses spread and the coordinate clauses approached the types of Russian sentences (*a*, *da* preposed). Derivation with *-sa*, genitive *-lön* instead of nominative copy the Russian constructions: *Komi ASSR-sa Verhovnoj Sövetlön Prezidium zasedanie vylyn*.

G. G. Baraksanov (1964) listed further phenomena, in which the Russian influence was palpable, e.g., the development of the analytic future with the verbs *kutny*, *pondyny*, *mödney*. The next extensive overview by **Karoly Rédei** (1996) treats the Russian (and Old Church Slavonic) influence both in the language of the Old Permic texts, and up to the present. He notes the following phenomena:

– Nouns: Russian prepositions appear, apparently as lexical elements: *nemöj na nemöj* 'deaf with deaf'; a case or postposition acquires a new function (*žal' sijös pro žal' sijö*).

– Indefinite possessive attribute in Komi is nominative, now the genitive is increasingly used.

– Dative experiencer is copied from Russian: *menym talun zev dolyd* 'I am today very happy', *menym ködzyd* 'I am cold'.

– Inessive is used instead of ablative-ative with verbs like *addzyny* 'to find' etc.

– Terminative behaves like the Russian preposition *do*, instrumental gets new functions, such as prolativ: *vizuv vaön mödis ker* 'On fast water the logs began to move', distributive: *ströjötöma šojasön vyl' zavodjas* 'Hundreds of new factories have been built' (Ru *sotnjami*).

– Postpositions: there are calqued constructions, eg. *po = vylö, kuža* as a goal, manner, cause etc.

– Verbal forms: passive is copied, especially in translations, with sporadically existential verb + participle, and agent in instrumental.

– Causative suffix *-t/-öd/-öt-* produces impersonal verbs, with the experiencer in accusative: *Menö dyšödö* 'I feel lazy', *menö kyntö* 'I feel cold' "Such verbs of factitive nature or feeling are not typical of Finno-Ugrian languages. Russian has exact analogies" (NB: In Finnish they are normal, and Slavic influence there is unlikely – ML).

– Impersonal predicate type of causative + natural force with instrumental: *vaön kyrötis berög* 'Das Wasser spülte das Ufer weg', is a copy of Russian *vodoj razmylo bereg*.

– Reflexive marker *-š/-šy-* is similar to Russian *-sja*, producing passive and other medial meanings. The Komi marker has acquired impersonal uses like *Saldatlön oz užšy* 'The soldier cannot sleep'.

– Conjunctions: Most of the subordinators are loans. Interrogative and relative pronouns have acquired subordinating functions (although an independent process is possible).

– Word order: In possessive attributive constructions the original order is attribute + main word: *pyzan kok* 'leg of the table'. Now one may see *közain kerkalön* 'lord of the house'.

The latest (partial) overview, though a contrastive description of pronouns and adjectives by **V. M. Ludykova and G. V. Fedjunjova** (2003), mentions Russian influence on several points (however, nothing for pronouns):

– *Pluralia tantum* are borrowed as singular concepts – this phenomenon was noted earlier in many sources (e.g., **L. Honti** 1994).

– Verbal system: analytic future tense, passive.

– Adjectives: qualitative adjectives in the short form, syntactic function is extended to the attributive: *prav* 'right', *strög* 'strict', etc.; relative adjectives in Russian may express an abstract concept: *naučnyj* 'scientific', *filosofskij* 'philosophical'. In Komi such adjectives are loans: *naučnöj*, *filosofsköj*.

– Syntax: Impersonal sentences with adjectival predicates had subjects earlier: *Yvlays kutšöm ködzyd* 'How cold it is outside' – nowadays: *Yvlayn ködzyd*.

– Copula *em*: used mostly in equative sentences *Mojdyd – mojd i em* 'A tale is a tale'. Probably Russian influence.

– Instrumental case with adjectival predicatives is a late phenomenon, influenced by Russian: *kažitčyny* < *kazatsja*. In Komi there is no corresponding verb. Instrumental was extended to other copular verbs.

– *dolžen, öbjazan, byt' + loö, kolö: te byt' addzödly bat'ö* 'You absolutely must visit Father'.

– Other modal predicative adjectives: *göto*, *voster*, *lut* 'able', etc. – The absolute majority of modal adjectives are taken from Russian.

The description concerns the literary language. In dialects, much more can be found, e.g., Russian superlative marker *samyj* > Komi *samöj*, added either to the basic form *samöj basök* 'most beautiful', or to a Komi superlative: *samöj medbur* 'best'; in the verbal system Russian *davaj* for imperatives has given *vaj vetly* 'go' (Honti 1994).

2. Separate levels of the language system

Phonetics: The basic description is found in V.I. Lytkin's *Istoričeskaja grammatika komi jazyka*, 1, *Vvedenie, Fonetika* (1957). Results of Russian influence are certain (dialectal) soft consonants, their influence on neighbouring vowels in certain dialects: the change of mid vowels *ö, y* into front vowels must be explained by the influence of Russian, which cannot have a mid vowel *y* after a soft consonant. Word-initial consonant clusters have appeared in loan words. (Dialectal) soft velars *k', g' > t', d'* before front vowels *e, i*.

Word formation: Certain borrowed suffixes are presented by A. M. Kövesi (1962). A comprehensive descriptions is found in G. V. Fedjunjova: *Slovoobrazovatel'nye sufixy suščestvitel'nyh v komi jazyke* (1985, Borrowed suffixes, ch. 2). As borrowed are counted such suffixes that are added to Komi roots, or to Russian roots that do not show the suffix in the original, and to roots borrowed long ago, when the origin is not understood. These add up to some 14 suffixes. Most are not productive (except *-ka, -nik*). Though Komi has no gender, it is borrowed in these formants.

Word order: Some remarks are found in Honti (1994): with numerals, Russian model is applied for approximative number: *mort šizim* 'about seven people'. Russian

influence in the change of SOV order towards SVO was suggested by Robin Baker (1985: 36–40). A fresh look at the word order is presented by Vadim Ponarjadov (2001) who, noting that folklore best retains the older orders, nevertheless identifies the verb-initial sentences as resulting from Russian influence.

Syntax: The negated infinitive *ne* + infinitive (mentioned already by Sidorov) has been treated several times, e.g., Je. A. Cypanov: *Otricatel'nyj infinitiv v komi jazyke* (1995).

An article by V. M. Ludykova, "Vlijanie russkogo jazyka na sintaksis literaturnogo komi jazyka" (1996), treats as results of Russian influence on syntax the following phenomena:

- Conjunctions, subordinative sentence types, infinitival sentences (*Naly vodzö na ovny* – cf. Russian *Im ved' ešče dal'še žit'* 'They will have to continue living', *Enovtny šornijas!* 'Stop talking!')

- Word order: appositions postposed.

- Verbs: 1st infinitive *-ny* increasing, modelling itself on Russian (*dugdis uvtny / uvttömys'* 'stopped barking'); borrowed modal verbs/words; calqued idioms.

M. S. Fedina in "O nekotoryh zaimstvovannyh iz russkogo jazyka ustojčivyh sočetañijah v komi

jazyke" (2000) treats idioms such as *šin na šin* 'eye-to-eye, face to face' etc., where the lexical meaning and grammar are borrowed simultaneously.

Discourse words (particles, conjunctions): This group of words is often treated within the lexicon, but it rather belongs to syntax or pragmatics. Only conjunctions have attracted attention: W. Schlachter: "Die koordinierenden Konjunktionen des Syrjänischen als Entlehnungsproblem" (1974), and Marja Leinonen: "Influence of Russian on the syntax of Komi" (2002a), which attempts to chart the use of (borrowed) conjunctions and gerundial constructions in the speech of dialect speakers in the 1940s (T. E. Uotila's materials).

Verbal system: Je. A. Cypanov has described the verbal system entirely, in, e.g., "Kategorija naklonenija komi glagola. Imperativ" (2003), including the Russian-origin dialectal *-te* imperative suffix used with Komi imperative: *Pukšö-te* 'Sit down'. In another treatment, "Grammatičeskie kategorii glagola v komi jazyke" (2005), Russian influence on reflexive forms producing passive is mentioned.

- Russian verb roots are borrowed and used as normal verbs, especially in weakly standardized spoken language: *ud'ivl'ajtcyny* etc.

- Verb valency follows the Russian model: *tödmašny (znakomitsja s čem >)* *tvorčestvoköd* (should be *tvorčestvoön*, instrumental).

- The polite 2.p.pl for singular addressee was taken from Russian.

- The future in *futurum historicum*, used in folklore and stories has a parallel in Russian.

- Impersonal meaning of the reflexive form ("Recessive"): with zero valency, *šyvsö* 'sing, feel like singing' (+ Dative *Vaňaly*, Genitive *Vaňalön*) is due to Russian influence, because it is not found in Udmurt or Mari, and the suffix is always *š-*, no other allomorphs are used.

- Passive calqued from Russian, was intensified in the 1950s, but still feels odd with the agent. Hence it is used often without it: *Uñiveršitet pomalyšly šetšö magistr ñim.*

Lexicon: Jalo Kalima in "Die russischen Lehnwörter in der Komi-syrjänischer Sprache" (1910) had over 2000 loans. The material was collected from dictionaries and grammars of the XIX century.

The textbook "Sovremennyj komi jazyk. Leksikologija", edited by A. I. Turkin (1985), gives a periodization of lexical loans, based much on V. I. Lytkin's articles.

E. A. Ajbabina has written several articles on language contacts in the lexicon. For instance, she treats the morphological adaptation of Russian loans in "Nekotorye osobennosti morfologičeskoj adaptacii russkich leksičeskich zaimstvovanij v komi jazyke" (1989). In "Specifika funkcionirovanija russkich leksičeskich zaimstvovanij v komi jazyke v sovremennyh uslovijah" (1990) she describes the Komi-Russian dictionary of 1961 from the point of loans, which number 5.000. Out of these, 3,000 are nouns, and over 74% repeat the structure of the original word. There are variants: *nervy* – *nerv*, plural *nervyjas*, *nervjas*. In the case of *pluralia tantum*, plural form is taken as basic singular form: *öčki* – *öčkijas*. Among adjectives, over 800 are loans, Komi borrows with *-öj*. Verbs: 23% are Russian loans. Nowadays the verbs express aspect.

Loans in the Ižma dialects are treated by E. A. Igušev in "Russkie zaimstvovanija v ižemskom dialekte komi jazyka" (avtoref. Tartu 1973). As to lexicography, A. N. Rakin has described, e.g., the terminology for the human anatomy in "Inojazyčnyj komponent individual'no-permskoj antropotominičeskoj leksiki" (1999).

A rare ethnographic contribution is the article by V. V. Solov'ev on the Russian influence on the kinship system of Komi dialects (1992). The changes in the original Komi kinship system, which was based on clan and extended family, began with christianization and spread, bringing Russian lexemes for the parents' generation, then for the lower generation (*vnuk/nuk*, *vnučka/nučka*, *bratan*). This was due to the new individual monogamic patriarchal family. The influence was strongest in the areas where the missionaries were active. Now it is greatest in the Prisyktyvkar dialect, and further extensions of the Russian system are found in Ižma.

Toponymy: At present, toponymy is actively researched by A. G. Musanov. On Russian–Komi hybrid toponyms, see Musanov 2001.

Code switching and alternation: Intrusion of Komi lexemes or constructions into Russian speech was during the Soviet time treated in a few articles from a pedagogical point of view, representing thus contrastive research. Otherwise, code switching, or mixing, in spontaneous speech in the present linguistic situation has been studied by Marja Leinonen in the Komi speech of a speaker from Ižma (2009).

3. Influence of Komi on Russian

The existing research is mainly concerned with the dialects surrounding or contiguous with Komi. There are a few dialectological studies of Komi elements in Russian dialects of certain villages (e.g., M. S. Miheeva 1960, E. S. Sergeenko 1968).

The most extensive lexical study in this field is J. Kalima's "Syrjänisches Lehngut im Russischen" (1927). It is based on word lists and grammars of the XIX century (Schrenk, Sjögren, Pogodin, Weske, Richard Meckelein). Nearly all the items are dialectal. A few additions have been made by O. A. Teuš (2002), and an article by A. D. Li on Komi lexical loans in the North Russian dialects (1992) is mainly concerned with the root *śam* and its verbal derivatives. The research of A. M. Matveev partly covers

Komi as well (e.g., Matveev 1964). Recent additions were made by G. V. Fedjuneva (2010).

The Encyclopedia of the Komi Language states that the loans from Komi in Russian count abt. 100, and most of them are found in the North Russian dialects. An example: *čem-kos* (Arh), Perm *čunkas* 'distance of 5–7 km' < Komi *ćom* 'tent', *kost* 'interval'. Some words have entered the Russian literary language as ethnographic terms, *pel'men'* < *pel'ňañ*, *pel'* 'ear', *ňañ* 'bread' (KJaE 1998: 132).

Phonetic research of the contiguous Russian dialects has been carried out by N. S. Sergieva (1990). The Russian dialectal allophones of *л* : *w* and *l* are perhaps due to Komi influence.

What about **substrate**? It is possible, given the historical development – Russian colonization pushing Komi population towards the east and north. Cokan'je in the Russian dialects has always been a problem, especially the wild variation in the dialects contacting with Komi. Sergieva finds here a conserving Komi influence on one of the variants, soft cokan'je (Sergieva 1992,48–50). In syntax, substrate phenomena in a language contact situation are frequent. North Russian dialects have several phenomena in common with Komi (and other neighbouring Finno-Ugrian languages), but this could be convergence and a late phenomenon. They are: 1) the possessive resultative constructions, 2) postposed conjunctions/particles, 3) functions of the possessive suffixes(postposed (p)articles (Leinonen 2002b). Such a perspective may provide a fruitful field for further studies, as does research on bilingualism. No one has undertaken a study of the prosody from this point of view, and the abundant calquing has only been exemplified by a few phrases here and there.

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**LANGUAGE CONTACTS BETWEEN BALTIC AND FINNIC LANGUAGES –
AN EXHAUSTED ISSUE IN LINGUISTIC RESEARCH?**

1. Introduction

Language contacts between BA and FI languages have been systematically studied for more than hundred years. Numerous research papers and some monographs have been published. Some of the main questions concerning ethnogenesis and material culture of FI nations have been answered by now.

Despite the extensive research in the field of BA and FI contacts, many important problems have not yet been fully solved. Researchers still need to explain: (a) different strata and sources of BA loans; (b) the problem of separate Baltisms and their distribution in different FI languages (c) the nature and extent of BA-Volgaic contacts; (d) some questions on the substitution of BA loan-stems and word-finals.

2. Short overview of studies

In 1869 Vilhelm Thomsen convincingly proved that BA-like lexis was borrowed into PFI from some kind of PBA language variation. All later studies have been based on Thomsen's approach, especially his monograph *Berøringer mellem de finske og de baltiske (litauisk-lettiske) Sprog: en sproghistorisk undersøgelse* (1890). Thomsen's approach has mostly been elaborated by Finnish experts on Finno-Ugric and BA languages. The origin of vocabulary was extensively studied in Finland in 1920ies and 1930ies. During this period, some Thomsen's BA etymologies were better accounted for or discarded, and dozens of new ones were presented. The best-known Baltologists of the period were Jalo Kalima and Eino Nieminen. Best-known work by Kalima is a university study-book called *Itämerensuomalaisten kielten balttilaiset lainasanat* (Kalima 1936) which presented an extensive overview of contacts between BA and FI languages, as known at that time. Eino Nieminen attempted to prove that Finnic people were not in contact with PBA speakers but rather with someone who had separated from them by that time and spoke another Western Baltic language variety: Old Curonian that later merged into LAT and LIT (v. Nieminen 1957a, Nieminen 1957b).

One of the most outstanding contemporary Finnish Baltologists, Kari Liukkonen, has presented new and corrected older BA etymologies in his *Baltisches im Finnischen* (Liukkonen 1999). He has stated that the PBA influence on EPF has been more substantial than GE influence. He has presented many hypothetical comparisons and has quite naturally received some criticism, particularly on his methodology (Kulonen 2000, Hasselblatt 2000, Venkutė 2002, and others).

BA loans in FI languages have mostly been studied by Finnish researchers, concentrating on the analysis of Finnish vocabulary. As a result, many Finnish-specific loans have been detected. The recent studies of EST lexicographic sources has shown that many separate Baltisms exist (or have been existed) in EST linguistic area. This material has been studied by yours truly. Separate BA loans have been detected by

comparing different systems of concepts in EST vocabulary. This kind of analysis has shown that in e.g. landscape and forest apiculture vocabulary, many separate BA loans occur (cf. Vaba 1997a).

BA loans can be found in the core of FI vocabulary. Until now, at least 500–550 BA stems have been proposed in FI languages, but many of them have not been verified. Most of hesitations are based on semantic divergence; in some cases substitution has not been proved. For many hypothetical BA stems, an alternative GE (in some cases Slavic) etymology has been presented.

3. Baltic Loans in Volgaic Languages

Taking into account the maximal area of Baltic tribes (Zinkevičius 1984: 147–153), there is no doubt that the ancestors of Mordvin and Mari people must have been in contact with the Baltic tribes. This is easily proved with BA loans that occur in Mordvin and also Mari (Vaba 1983). BA loans have been identified also in the extinct Merya language (v. Tkačenko 1985).

4. The cronology of Baltic-Finnic contacts

It has been stated in early research that BA-FI contacts have been initiated quite late and thus BA loans must originate from a separate BA language.

Estonian archeologist Harri Moora stated that FI contacts with Balts started during Upper Paleolithic period, slightly more than 2000 years BC. Around this period, the culture of Boat Axes spread the Baltic area and South-Western Finland. Moora thinks that the culture was spread by early Baltic tribes (Moora 1956: 56 ff.). The early dating that was proposed by Estonian scholars has been widely discussed. The migration of Baltic tribes to East, North-East, North and North-West started at *ca* 2000 BC, putting the BA speakers into contact with early FI speakers. According to Lithuanian scholar Vytautas Mažiulis, the Baltic tribes had partially common linguistic area at that time. The same has been stated by Slavists Vjačeslav Ivanov and Vladimir Toporov, also Christian Stang, and some other researchers. In Mažiulis's opinion, the Baltic linguistic area can be divided into central and peripheral dialects. Proto-LIT and Proto-LAT grew out of central dialects. Peripheral dialects could have been divided into Western-BA dialects and Proto-Slavic. The unity of PBA was lost around the 5th century BC (Mažiulis 1980: 55; Mažiulis 1987: 82 pp).

Traditionally it has been believed that all BA loans have been borrowed during PFI period. Petri Kallio claims that lack of BA loans outside FI languages is an indirect proof that borrowing could have happened later, not during Early but Middle PFI period. MPF might have been the source of BA loans into Lapp. Still, Lapps might have had a direct contact with the BA speakers as well (Kallio 2007: 245).

5. The stratification of Baltic loans

The issue of different loanword strata is still not solved. BA loans have been borrowed over times. The existence of strata is probable if to take into account that the contacts between BA and FI languages may have lasted as long as five thousand years.

Thomsen did not attempt to differentiate the loans by their age. To differentiate BA loans in LIV and EST from the older ones, there are usually enough (phonetic) criteria

both in FI and BA languages. Recently much attention has been paid to dating older BA loans more exactly. This is not always an easy task, because the differentiating phonetic criteria can be interpreted in different ways. Certain substitutes of some sounds or sound clusters may indicate the possible time of borrowing, or something absolutely different. Parallel distinct developments in target language can be caused by: (a) dialectal features of source language; (b) dialectal features of target language; (c) phonetic surroundings; etc.

6. Asymmetry of Baltic and Finnic language contacts

The contact between BA and FI languages is distinctly asymmetric: from BA languages to FI ones. No credible FI stems can be found in OP and only a few have been found in LIT (where loans are usually local). Since Thomsen, such unidirectional borrowing has been explained by the assimilation of North Baltic tribes into FI ones. However, some researchers believe that the FI influence has helped to conserve BA and Slavic morphological systems. Local cases (illative, allative, inessive and adessive) – that are similar to FU cases – can be found in older strata of LIT and LAT. Local cases have allowed Easter Baltic languages to express directions (like illative) and location (like inessive), but not separation. According to the Lithuanian linguist Zigmantas Zinkevičius, the case system in Old LIT consisted of 10 cases (Zinkevičius 1982, 21 pp.). This system has been lost in Modern BA languages, and has been replaced by prepositional constructions characteristic to IE languages. On the other hand, in comparison with other IE languages, LIT and LAT have quite many case forms. There are altogether seven cases in modern LIT and LAT: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, locative and vocative.

BA Locative Cases (on the example of Old LIT *ranka* ‘hand’, after Zinkevičius 1984: 313 pp.)

Case	Singular	Plural
illative	<i>ranko/n(a) < SgAcc + Pp *nā/*nā</i>	<i>rankos/na < PlAcc + Pp *nā/*nā</i>
inessive	<i>*rankāj/en < SgLoc + Pp *nā/*nā</i>	<i>rankosu / rankosa; rankose < PlAk + ? Pp *-én</i>
elative	----	----
allative	<i>rankos/pi < SgGen + Pp *pie/*pi</i>	<i>rankum/pi < PlGen + Pp *pie/*pi</i>
adessive	<i>rankai/pi < SgLoc + Pp *pie/ pi</i>	<i>rankosum/pi < PlLoc + Pp *pie/*pi</i>
ablative	----	----

Another interesting feature is LIT imperative marker *-ki-* (in Old LIT and some dialects also *-ke-*) that is somewhat similar to FU *kV*-marked imperative, for example EPF*-*k*, *-*kA* and *-*ko* (cp. Lehtinen 2007: 92). The imperative marker *ki-* is innovative in LIT (the only IE language with this kind of imperative). The hypothesis of its Finno-Ugric origin has been presented by Russian linguists Vladimir Toporov and Oleg Trubačev (Toporov & Trubačev 1962: 249–250).

Imperative paradigm in LIT: *mokyti* ‘to teach’: Sg2P *moky-k(i)*, Pl1P *moky-ki-me*, Pl2P *moky-ki-te*.

7. Issues of substitution of Baltic loans

Below, some controversial cases of phonetic substitution in BA loans are discussed, and some new BA etymologies are suggested by me.

7.1. New phonotactical rules were introduced into FI languages with BA loans. The phonetic pattern *e – a* was unknown in EPF, but was brought there by BA loans: *kelta* 'Gelb; Name verschiedener Pflanzen', *kerta* 'Schicht, Stockwerk' etc. (cp. Uotila 1986, 214).

7.2. Substitution of BA *ei*-diphthong is one of the most controversial issues in the research of BA loans in FI. Different opinions have been stated.

7.2.1. Several Baltologists have assumed that vocalism in BA loans in FI, including the *ei*-diphthong has emerged from a now extinct Northern Baltic variety. This opinion has been presented e.g. by Latvian linguist Antons Breidaks (Breidaks 1975: pp. 90, esp. 98, Breidaks 1983: pp. 48).

7.2.2. BA *ei* > EPF**ej*, f.e. **sejna* > LPF *seinä* 'Wand'. Diphthong *ai* is a secondary development in BA loans: LIV *sāina*, SE *sain* : *saina*, because of the regressive assimilation of vowel of first syllable by the back vowel of the second syllable (v. Kettunen 1962: 144–146). Assimilation has not taken place if there's front vowel in second syllable (sound pattern *e – e*): EPF**šejte* 'Blüte' > FI *heisi*, NE (*h*)*ōis*, LIV *ēd-rōm* (< **heide-rma*), SE *hūtse-*.

7.2.3. Phonetic varieties *ei*- and *ai* have been borrowed from two different originals with BA ablaut, f.e. FI *heimo* 'Sippe, Geschlecht; Verwandter', EST *hōim* 'Verwandtschaft (bes. durch Heirat); Verwandter'' and SE (Leivu, language island in Latvia) *aim* 'Familie; Gesinde', LIV *aim* 'Familie; Gesinde; die Leute in einem Bauerngesinde; Schwarm' (Nieminen 1957a, Nieminen 1957b; Kazlauskas 1968: 125–126; Viitso 2008: 50, 54); or rather *ei* and *ai* are varieties from different FI dialects: no BA dialects with such alternation (Kiparsky 1968: 312).

7.2.4. BA pattern *ei – a* > EPF**aj* > LPF *ei* (e.g. **šajna* 'Gras, Heu' > **heina* > *heinä*): BA first syllable diphthongs **ei* and **ai* have been substituted with **aj*-sequence in EPF if *a* was in the second syllable. Innovative and attractive *e – a* pattern has spread sporadically to the BA loans where it originally did not exist (like **heina* > *heinä* 'Gras, Heu', **seina* > *seinä* 'Wand'). On the other hand, *a – a*-pattern was preserved in BA stems *kaima* 'Namesbruder, Namensvetter', *laiha* 'mager, dünn', *laiska* 'faul, träge', *taivas* 'Himmel' (Liukkonen 1973, 22).

7.2.5. The development of *ei* and *ai* has been complicated in BA languages, and is one of the unsolved issues of Baltology (for a detailed discussion cf. Stang 1966, 52–68). EBA (LIT, LAT) *ie* has developed on the basis of earlier, Pre-BA short and long diphthongs **ei/ēi* and **oi/ōi*. The equivalents in the modern BA languages may be *ei*, *ai*, *ie* or *ī (i)*; diphthong *ei* has been preserved in WB languages, f.e. in OP and LIT and LAT dialects as Curonian substratum. Some BA loans in LIV reflect the WB diphthong *ei*, f.e. *kōōidaz* 'Weberkamm; Ankerstock', *lōōiga* 'übriger' (Zinkevičius 1980, 76–78, 92–93, Rudzīte 1993, 150–152).

7.3. BA **ei* > EPF **ej* > MPF **ei* > LPF *ī* (for sound developments cf. Toivonen 1934: 105; Kalima 1946: 132). This development is expected in BA loan *liika* 'überschüssig', and also in *riitta* 'Stapel, stapelartiger Haufen' and *tiine* 'trächtig', presented by Liukkonen 1999. He has also proposed BA etymologies for FI *kiittäü* 'danken, loben (that presumes the following development in FI: LPF *kū-* < EPF**kejt-*

< BA **geid-*, cp. LIT *giedóti* 'singen (vom menschlichen Gesang, insbesondere vom Singen geistlicher Lieder); singen (vom Gesang der Singvögel); krähen (vom Hahn)', LAT *dziédât* 'singen' (Liukkonen 1999: 75–76).

I suggest that the similar substitution is represented in the following cases: BA origin to FI stem *siipi: süiven* 'Flügel, Feder, Fischflosse', SE *süib : süiva / süivas : `süiba*, NE *tiib : tüiva / tiivas : `tüiva* 'Flügel (auch an Fuhrwerken)', LIV *tībōz* 'Flügel; Schwimmflosse; Flügel der Windmühle, des Zugnetzes' < LPF **sīpa-* / **tīpa-* << EPF**sejpa-* / **tejpa-* < BA **steiba-*: LIT *stiebas* 'Mastbaum, Pfeiler, Säule; Stock, Stange; Stengel, Stiel, Halm, Strunk, (Feder)kiel, Federspule', *stiēbti* (*stiēbia*, *stiēbė*) '(empor)recken, -strecken; hochheben (den Schwanz, die Nase)', *stiēbtis* (*stiēbiasi*, *stiēbėsi*) 'sich auf die Zehen(spitzen) stellen, sich möglich hoch aufrichten'; IE **steib(h)-* / **stēib(h)-*, **steip-* / **stēip-* 'Stange, Stecken; steif; zusammendrängen'.

7.4. For a number of BA loans, the original is probably BA long midhigh monophthong **ē*, that has later developed into a diphthong *ie* that is characteristic of EBA (LIT and LAT) varieties.

In my opinion, BA long midhigh monophthong **ē* is represented in the following FI loans:

(1) EST *needa : nean* 'fluchen, verfluchen', FI (Agricola) *niedellä* 'verschmähen, berachten', (1644) *nietää* 'fluchen' (< BA **nēd-*: LIT *niedėti*, *niediti* 'verabscheuen', IE **neid-* : *nīd-* 'heruntermachen, schmähen'); (2) SE *mōöl : mōölu* 'Geschenke, welche die Braut bei der Hochzeit verteilt', *mōölu-vakk* 'Brautkasten'stem with secondary velarisation (< BA **mēla-*: LIT *mielúoti* 'lieblosen', LAT *mielât*, *miēluôt* 'bewirten, traktieren, füttern', *miēlasts*, *mielastiba* 'Gastmahl, Schmaus', IE **mēl-*); (3) SE *mōöl : mōölu* 'Querstange, Kreuzholz, Wiegenstange (an der Schaukelwiege)' (< BA **m.ēla-*: LAT *miels* 'Brettlein vor dem Bienenstock', *miet* (*mej* / *mien*, *mēja*) '(einen Pfahl) einjagen, bepfählen', cp. *maidūt* freq. 'bestecken', *maiļi* 'Spricker, Zaunstaken'). BA stem with *ai-*-diphthong from the same nest has been borrowed into FI: *maila* 'Stab, Schläger' (the latter proposed by Liukkonen 1999: 91–92).

7.5. Two different substitutions for initial consonant cluster *st-*. The initial consonant cluster is usually substituted in FI languages with the latter consonant in the cluster. This means that initial BA **st-*-substitution is really special, *s-* and *t-*: SE *saivas* 'Zaunpfahl', FI *seiväs* 'Stange, Zaunpfahl', LIV *tāibaz* 'Zaunpfahl', NE *teivas* id. < BA **steibas*: LIT *stiebas* (< **ei*) 'Stock, Pfeiler, Mast', LAT *stiebs* 'hoher Baumstumpf' (Vaba 1997b; Viitso 2008: 133).

7.5.1. Robert Gauthiot (1903) has assumed that initial *s-* forms are caused by West LIT (Samogitian) triphthong *iei*: **tieibas* > **seibas*; but this explanation is not plausible.

7.5.2. *st* > *s-* and *t-*; but LIV and NE initial *t-* varieties are much younger (proposed by Kalima 1936: 63–64).

7.5.3. *st-* > *s-* in early GE (Koivulehto 1979: 279 ff.) and BA (Liukkonen 1999) loans in EPF.

7.5.4. BA **st-* > metathetically *ts-* > EPF *s-*. It is assumed that a metathesis has occurred in BA languages: **st-* > *ts-* (> *s-*): Proto-Slavic **storžb* 'Wächter' with LIT equivalent *sárgas* 'Wächter, (Be)hüter, Pförtner', LAT *sa-rgs* 'Wächter, Hüter' OP *but-sargs* 'Haushalter'; but later varieties with initial *s-* were restored to the original in BA, with the exception of *sargas* (Endzelīns 1951: 233).

7.6. Different substitutes of BA *irC*-sequence have inspired the researchers to look for the better explanations. *ir* may be substituted with (1) *ir* – EST *käu-kirgas* ‘Marienkäferchen (Coccinella), *kirsi* ‘Eisschicht’, *kirstu* ‘Kasten, Sarg’, *virpi* ‘Zweig, Reis, Gerte, Stange, Rebe), *virsi* ‘Kirchenlied, Gesangbuchlied’; (2) *er* – *herhiläinen* ‘(große) Wespe’, *herne* ‘Erbse’; (3) *är* – *härkä* ‘Ochse, Stier’, *kä(ä)rme* ‘Schlange’; (4) *ar* – *harmaa* ‘grau’, *parsi* ‘Stange, Balken’.

Koivulehto suggests that BA loans are so ancient that the IE syllabical **/r/* hadn’t developed into *ir*-sequence yet (Koivulehto 1998: 238). However, it is quite notable that in case of BA *ilC*-sequence substitution, there is not this kind of vowel variety: f.e. EST *kild* : *killu* ‘abgesprungenes, abgeteiltes Stück, Splitter’, *silta* ‘Brücke, Steg, Landungsbrücke; Diele’, *villa* ‘Wolle’.

7.7. Sequence *er* / *re* in BA loans like *meri* ‘Meer, See’, *reki* ‘Schlitten’, EST *tera* ‘Sonnenstrahl’ and *terendama* ‘in der Luft widerspiegeln, erhöht erscheinen (durch Luftspiegelung)’ indicates that they originate from different BA dialects. So, LIT *mārė*, LAT *mare*, OP *mary*, LIT *rāgė̃s*, LAT *ragus*, LAT (*saules*) *stars* ‘Sonnenstrahl’ (IE **ster-* ‘Streifen, Strich, Strähne, Strahl’) cannot be original forms for FI loans. (cf. Vaba 1997c).

7.8. Original has been lost in Baltic languages but it can be reconstructed on the basis of other IE languages. Thus, FI *aisa* ‘Deichsel’, *aitta* ‘Speicher, Vorratshäuschen’, *vuona* ‘Lamm, Lämmchen’ are proposed to be BA loans, although the etymological equivalent in modern BA languages has not been identified.

It is most probable that FI *lanko* ‘Verwandter durch Heirat, bes. Schwager; Cousin(e) zweiten Grades; (ferner) Verwandter’ is a BA loan: < BA **lankV-*: LIT *láiḡuonas* / *láiḡūnas* ‘Schwager als Bruder der Frau, bzw. Schwägerin als Frau des Bruders der Frau’. This seems to be feasible, because BA languages tend to alternate stem sonants with vowels for example *be-ñ-gti* / *be-ĩ-gti* ‘beendigen’, *tva-ñ-kà* / *tvá-ĩ-ka* ‘Schwüle’, *stru-n-gas* / *strùgas* ‘kurz, verstümmelt, gestutzt, mit gekapptem Schwanz’, *á-l-dra* / *á-u-drà* ‘Sturm’. It is most probable that the sonant-vowel alternation has occurred in BA stem **la-n-gonas* / *la-i-guonas* too (Vaba 2001).

According to Jorma Koivulehto, FI *lanko* originates from Western GE adjective **ga-langa-* ‘Verwandter’ that is related to Old High German *gi-lange* ‘verwandt’. The latter is rather loan translation from Latin *affinis* ‘bordering, having common border, neighbour, accomplice, related by marriage’ (as noted by Ritter 1993: 161–162). Thus GE cannot be the source for FI *lanko*. According to Liukkonen (1999: 79–80), FI *lanko* comes from a BA source that now exists as LIT *núolanka* ‘Ehrerbietung, Ehrfurcht, Hochachtung; die Gesamtheit der Familienangehörigen des Mannes, denen die jung verheiratete Frau Ehrerbietung schuldig ist’. Taking into account the semantic aspect, this cannot be plausible (cf. also Kulonen 2000: 251).

7.9. On the areal distribution of Baltic loans. The detailed explanations of phonetic substitutions of BA loans is quite labour-intensive. The results do not always serve as the basis of chronological differentiator. This is the reason why BA loans should also be dated by their areal distribution. This should by no means be implemented without further analysis: later internal spreading or loss of BA loans in the FI languages has increased or decreased areas of distribution of BA isolexes. This working hypothesis is still fruitful.

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Language abbreviations

BA = Baltic EST = Estonian EBA = Eastern Baltic EPF = Early Proto-Finnic FI = Finnic, Finnish FU = Fenno-Ugric GE = Germanic IE = Indo-European LAT = Latvian LIT = Lithuanian LIV = Livonian LPF = Late Proto-Finnic MPF = Middle Proto-Finnic NE = Northern Estonian OP = Old Prussian PBA = Proto-Baltic PFI = Proto-Finnic SE = Southern Estonian WB = Western Baltic

Symposium 5.

Ferenc Havas: Symposium on Typology / Симпозиум по типологии

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Budapest

TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE PASSIVIZATION IN UDMURT

0. The aim of my research was to examine whether Udmurt language has any passive construction and, if so, which types of passive it has. As a matter of fact, it is not obvious on the basis of the literature (Grammatika 1962, 1970, Bartens 1979, Kozmács 1998) whether constructions of type (1) and (2) can be considered as passive ones:

- (1) “*Будапешитын со 1985 арын ... поттэмын*” (p. 180)
Budapest-INCESS it year-INCESS publish-PTCP-INCESS
‘It was published in Budapest in 1985’
- (2) “*Пудоос бертэмын*” (p. 143)
domestic.animals-PL go.home-PTCP-INCESS
‘The domestic animals went home’

The predicate of such constructions is a participial form of the verb, formed with the suffix *-(э)мын*.³ This participial form functions in itself as a predicate in the present indicative, while in other tenses and moods it is followed by the appropriate form of the verb-auxiliary meaning ‘to be’ (3). The main verb can be both transitive (1) and intransitive (2).

- (3) “*данъямын луозы ... руч батырьёс*” (p. 40)
celebrate-PTCP be-FUT-3PL Russian soldier-PL
‘The Russian soldiers will be celebrated’

◇The present study is a modified English version of Asztalos (2008).

◇Hereby I would like to thank Jelena Valerjevna Rodjonova and Olga Ignatjeva Vitaljevna for having filled the questionnaire related to the present research and Annamária Erdei for the revision and correction of the English text of this study.

³The *-(э)мын* suffix diachronically can be divided into the suffix of the past participle (*-(э)м*) and the inessive case suffix (*-ын*).

In the literature, these constructions are usually discussed together with participial ones – that is, not separately as “passive constructions”, although the Grammatika (1962) and Bartens (1979) mention that they are similar to passives.

My research is mainly based on a written corpus,⁴ from which I aimed to collect all of the instances of the constructions under discussion (I found 216 examples formed with transitive and 81 with intransitive verbs).⁵ In addition, I conducted interviews (made questions about the grammaticality of some constructed sentences) with two native speakers of Udmurt, Jelena Valerjevna Rodionova and Olga Ignatieva Vitaljevna.

1. Properties of the passive constructions

Passive constructions have been identified in the literature on the basis of sets of criteria that do not always totally coincide. In my study, I take as a basis Siewierska (WALS)’s definition of the passive constructions, as it gives a concise summary of the characteristics that are the most frequently mentioned in connection with passives. According to this definition, “A construction has been classified as passive if it displays the following five properties:

- i. it contrasts with another construction, the active;
- ii. the subject of the active corresponds to a non-obligatory oblique phrase of the passive or is not overtly expressed;
- iii. the subject of the passive, if there is one, corresponds to the direct object of the active;
- iv. the construction is pragmatically restricted relative to the active;
- v. the construction displays some special morphological marking of the verb” (Siewierska (WALS)).

For example, the English construction in (4) displays all of the above mentioned characteristics (the active construction with which it contrasts is given in (5)), therefore it is considered a passive:

(4) *The food was cooked by Sam*

(5) *Sam cooked the food*

Some approaches (e.g. Siewierska 1986: 139) take into consideration an additional semantic criterion as well, and suppose that “real passive constructions” are able to express also a dynamic (7) – and not only a static (6) – meaning (the examples are in Italian). The reason of such a consideration is that in static passives the auxiliary functions like a copula and the main verb like an adjective.

(6) *La porta è chiusa*
the window be-PRS.3SG close-PTCP.PRF
‘The window is closed’

⁴Шкляев, Александр (2000), *Вапумысь вапуме*, Ижевск, „Удмуртия”, 178 pp.

⁵The example sentences quoted from this corpus are referred to by the indication of the only page number.

- (7) *La porta è stata chiusa*
 the window be-PRS.3SG be-PTCP.PRF close-PTCP.PRF
 ‘The window got closed’

2. Typology of the passive constructions in the world’s languages

Siewierska (WALS) classifies the passives of the world’s languages on the basis of three aspects:

1) On the basis of their form, passives can be analytical (called also periphrastic) or synthetic. In synthetic passives the lexical verb itself “exhibits some form of marking which is absent from the active” (Siewierska (WALS)) as in the Swahili example in (8), whereas in the case of analytical passives the verb is in a participial form, which combines with an auxiliary verb (4, 7).

- (8) *hakula ki-li-pik-w-a (na Hamisi)* (Siewierska (WALS))
 food 3SG-PST-cook-PASS-IND by Hamisi

2) As for the expression of the subject of the corresponding active construction (sometimes referred to as “Agent” because of its most frequent semantic role) in the passive, there are languages in which it “may be expressed in the form of an oblique constituent or remain unexpressed (Siewierska (WALS)) (4), and languages with passives in which it cannot be overtly present.

3) Siewierska makes a further distinction between personal (4, 7, 8) and impersonal passives (9, 10). The former type includes the constructions that have an overt lexical subject: in these cases both Agent demotion (that is, the demotion of the subject of the corresponding active structure from subject role to oblique role, or its total suppression) and Patient promotion (from the role of direct object to the role of subject) takes place, whereas in the latter case only Agent demotion occurs. In other words, in impersonal passives the direct object of the corresponding active structure is not promoted into subject role, and the construction lacks an overt lexical subject (or it has an expletive subject, as in the French example in (10)). Impersonal passives may be formed with intransitive verbs as well (10).

- (9) *Minut unohdettiin*
 I-ACC forget-PASS.PST
 ‘I was forgotten’
- (10) *I a été téléphoné à Pierre*
 it have.3SG be-PTCP.PERF telephone-PTCP.PERF to Peter
 ‘Peter was called’

3. The -(э)мын construction formed with intransitive verbs

The research I made show that the Udmurt constructions of type (1) do satisfy the criteria of the passive:

1. Such constructions contrast with an “active” construction (12), and their subject correspond to the direct object of it:

- (11) “*со ыбемын вылэм уни 1937 арын*” (p. 54)
 he shoot-PTCP be-PST already year-INESS
 ‘He was shot already in 1937’
- (12) *сое ыбиллям уни 1937 арын*
 he-ACC shoot-PST.3PL already year-INESS
 ‘He was shot already in 1937’

That the argument of the verb in the *-(э)мын* construction bears the subject role is proven by the following facts:

– the argument has to be in the nominative case:

- (13) **сое ыбемын вылэм ... 1937 арын*
 he-ACC shoot-PTCP be-PST year-INESS
 ‘He was shot already in 1937’

– the auxiliary agrees with it in person and number (3).

2. The subject of the corresponding active sentence is not overtly expressed in the *-(э)мын* construction – that is, I could not find examples with an overt Agent in the corpus. One of the informants mentioned that the Agent might be expressed by a noun in the instrumental case (analogously to Russian passives), but she added that such sentences sound odd:

- (14) ? *Та книга Достоевскиен гожтэмын*
 this book Dostoevski-INS write-PTCP
 ‘This book was written by Dostoevski’

3. The construction does display some special morphological marking of the verb, the *-(э)мын* suffix.

4. Although I did not make any detailed research on the pragmatics of the *-(э)мын* construction, I assume that it is pragmatically restricted compared to the corresponding active sentences, as it seems to be less frequent (in the 178 pages long corpus I only found 216 instances of it, among which there were no instances in the first, second and third persons of the plural). Also, the construction presumably has special functions (as passives do in general in the world’s languages), as e.g. the topicalization of the Patient, the demotion of the Agent, or the focalization of the oblique constituents.

5. The construction is able to express a dynamic meaning, not only a static one (1, 11).

To sum up, the Udmurt *-(э)мын* construction satisfies the criteria of passives, therefore it could be regarded as a passive construction, too. Following the classification outlined by Siewierska (WALS), it is an analytical and personal passive, with the Agent preferably not overtly present.

4. The *-(э)мын* construction formed with intransitive verbs

Alberti (1996) observes that whereas transitive passivization has the double function of demoting the Agent and promoting the Patient (in other words, it distributes the most prominent syntactic role i.e. the subject role, to the Patient and not the Agent, which is

otherwise the most salient semantic role), intransitive passivization realizes either Agent demotion of Patient promotion. “Agent demoting” and the “Patient promoting” intransitive passives are formed with two different subtypes of the intransitive verbs, the former with unergative and the latter with unaccusative verbs.

The distinction between unergative and unaccusative verbs is of both syntactic and semantic nature.⁶ The two kinds of intransitive verbs have a different syntactic behaviour, as they might appear in different syntactic structures. Whereas the subject of unergative verbs shares some characteristics of the subjects of transitive verbs, the subject of unaccusative verbs shows some of the (syntactic and/or morphological) properties of direct objects. Besides, the subject of unergative verbs often (but not always) bears the semantic role of Agent, while the subject of unaccusative verbs is frequently (but not always) has the semantic role of Patient.

Agent demoting passive constructions are thus formed with unergative verbs (10) (since the semantic role of their subject is often Agent). Such constructions lack a subject (because of the demotion of the Agent), or have an expletive one (10). Languages that have such constructions are, for example, Dutch, Norwegian and French.

Patient promoting passives are composed with unaccusative verbs and they have an overt lexical subject (so this kind of passivization does not modify the argument structure of the verb). Such constructions occur, for example, in Hungarian (15) (the example is formally analogous to the transitive passive sentence in (16)):

- | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|----------------|
| (15) | <i>Péter</i> | <i>be</i> | <i>van</i> | <i>rúgva</i> | (Alberti 1996) |
| | Peter | into | be-PRS.3SG | kick-GER | |
| | ‘Peter is drunk’ | | | | |
| (16) | <i>Péter</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>van</i> | <i>rúgva</i> | (Alberti 1996) |
| | Peter | out | be-PRS.3SG | kick-GER | |
| | ‘Peter is fired out’ | | | | |

Let us examine whether the Udmurt $(\text{ə})\text{мьиН}$ construction formed with intransitive verbs can be ranged among one of the subtypes of intransitive passivization and, if so, to which one.

If the Udmurt constructions are instances of the Agent demoting passivization, they should lack an overt lexical subject and the verb should be preferably agentive. However, in the corpus I only found examples lacking a subject where the verb is rather transitive than intransitive (17). Therefore, I consider such sentences not instances of intransitive but rather of elliptical transitive passivization. In fact, an argument of the verb in many cases is identifiable on the basis of the context:

⁶The notion of unaccusativity has been introduced by Perlmutter (Perlmutter, David (1978), Impersonal Passives and the Unaccusative Hypothesis. In: Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society. Berkeley Linguistic Society, Berkeley, University of California). Perlmutter claims that unaccusativity is a syntactically encoded and semantically predictable phenomenon.

- (17) *Берло книгады но со сярысь [кыльёс] верамын* (p. 160)
 ater book-INNESS-POSS.2PL also it about [word-PL] tell-PTCP
 ‘There is some talk of it in your later book as well’

I created three sentences of Agent demoting intransitive passivization and asked the informants to make grammatical judgements about them. There was no example that they found unanimously grammatical – (18) was judged agrammatical by both of them, (19) agrammatical by one of them and odd by the other, and (20) agrammatical by one of them and grammatical by the other.

- (18) **Голон урамын; ытозь эктэмын вал*
 yesterday street-INNESS evening-TERM dance-PTCP be-PRET
 ‘Yesterday there was dancing in the street until the evening’
- (19) ?/* *Гуртын туннэ керетэмын вал*
 home-INNESS today quarrell-PTCP be-PRET
 ‘They quarrelled at home’
- (20) (*) *Колялы жингыртэмын вал*
 Kolja-DAT telephone-PTCP be-PRET
 ‘Kolja was phoned’

To sum it up, I could not find any grammatical example in Udmurt that could be listed under the Agent demoting type of intransitive passivization.

If the Udmurt sentences of type (2) are instances of Patient promoting passivization, they should have an overt lexical subject preferably with the semantic role of Patient or non-Agent – or at least the semantics of the verb and its argument should correspond to the semantical criteria of the unaccusative verbs.

In the corpus, all of the *-(э)мын* constructions formed with intransitive verbs (altogether 81 verbal predicates) had an overt lexical subject, as in (2). The intransitive verbs appearing in the *-(э)мын* construction in the corpus are listed in (21). Visibly, there are many verbs among them that select a subject with a semantic role different than the Agent:

- (21) *луыны* ‘to be’, *потыны* ‘to originate; to seem; to exit’, *кылдыны* ‘to form, to develop’, *люкасқыны* ‘to assemble together, to accumulate’, *бырыны* ‘to end; to run out’, *пуксьыны* ‘to be placed’, *интыясьқыны* ‘to be placed’, *каръясьқыны* ‘to nest; to be placed’, *кыльыны* ‘to stay, to remain’, *геррасьқыны* ‘to be attached to’, *печатласьқыны* ‘to be printed’, *пыханы* ‘to be absorbed’, *чигыны* ‘to break’, *оканы* ‘to suffocate; to be ruined’, *сёрисьқыны* ‘to be ruined; to become disabled’, *кудрыны* ‘to get drunk’, *эбыляны* ‘to weaken; to freeze’, *золтійсьқыны* ‘to tense’, *посіісьқыны* ‘to get creased’, *ёрмыны* ‘to anguish’, *дасясьқыны* ‘to prepare for’, *кылисьқыны* ‘to undress’, *пертчисьқыны* ‘to be solved’, *удалтыны* ‘to succeed’, *пөрмыны* ‘to succeed’, *золтійсьқыны* ‘to tighten, to tense’, *лыктыны* ‘to come’, *потылыны* ‘to come out, to exit’, *пырыны* ‘to enter’, *вуыны* ‘to arrive’, *бертыны* ‘to go home, to return’, *выжсылыны* ‘to cross’, *усьыны* ‘to fall’, *лэзисьқыны* ‘to descend’, *дышетскыны* ‘to study’

If it can be proved that the verbs listed above are unaccusative, there is reason to suppose that Udmurt language has Patient promoting intransitive passivization.

Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) worked out four so-called linking rules that map the semantics and the syntax of the intransitive verbs: the semantics of the verbs determine which one of the linking rules applies to the argument of the verb, and the linking rules determine whether the argument of the verb is syntactically realized as an external or an internal argument. (According to the approach followed by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995), the subject of unergative verbs is generated outside the verbal phrase, whereas the subject of unaccusatives inside.) Briefly, the semantic group to which the intransitive verb belongs to determines its unergative or unaccusative nature. Interestingly, most of the intransitive verbs appearing in the Udmurt *-(э)мын* construction can be ranked among the semantic groups to which those linking rules apply that “generate” unaccusative verbs. The linking rules have been worked out on the basis of mainly English, Italian, Dutch and Modern Hebrew linguistic data, but the authors suppose them being universal (at least among nominative languages), so there is reason to suppose that they apply for Udmurt as well.

1. The Immediate Cause Linking Rule claims that “The argument of a verb that denotes the immediate cause of the eventuality described by that verb is its external argument” (Levin–Rappaport Hovav 1995: 135). This rule thus applies to unergative (and transitive) verbs, namely, to the following semantic groups:

- agentive verbs: e.g. *to chat, to walk, to dance*
- „verbs of emission”: e.g. *to shine, to smell*
- verbs describing physiological processes: e.g. *to sleep, to snore, to tremble*.

Among the Udmurt examples I found the only *дышетскыны* ‘to study’ verb that could be ranked among the agentive verbs.⁷

2. The Directed Change Linking Rule states that “The argument of a verb that corresponds to the entity undergoing the directed change described by that verb is its direct internal argument” (Levin–Rappaport Hovav 1995: 146). It applies to unaccusative verbs, namely to

– verbs of change of state, e.g. *to open, to break*. The following Udmurt verbs in (20) can be ranked here: *печатласькыны* ‘to be printed’, *пыханы* ‘to be absorbed’, *чигыны* ‘to break’, *;оканы* ‘to suffocate; to be ruined’, *сӧриськыны* ‘to be ruined; to become disabled’; *кудрыны* ‘to get drunk’, *эбыляны* ‘to weaken; to freeze’, *золтӱськыны* ‘to tighten, to tense’, *посӱськыны* ‘to get creased’, *дасяськыны* ‘to prepare for’, *кылиськыны* ‘to undress’;

– verbs of inherently directed motion: e.g. *to arrive, to fall, to exit, to descend*. Among the Udmurt verbs the following ones could be included here: *лыктыны* ‘to come’, *потыны*, *потылыны* ‘to exit’, *пырыны* ‘to enter’, *вуыны* ‘to arrive’, *бертыны* ‘to go home’, *выжылыны* ‘to cross’, *усыныны* ‘to fall’, *лэзиськыны* ‘to descend’.

3. According to the Existence Linking Rule, “The argument of a verb whose existence is asserted or denied is its direct internal argument” (Levin–Rappaport Hovav 1995: 153). It applies to the following semantic subgroups of verbs:

⁷The verb meaning ‘to study’ is intransitive in Udmurt, it takes an argument in the dative: *удмурт кул-лы* (Dat) *дышетскыны* ‘to study the Udmurt language’.

– verbs of existence and of spatial configuration: e.g. *to exist, to remain*. The following Udmurt verbs could be listed here: *луыны* ‘to be’, *пуксьыны* ‘to be placed’, *интыаськыны* ‘to be placed’, *каръяськыны* ‘to nest; to be placed’, *герраськыны* ‘to be attached to’, *кыльыны* ‘to remain’;

– verbs of appearance: e.g. *to appear, to derive*. Udmurt verbs from (20) that can be ranked here are *потыны* ‘to originate; to seem’, *кылдыны* ‘to form, to develop’, *люкаськыны* ‘to assemble together, to accumulate’;

– verbs of disappearance: e.g. *to disappear, to die*. The only Udmurt verb that could be listed here is *бырыны* ‘to end; to die; to run out’.

4. The Default Linking Rule states that „An argument of a verb that does not fall under the scope of the other linking rules is its direct internal argument” (Levin–Rappaport Hovav 1995: 154) – it thus applies to unaccusative verbs.

Visibly, the majority of the verbs in (21) can be ranked among one of the linking rules that apply to unaccusative verbs (and select a subject with the semantic role of Patient or at least different than Agent). The only exceptions are *ёрмыны* ‘to anguish’ and *дышетскыны* ‘to study’. The former, considering that it is a non-agentive verb and that it cannot be listed under the first three linking rules, presumably falls under the scope of the Default Linking Rule. The latter is more problematic, as it is an agentive verb. However, in the corpus it occurs in a context where presumably it has a nuance of meaning expressing change of state: ‘to be a literate,’ or ‘to be someone who became a literate’ – so maybe when it displays this nuance of meaning it might fall under the scope of the Directed Change Linking Rule:

- (21) „*гожтэтлы со дышетскемын, котъмае чакланы,*
writing-DAT he study-PTCP anything-ACC observe-INF
валаны, синйылтыны быгатэ” (p. 13)
understand-INF notice-INF to.be.able-3SG
 ‘he is a literate, able to observe, understand and notice anything’

5. Summary

The research I made on the Udmurt *-(э)мын* construction thus show, on the one hand, that the construction formed with transitive verbs does satisfy the criteria on the basis of which a given construction has been considered as passive. Following the typology outlined by Siewierska, it is an analytical and personal passive, with the agent preferably not overtly present. The research, on the other hand, suggests that the analogue construction composed with intransitive verbs realizes the Patient promoting type of intransitive passivization. Both the transitive and intransitive passives are instances of personal passive in Udmurt. Patient promoting intransitive passive constructions are not mentioned at the description of the typology of passives in the World Atlas of Languages, but, in my opinion, it would be reasonable to add them to it.

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ASPECT AND AKTIONSPORT:
TYPOLOGICAL STATEMENTS VS. DIACHRONIC OBSERVATIONS

1. Introduction and overview

The objective of the following paper is to give a survey of some typological and areal observations concerning the expression of aspect and Aktionsart. Moreover, I also aim at giving a critical evaluation of these on the basis of diachronic facts. Although it might seem odd and confused to discuss essentially synchronic phenomena by referring to their diachronic sources, I think my approach is far from being unique and can be justified. One of the leading typologists of these days, Matthew Dryer has argued forcefully that descriptive theories and explanatory theories can (and in his opinion, must) be kept apart. According to him, explanatory theories such as grammaticalization do not have to be built into actual linguistic descriptions, but they can explain why languages are the way they are.⁸ Another well-known representative of linguistic typology, Edith Moravcsik has claimed that „there is no need to choose between synchronic and diachronic explanations: synchrony is explained by diachrony. Thus, a fruitful resolution of the difference between the two may be by fully recognizing both the significance of synchronic generalizations as providing explanations by instantiation and their role as explananda for diachronic and ultimately functional explanations” (Moravcsik 2007: 15).

The paper consists of the following parts. First, I am going to introduce the grammatical categories that are in the focus of this investigation by illustrating them with both Khanty (Surgut dialect) and Hungarian examples. Then I'll introduce the typological claims I have already referred to in the introduction, and I will try to fine-tune or challenge them with the help of data from various languages, but mostly from Hungarian and Surgut Khanty. Finally, I am going to summarize the problems of typological comparison in the domain of aspect and actionality.

2. The aspecto-temporal domain in Hungarian and Ostyak: a brief overview

The first basic category to discuss is **tense**: a „grammaticalised expression of location in time”; „a system which relates entities to a reference point is termed a deictic system” (Comrie 1985: 9, 14). Present-day Surgut Khanty has an unmarked past and a marked non-past, whereas Hungarian has a marked past and an unmarked non-past (and an analytic future). However, it is also known from historical investigations that both languages possessed more tenses in earlier periods of their history.

Whereas tense, as could be seen from the definition, is a deictic category, a **spect** is non-deictic: it refers to the “different ways of viewing the temporal constituency of a situation” (Comrie 1976: 3). However, it would be very difficult to give a brief overview of aspect marking in the languages under investigation: both languages

⁸Cf. „It [=grammaticalization] is a type of explanation that cannot be built into the description precisely because it explains synchronic facts on terms of diachrony.” (Dryer 2006: 216).

employ various morphological elements, more precisely preverbs and derivational verbal suffixes that might modify the aspectual value of the verb. Besides, in many cases the aspect of the sentence can be modified by certain constituents of the sentence, such as specific temporal adverbials, certain types of objects etc. This latter issue, compositional sentence aspect, will be discussed later.

As for the preverbs and derivational suffixes, they frequently add some further meaning to the verb that can be classified as *aktionsart*-meaning, something like that the situation described by the verb begins; happens frequently; happens with high intensity etc. The morphological process of *aktionsart*-derivation may or may not change the aspect of the base verb (for further characterization of *aktionsart*-categories, see Kiefer 2006, 2010). A basic difference between these three categories is that both tense and aspect are assumed to be universal categories (or at least basic universal concepts), but *aktionsart* as defined here (i.e. morphologically expressed *aktionsart*) is not universal. However, morphologically expressed *aktionsarten* can be found both in Hungarian and Surgut Khanty. Kiefer distinguishes 13 *aktionsarten* in Hungarian (for a list of these *aktionsart*-categories and examples, see Kiefer 2006: 149–181); as regards Surgut Khanty, I assume there are 6 *aktionsarten*,⁹ and in both languages these are marked by either preverbs or derivative suffixes. More precisely, Surgut Khanty expresses resultative and intensive *aktionsart* with the help of preverbs, whereas subitive, inchoative and iterative *aktionsart* is expressed with derivative suffixes, similarly to a further *aktionsart*-category with the meaning ‘try to do’. It is important to emphasize here that the productive suffix *-mt-* that yields both subitive and inchoative derivatives is associated with perfective aspect, due to the meaning of these *aktionsart*-categories; this fact will be significant later on in the discussion.

3. Typological-areal claims concerning the expression of aspectual and *aktionsart*-categories

3.1. The Bybee–Dahl approach and its results concerning the expression of perfectivity

In his questionnaire-based cross-linguistic investigation, Östen Dahl reached the conclusion that ‘perfective’ is a major TMA category in the languages investigated, perfectivity being defined as follows: „A PFV verb will typically denote a single event, seen as an unanalysed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state, located in the past. More often than not, the event will be punctual, or at least, it will be seen as a single transition from one state to its opposite, the duration of which can be disregarded” (Dahl 1985: 78). However, he also discusses the fact that the so-called „Slavic-style aspect” is quite different from the imperfective: perfective opposition found in other languages; for instance, it is much more independent of tense categories.¹⁰ Still, Dahl argues that in spite of the differences registered in their semantics and other properties, the Slavic-style expression of perfective: imperfective

⁹Or at least these are the ones that turned up in the texts or during testing, as my results are based partly on the investigation of texts, and partly on work with native speaker informants that was supported by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA K68061).

¹⁰Hungarian is also included as one of those non-Slavic languages that has an aspectual system similar to that of the Slavic languages.

opposition can be treated as an instantiation of the general imperfective: perfective opposition, for the distribution of the two categories is similar enough to that found in languages that express this aspectual opposition inflectionally. More precisely, these differences are in fact due to the different means of expression: „the Slavic-type aspect categories are no proper 'inflectional categories' but rather 'derivational' or maybe even 'grammaticalized lexical categories'. The semantic differences that we have seen might then reflect the fact that the Slavic categories grammaticalize 'perfectivity: imperfectivity' on the lexical or derivational level rather than in inflectional morphology” (1985: 89).

Bybee et al. (1994: 87–90) arrive at very similar conclusions when comparing languages in which perfectivity is expressed with the help of inflectional suffixes and languages in which it is done with prefixes.¹¹ They also claim that these characteristic differences are due to the different diachronic sources of the morphemes that mark the aspectual distinctions (this is what they term *source determination*): whereas inflectional morphemes, if their origin can be traced back at all, derive from similarly inflectional morphemes, bounders derive from adverbials that grammaticalize through lexical diffusion.

3.2. Ferenc Kiefer's typological assumptions

3.2.1. The compositionality scale

In Ferenc Kiefer's approach, the major concept that forms the basis of classification is *compositionality*. According to him, the perfective: imperfective opposition can be expressed either morphologically or compositionally. Those languages that express this aspectual distinction with the help of derivational or inflectional morphology are non-compositional in the sense that the aspect of the verb determines the aspect of the sentence.¹² In languages not employing morphological means to express this aspectual opposition, the aspect of the sentence is syntactically compositional, that is, certain constituents may contribute to its aspectual interpretation. For instance, the choice of an imperfective or a perfective verb determines the aspect of the sentence in Russian. If a sentence contains a morphologically marked perfective verb form in Hungarian, the situation is similar to that found in Russian (with certain regular exceptions). However, if a Hungarian sentence contains an aspectually unmarked verb form, that sentence can be aspectually ambiguous, as shown by the fact that different temporal adverbials can co-occur with it, or it can be perfectivized by other sentence constituents. The following examples are quoted from Kiefer 2006: 49:

- (1) *Ír egy levelet.*
 write.pst.Sg3 a letter.acc

Sentence (1) is aspectually ambiguous, as can be seen from the fact that it is grammatical with both imperfective (2) and perfective (3) temporal adverbials

- (2) *Egész délután írt egy levelet.*
 whole afternoon write.pst.Sg3 a letter.acc
 'He was writing a letter during the whole afternoon.'

¹¹In their terminology 'bounders'.

¹²It is important to note that in Kiefer's approach, aspect is a feature of sentences; verbal aspect is the contribution of the verb to the aspect of the sentence.

- (3) *Egy óra alatt írt egy levelet.*
 one hour in¹³ write.pst.Sg3 a letter.acc
 'He wrote a letter in an hour.'

On the basis of this distinction, Kiefer proposes a compositionality scale on which the languages he investigated follow each other as given below, the inequality sign denoting 'less compositional':

French > English > German > Hungarian > Polish

According to Kiefer, most Uralic languages express aspect non-compositionally, and he considers this an areal feature. He also claims that Uralic languages displaying compositional features are spoken at the periphery of this hypothetical area (Kiefer 1997).

Obviously, the two kinds of typologies introduced above seem to be contradictory. Whereas in the Dahl–Bybee approach it is the derivational or inflectional nature of expressing aspectual oppositions that forms the basis of typological observations, Kiefer groups these two types into one under the label morphologically expressed, non-compositional aspect, and contrasts it with another putative group, in which aspect is expressed syntactically (compositionally). However, two aspects of the latter type of classification seem to be problematic.

a) Taking e.g. English, it might be true that the aspect of a sentence containing a verb in a simple tense (simple past or future) can be modified by a temporal adverbial for instance (see Kiefer's examples), but I doubt that similar modifications would be possible in sentences containing continuous or perfect verb forms, in which the tense form of the verb determines the aspect of the sentence (imperfective or perfective) similarly to the perfective and imperfective verb forms of Slavic languages. Sentence (6) is interpreted as a perfective sentence with its verb in the simple past, but according to Kiefer (1996: 264), it can be turned into an imperfective sentence by adding certain temporal adverbials (7). However, it seems highly questionable whether the same is true for the sentence which contains the same verb in present perfect, especially when the verbal phrase refers to a telic event (8).

(6) *He wrote a letter.*

(7) *He wrote a letter for an hour.*

(8) ??*He has written a letter for an hour.*

Similarly to (1), sentence (9) is claimed to be aspectually ambiguous, but the temporal adverbial in (10) turns it to imperfective, whereas the quantified object in (11) makes it perfective (Kiefer 2006 *ibid.*). Yet again, it seems that if the sentence contains a verb in one of the progressive tenses, the quantified object cannot modify the imperfective aspect of the sentence (12).

(9) *He drank beer.*

(10) *He drank beer the whole evening.*

(11) *He drank two bottles of beer.*

(12) *He was drinking two bottles of beer.*

b) Kiefer's approach treats aspect as a characteristic property of sentences, and syntax is generally assumed to be 'blind' to the internal morphological structure of words. However, the meaning of words that are the outcome of productive

¹³Literally: below.

morphological processes is also compositional, i.e. their meaning is determined by the meaning of their constituents. For instance, it might very well be true of Hungarian that once a verb is made perfective through some kind of morphological process, neither the verb itself nor the sentence containing it could be imperfectivized either morphologically or compositionally. However, this needn't be the case in other languages, and this can be equally true of inflectionally expressed aspect (e.g. the combination of perfect and continuous in English yielding the perfect continuous tenses) and derivationally expressed aspect. For instance, the meaning of the Surgut Khanty monomorphemic verb *č'ǔč'-ča* is 'hand to'. If one adds the suffix *-mt-*, it yields the form *č'ǔč'əmtə-ta* meaning 'quickly hand to' (subitive aktionsart, perfective aspect). Finally, if the suffix *-γəλ-* is added, the derivate is *č'ǔč'əmtəγəλ-ta*, meaning 'quickly hand to sy a couple of times' (iterative aktionsart, imperfective aspect).

All in all, although it is a valuable observation indeed that sentence aspect can be compositional in the sense discussed by Kiefer, it seems problematic to use this feature as the basis of classifying languages into groups or placing them on scales. On the one hand, it may depend on various factors, e.g. the choice of tense whether the aspect of the verb determines the aspect of the sentence. On the other hand, aspect can be compositional both morphologically and syntactically.

4.2.2. Hypothetical correspondences of form and function

The following implicational statements were also proposed by Kiefer:

(2) If a language has both deverbal prefixation and deverbal suffixation, aspect tends to be expressed by prefixation (1997: 327).¹⁴

(3) If a language has both deverbal prefixation and deverbal suffixation,¹⁵ the aktionsarten can be expressed either by prefixation or by suffixation. Typically, aktionsarten which at the same time express perfective aspect are expressed by prefixation while those which are either aspectually neutral or imperfective are expressed by suffixation (ibid.).

Concerning Surgut Khanty and Hungarian, these languages both have deverbal prefixation and deverbal suffixation, but whereas Hungarian seems to conform to these generalizations, Khanty does not. From among the many different derivative suffixes that can be associated with perfective aspect, there is at least one that seems to be fully productive (the one that forms subitive and inchoative derivatives). Naturally, one counterexample would not make a typological statement invalid, as statistical universals are also relevant. Yet this is the point where the diachronic background could give a causal explanation why this generalization can only partly hold.

For the time being, let us suppose that it is true that preverbs are inherently connected to perfective aspect. This is generally explained by referring to the course of grammaticalization process through which adverbials or postpositions develop into preverbs or prefixes: as adverbs or postpositions they are associated with perfective aspect (syntactically compositionally) by giving an endpoint to a situation. Then through grammaticalization they more or less lose their original spatial meaning, and the aspectual value becomes dominant, which is, naturally, perfective.

¹⁴In numbering these generalizations I followed the original article.

¹⁵Deverbal suffixation refers to derivational affixes in this case.

As opposed to this, derivative suffixes are not inherently bound to any of the major aspectual categories. To start with an example, Komi (another language mentioned by Kiefer as well, and a language where there are no prefixes) has (at least) 6 aktionsarten expressed by derivative suffixes, and 4 of these aktionsarten are of perfective aspect (cf. Kiefer 2006: 194, based on Rédei 1978: 86). In general, and as far as I am aware of it, the class of verbal derivative suffixes as such is not connected to a special grammaticalization cline similar to that of prefixes, many of them arise as combinations of other suffixes, and their origin in general cannot be traced back to lexical sources. That is, there is simply no reason to connect them with a special aspectual subdomain, either perfective or imperfective, and for that reason, these generalizations also seem to be problematic.¹⁶

However, there would be one diachronic hypothesis that could explain why the perfective domain would be allocated to prefixes/preverbs in languages with both preverbs and derivative suffixes: during the period the prefixes spread in a language, they oust out the derivative suffixes from that domain. However, this already takes us to a fourth set of generalizations, again quoted from Kiefer (1997: 331):

(8) The languages in the area seem to have three morphological means to express perfectivity: (i) verbal prefixation, (ii) verbal suffixation, and (iii) tense forms.

(9) If perfectivity can be expressed by means of a tense form in a language, this language will normally not use verbal affixation to this end.

(10) The development of verbal prefixation (with perfectivizing function) tends to go hand in hand with the restructuring of the tense system.¹⁷

The last claim, i.e. that the reduction in the number of tenses in a language may be in a causal relationship with the development of aspect-marking preverbs has been made by others as well (Lindstedt 2000, É. Kiss 2006.). As I have discussed this problem elsewhere, I will only note that the relationship between a developing set of aspectual preverbs and the tense system of a language can be at least of three types:

a) Confirming to hypothesis (10), the number of tenses reduces as aspectual prefixes go through grammaticalization (happened in many Slavic languages and in Hungarian as well);

b) In contrast to (10), the grammaticalization of the prefixes does not affect the tense system of the language, and the prefixes become integrated into the aspecto-temporal system of the language. This seems to be illustrated by Georgian (Dahl 1985: 89) and Bulgarian (Comrie 1976). Besides, this could have been the course of development in Old Hungarian as well, where the combinations of different tense forms with preverbs could also express different aspectual nuances. For instance, in the following Old Hungarian example the verb combined with a prefix codes a perfective event (*megcsókol* 'kiss' perf.), but the imperfective tense form (V+*vala*) and the iterative suffix (*-gAt-*) yields a habitual reading, i.e. the perfective events are iterated:

(13) *vronk iesus cristusnak fezevletinek evt sebejnek helejt gyakorta [...] ev zajauaal meg chokolgatya vala* (MargL. 6–7)

¹⁶Naturally, there could be other reasons for some inherent (for instance cognitive) relationship between aspectual categories and grammatical categories expressing them (e.g. imperfectivity being associated with verbal derivation), but that seems to be highly improbable too.

¹⁷Restructuring here refers to reduction in number.

c) Again in contrast to (10), the number of tenses reduces, but the preverbs do not seem to diffuse more quickly as a consequence of this, as happened in Surgut Khanty.

However, besides hypothesizing a diachronic relationship between verbal prefixation and tense forms, one could also assume something similar between verbal prefixation and (derivative) suffixation. This is all the more plausible as both belong to derivative morphology and share similar features (e.g. exceptions, irregularities, lexical spread, meaning of the base verb partly determining the meaning of the derived outcome etc). This potential correlation has already been highlighted by D. Bartha (1958) and D. Máta (1989). Quoting D. Bartha, „the perfective derivative affixes have become partly superfluous because of the emergence of the set of verbal prefixes in Hungarian, many members of which are perfectly well fit to take the place of derivational affixes. E.g. formerly *csuszamik*, PdH: *megcsúszik*, [‘slip’], formerly *állapik*, PdH: *megáll* [‘stop’].”

The opposite phenomenon seem to be characteristic of Khanty (yet it also shows the interrelatedness of preverbs and suffixes): as there is a productive suffix that yields an aktionsart that is perfective, it might restrict the appearance of preverbs in certain contexts. E.g. in the following example, the informant said that it would be redundant to use a preverb due to the presence of the suffix (in spite of the fact that the meaning of the two is not strictly identical):

- (14) ma jǎkən wǎr-ti wǎr-əm (nǒk) wǎr-əmtə-λ-əm.
I home do-PrsPtcp thing-PxSg1 up do-prs-Sg1

All in all, it seems to be the case that the conclusions of this paper are fairly negative in the sense that there are hardly any typological statements that seem to be valid generally. The only detail that can be firmly grounded on a diachronical basis is the inherent relationship of prefixes and perfective aspect (though the description of the grammaticalization process would need fine-tuning, but that would take a separate paper). It also seems justifiable to distinguish two major types of expressing aspect, inflectional and derivational (the Bybee–Dahl approach). However, the many idiosyncrasies that are associated with the process of derivation in general and in the case of derivation marking aspectual distinctions in particular warn against making overgeneralizations, that is, speaking of a Slavic type into which all languages with aspect-marking preverbs belong.¹⁸ All in all, the aspectual domain still seems to provide challenges for typologically oriented investigations.

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¹⁸For instance, Dahl himself notes that in the Hungarian translations of his questionnaire, the distribution of the use of perfective verb forms greatly diverges from the cross-linguistic pattern, and this was partly due to the differential object marking that determines aspectual usage as well.

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LOSING PERSONALITY – ON SOME IMPERSONAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN FINNO-UGRIC LANGUAGES

1. Introduction

Impersonality can be defined as a structural or as a functional-semantic category of human languages. Impersonal meaning can be expressed in various ways by using special verbal morphology or by case marking. Since the entire phenomenon is a general feature of all languages it is worth describing it cross-linguistically. The goal of this paper is to give an overview on the similarities of some impersonal constructions in Udmurt, Finnish and Hungarian from a subject-centered approach based on Siewierska's (2008) classification. In the latter part of this article I briefly review impersonals from a functional point of view.

2. The notion of impersonality

Although it is quite difficult to find an accurate definition of impersonality, it might be said that one should consider constructions to be impersonal, if they: (a) have no overt subject, (b) contain a subject with little or no reference to the agent, (c) contain a non-canonical subject, (d) involve a defocused agent, (e) can be contrasted with personal forms. In the linguistic literature there are many approaches that try to systemize impersonals. Seefranz-Montag (1984: 525) proposes that impersonal constructions are “distributed complementary to semantically equivalent or similar ‘personal’ types of verb constructions such as reflexives or (medio)passives”. From another viewpoint, impersonals can be described on the basis of their function. In this sense, impersonal is a “construction serving to describe an action, state, etc. ascribed to an indefinite (referential or non-referential) subject” (Holvoet 2001: 363). In many cases, impersonals are defined as opposed to personal sentence types. Blevins uses the term as an opposite of passives. In his view, impersonals are transitivity preserving forms of personal verbs that inhibit “the expression of a syntactic subject” (Blevins 2003: 516). Siewierska (2008: 2) correctly points out that the differences in definitions of impersonality are basically restricted by linguistic theory. “From the structural point of view impersonalization is associated with the lack of a canonical subject, from the functional perspective with agent defocusing.”

Impersonality has been systematically examined on the basis of Indo-European languages. Besides this, there are several studies on impersonals in Finno-Ugric languages. Stipa (1962) has analysed impersonals with a special reference on the relationship between the predicate and its subject. In his classification, the groups of impersonals are the following: subjectless verbs expressing natural phenomena, verbs with non-referential subjects, experiential verbs with non-referential subjects. In the case of Finnish one can find a terminological mass, since there are two different terms for these constructions: *persoonaton* or *impersonaalinen* ‘personless’ or ‘impersonal’

and *yksipersonainen* ‘unipersonal’ (for further details, see Penttilä 1954, Tuomikoski 1971). Recently the latter term has been used (see Keresztes 1995, Vilkuna 1996).¹⁹

3. Impersonals in Finnish, Hungarian and Udmurt

Siewierska (2008: 2) classifies impersonals structurally as follows: “(a) constructions including not fully referential subject, (b) constructions with a subject that does not display canonical subject properties, (c) constructions with a subject which is not a verbal argument but merely a place filler manifesting no semantic or referential properties, (d) constructions with no overt subject at all”.

3.1. Type 1a.

To this subgroup belong pronominalized subject constructions (Siewierska 2008: 2). This means that the subject can be expressed by a generalized noun as in (1)–(3) or by a personal pronoun with generic meaning as in (4)–(6). In all the languages, there are examples for the generic use of the noun ‘people’ or ‘man’, but in Hungarian it is more common. (1) Udmurt: *Поездын калык трос.* (Kozmács 2002: 32) ‘There are many people in the train.’ (2) Finnish: *Ihminen tarvitsee rakkautta.* (Vilkuna 1996: 141) ‘Man needs love.’ (3) Hungarian: *Az emberek általában nem szeretnek korán kelni.* ‘Usually people don’t like to wake up early.’ In Udmurt, the generic noun *калык* ‘people, nation’ does not always trigger verbal agreement, it can stand in the singular form with a plural verb as well. The languages examined here are all pro-drop ones. Consequently, there are many cases when the subject is expressed only by means of verbal morphology. (4) Ud: *og seregaz gâne azveš ukšo pono.* (Csúcs 1990: 98) ‘They put only silver coins into each corner.’ Here the verbal marker refers to an action that is used to be done, so it describes common actions. (5) Fi: *Sanovat, että...* (Keresztes 1995: 40) ‘They say that...’ (6) Hu: *Kopognak.* ‘There is someone knocking on the door.’ In Udmurt and in Hungarian, 1st and 2nd person plural and 2nd person singular verb forms can express impersonal meaning as well. In Finnish, this type is seldom used, usually the passive form (*sanotaan*) expresses this meaning instead. These kinds of impersonals are constructed in the same way in all the languages discussed here. The only difference is in the frequency of their usage. While in Udmurt, and even more so, in Hungarian, these constructions are common, in Finnish there are other strategies that are more general, e.g. the use of present passive forms. Sentences involving a general pronoun (as Ud. *olokin*, Fi. *joku*, Hu *valaki* ‘someone’) include a not fully referential subject. (7) Ud: *Татын олокинъёс пуко.* (Kel’makov–Hännikäinen 2008: 114) ‘Someone is sitting here. (plural form)’ (8) Fi: *Joku soitti ovikelloa.* (Keresztes 1995: 40) ‘Someone rang the doorbell.’ (9) Hu: *Valaki küldött nekem egy e-mailt.* ‘Someone sent me an e-mail.’

3.2. Type 1b

This subtype involves constructions with subjects that are identified by non-pronominal morphology. In the languages under discussion, there are some examples for this, but their impersonal status is problematic. (10) Hu: *Az ügy megoldódik.* ‘The case will be solved.’ In this case, the derivational suffix bears impersonal meaning, but

¹⁹For more details on the impersonals of Estonian, see Holvoet 2001, Vihman 2002; for the origin of Komi-Zyrian voice types, see Shebolkina 1999.

this kind of verbal morphology does not count for impersonal marking. In Estonian, one can find a canonical example of this subtype: (11) *Meie peol lauldi ja tantsiti.* ‘There was singing and dancing/ people sang and danced at our party.’ (Vihman 2002: 1)

3.3. Type 2a

To this type, which contains constructions whose subjects do not display canonical subject properties, belong at least five different subgroups. These impersonals “include constructions featuring predicates expressing sensations, emotions, need, potential, in which the argument bearing the highest semantic role on the semantic-role hierarchy (with a given predicate) is an experiencer or cognizer” (Siewierska 2008: 4). The first subgroup consists of verbs denoting sensations with a non-canonical subject that is an experiencer. In the Udmurt example, there is no overt subject, so this construction rather belongs to type 4.

(12) Ud. *Мыным умойтэм.*²⁰

I.DAT bad

‘I feel unwell.’

(13) Fi. *Poikaa oksettaa.*

boy.PART feel.sick:SG3

‘The boy feels sick.’

The latter sentence can be analyzed in two ways. Firstly, if the N is a subject, then it is a non-canonical one (because it is marked with the partitive). Therefore it belongs to this subtype of impersonals. If the N is an object, this is a construction without any overt subject, therefore it belongs to type 4 of impersonals. In the Finnish linguistic literature, the latter solution is more common (see Helasvuo–Vilkuna 2008). There are many examples for this “causative” impersonal sentence type from other Finno-Ugric languages as well. Komi: *Менö (ACC) гудрöдлö.* ‘I feel sick.’ Permyak: *Менö (ACC) кынтö.* ‘I am cold.’ The Hungarian construction is not counted as impersonal because it has an overt subject which stands in the nominative.

(14) Hu. *(Nekem) melegem van.*

I.DAT hot.PX.SG1 be.SG3

‘I am hot.’

3.4. Type 2b

Structurally, the same constructions can be found in this subgroup as in the former one, but the verbs belonging here denote emotions.

(15) Ud. *Мыным мöзмьт.*

I.DAT sorrow

‘I am bored.’

(16) Fi. *Minua pelottaa.*

I.PART fear.SG3

‘I am afraid./Something frightens me.’

²⁰Examples without references are from native speakers. Here I would like to thank Olga Ignatieva for the Udmurt, to Sonja Laitinen for the Finnish, to Nikolai Kuznetsov for the Komi, and to Larisa Ponomareva for the Permyak data.

In both cases, we can consider these constructions to be impersonal, but they belong to type 4, since they have no overt subjects at all (see Vilkuna 1996). There is no available data from Hungarian.

3.5. Type 2c

Siewierska (2008) takes into consideration existential constructions with non-canonical argument marking as potential instances of type 2. Neither in Udmurt nor in Hungarian exist constructions with a subject marked by an oblique case in this meaning, but the phenomenon is well-known in Finnish.

(17) *Ulkona leikkii lapsia.* (Sands–Campbell 2001: 257)

outside play.SG3 child.PL.PART

‘There were children playing outside.’

(18) *Purkissa o leipää.* (Sands–Campbell 2001: 257)

tin.INS be.SG3 bread.PART

‘There is some bread in the tin.’

As both (17) and (18) show, the subject does not display canonical subject properties: it does not trigger verbal agreement and bears a partitive marker (for more details, see Sands–Campbell 2001).

3.6. Type 2d

This group contains necessity constructions in which the first argument is in some oblique case, in the dative in Udmurt and in Hungarian and in the genitive in Finnish.

(19) Ud. *Мыным сумка басьтыны кулэ.* (Kel’makov–Hännikäinen 2008: 105)

I.DAT bag buy.INF must

‘I must buy a bag.’

(20) Fi. *Meidän täytyy ottaa sinut hoitoomme.*

we.GEN must bring you.ACC care.ILL.PX.PL1

‘We have to take you into our care.’

(21) Hu. *(Nekem) sok vizet kell innom.*

I.DAT much water must drink.INF.SG3

‘I must drink much water.’

In these cases, the modal verb does not trigger agreement, as it can be seen from (20) because the oblique component does not have the same person as the verb has. If we consider the pronominal argument as a subject of this construction, this is an impersonal of this subtype. But it seems that the oblique marked argument is rather the subject of the infinitive than of the predicate (see Vilkuna 1996 for Finnish). In this case, we should consider the infinite as the subject of the construction. After all, an infinite form as a subject can not be counted as a canonical one. In this sense, we can consider these examples impersonal constructions.

3.7. Type 2e

The constructions belonging here differ from the former type in the respect that they have a verb expressing potentiality or permission. The examples show the same structure as in type 2d. The permission is denoted by a modal verb that has an infinitive argument, and the argument of the infinitive stands in the dative both in Udmurt and in Hungarian. These sentences contain non-canonical subject, therefore these examples are structurally impersonals.

- (22) Ud. *Солы* *яра* *вина* *юыны.*
 he.DAT can/allowed spirit drink.INF
 ‘He can/is allowed to drink spirits.’
- (23) Hu. *Neki* *szabad* *alkoholt* *inni.*
 he.DAT allowed spirit drink.INF
 ‘He is allowed to drink spirits.’

To sum up, there are many cases when the argument, which is typically an experiencer, bears non-canonical subject properties. The most typical sentence type is when this argument is in the genitive (in Finnish) or in the dative (in Udmurt and in Hungarian), and it does not trigger verbal agreement. In Finnish, there is an existential where the subject is marked by the partitive, but this kind of sentence does not show any structural correspondence in Hungarian or in Udmurt. There are further cases of constructions that have non-canonical primary argument (for Finnish, see Helasvuo–Vilkuna 2008, Sands–Campbell 2001, for general features of Udmurt sentence types, see Csúcs 1990, Kel’makov–Hännikäinen 2008).

3.8. Type 3

These types of impersonals are constructions with a subject which is a place filler manifesting no semantic or referential properties. Siewierska (2008: 5–6) specifies them as follows: “Expletive subjects are also common in constructions in which the only candidates for subject are not encoded as such by virtue of their informational status in the discourse, as is the case in (a) existentials (e.g. *There are many linguists in Europe*) and (b) locatives (e.g. *There’s a man at the door*) which have a presentation function or in the case of (c) extraposed clausal arguments both finite (e.g. *It is a pity that you can’t come to the party*) and non-finite (e.g. *It is a pity to go home so early*).” In the languages under discussion, such obligatory expletives do not exist, but there are certain cases in which the optionally appearing element can be considered as an expletive subject: (24a) Ud. *?Со тунсико со лыктоз шуыса.* (24b) Fi. *Se on mielenkiintoinen, että hän tulee.* (24c) Hu. *Az érdekes, hogy jön.* ‘It is interesting that he comes.’ In my opinion, these pronouns (*co, se, az* ‘that’) cannot be considered as expletives because their usage is pragmatically restricted and they are not obligatory (in the case of Udmurt, they are perhaps not even grammatical) as the ones cited from Siewierska. Therefore we conclude that there are no examples of this type in these Finno-Ugric languages.

3.9. Type 4a

As it has already been mentioned, type 4 consists of impersonals that do not have any overt subject at all. This subgroup includes both zero-subject constructions and impersonal passives. An obligatory zero subject can be found with verbs expressing weather phenomena. These cases are regarded as instances of lexically marked impersonality. In these sentences, the position of the primary argument, which would be the subject, cannot be filled. There are many examples for this type in all three languages: (25) Ud. *Зопе.* (Kel’makov–Hännikäinen 2008: 121) ‘It rains.’ (26) Fi. *Tuulee.* (Vilkuna 1996: 133) ‘The wind blows.’ (27) Hu. *Alkonyodik.* ‘The night falls.’ In all the languages these sentences are structurally parallel, and there is only a certain amount of verbs that can stand without any overt subject. We should note that Helasvuo and Vilkuna (2008: 223) have outlined that these verbs can occasionally have

an overt subject. This can be examined on the basis of Hungarian and Udmurt as well. However, this type of impersonal is common in all these languages. Moreover, in Finnish there is another so-called zero construction, which has no analogous data from Udmurt or from Hungarian.

- (28) Fi. *Oppiiko täällä mitään?* (Vilkuna 1996: 140)
 learn.SG3.Q here anything
 Does anyone learn anything here?

The verb of the construction always stands in the 3rd person singular, and it cannot have a subject. The verb itself implies a human participant but the latter is not identified. For more details on this kind of zero construction, see Helasvuo–Vilkuna 2008.

3.10. Type 4b

Impersonal passives can be defined as opposed to the corresponding personal passives. In Hungarian and in Udmurt, the passive-like constructions seem to be personal ones, using Siewierska's (2005) criteria on passives. They can be contrasted with the active sentences, the object of the active construction is transformed into the subject of the passive and the verb has special morphologic marking.

- (29) Ud. *Turjn turnamjn.* (Csúcs 1990: 56)
 grass mow.PRTC
 'The grass is mown.'

- (30) Hu. A szoba ki van takarítva.
 The room OUT be.SG3 clean.up.GER
 'The room is cleaned up.'

In Finnish, there are certain cases when the passive construction does not have any subject, while the primary argument of the passive verb is an object. That is why this construction is considered as impersonal. The other instance when the Finnish passive is regarded as an impersonal is the passive form of intransitive verbs without any overt subject. For more details, see Blevins 2003, Helasvuo–Vilkuna 2008.

- (31) Fi. *Hänet vietiin sairaalaan.* (Helasvuo–Vilkuna 2008: 229)
 (s)he.ACC take.PASS.PST hospital.ILL
 'He/she was taken to the hospital.'

- (32) Fi. *Täällä vain nukutaan.* (Vilkuna 1996: 143)
 here only sleep.PASS.PRS
 'Someone only sleeps here. / Here can sleep only'

As we can see, this last type of impersonal constructions varies in the languages examined here. While in Finnish there are two different kinds of zero construction, the other languages have only the type with weather verbs. A further difference is the existence of impersonal passive in Finnish which shows no correspondence in Hungarian or in Udmurt. It is worth repeating that the impersonal has shown in section 3.3 is a common feature both in Udmurt and in Finnish.

4. An overview on impersonals from a functional approach

Siewierska (2008: 7) presents an agent-centered approach in classifying impersonals. She defines agent quite broadly; for her the term means the causal participant of an event, which could be the actor, instigator or initiator. In this sense, impersonality is a

gradual category, so one particular construction can be more or less impersonal on a certain hierarchy. This hierarchy is based on agent defocusing. “The notion of defocusing is used in the sense of diminishing the prominence or salience from what is assumed to be the norm (Siewierska 2008: 7).” Defocusing may involve: (a) the non-elaboration or under-elaboration of the instigator, (b) the demotion of the instigator from its prototypical subject and topic function or (c) both demotion and non-elaboration (cf. Siewierska 2008).

On the basis of the above, the impersonals of the languages examined can be reclassified. Type 1a and 1b seem to belong to the type with under-elaborated argument. In this type the agent is expressed by a pronoun or by non-derivational morphology. The ‘person’ who instigates the action could be – under certain conditions – almost anyone, so the reference of the subject is left open. A demoted obligatory argument can be seen in constructions with verbs expressing emotions and sensations, like in type 2a and 2b. For instance, Finnish verbs like *tuntua* ‘to feel’ have an obligatory and non-nominative primary argument. The group of demoted optional argument seems to correspond to Hungarian and Udmurt *necessive* and *potential/permissive* constructions, where the syntactic subject (of the infinitive) is rather an experiencer, the instigator is marked non-canonically (by the dative) and can be left out from the construction. Demoted non-arguments can be found in such languages where overt and obligatory expletives do exist, therefore here there is no example for this subtype. The last degree of the hierarchy denotes constructions with no argument. This type corresponds to type 4 of the subject-centered classification. To this group belong zero constructions and impersonal passives as well.

5. Summary

Perhaps it can be seen from this short overview that the entire phenomenon in question is a really complex one. From the subject-centered viewpoint at least nine different subtypes of impersonal constructions can be found in one or more of the cited Finno-Ugric languages. These constructions are: weather verbs (in all three languages), zero constructions (in Finnish), causative impersonals (in Finnish and in Udmurt), impersonal passive (only in Finnish), verbs with an obligatory non-canonical subject (in Udmurt), verbs with an infinitive subject (i.e. *necessive* and *potential* constructions in Udmurt and Hungarian), existential sentences (in Finnish), generic pronoun constructions (in all three languages), verbs with reference to an indefinite covert subject marked by a pronominal morphological element (in all three languages.)

However, as we have seen, there were only a few properties shared by all languages cited here. These are the lack of type 3 (impersonals with obligatory expletive subjects) and the complete structural analogy in type 1a and 4a. It can be stated that the most varied set of impersonal constructions exists in Finnish. Between Udmurt and Hungarian there are more similarities, as opposed to Finnish, like the dative marked primary argument in type 2d and 2e, the lack of zero constructions (with verbs that do not bear lexical impersonality) and the lack of impersonal passives. The overview on subject-centered approach suggests that it is worth continuing the analysis of impersonal constructions in Finno-Ugric languages. Besides, the phenomenon is well-known in all the languages, so it could be fruitful to outline more similarities and differences among the means of expressing impersonality. Finally, I should note that

the brief review on the functional approach shows that the subject-centered viewpoint is probably not as applicable as the agent-centered one, since the definition of subject and subjecthood differs in the descriptive tradition of the languages discussed, and this might cause some misunderstanding in the analysis. Furthermore, the subject-centered approach takes into consideration such constructions as well in which a personal meaning is expressed in the sense that the one the sentence refers to is identified. So it is worth analysing these impersonals in more details from a functional viewpoint as well.

List of abbreviations

1: first person	GEN: genitive	PL: plural	Q: question particle
2: second person	ILL: illative	PRTC: participle	SG: singular
3: third person	INF: infinitive	PRS: present	
ACC: accusative	INS: inessive	PST: past	
DAT: dative	PART: partitive	PX: possessive suffix	

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**THE URALIC TYPOLOGY DATABASE PROJECT:
AN INTRODUCTORY TALK FOR A FREE DISCUSSION**

What I am going to talk about is a project I have presented on several occasions. The milestones in its history have been as follows. 2005: Initiative launched at the Tenth International Congress of Finno-Ugrists held in Yoshkar-Ola, Mari El. 2008: A closer delineation of the project in 2008 at a dedicated international conference at Vienna University. 2008: Establishment of a steering committee. 2008–2009: Presentation of the project at different conferences (Bratislava, Khanty-Mansijsk, Moscow, Tallinn, Szeged). So we arrived at our 11th Congress, with hopefully quite a few colleagues present interested in this undertaking. I shall now attempt to summarize concisely the essence of the project and the tasks we are facing at hand.

First of all, I would like to emphasize that beyond the indirect practical usefulness of a Uralic typological database, the rationale behind this initiative is to close the existing gap between two relevant disciplines, i.e. linguistic typology per se and the study of Uralic languages. For the time being, it is exactly this gap that seems to be the main obstacle to such an undertaking. For the last two centuries, specialists in Uralic languages have admittedly made an enormous effort in describing them. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the focus has mostly been on proving the genetic connectedness between these languages and stating the extent of their relationship, especially during the first part of this period. In other words, description was rather conceived of as preparation of the soil for genetic analysis. As far as interest in typology is concerned, it does not seem to have had a very long past in uralistics and even so the attention has to a great extent been paid to morphological rather than syntactic typology. Although, undeniably, efforts to address typological characteristics of particular Uralic languages have been made in the last few decades, this kind of approach has not been applied often to the language family as a whole. Nor can interest in typological topics be considered as overwhelming in present day uralistics, albeit the situation is considerably better than it was earlier.

On the other hand, and perhaps not quite so independently from what has just been said about the status of typology within uralistics, general linguistic typology, which has exhibited notable evolution, if not revolution during the last fifty years, seems to have paid somewhat limited attention to the Uralic languages. It often turns out to be the case that one encounters precipitous statements about Uralic languages in articles and books written by non-uralist typologists. A specialist in one or another Uralic language can sometimes find quite surprising data in some typological surveys of the world's languages. This kind of "keeping a distance," so to speak, between uralistics and typology is certainly undesirable in any case but it is particularly unacceptable as a background when creating a typological database of Uralic languages. I consider our forthcoming work very important because, among other things, it can fill this void between these two disciplines. In the course of engaging the database, uralists can learn

to approach their languages from the perspective of typology while typologists can get a real picture about the typological shape of those languages.


Let us take a closer look at the project. On first approach, the typological database of Uralic languages – like any database – is nothing other than a virtual table or grid, i.e. an arrangement of data in rows and columns. The columns of the table represent the Uralic languages, such as *Hungarian*, *Mari*, *Nganasan* etc., whereas, the rows of the grid relate to typological parameters like *basic word order*, *possessive construction*, *conditional clause* etc. The number of columns should be no fewer than 18 as we are keeping count of no fewer than this number of Uralic languages. Of course, it is almost a matter of decision for us to divide certain languages into several dialects, thus arriving at a greater number of columns as a result. The number of rows, in turn, is unlimited. Providing that we have arrived at a full list of the typological parameters, it could amount to hundreds.

Our grid consists of cells, each of which is located at a given intersection of a row and a column, as would be the case in any table. Each concrete cell displays the value of the typological parameter or criterion accounted for by the relevant row in the relevant language or dialect, depicted by the given column. Supposing row 48 displays the type of numeral phrases in all those languages represented in the grid, and column 7 relates to the Erzya-Mordvin language, this then shows the relevant information about the typological characteristics of Erzya-Mordvin numeral phrases in the cell labeled as row 48, column 7. In the left and right cells next to it – i.e. its neighbouring cells in the same row – the numeral structures of Mari and Moksha-Mordvin, respectively, can be found as an example. The adjacent cells above and below this cell would display other typological features like possessive phrases or adpositional phrases, respectively, naturally still in Erzya-Mordvin, given that all information depicted in that column specifically relates to this language. If necessary, one could take into consideration not only any specific row or column on the grid but any subset of them as well; similarly, any partial string of some rows and/or columns can be separated. Take a specified row of interest, numeral phrases for example, but a case where you are only interested in Finnic languages. You can then arrange the table to display the relevant data in the columns of all respective Finnic languages but not those of other languages. Similarly, we can specify two columns any distance apart in the table. For instance, we can make a comparison between the typological features of the numeral phrases in Finnish and Erzya-Mordvin without taking into consideration any other languages. Specification refers, of course, to columns as well. Therefore, we can separate the description of all kind of attributive phrases in a language – which practically means picking out five to ten cells of a given column – without considering any other data from that column. Filtering of both kinds can be carried out simultaneously as well if we are going to consider more than one, but a limited number of typological parameters in more than one, but limited number of languages, say, all the attributive phrases in just the Permic languages.

Let us now look at how a typological parameter and its values would appear, per se, and relating to a given language or dialect. Obviously, the key point is the parameters themselves. Not so much a list of them, because the set of the parameters can be expanded at any time, even restructured if necessary. From a methodological point of view, the crucial question is the representation of the parameters. In this regard, I have elaborated a scheme or pattern based mostly on the experience of the *The World Atlas*

of *Language Structures* (WALS) and the typological database of Matthew Dryer. As far as the set of the parameters is concerned, I included all items that were considered appropriate by these two independent – though of course, partly overlapping – sources but not without making improvements or supplementing them on my own. Concerning the content of the parameters, I have mostly drawn on WALS when possible, whereas, in displaying the parameter values, I rather followed Dryer’s example in using symbols made out of letters, actually abbreviations. My aim was to lend transparency to these symbols for anybody who has already become acquainted with the set of values of a given parameter, which is to say that the symbols should depict the material essence of the concrete value by their very form. (In other words, the symbols should be formed in a way that makes it unnecessary for the user to trace back the meaning of the symbol on every occasion they encounter them).

Actual examples are more telling. Let us first take a rather simple word-order parameter, that of the placement of possessive pronouns vis-à-vis their head nouns (the possessee). This chart depicts actually nothing else than what can be displayed in a given cell in the column farthest to the left. As you can see, the following data are presented here: first, the name of the parameter; second, its possible values; third, a link to the commentaries; and finally, a hint to some corresponding parameters, if any, in other existing typological databases (in this case, the parameter 31b in Dryer’s database).

- **Parameter:** Placement of possessive pronouns
- **Values:** NoPoss(NB)
Poss(NB)N
NPoss(NB)
- **Commentary** ← 
- **Hints:** D 31b

With a click of the mouse on the hyperlink, we arrive at the relevant commentary. Commentary is one of the most important parts of the database. Its task is threefold: first, to explain and define the content, i.e. the real meaning of a given parameter; second, to provide methodological assistance to the linguist in identifying the relevant phenomenon in a given language; third, to set out the meaning of each possible value of the given parameter so that the researcher can associate what has been found in the examined language with one and only one of these pre-established values.

Possessive pronouns are representatives of a specific part of speech – they are non-bound (NB) grammatical words that mark person and/or number (occasionally also class or gender) of the possessor next to a noun or noun phrase depicting something possessed (the possessee). They can be placed before or after the possessed noun (noun phrase).

The existence of *possessive* pronoun as an independent part of speech can only be stated in a language if the grammatical words marking person and/or number of the possessor are not identical to (some form of) personal pronouns. For example, an ordinary genitive form of a personal pronoun representing the possessor cannot be considered a possessive pronoun. Similarly, an ordinary personal pronoun obligatorily extended with some other grammatical element in the possessor function (like the definite article in Hungarian *az én...*) is not a possessive pronoun either.

Values:

NoPoss(NB): there are no possessive pronouns as an independent part of speech in the given language.

Poss(NB)N: there are possessive pronouns in the language and they are placed before the possessed nouns (noun phrases).

NPoss(NB): there are possessive pronouns in the language and they are placed after the possessed nouns (noun phrases).

Without going into great detail, take another, somewhat more sophisticated example:

Agreement of attributives is an obligatory marking of class/gender, number and case (or at least one of these features) of the nouns syntactically governing, and semantically modified by, adnominal (ie. non-predicative) adjectives within the morphological shape of these adjectives themselves in the sentence. We can consider the agreement of adjectives depicting primary properties like size, shape, colour etc. as prototypical and we examine their agreement with the head nouns in non-nominative (oblique) case forms, if available.²¹

Values:

NoAgr: There is no marking of either class (gender) or number or case in the given language so no agreement between an adnominal adjective and noun can take place.

NoAdjAgr: No agreement in attributive phrases, though agreement in other types of phrases occurs.²²

AdjAggr: Agreement of adjectives takes place relating to all grammatical features of the head noun in attributive phrases.

AdjNumAgr: Though head nouns have several grammatical features, agreement of adnominal adjectives takes place only relating to number.²³

AdjCaseAgr: Though head nouns have several grammatical features, agreement of adnominal adjectives takes place only relating to case form.

AdjClassAgr: Though head nouns have several grammatical features, agreement of adnominal adjectives takes place only relating to class/gender.

AdjNumAdjCaseAgr: Though head nouns have more than two grammatical features, agreement of adnominal adjectives takes place only relating to number and case.²⁴

²¹If there are several values of the parameter that are characteristic of the given language, we can link together different values with the symbol „&” if they occur (in the paradigm) in equal measure or with the symbol „/” if the first value is dominant but the second one occurs as well. For example, **AdjAgr&AdjNumAgr** would mean a language in which agreement in all respects and relating only to number occurs with the same frequency; whereas, **AdjAgr/AdjNumAgr** is a language in which agreement in all respects is a general rule but there are fewer but a considerable number of cases (in the paradigm) where agreement in number only (and not in case, for example) takes place.

²²This means that agreement relating to class/gender, number and case (or at least one of them) takes place in other, non-adjectival attributive structures, e.g. with adnominal determiners.

²³Phenomena like the adjective obligatorily taking some special non-nominative (oblique) shape next to the modified noun, displaying a form which nonetheless only marks the number (and not, for example, the case form) of the head, should also be considered here.

²⁴Following this pattern, we could set further values as well, e.g. **AdjNumAdjClassAgr** representing a language in which the adnominal adjective would only agree with its head in number and class/gender but not in case form.

In a subsequent elaborated version of the database, commentaries could be expanded by a list of relevant literature on a given parameter and its study in the world's languages.

It is quite obvious that the concrete value of a parameter for a given language or dialect is one of those listed in the commentary. (Of course, one can suggest setting a new value for that parameter if none of the pre-established ones proves applicable to the language or dialect under study.) However, the possibility for us to arrive at a textual presentation by clicking on the value itself is more important. In this textual setout, the author of a cell's content should give clear examples of the relevant phenomenon in the given language or dialect, providing glosses, explanations, and possibly a list of relevant literature as well.

As you can see, we have a steadily expanding and enhancing online system in view. In other words, our database will continue to be shaped by continuous collective work. This, of course, does not mean that everyone submits whatever they want at their own discretion as, for example, I understand Wikipedia is managed. First of all, we need to establish a permanent Supervisory Board. I have in mind a staff consisting of linguists without whose approval neither new material may be entered into the database nor existing ones be modified. For the sake of simplicity, let us take an example with an empty cell, i.e. one not containing thus far any data for the specified parameter in the given language. The Supervisory Board would select a linguist they consider to be the best in relation to the topic in question and offer that individual the task of collecting material and writing it up into final form. As an alternative, the Board can invite linguists in general to submit their material (of course, following the rules and specifications given in advance as to general requirements concerning content and form). The submitted material will undergo a peer-review process in a way similar to what is customary for articles submitted to a journal. Should the material prove acceptable, the Board gives approval for insertion into the table (in the respective cell). The content of the relevant cell can be modified at any time, either at the Board's discretion or on the basis of an initiative coming from any user. Any modification offered in either way would follow the same method of preliminary evaluation. *Mutatis mutandis*, the process is similar when an invited or voluntary author offers to complete more than one cell, e.g. supplying material concerning some concrete parameter for several languages or working out several parameters for the same language.

In this way, the database should keep being developed on a continuous basis. It is possible, for instance, that somebody offers a new parameter (typological feature) to be added to the grid. In this case, a new row would appear with empty cells at the outset. It is somewhat less probable for a new column to be entered, i.e. a new dialect, but even that would not present a problem, while, of course a range of empty cells would emerge as well, waiting to be filled in with the relevant data. The constantly developing table is simultaneously operable at any time on the basis of its existing content. It keeps being both developed and used by generations of linguists.

Let me note in passing that we should arrive at a broad consensus about the original creation or a considerable modification of a cell's content in that it should be considered as a normal piece of publication. With a click of the mouse, the author or contributor should be identifiable, as is the case with articles and their authors in some printed encyclopaedias. Given such an envisioned scenario, perhaps authors and possibly reviewers or even members of the Supervisory Board would receive some

kind of financial remuneration for their contribution. Admittedly, this point is far from being clear for the time being.

At the 2008 Vienna conference, several good ideas were put forward concerning possible ways for our database project to be set in motion. One of the most viable ones, to my mind, was the suggestion that we should undertake minor pilot projects first. I am happy to say that the first steps for such a pilot project were implemented recently, namely, creating a typological database confined to the three Ugric languages, Vogul, Ostyak and Hungarian. Plans are for researchers at Yugra University in Khanti-Mansiysk and ELTE University, Budapest to carry out this project under the aegis of the two universities' general cooperation contract. Thus far, the following has been achieved in this respect: I have elaborated about two hundred typological parameters, a reasonable set for the launch of a pilot project, although of course, further expansion remains necessary. Translation of these parameters into Russian is a task at hand to be taken up as well. In addition, personal consultation between myself and the colleagues who are likely to be involved in Khanty-Mansiysk has been taken up and we have decided which dialects of the Ostyak language offer themselves to be tackled first, beyond Vogul, of course. There is a pending application for a National Scientific Research Foundation grant in Hungary as well that could provide us a financial basis for the project in several respects. Whether we are awarded it or not, I count on my doctoral students as well as some of my fellow colleagues in our university to join in this pilot project.

Of course, this pilot project is expected to be just the first sip. It would be of great importance if such work could be undertaken with respect to other branches of the Uralic language family as well. They would already be at an advantage in that based on the work on the Ugric languages, the basic database system, as well as a core set of parameters have been set and presented both in English and Russian. One could therefore apply all of one's energy into linguistic analysis with respect to the other subgroups of the Uralic family – completing the cells and the research underlying it. Eventually, the unified structure and machinery of our having built the database will make it possible for us to unite the originally separate pre- or pilot projects into a large, comprehensive system that will actually deserve the name of the typological database of the Uralic languages.

As a last point in my introductory talk and a first one for the discussion, let me draw your attention to other descriptions of the Uralic Typology Database Project you might wish to study for further details on the topic: Uralic Typology Database Project website: <http://www.univie.ac.at/urtypol/index.html>. In Russian: see Uralic Typology Pages: <http://uralictypology.pbworks.com/> as well as my article «Проект типологической базы данных уральских языков» in *Финно-угорский мир*, 2009/4, 42–46., 2010.

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ON THE COMPOSITIONAL NATURE OF ASPECT IN THE URALIC LANGUAGES OF THE VOLGA-KAMA REGION

The aim of this paper is to discuss the aspectual markers of the Finno-Ugric languages of the Volga-Kama language area. Samples are taken from studies, grammar books as well as Udmurtian contemporary short stories and an Udmurtian novel (Matvejev 2005): Udmurtian will often serve as a starting point in this study. First of all, I have to discuss some central issues relating to the notions of aspect and Aktionsart, as there are different opinions of scholars working on this field. These are often caused by using different terminology, because there is no generally accepted system and because there are conflicting opinions about the connection between e.g. aspect and Aktionsart. Even so we can say that studies (e.g. Comrie 1976, Smith 1991, Egg 1994, Kiefer 1996, 2006) usually list perfective/imperfective opposition as the most important one, which can be described by the properties of completeness and divisibility. The perfective denotes a complete situation as a „single whole”, „without regard to internal temporal constituency” (Comrie 1976: 12), whereas the imperfective focuses on a part of the situation, regardless of its endpoints (cf. Smith 1991: 73). In connection with this, the perfective events have indivisible temporal structures, while the imperfectives have divisible ones.

The possible temporal schemas of imperfective events could be represented the following ways:

a) _____ b) —••••—

The possible temporal schemas of perfective events:

a) _____• b) •_____

c) •

Aspect is treated here not as a lexical but a grammatical category: the internal temporal structure of a sentence is determined not only by the verb, but by other parts of the sentence (by compositional markers), too. So we can say that aspect is a syntactical category: we can speak about the aspect of verbs just in terms of the added aspectual value of the sentences (cp. Kiefer 2006).

I do not deal with the notion of Aktionsart as a compositional category but as „*an additional characteristic of a morphologically complex verb, expressed by prefixes or suffixes*” (Kiefer–Ladányi 2000: 476), in case of productive derivation. So Aktionsart is a lexical category, while aspect is a syntactical (grammatical) one. The definition above is well applicable for Hungarian, where Aktionsarten can be expressed morphologically. According to e.g. Kiefer (2006), I suppose that there is a connection between the notions of Aktionsart and aspect: comparing the temporal structure of the verbs with their prefixed or derived varieties expressing Aktionsart, if the internal temporal structure changes, then this Aktionsart involves aspectual differences as well. In Hungarian e.g., aspectual meaning is usually expressed via Aktionsart (mostly by prefixes) and clear aspect derivation occurs only in rare cases.

If we assume that the aspectual system of languages in question can be effected by some of the Aktionsarten, than we can say that if a language is capable of expressing more types of Aktionsarten, the compositional means play less of a role in marking aspect. Finally, the following questions may occur to us while examining the aspectual markers in these languages: What means are utilized in the languages of the Volga-Kama area to express Aktionsart? Are there structures or prefixes which produce exceptionally aspectual meaning? Do the tenses have aspectual meanings? In response to these questions, we will know more about perfective/imperfective aspect and the degree of compositionality of these languages: the more markers they have expressing Aktionsart or clearly aspectual meaning, the less compositional markers they need to use.

The languages I examined (first of all Udmurtian, and to a lesser extent Komi-Zyrian, Mari and Erzya Mordvinian) have no prefixes, but have derivative suffixes, paired verbs and tenses marking aspectuality in non-compositional way.

Derivative suffixes

In the Udmurtian language there are numerous derivative suffixes expressing Aktionsart meaning: frequentative Aktionsart is marked by the suffix *-lij*, *-l'la*, e.g. *učkilinj* 'to look (more than once)', deminutive is expressed by *-(e)mjašk-*: e.g. *djšetskemjaškij* 'to pretend to study', both of which are related to the imperfective aspect, while resultative (expressing by *-jšt-*, e.g. *kopjštinj* 'to dig out'), inchoative (by suffix *-t-*: *šerekijnj* 'to birst out laughing'), semelfactive (marked by *-lt-*: e.g. *šonaltijnj* 'to wave (once)') Aktionsarten are related to the perfective aspect. In this paper, it is not possible to discuss the whole derivation system of the related languages in connection with aspectuality, but I will outline the key elements below.²⁵

Aktionsarten	Udmurtian	Komi-Zyrian	Mari	Mordvinian M. E.
frequentative/iterative (related to IMP)	+ (<i>-lij</i> , <i>-l'la</i>)	+ (<i>-jvl(j)-</i> , <i>lijvl(j)-</i> , <i>-lal-/lav-</i>)	+ (<i>-kal-</i> , <i>-al-</i> , <i>-ešt-</i>)	+ (<i>-kšňə-</i> , <i>-le-</i>)
deminutive (IMP)	+ (<i>-(e)mjaik-</i>)	+ (<i>-jšt-</i>)	+ (<i>-l-</i>)	
resultative (PRF)	+ (<i>-jšt-</i>)	+ (<i>-šij</i>)		+ (M. <i>-də/-də-</i> E. <i>-do/-d'e-</i>)
total (resultative) PRF)			+ (<i>-aŋ-</i>)	
saturative (resultative) (PRF)		+ (<i>-šij-</i>)		
Delimitative (PRF)		+ (<i>-l(j)-</i> , <i>-jl-ijv</i> , <i>-al-/av-</i>)	+ (<i>-alt-</i>)	
semelfactive (PRF)	+ (<i>-lt-</i>)		+ (<i>-l-</i>)	
inchoative (PRF)	+ (<i>-t-</i>)	+ (<i>-žij-</i> , <i>-žij-</i> , <i>-šij-</i> , <i>-m-</i> , <i>-kt-</i>)		+ (M. <i>-žəvə-</i> , E. <i>-ževe-</i> , <i>-gad-</i> , <i>-kad-</i> , <i>-akad-</i> , <i>-akad'-</i> , <i>-kad'-</i>)

²⁵This is a possible list of derivative suffixes expressing Aktionsart value, with no regards to frequency and productivity. The Udmurtian frequentative suffix seems to be a productive and frequently used one, while e.g. the suffix *-t-* seems to be unproductive, but it expresses momentariness and inchoative meaning, so we can assume that it has an aspectual role, too.

Paired verbs in the languages of the Volga-Kama area

Participle constructions with modifiers are widely used in the Volga-Kama area, in Turkish and in Finno-Ugric languages: the Mari has about 36 modifiers, the Udmurtian 20–30 modifiers and Chuvash about 20. There are sporadic examples from Mordvinian dialects (Chaidze 1967: 247), but these are not used in the literary languages. The usage of paired verbs is different in Udmurtian dialects and literary language, too: the Southern dialects have more than 25 modifiers, but less are used in literary language and even less in Northern dialects. In Mari, they are used widespread in dialects as well in literary languages. They have the same structure in the whole area, consisting of an adverbial participle (with suffixes Mari *-en / ən*, Udm. *-sa*) that gives the lexical meaning, and a finite verb that has more or less lost its original meaning and is only a modifier (auxiliary) expressing aspect and/or Aktionsart.

The aspectual role of modifiers

There are several modifiers in the Volga-Kama area with the same meaning and function: e.g. verbs meaning 'to live' express imperfectivity (Udm. *ulinj* ~ Mar. *ilas*, e.g. Udm. *tiškaškisa ulinj* 'quarrel:CONV to live' ~ Mar. *vursen ilas* 'same'), while verbs meaning 'to finish' express perfectivity (Udm. *bjdtjn* ~ Mar. *pâtaraš* 'same': Udm. *šijsa bjdtjn* 'to finish eating' ~ Mar. *kočkân pâtaraš* 'same'). In the following I would like to discuss how the modifiers with the participle can contribute to the aspectual meaning of the sentences mainly in case of Udmurtian. I will rely on material from V. K. Kelmakov (1975), M. P. Chaidze (1967) and M. K. Karakulova – B. I. Karakulov (2001) in terms of aspect and Aktionsart introduced above, completing it with the material I have collected from the Udmurtian novel:

I. Modifiers expressing imperfective meaning

1. Only aspectual meaning

ulinj 'to live': *višijsa ulinj* 'to be ill' ('to live being ill'); *kjlljn* 'to lie': *ižjsa kjlljn* 'to sleep' ('to lie sleeping'); *mjnjn* 'to go': *bižjsa mjnjn* 'to run' ('to go running'); *vetljn* 'to walk': *arasa vetljn* 'to harvest' ('to walk harvesting'); *pukinj* 'to sit': *užasa pukinj* 'to work (sitting)'; *vožjn* 'to hold': *utaltjsa vožjn* 'to look after' ('to hold looking after'); *sjljn* 'to stand'; *ortčjn* 'to pass through, to go by'; *bižjn* 'to run'

The Mari modifiers in this function are typically the following ones: *ilas* 'to live'; *kijaš* 'to lie'; *kajaš* 'to go'; *koštaš* 'to walk'; *šinčaš* 'to sit'; *šoyaš* 'to stand': these are all modifiers in Udmurtian, too.

2. Imperfective aspect and Aktionsart (frequentative)

vožjn 'to hold, to keep': *žugjsa vožjn* 'to keep beating'

II. Modifiers expressing perfective aspect

1. Aktionsart meaning + perfective meaning

a) resultative: *vuttjn* 'to carry, to get somewhere': *leštjsa vuttjn* 'make: PRF' (tkp. 'to get making'); *bjdtjn* 'to finish': *šijsa bjdtjn* 'to eat: PRF' ('to finish eating') ~ Mar. *kočkân pâtaraš* 'same'; *bjdestjn* 'to finish': *nulljsa bjdestjn* 'to carry: PRF' ('to finish carrying'); *kuštjn* 'to throw': *vijsa kuštjn* 'to kill' ('to throw killing'); *baštjn* 'to take': *lidžjsa baštjn* 'to read: PRF' ('to take reading'); *kel'tjn* 'to leave'; *jšjn* 'to disappear'

b) terminative: *šotjn* 'to give': *kjřžasa šotjn* 'to sing: PRF' ('to give singing') ~ Mar. *muralten puas* 'same'

c) inchoative: *ležjn* 'to let': *kjřžasa ležjn* 'to start singing' ('to let singing') ~ Mar. *muralten koltaš* 'same'

d) delimitative-deminutive: *baštjn* 'to

take, to buy': *ižjsa baštjnj* 'to sleep' ('to take sleeping (a little))' e) intensive: *bjrnjnj* 'to die, to run out, to end': *šjškjsa bjrnjnj* 'to eat oneself to death' ('to die eating')

2. Modifiers which have meaning of direction + perfective function

koškjnj 'go away': *lobžjsa koškjnj* 'to fly away' ('to go away flying') ~ Mar. *čonešten tolaš* 'same'; *ljktjnj* 'to come': *ujasa ljktjnj* 'to swim here' ('to come here swimming'); *vujnj* 'to arrive': *mjnjsa vujnj* 'to arrive' ('to arrive going'); *ponjnj* 'to put': *ošjsa ponjnj* 'to hang up' ('to put hanging up'); *potjnj* 'to go out': *bjžjsa potjnj* 'to run out' ('to go out running') ~ Mar. *kuržan lekaš* 'same'; *pottjnj* 'to take out'; *pjrnjnj* 'to enter'; *pjrtjnj* 'to take in'; *vaškjnj* 'to descend'; *pegžjnj* 'to flee'; *sultjnj* 'to stand up'

The aspectual meaning of perfective modifiers – as in case of the Hungarian preverbs – is usually expressed via Aktionsart meaning. The functions of Hungarian preverbs can be described in the following way: 1. marking perfectivity 2. Aktionsart meaning + perfectivity 3. direction + perfectivity (Kiefer 2006: 48), and in case of the Udmurtian perfective auxiliaries (and it may be presumed in Mari, too), the same functions can be found.

Semantical relation between the adverbial participle and the finite verb

In case of the paired verbs constructions, the following situations can be found:

1) Both of the elements have lexical meaning

Udm. *veraškjsa sjljnj* 'to do conversation (standing)' ~ Mar. *kutaren šogaš* 'same'

2) The modifier has lost its own lexical meaning – partially or totally:

- The original meaning become obscure partially: *vijsa keltjnj* 'to kill' ('to leave killing'), *verasa šotjnj* 'to tell' ('to give telling')

- The modifier has lost its original meaning significantly: *žugiškjsa kjlljnj* 'to fight' ('to lie fighting'), *peštjsa kjlljnj* 'to cook' ('to lie cooking')

We can say that the abstractiveness of the modifiers depends on the role of their original meanings in the composite meaning of the constructions. We have to make it clear that the degree of abstractiveness of a modifier is not an inherent feature of the modifier in question: a modifier can lose its own original lexical meaning to different extent in different structures (with different adverbial participles): e.g. the auxiliary *kjlljnj* 'to lie' has both lexical and aspectual meaning in this example: *ižjsa kjlljnj* 'to sleep' ('to lie sleeping'), while the same modifier in the paired verbs *žugiškjsa kjlljnj* 'to fight' ('to lie fighting') and *peštjsa kjlljnj* 'to cook' ('to lie cooking') has a solely aspectual (imperfective) meaning.

The development from a verb with lexical meaning to an auxiliary can be shown in comparison with the development of Hungarian prefixes in terms of grammaticalization theory. The grammaticalization chain of the Hungarian preverbs (according to Kiefer 1996: 266–7) is as follows: 1. independent adverb > 2. part of a syntagma > 3. part of a compound > 4. prefix; while that of the modifiers is: 1. independent verb > 2. part of a syntagma

As we can see, the modifiers have not reached the stage of Hungarian preverbs, although preverbs themselves cannot be classified as genuine prefixes, as they can be separated from the verbs, and as some extra elements can occur between the separated preverbs and the verbs. In case of Udmurtian and Mari paired verbs, some clitical elements can intervene between the participle and the auxiliary verb, too.

The summary of the semantical changes in case of the Hungarian preverbs (Kiefer 2006: 185): 1. adverbial meaning > 2. adverbial and aspectual meaning > 3. aspectual and Aktionsart meaning > 4. aspectual meaning

The semantical development of modifiers expressing movement is not surprising: the development of constructions containing movement verbs into aspectual markers is a typical case of grammaticalization. The semantical changes of the modifier meaning movement can be described as follows: 1. at first, both the adverbial participle and the modifier have lexical meaning > 2. the movement meaning of the finite verb gets stronger against the other element of the lexical meaning: aspectual meaning, Aktionsart meaning > 3. the finite verb totally loses its original lexical meaning.

To reach the highest degree of grammaticalization in case of the modifiers without 'movement' meaning seems more difficult than in case of movement verbs, because their original meanings can hardly become obscure, e.g. *gožtjsa kel'tjnj* 'to write down' ('to leave writing', 'to write down and leave it there').

The Hungarian preverbs were at first attached to movement verbs, then to verbs without 'movement' meaning, too. In the same manner we can say that the more kinds of verbs the modifier can be added to, the more grammatical its meaning is.

The aspectual role of tenses

In discussing the aspectual role of tenses it is important that we differentiate between temporality and aspectuality, but never separate them strictly, as tenses often have both temporal and aspectual properties.²⁶ E.g. in Udmurtian one of the functions of the past tense I. Plusquamperfectum is to describe a situation which is imperfective:

(1) Udm. (Leli 2009: 26)

Kemalaš	pidde	ęd loğa!	Mon voımaj	val!
For a long time	foot:ACC.2SG NEG.	PST.2SG tread I	wait:PST.1SG COP:PST1	

'You haven't set foot in here for a long time! I've been waiting for you!'

Another compound tense in Udmurtian as well as an E. Mordvinian simple past tense express frequentative (or iterative) Aktionsart²⁷ which is related to imperfectivity. It is quite possible to label them as markers of the habitual aspect: the habitual situation (whether or not they are also iterative) describes a situation characteristic of a whole period:

(2) Udm. (Timerhanova 2006: 173)

Pešajjos	ažlo	pidjn	vetlozi	vjlem.
grandfather:PL	before	leg:INS	walk:FUT.3PL	COP:PST2

'Grandfathers used to walk before.'

(3) E. Mord. (Mészáros 1998: 64)

Son	sval	jakiľ	tov.
he/she	always	go:INDF.PST2.3SG	there

'She used to go there all the time.'

Apart from the meanings mentioned above, the Udmurtian, Komi-Zyrian, E. Mordvin and Mari have a special tense to indicate the progressive aspect: a progressive

²⁶The term „tense” in this sense should not be confused with temporal reference.

²⁷The Aktionsart categories like iterative and frequentative shall be very carefully distinguished, thus in this paper I do not deal with the distinction between these categories.

event is a situation „that frames another situation” (Comrie 1976: 30). The time reference – the situation that the progressive event frames – can usually be given with a subordinate clause, as usually in Hungarian:²⁸

(4) Udm. (Matvejev 2005: 116)

(...) ton, ot'ij pirjkum, (...) šobret uljn kjl'iškod ní val
 (...)you there enter:PTCP.Px1SG blanket under lie:PRS.2SG already COP:PST1.
 ‘ (...) you, when I entered, (...) were lying under the blanket’

(5) Komi-Zyrian (Rédei 1978: 79)

Muņ vėli tuj kuža, kor me vičdli
 go:PRS.3SG COP:PST1 road along when:CONJ I look:PST1.1SG
 ešinėd.

window:PROS

‘He was walking on the road when I looked out of the window.’

(6) E. Mordvinian (Mészáros 1998: 65)

Žardo mon soviń, son ašt'il di
 when I enter:INDF.PST1.1SG she/he stand:INDET.PST2.3SG and
 lovnił.

read:INDET.PST2.3SG

‘When I entered, he was standing and reading’

(7) Mari

Kunam möngö tolam Őle, tuđəm užŏm.
 when home come:PRS.1SG COP:PST1 he/she:ACC lát:PST1.1SG

‘When I was coming home, I saw him/her.’

The tenses mentioned above are able to indicate meanings that are related to the imperfective aspect. However, there are tenses in these languages expressing perfectivity, too. The so-called ‘unwitnessed past’ can express the result of the event beyond evidentiality, and resultativity is related to the perfective aspect. The Udmurtian II. praeteritum, as well as a Komi-Zyrian past tense are marked by different forms of *-(e)m-* participle: žinj uloned *ortčemjn* (Matvejev 2005: 63) ‘half of your life has passed’.²⁹

On the compositionality of the aspect (summary)

In the previous sections we have examined the most important markers expressing aspectual value in the Finno-Ugric languages in the Volga-Kama area. All things considered, we can say that if the verb is not modified by the productive Aktionsart derivative, and there is no paired verb structure and no aspectual tense or participle in the sentence, then other elements of the sentence take part in the formation of the aspectual meaning. The languages we are talking about have a lot of derivative

²⁸The time reference can be given in separate sentences, too. One example I have found, in Udmurtian: *Vaša pečatlan mašinka ažaz puke val. Nína Il'inična [...] redakcije pjdze taš! puktiz.* (Leli 2009: 37) ‘Vasha was sitting in front of the typewriter. Nina Ilinichna – tshh! – entered the building of the publishing company.’

²⁹In Udmurtian, the inessive form of the past participle can express perfectivity, too, even in future tense: eg. *kniiga lidžemjn luoz* ‘the book will be read’ (Kelmakov–Hännikäinen 2008: 237).

suffixes, paired verbs and tenses expressing Aktionsart and aspectuality as well, so we would assume that they do not have to use plenty of compositional markers. It would be very important to discuss the frequency of these markers in comparison to each other and also to examine what kind of markers are used instead of paired verbs in those Udmurtian dialects where the paired verbs are less frequently used. In this latter case, the aspectual role of adverbs might be more significant than in other dialects. E.g. the adverbs *bjdesak* ‘entirely’ and *pumožaz* ‘to the end’ serve as perfectivators: the construction *bjdesak/ pumožaz leštjnj* ‘to do, make: PRF (to do entirely / to the end)’ is equivalent with a paired verb construction: *leštjsa bjdtjnj* ‘same (to finish doing)’

There are opinions that the unmarked object is related to imperfectivity and the marked one with perfectivity: *Pijaš tolon knīga ljdžiz.* ‘The boy was reading a book (Ø) yesterday.’ / *Pijaš tolon knigajez ljdžiz.* ‘The boy finished reading the book (ACC.) yesterday.’ (Maksimov–Mojsio 2003: 288–9). It is assumed that in case of paired verbs the object does not have to be marked either in imperfective or in perfective aspect: *Pijaš tolon knīga ljdžjsa uliz / ljdžjsa bjdtiz.* (l.c.) ‘The boy was reading / finished reading this book (Ø) yesterday.’ In the Udmurtian novel I have examined (Matvejev 2005) there is no examples for this phenomenon mentioned above: all objects that occur in the sentences with paired verbs are marked (whether the paired verbs have imperfective or perfective modifiers), so it needs further discussion, which will be the topic of a future paper on the subject.

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NOMINALITY IN THE URALIC LANGUAGES

This study examines nominal predicate in the Uralic languages. To this subject belongs the interpretation of the phenomenon in linguistics, questions connected with the copula, as well as the scope and the types of realization of the nominal predicate in the Uralic languages.

1. The conception of nominal predicate in linguistics

For my investigations, I tried to get a review of Hungarian grammars and studies dealing with the phenomenon of nominal predicate, as extensive as possible. For this end I took into consideration traditional descriptive grammars (Verseghy Ferenc 1821; *A mai magyar nyelv* 1988; *A mai magyar nyelv rendszere II* 1970; *A magyar nyelv könyve* 1999; *Magyar grammatika* 2000), grammars that followed the describing method of generative linguistics (*Strukturális magyar nyelvtan* 1995; *Új magyar nyelvtan* 2003, Szépe György 1967, Varga László 1981), and works of language history (Kiefer – *Magyar nyelv* 2006; Kiss – *Magyar nyelvtörténet* 2005).

So, on the one hand the studies on nominal predicate can be distinguished by the method of linguistic description (I. traditional descriptive method; II. structural-generative language-theory; III. language history); on the other hand three types of the discussion’s starting point (or conclusion) can be established:

- a) counts three kinds of predicate: verbal, nominal and verbo-nominal
- b) distinguishes two kinds of predicate: verbal and nominal; the predicative structure with a copula is the subtype of the nominal one
- c) counts two kinds of predicate, but the second type beside the verbal is verbo-nominal, and the predicate without a copula is its special case in Hungarian.

Distinguish ed types of predicate	(I) Traditional descriptive grammars					(II) Generative description				(III) Language-history	
	Verseghy: Magyar grammatika...	A mai magyar nyelv rendszere	A mai magyar nyelv	A magyar nyelv könyve	Magyar grammatika	Strukturalista magyar nyelvtan	Uj magyar nyelvtan	Szépe: Megjegyzések...	Varga: A magyar néviszói állítmány	Kiefer: Magyar nyelv	Kiss: Magyar nyelvtörténet
a)				+							+
b)		+	+						+	+	
c)	+		+		+	+	+	+			

All three kinds of these opinions are found among traditional descriptive grammars: according to *Magyar grammatika...*, the work of Verseghy from 1816, and the collage

textbook with the same title from 2000, under special circumstances the copula is “concealed” (Verseghy 1821: 459) or “cancelled” (*Magyar grammatika*: 396); but during the two centuries between these grammars the phenomenon has been described from other points of view, too. The works based on the generative language-theory inevitably take a copula, which is in evidence in the underlying structure but under given circumstances cancelled on the surface, into account. On the other hand, in the grammars with a diachronic point of view the language-historical antecedence of pure nominal predicate is obvious. Turning into verbo-nominal predicate was a process that was started by the influence of the stabilization of conjugation paradigm, and was shaping side by side with it for a long time: “while the marking of mode and tense as well as conjugation became the typical, moreover, obligatory mark of verbs, also nominal predicate has started to follow the verbs’ lead” (Kiss 2005: 236).

The proportion of the types a): b) : c) of opinions about predicate in the 11 works mentioned above is 2: 4: 6, so for the most part is referred to two types of predicate; mostly thinking that bare nominal predicate is the subtype of verbo-nominal. To get the sentences with and without copula apart seems to be unnecessary indeed; the already mentioned modal parallelism with personal suffixes is a convincing argument for that:

lát- ok	Szép vagyok
lát- sz	Szép vagy
lát \emptyset	(Ő) szép \emptyset
lát- unk	Szépek vagyunk
lát- tok	Szépek vagytok
lát- nak	(Ők) szép- ek

As there are no separate paradigms for verbs with and without personal suffix, so there is no reason to confer separately about nominal and verbo-nominal predicate, in consideration of the obvious functional sameness. The question is then: is it right to keep up the parallelism with personal suffixes even when marking a zero element, in other words: should we assume a copula that is “invisible on the surface”, “cancelled” or “concealed”, but is *necessarily* in evidence? Language history, as it was mentioned above, reckons the form without a copula as more original, so from this aspect the copula cannot be *cancelled*, in the particular cases of nominal predicate it *has not even appeared* – so it is more the occurrence of appearance that is not happened, rather than the copula’s vanishing.

When talking about a zero element, we should not forget that a zero morpheme inserted into the paradigm does not necessarily mark an element that is implicitly *in present*, but a *category*, within which there is a possibility for varying from the basic form. In the cases of conjugation suffixes, mode and tense markers: the possibility of marking these categories creates the proper grammatical form class of the verb; without the idea of number, person, mode and tense verb would not be what it is. But in the case of nouns can the copula be reckoned as an obligatory category of them? Can

the copula be reckoned as a *grammatical category* at all? The problem of course is not the contrasting of markedness and unmarkedness within a paradigm, the question is just if it is truly the finite verb in zero grade.

2. Questions about the copula

With a more widespread look at languages, we find that nominal sentence without a copula does not exist in every language; not to say, in the majority of languages there is no such structure. Demonstrating it with some European languages:

	English	German	Italian	Hungarian	Finnish	Polish
Sg1	I am good	Ich bin gut	(Io) sono buono/-a	Jó vagyok	Olen hyv ä	Ja jestem dobry/-a
Sg2	You are good	Du bist gut	(Tu) sei buono/-a	Jó vagy	Olet hyv ä	Ty jestes dobry/- a
Sg3	He/She/is is good	Er/Sie/es ist gut	Lui/Lei è buono/-a	Ő jó	Hän on hyv ä	On/ona/ono jest dobry/-a/-e
Pl1	We are good	Wir sind gut	(Noi) siamo buoni/-e	Jók vagyunk	Olemme hyvi ä	My jestesmy dobrozy/-ie
Pl2	You are good	Ihr seid gut	(Voi) siete buoni/-e	Jók vagytok	Olette hyvi ä	Wy jestescie dobrozy/-ie
Pl3	They are good	Sie sind gut	Loro sono buoni/-e	Ők jók	He ovát hyvi ä	Oni/one są dobrozy/-ie

This fact could lead to the conclusion that the copula is a universally necessary element of this kind of predicate, and so we might assume its implicit presence in Hungarian or similar nominal predicate. But to these appertains also the fact that where real nominal sentence exists, for the most part it functions much more widely than in Hungarian. In Russian, nominal predicate covers the whole paradigm in present tense and indicative mode, and the same way in e.g. the Kazan Tatar language: *γumer kiška* 'life (is) short', *sın jalkau* 'you (are) slothful' (Szentkatolnai 1877: 97). But not only in the point of persons has nominal predicate a wider use: there is no copula beside nouns in locative case: *sin kajda* 'where (are) you?' *ul Kazanda* 'he (is) in Kazan' (98).

In Udmurt and Komi, relative languages of Hungarian, in present tense and indicative mode stands every noun, verbal and adverb without a copula in the whole paradigm, with the agreement of the predicate and the subject in number. For example: Udm. *Ton udmurt-a?* 'are you Udmurt?'; *mon tatijn šer murt* 'I am a stranger here' (Csúcs 1990: 62). Komi *sije tani* 'he (is) here' (Rédei 1978: 94). In past tense or in other modes the copula appears in these languages too, since the difference from the basic form must be marked. But would it be reasonable to suppose an invisible copula in the whole paradigm, when in this case the absence does not function as the opposite of any mark on the same level?

An other relevant point is the examination of the copula beyond the borders of nominal predicate. After all, a copula functioning as an auxiliary verb does not appear only beside nouns in predicative role, but, as a grammatical-morphological auxiliary word, fills a part beside verbs too. In the sentence *szerettem volna* 'I would have liked

to', the role of the copula *volna* is marking conditional mode just the same way as in a nominal structure: *a lány szép volna* 'the girl would be beautiful'; *a lány szép lett volna* 'the girl would have been beautiful'. It is obvious too, that there is no need to suppose an implicit copula in the case of *szerettem* 'I liked', because only the mark of mode is in zero degree, not the whole auxiliary verb. Each language varies in the point, which grammatical marks require the appearance of an auxiliary verb; in English for instance – unlike in Hungarian – conditional mode is expressed by auxiliary verb also in present tense, for example: *I would like to sleep*. The real function of the copula as an auxiliary verb is to represent grammatical marks that cannot appear in the same word form.

		<i>Hungarian</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>English</i>
<i>Present tense</i>	<i>Indicative</i>	Megy	Er geht	He goes
	<i>Conditional</i>	Menne	Er ginge Er würde gehen	He would go
<i>Past tense</i>	<i>Indicative</i>	Ment	Er ging	He went
	<i>Conditional</i>	Ment volna	Er wäre gegangen	He would have gone

For nominal sentences assumes that point of view more than this, which marks a zero copula by bare nominal predicate: according to this point of view predicative role and having a subject requires a finite verb and this would be the part of the copula. In Hungarian, the parallelism with the conjugation suffixes seems to confirm this, but in the languages mentioned above, where in the whole paradigm of ind. praes. stands the noun without a copula, there is no such analogy: on verbs personal suffixes are found in every number and person, similarly to Hungarian – nominal predicate behaves simply *differently* than verbal; and the lack of a verbum finitum is no object for predicative role or the appearance of the subject.

3. Nominal predicate in the Uralic languages

Now let us set aside our grammatical notions based on Indo-European foundations for a while, and have a look at the Finno-Ugrian language family: how widely is pure nominal predicate used, where and why does the copula appear?

The cause of the diversity is the different scope and structure of nominality in the four languages. The structure of the predicate in Finnish (and in the other Baltic-Finnic languages) is similar to the Hungarian verbo-nominal predicate, but, like in Indo-European languages, the copula is an obligatory element in every number and person, unlike in Hungarian. This difference from the other members of the language family originate in language-historical (and in the long run: historical) causes: in the back of this effect is a strong German influence (Bereczki 2000: 39), and the process by all odds started with the borrowing of the system of verb tenses: compound tenses had to be composed of the copula + the past participle form of the verb, for example: *olen väsynyt* 'I am tired'. The participle of such perfect sentences naturally becomes an adjective (cf. Hungarian *fáradt*; English *tired* etc.), the structure however doesn't lose the copula, and so, after a while, the speakers' linguistic feeling finds it natural beside

adjectives of non-verbal origin – this way arises the structure *olet kaunis* ‘you are beautiful’ modelled on the structure of *olet väsynyt* ‘you are tired’. In the most of the Lappish dialects, similarly to the Baltic-Finnic languages, only verbo-nominal predicate exists, composed with the copula, e.g. *mānak læk jālok* ‘children are thirsty’. However, tundra and southern Lappish has preserved in third person the predicative structure with a bare noun, which may refer to the fact that this structure was common in Baltic-Finnic at the time of the secession of Lappish (Bereczki 2000: 39; Lakó 1986: 122).

	<i>Finnish</i>	<i>Hungarian</i>	<i>Udmurt</i>	<i>Mordvinic</i>
Praesens				
Sg1	Olen ihminen	Ember vagyok	Mon ad’ami	Lomañan
Sg3	Hän on ihminen	Ő ember	So ad’ami	Son lomañ
Pl1	Olemme ihmisiä	Emberek vagyunk	Mi ad’amios	Lomañt’ano
Pl3	He ovat ihmisiä	Ők emberek	Soos ad’amios	Sin lomañt’
Praeteritum				
Sg1	Olin ihminen	Ember voltam	Mon ad’ami val	Lomañiñin
Sg3	Hän oli ihminen	Ember volt	So ad’ami val	Son lomañil’
Pl1	Olimme ihmisiä	Emberek voltunk	Mi ad’ami val	Lomañt’iñinek
Pl3	He olivat ihmisiä	Emberek voltak	Soos ad’ami val	Lomañt’iñit’

Similarly to Hungarian, in Ob-Ugric languages and Mari pure nominal predicate exists with a limited use in present tense, indicative too – the smallest scope of it is in Hungarian, where this structure is found only in present tense, indicative mode, third person (*Ő szép; ők szépek*) and predicates can be chiefly nouns without suffixes. In Khanty, on the other hand, the use of nominal predicate is quite widespread, but the degree and the way of it vary by dialects. In western dialects nominal predicate without a copula or any auxiliaries can be used in 1. and 2. person too, agreed with the subject in number, e.g.: Ko. *mä jëm* ‘I (am) well’; Kaz. *nin müj jorjən?* ‘(are) you the strongest ones’? In VVj and Sal dialects in 3. person a so-called *predicative particle*: *(ə)ki/(ə)ki* joins the noun, followed by the marks of number, serving the end to distinguish the noun in a predicative role (e.g. V. *kat ěllaki* ‘the house [is] big). The use of this particle is not obligatory. In eastern dialects the use of predicative nouns only with dual/plural suffixes is much wider than in Hungarian: nouns with abessive or locative suffix as well as adverbs that answer the question “where?” can fill this part (e.g. Trj. *mä kätñ* ‘I [am] in the house) (Honti 1984: 97–99; 1995: 135–141). In Mansi nominal predicate can be a participle, a gerund, a noun with or without adverbial suffix, an adverb and a negative. Sometimes it appears in 1. and 2. person too (e.g. *jäy-äyi nan* ‘[are] you my sibling?’), but these cases are mostly in archaic texts: myths, tales or translations of the gospels; in spoken language verbo-nominal predicate is the dominant now days. In Mari adjective, noun with or without an affix or postposition, adverbs and any verbal except gerund can stand in the position of nominal predicate, e.g. *olæk eñer wokten* ‘the meadow (is) near the stream’ (Bereczki 1990: 76). In 1. and 2. person, as in Hungarian, the copula appears (Pomozi 2002: 70).

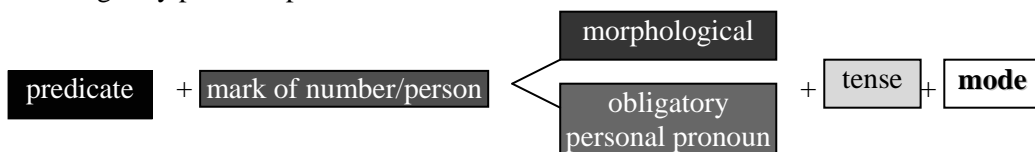
In Udmurt and Komi, which are the same from this point of view, there is no copula at all, in the whole paradigm of present tense, indicative; personal pronouns or in third person the subject of the given sentence, regularly appears beside the noun, because only these are able to mark the subject. Predicate can be every noun, verbal and adverb, agreed in number with the subject (see the examples above).

The structure of nominal predicate realized by Mordvinic and Samoyedic languages is completely different: it is the so-called *predicative conjugation* of nouns, which means suffixes that are the same as the conjugation suffixes of verbs. This way there is no need for a copula at all in the whole paradigm: predicative suffixes (actually Vx-es) mark number and person exactly, so the realization of the subject is only in 3. person obligatory, as it is by verbs too. In Enets, Nenets and Mordvinic the structure of nominal predicate without a noun is used in past tense too, but other modes than indicative are always marked on the copula (Hajdú 1982: 47; 140). This phenomenon, also called as *conversion*, is widespread in the Siberian area: beside the mentioned Uralic languages many of the Paleosiberian and Altaic languages know this, and some of them use it even more widely: in Yukaghir the noun with conjugation suffixes can have modal suffixes too, so there is no difference from the predicative tendency of verbs even in this case (Pusztay 1990: 99–107).

From all of these above we can make the conclusion, that the presence of the verb, as a grammatical-semantic word class is not the condition of the predicate. But predicative function requires the marking of the number and person of the subject, the distinctness of the tense and mode of the predicate. Since in the system of word classes in European – especially in Indo-European – languages verb is the one, that specialized for predicative role, and through its character fulfils these requirements by default, marking the subject, tense and mode either in synthetic (conjugation) or analytic way (obligatory personal pronouns, tenses and modes composed by copula or auxiliary verbs) – this word class became the simplest, default tool of predicate. The copula, appearing beside the predicative noun, can mark all of the required categories in a practical way, having all of the above-mentioned attributes of a verb. But languages can use other solutions to fulfil the requires which guarantee the success of communication; there are three different types of nominal predicate within the Uralic language family:

- a) noun + copula
- b) personal pronouns + bare noun (in ind. praes)
- c) predicative conjugation of the noun.

Showing the predicative structure of a nominal sentence with an abstract scheme, the sameness of the three different language types becomes clear. Always the basic case of a grammatical category is in zero degree, while the others are marked in a way depending on the type of the language. The predicative suffixes of the noun in Mordvinic are equivalent to the personal suffixes of the copula in Hungarian, and to the obligatory personal pronouns in Udmurt.



		Noun+copula (example: Hungarian)				Personal pronoun + noun (example: Udmurt)				Predicative conjugation of the noun (example: Mordvinic)			
Praesens	Sg1	ember	Ø	vagyok	Ø	mon	ad'ami	Ø	Ø	lomań	Ø	-an	Ø
	Sg3	Ø	Ø		Ø	so	ad'ami	Ø	Ø	son lomań	Ø		Ø
	Pl1	emberek	Ø	vagyunk	Ø	mi	ad'amios	Ø	Ø	lomańt'	Ø	-ano	Ø
	Pl3	Øk emberek	Ø		Ø	soos	ad'amios	Ø	Ø	siń lomańt'	Ø		Ø
Praeteritum	Sg1	ember	volt	-am	Ø	mon	ad'ami	val	Ø	lomań	-i	-iń	Ø
	Sg3	Ø	volt		Ø	so	ad'ami	val	Ø	son lomań	-i		Ø
	Pl1	emberek	volt	-unk	Ø	mi	ad'amios	val	Ø	lomańt'	-i	-ińek	Ø
	Pl3	emberek	volt	-ak	Ø	soos	ad'amios	val	Ø	lomańt'	-i	-it'	Ø

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THE TYPOLOGY OF LOCAL EXPRESSIONS IN URALIC

Abstract

In this paper I shall look at local expressions in Uralic. First, I look at their structure and then turn to the question whether and how they are similar or different to expressions in other languages.

1. Local Expressions

Local expressions consist of several layers (Svenonius 2008). They can be clearly separated using standard type-theoretical analysis (Kracht, 2008). From a morphological point of view languages differ in how clearly they separate them.

(1) [PathP PPath [PlaceP PPlace [AxPartP PAxPart [LocP PLoc DP]]]]

1. DP denotes an object, the so-called landmark.
2. LocP denotes a point. It is the location of the landmark.
3. AxPartP denotes a certain axial system.
4. PlaceP denotes an area (in terms of the landmark).
5. PathP denotes a motion pattern.

This is a refined version of (Kracht, 2002) where I used the standard division into two heads: M(odaliser) and L(ocaliser). L is decomposed here into a succession of three heads, while M is simply another name for Dir.

In Uralic languages, we find evidence for inflection both with respect to L and M, e.g. in Finnish:

	M →		
↓ L	static	to	from
inner	talo-s-sa	talo-on	talo-s-ta
outer	talo-l-la	talo-l-le	talo-l-ta

Modulo some morphophonemics, we can identify the morphemes /s/ (the “inner” L), /l/ (the “outer” L), as well as /Ca/ “no motion” (= static mode), /Vn/ “motion to” (= cofinal mode), and /tA/ “motion from” (= coinitial mode).

This double dependence on L and M is found in Hungarian, through historically it is of different origin. In Proto-Uralic there is only evidence of a single level of morphological differentiation, with respect to mode. The case system merely distinguishes static, (al)lative and ablative cases.

2. Diminished Paradigms

There are some noteworthy consequences of the structure (1), which I shall review below.

2.1 Standard Cases

If an expression already denotes a location, there is no inflection for L, only for M. This standardly includes

Table 1: Inflecting Adpositions

	Stasis	Motion	Goal	Trajectory	Terminus
		Source			
Hungarian	mögött	mögül	mögé		
Vakh Khanty	čön.n.ə	čön.čöög	čön.č(ää)		
Estonian	taga	tagant	taha		
M. Mordva	ftalê	ftaldê	ftalu	ftalga	
F. Nenets	punniaana	punniaat	punniŋ	punniaanma	
Komi	sajin	sajišj	sajë	sajti	sajëdzj

1. Locative Question words: Hu. /hol/ “where”, /hova/ “whereto”, /honnan/ “wherefrom”.
2. Locative Demonstratives: Hu. /itt/ “here”, /ide/ “to here”, /innen/ “from here”.
3. Cities: Hu. /Budapesten/ “in Budapest”, /Budapestre/ “to Budapest”, /Budapestről/ “from Budapest”.

In Finnish, /missä/ “where” is derived from /mitä/ “what”, but functions like /hol/. Also, persons form a special category; for example, Fi. /luona/, best translated as French /chez/, is used only with people, not things.

2.2 Inflecting Adpositions

A typological specialty of Uralic languages are the adpositions, see Table 1. They inflect for mode, e. g. Hu. /alatt/ “under”, /alá/ “to under” and /alól/ “from under”. The reason is that inflection for L is historically secondary while inflection for M has always been possible. Typically, the postpositions are former nouns (cf. (Sauvageot, 1971) for Hungarian Ps and nominal cases).

Table 2: Two Paradigms in Mari

nominative	kit	ol^êmbal
genitive	kiδ^êñ	ol^êmbal^êñ
dative	kitlan	ol^êmballan
accusative	kiδ^êñ	ol^êmbal^êñ
comparative	kitla	ol^êmballa
comitative	kitke	ol^êmbalɣe
inessive	kiδ^êšte	ol^êmbalne
illative	kiδ^êke	ol^êmbake
lative	kiδeš	ol^êmbalan
elative	–	ol^êmbač(êñ)

2.3 Superimposed Inflection

Alhoniemi (1988) has noted that certain nouns in Mari and Finnish are actually of local origin. His example is /ol^hêmbal/ “bench”, consisting of /ol/ and /êmbal/. The original meaning is rather “place to sit on”. /êmbal/ is analogous to Fi. /päällä/ and derives from a noun meaning “head”, but has effectively become a postposition. Fitting such a construction into the declension paradigm produces an interference between the original Uralic paradigm and the present one.

inessive	êmbalne	(< *nA)	static
illative	êmba(l)ke	(< *k)	goal 1
lative	êmbalan	(< *n)	goal 2
elative	êmbač	(< *tA)	source

3. Agreement

Uralic languages tend to use directional forms more often than Indo-European languages. Most extreme cases are Finnish and Mari. In the combination V + DP, where V is a verb of change, Uralic tends to express the fact of change also in the DP. This is very often unnecessary, and can lead to ambiguities.

- (2) (Fi.) Rakennamme uuden hotellin Turkuun.
build-we-new hotel Turku-illa
We are building a new hotel in Turku.
- (3) (Fi.) Ukko väsyi tie-lle.
old.man got.tired way-all
The old man got tired on (lit. onto) the road.
- (4) (Fi.) Somap’ on sota-han kuolla.
Sweet is war-ill to.die
It is sweet to die in (lit. into) war.
- (5) (Fi.) Tää-ltä pyrkii häviämään tavaroita.
This-abl tends disappear things
From here, things tend to disappear.
- (6) (Fi.) Metsästäjä ampui karhun metsä-än.
Hunter shot bear forest-ill
The hunter shot the bear in (lit. into) the forest.
- (7) (Mari) Wəðeško l^həš^hə wo^hl^hək.
The animal died in (lit. into) the water.

Examples (3), (4), (5), (6) show a directional that is quite unexpected from the standpoint of Indo-European. For example, in (3) the allative does not signal motion of the trajector (the man) onto the road; it signals merely a change of state. Likewise, the directional in (5) is not to be interpreted that the bear moves into the forest. In both

cases therefore the cofinal M contributes not the meaning of change of place, as it normally does.

To resolve this, I propose here to view Finnish and Mari as languages exhibiting fact of change agreement. This means that the fact that something changes in these languages is expressed not only in the verb but also in DPs or PPs expressing the state (or place) of the trajector. Hence, that the DPs or PPs contain a directional makes no contribution to the pattern of motion (or change), it only signals that change occurs. Space limitations do not permit me to discuss the excellent (Huumo, 2007). Suffice it to say that the use of a directional in these ‘agreement’ construction does not signal motion of the trajector, but rather modify the aspect or the structuring of the event, or sometimes even future tense (Janne Saarikivi, p.c.).

4. Comparison

- Local Case Systems are similar to those found in Caucasian and Eskimo-Aleut, having a systematic three way distinction in mode.

- Inflecting postpositions I have not been able to attest elsewhere.

- A distinction between spatial and nonspatial nouns is found quite frequently and is a common source of adpositions and case endings.

- Uralic languages seem to put a strong emphasis on the distinction between stasis and change. Indo-European languages by contrast are happy to have lost the distinction.

- The preponderance for using directionals even when the meaning of change is already present in the verb is unique to some Uralic languages.

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ТОПИК И ФОКУС В МАНСИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

Мансийский (как и другие уральские языки) является топико-ориентированным языком (Skribnik 2001: 222), т. е. построение предложения в большей степени определяют топик и фокус, а не грамматические функции (Gundel 1988: 227). Поэтому анализ информационной структуры в мансийском языке может послужить ценными данными и для дескриптивной грамматики (см., напр., правила употребления определенного спряжения согласно Скрибник (2001). Исследование данной темы осложнено проблемами общего характера (значительные расхождения в определениях топика и фокуса в рамках различных теорий и как следствие неопределенность в терминологии), а также отсутствием обобщающей работы с описанием всех конструкций, кодирующих информационную структуру предложения в мансийском языке, хотя взаимосвязь между отдельными структурами, языковыми явлениями и информационной структурой уже была изучена (напр., порядок слов, интонация (Rombandeeva 1979), пассив (Kulonen 1989, Skribnik 2001), дативное передвижение (Skribnik 2001), определенное спряжение (Skribnik 2001, Nikolaeva 2001). Чтобы обрисовать информационную структуру в мансийском языке, вначале мы будем использовать результаты языковой типологии.

В докладе, опираясь на исследование Гунделя,³⁰ проводившегося с корпусом из 30 языков (1988), мы показали, что может установить языковая типология об информационной структуре мансийского языка, а также то, какими новыми данными может послужить мансийский язык для типологии. В дальнейшем мы укажем на обнаруженные Гунделем тенденции, которые проявляются в мировых языках и могут быть приспособлены для мансийского языка,³¹ а также взглянем, насколько они реализуются в северном диалекте мансийского языка, используя вышеупомянутые источники и анализ корпуса.³²

Гундель различает прагматический и синтаксический топик: первый обозначает фигуру, о которой говорящий хотел бы подробнее проинформировать слушателя или на которую хотел бы обратить его внимание; второй является языковым элементом в позиции топика, кодирующим прагматический топик. То же самое, по мнению Гунделя, можно сказать и о комментарии: он различает сообщение, относящееся к топик-предложению, и фокус как языковой элемент,

³⁰Языковая типология не уделяет особого внимания изучению информационной структуры. Кроме Гунделя этой темой занимаются, главным образом, Ли и Томпсон (1976), а также Гивон (напр., 1984, 1999).

³¹Исходя из задач, в статье не показаны тенденции, наблюдаемые в субъектно-ориентированных языках.

³²Наш корпус состоит из 20 текстов объемом около 50 страниц. Тексты относятся к трем временным периодам (–1900, 1901–2000, 2001–) и трем различным стилям (фольклор в прозе, публицистический на литературном языке, художественный). Анализ не включал изучение аудиотекстов, таким образом, и интонации.

кодирующий сообщение и занимающий предназначенную для него позицию (Gundel 1988: 210–211). Исследование 30 языков показало, что существуют конструкции, являющиеся универсальными или же показывающими яркую тенденцию, но их точное значение, частотность и роль в общей грамматике меняется от языка к языку (Gundel 1988: 216). Кроме этого языковые средства могут различаться в зависимости от стиля даже внутри одного языка (Gundel 1988: 209). В мировых языках существует три стратегии кодирования информационной структуры: 1) интонационно, 2) с помощью синтаксических конструкций, 3) средствами морфологии. Из двенадцати заключительных утверждений исследования Гунделя (за исключением касающихся интонации) девять можно отнести и к мансийскому языку.

1) В каждом языке существует синтаксическая конструкция, выражающая информационную структуру (Gundel 1988: 223). В мансийском языке множество синтаксических конструкций кодирует топик и/или фокус, например, описанное Скрибник (2001) дативное передвижение или конструкция с двойным подлежащим. Из шести конструкций, упомянутых Гунделем, в мансийском языке известно четыре.

2) Первоначальное место фокуса – позиция прямого дополнения (Gundel 1988: 239). Основной (Rombandeeva 1979: 80) и доминантный (Kulonen 1989: 44) порядок слов в мансийском языке SOV, а фокус предложения находится непосредственно перед глаголом (Rombandeeva 1979: 69) (1–2). Таким образом, в мансийском языке действует данная тенденция.

1) *Man janiŋ tolyəl Ast [xul aliślasuw].*
мы большой сеть:INSTR Обь:LOC рыба:ACC охотиться (FOC)
'Большой сетью на Оби мы рыбачили'. (Balandin-Vahruseva 1957: 184)

2) *Man janiŋ tolyəl xul [Ast]*
Мы большой сеть:INSTR рыба:ACC Обь(FOC)
охотиться:INDET.PST.PL1
'Мы рыбачили большой сетью на Оби'. (Balandin-Vahruseva 1957: 184).

3) Среди конструкций, кодирующих информационную структуру, в большинстве языков существуют такие, в которых топик занимает позицию слева от комментария (Gundel 1988: 231). В мансийском языке из-за порядка слов SOV топик чаще всего располагается перед глаголом, ведь (как проявление важной роли топика) в большинстве случаев подлежащее является грамматикализированным топиком (Skribnik 2001: 222). Таким образом, и эта характеристика подходит для мансийского языка.

4) Среди конструкций, кодирующих информационную структуру, в большинстве языков существуют такие, в которых топик занимает позицию справа от комментария (Gundel 1988: 231). В мансийском языке благодаря не фиксированному порядку слов (Rombandeeva 1979: 69) имеет место передвижение топика вправо: наиболее свободно в этом отношении обстоятельство (Kulonen 1989: 46), конечная же позиция глагола – исходя из анализа нашего корпуса – нарушается очень редко. Поэтому не глагольный

компонент в конце предложения подвержен сильной топикализации. Передвинутым вправо топиком могут являться подлежащее (3), прямое дополнение (4), обстоятельство (5) и инфинитив, зависящий от глагола (6).

- 3) *Ja-ta, χōrum puŋkup kaŋk ōjka nupəl lāwēq*
 ну три -головый дядя старый к
 говорить:INDET.PRT.DU3
 [kitōs]: ... (1: 54)
 вдвоем(TOP)
 'Ну, (другие) два говорят трехголовому старику: ...'
- 4) *t'aw sūnsi [arqen pājrp kapaj]. (2: 62)*
 он смотреть:INDET.PRT.SG3 медь короб огромный(TOP)
 'Он смотрел на огромный медный короб'.
- 5) *t'uw χāŋχəs [nāŋkin]. (2: 64)*
 он подниматься:INDET.PST.SG3 сосна(TOP)
 'Он вскарабкался на сосну'.
- 6) *t'akwinate at werməs juw totuŋkwe. (2: 60)*
 один не мочь:INDET.PST.SG3 домой нести(TOP)
 'Он не смог принести (его) домой один'.

5) В каждом языке существуют расчлененные (cleft) конструкции (Gundel 1988: 231). Они состоят из относительного придаточного предложения, не имеющего определяемого слова в главном и выражающего топик, а также другой именной группы NP, выражающей фокус. Подобные конструкции не встречались в нашем корпусе, так как в мансийском языке вместо придаточных предложений употребляется партицип, в редком случае сочинительные предложения (Klemm 1916: 154). Хотя в современном мансийском появились и союзные придаточные, в нашем корпусе они не используются для выражения топика.

6) В каждом языке встречается конструкция с двойным подлежащим (double-subject) (Gundel 1988: 231). Данные конструкции содержат два подлежащих, из которых одно кодирует топик. Они существуют и в мансийском языке, однако в отличие от классического примера рядом с подлежащим стоит не имя, а партицип на *-ne* (7).

- 7) *[χummiγ] jinetēn ta sujti. (3: 53)*
 мужчина(TOP) идти:PTCP.POSS.DU3.SG F слышаться:INDET.PRT.SG3
 'Слышится приход мужчин'.

7) В топико-ориентированных языках субъективированные конструкции маргинальны (Gundel 1988: 232). Субъективированными Гундель называет такие конструкции, как, например, пассив. В субъектно-ориентированных языках, в которых топик не обязательно совпадает с подлежащим, субъективированные конструкции могут быть важными средствами, например, топикализации

объекта. В топики-ориентированных языках в этом нет необходимости, так как топик обычно кодируется подлежащим (Gundel 1988: 227–228). В мансийском же языке, как известно, пассивные конструкции, используемые именно для этих целей, довольно распространены (Kulonen 1989: 288–292).

8) В топики-ориентированных языках употребление нулевой анафоры ограничено в меньшей степени (Gundel 1988: 232), то есть уже введенный топик в дальнейшем часто кодируется нулевой анафорой. Скрибник (2001), основываясь на анализе корпуса, обнаружила, что, как и в хантыйском языке (Nikolaeva 1993), в мансийском для обозначения топика дискурса (T1) и топика абзаца (T2) используются различные языковые средства: T1 в 80% случаев выражен нулевой анафорой, в 9,6% NP и в 10% местоимением, в то время как T2 лишь в 50% случаев обозначен нулевой анафорой, в 39% NP и в 11% местоимением. В нашем корпусе данный результат подтверждается в текстах первого и второго периода, в более же современных текстах в случае T1 употребление нулевой анафоры уменьшается в пользу местоимения.

- 8) [ārseñev] kamčatkat ḡlas, taw]
 Арсенев(TOP) Камчатка:LOC есть:INDET.PST.SG3 он(TOP)
 āwačinskij vulkan sūntān jol-tartaχtiylase
 Авачинский вулкан кратер:LAT спускаться:INDET.PST.SG3
 [taw] sartān wayliylam māχum χalt, tamle
 он(TOP) вначале спускаться:PRTC народ в среду такой
 χumij ti ḡlas. (4: 7)
 человек:TRL F есть:INDET.PST.SG3

‘Арсенев был на Камчатке, спустился в кратер Авачинского вулкана, но вначале Арсенев познакомился с народом (букв. спустился в народ), такой человек он был’.

9) В тех языках, в которых существует морфема, маркирующая фокус,³³ она отмечает либо фокус целиком, либо лишь именную его часть (Gundel 1988: 220). В мансийском языке, по нашему мнению, с информационной структурой предложения связано местоимение, указывающее на удаленный предмет (*ta*), и реже местоимение, указывающее на близлежащий предмет (*ti*). Упомянутые местоимения выполняют функцию обозначения фокуса, если располагаются непосредственно перед глагольным (личной или неличной формой) сказуемым. Эта функция языковых элементов, обычно принимаемых за частицы, реализуется при ряде синтаксических ограничений: они могут стоять перед непереходными (9) и переходными (10) глаголами, глаголами определенного (11) и неопределенного (12) спряжения, активными (13) и пассивными (14) глагольными формами, перед партиципом и неопределенной формой глагола (15), а также могут занимать позицию между префиксом и глаголом (13), однако

³³Под морфологическим кодированием информационной структуры Гундель подразумевает языковые элементы типа частицы (Gundel 1988: 216). Все остальные средства (использование падежных окончаний и т. д.) он причисляет к синтаксическим конструкциям.

в глаголах условного наклонения, вопросах с вопросительными словами и при отрицании они не встречаются (Németh 2008: 112).

9) *nāle tārati, ōs śar*
 стрела:POSS.SG3.SG отпускать:INDET.PRT.SG3 снова целиком
aña ḥolī ta raḡatēḡat. (2: 60)
 куча как F падать:INDET.PRT.PL3
 'Он пустил свою стрелу, и снова куча (уток) упала'.

10) *poriḡ ta tēḡ, ta tōwti. (5: 76)*
 травинка:ACC F есть:INDET.PRT.SG3 F жевать:INDET.PRT.SG3
 'Ест, жуёт травинку'.

11) ... *sowe wajpatta pumiḡ ta*
 шкура:POSS.SG3.SG сапоги сено:TRL F
maqumtaste. (1: 52)
 засовывать:DET.PST.SG3.SG
 '... засунул шкуру в сено сапог'.

12) *pussən ta śōpitas. (6: 72)*
 все:ACC F приготавливать:INDET.PST.SG3
 'Он все приготовил'.

13) *ōs ēlal' ta towaśli, ta mini (5: 75)*
 и вперед F грести:INDET.PRT.SG3 F идти:INDET.PRT.SG3
 'И гребёт вперед, идет'.

14) *ēlal' taḡ wossəḡ naḡən wōrn jurtiḡ at*
 Из вот пусть ты:ACC лес:LAT товарищ:TRL нет
wiḡlum tij maḡəs, aṡiḡk ōs sār
 взять:DET.PRT.SG1.SG это из-за еще не снова совсем
kosmin narumtawen, akwaḡ taḡ
 табакерка:LAT засунуть:PASS.PRT.SG2 более вот
ta totawen. (6: 74)
 F нести: PASS.PRT.SG2
 'Из-за этого я не могу взять тебя с собой в лес, а то в конце снова засунут (тебя) в табакерку (и) унесут'.

15) *kasaj- supane, saḡrap- supane ta*
 нож кусочек:POSS.SG3.SG топор кусочек:POSS.SG3.SG F
tīwtuḡkwe patsane. (5: 76)
 точить:INF начинать:PTCP
 'Он начал точит свой ножичек, топорик'.

Если рассматривать данные элементы в качестве маркеров фокуса, тогда ограничения становятся понятиями: в условных предложениях фокусом всегда

является глагольное сказуемое, он не нуждается в особом выделении, при отрицании сказуемое отрицается с помощью специального слова (*at*) (Kálmán 1976: 67–68), а в вопросительных предложениях роль фокуса выполняет вопросительное слово. Анализ корпуса не позволяет установить, существует ли функциональное отличие между двумя частицами, но можно с уверенностью сказать, что оба элемента кодируют глагольную часть фокуса в отличие, например, от юкагирского языка, в котором из двух частиц одна маркирует фокус целиком, а другая только именную его часть (Nikolaeva 2000: 68).

16) *ōs ta jalasas, jalasas, akwmatert*
 снова F ходит:INDET.PST.SG3 ходит:INDET.PST.SG3 одновременно
ē'ipālay χōtal jola'ti pati. (6: 72)
 к вечеру солнце вниз F начинаться:INDET.PRT.SG3
 'Снова шел, шел, неожиданно стало вечереть'.

То, что морфема, маркирующая фокус, обозначает лишь глагольный фокус, не упоминается у Гунделя, но это не значит, что такое явление не существует.

Подводя итог, мы видим, что из девяти утверждений Гунделя, претендующих быть тенденциями, шесть действительны для мансийского языка, три нет. Для кодирования информационной структуры мансийский язык использует синтаксические конструкции, среди них есть такие, в которых топик расположен как справа, так и слева от глагола, первоначальная позиция фокуса совпадает с позицией объекта, употребление нулевой анафоры слабо ограничено, встречаются конструкции с двойным подлежащим. Однако в мансийском отсутствует расчлененная конструкция, роль пассива не маргинальна, морфологический маркер фокуса выделяет его глагольную часть, а не именную или фокус в целом. Кроме вышеперечисленных в мансийском языке используется и множество других конструкций для кодирования структуры топик-комментарий, среди которых наибольший интерес для типологии представляет определенное спряжение.

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URALIC CASE: FROM SPACE TO TIME AND BEYOND

1. Introduction

In this article I will give a brief overview of the main topics of my post-doc research (<http://www.nytud.hu/oszt/elmnyelv/ccc.html>). Researching case as a system underlying a tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) system had not been studied systematically in linguistics before I started my post-doc research on Uralic cross-categorial case. The Finnic languages have numerous ways how case interacts with the verbal category. Two main ways I have studied are 1) argument case on NPs denoting head-dependent relationship evolving into TAM marking (e.g. the Finnic aspectual object case alternation, Tamm 2004), 2) case on categories between verbs and nouns evolving into TAM marking (Tamm to appear, this volume a, this volume b). This paper wishes to concentrate on the transfer of the meaning of case denoting spatial location to the domain of temporal location and from part-whole relationships to aspect and further on, to modality and evidentiality.

2. Rich case systems

The case category in Uralic is special – there is an unusually rich case system in most of these languages. As a special peculiarity, several cases instantiate a transfer of nominal, argument marking to verbal, predicate domain in terms of semantics. Uralic languages are typically characterized by rich case systems with approximately 10 members, and many have case systems of approximately 15 or 20 cases. According to the World Atlas of Linguistic Structures (WALS), the map of Iqegesen (2008), there are 24 languages with more than 10 cases. The following languages have more than 10 cases in WALS: Awa Pit, Basque, Brahui, Chukchi, Epena Pedee, Estonian, Evenki, Finnish, Gooniyandi, Hamtai, Hungarian, Hunzib, Ingush, Kayardild, Ket, Lak, Lezgian, Martuthunira, Mordvin (Erzya), Nez Perce, Nunggubuyu, Pitjantjatjara, Toda, Udmurt. Remarkably, five of those listed are Uralic (Erzya Mordvin, Estonian, Finnish, Hungarian, and Udmurt), and not all Uralic languages are listed.

3. The inventory in the sources

Erzya Mordvin has 12 cases: nominative, genitive/accusative, dative/allative, interior illative, inessive, elative, exterior ablative lative prolative triplets, translative, abessive, comparative, and Moksha Mordvin 13 cases (Zaicz 1998: 192–194), with the additional causative. Eastern Mari – 8 productive and 3 nonproductive cases (Kangasmaa-Minn 1998: 226). Udmurt 16 cases (Riese 1998: 268), nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, approximative, genitive/ablative, inessive, elative, ablative, terminative, instrumental, egressive, caritive, adverbial, prolative 1 and 2. Komi has 18 cases (Riese 1998: 268), nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, approximative, genitive/ablative, inessive, elative, ablative, terminative, instrumental, egressive, caritive, adverbial, prolative 1 and 2, consecutive, comitative. Komi

Permyak has 17 cases (Lytkin et al. 1962: 184). Tundra Nenets 7 (Salminen 1998: 537), nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, ablative, prosecutive (this is the suggested Proto-Samoyedic inventory, Janhunen 1998: 469). Kamas has 7 cases (Simoncsics 1998: 585–586), nominative, accusative, genitive, lative, locative, ablative, instrumental. Selkup has 13 (Helimski 1998b: 560–561), nominative, accusative, genitive, instrumental, co-ordinative, caritive, translative, dative/allative, illative, locative, elative, prolative, vocative, Nganasan 8–11 (Helimski 1998a: 496), nominative (= absolute form), accusative, genitive, lative (= dative, or dative-lative), locative (= locative/instructive), elative (= ablative), prolative (= prosecutive). The Sami languages are described having systems with 6–9 cases. Inari, Pite, Skolt Sámi 9 or 8, Southern Sámi 8 or 7, Lule Sámi 7, Northern Sami 7 or 6 (Wikipedia). Khanty (3–11, including the fact that the alignment system has variants, e.g. the Khanty Vakh dialect has an ergative-accusative alignment), Mansi (6–7) (Honti 1998: 343). Hungarian 18 cases (but there are heavy debates whether what has been referred to as case is in fact case, or nominal marking of different nature). Veps has 22–23 cases (Viitso 1998), Karelian 12–16 (Markianova 2002), Ingrian more than 10 (Viitso 1998). Meänkieli (Finnish in Sweden) has two cases less than Standard Finnish, which has 15 cases. Võro is described as having 13 productive and 3 nonproductive cases (Iva 2007: 41). The Votic dialect reported by Tsvetkov (2008: 27) has an inventory identical to that of Estonian, consisting of 14 cases. The additional unproductive exsive and instructive, and the accusative object case are recorded in the dialect studied by Ariste (1968: 17). Table 1 presents the Estonian case system, since most of the examples that follow will be from Estonian. The table indicates the cases that appear on infinitives as well.

Table 1. The Estonian case system and case in the non-finite system.

case	translation N	example N	example V	translation V
Nominative	book	raamat		
Genitive	of a book	raamatu		
Partitive	(of) a book	raamatu-t	tule-va-t	allegedly, coming
Illative	into the book	raamatu-sse	tule-ma	to come
Inessive	in a book	raamatu-s	tule-ma-s, tulle-s	coming
Elative	from (inside) book	a raamatu-st	tule-ma-st	from coming
Allative	onto a book	raamatu-le		
Adessive	on a book	raamatu-l		
Ablative	from the book	raamatu-lt		
Translative	in(to), as a book	raamatu-ks	tule-ma-ks	in order to come
Terminative	until a book	raamatu-ni		
Essive	as a book	raamatu-na		
Abessive	without a book	raamatu-ta	tule-ma-ta	not having come
Comitative	with a book	raamatu-ga		

4. Case-marked non-finite verb forms

Cross-categorial case (a.k.a. ‘case on verbs’, ‘verbal case’, ‘versatile case’, henceforth: CCC) is a cover term for various case phenomena in atypical syntactic environments (e.g., on verbs), and expressing atypical semantics (e.g., tense, aspect, modality, evidentiality, negation). Previous scholarship has discovered ‘verbal case’ in several languages across the world. For instance, Blake (2001) describes case in the verbal tense and aspect system of Kalaw Lagaw Ya. Aikhenvald (2008) discusses the ‘versatile cases’ of Ket and Manambu, which express aspect and modality or temporal, causal and other relationships between clauses.

The Uralic languages provide excellent linguistic and extra-linguistic conditions for exploring the complexity of interdependent factors: rich nominal and cross-categorial case paradigms, a wide scale of forms between verbs and nominals, well-documented diachronic and synchronic variation (especially in Finnic or Permic), existing descriptions of spatial and non-spatial semantics of the cases. Integrating the new research agenda with the new data and with previous scholarship has resulted in the insight that CCCs are rarely markers of prototypical predicate categories but have retained much of their core semantics. In addition to their idiosyncratic morphosyntactic constraints, CCCs impose semantic and pragmatic constraints on their environment: the nature of the evidence, evaluation of knowledge, and expectations about the goals of activities. Tendencies in the grammaticalization of predicate functional categories have become clearer by now: e.g., spatial cases tend to give rise to tense-aspect marking, comitatives to Aktionsart (intensification, habituality), and abessives to negation.

Languages with many non-finite forms tend to have rich case systems. The regularity can only partly be attributed to areal linguistic contacts, since it is observable, for instance, in the geographically distant Caucasian and Australian languages. Blake (2001: 180) describes a whole system of nominal case in the verbal tense-aspect system of Kalaw Lagaw Ya. The ergative and the accusative in the verbal domain mark completivity, the dative-allative-incompletivity. There are no reasons to assume a generalization with the strength of a language universal. Non-finite forms frequently originate from case-marked non-finite verb forms, which are complements originally but develop further into base predicates of larger predicate complexes. There are other types of diachronic developments that result in case on verbs, as in Manambu in (1). These complexes develop case-related semantics and modal meanings.

(1) Manambu (Aikhenvald 2008: 587)

Wun [de-ke-m] wukemar-e-m
I he-LK-OBJ/LOC forget-LK-OBJ/LOC
‘I completely forgot him.’

5. Uralic case is cross-categorial

In addition to attaching to nouns (and in languages with adjective-noun agreement, to adjectives), case in Uralic also attaches to verbs (verb stems), to verbs with a nominalizing suffix, forming infinitives and in-between forms. Some examples: it attaches to verb stems (Hungarian case+verb *be-megy* ‘in-go, enter’, as the Russian prepositions (see example (2)), or Udmurt V+abessive), nominalizations (Udmurt cases V+m+case, V+n+case), parts of non-finites (Finnic, the case formants are part of a

morpheme of a non-finite verb), the Selkup infinitive marker: V+translative. I illustrate the Hungarian aspectual telicizing particles that have the same origin with the goal cases INTO and ONTO:

- (2) a. *Feri be-ment az épület-be.*
 F[NOM] into-go.PST.3S DEF building-INTO
 ‘Ferenc entered the building.’ (into-went into the building)
- b. *Gábor rá-lépett a sajt-ra.*
 G[NOM] onto-step.PST.3S DEF cheese-ONTO
 ‘Gábor stepped on cheese.’ (on-stepped on the cheese)

In a CCC paradigm, not all nominal cases are cross-categorical; in addition, they are cross-categorical in various ways. Table 2 illustrates the case system in Udmurt, including the abessive on bare stems, the case system on n-nominalizations and on m-nominalizations; the Udmurt data are provided by Svetlana Edygarova, p.c. Although the system is regular, not all cases appear on the two nominalizations, and only one morpheme is cross-categorical (the abessive, see Tamm this volume, b). This shows the start of a cross-categorical case developing additional meanings to the argument relationships. Table 1 records a more restricted CCC system, with more TAM meanings.

Table 2. Cases in the Udmurt noun and non-finite case paradigms (the verb *go*).

Case	nou+case	verb+n+cas e	verb+m+case	verb+case
Nominative	s’ik	myn-on	myn-em	
Genitive	s’ik-len	myn-on-len	myn-em-len	
Accusative	s’ik /s’ik-ez	myn-on-ez	myn-em-ez	
Ablative	s’ik-les’	myn-on-les’	myn-em-les’	
Dative	s’ik-ly	myn-on-ly	myn-em-ly	
Adessive	s’ik-len			
Instrumental	s’ik-en	myn-on-en	myn-em-en	
Abessive	s’ik-tek			myny-tek
Inessive	s’ik-yn	myn-on-yn	myn-em-yn	
Illative	s’ik-e	myn-on-e	myn-em-e	
Elicative	s’ik-ys’(t)		myn-em-ys’	
Terminative	s’ik-oz’	myn-on-oz’	myn-em-oz’	
Egressive	s’ik-ys’en			
Prolative	s’ik-eti			
Approximative	s’ik-lan’			

6. Cross-categorical case in Finnic has preserved spatial meanings

How does a TAM case system come into being? Finnic languages have non-finite forms comprising all three forms that stand for internal spatial directionality relations (e.g., ‘into, inside, from inside’). Examples (3a)–(3c) illustrate the phenomenon of the Ingrian non-finite case forms of the verb *küntää* ‘plow’. In these examples, the

temporal relationships of events are encoded by spatial case on non-finite predicates. Illative is the Goal case of the argument of the verb ‘go’ in (3a); the sentence describes a past event of the subject going to another location in order to get involved in the activity denoted by the verb lacking finite inflection. There is no exact English equivalent for the sentence; the closest English translation is *The kolkhoznik went to plow*, or *The kolkhoznik went plowing*. Inessive is the Location case in (3b); the sentence describes the subject at another location, in the middle of the activity. Locatives are a frequent source of the progressives in several languages; this is also true for Finnic. The English translation is again an approximation: ‘*The kolkhozniks were off to plow; the kolkhozniks were (away) plowing the field.*’ Elative is the Source case on the argument of the verb ‘come’; sentence (3c) describes the subject leaving a place related to an activity: the kolkhozniks came from plowing. The construction in (3b) has given rise to the progressive and the absentive.

(3) Ingrian (Junus 1936:119–120)

- | | | | | |
|----|---|----------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| a. | <i>Kolhoznikka</i> | <i>mäni</i> | <i>küntä-mää.</i> | |
| | kolkhoznik[NOM] | go.PST.3S | plow-M_ILL | |
| | ‘The kolkhoznik went to plow.’ | | | |
| b. | <i>Kolhoznikat</i> | <i>oltii</i> | <i>küntä-mää-s</i> | <i>ahhoa.</i> |
| | kolkhoznik-NOM.PL | be-PST.3PL//PST.IPS | plow-M_INE | field.PTV |
| | ‘The kolkhozniks were off to plow the field.’ | | | |
| c. | <i>Kolhoznikat</i> | <i>tultii</i> | <i>küntä-mä-st.</i> | |
| | kolkhoznik-NOM.PL | come-PST.3PL/PST.IPS | plow-M_ELA | |
| | ‘The kolkhozniks came from plowing.’ | | | |

7. The Estonian cross-categorial partitive

The partitive case provides the example of cross-categorial case, which in present-day Estonian preserves the diachronic evolution path from a spatial case to an aspectual case and further, to a marker of epistemic modality and evidentiality. The categories of aspect and evidentiality preserve the basic semantics of the spatial partitive; the example provides an illustration of the shared structure of these categories.

7.1. *Aspect*. The partitive marking of incremental themes denoting the part-of the object relationship with the verb, (4a) versus (4b), have given rise to a general aspectual marker of aspectual unboundedness, unrelated to any affectedness (hearing does not affect, let alone, piecewise, or in any possible way, the one who is being heard in the event, as in (4c)).

- | | | | |
|--------|-------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| (4) a. | <i>Nora</i> | <i>sõi</i> | <i>tomati-t.</i> |
| | N[NOM] | eat.PST.3S | tomato-PTV |
| | ‘Nora was eating the tomato.’ | | |
| b. | <i>Nora</i> | <i>sõi</i> | <i>tomati.</i> |
| | N[NOM] | eat.PST.3S | tomato.TOT |
| | ‘Nora ate a tomato.’ | | |
| c. | <i>Nora</i> | <i>kuul-is</i> | <i>teda.</i> |
| | N[NOM] | hear-PST.3S | s/he.PTV |
| | ‘Nora heard her.’ | | |

7.2. *Case marking on the basis of affectedness of the incremental theme has given rise to aspect in general.* Once the participle was used as an object, the partitive case marking was applied to the participle as well with atelic verbs, and epistemic modal meanings emerged in the embedded clauses (Wälchli 2000, Tamm 2008, 2009). In modern Estonian, there is still considerable variation, but clear tendencies have emerged as well. With auditory evidence, the partitive form is used (5a), since evidence from hearing is not as reliable as evidence from seeing. Visual evidence is not partial; another nonfinite tends to be used with visual evidence (5b). In independent clauses, the partitive-marked participle began to be used as an indirect evidential (5c) that contrasts with the indicative (5d).

- (5) a. *Mari kuul-is teda*
 M[NOM] hear-PST.3S s/he.PTV
koju tule-va-t.
 home.ILL come-PERS.PRES.PTCP-PARTITIVE
 ‘Mary heard him/her come home.’
- b. *Mari näg-i Jüri-t koju tule-mas.*
 M[NOM] see-PST.3S J-PTV home.ILL come-M_INE
 ‘Mary saw George coming home.’
- c. *Mari tule-va-t.*
 M[NOM] come-PERS.PRES.PTCP-PARTITIVE
 ‘Allegedly/reportedly, Mary will come.’
- d. *Mari tule-b.*
 M[NOM] come-3S
 ‘Mary will come.’

8. Summary

I have given an overview of the main problems and types of data on cross-categorical case in Uralic. I have shown that the Uralic data are interesting in the perspective of the world’s languages and linguistics, namely, in terms of how argument marking gives rise to aspectual marking, and how case on non-finites results in epistemic modal and evidential marking.

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**СЕМАНТИКА ЛОКАТИВНЫХ ПАДЕЖЕЙ В УРАЛЬСКИХ ЯЗЫКАХ:
ОПЫТ СИСТЕМАТИЗИРОВАННОГО ОПИСАНИЯ
(НА ПРИМЕРЕ БЕСЕРМЯНСКОГО НАРЕЧИЯ)³⁴**

В настоящей работе предпринимается попытка предложить систематизированное описание синхронного состояния системы локативных падежей в языке бесермян.³⁵ Работа основана на материалах, полученных из двух собраний текстов; примеры, приводимые ниже, также взяты из этих текстов. Первое собрание включает девятнадцать текстов (девять диалогов и десять монологов), записанных, затранскрибированных и переведенных на русский язык в д. Шамардан (Удмуртия) в ходе психолингвистического эксперимента в январе и июле 2010 г. Поскольку основная цель этого эксперимента состояла в проверке гипотез относительно факторов, влияющих на выбор падежной или послеложно-падежной формы имени при выражении пространственных отношений в языке бесермян, соответствующие тексты содержат очень большое количество имен и послелогов, оформленных показателями локативных падежей. В связи с этим именно из экспериментальных текстов был получен основной материал для данной работы. Тексты из собрания делятся на три группы: монологические описания событий, происходящих в четырехминутном мультфильме; диалоги с описанием взаимного расположения картинок людей, животных и предметов на поле; диалоги с описанием передвижения фигурок по макету местности. Кроме того, были проанализированы пятьдесят текстов, записанных, затранскрибированных и переведенных на русский язык в деревнях Шамардан, Ворца, Жувам (Удмуртия) в 2003–2005 г.г. в ходе экспедиций отделения теоретической и прикладной лингвистики филологического факультета Московского государственного университета имени М.В. Ломоносова. Эти тексты представляют собой в основном записи спонтанной речи, включающие рассказы о жизни, бытовые диалоги, песни, рецепты.

³⁴Исследование средств выражения пространственных отношений в языке бесермян ведется при поддержке гранта РФФИ № 10-06-00550-а.

³⁵Бесермянами называет себя небольшая народность, проживающая на северо-западе Удмуртии и в сопредельных районах Кировской области. Язык бесермян рассматривается большинством современных исследователей как специфический диалект удмуртского языка, сочетающий в себе черты северно- и южноудмуртских говоров и содержащий субстрат тюркского происхождения (Тепляшина 1970: 242, Кельмаков 1998: 43). Однако сами бесермяне считают себя народом, отличным от удмуртов и говорящим на особом языке.

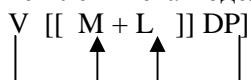
Система локативных падежей бесермянского наречия имеет следующий вид:

Локативный падеж	Показатель в основном склонении	Показатель в посессивном склонении
локатив	-(j)əp	-(j)a-
иллатив	-(j)e	-(j)a-
элатив	-(j)əš'	-(j)əš't(ə)-
аппроксиматив	-lań	
терминатив	-ož'	-ož'a-
пролатив	-t'i	-t'i-
эгрессив	-(j)əš'en	-(j)əš'en(ə)-
личный латив	-ń-e	
личный локатив	-ń-əp	

Табл. 1. Локативные падежи в языке бесермян

Т.И. Тепляшина (Тепляшина 1970) и В.К. Кельмаков (Кельмаков 1998) включают в систему местных падежей языка бесермян также разделительный падеж (аблатив; показатель *-las'/-lis'*). Однако в рассмотренных нами текстах не встретилось ни одного контекста, в котором аблатив имел бы пространственное значение. Можно сделать вывод, что в языке бесермян аблатив из пространственных контекстов был окончательно вытеснен эгрессивом, имеющим более позднее происхождение (о становлении системы Л-овых падежей в пермских языках см. (Некрасова 2002)). В данный момент аблатив в бесермянском наречии функционирует как ядерный падеж: им оформляется зависимое при прямом объекте, эталон сравнения в сравнительной конструкции, актанты некоторых глаголов.

Для представления семантической структуры локативной группы мы используем модель, предложенную в (Kracht 2002). Для языков правостороннего ветвления эта модель имеет следующий вид:



где M – способ движения (mode), L – локализация.

М. Крахт отмечает, что список локализаций открыт, в то время как количество способов движения ограничивается пятью. К последним относятся:

1. **статический** (static; объект остается в одной и той же заданной локализации на протяжении всего времени ситуации; примеры: англ. *in the house*, инессив в финском и венгерском языках);

2. **конечный** (кофинальный, *sofinal*) (объект передвигается в заданную локализацию на протяжении времени ситуации; примеры: англ. *into the house*, иллатив в финском и венгерском языках);

3. **начальный** (коинициальный, *coinitial*) (объект передвигается из заданной локализации на протяжении времени ситуации; примеры: англ. *out of the house*, элатив в финском и венгерском языках);

4. **переходный** (transitory; объект передвигается в заданную локализацию, а затем из заданной локализации на протяжении времени ситуации; пример: англ. *through the tunnel*);

5. **аппроксимативный** (approximative; объект приближается к заданной локализации; пример: англ. *towards the tunnel*).

С точки зрения средств выражения локализации и способа движения локативная группа в языке бесермян устроена следующим образом: локализация выражается основами серийных послелогов, способ движения – показателями локативных падежей (см. таблицы 2 и 3):

	способ движения
локатив	статический
элатив	начальный
иллатив	кофинальный
пролатив	переходный
эгрессив	начальный
аппроксиматив	аппроксимативный
терминатив	кофинальный

Табл. 2. Соотношение бесермянских локативных падежей со способом движения

послелог	локатив	элатив	иллатив	пролатив	эгрессив	аппроксиматив	терминатив
dor- ‘APUD (около)’	+	+	+	+	+	*	+
bord- ‘APUD (около)’	?	?	+	?	?	?	?
bərš’- ‘POST (сзади) (предмета с ярко выраженной задней частью)’	+	+	+	?	?	?	?
wal’fin- ‘APUD (около)’	+	?	?	?	?	?	?
puš- ‘IN (внутри полости)’ ³⁶	+	+	+	+	?	+	*
pəl- ‘INTER (внутри однородной среды)’	+	+	+	+	+	*	*
kotər- ‘CIRCUM (вокруг)’	+	+	+	+	*	*	*
š’er- ‘POST (сзади)’	+	+	+	+	*	*	*
pumət’- ‘ANTE (напротив)’	+	+	+	?	*	*	?
wats- ‘ABOVE (над)’	+	?	+	?	?	?	?

Табл. 3. Основы серийных послелогов бесермянского наречия и их сочетаемость с показателями локативных падежей

³⁶О влиянии параметра "наличие/отсутствие противопоставления внешней и внутренней части объекта" на выражение пространственных отношений в кавказских языках см. (Кибрик 1970).

В таблице 3 перечислены только те послелого, которые присоединяют показатели локативных падежей. В языке бесермян есть послелого, выражающие другие локализации, однако, не являясь серийными, они не входят в сферу нашего рассмотрения.

Мы разграничиваем основы послелогов и так называемые реляционные имена (имена, неспособные употребляться без зависимого), поскольку последние не выражают локализации, а задают точку отсчета, являющуюся частью либо пространства, либо объекта.³⁷ Кроме того, в языке бесермян реляционные имена демонстрируют следующие синтаксические свойства, нехарактерные для послелогов:

- способность присоединять прилагательное в качестве зависимого;
- способность присоединять показатели ядерных падежей;
- способность присоединять показатель лица, не совпадающий с показателем лица, которым оформляется генитивное зависимое;
- способность присоединять показатель множественного числа.

Список бесермянских реляционных имен приведен в таблице 4 (вопросительными знаками отмечены сочетания, относительно допустимости которых у нас нет данных).

реляционное имя	лока-тив	эла-тив	илла-тив	прола-тив	эгрес-сив	ашпрок-симатив	терми-натив
vəl 'поверхность объекта'	+	+	+	+	+	+	*
ul 'нижняя часть предмета, пространство ниже ориентира'	+	+	+	+	+	+	*
až' 'передняя часть объекта'	+	+	+	+	?	*	?
ber 'задняя часть объекта'	+	+	+	+	?	*	?
pal 'сторона'	+	+	+	+	+	+	*
jəl 'верхушка объекта'	+	+	+	+	+	+	?
vis 'промежуток'	+	+	+	+	?	*	?
šor 'середина'	+	+	+	+	+	?	+
dur 'край'	+	+	+	+	+	?	*

Табл. 4. Основы серийных послелогов бесермянского наречия и их сочетаемость с показателями локативных падежей

В языке бесермян точку отсчета могут задавать не только реляционные имена, но и местоимения. Точка отсчета в этом случае является дейктической. При присоединении показателей локативных падежей к местоименным основам образуются серии наречий, см. таблицу 5:

³⁷С целью подчеркивания отличия реляционных имен от послелогов в силу наличия ряда именных свойств для них была введена отдельная морфосинтаксическая проекция Axial Part (см. (Ashbury 2008)). О различии синтаксического поведения реляционных имен и послелогов см. (Бирюк 2005).

местоименная основа	локатив	элатив	иллатив	пролатив	эгрессив	аппроксиматив	терминатив
*o- 'тот'	otəp 'там'	otəš' 'оттуда'	otč'ə 'туда'	ot', ot'i 'там'	otəš'en 'оттуда'	olań 'туда'	ož' 'дотуда'
ta- 'этот'	tatəp 'здесь'	tatəš' 'отсюда'	tatč'ə 'сюда'	taf' 'здесь'	tatəš'en 'отсюда'	talań 'сюда'	taž' 'досюда'
kəd'ək- 'далекий'	kəd'əkəp 'далеко'	kəd'əkəš' 'издалека'	kəd'ək'e 'далеко'	kəd'əkəti 'далеко'	kəd'əkəš'en 'далеко'	*	*
ku-/kət- основа вопросительно- относительных местоимений	kətəp 'где'	kətəš' 'откуда'	kətč'ə 'куда'	kə'i 'где'	kətəš'en 'откуда'	kudlań 'куда'	kətč'ož' 'докуда'
so- 'он, она, оно'	sotəp 'вон там'	sotəš' 'вон оттуда'	sotč'ə 'вон туда'	soti 'вон там'	sotəš'en 'вон оттуда'	solań 'вон туда'	sotč'ož' 'вон дотуда'
mat- 'близкий к говорящему'	matəp 'близко'	matəš' 'из места, близкого к говоря- щему'	mate 'в место, близкое к говоря- щему'	mati 'по месту, близкому к говоря- щему'	matəš'en 'от места, близкого к говоря- щему'	*	*
art- 'ближайший к говорящему'	artəp 'близко'	*	arte 'близко'	*	*	*	*

Табл. 5. Бесермянские местоименные основы и их сочетаемость с показателями локативных падежей

Вернемся к приведенному выше правилу устройства бесермянской локативной группы. Из этого правила есть три исключения. Во-первых, показатели личного латива и личного локатива состоят из двух частей, первая из которых – *ń* – обозначает локализацию³⁸ 'дома у X-а', а вторая представляет собой показатели иллатива и локатива с соответствующей семантикой.

Во-вторых, существует серийный послелог с основой *pər-*, обозначающий переходный способ движения:

- (1) so pot-i-z **es-ti** / es **pər** / es **pər-ti**.
 тот выйти-Pst1-3 дверь-Prol дверь сквозь дверь сквозь-Prol
Он вышел через дверь.

В-третьих, локализации IN 'внутри полости' и INTER 'внутри однородной среды' наряду с послеложным могут иметь и нулевое выражение. Ср. примеры (2) – (5):

- (2) **çek-ən** kńiga kəŋ'e.
 стол-Loc книга лежать-3Sg:Prs
В столе лежит книга.

³⁸В списке локализаций, предложенном в (Мельчук 1998), эта локализация отсутствует. Однако в силу того, что значение 'дома у X-а' отмечается у адлогов и падежей в ряде языков (ср., например, послелог с основой *ord-* с этим значением в коми языках), мы считаем целесообразным трактовать его как локализацию.

(3) bolot **korka**, so **korka pušk-ə** pəg-i-z.
 болото дом.III тот дом внутри.Obl-III войти-Pst1-3
В болотный дом, в этот дом он зашёл.

(4) dugd-i-z-ə, naš'k-o krugom, č'ašja pəl-ə
 остановиться-Pst1-3-Pl3 смотреть-3Pl:Prs кругом лес внутри-III
 aldaš'k-i-z-ə.
 заблудиться-Pst1-3-Pl3
Остановились, смотрят кругом, в лесу (букв. в лес) заблудились.

(5) mən-i-z-ə, mən-i-z-ə, i ʒet no vu-i-z ni,
 идти-Pst1-3-Pl3 идти-Pst1-3-Pl3 и вечер тоже прийти-Pst1-3 уже
 rejmatč'k-ənə kuč'k-i-z, i tare so-os ug ni tod-o
 темнеть-Inf начать-Pst1-3 и потом тот-Pl1 Neg1 уже знать-3Pl:Prs
 aldaš'k-i-z-ə č'ašja-jən, kud-lań mən-ənə?
 заблудиться-Pst1-3-Pl лес-Loc где-Approx идти-Inf
Шли, шли, уже и вечер настал, стемнело, и потом они уже не знают, в какую сторону идти – заблудились в лесу.

Согласно нашим данным, нейтральным является нулевое выражение локализаций IN и INTER, послелого же употребляются в том случае, если имеет место сильное эмфатическое выделение (см. пример (3)).

Отметим, что употребление при одном и том же глаголе *aldaš'kənə* 'заблудиться' имен в формах иллатива и локатива, представленное в примерах (4) и (5) соответственно, неслучайно. Как показано в таблице 2, между локативными падежами и способами движения нет взаимно-однозначного соответствия. Дело в том, что пространственные падежи в языке бесермян (как, например, и в финском языке – см. (Fong 1997)) чувствительны к местоположению объекта относительно ориентира, которое имело место до начала ситуации либо по ее окончании. Так, например, в примере (4) акцент сделан на том, что герои, заблудившись в лесу, останутся в нем какое-то время после этого. В примере же (5) представлено перечисление последовательности событий, причины и последствия которых не важны для говорящего. Отношение к локализации до начала ситуации и после ее окончания вместе с типом движения образуют семантическую структуру локативных падежей:

	локатив	элатив	иллатив	пролатив	эгрессив	аппроксиматив	терминатив
способ движения	статический	начальный	коэффициентный	переходный	начальный	аппроксимативный	коэффициентный
локализация объекта до начала ситуации	неважно	совпадает с локализацией ориентира	неважно	неважно	неизвестна	неважно	неважно
локализация объекта после окончания ситуации	неважно	неважно	совпадает с локализацией ориентира	неважно	неважно	неважно	неизвестно

Табл. 6. Семантическая структура бесермянских локативных падежей

С нашей точки зрения, подобное схематическое представление семантики локативных падежей позволяет объяснить, каким образом пространственные их значения связаны с непространственными, путем выделения семантических компонентов, которые "выветриваются" в ходе метафорического переноса. Проиллюстрируем это на примере пролатива. Пролатив обозначает переходный способ движения, который мы понимаем несколько иначе, чем М. Крахт – а именно, как передвижение объекта в заданную локализацию внутри ориентира, а затем из заданной локализации внутри ориентира на протяжении времени ситуации. Пример употребления пролатива представлен ниже:

- (6) kəč'ek'e soldat armi-jəš' bert-e. **č'ašja dor-ti,**
какой-то солдат армия-Е1 возвращаться-3Sg:Prs лес около-Proл
vər-ti, gop-ti.
холмик-Proл яма-Proл
Какой-то солдат из армии возвращается. Мимо леса, по холмикам, по ямам.

Также пролатив употребляется в контекстах, близких к дистрибутивным (пример (7)), а также маркирует точку приложения при глаголах, обозначающих воздействие на часть объекта, при котором оказывается затронутым весь объект целиком (пример (8)):

- (7) kartoška kopa-ŋa-m **ləmə ul-ti.**
картошка копать-Asp0-Pst2 снег низ-Proл
Картошку копали, (которая была) под снегом.

- (8) mh, pič'i pi-z-e vož'e **ki-ti-z.**
гм маленький мальчик-3-Асс держать-3Sg:Prs рука-Proл-3
Маленького мальчика держит за руку.

Употребление пролатива в высказываниях типа (7) можно объяснить метафорическим переносом, в ходе которого исчезает семантический компонент

ДВИЖЕНИЕ и остается локализация объекта в разных местах внутри ориентира (в данном случае, нижней стороны снега). В примерах типа (8) выветривается компонент ПЕРЕДВИЖЕНИЕ ИЗ ЗАДАННОЙ ЛОКАЛИЗАЦИИ ВНУТРИ ОРИЕНТИРА и акцентируется связь части ориентира, с которой объект вступает в контакт, с ориентиром в целом.

Наконец, падежные формы могут задаваться конструкцией. Конструкции, элементы которых в языке бесермян оформляются показателями локативных падежей, представлены в таблице 7.

семантика конструкции	глаголы, образующие конструкцию	зависимые элементы, входящие в конструкцию	общий вид конструкции
положение покоящегося тела животного существа относительно ориентира	kəlʔəṇə 'лежать' sələṇə 'стоять' возможно без глагола	части тела личные местоимения ориентир	[лежать/стоять] + [часть тела] _{NOM} + (личное местоимение) _{GEN} + [ориентир] _{APPROX/DAT}
положение движущегося тела животного существа относительно ориентира	uʃ'əṇə 'падать'	части тела ul 'низ'	[падать] + [часть тела + (-iŋ)] _{NOM} + [ul 'низ'] _{APPROX}
контактное положение объектов	без глагола	ki 'рука' bəgʃ'- 'POST (сзади X-а)' korka 'дом'	[элемент конструкции] _{EL} + [элемент конструкции] _{ILL}

Табл. 7. Конструкции с локативными падежами в языке бесермян

Итак, в данной работе было предложено описание системы локативных падежей языка бесермян, претендующее на систематизированность. Были перечислены классы основ, к которым присоединяются падежные показатели, и конструкции, члены которых ими оформляются, а также представлена семантика локативных падежей.

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Symposium 8.

Harri Mantila – Helena Sulkala: Language planning for the Finnic minority Languages / Языковое планирование для прибалтийско-финнских языков

András Bereczki
Budapest

VIRON VÄHEMMISTÖPOLITIikka MAAILMANSOTIEN VÄLISENÄ AIKANA

Kongressiesitelmäni perustuu pääpiirteittäin tohtorinväitöskirjaani, joka valmistui vuonna 2001 ja joka ilmestyy lähiaikoina myös painettuna. Tarkoitukseni on antaa yleiskuva Viron vähemmistöpolitiikasta vuosina 1918–1939. Vähemmistöpolitiikan alkuvaiheiden pääpiirteiden esittelyn jälkeen käsittelen ulko- ja turvallisuuspolitiikkaa ja tämän jälkeen tarkemmin kulttuuriautonomiasta annetun lain kohtaamia reaktioita ja lopuksi vähemmistöpolitiikan tuntomerkkejä ja siinä tapahtuneita muutoksia. Tärkeimpänä tutkimuslähteenä olen käyttänyt lakitekstejä ja parlamentin (Riigikogu) istuntokausien pöytäkirjoja sekä ajan lehdistömateriaalia ja alan erikoiskirjallisuutta.

Vähemmistöpolitiikan kehittyminen

Ensimmäisen maailmansodan lopussa itsenäistyneen Viron tasavallan väestöstä 87,6% oli virolaisia (1922). Suurimpia vähemmistöryhmiä olivat venäläiset (8,2%), saksalaiset (1,7%), ruotsalaiset (0,7%), latvialaiset (0,5% vuonna 1934) ja juutalaiset (0,4%). Viroa voitiin siis pitää väestönsä suhteen homogeenisena kansallisvaltiona, ainakin kesken Itä-Euroopan muihin valtioihin verrattuna.

Jo itsenäisyysmanifestiin sisällytettiin demokraattisten kansalaisoikeuksien turvaamisen ohella se, että tasavallan rajojen sisällä eläville kansallisille vähemmistöille (venäläisille, saksalaisille, ruotsalaisille ja juutalaisille) sekä muille kansoille turvataan oikeus kulttuuriautonomiaan.

Saksan maailmansodassa kärsimän tappion jälkeen nimettyyn Viron ensimmäiseen väliaikaiseen hallitukseen nimitettiin kansallisuuksia edustavat ministerit (myöhemmin kansallisuussihteerit). Tavoitteena oli epäilemättä voittaa vähemmistöjen tuki itsenäisen Viron valtion luomiselle, mutta myös vähemmistöille annetut lupaukset pidettiin. Myöhemmin laaditut väliaikaiset lait ja asetukset palvelivat niinkään keskinäisen luottamuksen ylläpitämistä. Sotilaspoliittisen

tilanteen kehittyminen vaikutti olennaisesti itsenäisyystaistelujen aikana huhtikuussa 1919 kokoontuneen perustuslakia säätävän kansalliskokouksen toimintaan.

Eräs Viron poliittisen ja yhteiskunnallisen tilanteen vakauttamisen keskeisiä kysymyksiä oli erityisesti baltiansaksalaisten maanomistusta koskeva maareformi Virossa syksyllä 1919. Sen yhteydessä 96,6% suurtiloista otettiin valtion hallintaan. Näin murrettiin baltiansaksalaisten taloudelliset valtaoikeudet maaseudulla ja samalla vähennettiin sosiaalisia jännitteitä antamalla maata talonpojille (ja sotilaille). Saksalaispuolueita lukuunottamatta käytännöllisesti katsoen kaikki muut parlamenttipuolueet tukivat maareformia, erimielisyyttä oli vain sen radikaalisuusasteessa.

Vasemmistoenemmistöisessä kansalliskokouksessa syntyi kiivaiden keskustelujen tuloksena Euroopan demokraattisimpiin kuuluva perustuslaki, joka takasi kaikille oikeudet kansallisuuden vapaaseen valintaan, oikeuden vähemmistöjen kulturaaliseen edustukseen sekä kansallisille vähemmistöille oikeuden oman kielen käyttöön valtion ja kunnan virastoissa. Käytetyistä puheenvuoroista käy ilmi, että edustajat tunsivat hyvin vuosisadan alun itävaltalaisen sosiaalidemokratian kulttuuriautonomiia käsittelevät kirjoitukset.

Ulko- ja turvallisuuspolitiikka

Pariisin rauhankonferenssiin matkustaneen virolaisvaltuuskunnan tärkein tehtävä oli esitellä valtion itsenäisyyttä niin de facto kuin myös de jure, mutta varsin pian kävi ilmi, että ympärysvaltiot käsittelevät Viron kohtaloa täysin riippuvaisena Venäjän tilanteen kehittymisestä. Näin Virolle jäi käytännössä vain sisäinen autonominen status Venäjän sisällä. Viron valtuuskunnan johtajaa ei edes hyväksytty konferenssin viralliseksi osanottajaksi.

Neuvosto-Venäjän kanssa solmittu Tarton rauha helmikuussa vuonna 1920 merkitsi Virolle ensimmäistä de jure -tunnustusta ja maan itärajan määrittelemistä. Ympärysvaltiojen korkein neuvosto hyväksyi Viron tasavallan itsenäisyyden vasta 26. tammikuuta vuonna 1921, jolloin valkoisten tappio Venäjän sisällissodassa oli varmistunut.

Viro hyväksyttiin täysjäseneksi Kansainliittoon 22. syyskuuta vuonna 1921. Jäsenyyden yhteydessä Viro hyväksyi julkilausumassaan kansainvälisten lakien mukaiset velvoitteet vähemmistöjensä suojelussa, mutta tämän yleislausuman lisäksi se ei halunnut antaa vähemmistöjen suojelua takaavaa konkreettista julkilausumaa. Viro ja Latvia eivät halunneet, että Kansainliitto pääsisi vaikuttamaan niiden vähemmistöpolitiikan kehittymiseen. Kansainliiton johto kuitenkin pelkäsi, että vähemmistö sopimuksen mukaisesti vastaavassa tilanteessa olevat Puola, Romania ja Jugoslavia esittäisivät vastalauseensa Latvian ja Viron julkilausuman puutteesta ja näin se pyrki yksiselitteisesti vaikuttamaan näihin kahteen maahan. Viron kannalta neuvottelutilannetta vaikeutti baltiansaksalaisten emigranttien Viron vastainen myyräntö ja heidän Kansainliitossa käymänsä tehokas propagandakampanja. Viron johdolle kävi selväksi, että Viroa kohdeltaisiin eri tavoin kuin Suomea, se luokiteltiin nk. uudeksi valtioksi. Pitkittyneiden neuvottelujen jälkeen Viro antoi suotuisat ehdot neuvoteltuaan julkilausuman 17. syyskuuta 1923, ja Kansainliitto antoi sille takuunsa. Kansainliitto sai Viroon liittyen valituksia vain maareformin toteuttamisesta, muista kysymyksistä tai oikeuksien rikkomisesta valituksia ei tehty.

Saksan kulloisetkin hallitukset seurasivat tarkoin vironsaksalaisten kohtaloa, mutta Saksa painosti muita maita (Puolaa, Tšekkoslovakiaa, Unkaria jne.) huomattavasti enemmän niiden harjoittaman vähemmistöpolitiikan takia kuin Viroa. Tähän saattoivat vaikuttaa Saksan poliittiset suunnitelmat, vironsaksalaisten suhteellisen pieni lukumäärä ja myös heidän vähenevä vaikutusvaltansa. Vironsaksalaista kulttuuria tuettiin kuitenkin erityisen vahvasti Saksasta käsin eri järjestöjen kautta. Hitlerin valtaantulon jälkeen Saksan hallitus pyrki saamaan Viron saksalaispuolueen ja eri järjestöt vaikutusvaltaansa. Neuvostoliitto ei osoittanut käytännössä minkäänlaista kiinnostusta vironvenäläisiä kohtaan. Sen Baltian politiikan tärkein päämäärä olikin estää reunavaltion liittoutuman muodostuminen läntiselle raja-alueelle sekä saksalaisvaikutuksen heikentäminen.

Viro solmi vuonna 1923 kahdenvälisen sotilaallisen ja poliittisen liiton Latvian kanssa ja vuonna 1934 siihen liittyi myös Liettua (nk. Balti-antant), mutta toteutumatta jäi alueen laajempi Suomen, Viron, Latvian, Liettuan ja Puolan välinen puolustus- ja yhteistyösopimus. Tällaista sopimusta ei Neuvostoliiton ohella Saksakaan olisi hyväksynyt. Isoa-Britanniaa alueen erityiskysymykset eivät kiinnostaneet. Sille – samoin kuin Ranskalle – oli tärkeää vain se, ettei saksalais- ja neuvostoliittolaisvaikutus kasvaisi Virossa ja Latviassa vähemmistökysymysten kautta. 1930-luvun lopulla Viro jäi yksin, käytännössä vaille liittolaisia. Sen ulkopoliittinen epävarmuus ja tästä aiheutuneet ongelmat eivät kuitenkaan johtuneet vähemmistöpolitiikasta, josta se sai kansainvälistäkin tunnustusta.

Kulttuuriautonomia

Kansallisten vähemmistöjen kulttuuriautonomian luomiseen tarvittiin toimintarajat määrittävää lainsäädäntöä. Erityisesti saksalaispuolue oli aktiivinen lakiehdotuksen valmisteluvaiheessa. Yhteistyötä virolaisten kanssa tuki baltiansaksalaisen puolueen sisällä havattavissa ollut konstruktivisen toimintamallin korostuminen. Saksalaiset eivät enää tähänneet aiemman johtoasemansa palauttamiseen, vaan he tyytyivät muuttuneisiin olosuhteisiin ja pyrkivät vähemmistöasemassaan vaikuttamaan mahdollisimman aktiivisesti omien etujensa ajamiseen ja toimintamahdollisuuksiensa parantamiseen.

Vähemmistöjen vaikuttamismahdollisuudesta annetun lakiehdotuksen valmistelu ja siitä käyty keskustelu eteni äärimmäisen hitaasti. Kaikkein selvimmin lakia ja vähemmistöjen oikeudellista tasa-arvoa asettui puolustamaan oikeistolainen talonpoikaismpuolue, joka piti myös yllä parhaita suhteita saksalaisiin. Kaikkein kiivaimmin kansallisia vähemmistöjä ja niiden vaatimuksia vastusti Viron Kansanpuolue. Keskustavasemmistolainen Viron Työpuolue vastusti lakia pitkään niin kansallisten kuin sosiaalistenkin intressiristiriitojen takia, mutta myöhemmin puolueen kanta pehmeni. Maaliskuussa vuonna 1924 saksalaispuolue allekirjoitti esteiden poistamiseksi sopimuksen Viron liberaalisen kansanpuolueen kanssa. Tuolloin vaikutti vielä siltä, että kansanpuolueen taantumuksellinen rooli siirtyisi entistä enemmän sosiaalidemokraateille, jotka olivat löytävinään luokkavihollisia niin baltiansaksalaisista kuin myös osasta venäläisiä, osuivathan sosiaaliset ja kansalliset eroavaisuudet hyvinkin tarkasti yhteen. On oikeastaan aika mielenkiintoista, että vasemmisto suhtautui vähemmistöihin paljon vastahakoisemmin kuin oikeisto. Varsinaisen muutoksen aiheutti 1. joulukuuta 1924 tapahtunut epäonnistunut

kommunistinen vallankaappausyritys, josta järkyttyneet puolueet lopettivat hankkeen pitkittämisen, minkä jälkeen saatiin aikaan suurkoalitio ja laki hyväksyttiin 12. helmikuuta vuonna 1925.

Lain aikaansaamisen takana oli siis sarja kompromisseja. Aiemmin annettujen lupauksen mukaisesti Viro todellakin mahdollisti kulttuuri-itsehallinnon ja näin toteutui ensimmäisenä maailmassa kansallisten vähemmistöjen itsehallintoperiaate. Laki mahdollisti kaikkien yli 3000 hengen kansallisuuksien valtakunnallisen itsehallinnon. Tämä tapahtui kansalaisten henkilökohtaisten oikeuksien perusteella, ei alueellisin perustein. Itsehallintoon liittyminen oli vapaaehtoista ja perustuslaki antoi kansalaisille myös oikeuden itse päättää omasta kansallisuudestaan.

Miksi juuri Virossa toteutui malli, joka aikoinaan oli kehitetty Itävalta-Unkarin kaksoismonarkian kansallisuuskysymysten ratkaisemiseksi? Suotuisiin olosuhteisiin voidaan kiistatta laskea kansallisten vähemmistöjen suhteellisen alhainen suhde (ja myös lukumäärä) verrattuna virolaisiin. Vähemmistöillä ei ollut sellaisia taloudellisia ja poliittisia voimavaroja, jotka olisivat aiheuttaneet vaaran tunnetta valtaväestössä. Vaikutuksensa oli myös maareformilla, joka eväsi aiemmalta johtavalta eliitiltä sen taloudellisen voiman. Lain hyväksymiseen ei sen sijaan vaikuttanut ulkovaltojen painostus, vaikkakin sen hyväksymistä nopeutti maan rajojen ulkopuolella käynnistynyt sisäpoliittinen liikehdintä. Kommunistien vallankaappausyrityksen jälkeen Viron puolueet pyrkivät yhteisvoimin maan sisäisen tilanteen tyydyttävään ratkaisuun, yhteiskunnallisen rauhan tukemiseen. Lain syntyminen oli pitkähkön oikeudellisen ja yhteiskunnallisen prosessin ja käydyn keskustelun tulos, joka käynnistyi jo itsenäisyysmanifestilla. Kiistatta myös ulkopoliittiset tekijät vaikuttivat vähemmistökysymykseen. Pitkäksi venyneitä keskusteluja parlamentissa tarvittiin myös siksi, että poliitikoista, jotka itsekkin olivat saaneet kokea hyökkäyksiä niin baltiansaksalaisten, saksansaksalaisten, venäläisten viranomaisten kuin neuvostovenäläisten sotilaidenkin taholta, häviäisi henkilökohtaisen koston tunne aiempien vuosikymmenten tai vuosisatojen kärsimysten ja loukkausten takia.

Saksalaispuolueen edustajat hyväksyivät vuonna 1924 kansanpuolueen kanssa solmitun kompromissin mukaisesti, että itsehallintoa ei käytettäisi poliittisten, vaan kulturaalisten päämäärien saavuttamiseen. Viron kansallisten vähemmistöjen piirissä ei ollut sellaisia merkittäviä kantavia liikkeitä, jotka olisivat ajaneet valtion perustamista tai liittymistä johonkin toiseen valtioon, ne pyrkivät vain omien kansallis-etnisten ja kielellisten pyrkimysten saavuttamiseen. Lain syntymistä saattoi tukea myös se, ettei aiemmista ongelmista huolimatta maassa syntynyt etnisiä konflikteja. Koska Viro oli uusi valtio, ei aiempaa, esim. suurvalta-ajattelutapaa tarvinnut muuttaa kansalliseksi. Virolaiset olisivat voineet käyttää vahvemmin hyväksi enemmistöasemaansa, mutta heidän oma etninen pienuutensa ajoi heitä tilanteen hyväksymiseen. Enemmistöltä vaadittiin ymmärrystä, joka esim. koulutuksen alalla johti positiiviseen diskriminaatioon. Tämän hyväksymiseen vaikutti se, että kansakoululaitoksen monisatavuotisen historian ansiosta lukutaidottomuutta ei käytännössä ollut ja yleinen sivistystaso oli suhteellisen korkea. Monikielisyys oli yleistä eikä kansallistunnetta häirinyt se, että esim. kansalliskokouksessa ja parlamentissa saksalaisedustajat puhuivat saksaa, venälaisedustajat venäjää. Käytännössä lähes kaikki virolaiset sivistyneistön edustajat hallitsivat kummatkin kielet. Päätävässä asemassa olevat olivat varmoja siitä, että etnisen tasa-arvon julistaminen tulisi pitkällä aikavälillä kannattamaan.

Vähemmistöpolitiikan toteuttaminen vuoden 1925 jälkeen

Saksalaiset käyttivät vuonna 1925 ja juutalaiset vuonna 1926 hyväkseen mahdollisuutta kulttuuri-itsehallinnon perustamiseen. Valtaosa venäläisistä, ruotsalaisista ja latvialaisista eli lähekkäin, joten he kykenivät toteuttamaan kulturealiset ja muut tarpeensa asuinpaikoillaan. Venäläiset eivät aluksi pyrkineet luomaan kansallista edustusta, vaan vei jonkin aikaan ennen kuin erilaisten yhteiskunnallisten kerrostumien välille alkoi syntyä yhteistyötä. Vähemmistöjen puolueet ja vaalikoalitiot olivat lähellä keskustaa, mutta vähemmistöjen alhaisen lukumäärän takia niiden rooli jäi vähäiseksi. Vuosina 1919–1933 vähemmistöedustajien lukumäärä oli 5–8. Vuosina 1934–1938 vähemmistöjen puolueiden toimintaa rajoitettiin samalla tavoin kuin virolaistenkin puolueiden. Vuosina 1937–38 alkoi paluu perustuslaillisuuteen, mutta uusi vaalijärjestelmä vaikeutti kansallisten vähemmistöjen edustajien pääsyä kaksikamarisen parlamentin 80 edustajan edustajistoon, johon loppujen lopuksi saatiin vain 3 venäläisedustajaa tai 40 edustajan ylähuoneeseen (valtioneuvosto), johon kulturealisen itsehallinnon omaavat kansallisuudet, saksalaiset ja juutalaiset saattoivat delegoida yhden yhteisen edustajan.

Nationalistiset suuntaukset nousivat esiin Virossakin 1930-luvulla ja ne tulivat mukaan myös viralliseen politiikkaan. Vähitellen kansallishenkisyys ja isänmaallisuus alkoi kasvaa, mutta virolainen nationalismi ei silti muuttunut aggressiiviseksi eikä vähemmistövastaiseksi edes Viron vapaussotureiden keskusliitossa. Maassa ei tapahtunut väestön keskuudessa närkästyistä herättäneitä välikohtauksia eikä laittomuuksia, julkiset aktiviteetit ja muut kampanjat (esim. nimien virolaistaminen) toteutettiin maan ylimmän johdon valvonnan alla.

Vuosina 1918–1940 opetuksen alalla toteutettiin harkittua ja määrätietoista kielipolitiikkaa. Vähemmistöjen äidinkielen opetus toteutui peruskoulusta aina lukioon asti. Valtion koulujen ohella toiminnassa oli myös yksityiskouluja. Viron kieli oli virallisena kielenä pakollinen, oppimäärä oli suoritettava lukion loppuun mennessä. 1920-luvun alussa virolaisten 99,7%, venäläisten 95%, saksalaisten 94% ja ruotsalaisten liki 90% sai opetusta äidinkielellä, kun taas juutalaislapsista vain noin 22,5% kävi jiddisin tai hepreankielistä koulua, valtaosa heistä kävi saksalaista tai venäläistä koulua. Vähemmistökoulujen opettajat valmistuivat Tallinnan opettajainvalmistuslaitoksesta. Tarton yliopiston humanistiseen tiedekuntaan perustettiin vuonna 1936 judaistiikan laitos, josta valmistui opettajia Viron juutalaisiin kouluihin. Jännitteitä syntyi kuitenkin vuoden 1934 opetusreformin tuloksena, jonka perusteella myös vähemmistökouluja sulautettiin yhteen ja joitakin lakkautettiin. Viralliseen valtiolliseen politiikkaan tuli mukaan piirteitä, joita voitiin pitää pyrkimyksenä muuttaa vähemmistöjen kanssa aiemmin solmittuja suhteita. Opetuksen alalla vähemmistöt paheksuivat useampiakin esiin nousseita kysymyksiä.

Viron kielen aseman korostaminen alkoi vuonna 1935. Säädettiin, että kauppaliikkeiden kirjanpito ja kirjeenvaihto tuli hoitaa viroksi ja myös mainoskilpien ja näyteikkunoiden tekstien tuli olla vironkielisiä. Uuden kielilain mukaiset paikan- ja talonnimiä säätelevät määräykset herättivät vastustusta erityisesti vironruotsalaisten keskuudessa.

Poliittiset ja kulttuurijärjestöt saattoivat tavallisesti toimia melko vapaasti. Vapaasti ilmestyi myös vähemmistökielinen lehdistö, julkaisujen lakkauttamisella oli yleensä puhtaasti taloudelliset syynsä. Autoritaarisen järjestelmän myötä lehdistönvapauden

rajoittaminen kohdistui yhtä hyvin vähemmistölehtiin kuin myös virolaiseenkin lehdistöön. Kulttuurin vaalimisen alalla kulttuuriautonomialla oli etunsa, mutta esim. venäläisen kulttuurinkaan vaalimiselle ei asetettu esteitä.

Viron kreikkalaiskatonilinen kirkko saattoi vapaasti jatkaa toimintaansa itsenäistymisen jälkeen. Vuodesta 1923 Viron apostolinen ortodoksinen kirkko siirtyi Konstantinopolin ekumeenisen patriarkaatin alaisuuteen. Evankelis-luterilaisen kirkon yhdistymishanke aiheutti jännitteitä saksalaisten ja virolaisten välille. Lopulta saksalaisvähemmistöjen seurakunnat muodostivat oman kirkkonsa, mutta konsistorio oli yhteinen virolaisten kanssa.

Viron saksalaisilla ja juutalaisilla oli keskeinen asema Viron talouselämässä, heidän osuutensa yliopisto-opiskelijoista oli huomattavasti korkeampi kuin valtaväestön. Viron itsenäistymisen jälkeen osalle vähemmistöistä (saksalaiset ja osa venäläisistä) ei ollut helppoa löytää paikkaa yhteiskunnassa, heidän piti mukautua muuttuneisiin olosuhteisiin ja vähemmistöasemaan. Vähemmistöryhmät menettivät usein etuoikeutetun asemansa, Viron kansallisvaltion perustamisen monet kokivat omien oikeuksien menettämisenä (johtavan aseman menettäminen, maareformi jne.). Tilastoista käy kuitenkin ilmi, ettei vähemmistöjen edustajia kuitenkaan pyritty sulkemaan viranomaisten tai akateemisen koulutuksen saaneiden ulkopuolelle. Joissakin ammateissa kansallisten vähemmistöjen osuus oli erityisen korkea, näin esimerkiksi 1920-luvulla lukion opettajista 17% oli saksalaisia, 1930-luvulla insinööreistä neljännes, papeista viidennes ja lääkäreistä kuudesosa. 1930-luvun lopulla vironjuutalaisista noin 10 prosentilla oli yliopistollinen loppututkinto. Heidän osuutensa oikeustieteellisessä ja lääketieteellisessä tiedekunnassa sekä taloustieteissä oli erityisen korkea, vielä saksalaisopiskelijoitakin korkeampi. Kaupallisista yrityksistä 5,1% oli venäläisten, 7,9% saksalaisten, 0,5% ruotsalaisten ja 8,5% juutalaisten hallinnassa. Saksalaisten ja juutalaisten vaikutus talouselämään oli selvimmin havaittavissa pankkimaailmassa sekä teollisuuslaitosten omistussuhteissa.

Muihin vähemmistöihin verrattuna myöhemmin maahan muuttaneet juutalaiset kohtasivat vierastamista ja jonkinasteista antisemitismiä, mutta vakavampi juutalaisvastaisuus ei löytänyt kasvualustaa yhteiskunnassa laajemmin eikä myöskään maan ylimmässä johdossa. Läheisimmin emovaltioiden, Saksan ja Ruotsin kanssa, yhteistyössä toimivat viron saksalaiset ja -ruotsalaiset. Baltiansaksalaisten keskuudessa ilmeni eräiden henkilöiden aiemman poliittisen aseman takia emigraatiota, muuttoa Saksaan ja pienimuotoista muuttoliikehdintää oli havaittavissa myös juutalaisten keskuudessa. Venäläisten vastaavien pyrkimysten esteenä oli suljettu neuvostoraja, vaikka välittömästi Tarton rauhan jälkeen muutto Virosta oli vielä jonkin aikaa mahdollista. Myös ideologisia ja poliittisia ongelmia oli olemassa, mutta muistettava on, ettei emämaan alhaisempi elintaso houkuttanut venäläisiä suurisuuntaiseen muuttoon.

Maailmansotien välinen kansallisuuspolitiikka Virossa loi mahdollisuudet vähemmistökulttuurin ja -identiteetin säilyttämiselle. Kansallisuuksilla oli omat kulttuuralliset, taloudelliset ja poliittiset oikeutensa, jotka tarjosivat mahdollisuuden harjoittaa ja toteuttaa omia tavoitteita niin yksilön kuin yhteisönkin tasolla. Viron liberaalista kansallisuuspolitiikasta huolimatta vähemmistöjen kohtalo muuttui myöhemmin dramaattisesti. Baltiansaksalaiset siirrettiin Saksan ja Viron välisellä sopimuksella pakkosiirroilla Saksaan vuosina 1939–1941, valtaosa juutalaisista pakeni Saksan hyökkäysvaiheessa Neuvostoliittoon ja Viroon jääneiden valtaosa menehtyi.

Valtaosa vironruotsalaisista evakuoitiin Ruotsiin vuosina 1942–43, kun taas vironvenäläisten kohtalo jatkui samankaltaisena kuin virolaistenkin.

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ONKO KVEENIN δ RELIKTI VAI SAAMEN KONTAKTIN VAIKUTUSTA?

1. Tutkimuskysymys

Suomen kielen pohjoisimpien murteiden kontaktia saamen kielten ja murteiden kanssa on tutkittu vähän, vaikka se antaisi monenlaisia näköaloja erilaisten transferi-ilmiöiden tarkasteluun (ks. kuitenkin Mantila 2001: 337). Yksi piirre, joka kirjallisuudessa on mainittu mahdolliseksi saamelaisvaikutukseksi on soinnillinen dentaalispiranti δ t :n heikon asteen vastineena, joka on erityisen tyypillinen Porsangin kveenimurteelle. Tämän kveenimurteen ja pohjoissaamen astevaihtelusysteemit muistuttavatkin joiltain osiltaan pitkälti toisiaan (saamen kvalitatiivisesta astevaihtelusta ks. Sammallahti 1998: 50–52). Seuraavassa esimerkissä heikkoasteiset muodot on merkitty kummankin kielen kirjakielen ortografian mukaan grafeemilla δ , jonka äännearvo on molemmissa δ .

Porsangin kveenimurre	pohjoissaame
<i>kota : kodassa</i>	<i>goahti : goađis</i>
<i>tiittää : tiedän</i>	<i>diehtit : dieđán</i>

Porsangin murteen δ :stä on jonkin verran mainintoja dialektologisessa kirjallisuudessa, mutta piirteen esiintymisehtoja ei ole systemaattisesti tutkittu. Äänne esiintyy harvinaisena Tornion murteen pohjoisosissa (Airila 1912: 89; Virtaranta 1958: 161–162). Tätä säännöllisemmin se esiintyy Porsangin murteessa, mutta piirre on tunnettu muissakin Länsi-Ruijan murteissa (Beronka 1922: 3–4; Lindgren 1993: 24–26). Kyseessä on sosiolingvivistisesti herkkä piirre, joka herättää niiden huomiota, joiden omaan murteeseen se ei kuulu. Piirre on otettu myös kveenin kirjoitettuun standardiin, ja se on mukana Söderholmin verkkokieliopissa. Sitä käytetään myös Alf Nilsen-Børsskogin romaaneissa ja Terje Aronsenin, tunnetun porsankilaisen kveenin kielen aktivistin, teksteissä. Piirre on näin esillä myös kielensuunnittelukeskustelussa. Merkki δ on lainattu kveeniin pohjoissaamen ortografiasta. Soinnillinen dentaalispiranti ei ole murteessa yksinomainen t :n heikon asteen vastine, vaan myös \emptyset , j , v ja h esiintyvät kuten yleensäkin suomen peräpohjalaismurteissa (Virtaranta 1958: 160–161; Lindgren 1993: 24–26).

Tutkimuskysymys kuuluu, edustaako Porsangin murteen kanta vanhaa länsimurteista $t : \delta$ -astevaihtelua, sen periferiassa säilynyttä jäännettä, vai onko kyseessä saamen vaikutus. Tähänastisessa kirjallisuudessa on ollut esillä kumpikin näkemys. Beronka (1922: 4) asettuu saamelaisvaikutuksen kannalle, vaikkei sitä aivan eksplisiittisesti ilmaisekaan: ”likhetspunkter med de av Airila nævnte finske, av lappisk paavirkede dialekter i Sverige Lappmarken” – ”Av disse likhetspunkter skal nævnes – lyden δ ”. Vanhana länsimurteisena piirteenä äännettä on pitänyt Virtaranta (1958: 209–210), joka esittää väitteensä tueksi seuraavat seikat:

1. δ esiintyy sellaisissakin muodoissa, jotka ovat $t:n$ paradigmaattisen astevaihtelun ulkopuolella (*odotti, myöden*),
2. $h:n$ jäljessäkin esiintyy δ (*puhdas, tehdä*), mikä saamessa ei ole mahdollista, ja
3. saame ei ole vaikuttanut $k:n$ astevaihteluun.

Virtaranta toteaa myös, että vaikka kyseessä onkin omapohjainen relikti, kontakti saamen kanssa on tukenut ”ratkaisevasti” sen säilymistä (1958: 210). Virtarannan kanssa samoilla linjoilla ovat Kettunen (1930: 90) ja Lindgren (1993: 24–25), mutta he eivät esitä asiaan lisäargumentteja.

2. Teoreettis-metodinen tausta ja aineisto

Van Coetsem on tarkentanut fonologisen lainautumisen teoriaa. Hänen mukaansa on erotettava toisistaan lähdekielen puhujan ja kohdekielen puhujan aktiivinen rooli (agentivity). Hänen termejään ja määritelmiään (1988: 10–12) soveltaen tilanne on tässä seuraavanlainen: kveeni on kohdekieli ja saame on lähdekieli. Jos kveenimurteita äidinkielenään puhuva henkilö lainaa soinnillisen dentaalispirantin saamesta, jota hän hallitsee toisena kielenä, on kyseessä imitatio, joka johtaa fonologiseen lainaamiseen (recipient language agentivity). Jos taas saamea äidinkielenään puhuva henkilö ottaa spirantin käyttöön kveenissä, joka taas hänelle on toinen kieli, kyseessä on adaptaatio ja tuloksena on fonologinen impositio, lähdekielen piirteiden siirtäminen kohdekieleen (source language agentivity).

Transferin luonnetta tarkasteltaessa pitää lisäksi ottaa huomioon tutkittavien kielten väliset sosiaaliset suhteet. Lainautuminen tapahtuu yleensä ja usein lähdekielestä kohdekieleen silloin, kun siihen on sosiaalinen tarve. Lähdekieli on silloin sosiaalisesti dominantti ja prestiisiasemassa. Jos taas on kyse impositiosta, vaikutus kulkee sosiaaliselta statukseltaan alempiarvoisesta lähdekielestä prestiisiasemassa olevaan kohdekieleen. Sosiaalisten suhteiden laatua ei kuitenkaan aina ole helppo erottaa toisistaan (van Coetsem 1988: 13–15).

Thomason on jakanut lainautumisen tyyppin neljään eri luokkaan. Ne perustuvat kontaktin intensiivisyyteen ja siihen, suosivatko sosiaaliset seikat lainautumista. Tärkeää on myös kontaktissa olevien kielten typologinen samankaltaisuus tai erilaisuus. Kaikkein heikoiten lainautuvat sellaiset seikat, jotka koskevat kielen morfofonologista järjestelmää (Thomason 2001: 69–71). Tässä tutkittavassa tilanteessa kveenin ja saamen suhde on melko tiivis, sosiaaliset seikat tukevat lainautumista ja yhteisössä on paljon kaksikielisiä yksilöitä. Puheena olevat kielet ovat myös typologisesti lähellä toisiaan, erityisesti juuri astevaihteluilmiön osalta, kuten edellä on tullut esiin. Tällaisessa tilanteessa kaikenlainen lainautuminen on Thomasonin mukaan mahdollista. Myös uusia foneemeja voidaan omaksua omaperäiseen leksikkoon.

Menetelmäni on, että vertaan Porsangin kveenimurteen $t:n$ astevaihtelun järjestelmää ja $\delta:n$ esiintymisen distribuutiota kahteen muuhun murteeseen. Ensinnä vertaan sitä Tornion murteen alueen pohjoisimpiin murteisiin. Näissä nimittäin on harvinaisena esiintynyt soinnillista dentaalispiranttia $t:n$ heikon asteen vastineena aina viime vuosikymmeniin saakka. Variantti on ollut harvinainen, ja yleisimpiä varianteja ovat olleet \emptyset , j , v ja h , kuten yleensäkin suomen peräpohjalaismurteissa. Toiseksi vertaan Porsangin murretta Sodankylän Vuotson saamelaiten puhumaan suomen murteeseen, jossa myös esiintyy toisinaan δ $t:n$ heikon asteen vastineena muiden

varianttien rinnalla. Vertailu paljastaa, muistuttaako Porsangin järjestelmä enemmän Tornion murteen pohjoisosien vai Vuotson murteen järjestelmää. Vuotsossa δ on ilman muuta saamen vaikutusta, koska ympäröivissä suomen murteissa ei muutoin spiranttia tunneta. Van Coetsemin termein on kyse fonologisesta impositiosta.

Käyttämäni Porsangin murteen aineisto on nauhoitettu vuonna 1988 kahdessa kylässä, Lemmijoessa (Lakselv, Leavdnja) ja Pyssyjoessa (Børselv, Bissojohka). Kyseessä on perinteinen haastatteleamalla tehty murrenauhoitus, ja sen ovat tehneet Olavi Korhonen ja Helena Sulkala. Omassa otoksessani on mukana neljä informanttia, kaksi miestä ja kaksi naista. He ovat kaikki kveeni, pohjoissaame ja norja - kolmikielisiä. Heidän ensikielensä on haastattelujen perusteella kveeni – tai suomi, kuten he itse kieltään nimittävät –, ja he ovat syntyneet vuosina 1903–1916. Aineisto on kestoltaan yhteensä 3,5 tuntia, ja se on kokonaan litteroitu. Aineisto on säilytteillä sekä Oulun nauhoitearkistossa (ONA, arkistonauhat 2557–2561, 2566) että Uumajan murre-, paikannimi- ja perinnearkistossa (DAUM, Dialekt-, ortnamns och folkminnesarkivet i Umeå, arkistonauhat 5765, 5767–5771, 5774, 5775). Materiaali on kokonaan myös digitoitu.

Vuotson aineiston on nauhoittanut Hanna Naalisvaara vuonna 1995. Se sisältää 12 informantin haastattelut, ja ne on talletettu Oulun nauhoitearkistoon (ONA, arkistonauhat 2651, 2653–2663). Jokaisen haastattelun kesto on noin tunti. Informantit ovat syntyneet vuosina 1912–1937, ja heidän ensikielensä on pohjoissaame. Suomen he ovat oppineet jo lapsuudessa, jotkut vasta koulussa. Vuotson kielioloista on aiemmin kirjoittanut Aikio (1988), joka tutki saamelaisten kielenvaihtoa suomeen. Osa Aikion informanteista on samoja kuin Naalisvaaran haastattelemat. Tätä nauhamateriaalia en ole itse analysoinut, vaan tietoni siitä perustuvat ohjauksessani valmistuneeseen Karppisen pro gradu-tutkimukseen (2007). Tornion murteesta en ole käyttänyt omaa erillistä aineistoa. Tyydyn tässä viittaamaan Airilan vuonna 1912 ilmestyneeseen Tornion murteen äännehistoriaan ja Virtarannan vuonna 1958 valmistuneeseen teokseen *Pääpainollisen tavun jälkeisen soinnillisen dentaalispirantin edustus suomen murteissa* ja perustan Tornion murteen osalta vertailuni näiden teosten tietoihin.

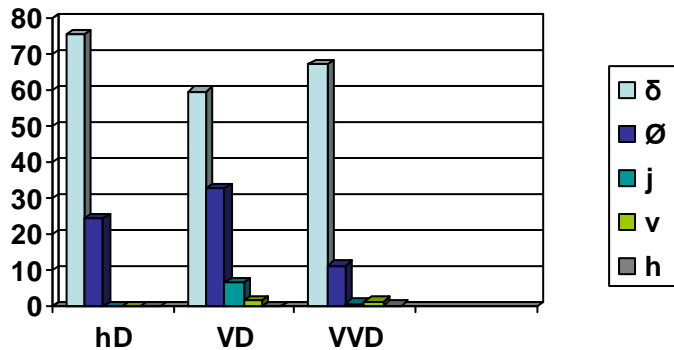
3. Analyysi

Kuviossa 1 esitän Porsangin murteen t :n heikon asteen eri varianttien kvantitatiivisen distribuution. Eri varianttien prosentuaaliset osuudet olen laskenut edellä mainitusta 3,5 tunnin aineistosta.



Kuvio 1. t :n heikon asteen vastineiden distribuutio Porsangin murteessa.

Kuviosta 1 käy ilmi, että soinnillinen dentaalispirantti on Lemmijoen ja Pyssyjoen murteessa yleisin *t*:n heikon asteen vastine. Sen osuus on lähes 70% kaikista tapauksista. Katovariantti on toiseksi yleisin, sitä on noin viidennes tapauksista. Variantteja *j* ja *v* esiintyy kumpaakin noin 5%, ja *h* esiintyy vain kaksi kertaa. Kuviossa 2 esitän Porsangin murteen *t*:n heikon asteen vastineiden kvantitatiivisen distribuution vielä erikseen äänneympäristöittäin tarkasteltuna. Kuviossa näkyy erikseen *h*:n jälkeinen asema (hD), lyhyen vokaalin (VD) sekä pitkän vokaalin ja diftongin jälkeinen asema (VVD).



Kuvio 2. *t*:n heikon asteen vastineiden distribuutio Porsangin murteessa äänneympäristöittäin tarkasteltuna.

Kuvio 2 ei tuo paljon uutta kuviossa 1 esittämääni informaatioon, mutta merkille pantava seikka on kuitenkin, että spirantti on kaikista äänneympäristöistä eniten edustettuna *h*:n jäljessä. Transferiajatuksen kannalta tämä on sikäli tärkeää, että saamassa δ ei esiinny *h*:n jäljessä, kuten aiemmin on tullut esille. – Kun verrataan Porsangin murteen *t*:n heikon asteen eri vastineiden esiintymisympäristöjä Tornion murteen järjestelmään (tästä ks. Airila 1912: 89–98; Virtaranta 1958: 160–163), saadaan näkyviin seuraavat seikat:

1. Tornion murteen yleisedustus on kato ilman siirtymä-äänteitä. Samoin Porsangin katomuodot ovat useimmin ilman siirtymä-äännettä, esim. *sa₁et*, *so₁an*, *pi₁än*, *kä₁en*, *ti₁ä*. Harvinaisena on kummallakin alueella siirtymä-äänteellisiä rinnakkaismuotoja, esim. *vejessä*, *sovan*.

2. *j* esiintyy Tornion murteessa yleisimmin *i*-loppuisen diftongin jäljessä. Porsangissa yleensä vain *tietää*-verbin paradigmassa, esim. *en ti(j)ä* ~ *en tiijä*.

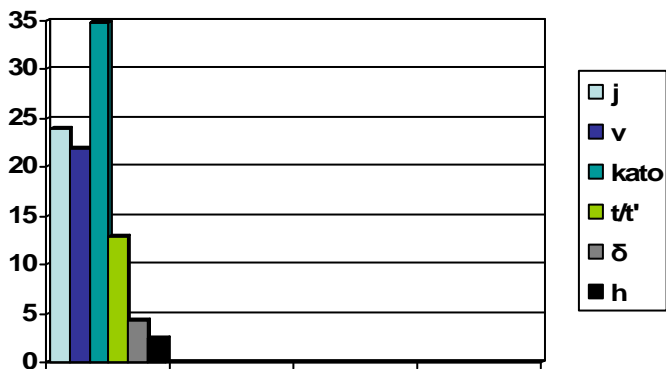
3. *v* esiintyy kummassakin murteessa *U*-loppuisen diftongin jäljessä, esim. *jouvuin*, *löyvethin*, *souvima*. Porsangissa ja usein myös Tornion murteessa *v* on aina lisäksi *häätyä*-verbin paradigmassa, esim. *häävythin*, *häävyimä*.

4. *h* esiintyy Porsangin aineistossa kaksi kertaa: *saaha*, *saahaan*. Myös Tornion murteessa *h* on mahdollinen *saada*-verbin infinitiivi- ja passiivimuodoissa.

Tuloksista näkyy, että Tornion ja Porsangin murteiden järjestelmät muistuttavat toisiaan siten, että ne voi nähdä saman diakronisen kehityskulun eri vaiheina. Soinnillinen dentaalispirantti, joka on ollut katoamassa Tornion murteesta, on vielä hyvin säilynyt saman murrejatukumon periferiassa. Kuitenkin sen asema periferiassakin

on alkanut horjua, ja siirtymä-äänteet *j* ja *v* ovat alkaneet tulla sen sijaan samoihin paikkoihin kuin Tornion murteessa. Useimmissa tapauksissa spirantti kuitenkin korvautuu kummassakin murteessa täydellisellä kadolla. Tornion murteellehan on juuri tyypillistä, että siirtymä-äänteitä esiintyy harvemmin ja rajatummissa asemissa kuin muissa katomurteissa.

Seuraavaksi vertaan Porsangin murteen järjestelmää Vuotson saamenkielisten suomenmurteeseen. Kuviossa 3 esitän ensin eri varianttien kvantitatiivisen jakauman. Olen piirtänyt kuvion Karppisen (2007: 32) ilmoittamien lukujen mukaan. Siitä käy ilmi, että spirantti on Vuotsossa harvinainen, ja sen osuus kaikista varianteista on noin 4%.



Kuvio 3. t:n heikon asteen vastineiden distribuutio Vuotson saamenkielisten suomenmurteessa (ks. Karppinen 2007: 32).

Karppinen esittää Vuotson murteen δ :stä t:n heikon asteen vastineena seuraavanlaisia esimerkkejä: *äidin*, *Sodankylhän*, *taloudenhoito*, *säädelty*. Tapauksia on vähän, ja ne näyttävät liittyvän vain tiettyihin lekseemeihin, erityisesti sanoihin *äiti* ja *Sodankylä*. Sitä vastoin valtaosa δ :n esiintymistä on vahvan asteen asemista, esimerkiksi: *äidi*, *tiedenki*, *kuiden*, *pidi*, *odethin*, *näidä*, *lendokone*, *vaaðimen*, *kodona* (Karppinen 2007: 33–35). Näyttää siis siltä, että Vuotson saamelaisten suomenmurteen ja Porsangin kveenimurteen t:n astevaihtelu on δ :n osalta täysin erilainen. Sitä vastoin Porsangin murteen ja Tornion murteen järjestelmät muistuttavat toisiaan.

4. Päätelmät

Porsangin kveenimurteessa esiintyvä soinnillinen dentaalispirantti δ on todennäköisemmin vanhaa perua suomen länsimurteista kuin saamen kontaktin aiheuttama fonologinen laina. Tätä päätelmää tukevat seuraavat huomiot:

1. δ esiintyy Porsangissa suunnilleen saman distribuution mukaisesti kuin kato Tornion murteessa, ja samoin siirtymä-äänteet *j* ja *v* esiintyvät suunnilleen samoissa asemissa. Porsangin ja Tornion murteen systeemit voidaan nähdä diakronisen kehityksen $\delta > \emptyset$ (*j*, *v*) eri vaiheina.

2. Vuotsolaisilla saamen ensikielenään oppineilla kaksikielisillä, joilla δ :tä ilman muuta täytyy pitää saamen transferina, spirantti esiintyy aina aivan eri konteksteissa kuin Porsangissa, useimmiten vahvan asteen asemissa.

Tässä analysoidun aineiston lisäksi ajatusta δ :stä vanhana omapohjaisena arkaistisena piirteenä – edellä esitettyjen Virtarannan argumenttien lisäksi – tukee vielä se, että Porsangissa δ esiintyy myös niillä, jotka eivät osaa saamea, mutta Vuotsossa sitä on vain saamentaitoisilla. Lisäksi Porsangin informanttien kielessä esiintyy muitakin arkaismeja, esim. $(*-k) > -t$ ja yksitavujen monikon genetiivityyppi *näinen*. Saamen transferistä lienee kuitenkin siinä mielessä kyse, että kontakti saamen kanssa on tukenut spirantin säilymistä kveenissä, kuten jo Virtaranta on esittänyt.

Avoimeksi jää edelleen monta seikkaa. Ensinnäkin saamen järjestelmää pitäisi kuvata tarkemmin. Toiseksi informanttien kielelliset elämäkerrat pitäisi tuntea tarkemmin, jotta erityyppisen transferin lajit voitaisiin paremmin ottaa huomioon. Kolmanneksi kielikontaktin laatu on Porsangissa ja Vuotsossa aivan erilainen, nimittäin van Coetsemin termein lähdekielen ja kohdekielen puhujan aktiivinen rooli (agentivity) on päinvastainen.

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**THE DENTAL SPIRANT IN THE KVEN LANGUAGE –
A RELICT OR CONTACT-INDUCED?**

The contact between Sámi and the northernmost dialects of Finnish has not been investigated to a great extent, although it is clear that the two have influenced each other in many ways. One feature that has been mentioned as being a result of Sámi contact in the dialects of Finnmark – nowadays often called the Kven language – is the voiced dental spirant δ as the weak grade correspondent of t , e. g. *kota* : *kodassa*, compare Northern Sámi *goahti* : *goađis*. On the other hand, many Finnish dialectologists have argued that δ in these dialects is an old relict, which goes back to the Proto-Finnic consonant gradation t : δ .

In my presentation, I discuss the origin of the consonant gradation t : δ . I compare three different dialects. I have tape recordings collected from the parish of Porsanger in Finnmark and from the village of Vuotso in northern Sodankylä, Finland. I compare the results from these two corpora with the consonant gradation system of the dialect of the Torne Valley already analysed in Airilas's sound history (1912) and Virtaranta's research (1958). The voiced dental spirant occurs as a weak grade correspondent of t in all of these dialects, but it is not regular. There is huge variation in every material and δ varies with \emptyset , j , v and h .

The informants in Vuotso are all bilingual and their mother tongue is Sámi. The surrounding Finnish dialects do not have this feature, and we thus know that the variation in Vuotso is contact-induced. The dialect of the Torne Valley is a closely related variety of the Kven dialect of Porsanger, but during the last decades the voiced dental spirant has been disappearing from the dialect. By comparing the variation in δ usage in Porsanger with that in Vuotso and in the Torne Valley, I think it is possible to establish whether the δ in Finnmark is an old Proto-Finnic relict or a result of language contact. My finding is that the variations in Porsanger and in the Torne Valley resemble each other, whereas that in Vuotso is very different. It is therefore possible to think that the consonant gradation t : δ in Porsanger is an old relict, but the contact with Sámi may have supported the maintenance of it.

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Kolozsvár

**MINORITY PRESS IN BUILDING COLLECTIVE IDENTITY.
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CSÁNGÓ, KVEN AND MEÄNKIELI
NEWSPAPERS**

“minority and its language – unless taken care of, spoken and transmitted – will cease to exist, and will be more and more deteriorated” (Laura Iancu, young csángó poet)³⁹

Introduction

The aim of this study is to present some partial results of a comprehensive research, having as its topic the comparison of the situation of Kven and Meänkieli speakers in Scandinavia, as well as the Csángós in Romania.

It is an exciting challenge for the researcher to follow the process during which more and more small minorities, among them the Kvens and the Meänkieli, have begun to become aware of themselves, of the value of their own language and culture. Their history has been deeply marked by the assimilation policy of the majority populations they have been cohabitating with for centuries. In the case of the Csángós, we have to deal with a community which still hasn't become conscious of the value of their own language and culture, while the Scandinavian minorities, even if only partially, already have.

It is very important for every community living in minority to make themselves visible in as many ways as possible. Mass media is a very effective possibility to fulfil this aim.

In this study I will focus on some newspapers of the above mentioned ethnic communities and try to make a survey of the different segments of their collective identity, such as ethnic and/or religious self-portrait, historical awareness, cultural image.

The newspapers (periodicals) I'm going to deal with are the **Moldvai Magyarság**, the **Ruijan Kaiku** and the **Met-avisi**.

Problems encountered by the researcher

I would like to mention some of the problems I had to encounter while working on this study.

1. It seemed to be an impossible task to trace complete collections of the above mentioned periodicals, especially the Met-avisi (as I didn't have the opportunity to spend longer time in Sweden). I could collect corpus for this study only from 35 issues of the Met-avisi (between 1993–2010), which is much less than the corpus gathered from the other two papers.

³⁹Original text in Hungarian: „a kisebbség és a nyelv, ha nincs ápolva, beszélve, őrizve, átadva, megszűnik, és egyre inkább romlik és romlik” (translated by M.B.E.) Ambarus 2003. 3.

2. In the case of the *Met-avisi*, I could not get enough information concerning the history of the periodical from the actual and the former editors. Only a few of my letters were answered.

3. Had I tried to summarize all the articles I read, I would have had to face an extremely large corpus of texts. That is why I decided to limit my sources. It may seem an arbitrary decision, but it was necessary. However, I have the intention of continuing this research and give a more thorough analysis of the topic.

Theoretical approach

When analyzing the identity of a minority group in the context of interrelations between language use, culture and emotional attitude, the researcher has to make an attempt to explore the concept of identity from several points of view. I myself have used mainly the approach offered by sociology and social psychology (Abrams 1992, Barth 1994, Bourdieu 1991, Erős 2001, Goffman 1998, Liebkind 1992, 1999, Tajfel 1981). I consider that an interdisciplinary approach and a dynamic conception of the topic are the best ways of tracing back the most significant aspects of collective identity.

It seems important to mention that the researcher is compelled to simplify the very manifold reality when picking out the main characteristics of the Csángó, the Kven and the Meänkieli speakers' collective identity as represented in their own press. Neither of these communities is homogenous as their way of thinking and attitude towards their own identity is concerned.

Most of the academic literature asserts that language has a crucial role in defining someone's belonging to a certain ethnic group. The language a person uses is closely linked to her/his identity. Language means much more than the significance of its words. It expresses social allegiances and shows which group the speaker belongs to and which one she/he does not. By choosing a certain language the speaker does not only express her/his thoughts and feelings but at same time creates an image of herself/himself as related to others. Both identity and language use are dynamic notions, depending on time and place, or generally on the context. For me, as a Hungarian living in Romania, ethnic and linguistic identity have always been twin notions and neither of them can be imagined without the other: if I identify myself with the Hungarian minority in Romania, then my mother tongue, my language deeply rooted in my personality and so the language with which I identify myself cannot be any other than Hungarian. Still, I am aware of the fact that there are cases when language is not a necessary requirement to identify with an ethnicity. I myself have often met this situation when conducting linguistic fieldwork in the community of Csángós in Romania, Meänkieli in Sweden and Kvens in Norway.

The corpus I intend to analyze consists of edited texts. Besides their aim to inform the readers, the texts always adopt an obvious position with respect to their topic.

I have chosen to analyze articles from newspapers because they are a suitable source for studying the public image of a group, the way they build their own image; at the same time it shows what they use that image for.

In limiting the corpus to be analyzed, I focused on the articles written about the most important events in the history of Csángó, Kven and Meänkieli speakers during the last two decades.

Before presenting the newspapers and analyzing the corpus collected from them, I will give a short survey of the history and the present socio-linguistic situation of these three ethnic minorities.

Csángós

The ethnonym *Csángó* refers to the Hungarians living in the Eastern region of Romania, that is Moldavia. The Moldavian Hungarians don't constitute a homogenous group, either from historic or linguistic-ethnographic point of view. The group of earlier Moldavian Hungarians were settled in Moldavia during the Middle Ages, as part of a systematic Hungarian imperial policy and their task was to defend the eastern frontier of Hungary. The other Csángó group, that of the fleeing Szeklers, settled in Moldavia between the 17th–19th centuries. Today, both groups use the term *Csángó* to describe someone who is no longer either Hungarian or Romanian. At the same time it has the pejorative connotation of imperfection and degeneracy (Tánczos 2008: 203–204).

Csángós are associated with distinct linguistic peculiarities, ancient traditions, and a great diversity of folk art and culture. For centuries, the self-identity of the Csángós was based on the Roman Catholic religion and their own language, a Hungarian dialect.

We do not have precise data about the number of Csángós. However, most researchers agree upon the fact that those who are Roman Catholics in Moldavia, almost exclusively belong to the ethnic group of Csángós. According to the 2002 census in Romania, there were 232 045 Roman Catholics in Moldavia, and, according to the above mentioned criterion, most of them have Hungarian origin. However, the number of Csángó speakers is much smaller. According to Tánczos, the number of villagers speaking the language is about 62 000 (Tánczos 2008: 218), while Pozsony judges that in the Moldavian cities and villages about 100000 people understand and use Csángó nowadays, as well (Pozsony 2005: 8).

The Romanian state does not officially recognize the Csángós as an independent ethnic group. As they are not granted the basic minority rights, they are being assimilated by Romanians, both from linguistic and religious point of view. On the other hand, Hungarian intellectuals from Transylvania and Hungary are trying to help them conceptualize that they are Hungarians. Csángós are divided into two groups: about half of them identify themselves as Romanians while the other part as Hungarians. It has to be mentioned that these identifications depend very much on the context in which they are studied.

Kvens

According to Lassi Saressalo's account, Kvens are a historical linguistic and ethnic minority in Norway, whose culture is based on Finnish culture and their language on the Finnish language (Saressalo 1996: 15). The traditional areas inhabited by the Kvens are the two Northernmost regions of Norway, Troms (in Kven: Tromssa) and Finnmark (in Kven: Finmarkku). These territories have been multilingual and multicultural for centuries; historical documents attest to the presence of the Kvens' ancestors living alongside the Norwegians and the Sámi in the 16th century.

Later on, in the 18th and the 19th centuries, there were other Finnish immigrant populations who moved from Northern Sweden and Northern Finland to the Norwegian seaside.

It is not known how many Kvens live in Norway today, as there are different statistics regarding their number. The Kvens' Association in Norway (Ruijan Kveeniliitto) estimates their number to be about 10 000, and of these, about 5000–7000 speak their mother tongue (Lindgren – Eskeland – Norman 2003: 167). According to another source (Stortingsmelding nr. 15, 2000–2001) there are about 10 000–15 000 Kvens (Huss, L. – Lindgren, A.-R. 2005: 269).

The breakthrough in the status of the Kven language occurred in 2005, when the Norwegian government, after years of opposition, at last declared Kven as a language of its own.

Meänkieli speakers

Meänkieli speakers (or Tornedalian Finns)⁴⁰ live mainly in the northernmost county of Sweden, that is Norrbotten, in the five northernmost municipalities of Norrbotten: Haparanda (in Meänkieli Haaparanta), Övertorneå (Matarinki), Pajala, Kiruna (Kiiruna) and Gällivare (Jällivaara).

In the Torne River Valley there have probably been Finns living since before the Middle Ages. It was in 1809, due to the Treaty of Fredrikshamn (Hamina in Finnish) that this Finnish-speaking area was divided between Sweden and Finland.⁴¹ After Sweden and Finland formed two different countries, the Finnish language spoken on the western side of the Torne River Valley developed independently of the Finnish language which came to be standardized in Finland in the 19th century.

It is not exactly known how many people can be considered to belong to the Meänkieli group. According to an official document of the Swedish government there are about 50 000 Tornedalians living in the five northernmost municipalities. There are also many who moved to the South and the Middle of Sweden (Huss – Lindgren 2005: 257).

A group of Tornedalian Finn intellectuals realized the importance of having their language recognized as an independent language. The starting point for the emancipation of the language was 1981, when the Association of Swedish Tornedalians (Svenska Tornedalingars Riksförbund – Tornionlaaksolaiset or STR – T) was founded.

As Tornedalian Finns do not have such cultural characteristics which would distinguish them from other ethnic groups, the main components of their identity are their adherence to the place/region where they live and the language they speak. From

⁴⁰This name is widely known, but I prefer to use the term Meänkieli speakers at least for two reasons: 1. there are Meänkieli speakers who don't identify with those living in the valley of the Torne River, and 2. Tornedalian Finnish could imply that it is a dialect of Finnish, but Meänkieli has been officially accepted as an independent language in Sweden.

⁴¹The peace treaty of Fredrikshamn was concluded between Sweden and the Russian Empire on the 17th of September 1809. According to the treaty Sweden had to cede large territories to Russia, which came to constitute the Grand Duchy of Finland, under Russian rule. Västerbotten, east of the Rivers Tornio (Torne in Swedish) and Muonio, and nearly all of Torne Valley Lappland were annexed to Finland.

this perspective it is easy to understand the importance of the name Meänkieli ('our language'). It was recognized as an independent language and one of Sweden's historical minority languages in 1999.

Minority press dealt with in this study

1. Csángó Újság. Gazeta Ceangăilor. (Csángó Newspaper) It was between March 23, 1990 and February 1992 that they published it with this title; since then it has seen light under the name of **Moldvai Magyarország** (Hungarians from Moldavia). It is a bilingual monthly periodical, published in the Transylvanian city of Sfântu Gheorghe. This is the same place where the Association of Csángó Hungarians, the association for the defence of Moldavian Csángós' political interests has been founded, led by Csángós who have left their homeland (Tánczos 2008: 220). There are some but quite a few texts written in different Csángó dialects. At the beginning the paper was only of 4 pages, now it is of 22–26.

2. Ruijan Kaiku (Echo of Finnmark). It was established in 1995 as the paper of the Finns in Norway (Norjan suomalaisen lehti) or, as the Norwegian subtitle says, of Norway's Kven-Finns⁴² (Den kvensk-finske avisen i Norge). From the very beginning, its editor in chief has been Liisa Koivulehto and it has been published in Tromsø. The number of issues published a year always depends on the financial support the paper receives. Most of the time one issue has been published per month. At the beginning it was of 16 pages, and nowadays it is mostly of 28 pages. First it was mostly bilingual (Norwegian and Finnish), but it published also some texts in Kven and Meänkieli. Then it became trilingual with a growing percentage of Kven texts. During the last few years articles in Meänkieli have also been published in the paper.

3. The periodical **Met-aviisi** (lately **Met-avisi**) since 1981 has been published four times a year. It is a trilingual periodical, written in Swedish, Finnish and Meänkieli. At the beginning it was mostly written in Swedish, then Meänkieli has gained a growing role in the paper. It has been edited by the Association of Swedish Tornedalians (STR-T). There were 4 issues published a year of 31 pages, and since 2009 it has been published twice a month, under a much shorter form (4 pages) as part of the local newspaper Haparandabladet (Haaparannan lehti), which is bilingual: Swedish and Finnish, also containing a column in Meänkieli. It has been lately edited in Kangos.

Similarities and differences in the way minorities are represented in the periodicals

In the case of badly stigmatized minorities like the very ones I have been studying, it is of major importance to observe who writes about them in the press and the kind of image shown up about them. From the very beginning, my aim was to analyze papers which are edited and written by the members of minorities in their own minority language (or dialects, in the case of Csángós). Nevertheless, I had to realize that I was very much mistaken imagining that Csángó, Kven and Meänkieli speakers have their own self-confident intelligentsia to fulfil this task. **Moldvai Magyarország** is edited by Hungarians (even if some of them have Csángó origins), **Ruijan Kaiku** by a Finn from Norway, who herself speaks and writes Kven and has much empathy for the situation

⁴²Kven was recognized as an independent language much later, in 2005.

of Kvens. **Met-avisi** is the only paper edited by Meänkieli speakers or people who identify themselves with Meänkieli culture.

All three periodicals are bilingual or multilingual. This is due to the fact that there are many members of all three minorities who are linguistically assimilated by the majority population. The editors try to reach all those readers who identify themselves in some way or another with the minority they belong to through the strategy of multilingualism. My own opinion is that the use of minority language itself cannot be very effectively promoted in this way, because those who cannot use or read it, will continue reading only the articles in the majority language.

The most important segments of the collective identity of Csángós, Kvens and Meänkieli speakers

When making a survey of the most important segments of the collective identity of the Csángós, the Kvens and the Meänkieli speakers, as represented in the periodicals, the researcher has to consider the fact that the media is consciously constructing these segments and interpreting them according to their up-to-date purpose. In this process, one necessarily simplifies the complex structure of minorities' collective identity itself. The selection of facts to be presented, the way of organizing and interpreting different elements, motifs stand up against the condition of objectivity. This is quite understandable when analyzed from the perspective of the editors' purposes.

In the following part there will be presented three main segments of the collective identity of the Csángós, the Kvens and the Meänkieli speakers. These are the very segments that have been mostly emphasized in the periodicals.

1. “Being different”: the importance of having their own language, culture and/or religion

The most prominent aspect of the above mentioned minorities' “otherness” is their own language which differs from the majority society's language. In the case of Csángós their religion is also determining. Although identification with someone's own language and religion are basic human rights, minorities have had to fight continuously for them. Kvens and Meänkieli speakers succeeded in carrying their languages through as independent languages, but this does not mean that these languages are not stigmatized any longer at political and everyday level.

The Csángós, as I said before, do not consider the language they use at home an independent language, but they have not rejected using it in certain domestic situations, either. Mainly the families living in villages use Csángó at home, and the children start learning Romanian when they go to school. The editorial of the very first number of the **Csángó Újság** underlines the importance of preserving one's mother tongue because it is the basis of identification with their own group: “The [political] system wanted the Csángós to forget their Hungarian mother tongue and to get assimilated into the Romanian population. [...] But it is not going to succeed! It cannot succeed! An ethnic group, however small it is, cannot be that easily crushed and made disappear [...]. Nobody claims that the language of the state should not be learned, on the contrary: it is necessary to speak it. But it should not be forgotten that education in one's mother tongue is absolutely necessary, because a nation, like the Csángó-

Hungarian one, can only survive if it preserves its own language and culture.” (Eröss 1990: 6)⁴³

For both the Kvens and the Meänkieli speakers meant a turning point when the two languages were granted independence. The Kvens and sympathized with their cause rejoiced on the front-page of *Ruijan Kaiku* under the following title: “Kvääni oon kieli” (Kven is a language) (*Ruijan Kaiku* 4/2005. 1). On the other hand, as the language has been disparaged for such a long time, there were Kvens who could not easily accept this new status: “Kven language has been so crushed and hidden. We do not see Kven written in books or newspapers, we do not hear Kven on the radio or TV and we cannot study it in the schools or universities. We do not have a grammar, neither dictionaries. Who would like to speak a language or belong to a group which does not even exist?” (Koivulehto 2005)⁴⁴ This situation has been improved since 2005, but, in spite of this, the number of Kven speakers is constantly decreasing.

In case of the Meänkieli it became formal in 2000. “After 20 years of hard fighting we have finally got meänkieli acknowledged as an independent language and we, the population of Tornedalen as national minority. This gives us new possibilities to continue our work on behalf of the positive development of the language and the culture in Tornedalen.” (Pääjärvi 2000)⁴⁵

All three periodicals stress in many articles that their own minority language should be taught to the young generations. It is a very hard task, as the prestige of these languages is quite low. It is only the **Moldvai Magyarország** in which I found articles claiming that it is the duty of the parents and the grandparents to teach their mother tongue to their own youngsters: “as parents and grandparents we have the ceaseless duty not to neglect our mother tongue and to hand it over to our children, even if not everybody likes it” (Eröss 1991: 4).⁴⁶

According to the **Ruijan Kaiku** and **Met avisi**, it should be the duty of the state/ the municipalities/ the local authorities to organize language teaching at pre-school and school level.

⁴³Original text in Hungarian „A rendszer azt akarta, hogy a csángóság felejtse el a magyar anyanyelvét, és olvadjon be a románságba. [...] De ez nem fog sikerülni! Nem sikerülhet! Egy népcsoportot, legyen az akár kicsi, nem lehet oly könnyen eltíporni, eltüntetni. [...] Senki sem mondja, hogy nem kell megtanulni az állam nyelvét, sőt szükséges. De ne felejtjük el, az anyanyelven való tanítás is mindenképpen szükséges, mert egy nemzet, legyen az akár csángómagyar is, csak így maradhat meg, ha megőrzi az anyanyelvét, kultúráját.” (translated by M.B.E.)

⁴⁴Original text in Kven: “Kväänin kieli oon ollu niin poljettu ja piilotettu. Emmä met näje kvääni kirjoissa tai aviisissa, emmä kuule kvääni raatiassa tai tv:ssä ja emmä voi oppiit sitä koulussa tai ynvärsiteetissä. Meilä ei ole kramatiikkii eikä sanakirjoi. Kuka se nyt halluis puhhuut kieltä tai kuuluut jooohonki joukhon mitä ei ole olemassakhaan?” (translated by M.B.E.)

⁴⁵Original text in Meänkieli: “Hetä 20 vuoen ahkeran taistelun jälkhiin olema viimen saahnee meänkielen tunnustetuks omana kielenä ja meät tornionlaaksolaiset kotimaiseks vähemistöks. Tämä antaa meile uusia mahdollisuuksia jatkaa työtä kielen ja kulttuurin positiivisen kehityksen puolesta Tornionlaaksossa.” (translated by M.B.E.)

⁴⁶Original text in Romanian: „noi, părinții, bunicii avem în continuare datoria să nu neglijăm limba noastră maternă și să o transmitem pe mai departe copiilor noștri chiar dacă aceasta nu este pe placul tuturora!” (translated by M.B.E.)

The most important segment of the Csángós' identity is their Roman Catholic religion, which distinguishes them from the Orthodox majority. The language of Roman Catholic Church used to be Hungarian in Moldavia before the beginning of the linguistic and religious assimilation of Csángós. That is why linguistic and religious identity have been closely linked to each other in Csángó communities. They have continuously been fighting for the use of Hungarian as the language of the religious liturgy, but they have been denied this right (ex. Eriş 1990, Ósz 1991, Fekete 2008, Oláh-Gál 2009).

In the case of Kvens and Meänkieli speakers the religious identity has hardly played any role in the period which I gathered my corpus from.

2. Stigmatization, past traumas – present experience

The traumatic experience of the assimilation policy has deeply marked all three minorities. In the process of identity construction which implies, among many other issues, the re-evaluation of their own attitude towards the community they belong to, an important role is played by the “memory work” in a Freudian sense (Ricoeur 1999: 63–66). Speaking about the humiliations of the past is like a “collective psychotherapy” which hopefully leads to the “recovering” of the community.

Here are some examples of the traumas the minorities have experienced.

For the Csángós, the most deeply rooted trauma has been the fact that they have been denied the right to practice their faith in their own mother tongue. Forcing exclusively Romanian liturgy on them has been a strategy of the Romanian state having as its aim the linguistic assimilation of Csángós. On the other hand, the leaders of church they belong to have never given assistance in solving this problem. “The Roman Catholic Church, instead of working out the strategy of using the Hungarian language in Moldavia, has had an active role against it and objected the teaching of Hungarian as well, moreover, they urge the celebration of mass in Romanian for the Csángós in Transylvania, Hungary and all over Europe, suggesting by this, that there are no Hungarians living in Moldavia.” (DumaIstván 2010)⁴⁷

Kvens have been mocked by Norwegians and Meänkieli speakers by Swedes because of the language they have used in their own community. This has affected also the minorities' own attitude towards their own language:

“each time at least two Kvens meet, they start telling about their childhood: about how Norwegians were sarcastic towards Kvens, pestered and mocked them, laughed at them, despised them and ridiculed them. They did not allow them speak their own mother tongue, laughed at their Norwegian language, considered them worse. We came to give up our own language, we forgot our own songs, words, stories – our names, too, so that the majority would accept us.” (Koivulehto 2006)⁴⁸

⁴⁷Original text in Hungarian: „A római katolikus egyház ahelyett, hogy a magyar nyelv használatának stratégiáját dolgozná ki Moldvában, inkább ennek ellenére tevékenykedik, és kifogásai vannak a magyar nyelv oktatása miatt is, sőt a román nyelvű misézést sürgeti a csángóknál akár Erdélyben, Magyarországon vagy bárhol Európában, ezzel azt sugallva, hogy Moldvában nincsenek magyarok.” (translated by M.B.E.)

⁴⁸Original text in Kven: ”aina kun vähintään kaksi kainulaista tapaa, aletaan kertoa juttuja lapsuudesta: norjalaiset kiusasivat, pilkkasivat, ivasivat, irvailivat, väheksyivät, tekivät kainulaiset naurettavaksi. Eivät antaneet puhua omaa kieltä, nauroivat heidän norjan kielelle,

”The linguistic persecution that office holders have practised against us for centuries, has finally exercised its influence. This kind of influence is the easiest to observe in the attitudes towards our language.” (Muotka 1993)⁴⁹

There are many more examples like these in the Csángó and the Kven then in the Meänkieli periodical, which might be due to the fact that the Meänkieli periodical is more cautious in writing about “unpleasant” topics.

The humiliation and despise Csángós, Kvens and Meänkieli speakers had to go through because of their own language had affected so deeply the members of these communities, that their collective identity is still marked by a sense of shame and uselessness of their own language and culture.

3. Historical awareness

The historical awareness of all three minorities is quite blurred. When they are asked about their historical origins the answers are generally manifold. They seem to be more conscious of what they are not than of what they really are. The question of origins is an ever returning topic in the periodicals. They discuss it in many ways in the **Moldvai Magyarság**, the **Ruijan Kaiku** and the **Met-avisi**.

In the press (Hungarian press, generally), Csángós have become a fate-symbol of Hungarians and as a “salvation” they are offered integration in the body of the Hungarian nation. This is also implicitly suggested by the language used in the **Moldvai Magyarság**, which – in time – has become predominantly Hungarian.

In the newspaper, intentionally, there are interviews made with Csángós who identify themselves with Hungarians. “... I was born as a Csángó, I was thinking and dreaming in the Csángó language. As a little child I felt I was a Csángó. I first met Romanian words when I went to the kindergarten. At the end of the kindergarten I was happy to go to school, still I was afraid that I was to learn a foreign language [Romanian]. There were my father and my mother who first explained me the Romanian words. These are my first memories, and they also brought along the most difficult problems of my life, because I could not imagine, how I could possibly be Csángó and Romanian as well.” (“Én magyarul ... vagy csángóul értettem meg a világot” p. 1.)⁵⁰

The **Ruijan Kaiku** strives at giving a manifold basis of historical identification for the Kvens. He gives a larger view of this ethnic group, placing it into the historical and social network of Scandinavian, Finno-Ugric and minority ethnic groups, as well. It is

pitivät huonompana. Jouduimme jättämään oman kieleemme, unohdimme omat laulumme, sanamme, tarinamme – nimemmekin, jotta enemmistö hyväksyisi meidät.” (translated by M.B.E.)

⁴⁹Original text in Meänkieli: ”Se kielisorto, jota viranomhaiset on harrastanheet jo vuosisatoja meitä kohthaan on viimenki alkanu vaikuttamhaan. Tämmösen vaikutuksen huomaa helpomin asentheista meän kieltä kohin.” (translated by M.B.E.)

⁵⁰Original text in Hungarian: „... én csángóul láttam meg a világot, csángóul gondolkoztam, csángóul álmodtam. Kicsi korán érzettem, hogy csángó vagyok. Mikor az óvodába jártam, akkor először szoktam megismerni a román szavakat es. Az óvoda végén örültem, hogy fogok menni iskolába, de mégis féltem, hogy idegen nyelvet kell tanuljak. Az első román szókat apám és anyám magyarázták meg, hogy mit jelentenek. Ezek az első emlékeim, ezek elhozták a legnehezebb problémákat az életembe, mert nem tudtam elképzelni, hogy tudnák lenni csángó és román es.” (translated by M.B.E.)

important to note that this periodical tries to present the readers mainly positive examples of people who are aware and proud of their historical roots. It should also be noted that the regional historical awareness of Kvens living in different parts of Northern Norway is much more evident than the historical awareness of the whole minority.

The **Met-avisi** is the paper of the STR-T, an association which defines itself as the non-political representative organ of the Meänkieli people on the Swedish side of the Torne River. They have often published articles about the activity of STR-T, sometimes in a propagandistic way. Compared to the Csángó and the Kven papers, the Meänkieli one is dealing much less with history and it lays a greater stress on the present and the future. As far as I can tell at this stage of my research, the **Met-avisi** is more obviously focussed on building a double (or even triple) historical identification for Meänkieli speakers: their language is Finno-Ugric (but they are not Finns), they are citizens of Sweden and the Torne Valley deeply marks their image of themselves. This is their own history, which has not been written yet. "Because we don't have a written history of our old times, our language and our toponyms are irreplaceable sources for the research of our culture. We ourselves haven't written the history of the Torne Valley yet. There are the adepts of »Big-Finland« and »Big-Sweden« who have written one, in a way that suits them." (Walhlberg 1997)⁵¹

Conclusions

When negotiating their identities, national minorities reclaim their culture, language and ethnicity as sources of power and of a strong background. It is important to note that identity building is a very complex process and in the case of badly stigmatized minorities it takes a long time to regain confidence in themselves.

According to the periodicals I analyzed in this study, the collective identity-formation of the Csángós, the Kvens and the Meänkieli speakers has been mostly influenced by the minority language they use (in the case of Csángós the Hungarian language), the traumas of the past and a dwindled awareness of their own history.

The periodicals treated are in fact only partially the organ of these minorities, due to the fact that the majority society have prevented all three ethnic groups from developing their own intellectual class. Intellectuals have always been considered "dangerous", as their mission has been to uncover the historical roots of the ethnic group, on the one hand, and the innermost meaning of ethnic uniqueness in the modern world.

I consider it to be of major importance for the minorities to have the possibility of communicating with the members of their own group, but also with members belonging to other minorities, of sharing the experience they have gone through, of trying to learn from each others' success, as well as errors. The perspective of a better future and further development relies on a strong sense of belonging together with all

⁵¹Original text in Meänkieli: "Ko meilä ei ole kirjetettu meän ommaa historiaa vanhemalta ajalta, niin kieli ja paikannimet oon korvaamattomia lähtheit' meän kulttuurin tutkimustyöle. Tornionlaakson historiaa met emmä ole vielä itte kirjottanhee. Net oon suursuomalaiset ja suuruottalaiset jotka sen oon tehnee, tavalä joka soppii heile ittele." (translated by M.B.E.)

those who struggle for being accepted as equal citizens with the members of the given majority all over the world.

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Будапешт

СОЦИОЛИНГВИСТИЧЕСКОЕ НАПРАВЛЕНИЕ В ИССЛЕДОВАНИИ ПЕРЕКЛЮЧЕНИЯ ЯЗЫКОВЫХ КОДОВ (НА ПРИМЕРЕ УДМУРТСКО- РУССКОГО ДВУЯЗЫЧИЯ)

Язык – явление социальное. В нем как в зеркале отражается состояние и изменение современного общества.

В ситуациях билингвизма, при стабильном функционировании двух (или более) языков одновременно *билингвы*, т. е. люди, владеющие двумя (или несколькими) языками, обычно "распределяют" использование языков в зависимости от условий общения. В этом случае можно говорить о переключении с одного кода на другой.

Хрестоматийный пример переключения кодов – смена русского языка на французский у персонажей романа Л.Н. Толстого "Война и мир". Общение и на русском, и на французском происходит в соответствии с нормами каждого из этих языков.

В данной работе предметом исследования явилось совместное функционирование удмуртского и русского языков с учетом социолингвистических особенностей кодового переключения.

Под кодовым переключением в данном исследовании понимается переключение с одного языка на другой в процессе коммуникации, происходящее на трех уровнях: уровне слов (лексическом), уровне словосочетаний (внутри предложения) и уровне предложений или текста (за рамками предложения). При этом речевая ситуация может меняться или оставаться неизменной в зависимости от темы разговора, социального статуса говорящего и его намерений.

Переключения кодов являются характерной чертой общения билингвов, а лёгкость и структурное разнообразие чередования единиц разных языков говорят о достаточно высоком уровне владения обоими языками.

Но сами билингвы критически относятся к такому смешению языков, подчёркивая, что это неправильно. Переключение языкового кода воспринимается ими как недостаточная языковая компетенция.

Кодовые переключения стали предметом изучения в лингвистике, психолингвистике и социолингвистике в последние три десятилетия XX века после того, как изменилось отношение к двуязычной коммуникации, и её начали рассматривать как естественный тип общения билингвов.

В литературе кодовые переключения делят на несколько типов:

внешние, экстралингвистические („on the spot” Becker K.R., Zentella A.C., Kamwagamalu N.M. и др.) или *социолингвистические* (Gumperz J.J., Calteaux K., Heller M.(1988), Lo A., Gardner-Chloros, P. (1985, 1991) и др.);

внутренние или психолингвистические („in the head” Becker K.R., Grosjen F., Kolers P.A., Lipski J.M., Navracics (2000));

лингвистические („out of the mouth” Becker K.R.), в рамках которых

выделяются *грамматические* (Poplack S. (1980), Myers-Scotton C. (1993a), Muysken P.(2000) и др.), *синтаксические* (Hansen M.B., Bhatt R.M., Klavans J.L., Sridhar S.N., Sridhar K.K.).

Следует отметить, что часто мы не можем установить точные границы между психолингвистическими и социолингвистическими аспектами переключения кодов, поскольку они функционируют вместе.

В данном исследовании нами будут рассмотрены несколько социолингвистических функций переключения кодов. В этом случае переключение кодов рассматривается как сознательный процесс намеренного перехода на другой язык с определенной коммуникативной целью, например, подчеркнуть, выделить, или, напротив, завуалировать какую-то мысль.

Цель настоящего исследования – изучить природу и характер удмуртско-русского кодового переключения и смешения, принимая во внимание предмет разговора и обстановку, в которой это явление происходит; проанализировать прагматическую специфику употребления элементов удмуртского и русского языков в устной речи удмуртами; выявить внешние, экстралингвистические особенности, стимулирующие удмуртско-русское кодовое переключение и смешение.

Кодовое переключение имеет многочисленные значения и функции. Мы можем говорить о двух видах переключения кодов с точки зрения его социолингвистической направленности: о ситуативном и метафорическом переключении кода (Bloom, Gumperz (1972), Wardhaugh 2005: 92).

О ситуативном переключении кодов мы можем говорить в том случае, когда выбор языка зависит от ситуации общения. Например, смена адресата, т. е. того, к кому обращается говорящий.

Метафорическое переключение кодов мы выделяем в том случае, когда ситуация, о которой говорится, в сознании информанта связана с доминирующим языком (например, рассказ, связанный с жизнью в русскоязычной среде, со школой, с университетом и т. п.).

Основными прагматическими функциями кодовых переключений являются адресатная, цитатная, уточнение, маркировка границ беседы, выражение эмоций или мнений, передачи информации из одной группы в другую, предметно-тематическая, металингвистическая и воздействующая.

Материалом для настоящего исследования явилась шестичасовая звукозапись, сделанная в 2007 году в одной из удмуртских деревень Удмуртской Республики. В Удмуртии живут более 70 национальностей. Население Удмуртской Республики составляет 1,6 млн. человек, из которых 460 тысяч – удмурты. Все это естественным образом ставит вопрос о том социокультурном контексте, в котором существуют и функционируют удмуртский и русский языки.

Согласно переписи населения 2002 года, в деревне, где собирался материал, проживают 399 человек, из них 98% являются удмуртами. Материал исследования для данной работы представлен устной спонтанной речью 8 информантов, принадлежащих к различным социальным, профессиональным и возрастным группам.

Информанты	Возраст	Пол	Образование	Род занятий
1	43	Ж	высшее	воспитательница
2	48	Ж	высшее	учительница
3	67	Ж	среднее	пенсионер
4	46	Ж	высшее	бухгалтер
5	35	М	среднее	строитель
6	50	М	среднее	предприниматель
7	47	Ж	высшее	бухгалтер
8	35	М	среднее	строитель

Аудиозаписи протекали, как правило, спонтанно, не запланировано заранее, тем самым мы хотели добиться, чтобы диалоги были более натуральными и чистыми.

Лингвисты, которые работают с информантами в полевых условиях, нередко сталкиваются с проблемой «парадокса наблюдателя», описанной впервые В. Лабовым.

Присутствие лингвиста влияет на сказанное информантом и ведет к ненатуральной речи. В моем случае, возможно, легче было получить более натуральный чистый материал, так как роль лингвиста не была столь заметной. Мои информанты воспринимали меня как члена своего общества, поэтому респонденты с легкостью переключались с одного языка на другой. Хотя иногда в начале интервью можно было чувствовать, что информанты пытаются "очистить" язык от русских или удмуртских слов, но через несколько минут они забывали что я присутствую в качестве лингвиста.

В случае кодового переключения при функционировании двух языков один выступает в качестве матричного основного языка, а другой – в качестве принимаемого языка. В дальнейшем мы будем отмечать в качестве основного первого языка тот язык, который выступает в качестве средства общения.

В настоящем исследовании представлены четыре отрывка из сделанных мной аудиозаписей: в детском саду, в школе и на рабочем месте.

Свои наблюдения я начала в детском саду в младшей группе, где возраст детей был от 2 до 4 лет. Воспитательница – удмуртка, дети из удмуртских семей с разным уровнем знания русского языка.

При коммуникативной ситуации взрослый-ребенок обычно дети реагировали на русские вопросы, замечания иногда на русском, иногда на удмуртском. При ситуации ребенок-ребенок речь шла обычно на удмуртском языке. Мной была записана инсценировка русской сказки детьми. При инсценировке воспитательница озвучивала текст на русском языке, таким образом, в данном случае основным языком выступает *русский язык*, принимаемым – удмуртский язык.

Воспитательница: *Бабка за внучку. Куткы ай, пичие, куткы бордам, мынэсьтым киме кут. Бабка за дедку, дедка за репку, тянут-потянут, а вытянуть не могут. Позвала бабка внучку. Внучка, шу! Внучка за бабку, бабка за*

дедку, дедка за репку, тянут-потянут, вытянуть не могут. Позвала внушка жучку. Ав-ав; шу! Каллен-каллен. Внучкаез учкы ай! Позвали мышку. Айда, пичие, чорты.

В ходе работы воспитатель переключается с русского языка на удмуртский с целью привлечения внимания детей, подчеркивания. Удмуртскими фразами, предложениями она хочет добиться большей эффективности. Таким образом, в данном случае мы можем говорить о метафорическом переключении кода. Функция перехода с одного языка на другой состоит в эмфатическом подчеркивании, уточнении предмета речи.

Следующий пример взят из материала, сделанного в школе в 8 классе на уроке биологии.

На уроке биологии в соответствии с программой учительница рассказывает новый материал на *русском языке*.

Учитель: *Для чего вам нужна энергия?*

Ученик: Бызылын.

Учитель: *Да, интересный вопрос. Для чего организму нужна энергия?*

Ученик: Ветлын.

Учитель: *Бегать, прыгать, о-о-а?*

Учитель: *Именно ведь в клетке идут более сложные процессы. Энергия в желудке разлагается. Желудокысь со разлагаться кариске. Энергия не выделяется, она разлагается, о-о-а? А татын со мар каре? Выделяется при разложении. Озы ик ук со луэ. Но здесь уже большую роль играют.*

Во время записей я отметила, что когда учительница приводит примеры из повседневной жизни, она сразу переходит на удмуртский язык, что объясняется ей тем, что примеры необходимо приводить именно на удмуртском языке, потому что дети иногда не понимают их на русском. Например, урок о строении человека обычно проходит намного живее и интереснее, когда учительница объясняет всё на удмуртском. Поскольку дети из деревень, дома они слышат о строении человека и животных на удмуртском, поэтому она старается приводить примеры на удмуртском. Мной также было отмечено, что дети неохотно отвечали на вопросы, заданные на русском языке, и намного оживлённее проходил урок, когда темы обсуждались на удмуртском, в этом случае дети отвечали с удовольствием. Учительница тоже подтвердила, что усваиваемость материала идёт быстрее, если с детьми говорить на уроке по-удмуртски.

Таким образом, в данном отрывке переключение кода способствует пониманию материала. Используя удмуртские фразы во время формального урока на русском языке, она ободряет и оживляет учеников, что положительно отражается и на понимании, и на уровне успеваемости.

Следующие отрывки были сделаны на рабочем месте моих информантов во время поздравления женщин в честь Восьмого Марта. В данной ситуации информантами выступали мои друзья, соседи и члены семьи, поэтому речь информантов была максимально натуральной. Беседы велись на очень разные темы. В диалоге участвовали 6 человек разных возрастов и профессий.

Лабов отмечает, что именно при групповых интервью можно сделать самые совершенные материалы, поскольку «парадокс наблюдателя» проявляется на минимальном уровне (Labov 1984: 48).

В диалогах информантов выделяется метафорическое переключение кода, при котором важное место занимает такая функция, как цитирование других или частичное воспроизведение услышанной речи.

В следующем отрывке основным языком выступает удмуртский, принимаемым – *русский*. В тексте представлена речь одного из информантов, цитирующего ранее услышанные фразы на русском языке.

Информант № 5: Миськоно ин, пöй, *нового начальника* но, да у вас, пе, *прорабды есть*, шуиз но. «*За рулём*», пе, озы шуиз.

В следующем отрывке обсуждается прошедшее в честь Восьмого марта мероприятие. Поскольку мероприятие проходило на русском языке, при воспоминаниях информанты воспроизводят все те русские слова и выражения, которые были услышаны ими во время концерта.

Информант № 4: Али *по баллам сделают уже*.

Информант № 3: Воксё серем. *Любую бумагу напиши и всё*. Дас вить штука.

Информант № 1: Нырьсь *на шесть* пукти, сэре Сашикьёслэсь номерзэс но ай, уг ке адзы синмы, *двенадцать, девять, потом тринадцать*.

Информант № 3: *Причём тут микрофон*. Просто отын *волнуешься*. Мон ачим сцена вылын кырзай, *совершенно без репетиций*.

В нижеприведенном диалоге доминирует русский язык:

Информант № 4: *Все равно со бадяровские урод уг уло*.

Информант № 5: *Нормально жили. Более или менее* улим. *Зарплата более-менее была*.

Информант № 3: *Да, и зарплата, и работа....* Котькыче начальники мед луозы...

Когда информанты говорят о таких темах, как работа, районная больница, болезни, русский язык в их речи занимает большую роль. Когда обсуждается личные темы, речь звучит на удмуртском языке.

На основе примеров можно сделать вывод, что ключевыми функциями переключения кодов у этой группы информантов стало цитирование и частичное воспроизведение ранее услышанной речи. Цитируемые предложения чаще всего звучат по-русски. Кодовые переключения в данных материалах выполняют предметно-тематическую, эмфатическую или адресатную прагматическую функцию.

Нужно отметить, что в последнее время значительно вырос престиж данной проблемы, изменилось отношение к процессу переключения кодов. Если раньше переход с одного языка на другой рассматривался как проявление лени или недостаточной лингвистической компетенции говорящего, ведущей к потере чистоты языка, то сегодня большинство лингвистов признают, что переключение кодов – это сложный, определенным образом организованный и управляемый процесс, требующий мастерства выполнения, т.е. особой компетенции.

С помощью таких исследований переключения кодов мы можем описать перспективы финно-угорских языков, осмыслить «пойманный» при наблюдениях этап языкового состояния народа.

Для дальнейшей разработки структурной и коммуникативной грамматики кодовых переключений удмуртов необходимо исследовать билингвальную речь представителей различных социальных, профессиональных и возрастных групп.

Это даст возможность выявить те процессы, которые характеризуют взаимодействие удмуртского и русского языков и их проявление в двуязычной коммуникации.

Практическая значимость заключается также и в возможности использовать фактический материал и результаты анализа в дальнейшем на курсах по социолингвистике и спецкурсах по вопросам двуязычия.

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CONCRETE MEANS OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

Over the past three decades, thirteen endangered Finnic minority languages have undergone an ethnic revival, which has aroused also a need to revitalize the minority or regional language. These languages are Meänkieli, Sweden Finnish, the Kven language, Viena Karelian, Olonets and Tver Karelian, Karelian Finnish, Ludian, Vepsian, Votian, Võro, Seto and Livonian. One factor that resulted in the decline and, ultimately, the endangered status of these Finnic languages in particular was the systematic assimilation policy adopted in the 19th century and continued in the 20th century in Sweden, Norway, Russia and the Soviet Union (Lindgren 2001: 286–287).

I will briefly discuss these Finnic minority languages according to three of nine factors listed in the UNESCO document titled *Language vitality and endangerment* (2003): trends in existing language domains (factor 4), response to new domains and media (factor 5) and materials for language education and literacy (factor 6).

Language planning is divided into three domains called status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning (Cooper 1989: 31–34). Status planning refers to language legislation and the rights of minority languages. If interpreted more widely, it also covers the language of instruction and mass media. Corpus planning refers to such activities as creating new terms, renewing and establishing orthography and choosing between alternatives to be included in the written standard. Acquisition planning refers to the decisions on what languages should be taught in society (Cooper 1989: 33–34). Thus, function, form and acquisition reciprocally affect each other, which should be acknowledged in language planning. “The most healthy language would be a language used for all functions and purposes”, wrote Grenoble and Whaley in their book *Saving languages* (2006: 7).

Many Finnic official minority and regional languages have been and are now being developed. However, the status of a standardised language cannot be attained by a language that is only used in native oral communication. Rather, the use of a language in official contexts requires language planning, i.e. conscious efforts to create and develop a written language. Many minorities do not even consider their language a real language until it appears in print.

I will present here five concise tables of the language planning measures applied to most Finnic minority languages by the end of 2009, especially from the viewpoint of written language development. I think that this sort of documentation of language vitality can enable language planners to find different practical solutions to the problems of revitalization (More tables of language planning in Sulkala – Mantila 2010, pp. 18–19).

Table 1. Teaching material

	Mk	SF	Kv	KF	VK	OK	Lu	TK	Ve	Vo	Võ	Se	Li
primers	1	Primers from Finland	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	forthcoming	1 + 1 old		1
readers	2	2	0	3	3	3	1	1	1	0	1	1 + 2 old	0
other teaching material	cds, dvds, short film, etc.	digital material	digital material	material for teacher	5	5	2	?	some	?	work books, local history book, audio cassettes, short film	local history book	?

Table 2. Dictionaries

	Mk	SF	Kv	KF	VK	OK	Lu	TK	Ve	Vo	Võ	Se	Li
native-majority language	1 + special word-lists	many	digital word-list	1	1	2	3 (old)	1	1	4	1	0	1
majority-native language	1 + special word-lists	12		1					1		forthcoming + dictionary of computers		1

Table 3. Grammars

	Mk	SF	Kv	KF	VK	OK	Lu	TK	Ve	Vo	Võ	Se	Li
in native language	1		digital grammar	2	1	1	1		yes		2		
in another language	2		digital grammar	2	1					yes	2		1

Table 4. Press

	Mk	SF	Kv	KF	VK	OK	Lu	TK	Ve	Vo	Võ	Se	Li
minority language newspaper	1	3		2	1	1					1 (also online)	(cultural magazine)	1 old
bilingual newspaper	1	1						1	1	1		1 (also online)	
trilingual newspaper	1		1				1						
children's paper	none		some	1	1	1			1		1 + children corner in newspaper		

Table 5. Literature in minority language

	Mk	SF	Kv	KF	VK	OK	Lu	TK	Ve	Vö	Võ	Se	Li
fiction (incl. poetry and drama)	30-50	350	1 + poetry	many	8	22	1	some			about 160	12	yes
religious literature	3 translations	6 translated hymn books, 8 books of religious texts	translated texts	translated texts	1	1	3		translated texts		many older	(3 old)	yes
scientific publications	three dissertations a few articles		one article	a few					university text books		many articles, hundreds of summaries	some articles, summaries	some

As we can see in tables 1–5, the Finnic minorities have been content with maintenance only. Most of these minorities have begun to **develop their language** into a form that can be used in the different domains of modern society. The goal of the revitalization work has often been to develop a society of bilingual or multilingual individuals, not of monolinguals.

Finnic minority languages and the efforts to revitalize these small languages have attracted increasing attention in both political debate and linguistic research. The speakers of some unstandardised varieties have begun to claim also a right to their own identity and culture.

The UNESCO guidelines for assessment recognize six levels of usage in existing language domains: 1) universal use, 2) multilingual parity, 3) dwindling domains, 4) limited or formal domains, 5) highly limited domains and 6) extinct (Language Vitality and Endangerment 2003: 9). According to this classification, we could say that most Finnic minority languages belong to the third category, dwindling domains, because most Finnic parents do not speak their own language at home. This interrupts intergenerational transmission in most cases, and it is a sign of the dwindling vitality of Finnic minority languages because intergenerational transmission is used as a benchmark for whether a language will maintain its vitality in the future.

In the past times, most Finnic languages remained unwritten. Now, the development of the new written languages described in the tables above is under way, and creating a written language opens totally new domains to Finnic minority languages. The past few years of development have resulted – or will soon result – in the simultaneous emergence of several new Finnic written languages. Some literature and newspapers have already been published in nearly all of these languages, and some even have a grammar and a dictionary or school textbooks. New domains are created with the emergence of new technologies and media, such as radio and television broadcasts and the Internet. In spite of this, the development of many standard varieties still requires a good deal of basic research as well as research on the structure and lexicon of the languages. As Grenoble and Whaley (2006: 5) point out, revitalization efforts rely on dictionaries and descriptive grammars, recording of speech, and so on.

At the individual level, revitalization begins from the motivation to learn to speak and read, but also to write one’s mother-tongue in all possible contexts. **At the societal level**, revitalization of a minority language means that speakers are able to actively use their own native language in different domains: administration, education, mass media and culture (Huss 2001: 279). Creating orthographies for or producing television programs in minority languages are fine accomplishments, but they will not revitalize a language. Long-term development of a minority language through language planning requires a range of resources and a governmental policy (Cf. Grenoble–Whaley 2006: ix.).

If we take into account UNESCO language vitality indicators 1 (intergenerational language transmission) and 3 (proportion of speakers within the total population) of the Finnic minority languages, the revitalization processes would appear very different depending on whether the language has only a few speakers (e.g. Votic, Livonian) or several thousands of speakers (Vepsian, Ludian, Seto), or depending on whether the language is speaker’s mother tongue or a language “learned afresh” – the language of the grandparents.

I have here concentrated on some aspects of language development and planning, and wanted, more generally, to promote research that will ultimately help to safeguard linguistic human rights. We, majority language speakers, should be allowed minorities to define their own language (i.e. whether they consider their language a dialect or a language) and to develop it into an official written language, as the linguistic human rights include the right to identify with one or several languages (Lindgren 2001a: 13–29). That will probably promote the mental and physical wellbeing of the minorities, too.

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Symposium 10.

Seppo Suhonen – Vilja Oja: Areal relations between linguistic phenomena / Ареальные связи между языковыми явлениями

**Dezső Juhász – Erika Terbe
Budapest**

DER ATLAS DER UNGARISCHEN DIALEKTE IN RUMÄNIEN: SEINE STELLUNG UNTER DEN UNGARISCHEN SPRACHATLANTEN⁵²

1. Der letzte (11.) Band des *Atlas der ungarischen Dialekte in Rumänien (Romániai magyar nyelvjárások atlasza = RMNyA)* steht vor der Veröffentlichung.⁵³ Das Werk, dessen Material in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren gesammelt wurde und seit 1995 veröffentlicht wird, schließt eine Lücke in der ungarischen Dialektologie. Mit 136 Forschungspunkten und 3297 Karten ist er eine bedeutende Ergänzung des aus Rumänien stammenden Materials des großen *Atlas der ungarischen Dialekte (Magyar nyelvjárások atlasza 1–6. 1968–1977 = MNyA)*. Die Sammelarbeit des nationalen Atlases konnte in den 1950er Jahren aus politischen Gründen nicht abgeschlossen werden: Die Forscher des MNyA konnten ihre Erhebungen nur an 22 Sammelpunkten in Rumänien durchführen.

Die Veröffentlichung des RMNyA ermöglicht eine detailliertere Beschreibung der ungarischen Dialekte in Rumänien sowie die Erstellung einer umfassenden Dialekttypologie. Es ergeben sich – unter anderem – neue Möglichkeiten für synchrone und diachrone sprachgeografische und siedlungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen des gesamten Sprachraums.

Zeitgleich mit der Veröffentlichung wurde der RMNyA in das Projekt zur Digitalisierung des MNyA einbezogen. Die beiden großen Atlanten sollen zu einer einzigen elektronischen Datenbank verschmelzen. Dadurch werden neue korpuslinguistische und dialektologische Analysen möglich, und mithilfe der Computerkartografie können auch synthetisierende Karten erstellt werden. Der RMNyA ist also auch für vergleichende Untersuchungen mit kleineren und größeren Atlanten geeignet.

⁵²Diese Abhandlung entstand mit einer Unterstützung gemäss der Ausschreibung der Ungarischen Wissenschaftlichen Forschungsprogramme (OTKA T68951).

⁵³Inzwischen ist er publiziert worden.

An ausgewählten Forschungspunkten des MNyA und des RMNyA finden auch Untersuchungen zur Gegenwartssprache mit einem aus den gemeinsamen Fragen der beiden Atlanten bestehenden Fragebogen statt. Mit diesen sollen der synchrone Sprachzustand erhoben und außerdem die sprachlichen Veränderungen der letzten fünfzig Jahre ermittelt werden. An einzelnen Phasen dieser Arbeiten nahmen die Rumänische Akademie der Wissenschaften, die Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften, die Ungarische Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft und die Eötvös-Loránd-Universität Budapest teil.

2. Nach dieser allgemeinen Einführung werden nun einige Einzelheiten vorgestellt. Im ersten Teil des Vortrags geht es um die Sammelarbeit und die Arbeiten im Zusammenhang mit der Veröffentlichung des RMNyA, im zweiten Teil dann um die Verwendung des Werkes und um den Prozess, durch den der Atlas in die modernen sprachgeografischen Forschungen integriert wird.

Das erste wichtige Datum in der Geschichte des Atlases war das Jahr 1955, als die Rumänische Akademie der Wissenschaften die sprachgeografische Untersuchung der ungarischen Dialekte Rumäniens in ihr Forschungsprogramm aufnahm. Mit der Leitung der Arbeiten wurde Professor Attila Szabó T. beauftragt. Die Arbeitsgruppe, die hierfür zusammengestellt wurde, wurde jedoch von der politischen Diktatur aufgelöst. 1959 war nur noch eine Person, László Murádin, mit der Fortsetzung der Sammelarbeit und der Erstellung des Manuskripts befasst. Von den geplanten 220 Forschungspunkten blieben nur 136 übrig, doch auch diese Anzahl ist proportional repräsentativ für die ungarischen Dialekte in Rumänien. (Die Anzahl der Forschungspunkte beträgt 395 für den MNyA und 136 für den RMNyA, die der Karten 1162 für den MNyA und 3297 für den RMNyA.)

Die intensive Feldarbeit dauerte von 1957 bis 1967, dann folgte das Ordnen der Daten, das ebenfalls etwa zehn Jahre in Anspruch nahm. Dabei entstand ein Manuskript, eine nach Fragen und Forschungspunkten geordnete Datensammlung. Die Nationalitäten- und Wissenschaftspolitik der Ceaușescu-Ära bedeutete jedoch erneut ungünstige Umstände für die Fortsetzung der Arbeit: An eine Veröffentlichung der Karten, die Rückschlüsse auf die ethnischen Verhältnisse zuließen, war in den 1970er Jahren überhaupt nicht zu denken. Deshalb ersann man eine Kompromisslösung: Solange die Veröffentlichung der Karten nicht möglich war, sollte ein sprachgeografisches Wörterbuch entstehen. Das entsprechende Manuskript mit zweitausend Seiten wurde dann auch innerhalb weniger Jahre erstellt, doch auch dieses konnte nicht veröffentlicht werden. Dieser Teil des Ordners der Daten war jedoch nicht vergeblich, da er die spätere elektronische Archivierung und Kartografierung sehr erleichterte.

Die Wende brachten die Regimewechsel in Osteuropa, die zwar die materiellen Umstände für wissenschaftliche Projekte nicht verbesserten, aber die diktatorischen Verhältnisse, die auch in der Wissenschaftspolitik herrschten, zum großen Teil abschafften. Auch diesem Umstand ist es zu verdanken, dass das Manuskript nach Budapest gelangte. Dann konnten aufgrund einer Ausschreibung der Ungarischen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft und durch die Mitwirkung der Forscher der Eötvös-Loránd-Universität die erforderlichen Mittel und die fachliche Infrastruktur bereitgestellt werden. Die Leitung der 1993 eingerichteten Arbeitsgruppe übernahm Dezső Juhász.

3. Der erste Band des RMNyA erschien im Jahr 1995, der zehnte verließ 2006 die Druckerei. Jeder Band enthält 300 Karten. Alle Karten wurden nach der Methode der Dateneintragung erstellt, das heißt, bei den Forschungspunkten werden die Antworten in genauer phonetischer Umschrift angegeben. Außerdem enthalten die lexikalischen und morphologischen Karten verschiedene Symbole – zum Beispiel Kreise, Vierecke, Dreiecke oder Rhomben –, die die räumliche Verteilung der Dialektwörter darstellen.

Diese differenzierte Art der Darstellung der phonetischen Verteilung war in der gedruckten Version des Atlases nicht möglich. Im Vergleich zu den früheren, von Hand gezeichneten Karten hat der Einsatz von Computern nicht nur dazu geführt, dass die Karten schöner sind, sondern auch den Ausbau der sprachgeografischen Datenbanken ermöglicht. Die Arbeitsgemeinschaft an unserer Universität hat es sich auch zur Aufgabe gemacht, die Daten der mit der traditionellen Technik und der elektronisch erstellten Atlanten in einer Datenbank mit einer einheitlichen Struktur und Technik zusammenzuführen.

4. Und nun zu den wichtigsten formalen Merkmalen der gedruckten Version des RMNyA. Die Karten werden – anders als beim MNyA – nicht als Einzelblätter in Boxen, sondern zu einem Buch gebunden herausgegeben. Die Karten nehmen jeweils eine linke und eine rechte Seite des Buches ein.

In der linken oberen Ecke befindet sich der sogenannte Kopf (die Legende), der folgende Informationen enthält: 1. die laufende Nummer der Karte, 2. das Stichwort, 3. seine Bedeutung auf Rumänisch und Französisch, 4. die Frage des Fragebogens und ihre Nummer, 5. Anmerkungen (mit sachlichen oder individuellen dialektologischen Informationen). Statt der Fragen des Fragebogens wurden zum Teil auch Zeichnungen eingesetzt. Die Zeichnungen sind in der rechten oberen Ecke der Karte abgebildet.

In den phonetischen Karten wurden – wie bereits erwähnt – lediglich die Daten eingetragen, die lexikalischen und morphologischen Karten enthalten auch Symbole. Varianten, die nur einmal genannt wurden, sind einheitlich mit einem Stern (*) gekennzeichnet. Das Zeichen für eine fehlende lexikalisch-semantische Einheit ist das Minus (-).

5. Für welche Bereiche ist die Veröffentlichung des RMNyA unentbehrlich, und in welchen kann sie zu grundlegend neuen wissenschaftlichen Ergebnissen führen? Hier ist an erster Stelle die Systematisierung der Dialekte, die Dialekttypologie, zu nennen.

Monografisch aufgearbeitet werden können auch die einzelnen Forschungspunkte, denn die 3297 Karten bieten eine Vielzahl von Beispielen für eine komplexe Besprechung. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdienen die Dialektinseln, die mit ihren Archaismen und Neologismen wahre Fundgruben der Dialektologie und der Sprachgeschichte sind und zudem wertvolle Anhaltspunkte für die Bevölkerungsbewegungen in den verschiedenen Epochen der ungarischen Siedlungsgeschichte bieten. Mit der Geschichte und der Migration der ethnischen Gruppen der Szekler und der Tschangonen haben sich auch bisher viele Forscher befasst, doch die vergleichenden sprachgeografischen Forschungen können noch zur Klärung zahlreicher Detailfragen beitragen. Da wir für diese Gegenden auch regionale Sprachatlanten haben (siehe zum Beispiel MCsNyA, SzilA), können integrierte Untersuchungen auch hier im Mittelpunkt stehen. Von der Gegend Mezöség in

Siebenbürgen hingegen wurde kein regionaler Atlas erstellt, sodass die Daten des RMNyA einer ersten Erschließung gleichkommen.

6. In dem folgenden Überblick möchten wir auf einige Publikationen aus der Fachliteratur zu den ungarischen Dialekten in Rumänien hinweisen, die in mehr oder weniger engem Bezug zu unserem Atlas stehen. Im ungarischen Sprachraum wurden Untersuchungen zu den Dialektkarten als Erstes in Bezug auf Siebenbürgen vorgenommen. Relativ umfangreiche Daten von fünf ungarischen Forschungspunkten wurden im Rumänischen Sprachatlas (*Atlasul Linguistic Român 1–2.*) festgehalten (Bárczi 1955: 18–19). In diesem Atlas wurde auch die erste ungarische sprachgeografische Sammlung veröffentlicht.

Als László Murádin vor der Veröffentlichung des ersten Bandes des Atlases die Liste der Abhandlungen über die Arbeiten zum Atlas und über die Besprechung der Daten im Manuskript zusammenstellte, erhielt er eine Aufstellung mit mehr als sechzig Titeln. Ein Großteil dieser Arbeiten waren Publikationen von Murádin selbst. Diese Arbeiten beschäftigen sich mit Fragen der Dialektphonetik, der Dialektmorphologie, der Lexik und der Wortsemantik. Hier können nur einige Titel – ohne die genauen Fundstellen – genannt werden (die detaillierten Angaben enthält das einleitende Kapitel des 1. Bandes: RMNyA 1: 17–18). Phonetik: „Eine Konsonantenveränderung in der Gegend Mezőség“; Lexik, Wortsemantik: „Sprachgeografische Daten zum Wortschatz der Wiesenwirtschaft der ungarischen Bauern“, „Die Gliederung des Bedeutungsfeldes und die Dialektisoglossen“. (Ausgewählte Schriften siehe in Murádin 2010.) Die lexikalischen und semantischen Untersuchungen bieten sich für interdisziplinäre Studien an, insbesondere für Bezüge zur Ethnografie.

Nach dem Erscheinen des ersten Bandes begannen auch die an der Veröffentlichung des Atlases Beteiligten mit der Publikation von Abhandlungen über die Daten. Dezső Juhász hat die sprachgeschichtlichen, namenkundlichen sowie volkstums- und siedlungsgeschichtlichen Aspekte untersucht: In der Zusammenfassung der Publikationsgeschichte des RMNyA ergänzt er die sprachwissenschaftlichen Analysen und zeigt die anhand der Karten des Atlases gewonnenen sprachlichen und siedlungsgeschichtlichen Erkenntnisse auf (Juhász 1997, 2006). Die Bände des Atlases enthalten eine ganze Reihe von Eigennamen und geografischen Namen, und zwar in ihrer Grundform ebenso wie in flektierter Form. Bei den Personennamen und den Diminutiv- und Koseformen von Personennamen liefert zumeist das familiäre Ortsbestimmungssuffix, bei den Ortsnamen die Formen mit Inessiv- oder Sublativsuffix wichtige Informationen für die Namenskunde (Juhász 1999: 395–400). Die sprachgeografischen Veröffentlichungen können, ja müssen auch für sprachgeschichtliche Forschungen genutzt werden, da die Namen der Ortschaften am Rand des Sprachgebiets zahlreiche Archaismen und Neologismen aufweisen. Die Atlanten enthalten viele Paradigmen der Konjugation, und die entsprechenden Karten zeigen verschiedene Phasen der Entstehung einiger ungarischer Suffixe (Juhász 2001). In einigen Fällen ermöglichen die Karten die Ergänzung und die Präzisierung sprachgeschichtlicher Feststellungen, so zum Beispiel hinsichtlich der Etymologie des Wortes *hurok* 'Schlinge' (Juhász 2000: 209–212).

Auch die Erkenntnisse über die umstrittene Geschichte der Tschangonen und die Herkunft der Nordtschangonen wurden durch den Atlas erweitert (Juhász 2003: 41–46,

2004b: 163–174). Mit weiteren Zusammenhängen befasst sich die Abhandlung „Der Atlas der ungarischen Dialekte in Rumänien als Enzyklopädie der traditionellen Kultur und der Volkssprache in Siebenbürgen“ (Juhász 2004a: 233–237).

Erika Terbe hat die Zusammenhänge zwischen der Wortsemantik und der Sprachgeografie untersucht, beispielsweise anhand der Karten für die Wörter *örvény* 'Wirbel, Strudel' und *kényes* 'empfindlich, heikel', sowie die Erkenntnisse aus der integrierten Nutzung von Sprachatlanten anhand der Karte für *gyáva* 'feige' dargelegt (Terbe 1999, 2003a, 2003b, 2006).

Auch in der PhD-Dissertation von Andrea Hegedűs (2008) geht es um den RMNyA. Sie bespricht in ihrer Arbeit die theoretischen, methodischen und technischen Fragen der – vor allem elektronischen – Integration der ungarischen Dialektatlanten und hat unter Verwendung integrierter Sprachkarten sprachgeografische Analysen für den östlichen Teil des ungarischen Sprachgebietes vorgenommen (vgl. Hegedűs 2006).

7. Die Arbeiten zur Veröffentlichung des RMNyA nähern sich dem Ende, damit ergeben sich jedoch auch Möglichkeiten für die nächsten Schritte. Am Seminar für Sprachgeschichte, Soziolinguistik und Dialektologie der Eötvös-Loránd-Universität laufen auch weiterhin geolinguistische Forschungsprojekte über den ungarischen Sprachraum in Rumänien. Eines davon umfasst die Veröffentlichung des letzten Bandes des RMNyA und die Integration der Stichwörter aller elf Bände. Das Ziel eines anderen Programms besteht darin, die Dialekte möglichst vieler Ortschaften der Moldauer Tschangonen so umfassend wie möglich zu erfassen, um aus den von Studenten gesammelten Daten ein eigenständiges Korpus zu erstellen (siehe zum Beispiel Bodó 2004, 2007, Fodor 2004).

Die dem Seminar angegliederte Werkstatt für Geolinguistik hat in den letzten Jahren an mehreren sprachgeografischen Projekten gearbeitet. Im Rahmen eines dieser Projekte wurden die ersten fünf „Bände der CD-ROM-Reihe „Hörbuch der ungarischen Dialekte“ erstellt (Hajdú et alii 2005–2008, Vargha 2007). Bei einem anderen wurde der Plan zur Digitalisierung des MNyA weitergeführt.

Die beiden großen Atlanten – MNyA und RMNyA – sollen zu einer einzigen elektronischen Datenbank verschmelzen. Dadurch werden neue korpuslinguistische und dialektologische Analysen möglich, und mithilfe der Computerkartografie können auch synthetisierende Karten erstellt werden (vgl. Bodó u. Vargha 2008).

Auf der Grundlage der neuen sprachgeografischen Daten und Forschungen wurde auch mit der regelmäßigen Untersuchung der ungarischen Sprach- und Dialektinseln in Rumänien begonnen (vgl. Péntek 2005). Im Jahr 2007 haben unser Seminar und die Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften gemeinsam mit den Planungsarbeiten und dann den Sammelarbeiten für den *Neuen Atlas der ungarischen Dialekte (Új magyar nyelvatlasz)* begonnen (Kiss 2006, 2010). Im Zuge der longitudinalen Untersuchung wurden bereits an mehreren Forschungspunkten unseres Atlases Daten erhoben, sodass hoffentlich schon bald mit der Ermittlung des Istzustands und der Veränderungen begonnen werden kann.

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ФОРМИРОВАНИЕ СИСТЕМЫ СЧЁТА И ФУНКЦИОНИРОВАНИЕ ЧИСЛИТЕЛЬНЫХ В ПЕРМСКИХ ЯЗЫКАХ НА СОВРЕМЕННОМ ЭТАПЕ

1. Проблема происхождения числительных и формирования системы счёта в пермских языках, как и в целом уральских языках, изучена достаточно хорошо (L. Honti 1987, 1993, V. Blažek 1990, V. Napol'skich 2003 и др.). Исследованию имён числительных в удмуртском языке в историко-типологическом аспекте посвящена кандидатская диссертация О.Б. Стрелковой (2009). Но в настоящем докладе мы касаемся двух узких вопросов. Первый из них связан с формированием системы счёта и происхождением названий десятков свыше '20' в пермских языках и имеет несколько иную трактовку, чем та, которая встречается в научной литературе. Кроме того, уделено особое внимание территориальному распространению названий указанной группы чисел. Второй вопрос посвящён постановке проблемы функционирования числительных в пермских языках на современном этапе.

2. В пермских языках из названий десятков, кроме слова *дас* '10', являющегося иранским заимствованием, и слова *кызь* '20', имеющего финно-угорское (по мнению В. В. Напольских (Napol'skich 2003: 53) – уральское) происхождение, общепермским является только название числа '30' (удм. *куамын*, к. *комын*) (КЭСК 87, 132, 150; UEW, 224). Далее в удмуртском языке названия десятков происходят от названий единиц путём прибавления форманта *-дон/-тон*: *ныльдон* '40', *витьтон* '50', *куатьтон* '60' и т.д. Лишь в слободском говоре нижнечепецкого диалекта северного наречия, распространённом к северо-востоку от г. Кирова, соответствующие числительные образуются с помощью компонента *-дас/-тас*: *н'ыл'дас* '40', *вит'тас* '50', *к'ят'тас* '60' и т.д.

В большинстве диалектов коми-зырянского языка числительные '40' (*нелямын*), '50' (*ветымын*), '60' (*квайтымын*) образованы с помощью компонента *-мын*, а начиная с '70', – повсеместно с помощью форманта *-дас*. Но в южной группе зырянских диалектов: лузско-летском, верхнесысольском, среднесысольском – встречаются названия десятков '40', '50', '60', которые также оформлены указанным компонентом: *н'ол'дас*, *виддас*, *кват'дас*. А в среднесысольском диалекте (в сёлах Куратово и Палауз) зафиксировано даже числительное *куимдас* '30' вместо ожидаемого *комын* (ССКЗД, 47, 151, 163, 238; ССД, 40; ВСД, 99, 205; ЛЛД, 60).

В коми-пермяцком языке формант *-дас* представлен во всех названиях десятков, включая и число '20' – *кык'дас* вместо числительного *кызь*, употребляемого в других пермских языках. Но нужно отметить, что мы оперируем данными письменных источников, поскольку в коми-пермяцком ныне все названия десятков вытеснены русскими заимствованиями. Исконные числительные зафиксированы, в частности, в Пермяцко-русском и русско-пермяцком словаре Н. Рогова (1869). Кроме того, они представлены в грамматиках и словарях, изданных в прошлом веке (Майшев: 1940; КПРС, 1985;

и др.). Тем не менее, в некоторых пермяцких диалектах исконные числительные продолжают функционировать, например, в самом северном, мысовско-лупьинском говоре, в котором названия чисел, включая десятки, тождественны коми-зырянским (см. Федосеева 2002: 49, 60, 63).

3. Среди описываемых числительных особый интерес представляют названия, образованные с помощью компонента *-дас/-тас*, которые известны не во всех диалектах пермских языков, а распространены в определённом ареале, пересекающем языковые границы. Данное явление исследователями подмечено достаточно давно. Так, Г.И. Тепляшина, описывая числительные нижнечепецкого диалекта, территориально занимающего крайнее северо-западное положение по отношению к другим удмуртским диалектам, отмечает: «Названия от сорока до ста в (нижнечепецких – С. М.) говорах отличны от литературных форм. Такие формы в других современных удмуртских диалектах не известны. В прошлом, по-видимому, были такие диалекты пермских языков, в которых счёт вёлся так, как ныне ведётся он в нижнечепецких говорах. В памятниках коми-пермяцкого языка начала XIX века зафиксировано числительное *кыкдас* ‘двадцать’. ... В своей древней форме коми-пермяцкие числительные зафиксированы и в словарях Н. Рогова» (Тепляшина 1970: 171–172).

Коми-пермяцкий диалектолог Р.М. Баталова, исследуя ареальные явления в коми языках, указывает на употребление в южной группе зырянских диалектов названия числительных ‘40’, ‘50’, ‘60’, а в среднесысольском также ‘30’, образующихся с помощью компонента *-дас (-тас)* (параллельно с числительными на *-мын*), которые в других коми-зырянских диалектах не встречаются. Она отмечает, что «десятки на *-дас* – черта коми-пермяцкая. Она свойственна и языку Кировских пермяков». Далее, резюмируя, исследовательница пишет, что десятки на *-дас* употребительны на определённой территории: изоглосса данного явления с Прикамья тянется к северо-западу – на Сысолу и Летку» (Баталова 1982: 136). Но о функционировании подобных числительных в нижнечепецком диалекте (точнее, в слободском говоре данного диалекта) она умалчивает.

4. Как видно из сказанного выше, в разных диалектах пермских языков исследуемая группа числительных образована разными способами. В связи с этим само собой вытекает вопрос: умели ли прапермяне вести счёт свыше ‘20’–‘30’?

Л. Хонти в своей работе «Die Grundzahlwörter der uralischen Sprachen» (Honti 1993: 159–160) при описании числительных в пермских языках отмечает: «наверно, едва ли будет преувеличением утверждение о том, что все или, по крайней мере, часть десятков свыше двадцати как латентно-мультипликативные числительные с элементом **-mʒnʒ* (> перм. **mʒn* – С. М.) существовали уже в прафинно-угорском языке». Далее, ссылаясь на Ростека (1937: 114), он отмечает, что на появление десятков, образованных другим способом, сыграло роль то обстоятельство, что ранее окказионально возникшие структуры типа **kʲikjamʲs-mʒn* ‘80’, *okmʲs-mʒn* ‘90’ для более лучшего звучания были заменены таковыми с элементом *das* (или *don* – в удмуртском в период самостоятельного развития); высказывает мнение, что это в первую очередь могло произойти в числительном ‘70’.

Наличие существования счёта выше '30' в прапермском языке не должно вызывать никакого сомнения, поскольку в этих языках функционируют числительные для обозначения '100', являющиеся древнеарийским заимствованием финно-угорского периода, а также числительное *сюрс* '1000', проникшее из арийских языков в общепермский период, а возможно, ещё раньше (КЭСК, 252, 275; UEW, 446–467). Вполне логично, что в прапермском языке могла уже существовать стройная система десятков с конечным элементом *-tjn*, но впоследствии в отдельных диалектах последний был заменён формантом *дас*, заимствованным из иранских языков. Но если согласиться с изложенным выше мнением, что причиной такой замены явилось более лучшее звучание, то возникает вопрос, почему, в частности, в зырянском он появился в названиях десятков от '70' до '90', но числительные более низкого порядка остались без изменения?

Нам представляется, что разноречием в названной группе числительных возник из-за того, что в прапермский период система счёта свыше '50'–'60' ещё не была окончательно сформирована.

Для уральского праязыка, в котором имелись только числительные '1', '2', '5' и '20', для первого и второго десятка В. Напольских реконструирует схему счёта, которая велась путём арифметических действий – сложения и умножения существующих десятков (Napol'skich 2003: 52–53). Для финно-угорского праязыка функционирование десятков, кроме '10' в отличие от Л. Хонти он не предполагает, хотя известно, что в финно-угорском праязыке употреблялось древнеарийское заимствование для числа '100'. В данном случае также не исключено, что счёт до ста мог вестись с помощью арифметических действий, как и в прапермском языке, в котором наряду с использованием при счёте десятков свыше '30', а в позднепрапермском – свыше '50'–'60', образованных с помощью форманта *-мын* (< ф-у. **-m3n3* '10', ? 'количество, много' < ? нострат. (UEW, 279–280; Napol'skich 2003: 52)), счёт мог осуществляться путём сложения по схеме: $50+10 = 60$; $50+20 = 70$; $50+30 = 80$ и т.д.

5. Таким образом, следует ещё раз отметить, что в прапермском языке, кроме числа '30', более или менее устоявшимся были также '40', '50', '60', названия которых в большинстве коми-зырянских диалектов имеют компонент *-мын*. У северной группы пермских племён названия десятков окончательно сложились после заимствования из иранских языков слова *дас* '10'. При этом аналогичная система десятков должна была функционировать и в коми-пермяцком языке, в котором, по данным исследователей, числительные с элементом *-мын* существовали ещё, по крайней мере, в первой половине XIX века (см. L. Honti 1993: 153; даёт ссылку на: Wichmann 1901–1902: 19, 25).

У южных пермян, предков удмуртов, имевших более развитые торговые отношения с соседями-иранцами, утвердилась система десятков с формантом *-дон/-тон*, этимологически восходящим к праудмуртскому **don* (< праперм. **dɔŋ* 'цена, стоимость'; > удм. *дун*, к. *дон* 'цена' (Тепляшина, Лыткин 1976: 158; Кельмаков 1984: 20; Honti 1993: 161–162). Предполагают, что в силу того что, в праудмуртском языке или уже в прапермское время это слово приобрело значение 'цена, равная десяти беличьим шкуркам', оно могло трансформироваться в суффикс названий десятков (Honti 1993: 161–162; Тепляшина, Лыткин 1976: 158). Торговля в прошлом, была, пожалуй, важнейшей

областью функционирования системы счёта и числительных, и это обстоятельство зачастую могло в той или иной мере оказывать влияние на формирование последних. Для наглядности упомянем тот факт, что русское числительное *сорок* с первоначальным значением 'связка сорока соболиных шкур' полностью вытеснило из системы десятков праславянское *četyre desęte* '40' (Honti 1993: 161–23). В связи с этим вполне резонно предположить, что в праудмуртском, а возможно, ещё в позднепрапермское время компонент *-дон/-тон* принимал участие в оформлении уже существующих числительных, вытеснив первоначальный элемент *-мын*.

В коми-пермяцком языке в связи с частым употреблением русских числительных исконные слова стали забываться, но в случае необходимости парадигма десятков могла восстанавливаться. Это могло происходить следующим способом: по аналогии с названиями более высоких десятков, например, *õкмысдас* 'девяносто' и др., конечный формант *-дас* стал употребляться и в более низких десятках, вытеснив непонятный для говорящего элемент *-мын*. Но более вероятна схема возникновения новой системы десятков от более низких числительных, точнее числа *дас* '10' путём имплицитной мультипликации (умножения): $2 \times 10 = 20$ – *кыкдас*, $3 \times 10 = 30$ – *кумдас* и т.д.

Коми-пермяцкая система названий десятков вместе с миграционной волной проникла в южные зырянские диалекты, а также в слободской говор удмуртского языка, в котором она является не архаичной, как полагают некоторые исследователи, а представляет собой суперстратное заимствование. Последнее могло иметь место в XVII в. в результате миграции коми на юг (см. Жеребцов 1982: 70, 99).

Следует указать, что «Одна форма – *н'ул'дас* 'сорок' – в фразеологическом сочетании *н'ул'дас үй* 'сороковины, сорочины' зафиксирована и в кукморском диалекте» (Кельмаков 1984: 19). Названный удмуртский диалект находится на территории Татарстана вдали от территории проживания слободских удмуртов и коми. В связи с этим считаем, что данное слово возникло в указанном говоре самостоятельно для удобства подсчёта наступления сороковин не по дням, а по десяткам дней. Для сравнения можно упомянуть такой факт, что в ниже- и среднечепецком диалектах северного наречия удмуртского языка сороковины называются термином *кўат' арн'а* букв. 'шесть недель' и подсчёт их наступления ведётся по неделям.

6. Касаясь вопроса функционирования числительных в современных пермских языках, следует отметить, что, не смотря на существование давно сформировавшейся системы счёта, в настоящее время во многих пермских диалектах наряду с исконными названиями чисел употребляются русские заимствования. В первую очередь это касается коми-пермяцкого языка. Уже в «Грамматике коми-пермяцкого языка» И.И. Майшева (1940 г.) среди числительных встречаются русские заимствования *сто* и *тысяча* (С. 50–51). В «Кратком грамматическом очерке коми-пермяцкого языка (1985 г.) А.С. Кривошекова-Гантман отмечает, что в коми-пермяцком языке при счёте до десяти обычно используются исконные числительные, а счёт далее десяти ведётся с помощью числительных, заимствованных из русского языка. Но в одной из своих работ, опубликованных ещё в 1982 году, Р.М. Баталова писала, что «в ареале распространения коми-пермяцкого языка ныне счёт ведётся на

родном языке только до пяти, но даже и до пяти наряду с коми-пермяцкими употребляются также русские числительные» (Баталова 1982: 134).

Русские заимствованные числительные широко употребляются также в северной диалектной зоне удмуртского языка, при этом они имеют определённые сферы употребления и известную функциональную дифференциацию. В первую очередь они используются при назывании времени, даты, например: сч. *мон три'цэт' пэ'рвом году ворцкэмьн* 'я родился в 31-м году'; *пэтна'цэт' минут д'эс'а'това* '15 минут десятого' (но: *дас час н'и* 'уже 10 часов', *даз вит' минут кыл'из на* '15 минут осталось ещё'). Аналогичное употребление чисел наблюдается в сфере денежного обращения, нумерации зданий и других объектов: сч. *н'ан'эд кыз' ман'эт но со'рок копэ'йок сълэ н'и* 'хлеб-то уже 20 рублей и 40 копеек стоит'; *пэтна'цатой мьнам коркайэ* 'мой дом – номер 15', букв. 'пятнадцатый у меня дом'.

Удмуртский диалектолог Л.Л. Карпова (2005: 70–71), исследовавшая среднечепецкий диалект севернoudмуртского наречия, об употреблении числительных в последнем пишет следующее: «Отличительной чертой в области числительных является то, что на современном этапе в описываемом диалекте ... удмуртские числительные начинают заменяться русскими».

На функционирование заимствованных из русского языка числительных в прикильмезских говорах, относящихся к срединным говорам удмуртского языка, указывает Б.Ш. Загуляева (1980: 12). Молодой исследователь О.Б. Стрелкова, посвятившая кандидатскую работу комплексному изучению лексико-семантической группы числительных в удмуртском языке, отмечает, что в удмуртском «... довольно часто идёт употребление русских числительных и различных счётных конструкций не только в речи молодого, но и старшего поколения, к примеру, в случаях выражения даты, возраста человека и т.д., особенно это заметно в диалектах северного наречия удмуртского языка» (Стрелкова 2009: 7).

Необходимо подчеркнуть, что в настоящее время в городах и других крупных населённых пунктах русские числительные можно услышать в удмуртской речи всех возрастных групп удмуртского населения, при этом и от представителей творческой и научной интеллигенции. Например: *со пэйс'ат шэстой гимна'з'иын ужа* 'он(а) работает в школе-гимназии № 56'; *дак со три'цэт' ты'с'ач сълэ* 'так ведь это 30 тысяч стоит'; *инвожолэн рэда'кцийэз совэ'цайка од'инын* 'редакция журнала «Инвожо» расположена на Советской, 1'. Аналогичные процессы наблюдаются и в коми-зырянском языке.

Не ставя цели подробного изучения и освещения данного феномена, всё же можно сделать предположение, что основной причиной его возникновения является господство русского языка в информационной сфере в условиях урбанизированной среды. Описанное явление, скорее всего, относится к предмету исследования социолингвистики, которая сможет более точно раскрыть суть этого явления и поможет лучше понять, например, причину постепенной замены исконной коми-пермяцкой системы числительных соответствующими русскими числительными или причину замены конечного элемента *-мын* в названиях десятков праудмуртского периода на формант **don* 'цена, стоимость'.

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Условные сокращения

вс. – верхнесысольский диалект (кз.); кз. – коми-зырянский язык; кп. – коми-пермяцкий язык; л. – лузский говор (кз.); лл. – лузско-летский диалект (кз.); сев. – северное наречие; сл. – слободской говор нижнечепецкого диалекта (удм.); сс. – среднесысольский диалект (кз.); сч. – среднечепецкий диалект (удм.); удм. – удмуртский язык; южн. – южная группа диалектов
Кб. – с. Кобра; Курат. – с. Куратово (и Палауз); Пор. – с. Поруб

Сравнительная таблица названий десятков и числа '100' в пермских языках*

Числа	Удм.	Удм. сл.	Кз.	Кз. южн.	Кп.	Кп. мыс.-луп.
20	<i>кызь</i>	<i>кыз'</i>	<i>кызь</i>	<i>кызь</i>	<i>кык-д́ас</i>	<i>кыз'</i>
30	<i>куамын</i>	<i>кўамын, квамын</i>	<i>комын</i>	вс. <i>кобмын</i> сс.(Курат.) <i>куим-д́ас</i>	<i>куим-д́ас</i>	<i>комын</i>
40	<i>нъль-дон</i>	<i>н'ыл'-д́ас</i>	<i>неля-мын</i>	сс.(Курат.) <i>н'ол'-д́ас</i> вс.(Кб.) <i>н'одл'-д́ас</i> л.(Пор.) <i>сөрөк</i>	<i>нэль-д́ас</i>	<i>н'эл'а-мын</i>
50	<i>вить-тон</i>	<i>вит'-тас</i>	<i>веты-мын</i>	сс.(Курат.) <i>вид-д́ас</i> вс.(Кб.) лл. <i>вит-д́ас</i>	<i>вит-д́ас</i>	<i>вэты-мын</i>
60	<i>куать-тон</i>	<i>кўат'-тас, кват'-тас</i>	<i>квайты-мын</i>	сс.(Курат.) вс. (Кб.) лл. <i>кват'-д́ас</i>	<i>кват'-д́ас</i>	Данные отсутствуют
70	<i>сизьым-дон</i>	<i>с'из'ым-д́ас</i>	<i>сизим-д́ас</i>	<i>с'из'им-д́ас</i>	<i>сизим-д́ас</i>	–
80	<i>тямыс-тон</i>	<i>кйамыс-тас</i>	<i>көкъямыс-д́ас</i>	<i>көкйамыс-д́ас</i>	<i>кыкъямыс-д́ас</i>	–
90	<i>укмыс-тон</i>	<i>укмыс-тас</i>	<i>өкмыс-д́ас</i>	<i>өкмыс-д́ас</i>	<i>өкмыс-д́ас</i>	–
100	<i>сю</i>	<i>с'у</i>	<i>сё</i>	<i>с'о</i>	<i>сё, сев. д́асд́ас</i>	–

ЛЕКСИЧЕСКИЕ СВЯЗИ ЮЖНОЙ ЭСТОНИИ НА КАРТАХ ALFE⁵⁴

Об атласе, прибалтийско-финских языках и классификации южноэстонских диалектов

К настоящему времени опубликованы (2004, 2007) две части Лингвистического атласа прибалтийско-финских языков (*Atlas Linguarum Fennicarum – ALFE*), третья готова к печати (2010). Основным языком атласа является финский. Так, более обстоятельные комментарии предложены именно на финском языке, кроме того, атлас снабжен короткими комментариями на немецком и русском языках. Подробное введение (в 1-й части) представлено на четырех языках: финском (с. 11–23), эстонском (с. 24–36), немецком (с. 37–52) и русском (с. 53–68), так же на четырех языках изложено руководство для пользования.

Во введении речь идет о прибалтийско-финских языках вообще, о зарождении идеи лингвистического атласа и ее осуществлении, о картографируемом языковом материале, структуре атласа и т. п. Там же подчеркивается, что главная цель состоит в том, чтобы показать ареальные связи прибалтийско-финских языков, прежде всего лексические. Поэтому материал подбирался таким образом, чтобы выявить, с одной стороны, старую общую культурную лексику и происшедшие в ней возможные изменения, а с другой, своеобразные черты и заимствованные инновации. Предполагается, что удастся определить место вепсского языка и южноэстонских диалектов в прибалтийско-финской языковой семье.

Как известно, провести границу между прибалтийско-финскими языками и диалектами довольно сложно. Для всех языковедов безусловно самостоятельными являются следующие языки (перечисление с севера на юг): финский, карельский, вепсский, водский, эстонский и ливский. А остальные? Ижорский, по мнению финнов, скорее представляет собой карельский диалект, по мнению эстонцев (начиная с Пауля Аристэ), это самостоятельный язык. Карельские и частично эстонские лингвисты относят к карельским диалектам людиковский, который географически находится между карельским и вепским. В исследованиях людиковские данные все же приводятся отдельно, не дублируется и людиковский словарь (Kujola 1944) в словаре карельского языка (KKS). Ливиковский материал относится, с одной стороны, к карельскому диалекту (вошел в KKS), с другой, приводится и отдельно, особенно в тех случаях, когда отличается от карельского. Южноэстонский тоже принято считать одним из диалектов эстонского языка. В лингвистическом же плане можно вполне убедительно показать, что он является самостоятельным языком. Именно это – особенно в последнее время – подчеркивают многие финские и эстонские языковеды, см. Viitso 1997: 115–116 и 2000: 162, 164–172.

⁵⁴Проект поддерживает Эстонский научный фонд (грант № 7717).

Согласно более пространным критериям, в атласе выделяются следующие языки и почти равноценные языку диалекты: финский, собственно-карельский, ливвиковский, людиковский, вепсский, ижорский, водский, североэстонский, южноэстонский и ливский. При отсутствии различий между собственно-карельским и ливвиковским или северо- и южноэстонским языковой материал помещается в комментарии соответственно как карельский или эстонский язык.

Южноэстонская группа состоит из трех диалектов (с запада на восток): мультгский, тартуский и вырусский (иногда в последнем выделяется еще сетуский). Самым древним из них считается вырусский диалект. И напротив, мультгский диалект более остальных испытал влияние североэстонских диалектов/литературного языка и утратил многое из южноэстонской лексики. В прошлом у мультгского диалекта были крепкие связи с распространенным когда-то в Северной Латвии ливским языком, т. н. салацким ливским (по названию реки Салаца). В недавно изданном словаре (Winkler, Pajusalu 2009) собран весь доступный материал по салацкому ливскому языку (1665–1846 гг.). Появилась возможность лучше показать и взаимосвязи между мультгским диалектом и салацким ливским. До сих пор в распоряжении исследователей, в том числе составителей атласа, были лишь скудные данные ливско-немецкого словаря Кеттунена (LW).

Краткий обзор лексических связей южноэстонских диалектов

Далее будут рассмотрены некоторые лексические связи с привлечением по возможности салацкого ливского материала. Примеры почерпнуты в 1-й (карты 1–107) и 2-й (карты 108–207) частях атласа, а также в 3-й части. Приводятся порядковый номер карты в атласе и заголовок краткого комментария на русском языке. Диалектные варианты, как правило, не даются, транскрипция отсутствует. Сами примеры сгруппированы в отсылочной части.

1-я группа в свою очередь делится на две.

А. Сначала идут те слова, которые употребляются только или в основном в южноэстонском языке.

78. снаружи, с наружной стороны; извне; со двора, с улицы; на улице, на дворе (вне дома); снаружи. В вырусском диалекте говорят *ussõn*, *ussõh* (где?) и *ussõst* (откуда?); в говорах Каркси и Нью, а также в вырусском диалекте *usse*, *ussõ* (куда?), ср. в мультгском диалекте *usse* 'во двор'. Мы имеем здесь дело с формами внутренне-местных падежей слова *uss* (*ks > ss*; сев.-эст. *uks*) 'дверь', т. е. адвербиальными падежными формами.

109. хомут: *taosse* (мн. ч.). Множественное число вообще обычно для прибалтийско-финских наименований (напр., фин. *länget*, *ränget*, *ranget*, сев.-эст. *rangid*), потому что хомут состоит из двух симметричных частей. Южноэстонское слово представляет собой производное: *taga* 'за' + суффикс *us* (EEW).

110. яблоко: *ubin*, а также *uibu/ubin* (= яблоня + яблоко). Наименование *ubin* встречается, кроме южноэстонских диалектов, только в говоре Хяядемеэсте, в

котором обнаруживаются и другие южноэстонские лексические единицы. Убедительная этимология этого слова отсутствует (EEW).

119. куст: *puhm(as)*. В северозэстонском восточном диалекте (Торма) встречается *puhmas* 'очень большой, толстый, густой куст; клочок'. Сааресте допускал, что исходным было значение 'кочка, букет, кисть; прядь' (Saareste 1924). Изначально слово могло быть дескриптивным или ономастопозитивным (EEW). Наиболее распространенное в прибалтийско-финских языках наименование, старинная прибалтийско-финская лексема *pensas*, известно лишь в одном из мультгских говоров (Тарвасту *põõsas*; северозэстонское влияние?).

126. змея: *siug*. Слово может обозначать как гадюку (*Vipera berus*), так и ужа обыкновенного (*Natrix natrix*). Оно считалось ономастопозитивным или дескриптивным (EEW).

239. мутовка: *pööriss, pööruss, pöörüss*. Эти наименования разветвленной мешалки для каши или теста произведены от основы *pöör* (EEW), ср. фин. *pyörtää*, эст. *pöörata, pöördä* 'поворачивать, переворачивать'. Из северозэстонских диалектов производное этого типа отмечено только в восточном (говор Кодавере *püörus*).

Б. Далее – заимствования, которые встречаются только в южноэстонских диалектах.

1. кремь: *räni*. Это слово до сих пор считалось под вопросом (EEW) или уверенно (Raun 1982) дескриптивным. В прибалтийско-финских языках нет общего наименования для кремня. Поскольку пригодный для использования кремь ввозился из разных стран, среди его наименований много заимствованных слов (напр., фин. (*p*)*lintta(kivi), flintta(kivi)*; люд., вепс. *ola(kivi)* и др.). Как убедительно показал Лембит Ваба, (юж.-эст.) *räni* заимствовано из русских диалектов: *крен* или *крень* 'кремь'. Такое диалектное слово получило распространение прежде всего в Северо-Западной и Северной России (окрестности Петербурга, Олонец, Архангельск, Северная Двина и т. д.) и в Сибири. Время заимствования точно не определено, но звукоизменение *kr > r* говорит о том, что это не очень позднее заимствование. Предположение о заимствовании подтверждается и тем, что обнаруженный в ладожском горизонте халцедон, по слухам, был очень высокого качества (Vaba 2003).

213. борона: *ägli (ägel, äkl* и т. д.). В прибалтийско-финских языках получило распространение старое балтийское заимствование (напр., фин. *äes*, эст. *äke*), а южноэстонское наименование – это более позднее латышское заимствование (латыш. *eglis, egli* произведено от слова *egle* 'die Fichte'). Как известно, в качестве сушвалки использовалась верхушечная часть срубленной ели, на которой сохранялись более крепкие суки (Vaba 1997: 247). Единичные сведения о слове *ägli (ägel)* зафиксированы на острове Сааремаа (Кярла) и по соседству с южноэстонским ареалом (Саарде, Кыпу, Вильянди).

Ареал распространения слов **2-й группы** – это (сев.-эст.) + юж.-эст. + лив.

5. головня, головешка : юж.-эст. *tungal (tungõl)*, лив. *tungõl(õz)*; ср. сев.-эст. *tungal* 'зауглившийся кончик лучины; упавший с лучины уголек', *tõrva/tungal* 'факал'. Сетяля соотносил основу *tungal* с эрзя-мордовской основой *tonol* 'головня' (Setälä 1930).

34. кипящий (кипящая вода): эст. *keev* (*keeb*), лив. *kiiebi* (I причастие от глагола: эст. *keeda*, лив. *kiiedõ* 'кипеть'). В других прибалтийско-финских языках употребляется иной глагол с тем же значением (основа *kiehu-*), напр., фин. *kiehuva*; кар., люд., вепс. *kiehuja*; см. также Oja 1998, 360–361.

62. суббота: юж.-эст. *pool/päev*, *-püha* (а также 'канун праздников'), лив. *puol/pääva* 'Sonabend, Mittagessen', салац. лив. *puol/pääva*, *puolum pääva* 'Mittag, Sonabend'. Фоном для появления этих наименований послужил неполный рабочий день (половина рабочего дня).

242. шаг: сев.-эст. (северо-восточные прибрежные диалекты, североэстонские говоры Виру-Яагупи, Торма) *samu*, юж.-эст. (говоры Тарвасту, Пылва) *samu* (*samo*), лив. *sa'm* (мн. ч. *samuud*). В эстонском языке здесь обычно стоит гемината, как и в салацком ливском: *samm*. Гемината имеет позднее происхождение (SSA, см. *samota* 'спешить, бежать').

Ареал распространения слов **3-й группы** – это (сев.-эст.) + юж.-эст. + вод. (+ лив.).

8. ключ: эст., вод. *võti* и др., лив. *võtiim*, салац. лив. *utim*, *utiim*, *udim*. Это производные от глагола со значением 'брать' (напр., фин. *ottaa*, эст. *võtta*). Ср., напр., фин. *avain* 'ключ', производное от глагола со значением 'открывать' (фин. *avata*). В эстонско-немецком словаре Видемана (Wiedemann 1993) встречается *avam* с географической пометой Allentaken, т. е. Алугагузе. В архиве эстонских диалектов это слово отсутствует.

172. пугать, испугать : сев.-эст. (3-е лицо ед. ч. наст. вр.) *heidutab* Куусалу, *eeditab* (*ei > ee*) Кодавере; юж.-эст. *eidütämä* Каркси, Отепяя, *heidütämä*, *hiidütämä* (*ei > ii*) Выру, *eidutama* Мульги, Тарту; вод. (*h*)*eitüttää* зап.-вод., вост.-вод., *heütüttää* вост.-вод., *höütüttää* зап.-вод. Упомянутые глаголы образованы от возвратной формы с **ü* (**heittü-*).

Ареал распространения слов **4-й группы** – это (сев.-эст. +) юж.-эст. + фин. и другие прибалтийско-финские языки.

4. дым : юж.-эст. *sau* Выру. В слове утрачен звук *v* перед лабиальным гласным (ср. фин. *savu*). Наименование *savu* более ранее и широко распространено в прибалтийско-финских языках, за исключением североэстонского (*suits*) и некоторых финских диалектов (*haiku*). Подробнее о звукоизменениях см. в комментариях к атласу.

9. прятать (от кого-либо какой-нибудь предмет, напр., ключ) : юж.-эст. *käk'mä* (1-е лицо ед. ч. наст. вр. *käki*) (*tk > kk*) Тарту, Выру; фин. (3-е лицо ед. ч. наст. вр.) *kätkee* юго-западные и приботнические диалекты, вермландский диалект, единичные сведения из диалекта Кайнуу и восточного диалекта Саво. Иные значения глагола в прибалтийско-финских языках не картографировались (см. SSA).

141. невеста ('женщина после помолвки') : сев.-эст. *morsja*, *mõrsja*, *mõrsi* (северо-восточные прибрежные диалекты: Хальяла, Виру-Нигула, Люганузе); юж.-эст. *mõrsja* и др.; фин. *morsian* и др.; кар. (собственно-кар.) *morsien* и др.; иж. *morsian* и др. Можно полагать, что когда-то это наименование было более широко распространено в североэстонском, поскольку оно встречается у Гёзекена и Шталя (Saareste 1924: 127–128). Наименование известно более

широко также в ареале вепсского и карельского языков в значении 'замужняя женщина (часто бездетная или до рождения первого ребенка)'. Почти такие же данные о семантике имеются по ижорскому и водскому языкам. Речь идет о раннем балтийском заимствовании (SSA).

186. умереть. В прибалтийско-финских языках есть два глагола (*kuolla* и *surra*), которые обозначают смерть. Первый из них имеет самое широкое распространение и берет свое начало в уральском праязыке (SSA). В Северной Эстонии он встречается только в говоре Вайвара, который соприкасается как с финским, так и с ижорским и водским языками. Глагол *surra* 'умереть' – североэстонская инновация, в значении 'грустить, беспокоиться' он известен гораздо шире. Слово имеет точное фонетическое соответствие в мансийском и хантыйском языках (значение 'умереть'); см. SSA. В мультгиском диалекте в 1920–1930-х годах зафиксировано, что тогда по поводу человека уже употреблялся глагол *surra* (североэстонское влияние), по поводу животных – глагол *kuolla*.

В **5-ю группу** вошли те южноэстонские слова, соответствия которым встречаются в дальних родственных языках.

41. стирать : юж.-эст. *mõskma* (1-е лицо ед. ч. наст. вр. *mõse*), значение тоже 'мыть'. Слово имеет фонетические соответствия в удмуртском и угорских языках (венг. *mos* 'мыть'). Это очень старое индоевропейское заимствование (см. Koivulehto 2001: 237).

Заключение

Данный короткий обзор свидетельствует о том, что южноэстонский язык имеет интересные и разнообразные лексические связи. С одной стороны, встречаются своеобразные слова (инновации), такие как *puhm(as)* 'куст', наименования мутовки *pööriss*, *pööruss*, *pöörüiss*, *siug* 'змея', *taosse* 'хомут', *ubin* 'яблоко', адвербиальные падежные формы слова *uss* 'дверь': *ussõn*, *ussõh* 'на улице', *ussõst* 'с улицы', *ussõ* 'вон'. С другой стороны, заимствования, присущие лишь южноэстонскому языку: *räni* 'кремень' (рус. диал. *крен*, *крень*), *ägli* (> латыш. *eglis*, *egli*). Есть общие черты и с ливским языком: *pool/päev* 'суббота', *tungal* 'головня'. Если обычно в слове *samm* 'шаг' присутствует гемината позднего происхождения (эст., салац. лив.), то местами в северо- и южноэстонских диалектах она отсутствует (*samu*), то же наблюдается в ливском языке Курляндии. Выражение *keev vesi* 'кипящая вода' встречается только в эстонском и ливском языках. Наименование ключа в эстонском, водском и ливском языках представляет собой производное от глагола со значением 'брать' (напр., эст. *võtta* 'брать' – *võti* 'ключ'). В южноэстонском (меньше в североэстонском) и в водском языках имеются глаголы, производные от возвратной формы **heittü* (напр., юж.-эст. (*h*)*eidütämä* и др. 'пугать, испугать'). Общие с другими прибалтийско-финскими языками слова: *koolma* : *koolda* (фин. *kuolla*) 'умереть', *käkmä* : *käki* (фин. *kätkeä*) 'прятать', *mõrsja* (фин. *morsian*) 'невеста', *sau* (фин. *savu*) 'дым'. Общее с дальними родственными языками слово *mõskma* (венг. *mos*) 'мыть, стирать' – очень старое индоевропейское заимствование.

Сокращения названий языков и диалектов

венг. – венгерский; вепс. – вепсский; вод. – водский; вост.-вод. – восточноводский; зап.-вод. – западноводский; иж. – ижорский; кар. – карельский; латыш. – латышский; лив. – ливский (в Курляндии); люд. – людиковский; рус. – русский; салац. лив. – салацкий ливский; сев.-эст. – североэстонский; собственно-кар. – собственно-карельский; фин. – финский; эст. – эстонский; юж.-эст. – южноэстонский.

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INNOVATIONS IN FINNIC AS REFLECTED ON LINGUISTIC MAPS⁵⁵

Traditionally the Finnic branch of the Uralic language family is regarded as consisting of 7 separate languages: Finnish, Ingrian, Votic, Karelian, Vepsian, Estonian and Livonian (see, e.g. Laanest 1982; Tuomi 2004; Viitso 1985). Maps with dialect words from all Finnic languages can be found in two linguistic atlases: *Atlas Linguarum Europae* (ALE) of European languages and *Atlas Linguarum Fennicarum* (ALFE) of Finnic languages. My aim is to show what a rich variety of information is revealed, in a flash, by linguistic maps. My focus will be on the areal distribution of loanwords. The Finnic area is like an enclave surrounded by Indo-European languages: Eastern Slavic languages are spoken East of the area, the Baltic languages remain South of it, while North and West of it Germanic languages are spoken (see Map 1). Such a position means close contacts with several Indo-European languages. The following observations are based on an analysis of the material collected for ALE and ALFE. The examples are chosen to illustrate the spreading of words borrowed from different languages. As Proto-Finnic is believed to have branched into separate languages in early CE (Laanest 1982: 30 ff.) we will not discuss the BC contacts between the Finnic and Germanic, Baltic and West Slavonic tribes.

Loanwords for ‘potato’

The causes and routes of the spreading of lexical innovations usually depend on extralinguistic factors. New words tend to come with cultural innovations. Potato (Lat *Solanum tuberosum*), for example, is a relatively new plant in Europe. In Estonia and Livonia it was first grown on estates, while in Finland convents were the centre of this innovation. In the 19th century farmers began growing it as well. In Finnic dialects words with nearly 20 different stems are used to refer to ‘potato’. The maps have been published in the Finnic atlas (ALFE 2, Map 111), while maps and commentary have also been prepared for publication in ALE. Here, Map 2 demonstrates the distribution areas of the relevant words with three borrowed stems (for more detailed maps see ALFE 2: 48–51). The *pota-* stem mainly occurs in the Eastern and Häme dialects of Finnish and in the northern regions of Finland and Karelia. The *pota-*stemmed name spread to Finnish dialects from Swedish, which had borrowed it, in turn, from English: < Swed. *potatis*, dial. *potat* ‘potato’ < Engl. *potato* (SSA 2: 404). The original Inca name *papa* or *batata* was first adopted into Spanish and English, whence it later spread into many European languages, undergoing various changes (see Škofic 2009: 226–227). The West Finnish word *peruna* is also a Swedish loanword, cf. Swed. *päron* ‘pear’ (<< Latin *pirum* id.), *jordpäron* ‘potato (lit. pear of earth)’ (SSA 2: 342, 464). Derivatives from *kartofel* are used in the Eastern and Southern Finnic languages. The

⁵⁵The project has been funded by the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research under SF0050037s10 and Estonian Science Foundation under Grant No. 7717.

potato names deriving from the Low-German word *kartuffel* travelled to Finnic dialects by different routes. Estonian and Finnish have borrowed the word either directly from Low German or from the (High) German *Kartoffel*, while the Eastern Finnic languages, Karelian and Vepsian, as well as some Finnish and Estonian dialects have received the word from Russian (< Russ. *картошка*); in Ludza Estonian dialect the Latvian-like *kartupel* (< Latv. *kartupelis*) is used. The German word *Kartoffel* originates in the North-Italian *tartufolo* (term for a plant with similar tubers as those of the potato), which was first borrowed into a neighbouring German dialect. While it spread on, a number of phonetic and morphological changes took place (Škofic 2009: 230–231). In Finnic all those three borrowed stems have produced numerous dialectal variants (see ALFE 2: 54–55).

In many European dialects the term for ‘potato’ has been motivated by a formerly familiar fruit or vegetable such as, e.g., apple, pear, turnip, onion, garlic. Another widespread motive ‘ball-shaped object’ is based on the shape of tubers. Here belong *muna*, which is used for potato mainly in Ingermanland, and *juna* used in the Estonian dialects spoken on Latvian territory (ALFE 2: 53). Apple has lent the motive for naming ‘potato’ in many Finnic dialects: e.g. the Finnish and Votic *omena* and *maaomena* (*maa* ‘ground, earth’), North Estonian and Votic *õun*, *maaõun* or *muldõun* (*muld* ‘earth’), South-Estonian variants of *ubin* and *maaubin*, Karelian *maajuablokka* (see ALFE 2: 52). A word meaning ‘apple’ or ‘earth apple’ is also widely used for ‘potato’ in Indo-European (Germanic, Slavic, Baltic) languages as well as elsewhere, e.g. in Mari, Chuvash and Tatar (Škofic 2009: 227–228). Words for ‘apple’ have been mapped in the Finnic atlas only (ALFE 2: 45–47), although the material had been collected for the European atlas as well. To avoid misunderstanding, ‘apple’ is sometimes called ‘tree apple’ vs ‘earth apple’ used for ‘potato’.

The Livonian term *na’ggõrz* for ‘potato’ derives from a Finno-Ugric word for ‘turnip’, but *maa na’ggõrz* ‘earth turnip’ is also used to refer to ‘potato’. Moving southwards to their Latvian neighbours we find a lot of similarities. A Low German loanword, *kartupelis* in standard Latvian, is widely spread and varies a lot across dialects (LVDA: 109–114, 326). Also, the Finnic languages and Latvian dialects share such naming motives as ‘ball-shaped object’, ‘apple’ or ‘earth apple’ and ‘turnip’ or ‘earth turnip’ (LVDA: Map 44). The extensive area covered by the latter motive in the Latvian dialects of Kurzeme and Western Zemgale proves that the above Livonian words are translation loans from Latvian.

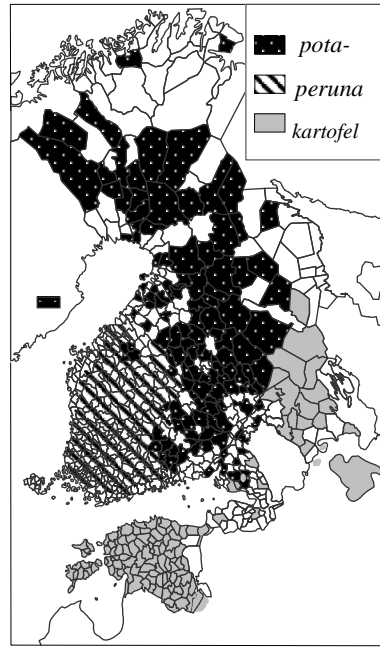
Terms for ‘goat’

The concept ‘goat’ is also included in the questionnaires for both atlases, ALE and ALFE, but hitherto mapped for ALFE only (3: 138–140). In all Finnic languages ‘goat’ is referred to by loanwords only (see Map 3), involving 8 stems: *kits*, *kilV*, *kut(t)V*, *keituri*, *vuohV*, *tikaa*, *kosa*, *čiba* (see Ruoppila 1943: 201–227). The Estonian *kits* derives from German (< Ger. *Kitze*), which seems to have originated in a call for the animal. The same stems are used in Scandinavian languages. From Estonian the word has spread on to Votic and Ingrian dialects. The Finnish *kile*, *kila*, *kili*, *kilo* and the Estonian *kilu* is a Swedish loan, cf. Swed. *kille*, *killa*, dial. *killu* (SSA 1: 361). The Ingrian and Votic *kili* have been borrowed from Finnish. The Finnish *kutti*, *kuttu*, *kutu* and *keituri* are also Scandinavian loans, cf. (1) *kutta* (SSA 1: 455); (2) Swed. *get* pl.

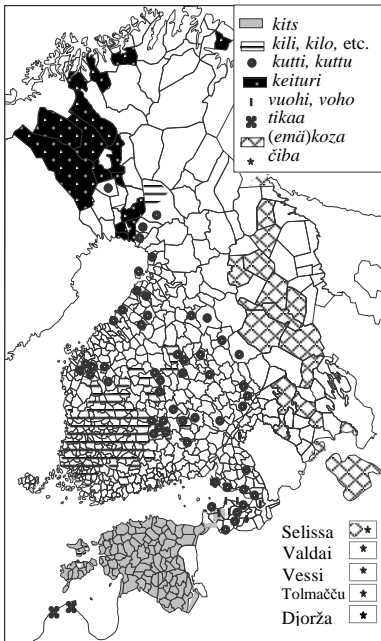
Map 1. Finnic languages



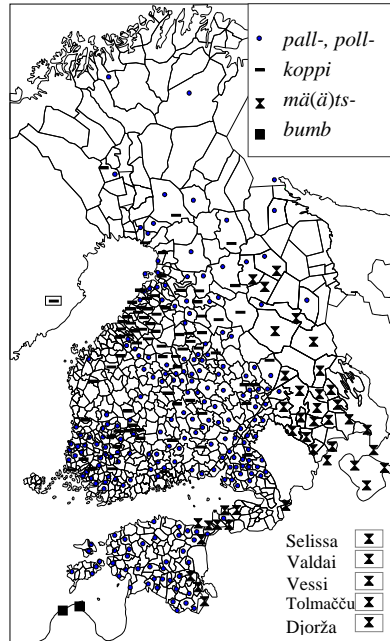
Map 2. Loanwords for 'potato'



Map 3. 'goat'



Map 4. 'ball'



getter, Norw. *geit* pl. *geitur* (Airila 1936; SSA 1: 338). The main area of *keituri* belonging to Länsipohja dialect indicates that the loan is relatively recent. The oldest loan must be the Finnish and Ingrian *vuohi*, Votic *voho*, as it has equivalents in Baltic languages: cf. Prussian *wosee*, Lith. *ožkà* ‘she-goat’, *ožys* ‘he-goat’ (Kalima 1936: 181; SSA 3: 472). The Livonian *tikaa* is a Middle Low German loan, < Mid. Low Ger. *tike*, cf. Ger. *Ziege* < *zige* < *ziga* ‘goat’ (Buck 1949: 165). The Slavic *koza* has travelled to Karelian, Vepsian and Votic from Russian (< Russ. *коза*). The South-Karelian dialects spoken in linguistic enclaves in the regions of Tver, Tikhvin and Valdai use *čiba*, which in my opinion is a loan from the Russian *чан* ‘he-goat’. This widespread group of words denoting ‘he-goat’ is based on a call for the animal. Similar names occur in Albanian and Romanian dialects (Buck 1949: 165; Vasmer 4: 288–289). However, often the female term is used for the whole species as most of the flocks herded consisted of females. The Finnic female terms generalized for ‘goat’ are *kits*, *kuttu*, *vuohi*, *kile*, *čiba*, but their distribution is not mapped here.

Two toys

The names of the two oldest toys, doll and ball have been collected for ALE. As in the ALE questionnaire ‘ball’ is specified with a picture of a modern rubber ball, the names of its home-made predecessors were left out. The Finnic words for ‘ball’ are all loans, stemming from four roots: 1) *pall-/poll-*; 2) *koppi*; 3) *mätš-*; 4) *bumb* (Map 4). The words with the stem *pall-/poll-* are of Germanic origin (SSA 2: 303). The oldest word *pallo* (< Gmc **ballu-*) is mainly used in Finnish. The Estonian *pall* : *palli* is either a German or Low German loan (EEW: 1914). In Finnish dialects the Swedish loanword *polla/polli/pollo* occurs in parallel with or instead of *pallo/palli*, cf. Swed. *boll*. The Finnish *koppi* might originate in the Swedish dialect words *koppe*, *koppa*, *kåpa* meaning ‘round object; bag, pouch etc’ (Levander, Björklund 1980: 1201; Rietz 1867: 379). The Russian borrowings *mätš-*, *määtš-* etc. (< Russ. *мячь*) refer to ‘ball’ near the eastern boundary of Finnic, dominating in Vepsian and Karelian. An analogous Russian loan is used in Volgaic and Permian languages (see Oja 2002: 164). The Livonian *bumb* derives from the Latvian *bumba*, dial. *bumb*, meaning ‘bomb; ball’, with a Germanic stem (Kettunen 1938: 31; Schwerts 1953: 20; Suhonen 1973: 94).

The most widespread word for ‘doll’ in Finnish dialects is the Swedish loan *tokka* (also *tokku*, *tukka*) < Swed. *docka*. The same stem is used for ‘doll’ in all Scandinavian languages as well as Sami and German dialects. In Eastern Finnic, i.e. Karelian, Vepsian, Ingrian and Votic dialects the most widespread word for ‘doll’ is the Russian loan *kukla* < Russ. *кукла*. In Estonian the most popular loanword for ‘doll’ is *pupe* < Ger. *Puppe*. The word family *puppa*, *pup(pe)*, *pop(pe)* and its variants are used on the largest area of the continent, most of all in Romance languages, but also in Germanic languages, while loans from these occur in the neighbouring areas, in Slavic languages, in Albanian and Basque. The word family descends from Middle Latin (Kluge 2002: 730).

Trade contacts

Most Finnic–Indo-European contacts had to do with trade and warfare. In the 13th–16th c. the trade across the Baltic and North Seas was controlled by the Hanseatic League. Estonia and Livonia, on its eastern wing, featured three big trading cities – Riga,

Tallinn, Tartu – and a dozen smaller ones, which were important centres of transit trade between Russia and Western Europe. Also, these were centres of innovation and of language contacts, where many innovations were introduced into Estonian whence they spread on to other Finnic languages. As we know, most innovations move unidirectionally from centre to periphery. In the 15th-century Finland there were two Hansa trading posts or *Kontors*, Åbo and Vyborg, whose environs have also been prone to linguistic innovation. On the north-western coast of Lake Ladoga, on the Vyborg–Novgorod trading route there was the seat of *Korela*, the largest trading centre of ancient Karelia, sending merchants North and South, to Russia and to Sweden. And there are loanwords (esp. semantic loans) that have spread from the Karelian Isthmus both to Northern Karelian dialects and North West to Finnish dialects, some even up to the eastern and northern borders of Finland (see Leskinen 1992: 3; Tuomi 2009: 255–257).

Main donor languages

Both cultural and linguistic innovations are closely connected with language status: the donor is usually of a higher prestige than the recipient language/culture. The Finnic peoples have lived under several foreign powers: the Finns have been subordinate to Sweden and Russia, Estonians to Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Poland and Russia, Livonians to Germany, Latvia and Russia, while the Eastern Finnic territory belongs till now to Russia. All this has left its traces in vocabulary. Even the above maps reveal that the main donor languages are not the same for all Finnic languages. Finnish has received most of its younger Indo-European loans from Swedish (e.g. *peruna*, *potat-; kile*, *keituri*, *kuttu*; *koppi*, *poll*; *tokka*); for Estonian the main donor has been German or Middle Low German (e.g. *kartul*, *kits*, *pall*, *pupe*); in Livonian a large part of loanwords come either from Middle Low German (e.g. *tikaa*) or Latvian (e.g. *bumb*); for the Eastern Finnic languages, Karelian and Vepsian, the main donor has been Russian (e.g. *kartohka*, *kartošk*; *koza*; *mätš-*; *kukla*). In addition, Finnish has borrowed a lot of words from German and Russian, as has Estonian from Swedish, Russian and Latvian. Often an Indo-European stem has been mediated to Finnic dialects by different languages (e.g. variants of *Kartoffel* and *pall*, words for ‘apple’).

The most complex linguistic relations affect Ingrian and Votic, which are subjected to the cross-influences of three higher-prestige neighbouring languages: Finnish, Estonian and Russian. Nevertheless, it is here that we may find interesting idiomaticity, a native word (e.g. *muna* ‘ball’ for ‘potato’) or an older loanword (e.g. Ingrian *vuohi*, Votic *voho* ‘kits’).

As shown in the maps lexical isoglosses often diverge from linguistic boundaries, while many innovations stem from this or that dialect. For some concepts the older loanword has been ousted by a younger one, or synonyms of different origin are used in parallel (e.g. Fin. *pall/poll* vs *koppi* and *pall* vs *mätš* ‘ball’ in Estonian, Votic and Karelian dialects; Fin. *kili* vs *kutti* ‘goat’ and Est. *kits* vs *kili* in Est. Hiiu dialect). In the easternmost Estonian dialects and in the Ingrian dialect of Finnish there are more Russian loans than on those areas in general (e.g. the terms for ‘ball’ and ‘potato’). Swedish influence is revealed the most, as expected, in the Finnish dialects spoken in the areas adjacent to those with Swedish settlement on the coast of south-western Finland, Uusimaa and Ostrobothnia. On the other hand, the lexical maps offer vivid

proof of the central role of the Gulf of Bothnia for Scandinavian–Finnish linguistic contacts. Hence Scandinavian, mainly Swedish loans have spread to the northern Finnish dialect of Länsipohja (e.g. *keituri*) or travelled on along Oulujoki to its neighbouring areas, some even to the southeastern dialects of Finnish (e.g. *koppi*, *kuttu*). In Middle Ages the Estonian and Finnish coasts and islets were populated by Swedes. Estonians and Finns, who tilled their fields further inland, learnt nautical terms from Swedes mainly. This accounts for the abundance of Swedish loans in Estonian nautical and fishing terms (Ariste 1933).

Conclusions

As we can see, linguistic atlas maps may help not only determine the core area and periphery of linguistic phenomena, boundaries of linguistic changes, routes of borrowing etc. etc., but also draw attention to “lacunae“ calling for additional research to find out whether the concept is familiar in that particular location or not. ALFE maps demonstrate the mutual relations of Finnic dialects, places with more original usage and areas of occurrence of various lexical borrowings, semantic development of same words in closely related languages, etc. The lexical maps of ALE give us an idea of the spread of word stems in continental Europe, enabling conclusions about Finnic–Indo-European neighbour contacts and about the true origin of word stems. While onomasiologic maps help to determine the source language of word stems, motive maps help to identify semantic (translation) loans. Comparison of such linguistic atlas maps may often help to clarify linguistic phenomena and shed new light on various issues.

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Symposium 24.

Jyrki Kalliokoski – Ritva Laury: Clause combining, particles and particle-ization in Estonian, Finnish and Hungarian

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THE CONTEMPORARY PRAGMATICS OF THE ESTONIAN CLAUSE COMBINER AND PARTICLE *EGA*

Introduction

The Estonian word *ega* is historically a combination of the negation word *ei* and the adverb *ka(as)* 'together, also'. It has gradually shortened and assimilated as well as expanded its syntactic-pragmatic functions. The grammaticalization process is analyzed in Keevallik and Habicht (under review). The current paper provides an overview of the syntactic-pragmatic functions of *ega* in contemporary usage. The functions are varied and seemingly elusive, some reflecting the original meaning component of negation and additivity.

A number of functions have been registered in the dictionaries and grammars (EKS, ÕS, EKG). Transcription and glossing conventions can be found at the end of the article.

1. Coordinating conjunction: *ei ole hea ega paha*
NEG be good nor bad
'neither good nor bad'
2. Predicate coordinator: *ei joo ega suitseta*
NEG drink nor smoke
'neither drinks nor smokes'
3. Intensifying conjunction: *ta ei tulnud ega tulnud*
she NEG come:PPT EGA come:PPT
'it took a long time for her to come'

4. Negative connector: *ma räägin sinuga ega ma ahjuga ei räägi*
 I talk:1SG you:COM EGA I stove:COM NEG talk
 ‘I’m talking to you, not to the stove’
5. Negation: *ega nimi meest riku* (proverb)
 EGA name man:PRT harm
 ‘a name doesn’t harm a man’
6. Fixed phrases: *ega tea*
 EGA know
 approx. ‘you never know’
7. Question particle: *ega sa malet mängida ei oska*
 EGA you chess:PRT play:INF NEG can
 ‘you don’t play chess, do you?’

The first three patterns reflect the original semantic components of the words *ei* ‘NEG’ and *ka* ‘also’, the fourth through sixth one reflect negation, while the question particle pattern appears to lie quite far from the others. The particle may occur either at the beginning or at the end of the question and it is said to mark the question as tentative (EKS). However, there are other usages in current spoken Estonian that have not been described in earlier sources. The following examples come from the spoken language data used for the current study.

8. Epistemic particle: *ega ta sealt tagasi ei tule*
 EGA she there:ABL back NEG come
 ‘she is not coming back, I’m sure’
9. Adversative particle: *ega need asja tuleb läbi teha*
 EGA these things must:3SG through go
 ‘(contrary to what you assumed),
 one has to go through this stuff’

In general, the semantics of *ega* involves negation, coordination, as well as some kind of reinforcement of the proposition. The usages range from more literal, or lexical (1–6), to more abstract, or grammaticalized ones (7–9).

The present overview accounts for all the types of *ega*-usage registered in the two contemporary spoken language corpora. The first corpus was collected and transcribed by myself and consists of naturally occurring telemarketing calls as well as everyday calls between family members, relatives, friends, and colleagues. There are about 103,000 words in the corpus. The other corpus is publicly available, <http://www.cl.ut.ee/suuline/Korpus.php>, and constantly growing, but the version checked for the *ega*-patterns consisted of about 230,000 words. The data comes from a variety of settings, including face-to-face conversations. In all 508 cases of *ega* were found, not counting the very frequent formulaic patterns discussed below.

***Ega* as a coordinate conjunction**

The semantic components of negation and addition are both evident in the conjunctive usage of *ega*. The comprehensive Estonian grammar (EKG) states that *ega* forms a compound negative coordinating conjunction together with the negation word *ei* (EKG II: 109, 278). The *ei* and *ega* appear in different parts of the clause with *ei* always preceding *ega*. Thus, *ega* is in these cases not the only, nor the first, indication of the negative meaning of the clause.

First of all, *ei...ega* is used as a conjunction between two identical parts of speech (EKG II: 165, example 1 above). In this pattern, *ei* stands in front of the first negated element and *ega* in front of the last one.

10. *temal on paha et ta pole ei laps ega täiskasvanu*
he:ADS be bad that he NEG:be NEG child EGA grown-up
'the bad thing is that he is neither a child nor a grown-up'

11. *ja sis ei s(@)uutnud keegi ei l(@)aval ega*
and then NEG can:PPT nobody NEG scene:ADS EGA
'and after that nobody could retain a serious attitude'

s(@)aalis enam (1.0) enam nagu t(@)õsiseks jääda
audience:INS more more like serious:TRA remain:INF
'neither on the stage nor in the audience'

Importantly, the finite verb is negated in all the examples (*ei karda* 'is not afraid', *pole* 'is not', *ei suutnud* 'could not'). Thus, there are actually three different negations in the above clauses.

What becomes clear in the corpora, is that the compound conjunction *ei...ega* is merely used with nouns, as was shown in examples 10–11. And even with nouns the first component *ei* is optional, it can be omitted. With other parts of speech, merely *ega* is used, as in example 2 above. When predicates are conjoined, the first verb is still negated and the coordination is accomplished with *ega*, resulting in merely two negations within the clause, as shown in 12.

12. *kurat jah mina e ole kunagi neid mootoreid*
devil yeah I NEG be never these motor:PL:PRT
'damned, I have never taken apart the motors'

lahti võtnud ega kinni pand
open:PPT EGA assemble:PPT
'or assembled them'

When adverbs or adjectives are coordinated, *ega* is also used alone. Notice that with adverbs, the negated verb phrase can also occur after the coordinated elements, not necessarily before, as was the case in the above examples. Example 13 illustrates the coordination of adverbs and 14 that of adjectives.

13. *oi ei täna (.) ega omme (.* *Ei ole küll pandud*
 oh NEG today EGA tomorrow NEG be KÜLL put:IMS:PPT
 ‘oh no, there is no booking today or tomorrow’

14. *nad ei ole niusksed kanged ega (.) ega niusksed*
 they NEG be such:PL stiff:PL EGA EGA such:PL
 ‘these rubber boots are not stiff’

rasked kummikud
 heavy:PLrubber.boot:PL
 or heavy’

Also non-head nouns within noun phrases are coordinated with *ega* only.

15. *ei salli piparmündi ega kummeli lõhna*
 NEG stand peppermint:GEN EGA camomile:GEN smell:PRT
 ‘(the rats) can’t stand the smell of neither peppermint nor camomile’

In summary, the compound coordination *ei...ega* is optionally used with noun phrases. In the rest of the cases, at least in the spoken language, merely *ega* is sufficient. Another difference between what is reported on the basis of written language and the spoken usage of our corpora concerns longer lists. In the above examples, only two elements were coordinated in the examples. In the case of longer lists in writing, *ei* stands in front of the first element and *ega* in front of the last one (EKG II: 216). In spoken usage, however, *ega* can easily be repeated before every consecutive element.

16. *ei tohi pekki ega šokolaadi ega mi- ega liha*
 NEG allow lard:PRT EGA chocolate:PRT EGA EGA meat:
 ‘neither lard nor chocolate nor meat,’

ega sihukesi asju
 EGA such:PL:PRT thing:PL:PRT
 ‘nothing of this kind of stuff is allowed’

In contrast, the standard written language version of the same clause would have been: *ei tohi ei pekki, šokolaadi, liha ega selliseid asju (süüia)*. Furthermore, the last component of the list in the above example *ega sihukesi asju* ‘nothing of this kind of stuff’ is relatively content-empty. In fact, the formulaic turn-completers constitute one of the most frequent patterns of *ega*-usage in the spoken language corpora. The most frequent of them is *ega midagi* ‘EGA nothing’.

17. *aga: te: ei paku: (.) hotelle ega midagi*
 but you NEG offer hotel:PL:PRT EGA nothing
 ‘but you don’t offer hotels or anything’

These formulaic phrases are syntactically coordinated with what came before and pragmatically they underline the fact that similar things are accounted for. They may also function as emphasis, showing that what goes before is surprising, as in example 18.

18. *ta ei räägi Tarvastu murrakut ega midagi*
 she NEG speak NAME:GEN dialect:PRT EGA nothing
 ‘she doesn’t even speak Tarvastu dialect’

Ega is a negative coordinating conjunction (EKG II: 278). As was shown above, the coordinating usage of *ega* between identical parts of speech is characterized by the fact that it takes at least one explicit negative marker in the same clause. *Ega* has also become a routine part of clause-final empty elements, such as *ega midagi*, and this particular format has furthermore developed into a marker of surprise value.

Second, the coordinating conjunction *ega* may be used between two negative clauses. This, however, seems to be characteristic of written language.

19. *Ei lähe ilmad veel niipea soojemaks*
 NEG become weather:PL still soon warmer:TRA
 ‘The weather will no be better for quite a while,’

ega hakka päike kõrgemalt käima. (EKG II: 216)
 EGA start Sun higher go:SUP
 ‘neither will the Sun get higher’

There are no unambiguous examples of this pattern in the spoken corpora, not even in the formal registers recorded in the data. The only example (20) that could represent a case of coordination of different clauses with *ega* is at the same time an old saying, and thus belongs to a different category of patterns. Proverbs and formulaic sayings often display specific grammatical features.

20. *ei Märjamaal pole märga* (2.2)
 NEG NAME:ADS NEG:be wet:PRT
 ‘It’s not wet in Märjamaa,’

ega Kullamaal kulda (0.8)
 EGA NAME:ADS gold:PRT
 ‘neither is there gold in Kullamaa,’

ega Vigalas viga medagi
 EGA NAME:INS wrong:PRT nothing
 ‘neither is there something wrong with Vigala’

In summary, all of the coordinating cases, the original meaning of the two components *ei + ka(as)* are still there. The following word, phrase, or clause is negated and added at the same time. These cases do therefore not display any semantic development, the original items *ei + ka(as)* have merely assimilated into a single word.

***Ega* as a negation marker?**

In the above discussion, it has already been clear that *ega* is generally used in negative clauses. In addition, the Estonian comprehensive grammar claims that *ega* itself may accomplish negation (EKG II: 100). Unfortunately no examples are presented for this claim. Indeed, the negation word *ei* can sometimes be omitted but Estonian verb forms still reveal the negative polarity of the whole clause. Verbs do not have person endings in the negative in Estonian while they do have them in positive forms. Consequently, the verb also reveals the polarity of the clause and *ega* alone cannot turn it into a negation. However, the negation word *ei* can under certain conditions be omitted in the *ega*-clauses. The omission occurs most obviously in proverbs and sayings, i.e. very formulaic genres. The following ones (as well as example 5 above) have been found in current informal usage on the internet.

21. ***Ega*** küll küllale liiga tee
EGA more more:ALL hurt
'more is more'

22. ***Ega*** leib ole võsast võetud
EGA bread be bush:ELT take:IMS:PPT
'bread has not been found in the bushes,'

ega kase otsast kukkunud
EGA birch:GEN from fall:PPT
'neither has it fallen from the birch'

Even at the dialect archive, it is difficult to find examples where *ega* would be the only marker of negation besides the verb form, and most of the cases are proverbs or sayings. Exceptions include the following example.

23. ***ega*** nad sinuda pelgä
EGA they you:PRT be.afraid
'they are not afraid of you'

More examples can again be found in the written sources, such as newspapers and various headings of books, exhibitions and works of art. Example 24 is from the body of a newspaper article.

24. ***Ega*** iga ameeriklane siia tulla taha.
EGA every American here come:INF want
'not every American wants to come here'

It thus seems that *ega* fulfills the function of negation only on a very limited scale in the informal spoken usage. On the other hand, the negation word *ei* can never be omitted in clauses where *ega* is not present. Thus, to some extent *ega* is able to take over the negation function of *ei*. While in other instances it simply enhances the negation.

Formulaic usages, such as reflected in the proverbs, do not tell us much about the development of linguistic items but they can constitute a considerable share of the overall usage, as was already mentioned above after example 17. In addition to the phrases in 6 and 17, *ega* is regularly used in the initiation of conversational closure *ega (siis) midagi (siis)*, approx. ‘EGA (then) nothing (then)’ and its shortened form *egas midagi*. The usual response to the formula is a short agreement token, after which the speakers exchange farewells.

25. M: *no ega sis midagi*
 NO EGA then nothing
 ‘Well then’

K: *jah*
 ‘Yeah’

In formulaic usage, the negative meaning may thus be almost coincidental to the actual conversational function of the pattern. Other frequent formulaic usages in conversation include responses *ega jah* and *ega vist*, indicating agreement with a prior negative statement, either with certainty (*ega jah*) or in the epistemically hedged form (*ega vist*).

***Ega* as an epistemic-adversative particle**

In many of the above cases, *ega* is doing more than just negating. It has a modal connotation, indicating certainty based on common knowledge (proverbs, ex. 21–12, ‘not every American wants to come here’, ex. 24) or marking that the claim goes against a prior assumption (‘they are not afraid of you’, ex. 23). All of these statements at the same time appeal to the readers’ or interlocutors’ agreement.

The clear epistemic-adversative *ega*-usages shown in examples 7–9 are extensively discussed in Keevallik and Habicht (under review), where the epistemic, adversative and question particle patterns are shown to belong to the same grammaticalization cline. The paper argues that *ega* has first developed from conjunction into an emphatic epistemic marker that indicates speaker certainty as well as adversity with prior discourse. At present, it is being reanalyzed as a question word in cases when the negative proposition concerns matters in the first hand belonging to the interlocutor’s area of competence. That kind of turn in conversation makes a confirming or disconfirming answer the relevant next action (see also the discussion in Keevallik 2009: 150–155). Example 26 shows a case in point where the first speaker puts forward an epistemically strong guess about something that belongs to the interlocutor’s area of competence. Therefore, the interlocutor confirms it in the next turn, treating the *ega*-initiated utterance as a question.

26. M: *ega sa vist eriti kaua ei tule sealt*
 EGA you probably very long NEG come there:ABL
 ‘I guess, it probably won’t take you too long to arrive from there’

H: *ei tule ma olen juba varsti kohal*
 NEG come I be:1SG already soon there
 ‘No, I’ll soon be there already’, i.e. ‘where you are’

This function of *ega* is syntactically and pragmatically different from the original coordinating conjunction and it does not reflect the component meanings of negation and addition any more. *Ega* is here used as a particle. A further argument for the analysis is that in the epistemic function *ega* can occur clause-finally, particularly in fiction and dialects.

27. *Sa pole ju ometi armunud, ega?* (EKS)
 you NEG:be JU OMETI in.love:PPT EGA
 ‘You’re not in love, right?’

In summary, *ega* is a syntactically and pragmatically multifunctional item in contemporary spoken Estonian. It is also a part of a number of fossilized expressions. In many usages it displays the original meaning components of negation and additivity, while in others it has developed a long way.

Transcription and glossing conventions

<u>underlining</u>	– stress or emphasis
bold	– the item in focus
-	– truncation
(0.5)	– pause length in tenths of a second
(.)	– micropause
colo:n	– lengthening of a sound
@	– laughter syllable
1,2,3	– person
ABL	– ablative
ADS	– adessive
ALL	– allative
COM	– comitative
EGA	– the item <i>ega</i>
ELT	– elative
GEN	– genitive
IMS	– impersonal
INF	– infinitive
INS	– inessive
NEG	– negation particle
PRT	– partitive
PL	– plural
PPT	– past participle
SG	– singular

SUP	– supinum
TRA	– translative
other capital letters	– untranslatable particles

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Symposium 25.

Katalin É. Kiss – Anders Holmberg – Anne Tamm: The Syntax of Finno-Ugric Languages and Universal Grammar

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MANY-TO-MANY CASE ASSIGNMENT OVER A DISTANCE

It is frequently held that nominal case (e.g., nominative, accusative) expresses a grammatical relation between nominal arguments and their predicates. Consider the nominative and accusative arguments orbiting a finite verb (e.g. *He loves her*). It is tempting to think that such marking represents the particular roles these arguments play in the sentence: the nominative marks the subject (*he*, 'the lover'), and the accusative marks the object (*her*, 'the one who is loved'). These cases are, furthermore, assigned by the verb (*love*) as a change in the verb form often alters the attested case assignment. Only transitive verbs assign the direct object case, intransitive verbs assign only the nominative subject case. Some verbs assign the quirky case, and so on.

A number of reasons can be cited to challenge this view as too simplistic. One concerns a phenomenon known as long-distance case assignment. In long-distance case assignment, henceforth LDCA, the case assigner and the case assignee do not have to be clause-mates. Here I propose to sum up the current state-of-the-art concerning this phenomenon in Finnish. The summary is based on Brattico (2010a,b), Toivonen (1995) and Vainikka & Brattico (2009).

Before putting our hands on the subject matter, a brief introduction to Finnish and its case system might be helpful (see also Kiparsky 1998, 2001; Nelson 1998; Vainikka 1989, 2003). Finnish has fifteen cases. There are two structural subject cases: the nominative and genitive. One structural object case is the partitive. Therefore, in Finnish the partitive does not usually connote 'to be part of'. Some direct objects take the accusative case, which comes with three variants. These are: the 0-accusative, which is homonymous with the nominative; the n-accusative, which is homonymous with the genitive; and the t-accusative, which is homonymous with the plural nominative. The accusative (any variant) substitutes with the partitive in direct object contexts if and only if the event described by the verb phrase is interpreted as completed in aspect. Accusative is therefore as much a structural as it is an "aspectual case". The rest of the Finnish case paradigm is occupied by inherent/lexical cases.

Consider the long-distance case assignment phenomenon exhibited by (1a-b).

- (1)
- a Me opitaan läksyt [lukemalla kirja/ *kirjan]
 we.NOM learn.PASS homework read.MA book.NOM book.ACC
 'We learn the homework by reading a book.'
- b Me opimme läksyt [lukemalla *kirja/ kirjan]
 we.NOM learn.1SG homework read.MA book.NOM book.ACC
 'We learn the homework by reading a book.'

These sentences reveal that when the matrix predicate is in impersonal passive voice, the direct object inside the adjunct clause *lukemalla kirja* 'by reading a book' is marked by the zero-marked 0-accusative or nominative case (1a); when the matrix predicate is in the active voice, the direct object inside the adjunct is marked by the n-accusative case (1b). This type of case marking is ubiquitous in Finnish (Toivonen 1995).⁵⁶

The interest in this phenomenon stems from the fact that, sooner or later, any theory of case assignment must take this phenomenon into account. Conversely, a theory of case assignment which relies exclusively on local case assignment relations will not be able to capture the whole range of crosslinguistically attested facts concerning case. In addition, once we acknowledge the existence of long-distance case, a number of new discoveries concerning case assignment emerge. This paper allows me to review some of these discoveries.

To make sense of this phenomenon, the following descriptive targets must be met: (i) Which elements receive case information from remote sources? (ii) Which elements send information to remote detectors? (iii) Which grammatical constructions allow the transmission and which grammatical constructions, or properties, block the transmission? (iv) What happens if one element receives case information from multiple sources? (v) What happens when one element sends case information to several detectors? Let's try to provide something for each question.

Question (i): Which elements receive remote case assignment? Long-distance case assignment in Finnish is selective. Not all case features are assigned by remote case assigners. First, a grammatical element is vulnerable to remote case assignment only if it occupies a direct object position. Elements in other positions are never, to my knowledge, subject to remote case. A "direct object position" is defined by syntactic object tests. Notice that even if the direct object in (1a) is marked by the nominative-looking zero suffix, it still behaves like a direct object with respect to such object tests. Example (1a) is thus best characterized as a "nominative object construction".

The second salient fact is that grammatical elements receive remote case information, identical to that shown in (1a-b), only if they are in singular and not pronouns. For instance, if the direct object *book* is substituted by a plural form or by a

⁵⁶Notice that the impersonal passive verb *opitaan* 'learn.PASS' leaves room for the agent nominative first person plural subject. In fact, this form is used in Finnish to express the proposition 'we learn the homework'; form (1b) is felt as hypercorrect. Therefore, sentence (1a) should presumably not be identified with a passive clause, let alone a personal passive; it is an ordinary transitive agent-patient clause that just happens to contain the main verb in the passive. What matters for present concerns is the fact that the impersonal passive verb does not agree with the subject.

pronoun, the phenomenon disappears. Both plural DPs and pronouns are suffixed with the t-form when they occur in the direct object position (2a-b).

(2)

- a Me opitaan läksyt [lukemalla kirja-t/ häne-t]
 we.NOM learn.PASS homework read.MA book-PL.ACC/he-ACC
 'We learn the homework by reading books.'
- b Me opimme läksyt [lukemalla kirja-t/ häne-t]
 we.NOM learn.1SG homework read.MA book-PL.ACC/he-ACC
 'We learn the homework by reading books.'

One further amendment has to be added. In Finnish, the matrix negation will force the *partitive case* to direct objects. All three variants of the accusative (1a-b, 2a-b) must surrender. This case assignment too is remote (Brattico, 2010a,b; Ross, 1967). It is remote because, again, a matrix negation will partitivize direct objects inside of adjuncts and other remote phrases. But the partitive case, unlike the two direct object cases in (1a-b), will be assigned irrespective of the grammatical number and pronominal status of the goal. Thus in (3a-b), the partitive is assigned to a plural and pronominal direct object inside the embedded infinitival by the matrix negation.

(3)

- a Me ei opittu läksyjä [lukemalla *kirjat/ kirjoja]
 we not learn.PASS homework read.MA book.PL.ACC/book.PL.PRT
 'We did not learn the homework by reading books.'
- b Me emme opi läksyjä [lukemalla *kirjat/ kirjoja]
 we not.1PL learn homework read.MA book.PL.ACC/book.PL.PRT
 'We did not learn the homework by reading books.'

What all this means is that only the remotely assigned accusative variation exhibited by (1a-b) is sensitive to the phi-features of the case receiver; the polarity-triggered partitive is not.

These three conditions constitute the properties which tune an element for remote case broadcast. I propose the following principle:

(4) *Telescopic Object Principle*

A goal can be assigned remote case if and only if it is direct object and requires a separate spellout of certain phi-features (singular for accusative variants, any phi-feature for the partitive, and none for the pronouns for which the phi-features are all lexicalized).

Question (ii): Which elements send information to remote detectors? The phenomenon documented in (1a-b) is an instance of broader generalization which says that the two accusative forms alternate as a function of the presence of syntactically more prominent (i.e. c-commanding) finite verbal phi-features (Vainikka & Brattico, 2009). Agreement features on verbs trigger the n-form (1b); if there are no agreement features, then the nominative-looking 0-accusative will emerge (1a). So, the impersonal passive form *opitaan* 'learn.PASS' is characterized by the lack of overt

subject agreement (despite the presence of the overt nominative subject) and therefore it fails to trigger the n-accusative form. Other finite verbs which lack overt agreement fail to trigger the n-accusative as well (*Meidän täytyy lukea kirja* 'We.NOM must read book.NOM').

In Finnish, also nouns (*minun auto-ni* 'my car.1SG'), prepositions (*minun lähellä-ni* 'my near.1SG') and non-finite verbs (*uskoin nukkua-ni* 'believed.1SG sleep.1SG') show full agreement with a DP at their Spec. Nominal agreement markers never affect the case of a direct object, but non-finite markers do. It seems to me that non-finite agreement contributes to the n-accusative form, but the contribution is weaker than what emanates from finite verbs. For instance, it has been verified by several native speaker experiments that non-finite agreement gives rise to fluctuating case suffixes. Thus, native speakers remain indecisive concerning which case form to use, therefore they seem to pick one case suffix at random. This phenomenon will be discussed later.⁵⁷

Verbal phi-features are not the only senders of remote case transmission. Polarity features constitute another (see 3a-b). In Finnish, the sentential negation marker *e-* forces the partitive case to all direct objects, and the transmission is remote (Ross, 1967; see Vainikka 1989, 2003 for the Finnish partitive). It can be shown that the more or less same conditions which regulate the accusative alteration also cover the partitive of negation (Brattico, 2010a). Plus, it is not only the negative word itself but also other epistemic hesitant markers, such as yes/no interrogatives and certain adverbs such as *tuskin* 'hardly', which radiate the partitive (Kaiser 2002). In sum, agreement features on verbal elements and polarity constitute remote case transmitters.

Question (iii): Which grammatical constructions allow the transmission and which grammatical constructions, or properties, block the transmission? Remote case transmission obeys structural constraints. It occurs only if the sender c-commands the receiver. Remote case transmission is always downstream. A more challenging task is to say exactly which grammatical boundaries block remote case transmission. The answer is that only finite CPs and a group of adjuncts block the incoming transmission. Let us call these *opaque domains*. Example (5) shows that the n-accusative inside of an adjective phrase, one of the opaque domains, is not turned into the partitive by the matrix negation:

- (5) Pekka ei nähnyt leivän syönyttä miestä
 Pekka not see bread.ACC eat.VA.PAST.PRT man.PRT
 'Pekka did not see the man, who ate the bread.'

⁵⁷A further observation is that participial adjectives trigger the n-accusative for their complements, as shown in (1).

- (1) Pekka näki [leivän syöneen] miehen
 Pekka saw bread.ACC eat.VA.PAST man
 'Pekka saw a/the man who ate the bread.'

What triggers the n-accusative here? The participle (glossed as VA above) has been build from a verbal root 'eat', and it shows agreement too, namely concordial agreement, but this cannot really be said to constitute a standard-variety subject-verb agreement. (Since the accusative is assigned within this context, the adjective phrase receives an aspectual interpretation.)

What is surprising about this finding is the number of grammatical obstacles which are *not* opaque. Examples (1–3) show that there are adjunct phrases which let the transmission in. But the same is true of all non-finite complements (excluding finite CPs) and even full DPs, the latter which allow remote case transmission to tamper their *internal* direct objects. The basic phenomenon is illustrated in (6a-c), where matrix transmitters (phi- and polarity features again) affect the direct object (*car*) inside of another noun phrase (*agreement to buy a car*).

(6)

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|--------------|------------|-------|---------|---------|---------|
| a | Me | teimme | sopimuksen | ostaa | auto/ | auton/ | autoa |
| | We | made.1PL | agreement | buy | car.NOM | car.ACC | car.PRT |
| | 'We made an agreement to buy a car.' | | | | | | |
| b | Me | tehtiin | sopimus | ostaa | auto/ | *auton/ | autoa |
| | We | made.PASS | agreement | buy | car.NOM | car.ACC | car.PRT |
| | 'We made an agreement to buy a car.' | | | | | | |
| c | Me | emme tehneet | sopimusta | ostaa | ??auto/ | *auton/ | autoa |
| | We | not.1PL made | agreement | buy | car.NOM | car.ACC | car.PRT |
| | 'We made an agreement to buy a car.' | | | | | | |

A further fact worthy of notice is that it does not matter whether the host DP (*agreement to buy a car*) is in some other case than the direct object case: the transmission goes through all the same (Brattico, 2010a). Such constructions create a *nested case assignment pattern*, in which one case assignment relation is encapsulated inside another one.

Questions (iv-v): What happens if one element receives case information from multiple sources? What happens when one element sends case information to several detectors? If there are several direct objects occurring in the c-command path of a remote case transmitter, and no opaque domains intervene, then all direct objects are affected. A *one-to-many* case flow is therefore attested. This is shown in (7a-b), where the matrix negation partitivizes two direct objects it c-commands. Similar data can be harvested for the accusative variation (cf. ex. 1a-b).

(7)

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---|------------|-----------|----------|------------|-----------|
| a. | Pekka näki | Merjan/ | *Merjaa | syömässä | leivän/ | leipää |
| | Pekka saw | Merja.ACC/ | Merja.PRT | eat | bread.ACC/ | bread.PRT |
| | 'Pekka saw Merja eating bread.' | | | | | |
| b. | Pekka ei nähnyt | *Merjan/ | Merjaa | syömässä | *leivän/ | leipää |
| | Pekka not saw | Merja.ACC/ | Merja.PRT | eat | bread.ACC/ | bread.PRT |
| | 'Pekka did not saw Merja eating bread.' | | | | | |

Likewise, one element may and often does receive case transmission from several sources, such as various c-commanding polarity and agreement features. Under some special circumstances these sources compete for realization, and native speakers remain indecisive concerning which case suffix to use. Sentence (8) is one such example (from Vainikka–Brattico, 2009). The speakers use both the n-accusative and the 0-accusative here, with roughly equal probability. Arguably, this is because there are two conflicting properties: lack of phi-features at the matrix clause contributing to

the 0-accusative and presence of phi-features at the non-finite clause, contributing to the n-accusative.

- (8) Meidän täytyy uskoa ostaneemme hienomman sohvan
We.GEN must believe bought.1PL nicer.ACC couch.ACC
hienompi sohva
nicer.NOM couch.NOM
'We must believe that we bought a nicer couch.'

A *many-to-one* case flow is attested, where the conflicting case sources compete for realization. This observation is not unsupported in previous literature (Moravcsik 1995: Brattico, 2010b), and there are other situations in Finnish where case competition occurs. In sum, then, case transmission takes a *many-to-many* form (a combination of one-to-many and many-to-one), a cacophony of information emitted from multiple sources and being received by multiple antennas.

Let us return to the proposition that nominal case expresses a grammatical relation between a nominal argument and its predicate. Clearly, remote case assignment does not fit into this picture too well. But what is even more worrying is that such a theory pretends that case is assigned in a one-to-one manner: one predicate will assign case to one argument. The present data show that case assignment instantiates a many-to-many relation, and may create even nested case assignment. Therefore, some aspects of the standard theory of case might need rethinking in the future.

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MORPHOLOGICAL CASE IN FINNISH⁵⁸

1. Case in Finnish

There exists extensive literature which discusses case marking in Finnish, including the realization of structural (rather than inherent) case. Relevant works include Heinämäki 1984, Kiparsky 1998, Nelson 1998 and Vainikka 1989. This paper also discusses the way structural case is realized, focusing on the environments where nominative, accusative and partitive cases appear.

It is easy to identify three environments where partitive case alternatives with either accusative or nominative case. First, properties of the event description determine case marking. If the event is atelic (with no specific endpoint reached), the object of a transitive structure is partitive. With telic events, the object is accusative, as shown in (1), from Kiparsky 1998.

- (1) a Ammuin kahta karhua
 shoot.past,1sg two.part bear.part
 'I shot at (the) two bears'
 b Ammuin kaksi karhua
 shoot.past,1sg two.acc bear.part
 'I shot (the) two bears'

A difference in the interpretation of an object nominal can also correspond to case alternation. A partitive object is interpreted as nonspecific; an accusative object has a definite interpretation, or it is interpreted as describing a specific quantity. Consider the contrast shown in (2).

- (2) a Kissa joi maitoa
 cat.nom drink.past,3sg milk.part
 'The cat drank some milk' (no specific quantity)
 b Kissa joi maidon
 cat.nom drink.past,3sg milk.acc
 'The cat drank the milk' (specific quantity)

⁵⁸I am extremely grateful to Sabine Iatridou, David Pesetsky, Kai von Stechow, Danny Fox, Irene Heim and Edward J. Rubin, as anonymous reviewers of Csirmaz (to appear). I also thank the audience at the Eighth Seoul International Conference on Generative Grammar, the conference Interface Legibility and the Edge, the 2003 North American Syntax Conference, the Mid-America Linguistics Conference 2009, TLS XII and the conference on Finno-Ugric Syntax and Universal Grammar. For the data and judgments, I am indebted to Elsi Kaiser, Liina Pyllkkänen, Mikko Kupula, Pauli Brattico, Paula Viljanen, Katia Brunetto, Paul Kiparsky, and Matti Miestamo. A significantly expanded and more detailed discussion is offered in Csirmaz (to appear). Naturally, all errors are mine.

Finally, the object of a negative sentence is partitive, even if the object has accusative case in the affirmative counterpart (from Vainikka 1989):

- (3) a Helena ei kutonut villatakkia / *villatakin
 H.nom not.3sg knit.participle sweater.part / sweater.acc
 'Helena didn't knit a sweater'
 b Helena kutoi villatakin
 H.nom knit.past,3sg sweater.acc
 'Helena knitted a sweater'

From the examples above, it is clear that case marking correlates with interpretation. I suggest that in the examples above, partitive case appears in some divisible environment. Let us consider the two aspects of this proposal, addressing divisibility first. The environment is divisible; in other words, it must denote a predicate which, whenever it applies to an argument, it also applies to all parts of that argument. Certain eventualities, such as sleeping or not leaving, are divisible: given a period of time during which someone sleeps or fails to leave, it will be true for all parts of that time interval that the person does not sleep or does not leave. Similarly, the mass noun cheese is divisible; given an entity labeled 'cheese', parts of that entity can also be labeled 'cheese'. In contrast, the eventualities he eat(s) the cheese, he leave(s) and the nominal the entire piece of cheese are not divisible; not all parts of the given eventuality or entity can be labeled as such.

Recall that the proposal is that partitive case appears in divisible environments. On the assumption that it is possible to give a unified treatment of the environments above, it is expected that there is a unique environment which is divisible and licenses partitive case in (1)–(3). The remainder of this section discusses this domain, after introducing some background assumptions.

In Minimalist frameworks, abstract case (a [Case] feature) is assumed; this feature on a nominal must be licensed (checked) by an appropriate head. Following standard assumptions, I assume that Finnish nominals have such a feature, and it is checked by finite T (for subjects) or the *v* head (for objects). I assume that morphological case is also necessary (cf. Legate 2008); this type of case marking refers to the morphological form of case proper, such as quirky case in Icelandic. Crucially, morphological case is not always determined by the syntactic head that checks [Case]; it is possible for a subject, for instance, to bear a quirky case that is distinct from the nominative case checked by T.

For morphological case, I propose that – at least in Finnish – it is determined by Late Insertion outside of the core syntactic component. Finnish case marking is comparable to dependent case, where the case of a specific nominal depends on properties of a distinct nominal rather than on the [Case] checking head. A further argument for the delay of morphological case is the realization of accusative case. 'Accusative' case in Finnish is realized on non-pronominal singular nominals as -n or -0, depending on agreement on T (-n if T shows agreement and -0 if it does not; Vainikka and Brattico 2009). Information about agreement on T is only available if T is present, which is outside of the *vP* phase (where *vP* contains the object). So determining morphological case on the object must be delayed at least until the T head establishes agreement.

In a Minimalist model with cyclic Spell-out, the core computational component, C_{HL} , branches off to PF and LF cyclically. It is at the completion of a phase (CP, vP, and DP) that Spell-out or Transfer happens. On the assumption that morphological case appears on the PF branch, it may be expected that if some kind of locality effect is present, it is determined by phases.

Phases and interface conditions also play a role in determining divisibility, the interpretive property which correlates with partitive case (cf. the discussion above). Divisibility is a property of eventuality descriptions and nominals which is clearly related to semantic interpretation. I suggest that divisibility must be determined in the semantic component rather than in syntax, by some (compositional) interpretive process. It is not feasible to assume a syntactic feature, for instance [+/- divisible], with the appropriate divisibility value of a constituent determined syntactically. Consider a simple procedure which works as desired in a number of cases: 'The divisibility of a complex structure is determined by the divisibility of the head of that constituent; if the head lacks a divisibility specification, then it is determined by the complement of the head'. This procedure accounts for the divisibility of *win the race* and *read the book*: *win* is specified as [-divisible] (it is an achievement predicate, thus nondivisible) and *read* lacks a value for divisibility, so the VP *read the book* is non-divisible because the object, the book, is non-divisible. This procedure, even though it accounts for several complex constituents, is unlike familiar syntactic processes such as projection or checking. Furthermore, it systematically breaks down (a) with constituents which involve iteration (e.g. *win races*, which is predicted to be non-divisible, is divisible in fact) and (b) with non-divisible constituents which contain a goal and are divisible in absence of the goal (e.g. *push the cart to the cashier*). Given these considerations, I assume that divisibility is determined outside of syntax, in the semantic component. To summarize, divisibility and morphological case both involve components outside of C_{HL} , and given a cyclic Minimalist approach, it is expected that locality effects, if any, are determined by the syntactic units that undergo Transfer.

Transfer is assumed to happen at the completion of a phase, but the domain that undergoes Transfer is the complement of the phase (Chomsky 2001, 2008, a.o.). This restriction on the Transfer domains yields Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC); a syntactic process involving an element outside of a phase P cannot access an element which is contained in the complement of P (only elements at the edge of P – the head and specifiers – are accessible). This locality restriction follows straightforwardly if the complement of the phase P undergoes Transfer (when P is completed): no element outside of P can access the transferred elements.

The specific size of the Transfer unit is not the only way to derive PIC effects. For example, Abels 2003 argues that phase heads are universal interveners, blocking all syntactic relations involving an element outside of a phase P and an element in the complement of P, as desired. Under Abels' approach, it is possible for the Transfer domain to be the entire phase P, delayed until the completion of a higher phase, and the PIC restrictions to hold at the same time. This approach, with Transfer delayed until the completion of the next phase, is also desirable given the sensitivity of 'accusative' case to agreement on T of a higher phase, as described above.

Having phases as Transfer units is advantageous because phases are often defined in terms of interface (PF and LF) properties. For instance, defining phases as being propositional and as providing a landing site for QR appeals to LF properties of the

phase. The fact that phases can be isolated, moved, and serve as the domain where the Nuclear Stress Rule applies requires the phase to be a constituent at PF (cf. Legate 2003, Matushansky 2005 and Marušič 2005).

In sum, I suggest that morphological case in Finnish is determined by Late Insertion. Of the three relevant cases (nominative, accusative and partitive), partitive appears in a divisible phase. I propose (4) as the generalization which determines where partitive appears.

- (4) A [Case] feature minimally contained within a divisible phase
is morphologically realized as partitive

2. Partitive case

Given (4), the distribution of partitive case shown in (1)–(3) can be explained. First, let us consider case marking with a divisible eventuality description, shown in (5). The subject and the object are both non-divisible, and only the object appears with partitive case:

- (5) Hän ajoi autoa
he.nom drive.past,3sg car.part
'He drove the car'

This pattern follows from (4), on the assumption that both nominals and the [Case] checking heads have a [Case] feature. The relevant phases are vP and DP; CPs cannot be divisible, so they never license partitive case. The [Case] of the object in (5) is checked by v, and that of the subject by the finite T head. The vP is divisible (if he drove the car is true for a time interval t, it is also true for parts of t), and by (4), the [Case] minimally contained within vP is realized as partitive. The [Case] feature within vP is realized on the object, so the object appears with partitive case marking, as desired. Neither [Case] of the subject nor the matching feature on T are minimally contained in a divisible phase (both DP and CP fail to be divisible), so the subject has non-partitive case.

DPs are phases; it is expected then that a divisible DP appears with partitive – rather than accusative or nominative – case. This prediction is borne out for both divisible objects (6a) and divisible subjects (6b).

- (6) a Hän osti omenia
he.nom buy.past,3sg apples.part
'He bought (some) apples)
b Lapsia leikkii pihalla
children.part play.pres,3sg courtyard.adessive
'There are children playing in the courtyard'

Subjects often appear with nominative case marking rather than partitive (cf. (5), (6a)). Nominative subjects have a non-divisible interpretation, in agreement with (4). It is often noted that partitive subjects appear with unaccusative predicates (Belletti 1988, Thomas 2003, a.o.) which have a presentational interpretation (Kiparsky 2001). Other

predicates do not allow partitive subjects, and they require a specific or definite subject interpretation. Note that crucially the correlation between DP interpretation and case marking can still be maintained. There is no necessary direct correlation between the type of predicate and subject case marking; rather, it is possible that there is a correlation between the type of predicate and the interpretation of the subject – the case marking of the subject follows from the interpretation. Csirmaz (to appear) presents a possible rationale for excluding divisible subject interpretation for the predicates noted above. I follow that account in assuming that the restriction on subject interpretation follows two facts. First, bare indefinites in Finnish only have existential interpretation, and second, indefinites in the domain of existential closure have existential interpretation, while those in the restrictive clause are generic (Diesing 1992). If subjects in Spec,vP are above existential closure (cf. Thomas 2003), then it follows that only unaccusative predicates, with the subject below Spec,vP, permit divisible, partitive subjects.

The final environment shown in section 1 where partitive DPs arises with negation (3). As noted in that section, negation yields a divisible eventuality. For instance, even though an event of leaving is non-divisible (if not iterated, it happens at an instant), the event of not leaving is divisible (given a time interval *t* when there is no event of leaving, there is also no event of leaving during any part of *t*). I propose that the divisibility of a negated event is relevant because negation in Finnish is a restructuring predicate. The properties which support this view include the auxiliary-like nature of negation (negation shows overt agreement with the subject and it appears with a participial lexical verb) and the fact that negation licenses object case. In these respects, Finnish negation is similar to more familiar restructuring predicates from Germanic and Romance. Agreement with the subject, a nonfinite lexical verb in the complement and case licensing are all shown for the restructuring predicate *versuchen* 'try' in German below (from Wurmbrand 2001).

- (7) a weil Hans den Traktor zu reparieren versuchte
 since J.nom the tractor.acc to repair.inf tried
 'since John tried to repair the tractor'
 b dass die Traktoren zu reparieren versuch wurden
 that the tractors.nom to repair.inf tried were
 'that they tried to repair the tractors'

Finnish negation has a [Case] feature, while its complement lacks such a feature; it is the divisibility of negative eventuality rather than that of the negated event that determines the morphological case of the object. The eventuality which contains negation is divisible, as noted above; the partitive case licensed by negation is thus consistent with (4), repeated below.

- (8) A [Case] feature minimally contained within a divisible phase
 is morphologically realized as partitive (= (4))

Generalization (4) extends to PPs as well. Lestrade 2009 notes that alternating PPs, which can appear with either a partitive or a genitive DP complement, have different interpretations corresponding to the case marking. (9a,b) from Lestrade 2009 have

distinct interpretations. In (9a), there is a circular path around the city, where the beginning and endpoint of the path coincide. The path is non-divisible; it surrounds the city. The path in (9b) criss-crosses the city; it is not required to be circular. A part of a path within the city is also a path which can criss-cross the city; thus the path in (9b) is divisible.

- (9) a Juoksimme kaupungin ympäri
run.past,1pl city.gen around
'We ran around the city'
b Juoksimme ympäri kapupunkia
run.past,1pl around city.part
'We ran around the city'

The P head licenses [Case] of the DP, and the PP may constitute a phase (cf. Sabbagh 2007). Given the phasehood of the PP, the different interpretations in (9) yield the attested case marking patterns (the different positions of the P head and the DP, shown in (9), require a different account).

I showed above that the generalization in (4) predicts a multitude of environments where partitive case appears in Finnish. The following section explores the consequences of this generalization in more detail.

3. Morphological case, interpretation and markedness

I briefly touch on two aspects of the generalization in (4), which determines the environments where partitive case appears. First, the correlation between morphological case and interpretation requires some interaction between two syntax-external components – the semantic component, where the divisibility of a phase is determined, and the locus of Late Insertion, on the PF branch. This interaction is unusual, given the standard view that PF and LF interact only via C_{HL} . Direct interaction between syntax-external components of the grammar is not a novel proposal; in fact, Reinhart 2006 and related research has argued for such an interaction at length. Reinhart argues that PF properties affect LF interpretation (specifically, stress placement affects focus interpretation). (4) points to semantics > PF interaction; the plausibility of the bidirectional effect remains a question at this point.

Second, (4) defines the environment for partitive case, treating non-partitive (i.e. nominative and accusative) as default. The marked nature of partitive case is at odds with Vainikka 1989 and Nelson 1998, among others; these authors treat partitive as the default case. I note that it is not clear whether the arguments offered in support of default partitive hold up. A general argument appeals to the wider semantic distribution of partitive case, which warrants a default status. If (4) is on the right track, this is not the case. Additionally, it is argued (specifically by Vainikka 1989 and adopted by later works) that partitive is the structural default for the complements of V and P heads. While restricting partitive case to these complement positions derives the desired facts, it fails to address the interpretive effects of partitive and the presentational restriction on partitive subjects (cf. section 2). In addition, the novel theoretical assumptions Vainikka 1989 adopts are considerable, and are not necessary given the proposed treatment. The relevant assumptions includes relating default case the structural

positions; treating heads as relevant for determining default case (cf. V/P (partitive complements) vs. A/N (relative complements)); and equating 'nominative' case with the absence of case marking. The treatment proposed in this paper is simpler, since it appeals to uniform conditions for partitive environments, and essentially requires (4) as a novel stipulation.

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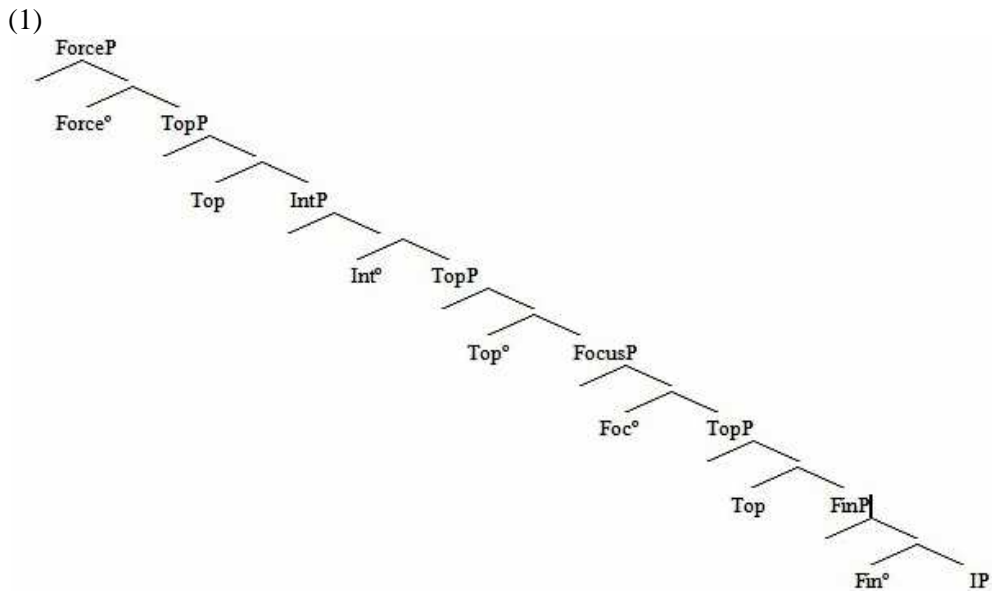
**EVIDENCE FROM EXPERIMENTAL RESULTS AND SOME QUESTIONS
 ABOUT THE SYNTAX-DISOURSE INTERFACE**

Introduction

The present study started as part of a bigger research project (Belletti & Leonini (2004) and successively Belletti, Bennati & Sorace (2007)) with respect to the answering strategies (Belletti 2007) adopted by non-native speakers of Italian in contexts in which the subject is new information (SNI). A Finnish adaptation of the task was created in order to observe the different answering strategies available in a partial null subject language (PNSL) such as Finnish. In null subject languages (NSL) such as Italian the new information subject is typically in the postverbal position whereas non null subject languages (NNSL) focalize the subject through different structures. Finnish is generally considered a partial null subject language (PNSL) and the present study aims at providing further knowledge about subject focalization in Finnish in the cartographic framework (cf. Cinque 2002, Rizzi 2004 and related work). Moreover, it results interesting for further investigation in the syntax-discourse domain in Finnish.

1. Theoretical framework

As hinted above, the theoretical framework within which the research was carried is the cartographic one. I assume the analyses proposed by Rizzi (1997) and by Belletti (2001, 2004, 2005) for contrastive focus and topic structures and for sentences with new information focus, respectively.

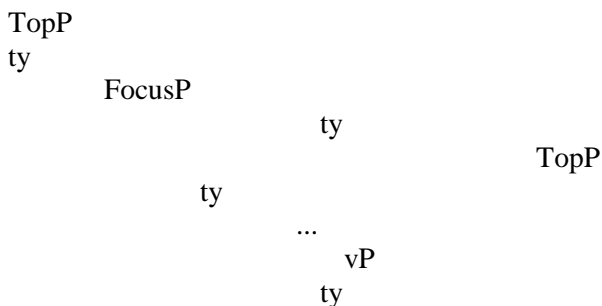


In particular, the left periphery of the clause is assumed to be an articulated area composed by distinct functional heads and their corresponding projections. Rizzi (1997, 2001) has proposed the structure in (1) for the complementizer system mainly based on the interaction of different elements in the left periphery of Italian.

Successively and in the spirit of the clausal left periphery proposed in (1), Belletti has identified a vP periphery with a FocusP surrounded by Topic projections, as exemplified in (2).

(2) a. [CP ... [TP ... [TopP ... [FocP **Foc** [TopP... vP]]]]]

b.



One of the basic assumptions of the cartographic approach is that the interpretation of new information focus results from its being in the specifier position of a dedicated head, namely a Focus head. Hence, if the postverbal subject occurs very low in the linear order of the clause, then it should be in a low phrase internal focus position. This movement of the subject to a vP peripheral focus position, also known as *free inversion*, is assumed to take place in null subject languages such as Italian. The presence of a referential *pro* is a necessary, even though not sufficient, property to instantiate the free inversion typical in contexts of subject new information in NSL (Belletti, Bennati & Sorace 2007). The derivation in (3)b follows from the application of the analysis briefly presented above:

(3) a. – Chi ha parlato? – Ha parlato Gianni.

who has spoken? – has spoken John

b. [CP ... [TP *pro*... ha parlato ... [Top [FocP Gianni [TopP [VP...]]]]]]]

Thus, subject focalization in postverbal position is assumed not to take place in non null subject languages (NNSL). These languages typically resort to other strategies in order to focalize the subject (Belletti 2009), namely *in situ* focalization in the S(subject)V(erb) structure, e.g. English, and cleft structures, e.g. French.

2. The experimental design

The elicitation task used to collect the relevant data aims at providing the correct discourse-pragmatic conditions for eliciting answers in which the subject is new information. The task consists of 22 short videos, after each scene 1–3 questions are presented and the participant has to answer to them. Also filler questions were included

to distract the participant. Each participant was tested separately, the answers were recorded and (s)he was instructed to answer spontaneously and to use a verb in the answer. Moreover, verbs were classified in transitives (20), unergatives (11) and unaccusatives (3). The participants were 15 adult native speakers of Finnish (mean age 27,1).

3. Results

The preferred answering strategy in the present data is overwhelmingly SV(O), as evident from graph 1. Nonetheless, other answers are not excluded. In particular an O/Adv VS order is available, where O/Adv is the topic/known information and S is new information focus, as shown⁵⁹ in (4). The clause-initial direct object is generally a pronoun, which is co-referent with the DP in the question. Other strategies include clefts, reduced clefts and locative clefts, as in (5)a,b,c, respectively:

- (4) a. – Kuka söi omenan? – Sen söi vaalea nainen.
 who eat-PAST3sg apple-ACC? It-ACC eat-PAST3sg blond-NOMsg woman-NOMsg
- b. – Kuka puhui videossa? – Videossa puhui se poika.
 who speak-PAST3sg video-INEsg? Video-INEsg speak-PAST3sg that-NOMsg boy-NOMsg
 ‘– Who spoke in the video? – In the video spoke that boy’
- (5) a. – Kuka vastasi?
 who-NOMsg answer-PAST3sg
 – Se oli tuo tyttö, joka vastasi.
 it was that girl-NOMsg who-NOMsg answered
- b. – Kuka soitti?
 who-NOMsg call-PAST3sg
 – Se oli Kaisa.
 it was Kaisa-NOM
- c. – Kuka on lakaissut?
 who-NOM has swept
 – Siinä oli yksi tyttö, joka lakaisi.
 this-INE was one girl-NOM who swept
 ‘There was a girl who swept’

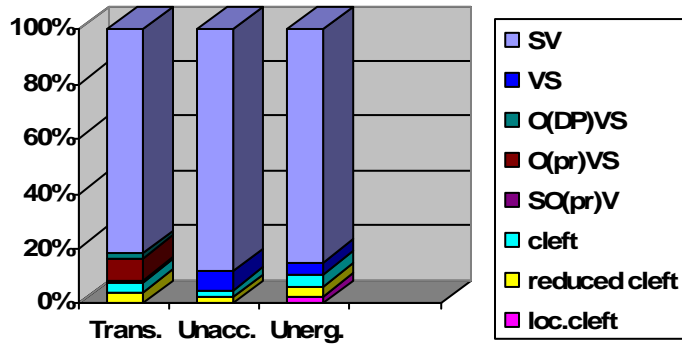
Total amount of answers:

⁵⁹Examples are directly drawn from the collected data.

Table 1

Verb class	SV	VS	O(DP)VS	O(pr)VS	SO(pr)V	Cleft	R. Cleft	Loc/cleft	Tot.
Trans.	82% 234	0% 0	2% 5	8% 24	0,3% 1	3,8% 11	4,2% 12	0,0% 0	287
Unacc.	88% 38	7% 3	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	2,3% 1	2,3% 1	0,0% 0	43
Unerg.	84,9% 129	4,6% 7	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	3,9% 6	3,9% 6	2,6% 0	152

Graph 1: Strategies of subject focalization in Finnish



I propose that the SV(O) order is an instance of *in situ focalization*, a subject focalization strategy to which typically resort NNSL such as English (Belletti, Bennati & Sorace 2007). The second quantitatively relevant strategy is O/Adv to which the following section is devoted. However interesting the other strategies which are available in SNI contexts may be, for reasons of space we will not pursue the issue further.

4. The O/AdvVS structure in Finnish

From the overall results, it emerges that in Finnish the VS order, typical of null subject languages such as Italian in (3), is excluded in the relevant SNI focus contexts. Notice that VS can be licensed only when there is a phonetically expressed topic/known information in the preverbal sentence-initial position, e.g. a direct object with transitive verbs, (5)a, or an adverbial with unergative and unaccusative verbs, (5)b. O/AdvVS order is attested in the 10% of the totality of answers with transitive verbs and in the 5,1% with unergative and unaccusative verbs.

- (5) a. – Kuka söi omenan? – Sen söi vaalea nainen.
 who eat-PAST3sg apple-ACC? It-ACC eat-PAST3sg blond-NOMsg woman-NOMsg
 ‘– Who did eat the apple? – The blond woman ate it.’

- b. – Kuka puhui videossa? – Videossa puhui se poika.
 who speak-PAST3sg video-INEsg? Video-INEsg speak-PAST3sg that-NOMsg boy-
 NOMsg
 ‘– Who spoke in the video? – In the video spoke that boy.’

On one hand, at the discourse level O/AdvVS is possible when O/Adv is a topic in the sense of known/given information and S is new information (cf. Vilkuina 1995, Holmberg 2002). On the other hand, at the syntactic level two derivations appear plausible at a first sight: i) a derivation reminiscent of V2 languages as in (6):

(6) [CP O₁ V₂ [TP S₃ [t₁ t₂ t₃]]]

Or ii) OV is first obtained by topicalization of the object in the low part of the clause and then the OV chunk is fronted into the left periphery, as in (7):

(7) [[CP [OV₁] [TP S [...t₁...]]]

In line with the recent literature (cf. Holmberg 2002 for Finnish) I assume that a contrastively focalized subject moves to CP to check some focus features. Notice that in the present data the subject is new information focus in all answer contexts. I propose that, independently of the linear order, when the subject is new information focus it remains *in situ*, parallel to non-null subject languages as English, which however doesn't allow the free constituent order typical to Finnish.

(8) [...[Top O/AdvV₃ [...[TP S₁ (FOC *in situ*) [...[Top O/Adv₂...[VP t₁ V[t₂]]]]]]]]]

Notice furthermore that in the canonical SVO linear order and in the non-canonical SOV, which is easily possible in Finnish, the subject can be interpreted as contrastive focus or new information focus depending on the discourse context. Consequently, in light of previous assumptions on CP as the location for focus in Finnish (a.o. Holmberg 2002, Kaiser 2006) and on the basis of the approach outlined here, it seems plausible to assume that the subject moves to CP in the former case and stays *in situ* in the latter case.

5. Subject and object drop: topic drop

Finnish is a PNSL, roughly saying 1st and 2nd persons are null whereas 3rd person singular and plural need to be generally overt (cf. Holmberg 2009, Modesto 2008 for exhaustive discussion on the nature of null subjects in Finnish and in PNSLs):

- 9) a. *pro* tulen huomenna
 come-PRES1sg tomorrow
 b. *pro* tulette huomenna
 come-PRES2pl tomorrow

- 10) a. *(hän) tulee huomenna
comes-PRES3sg tomorrow
b. *(he) tulevat huomenna
come-PRES3pl tomorrow

Nevertheless, 3rd person null subjects are allowed under special circumstances, for instance in subordinate clauses when the null subject is co-referential to the matrix overt subject, as in (10).

- (10) Maija sanoi, että ___ tulee myöhemmin
Maija say-PAST3sg that pro come-PRES3sg later

Interestingly, cases of subject drop are attested in the present data under the special circumstances of co-reference provided by the question-answer context:

- (11) Mitä hän oli tekemässä? – ___ leikkasi peukaloa.
What (s)he was doing? – ___ cut-PAST3sg finger-PART3sg

Parallel cases of object drop are attested in the collected data. Notice that the dropped object can be indifferently a full DP or a pronoun.

- (12) – Kuka toi nämä kukat? – Minna toi ___ .
Who brought these flowers? Minna brought ___ .

The omission of the object can be analyzed as a kind of *topic drop*. I suggest that in cases such as in (11) the (otherwise unexpected) omission of 3rd person subjects take place for the same reason: the overt subject in the question is felt as a direct, and near enough, antecedent. Hence, subject omission in these contexts could also be analyzed as a *topic drop* phenomenon, parallel to the object omission.

6. Final remarks

Concluding, the data presented in this study on Finnish do not show in any instance of subject focalization through a (pure) VS strategy of the kind observed in NSL such as Italian in contexts in which the subject is new information focus. When occurring, the VS order does not have the same kind of derivation proposed for VS structures in NSL languages (Belletti 2004, 2009).

The study also provides further support to the analysis proposed in Belletti (2001, 2004) and, in particular, to the assumption that the VS strategy is related to the presence of a referential *pro* in the relevant language. It follows that the non-availability of the VS strategy in SNI contexts in Finnish is due to its nature of PNSL and to the related impossibility of licensing a referential *pro* of the same kind that we observe in NSL. Finally, also instances of subject and object drop were observed. Observing the discourse contexts under which the subject/object omissions are allowed, both can be analyzed as instances of *topic drop* phenomenon.

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MULTIPLE WH-QUESTIONS, SYNTACTIC ISLANDS,
AND OVERT A'-BINDING IN FINNISH⁶⁰

1. Introduction

This presentation investigates the syntactic properties of Finnish *in situ* wh-phrases in multiple wh-questions. Two strategies for licensing such wh-phrases in Finnish are discussed. Under the first strategy, the *in situ* wh-phrase forms an Agree-relation with C. Under the second strategy, the *in situ* wh-phrase functions as an anaphoric element, bound by a c-commanding antecedent wh-phrase. In this paper, we term the second strategy *overt A'-binding*.

We start by outlining the multiple question types attested in Finnish and then move on to the syntactic properties of the *in situ* wh-phrases. To begin with, the wh-phrase occupies the position at the left periphery of C in wh-questions that contain just one wh-phrase, such as (1).

- (1)
- a. Pekka luki [tämän kirjan]
Pekka.NOM read this.ACC book.ACC
'Pekka read this book.'
- b. [Minkä kirjan Pekka luki?
which.ACC book.ACC Pekka.NOM read
'Which book did Pekka read?'

There are two types of multiple questions in Finnish. First, in single-pair questions, such as (2a), one of the wh-phrases has been fronted, whereas the other one remains *in situ*. The answer to this type of question consists of only one pair (2b).

- (2)
- a. Q: Kuka seisoo kenin varpailla?
who.NOM stands whose toes.on
'Who stands on whose toes?'
- b. A: Pekka seisoo Merjan varpailla.
Pekka.NOM stands Merja.GEN toes.on
'Pekka stands on Merja's toes.'

In the second type of multiple question in Finnish, the pair-list question, the second wh-phrase is suffixed with a focus-particle *-kin*, as in (3a). The answer to the question consists of a list of pairs, shown in (3b). In particular, sentence (3a) does not allow the reading 'who stands and on whose toes?'

⁶⁰We would like to thank Pauli Brattico for comments and suggestions, and the organizers and participants of the Finno-Ugric Syntax and Universal Grammar workshop in Piliscsaba, Hungary for the opportunity to present the work in an inspiring atmosphere. This work was supported by a grant from Jenny and Antti Wihuri Foundation (to S.H.).

(3)

a. Q: Kuka seisoo kenen-kin varpailla?
who.NOM stands whose-kin toes.on
'Who stands on whose toes?'

A: Pekka seisoo Merjan varpailla, Minna seisoo Antin
Pekka.NOM stands Merja's toes.on Minna.NOM stands Antti's
varpailla,...
toes.on
'Pekka stands on Merja's toes, Minna stands on Antti's toes,...'

It should be noted that the left periphery of the finite C has only one position available for different types of A'-movement (Vainikka, 1989; Vilkuna, 1989, 1995). From this point of view, the *in situ* position of the wh-phrases in questions such as (2a)–(3a) is unavoidable: the second wh-phrase cannot undergo wh-movement to the left periphery of C since the landing site is already filled with a wh-phrase.

However, the question now arises whether an *in situ* wh-phrase would, in fact, undergo wh-movement if a free position were available. In this study, we propose that Finnish *in situ* wh-phrases can be divided to two classes depending on their potential to move: 'active' wh-phrases characterized as being willing to move, and 'inactive' ones which would not move even if the opportunity arose. We conclude that whereas the *in situ* wh-phrases in single-pair questions are active, in pair-list questions they are inactive.

Two diagnostics can be used to determine the activity level of a wh-phrase: First, active wh-phrases behave as interveners for wh-movement, and secondly, active wh-phrases undergo *internal wh-movement*, which refers to wh-movement inside pied-piped constituents.

We assume the following background for the analysis:

Activation Condition: An element X can undergo movement if and only if it has an uninterpretable feature (Chomsky, 2000, 2001).

Focus as a trigger for wh-movement: Wh-movement is triggered by an inherent focus feature on the wh-phrase (Horvath, 1986; Rochemont 1986, Bresnan and Mchombo, 1987, among others). We consider a wh-phrase to be active if it bears an uninterpretable focus feature.

Edge position (Chomsky, 2001, 2008): Discourse-related material occupies the edge position inside different types of phrases. For example, in content questions, the wh-phrase occupies the edge of C.

Agree: Interrogative C contains a feature that enters into Agree relation with the fronted wh-phrase (Chomsky, 1995, 2000). We assume that C Agrees with the focus feature on the wh-phrase.

2. Testing for the activity of an *in situ* wh-phrase

2.1 Active wh-phrases are interveners for wh-movement

Following Relativized Minimality (Rizzi, 1990), we adopt the following intervention condition for Finnish wh-movement: a phrase with an active feature cannot undergo movement over another phrase with the same active feature (an unchecked

uninterpretable feature which, would trigger movement). In Finnish, the intervention condition is clearest with the phrase in the subject position, as in (4).

Active in-situ wh-phrases

(4) **Single-pair questions**

*Mitä kuka osti t?
 what.PAR who.NOM bought
 '*What who bought?'

On the other hand, pair-list questions do not reveal the intervention pattern found in single-pair questions. For example, in (5), the direct object has been fronted over the wh-subject. Pair-list questions pattern in this respect with echo questions, such as (6). Echo-questions provide a useful point of comparison to *in situ* multiple wh-questions: in an echo question, the wh-phrase never undergoes wh-movement, and thus can be taken to be inactive.

Inactive in-situ wh-phrases

(5) **Pair-list questions**

Mitä kuka-kin osti t?
 what.PAR who.NOM-kin bought
 'What did each of whom buy?'

(6) **Echo questions**

Mitä **kuka** osti?
 what.PAR who.NOM bought
 'What did **who** buy?'

2.2 Active wh-phrases undergo internal wh-movement

Finnish content questions show *internal wh-movement* inside a pied-piped constituent. For example, the wh-phrase occupies the direct object position inside the adverbial clause (7). In the content question (7b), the wh-phrase has moved to the edge position inside the adverbial. In Finnish, such internal wh-movement takes place in wh-questions, embedded questions, and relative clauses. In addition, the wh-phrase occupies the edge position in different types of 'secondary' domains: PPs, APs, DPs, adverbial clauses – such as (7) – and optionally in some non-finite complement clauses, as well. The internal wh-movement and pied-piping strategy is used especially in movement island contexts. (For further details on internal wh-movement and pied-piping in Finnish, see Huhmarniemi, 2009, 2010).

(7)

- a. Pekka kompastui [auttaessaan Merjaa]
 Pekka.NOM fell helping Merja.PAR
 'Pekka fell when he was helping Merja.'
- b. [Ketä auttaessaant] Pekka kompastui?
 who. PAR helpintg Pekka.NOM fell
 'Who was Pekka helping when he fell?'

Internal wh-movement provides an interesting perspective on the syntactic properties of *in situ* wh-phrases. Recall that in Finnish the edge of C may host at most one A-bar moved element. However, internal wh-movement in Finnish provides us a

way to test whether a particular *in situ* wh-phrase can occupy these other edge positions in the structure. It turns out that active *in situ* wh-phrases undergo internal wh-movement, whereas inactive wh-phrases remain *in situ* also in these secondary movement domains.

Recall the syntactic equivalent of pair-list questions, echo questions, mentioned above. Similarly, *in situ* wh-phrases in single-pair questions have a syntactic equivalent in the so-called optional wh-movement construction shown in (9) below. In optional wh-movement, the finite verb – or an auxiliary – attaches to the (yes/no) question particle *-kO* in the C-domain, whereas the wh-phrase remains *in situ*. This construction exists only in colloquial speech (Forsberg, 1992, see also Hakulinen et al., 2004:§1684), and it has the interpretation of a regular wh-question. In both the single-pair question (8) and the optional wh-movement construction (9), the active *in situ* wh-phrase inside a syntactic island occupies the edge position, and cannot remain in its base-generated position.

Active *in-situ* wh-phrases

(8) Single-pair questions

- a. ??Kuka kompastui [auttaessaan ketä]?
 who.NOM fell helping who.PAR
- b. Kuka kompastui [ketä auttaessaan t]?
 who.NOM fell who.PAR helping
 'Who fell when s/he was helping whom?'

(9) Optional wh-movement constructions

- a. *Onko Pekka kompastunut [auttaessaan ketä]?
 has-*kO* Pekka.NOM fallen helping who.PAR
- b. Onko Pekka kompastunut [ketä auttaessaan t]?
 has-*kO* Pekka.NOM fallen who.PAR helping
 'Who was Pekka helping when he fell?'
- c. Onko Pekka [ketä auttaessaant] kompastunut t?
 has-*kO* Pekka.NOM who.PAR helping fallen
 'Who was Pekka helping when he fell?'

In contrast, the wh-phrase in a pair-list question (10) and in an echo question (11) may remain *in situ* inside the syntactic island.

Inactive *in situ* wh-phrases

(10) Pair-list questions

- Kuka kompastui [auttaessaan ketä-kin]?
 who.NOM fell helping who.PAR-*kin*
 'Who fell when s/he was helping whom?'

(11) Echo questions

- Pekka kompastui [auttaessaan ketä]?
 Pekka.NOM fell helping who.PAR
 'Pekka fell when he was helping whom?'

We propose that in the case of active wh-phrases (including the optional wh-construction in (9)), the wh-phrase contains an uninterpretable focus feature that is checked long-distance by C. This analysis accounts for both the intervention effects of the active wh-phrases, as well as the internal wh-movement that the active *in situ* wh-phrases undergo. However, inactive wh-phrases do not seem to contain any uninterpretable features, resulting in lack of both intervention effects and internal wh-movement. We propose that this is because the uninterpretable focus feature on the wh-phrase is checked locally by some other functional head in the two constructions where this occurs, echo questions and pair-list questions.

In echo questions, the prosodic focus on the wh-phrase suggests an analysis where the *in situ* wh-phrase interacts with other discourse factors. We thus take the prosodic focus as an indication of the presence of a functional head which checks the uninterpretable wh-feature in echo questions. For pair-list questions we assume that the *-kin* particle that attaches to the *in situ* wh-phrase checks the focus feature on the element to which it is attached (following the spirit of Hakulinen et al., 2004:§839 and Holmberg, 2008).

3. Overt A'-binding

Cross-linguistically, there are few structural constraints for the distribution of wh-phrases in echo questions, and this is true in Finnish, as well. However, it turns out that the placement of the *in situ* wh-phrase in the Finnish pair-list questions is syntactically restricted. That is – as just described – while we take the uninterpretable focus feature of such a wh-phrase to be checked locally by the focus particle suffixed to the wh-phrase (resulting in its inactive status), the analysis so far does not yet fully account for the pair-list questions. For example, the wh-phrase with the *-kin* particle can never occur alone in a sentence (12), regardless of its position, even in (12b), where the wh-phrase with the *-kin* particle occupies the edge of C. The sentence is sharply ungrammatical.

(12)

- | | | | |
|----|--------------|-----------|--------------|
| a. | *Pekka | osti | mitä-kin. |
| | Pekka.NOM | bought | what.PAR-kin |
| b. | *Mitä-kin | Pekka | osti. |
| | what.PAR-kin | Pekka.NOM | bought |

The second relevant observation is that a wh-*kin*-phrase can never be bound by the *kO* question particle that licenses the *in situ* wh-phrase in optional wh-movement constructions. This suggests that an interrogative C alone is not able to license an *in situ* wh-phrase.

There exists an interesting parallel between pair-list questions and reflexive binding (on anaphoric binding under c-command in Finnish, see Vainikka, 1989 and Trosterud, 1993). In the Finnish pair-list questions, licensing the second wh-phrase with the *-kin* particle requires a c-commanding antecedent wh-phrase. The variable binding is thus established under c-command (cf. Reinhart, 1983 and, for Hungarian, e.g. Marác, 1989: 348, É. Kiss, 1993). Note, however that reflexives reconstruct under A'-movement, whereas this is not true for wh-*kin* phrases. Given the parallelism (and the difference) between binding of anaphors and binding of the second, *in situ*, wh-*kin*

phrase, we term the relationship between the two wh-phrases in pair-list questions in Finnish *overt A'-binding*. The traditional term ‘A’-binding’ refers to the relationship between a fronted operator (such as a wh-phrase) and its trace (or other variable; occasionally even an overtly realized pronoun); for discussion, cf. e.g. Webelhuth (1995: 68–69). The phenomenon discussed here involves a relationship between two overt wh-phrases in a multiple wh-question with the pair-list reading, and is thus more akin to anaphoric binding which involves two overt elements.

Two syntactic licensing relationships are thus involved in the Finnish multiple wh-questions of the pair-list type: checking of the focus feature locally (resulting in the inactive status of the *in situ* wh-phrase) and overt binding of the wh-phrase by a c-commanding wh-phrase in an A’-position, typically at the edge of C. In contrast, in the single-pair wh-questions only a single licensing relationship obtains, that of Agree between C and the *in situ* wh-phrase. Finally, the two relationships between CP positions and an *in situ* wh-phrase – (i) the overt binding of an *in situ* wh-phrase by a wh-phrase in Spec, CP, and (ii) the Agree relationship between C and an *in situ* wh-phrase – while superficially similar, differ in that only the latter corresponds to the active status of the *in situ* wh-phrase, with the characteristic properties of intervention and internal wh-movement.

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ELLIPTICAL COMPARATIVES IN FINNISH, ESTONIAN AND
HUNGARIAN

The present paper aims at presenting how elliptical constructions in comparative subclauses can be analysed in Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian, concentrating on what underlying parametric differences can be found. First we will outline the structure of comparative subclauses and the parameters responsible for ellipsis phenomena, as found in Indo-European languages, followed by a brief summary in section 3 on the universal constraints on deletion. Sections 4, 5 and 6 will deal with the deletion phenomena in Hungarian, Finnish and Estonian, respectively, with the aim of showing the parametric setting in each language.

1. The structure of comparatives

Comparatives consist of two major parts, as illustrated by (1): in the matrix clause (Mary is more intelligent), the reference value of comparison is expressed in the form of a degree expression, within which the comparative subclause itself (than Peter is) expresses the standard value:

- (1) Mary is more intelligent than Peter is [than Peter is *x-much* intelligent].

The subclause contains a QP, within which the comparative operator (here: *x-much*) is found.⁶¹ The comparative subclause is a CP introduced by the complementiser *than* (cf. Kenesei 1992) representing comparative Force (see Rizzi 1999). This subcategorises for another CP, to the specifier of which the comparative operator moves via operator movement (Chomsky 1977; Kennedy and Merchant 2000). The structure⁶² is schematically represented below:

⁶¹The term ‘comparative operator’ refers to a subset of operators behaving quite similarly to ordinary relative operators but are found in comparative subclauses and may exhibit certain characteristics that are not shared by all operators, as shown in section 5. This operator is generally taken to be null in English, see Kennedy and Merchant (1997: 5); we will indicate it as *x-much* (or *x-many*) throughout the paper, using the conventions of the relevant literature; still, it has to be stressed that since this is a null operator, *x-much* does not refer to any phonological content to be deleted.

⁶²Our representation follows Rizzi’s analysis of the Left Periphery, who claims that there are two CP projections, the upper one being responsible for Force and the lower for Finiteness, and in between the two optional Topic and Focus phrases can be found, if any (Rizzi 1997: 297): [CP [TopP* [FocP [TopP* [CP]]]]]

Let us now turn to CE. This deletes everything except for one focalised constituent. English is clearly [-CE], as shown in (5) and (6). Southern Italian dialects have a [+CE] parameter:

- (9) *Eva incontra Pietro più volte a casa che (*lei) (*lo) (*incontri)
 Eve meets Peter more times at home that she him meets
 a scuola.
 at school
 ‘Eve meets Peter more times at home than she meets him at school.’

Last but not least, let us discuss a peculiar phenomenon here referred to as Comparative Verb Gapping (CVG). It means that if the operator is deleted, the finite verb must also be deleted. English has a [-CVG] setting, as demonstrated by (5) and (6). Bulgarian is a [+CVG] language as shown by the following predicative comparative examples (attributive ones demonstrate the same):

- (10) Мери по-висока беше от колкото висок Питър беше.
 Mary taller was than x-much tall Peter was
 (11) *Мери по-висока беше от Питър (*беше).
 Mary taller was than Peter was
 ‘Mary was taller than Peter was.’

In (10), the comparative subclause contains the operator колкото висок ‘x-much tall’ and the finite verb беше ‘was’; the sentence is, as expected, grammatical. However, as shown in (11), if the operator is deleted but everything else remains, the result is ungrammatical – if the finite verb is also elided, the sentence is again grammatical.

It can be concluded that all the three phenomena are present in languages on a +/- basis.

3. Deletion, new, given

Any operation involving ellipsis must somehow be constrained, so that once a constituent or a sequence of constituents is deleted in a clause that otherwise fully conforms to the requirements of grammar, that constituent or sequence of constituents must be recoverable from somewhere, so that the information structure remains intact, regardless of the apparent deletion. This means that elided elements are expected to be given in the context, which might be paraphrased as not new.

Schwarzschild (1999) came up with the idea that a constituent or a sequence of constituents may be regarded to carry given information in the clause if and only if that is entailed by prior discourse: “[a]n utterance U counts as given iff it has a salient antecedent A and, modulo \exists -type shifting, A entails the \exists -F-closure of U [+GIVEN]” (GIVENNESS; Schwarzschild 1999, example 25).

In the light of Merchant (2001), it can be said that there should also be mutual satisfaction of the givenness requirement between the antecedent and the utterance. Therefore, the definition of givenness can be seen below:

(12) GIVENness in ellipsis domains (e-GIVEN): An utterance U counts as e-GIVEN iff it has a salient antecedent A and, modulo \exists -type shifting, A entails the \exists -F-closure of U, and U entails the \exists -F-closure of A (on the basis of Merchant 2001).

In the present paper we will rely on Merchant's condition on ellipsis, which can be summarised as follows: a constituent α can be deleted iff α is e-GIVEN (Merchant 2001: 38).

4. Hungarian

In this section we will show that Hungarian is a language with a [-CD], [-CE] and [-CVG] setting.

The possibility of an overt operator and a full subclause shows that Hungarian must be a language with [-CD] and [-CE] setting:

- (13) Péter sokkal kövérebb, mint amilyen kövér Jancsi valaha is lesz.
 Peter much fatter than OP fat Johnny ever will.be
 Peter is much fatter than Johnny will ever be.'
- (14) Péter sokkal gyorsabb autót vett, mint amilyen gyors autót
 Peter much faster car-ACC bought than OP fast car-ACC
 Jancsi vásárolt.
 Johnny purchased
 'Peter bought a much faster car than the one that Johnny purchased.'

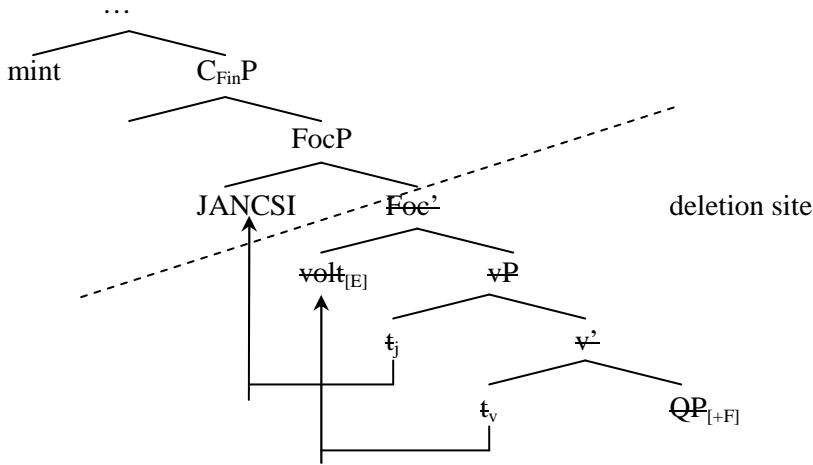
When it comes to Comparative Verb Gapping (CVG), the following pattern can be observed in predicative comparatives (the same applies to attributive ones):

- (15) Péter sokkal kövérebb volt, mint amilyen kövér Jancsi volt.
 Péter much fatter was than OP fat Johnny was
 'Peter was much fatter than Johnny was.'
- (16) Péter sokkal kövérebb volt, mint Jancsi (*volt).
 Péter much fatter was than Johnny was
 'Peter was much fatter than Johnny was.'

The full subclause is shown in (15), which is perfectly grammatical, containing both the operator and the finite verb. However, if the operator is deleted but the verb is not, the result is ungrammatical: the construction can be saved by deleting the verb too. It is true that comparative operators are optionally present in the subclause: however, if they are absent, the deletion of the verb is obligatory; on the other hand, a constituent can be deleted iff it is GIVEN.

What happens is that the operator has to move up to the [Spec; CP] position to have its [+wh] feature checked. However, if it for some reason fails to move up, feature checking cannot happen, which causes PF-uninterpretability as the comparative operator's feature is PF-uninterpretable. The way for PF to solve this is via deletion, which can effectively eliminate the otherwise fatal strong [+wh] feature inside the VP (Kennedy and Merchant 2000: 131). This is illustrated in (17):

(17) Péter sokkal kövérebb volt, [mint [QP amilyen kövér] Jancsi volt].



This is sluicing per definitionem (cf. Craenenbroeck and Lipták 2006). The uninterpretable feature is in the vP; sluicing always targets the Foc' in Hungarian (ibid.) and so everything will be deleted under that node, including the finite verb. Hence, if the finite verb is visible, it signifies that sluicing has not taken place and the uninterpretable feature has not been elided. The target of CVG is thus not the verb as such but its disappearance is the result of sluicing.

5. Finnish

Finnish is basically [+CD], [-CE] and [-CVG].

As for Comparative Deletion (CD), consider the following data:

(18) Joni on pidempi kuin Mari (*on)/ (*on pitkä).
 John is taller than Mary is. is tall
 'John is taller than Mary.'

(19) Joni on pidempi kuin (?mitä/*mitä pitkä) Mari (*on).
 John is taller than OP OP tall Mary is.
 'John is taller than Mary.'

The examples above show that in Finnish it is ungrammatical to have an AP in the subclause that is identical with the one in the matrix clause; it is marginally acceptable to have a single operator *mitä* 'what' after *kuin* 'that' but the adjective cannot be repeated. The picture is even more complex when it comes to attributive comparatives:

(20) ??Ostin nopeamman auton kuin miten nopean auton Petri osti.
 I.bought faster car than OP fast car Peter bought.
 'The car I bought is faster than the one that Peter bought.'

(21) Ostin nopeamman auton kuin Petrin ostama auto.
 I.bought faster car than Peter-PART buy-PART car
 'I bought a car faster than the one that Peter bought.'

- (22) ??Ostin nopeamman auton kuin miten nopea Petrin
 I.bought faster car than OP fast Peter-PART
 ostama auto oli.
 buy-PART car was
 ‘I bought a car faster than the one that Peter bought.’

If the subclause contains a DP that is logically identical with the one in the matrix clause, as in the sentence is only marginally acceptable. The only truly grammatical possibility is the one in (21), where the subclause contains the relevant pieces of information within a kind of possessive construction. Nonetheless, even this is only marginally acceptable if it contains the repeated adjective, as shown by (22). This means that the comparative subclause tends to be fundamentally predicative in Finnish, and the subject thereof bears the contrast necessary for comparison.

It seems that Finnish is [+CD], like English; but unlike English, where CD targets the AP in predicative comparatives and the DP in attributive ones, in Finnish it targets the maximal projection containing the finite verb (I'/vP) in predicative comparatives and the DP in attributive ones.

The following examples are indicative of [–CE]:

- (23) Huoneeni on suorakaiteen muotoinen, hieman pidempi kuin mitä
 my.room is rectangular shaped slightly longer than OP
 se on leveä.
 it is wide
 ‘My room is rectangular, it is slightly longer than it is wide.’
- (24) Ostin nopeamman auton tänään kuin Petri osti eilen.
 I.bought faster car today than Peter bought yesterday
 ‘I bought a faster car today than Peter bought yesterday.’

On the other hand, there are no CVG effects, as can be seen in (23) and (24). Hence it can be concluded that Finnish is a language with a [+CD], [–CE] and [–CVG] setting.

6. Estonian

Estonian is basically like Finnish in having a [+CD], [–CE] and [–CVG] pattern.

In Estonian, there exists the comparative operator *kuivõrd*. For some speakers, *kuivõrd* is ungrammatical in any construction. Grammaticality judgments are indicated for both *kuivõrd*-sensitive and *kuivõrd*-resistant speakers in this order when they differ.

Let us then begin with CD. Consider the following examples:

- (25) *Jaan on pikem kui Mari on pikk.
 John is taller than Mary is tall
- (26) ??/?Jaan on pikem kui *kuivõrd* pikk Mari on.
 John is taller than OP tall Mary is
 ‘John is taller than Mary.’

As can be seen in (26), the repetition of the adjective in the subclause is not grammatical in itself, and marginal acceptability can be achieved by adding *kuivõrd*. It seems that in Estonian predicative comparatives there is some way CD involved. This is so in attributive comparatives too:

- (27) */?Ostsin kiirema auto kui kuivõrdkiire auto Peeter ostis.
 I.bought faster car than OP fast car Peter bought
- (28) Ostsin kiirema auto kui Peeter ostis.
 I.bought faster car than Peter bought
 'I bought a faster car than Peter bought.'

Especially for *kuivõrd*-sensitive speakers, the presence of the DP containing the operator is not acceptable. See also:

- (29) Ma sõin rohkem õunu kui Jaan (sõi).
 I ate more apples than John ate
- (30) *Ma sõin rohkem õunu kui mitu õuna Jaan (sõi).
 I ate more apples than OP apples John ate

Thus it seems that Estonian is [+CD] for *kuivõrd*-sensitive speakers, and it is little less so for *kuivõrd*-resistant ones. CD targets the I' in predicative comparatives, and the DP in attributive comparatives in Estonian, just like in Finnish.

The presence of two contrastive constituents is indicative of [-CE]:

- (31) Ostsin kiirema auto täna kui Peeter eile.
 I.bought faster car today than Peter yesterday
 'I bought a faster car today than Peter did yesterday.'
- (32) B-kategooria filmide kino Hamburgis oli palju mõjukam,
 B category films-GEN cinema Hamburg-INE was more influential
 kui ta on seda nüüd.
 than it is that now
 'The cinema of B category movies in Hamburg used to be more influential than it is now.'

On the other hand, there is no CVG to be observed either, as shown by (28).

In sum, we can say that Estonian has fundamentally [+CD], [-CE] and [-CVG] setting.

7. Conclusion

In this article, we wanted to provide an insight into what elliptical comparatives look like in Finnish, Hungarian and Estonian. The main aim was to show what kind of parametric settings can be found in these languages. As far as the parametric settings of the three languages are concerned, we can conclude that (i) Hungarian is [-CD], [-CE] and [+CVG], (ii) Finnish is [+CD], [-CE] and [-CVG], and (iii) Estonian is also [+CD], [-CE] and [-CVG].

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THE CASE DENOTING *WITHIN* DENOTES LOCATIVE RELATIONSHIPS
WITH MORE NOUN-LIKE NON-FINITES AND ASPECTUAL
RELATIONSHIPS IN MORE VERB-LIKE NON-FINITES IN FINNIC

1. Introduction

Temporal expressions are frequently related to spatial constructions in the world's languages (Bybee et al. 1994). I address here the cross-linguistic syntactic relatedness problem of the constructions expressing the absentive (locative) and the progressive (aspectual) meanings in the Finnic *be+verb+nominalizer+inessive construction* (“*be+V+NMLZ+INE*”, “*mas-construction*”) that instantiates both readings. This paper wishes to see if in Estonian, the nominal and verbal properties of the *mas-construction*, “*V+NMLZ+INE*” are different. My hypothesis is the following:

(1) In case of the progressive interpretation, the *V+ NMLZ+INE* has more verbal properties (*V+[NMLZ+INE]*, example (2)), while in case of the absentive interpretation, the non-finite has more nominal properties (*[V+NMLZ]+INE*) (example (3)) and resembles more a noun that is marked with an inessive (*N+INE*) (example (4)).

The formative *m* is a non-finitizer in the history of Finnic (Laanest 1975). The *progressive* expresses incomplete action in progress at a specific time as in (2). The *absentive* signals the absence of the subject referent from the deictic centre as in (3). Before the absentive was treated as a category, the examples such as in (3) were regarded as locative. *Inessive* means “in, within, inside” as in (4). The examples are from Standard Estonian.⁶³

(2) progressive – non-finite
?Lumi on sula-mas.
snow[NOM] be.3S melt-NMLZ_INE
'The snow is melting.'

(3) absentive – non-finite
Mari on uju-ma-s.
M[NOM] be.3S swim-NMLZ_INE
'Mary is off swimming.'

(4) inessive (“in, within, inside”, NP/DP/PP)

⁶³The glossing follows the Leipzig glossing rules <<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>>. Added abbreviations: ELA – elative; ILL – illative; IPS – impersonal; INE – inessive; NMLZ_ELA – *m*-formative elative non-finite form; NMLZ_ILL *m*-formative illative non-finite form, the supine (the ‘*ma*-infinitive’), NMLZ_INE – *m*-formative inessive non-finite form (the ‘*mas*-infinitive’); PTV – partitive, T_INF – *da*-infinitive (see Tamm and Viks (2009) for more information on glossing in Estonian). Evaluations of ill-formedness try to classify the judgments by the following signs: * grammatically unacceptable, # semantically unacceptable, % pragmatically unacceptable, violates a Gricean maxim, ?? possible, but not found in native productive texts, ? odd use, rather context-dependent.

Mari on metsa-s.
 M[NOM] be.3S forest-INE
 ‘Mary is in a forest.’

2. Typological and diachronic findings

The properties of the absentive are that the referent of the subject is absent from the deictic center, the subject is involved in an activity, it is predictable how long the subject will be absent, and the subject will return after a period of time, as in the Hungarian example illustrated in (5) (De Groot 2000: 695).

(5) Hungarian
Énekel-ni van.
 sing-INF be-3S
 ‘He is off singing.’

Bertinetto et al. (2000: 542) consider the Finnic situation with the absentive and progressive meanings exceptional, because there are few languages that display the combination of the two meanings, and it is not clear which of the meanings is based on the other one (Vogel 2007).⁶⁴ Tamm (2010) contains more discussions on this issue, and the reader is referred to many Finnic examples in Tamm (2010). Tommola (2000) has established that the Finnic equivalents of the *mas*-construction have the purposive (‘with the aim, goal of doing V’), absentive, and imminential (‘be about to V, be on the verge of V-ing’, illustrated in example (6)) readings, lacking the continuous meaning.⁶⁵

(6) imminential (proximative, propinquative, approximative)

Ta on sure-mas.
 s/he[NOM] be.3S die-NMLZ_INE
 ‘He is about to die.’

Tommola (2000: 680) mentions that the Finnic absentives are also purposives, expressing a goal-oriented activity at a different location. Tamm (to appear) describes the overlaps between the different readings of the construction in Figure 1.

Figure 1 about here.

The reason for the seemingly overlapping progressive and absentive readings is the effect of agentivity in the absentive conditions; typical progressives are agentive. In fact, absentives are stative descriptions of activities, while genuine progressives are continuous. In Estonian, genuine progressives are typically nonagentive, as in (7) from Tamm (to appear).

(7) progressive

Õhu-s on helju-mas piparkooki-de ja
 air-INE be.3S float-NMLZ_INE gingerbread-GEN.PL and
röstitud mandli-te magusvürtsikas lõhn,
 roasted almond-GEN.PL sweet.and.spicy[NOM] scent[NOM]
kusagil küpseta-takse jõulusaia,

⁶⁴According to Vogel (2007: 263), 26 European languages (sample: 36 languages) have the absentive.

⁶⁵See also Metslang (1993), Erelt (1985, 1987), Erelt et al. (1993), Tamm (2003, 2004) and Pajusalu and Orav (2008) on Estonian, and Vainikka (1995), Onikki-Rantajääskö (2005) for the Finnish *m*-formative non-finites.

somewhere	bake-IPS	Christmas.raisin.bread.PTV		
<i>jõululaata-de-l</i>		<i>paku-takse</i>	<i>aurava-t</i>	<i>Glühweini.</i>
Christmas.fair-PL-ADE	offer-IPS	steaming-PTV	gluhwein.PTV	

‘In the air is hanging the smell of gingerbread and roasted almonds, somewhere a Christmas raisin bread is being baked, Glühwein is offered to the customers at Christmas fairs.’

Metslang defines the nonfavourable factors for progressive, which are aspectual: “imperfective

dynamic situations, notably agentive” (Tommola 2000: 660). These environments that are nonfavorable for the progressive in Estonian are favorable for the absentives. There is a clear division of labor. The favorable environments are listed in Metslang (1993: 474) and Tommola (2000: 660).

(8) 1) perfective verbs (imminent meaning), 2) verbs denoting gradual change, 3) unmarked verbal categories (active voice, indicative mood etc.), 4) existential sentences and rhematic subject, 5) nonfocused position of the construction, 6) iterative or distributive context, 7) coordination, parallelism, dialogue, 8) polarization with local adverbials, 9) sentences expressing a temporal frame, 10) backgrounding in narrative, and 11) reportage.

3. Evidence for differences between absentives and progressives

One of the progressive environments defined by Metslang, “polarization with locative adverbials” is syntactically quite telling. Specifically, the progressive and absentive constructions contrast in the place of the possible locative adverb and the location of the *mas*-non-finite. It is typical of the absentives to have the word order of nominative subject – copular verb – *mas*-non-finite as in (3), while the progressive interpretation emerges typically in sentences where the nominative argument follows the copular verb and the *mas*-non-finite (7). Could this data indicate more syntactic distinctions? The following sections view the syntactic differences between the absentive and progressive in order to see if the progressives have more verb-like properties and the absentives more noun-like properties.

3.1. Belonging to a locative set, instantiating spatial thematic roles

Spatial cases as in (9a)–(9c) encode the parallel spatial and temporal semantics of source, goal and location, but the typical interpretation is “to a place that is away-at a place-from a place that is away”. The phrases have the thematic roles of Goal, Location, and Source.

- (9) a. *Mari lähe-b uju-ma.*
M[NOM] go-3S swim-NMLZ_ILL
‘Mary is going swimming.’
- b. *Mari on uju-ma-s.*
M[NOM] be.3S swim-NMLZ_INE
‘Mary is (off) swimming.’
- c. *Mari tule-b uju-ma-st.*
M[NOM] come-3S swim-NMLZ_ELA
‘Mary is coming from swimming.’
- a'. *Mari lähe-b metsa.*

- M[NOM] go-3S forest.ILL
 ‘Mary is going to the forest.’
- b'. *Mari on metsa-s.*
 M[NOM] be.3S forest-INE
 ‘Mary is in the forest.’
- c'. *Mari tule-b metsa-st.*
 M[NOM] come-3S forest-ELA
 ‘Mary is coming from the forest.’

The non-finites as in (9a)–(9c) instantiate the same spatial relationships, one locative being at the deictic centre and the other at another location, but the locations are not identified spatially via place but via activities related to the non-finite. More specifically, there can be many locations related to one type of activity, for instance, Mary may visit various swimming pools.

3.2. Thematic roles and different discourse settings.

Absentives are agentive, progressives non-agentive in Estonian. Even if the subject is an agent, as in (10), it is interpreted as a non-volitional agent with progressive interpretation, and the action is “backgrounded”. Backgrounding is perhaps comparable to the Hungarian examples in (11), where the omission of the article is possible if a locative phrase is added to a sentence with an agent and activity verb, as in (11c). The children in (10) and (11c) are backgrounded.

- (10) ...*lapse-d on aia-s mängi-mas ...*
 child-NOM.PL BE.3S/PL garden-INE play-NMLZ_INE
 ‘Children are playing in the garden.’
- (11) a. **Gyerek-ek játsza-nak.*
 child-NOM.PL play-3PL
 ‘Children are playing.’
- b. *A gyerek-ek játsza-nak.*
 child-NOM.PL play-3PL
 ‘Children are playing.’
- c. *Gyerek-ek játsza-nak a kert-ben.*
 child-NOM.PL play-3PL DEF garden-INE
 ‘Children are playing in the garden.’

Example (12) shows that the position of the *mas*-non-finite and the object influences the interpretation as the imminent (progressive) (12a) or absentive (12b).

- (12) a. *Mari ol-i muut-mas aegumistähtaega, kui...*
 M[NOM] be-PST.3S change-NMLZ_INE best.before.date.PTV WHEN
 ‘Mary was about to change the best before date (as a decision), when...’
- b. *Mari ol-i aegumistähtaega muut-ma-s, kui...*
 M[NOM] be-PST.3S best.before.date.PTV change-NMLZ_INE
 ‘Mary was off changing the best before date (on the product), when...’
 (absentive)

3.3. Topicalization

V+NMLZ+inessive is problematic as a (contrastive) topic in a progressive construction as in (13a), (13c), and (13e), but well-formed with an absentive as in (13b) and (13d).

- (13) a. **#Sula-mas lumi** (küll) ei ol-nud.
 melt-NMLZ_INE snow[NOM] EMPH NEG be-ACT.PST.PTCP
 ‘It was not melt that the snow did.’
- b. *Uju-ma-s Mari* (küll) ei ol-nud.
 swim-NMLZ_INE M[NOM] EMPH NEG be-ACT.PST.PTCP
 ‘It was not off swimming that Mary was/did.’
- c. **#Sula-mas oli lumi,** mitte jää.
 melt-NMLZ_INE be.3S snow[NOM] EMPH.NEG ice[NOM]
 ‘It was not melt that the snow did.’
- d. *Uju-ma-s oli Mari,* mitte Jüri.
 swim-NMLZ_INE be.3S M[NOM] EMPH.NEG J[NOM]
 ‘It was not off swimming that Mary was/did.’
- e. **#Helju-mas on piparkooki-de ja**
 float-NMLZ_INE be.3S gingerbread-GEN.PL and
röstitud mandli-te magusvürtsikas
 roasted almond-GEN.PL sweet and spicy[NOM]
lõhn...
 scent[NOM]
 ‘The sweet and spicy smell of gingerbread and roasted almonds is spreading ...’

3.4. Coordination

V+NMLZ+inessive cannot be coordinated with a locative phrase with the progressive meaning as in (14a) and (14c), while coordination with a locative phrase is well-formed with an absentive reading as in (14b). The coordination of an inessive NP and a postpositional phrase expressing the same internal spatial relationship as in (14d) provides evidence for the validity of the coordination test. Therefore, the coordination of the absentive non-finite and the locative NP shows the PP- or NP-like nature of the non-finite if it is used with the absentive interpretation. Example (14e) shows that locative non-finites can have a completely bleached spatial meaning, having turned into regular infinitives that cannot be coordinated with spatial or partitive phrases, as in (14e). This indicates that the infinitive system has other infinitives as well that are more verb-like and do not behave as thematic case-marked or PP-like arguments of verbs, and the non-finite in the absentive construction has more nominal properties than these infinitives.

- (14) a. **#Lumi on sula-mas** või hange-s.
 snow[NOM]be.3S melt-NMLZ_INE or heap-INE
 ‘The snow is melting or in a heap.’
- b. *Mari on uju-mas* või kooli-s.
 M[NOM] be.3S swim-NMLZ_INE or school-INE
 ‘Mary is off swimming or at school.’
- c. **#Röstitud mandli-te ja piparkooki-de**
 roasted almond-GEN.PL and gingerbread-GEN.PL

magusvürtsikas lõhn on helju-mas ja
 sweet.and.spicy[NOM] scent[NOM] be.3S float-NMLZ_INE and
õhu-s
 air-INE

(Not interpretable: ‘The smell of gingerbread and roasted almonds is spreading and in the air....’)

- d. *Marja-d on korvi-s ja karbi see-s.*
 berry.NOM.PL be.3S/PL basket-INE and box.GEN inside-INE
 ‘There are berries in the basket and in the box.’
- e. **Mari taha-b uju-da või kingitus-t/ kooli.*
 M[NOM] want-3S swim-T_INF or present-PTV school.ILL
 ‘Mary wants to swim or she wants a present or she wants to school.’

4. Summary

It is long known that there is a relationship between temporal and spatial meanings, and that locative cases give rise to progressives in languages (Bybee et al. 1995). However, there is not much data available about how the split between the locative and temporal meanings emerges. The Finnic languages are unique in this respect, and this article documents how the semantic change is paralleled by a structural change. The thematic roles, verb classes, and discourse settings are different in the absentives and progressives in Finnic and Estonian. Comparing minimal pairs in terms of belonging to a locative set of instantiating spatial thematic roles, topicalization, and coordination also show that although the absentive and the progressive are similar in form – they share the inessive morphological features (location inside) – they are different in structure. The progressive is based on a more verb-like non-finite ([NMLZ+inessive] (*helju-mas*)) and the absentive is based on a more noun-like non-finite (([V+NMLZ]+inessive) (*ujuma-s*)). The difficulty in finding environments that can be used as tests for nouniness and verbiness shows that the form instantiates a split in progress. Tamm (to appear) provides a more detailed picture.

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Figure 1. Overlaps in the occurrences of the absentive, locative, purposive, progressive (understood as the Estonian stative-progressive), and imminential

Symposium 29.

Anne Tamm – Matti Miestamo – Beáta Wagner-Nagy: Negation in Uralic languages

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Helsinki

THE NEGATION OF STATIVE RELATION CLAUSES IN THE MORDVIN, MARI AND PERMIC LANGUAGES

1. Introduction

In many Uralic languages, there are special negative markers that are used in the negation of, for example, existential and possessive clauses and/or in clauses with a nominal predicate (see e.g. Bartens 1996). These markers differ both in form and in function from the markers of the so-called standard negation that appear in action clauses with a verbal predicate (for the definition of standard negation see Payne, J. R. 1985: 198, 206–207 and especially Miestamo 2005: 42). However, since no negative markers other than the negative auxiliaries of the verbal indicative and imperative moods can be reconstructed in the Uralic protolanguage (Janhunen 1982: 37), the special negative markers must be regarded as relatively recent innovations. In this study, I will investigate these innovations in the Mordvin, Mari and Permic languages from a typological viewpoint. Since the special negative markers are typical of especially the present tense indicative in these languages, other tenses and moods are not considered in this study.

The clause types that I am dealing with represent six types of nominal predications and related constructions that can be characterized as *stative relation clauses* (for the definition of this term see Hamari 2007: 25–26). T. E. Payne's English examples of these types will serve as an illustration:

- (1) English (Payne, T. E. 1997: 111–112, 114):
 - a) Proper inclusion: *Frieda is a teacher.*
 - b) Equation: *He is my father.*
 - c) Attribution: *John is tall.*
 - d) Location: *The book is on the table.*
 - e) Existence: *There is a book on the table.*
 - f) Possession: *Sally has nineteen cats. / The book is John's.*

The clauses expressing possession can be further divided in the types of 'have'-possession (as in *Sally has nineteen cats*) and 'belong'-possession (as in *The book is John's*), according to the terminology of Bernd Heine (1997: 29–30).

2. The distribution of negative markers of stative relation clauses

I have earlier used T. E. Payne's classification – supplemented by Heine's division of the two possessive constructions – when studying the negation of these clause types in the Mordvin languages (Hamari 2007). In these languages, several negative markers are used in the clause types of stative relations. The first three clause types (as in 1a–1c) as well as the possessive clauses of the 'belong'-type (as in 1f) are negated in the present tense by using the negative particles of the standard negation: Erzya (= E) *a* and Moksha (= M) *af*. However, there is an additional negative particle *avol'* in Erzya that is used in this function in free variation with *a* in stative relation clauses:

(2) Erzya

a) (Šatko 2000: 39)

<i>A</i>	<i>viškiń-an.</i> ⁶⁶
NEG	small-PRS.1SG
'I am not small.'	

b) (Šatko 1998: 116)

<i>Nej</i>	<i>uš</i>	<i>avol'</i>	<i>viškiń-at.</i>
now	anymore	NEG	small-PRS.2SG
'Now you are not small anymore.'			

In clauses of existence and 'have'-possession, on the other hand, negative existential predicates are employed: these are E *araś* and M *aš*. Clauses that express location form a kind of a transitional category, in that both standard negation particles (and E *avol'*) and negative markers of existential clauses are possible, although with certain differences; the negative existentials usually negate the presence of the subject referent more categorically, for example:

(3) Erzya

a) (Šatko 1998: 65, Hamari 2007: 169 < Nina Agafonova, p. c.)

<i>ežeme-ś</i>	<i>a~</i>	<i>avol'</i>	<i>tarka-so-nzo</i>
bench-DEF.SG	NEG	NEG	place-INE-PX3SG
'the bench is not in its place (but somewhere else)'			

b) (Hamari 2007: 175 < Nina Agafonova, p. c.)

<i>ežeme-ś</i>	<i>araś</i>	<i>tarka-so-nzo</i>
bench-DEF.SG	NEG	place-INE-PX3SG
'the bench is not in its place'		

Moreover, the inflectional characteristics of M *aš* are different depending on whether it appears in a locative clause with a definite subject or in an existential or

⁶⁶In Mordvin, predicate nouns and adjectives are often conjugated by using the same personal suffixes that appear in verbal predicates.

'have'-possessive clause with an indefinite subject; in the former case *aš* agrees with the person and number of the subject, but in the latter, it is invariant. In existential/'have'-possessive clauses a longer variant *ajaš* is also possible.

To conclude, some of the Mordvin negative markers are restricted to clauses expressing stative relations, while others also appear as verbal negators in standard negation. The former include the particle E *avol'* and the negative existentials E *araš* and M *aš* (*ajaš*), while the negative particles E *a* and M *af* belong to the latter category.

In table 1, the negative markers of stative relation clauses of Mordvin are paralleled to those of Eastern Mari (= MariE), Western Mari (= MariW) and the Permic languages. The negative markers in different languages are juxtaposed according to their functions in different subtypes of clauses.⁶⁷

Table 1: The negative markers of stative relation clauses in Mordvin, Mari and Permic languages.

	Erzya	Moksha	MariE	MariW	Udmurt	Komi
Nominal and adjectival predicates	<i>a / avol'</i>	<i>af</i>	<i>oməl</i> etc. (agr.) ⁶⁸	neg. aux. ⁶⁹ + 'be' / in 3 rd persons: <i>a γəl</i> (agr.)	<i>övöl</i>	<i>abu</i>
Location	<i>a / avol' / araš</i> (agr.)	<i>af / aš</i> (agr.)	<i>oməl</i> etc. (agr.)	neg. aux. + 'be' / in 3 rd persons: <i>aγəl</i> (agr.)	<i>övöl</i>	<i>abu</i>
Existence	<i>araš</i> (agr.)	<i>aš / ajaš</i>	<i>uke</i>	<i>uke</i>	<i>övöl</i>	<i>abu</i> (agr.)
'Have'-possession	<i>araš</i> (agr.)	<i>aš / ajaš</i>	<i>uke</i>	<i>uke</i>	<i>övöl</i>	<i>abu</i> (agr.)
'Belong'-possession	<i>a / avol'</i>	<i>af</i>	<i>oməl</i> etc. (agr.)	neg. aux. + 'be' / in 3 rd persons: <i>aγəl</i> (agr.)	<i>övöl</i>	<i>abu</i>

As can be seen, the number of different negative markers used in the subcategories of stative relation clauses varies in these languages and so does the distribution of the markers in different functions. The Mordvin languages described above show a relatively complex pattern, especially in comparison with the system of the Permic languages, in which only one negative marker is used in all types of stative relation clauses: *övöl* in Udmurt and *abu* in Komi. However, the two Permic languages differ from each other in that in Udmurt, the negative marker cannot be inflected, whereas in Komi the inflectional characteristics of the marker *abuvary* depending on the

⁶⁷The classification follows that of T. E. Payne (and Heine), but the types of proper inclusion, equation and attribution are combined into a category of nominal and adjectival predicates, since the negation of these clause types is formally similar in all of these languages.

⁶⁸agr.= the marker in question shows agreement with the subject.

⁶⁹neg. aux.= the negative auxiliary of standard negation.

subcategory of the stative relation clause; in existential and 'have'-possessive clauses, the marker agrees with the number of the subject (as in the existential clause in 4), while in other types of clauses *abu* is invariant (as in the expression of attribution in 5). (On other characteristics of Udmurt *övöl* and Komi *abu* see Bartens 1996: 71–73; on Komi *abu* see also Hamari 2001.)

(4) Komi (Cypanov 2007: 47)

<i>tani</i>	<i>kerka-jas</i>	<i>abu-ös</i>
here	house-PL	NEG-PL
'there are no houses here'		

(5) Komi (Cypanov 2007: 54)

<i>Tajö</i>	<i>velödčýs-jas</i>	<i>abu</i>	<i>zil'-ös.</i>
this	student-PL	NEG	diligent-PL
'These students are not diligent.'			

In Mari, the system is partly similar to that seen in Erzya and Moksha, as the choice of a negative marker depends on the subtype of the stative relation clause. Just like in the Mordvin languages, there is a special negative marker for existential and 'have'-possessive clauses; in both Eastern and Western Mari the negative marker of these clause types is *uke*. In other subtypes, the negation can be traced back to the pattern of standard negation – that is, the negation of action clauses with verbal predicates; it is based on the use of the present tense negative auxiliary (MariE *o-*, MariW *a-*) and the verb meaning 'be' (MariE *ul-*, MariW *äl-*). In Eastern Mari, these elements have merged producing a negative marker that agrees with the subject person and number (1sg *omäl*, 2sg *otäl*, 3sg *oγäl* etc.). In Western Mari, the construction is still analytic (1sg *am äl*, 2sg *at äl*, 3sg *ak äl* etc.), although an optional amalgamation of the negative auxiliary and the verb 'be' appears in the 3rd person forms (3sg *aγäl*, 3pl *aγälep*) (Alhoniemi 1985: 116, 118, Bartens 1996: 73–76).

We can conclude that, excluding Udmurt, in all languages presented in table 1, the negation of clauses of existence and 'have'-possession differs in one way or another from the negation of other stative relation clauses. Either a completely different negative marker is employed in these two clause types or the inflectional characteristics of a single marker are different depending on whether we are dealing with existential/'have'-possessive clauses or other types of stative relation clauses. In the next section, we will take a look at the development of negative existentials from a cross-linguistic perspective and consider the negative markers of the Mordvin, Mari and Permic languages in the light of the observations made by William Croft (1991).

3. The cyclic development of (existential) negative markers

Cross-linguistically, the existence of special negative markers of stative relation clauses is not unusual and, moreover, special negative markers tend to develop especially in existential clauses (e.g. Kahrel 1996: 71). Croft (1991) has studied the development that can be detected in many languages across the world in relation to negative existential expressions. According to him, a cyclic development can often be seen, in which a fusion of a verbal negator and an affirmative form of an existential predicate gives rise to a special negative existential that can later develop into a new verbal negator. In this development, Croft distinguishes three stages: In stage A, the verbal negator is used in the formation of the negation of existential expressions and

the use of the affirmative existential predicate is obligatory in the construction; In stage B, the verbal negator and the affirmative existential have fused together and, consequently, there are (at least) two different negative markers in the language: one for the negation of verbs and another for the negation of existence; In stage C, the negative existential – based on an earlier fusion in stage B – has overtaken the function of negating predicate verbs as well, creating a situation in which the negative existential predicate and the verbal negator are identical. However, the development can lead back to stage A, when the affirmative existential starts to appear in negative existential expressions accompanied with the negative marker. Only this time, the negative marker is the product of the fusion of the earlier negative marker and the earlier affirmative existential predicate.

Some development of this kind can readily be observed when considering the negative existential markers of the Permic languages. According to a widely accepted assumption, Udmurt *övöl* and Komi *abu* (Old Komi *abul*) developed, when the participial form **epä* of the negative auxiliary **e-* was agglutinated to the verbal stem **wole* 'be' (e.g. Rédei 1988: 391, Bartens 1996: 89). Thus, the present situation in the Permic languages represents stage B described by Croft, as there is a negative predicate for existential clauses that is different from the verbal negator. The negation of predicate verbs in the present tense indicative is performed by a negative auxiliary (Udmurt *u-*, Komi *o-*).

In the case of Mordvin and Mari languages, however, the picture is more complex. In these languages too, the situation could be seen as a representative of stage B, since there is a special negative existential apart from the negative markers of verbal predicates. On the other hand, it is likely that the negative existentials have not come about through a fusion of a negative marker and an affirmative existential predicate; it has been suggested that the marker *uke* of Mari was borrowed from a Turkic language (Kangasmaa-Minn 1970: 9, Hesselbäck 2005: 141–143), whereas the origin of E *araś* and M *aš* is uncertain (for discussion of the suggested etymologies see Hamari 2007: 107–113). However, if we consider the development of the Mordvin and Mari negative markers used in other types of stative relation clauses, a part of the kind of cyclic development described by Croft seems much clearer. As mentioned above, MariE *omâł, otâł* etc. as well as MariW *aγâł* and *aγâlep* developed through an amalgamation of a negative auxiliary and a verb meaning 'be'. Moreover, E *avol'* most likely developed through a fusion of a negative marker (E *a* or its predecessor) and the verb *ul'e-* 'be' (Klemm 1931–1934: 389–391, Bartens 1999: 142). Considering this, it seems that the kind of development that Croft observed in the case of negative existentials in many languages can be found in the negative markers of other stative relation clauses as well – at least in the languages of the present study. Next, we will investigate, whether this development has gone even further in these languages, that is, from stage B to stage C.

4. The development of negative markers of verbal predicates

As suggested by Croft (1991: 9–11), the negative existentials based on an earlier fusion of a negative marker and an affirmative existential can develop into negative markers of verbal predicates, which brings the constructions to stage C. According to him, this can happen in three different ways and, consequently, three types of contemporary variation can be detected in the intermediate stage B ~ C depending on which route of development the constructions are taking: (i) there is competition between the negative existential and the regular negative marker of verbs, (ii) the negative existential is used

to reinforce the regular negative marker of verbs, or (iii) the negative existential gradually substitutes the negative marker of verbs, at first in only one part of the verbal grammatical system. None of the languages of the present study can be regarded as exhibiting a clear-cut stage C, but an intermediate stage B ~ C is possible to perceive in certain cases. Usually, it seems to be the third kind of variation presented by Croft that can be observed in these languages, as the negative markers of stative relation clauses often appear in some part of the verbal paradigms as well. However, it is – again – not necessarily the negative existential that shows this kind of development.

Firstly, in both Permic languages, the negative existentials are employed in the verbal system in the negation of the so-called 2nd past tense (e.g. Udmurt *öväöl mynemed* ~ Komi *abu munömyd* 'you(sg.) haven't gone'). However, in the case of Komi, it is not exactly the existential variant of the negative marker that is used but, rather, the form of *abu* that appears in other stative relation clauses. As was seen in example 4 above, the form used in existential/'have'-possessive clauses agrees with the number of the subject, while the form used in other stative relation clauses is invariant and the predicate shows the agreement. In the 2nd past tense, the latter pattern is observed:

(6) Komi (Cypanov 2007: 193)
abu *mun-öma-ös'*
 NEG go-PST2-PL
 'they haven't gone'

In the case of Mari, the negative existential *uke* is not used as a negative marker in the verbal paradigm and, therefore, cannot be regarded as showing a functional extension of this type.⁷⁰ On the other hand, the Eastern Mari negative markers that have developed through the fusion of negative markers and verbs meaning 'be' do show functional extensions to clauses with verbal predicates; they are used in the negation of verbal predicates in the 2nd past tense, as the following paradigm presented by Alhoniemi (1985: 116) illustrates:

Sg.1.	<i>tolân omâł</i>	'I haven't come'	Pl.1.	<i>tolân onal</i>	'we haven't come'
Sg.2.	<i>tolân otâl</i>	'you haven't come'	Pl.2.	<i>tolân ođal</i>	'you haven't come'
Sg.3.	<i>tolân oγâl</i>	'(s)he hasn't come'	Pl.3.	<i>tolân oγâtâl</i>	'they haven't come'

Finally, the negative existentials are not used to negate verbal predicates in the Mordvin languages either.⁷¹ However, a cognate to the Erzya negative marker *avol'* does have this kind of uses: the auxiliary *avol'*-is employed in the negation of the

⁷⁰Kangasmaa-Minn (1975: 494) does mention that in certain compound tenses, Mari negative existential *uke* is used to negate verbal nouns. However, in all her examples *uke* appears in locational constructions and the main verb has a meaning 'be'. Therefore, based on these examples only, one does not observe an extension of the negative existential to verbal clauses but an extension of the negative existential to past tense forms of other stative relation clauses.

⁷¹As suggested in Hamari (2007: 274–275), the Moksha existential *aš* does appear as a part of the past tense negative auxiliary (*ašəń* 'I did not', *ašət* 'you (sg.) did not' etc.); these forms probably developed, when the negative existential was used to reinforce the past tense negative auxiliary *yiž-* ~ *əž-* and, finally, merged with it. This development, therefore, most likely represents the second developmental scenario of the intermediate stage B ~ C described by Croft.

conjunctive (7a), conditional-conjunctive (7b) and desiderative (7c) moods. Unlike the particle *avol'*, the auxiliary *avol'*- is conjugated according to the subject person and number. Therefore, the development of the auxiliary *avol'*- could be regarded as an extension of the former particle into the verbal grammatical system in much the same way as the negative markers of Mari and Permic, although in Erzya, the extension would have taken place in the modal system rather than the temporal system of verbs. What is problematic, however, is the fact that the Erzya auxiliary *avol'*- has a cognate in Moksha, but the particle *avol'* that is used in stative relation clauses has not. As can be seen below, the Moksha auxiliary *afəl'*- is employed in exactly the same way in the modal system of verbs as Erzya *avol'*-:

(7) Mordvin (Bartens 1999: 142, EK 2000: 189–190, MK 2000: 148)

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| a) | E <i>avol'ih pala</i> | ~ M <i>afəl'əh pala</i> | 'I wouldn't kiss' |
| b) | E <i>avol'ih palihd'era</i> | ~ M <i>afəl'əh palahd'ära</i> | 'if I hadn't kissed' |
| c) | E <i>avol'ksel'ih pala</i> | ~ M <i>afəl'əksəl'əh pala</i> | 'I didn't want to kiss' |

Considering the formal and functional similarity of the Mordvin negative auxiliaries in question, they most likely developed during the Proto-Mordvin period. If we assume that the negative markers developed through a path similar to that described by Croft, we would have to hypothesize that the Moksha negative marker **afəl'* of stative relation clauses disappeared after the evolution of the negative auxiliaries presented in example 7. Otherwise, we would have to assume that the Erzya particle *avol'* would have developed from the negative auxiliary or totally separately from it. At the moment, there is no clear evidence for either direction of development, so the etymological relation between the Erzya particle *avol'* and the auxiliaries E *avol'*- and M *afəl'*- remains unclear.

5. Conclusions

In this study, I have considered the negative markers of stative relation clauses in the Mordvin, Mari and Permic languages from both synchronic and diachronic viewpoints. I have argued that certain realizations of the kind of development described by Croft are visible in the negative markers of the languages in question. However, unlike in Croft's model, these realizations do not usually relate to the negative markers of existence, but to the negative markers of other stative relation clauses (proper inclusion, equation, attribution, location and 'belong'-possession). This observation does not, of course, refute Croft's theory, but simply suggests that, at least in the languages considered in the present study, the model could be applied more broadly than just to cover negative existentials.

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NEGATION IN MARI

The Mari language uses a negative auxiliary in standard negation. The Mari negative auxiliary takes modal, temporal and personal suffixes, whereas the main verb is in its connegative form, which in most cases is the pure stem of the verb. The stem of the negative auxiliary goes back to Proto-Uralic and it consists of one syllable or, to be more exact, of one vowel. This vowel (stem) differs in tenses and modes (as in the Permic languages).

For comparison, I first give the affirmative forms of the present tense and first preterit in the Meadow-Eastern literary language and in the Western literary language:

Present tense, both literary languages

Sg.1. <i>tol-am</i> come-SG1	Pl.1. <i>tol-âna</i> come-PL1
Sg.2. <i>tol-at</i> come-SG2	Pl.2. <i>tol-âda</i> come-PL2
Sg.3. <i>tol-eš</i> come-SG3	Pl.3. <i>tol-ât</i> come-PL3

The personal suffix of the 3rd person singular is historically either a derivative suffix or a possessive suffix, whereas in the 3rd person plural only a plural ending occurs.

In the Meadow-Eastern Mari literary language the connegative form of the main verb is the pure stem in the present tense and in first preterit:

Sg.1. <i>o-m tol</i> NEG-SG1 come(-CONN)	Pl.1. <i>o-na ~ o-g-âna tol</i> NEG-(PRS).PL1 come(-CONN)
Sg.2. <i>o-t tol</i> NEG-SG2 come(-CONN)	Pl.2. <i>o-da ~ o-g-âda tol</i> NEG-(PRS).PL2 come(-CONN)
Sg.3. <i>o-k ~ o-g-eVs tol</i> NEG-(PRS).SG3 come(-CONN)	Pl.3. <i>o-g-ât tol</i> NEG-(PRS).PL3 come(-CONN)

As can be seen above, there is an element *k ~ g* which functions as a secondary suffix of the present tense on the one hand, and as the suffix of the third person singular on the other.

In the Western literary language (or Hill Mari) the present tense conjugation is identical except for the stem vowel, which is *a-*. Here the longer forms of the negative auxiliary (with *-g-*) are not used. In the third person plural the connegative form of the main verb takes a special suffix *-ep*; in this case no plural suffix is needed in the auxiliary:

- Sg.1. *a-m tol*
NEG-SG1 come(-CONN)
Sg.2. *a-t tol*
NEG-SG2 come(-CONN)
Sg.3. *a-k tol*
NEG-SG3 come(-CONN)

- Pl.1. *a-na tol*
NEG-PL1 come(-CONN)
Pl.2. *a-da tol*
NEG-PL2 come(-CONN)
Pl.3. *a-k tol-ep*
NEG-SG3 come-CONN

First preterit, affirmative forms (Western forms denoted with W; often the forms in the two literary languages coincide except for the stress), here examples of both conjugations are given:

- Sg.1. *tol'-âm, kolâ-š-âm*
come-(PST)-SG1, die-PST-SG1
Sg.2. *tol'-âč, kolâ-š-âč / W tol'-âc, kolâ-š-âc*
come-(PST)-SG2, die-PST-SG2
Sg.3. *tol'o, kolâ-š / W tol'â, kolâ-š*
come-(PST), die-PST
Pl.1. *tol-na, kolâ-š-na*
come-(PST)-PL1, die-PST-PL1
Pl.2. *tol-da, kolâ-š-ta*
come-(PST)-PL2, die-PST-PL2
Pl.3. *tol'-âč, kolâ-š-t / W tol'-ewə, kol-ewə*
come-(PST)-PL, die-PST-PL / W come-PST.PL, die-PST.PL

In the first conjugation the preterit is constructed on the basis of the Proto-Finno-Ugric marker **j*, but this cannot be seen in the present-day forms except for stems ending in *l* or *n*, where the final consonant becomes palatalised as in *tolam*. In the second conjugation the PFU suffix **ś* > *š* is used for the past tense. It is common in the FU languages for there to be no personal suffix in the third person.

In the first preterit the stem of the negative auxiliary is MariME *â-*, MariW *ə-*. This is followed by the tense suffix *Vs*, which is used with verbs of the second conjugation. In both Mari literary languages the original stem has been lost in the first and second persons singular, in Western Mari also in the plural, so that historically only the preterit suffix and personal suffixes can be seen:

- Sg.1. *Vs-âm tol / W Vs-əm tol*
(NEG)-PST.SG1 come
Sg.2. *Vs-âVc tol / W Vs-əc tol*
(NEG)-PST.SG2 come
Sg.3. *â-Vs tol / W ə-Vs tol*
NEG-PST come
Pl.1. *â-Vs-na tol / W Vs-ənä tol*
NEG-PST.PL1 / (NEG)-PST.PL1 come
Pl.2. *â-Vs-ta tol / W Vs-ədä tol*
NEG-PST.PL2 / (NEG)-PST.PL2 come
Pl.3. *â-Vs-t tol / W ə-Vs tol-ep*
NEG-PST.PL / NEG-PST come-
CONN.PL

The second preterit originated as a compound, formed from the gerund of the main verb and the verb *ulam*, W *âlam* 'be'. Synchronically, its structure is no longer transparent in the affirmative forms in the Mari literary languages, but in some dialects the plural forms are still compounds. In the 3rd person singular the gerund is

used as such without the verb ‘be’ and without a personal suffix. The second preterit expresses action not experienced by the speaker. It could also be called a narrative mood.

Sg.1. <i>tol-âñ-am</i> come-GER-SG1	Pl.1. <i>tol-âñ-na</i> (ME dial. <i>tol-âñ ul-na</i>) come-GER-PL1 (come-GER be-PL1)
Sg.2. <i>tol-âñ-at</i> come-GER-SG2	Pl.2. <i>tol-âñ-da</i> (ME dial. <i>tol-âñ ul-da</i>) come-GER-PL2 (come-GER be-PL2)
Sg.3. <i>tol-âñ</i> come-GER	Pl.3. <i>tol-âñ-ât</i> come-GER-PL

In negation in the Meadow-Eastern literary language, however, the stem (= the connegative form) of the verb *ulam* ‘be’ is attached to the negative auxiliary after the personal suffix in the second preterit:

Sg.1. <i>tol-âñ o-m-âl</i> come-GER NEG-SG1-be	Pl.1. <i>tol-âñ o-na-l</i> come-GER NEG-PL1-be
Sg.2. <i>tol-âñ o-t-âl</i> come-GER NEG-SG2-be	Pl.2. <i>tol-âñ o-da-l</i> come-GER NEG-PL2-be
Sg.3. <i>tol-âñ o-g-âl</i> come-GER NEG-SG3-be	Pl.3. <i>tol-âñ o-g-ât-âl</i> come-GER NEG-(PRS)-PL-be

Western Mari uses a different strategy, whereby the negative form of the second preterit is not built on the affirmative gerund as in Eastern Mari but, rather, on the negative gerund, which then takes the inflected forms of the verb *âlam* ‘be’, except in the third person singular, where only the negative gerund without any suffixes is used:

Sg.1. <i>tol-te-l-am</i> come-ABE-be-SG1	Pl.1. <i>tol-te-l-na</i> come-ABE-be-PL1
Sg.2. <i>tol-te-l-at</i> come-ABE-be-SG2	Pl.2. <i>tol-te-l-da</i> come-ABE-be-PL2
Sg.3. <i>tol-te</i> come-ABE	Pl.3. <i>tol-te-l-ât</i> come-ABE-be-PL3

There are four periphrastic past tenses in Mari: two so-called compound imperfects and two compound perfects. The compound imperfects express simultaneous, repetitive or lasting action in the past, whereas the compound perfects usually have the meaning of a pluperfect in complex sentences. The second compound imperfect and second compound perfect express action not experienced by the speaker him/herself, cf. narrative.

The compound imperfects are formed from a verb inflected in the present tense and from an uninflected fossilised form of the verb ‘be’, which in the first compound imperfect has the form *âl'e*, *W âl'â*, and in the second compound imperfect the form *ulmaš*, *W âlâñ*. In negation the normal negated forms of the verb are used.

1. compound impf., affirmative	negative
Sg.1. <i>tol-am əl'e</i> / W <i>tol-am əl'ə</i> come-SG1 be-(1PST)	<i>o-m tol əl'e</i> / W <i>a-m tol əl'ə</i> etc. NEG-SG1 come(-CONN) be-(1PST)
2. compound impf., affirmative	negative
Sg.1. <i>tol-am ul-maš</i> / W <i>tol-am əl-ən</i> come-SG1 be-DER / - be-(2PST)	<i>o-m tol ul-maš</i> / W <i>a-m tol əl-ən</i> NEG-SG1 come-DER/ - come-(2PST)

The compound perfects are formed in a similar way, but the main verb is inflected in the second preterit. Correspondingly, the negation is the same as in the second preterit, in Meadow–Eastern Mari the verb ‘be’ is negated, whereas in Western Mari the negative gerund is used (see above).

1. compound perfect, affirmative	negative
Sg.1. <i>tol-ən-am əl'e</i> / W <i>tol-ən-am əl'ə</i> come-GER-SG1 be-(1PST)	<i>tol-ən o-m-əl əl'e</i> / W <i>tol-te-l-am əl'ə</i> etc. come-GER NEG-SG1-be be-(1PST) / W come-ABE-be-SG1 be-(1PST)

2. compound perfect, affirmative
Sg.1. <i>tol-ən-am ul-maš</i> / W <i>tol-ən-am əl-ən</i> come-GER-SG1 be-DER / W come-GER-SG1 be-(2PST)

2. compound perfect, negative
Sg.1. <i>tol-ən o-m-əl ul-maš</i> / W <i>tol-te-l-am ələn</i> etc. come-GER NEG-SG1-be be-DER / W come-ABE-be-SG1 be-(2PST)

In Mari the imperative does not take any special marker for mood. Instead, just the stem is used. The personal endings of the 3rd persons in the affirmative imperative are historically possessive suffixes.

Sg.2. <i>tol</i> come	Pl.2. <i>tol-za</i> / W <i>tol-da</i> come-PL2
Sg.3. <i>tol-žo</i> come-(PX.)SG3	Pl.3. <i>tol-š-t</i> / W <i>tol-št</i> come-(PX.)PL3

In the negative imperative the negative auxiliary has yet another form: *i-* in the second persons and *ə-*, W *ə-* in the third persons. This takes only the personal markers. The main verb is not inflected; it is in the connegative form (stem).

Sg.2. <i>i-t tol</i> NEG-SG2 come(-CONN)	Pl.2. <i>i-da tol</i> / W <i>i-dä tol</i> NEG-PL2 come(-CONN)
Sg.3. <i>ən-že tol</i> / W <i>ən-žə tol</i> NEG-(PX.)SG3 come(-CONN)	Pl.3. <i>ən-št tol</i> / W <i>ənžə-štə tol-ep</i> NEG-(PX.)PL3 come / come- CONN.PL

The *n* after the stem of the negative auxiliary in the 3rd person imperative forms goes historically back to the desiderative suffix.

The desiderative expresses action the speaker wants or would like to do. The marker of the desiderative mood is *ne*. In the desiderative the negative auxiliary takes

the form $\hat{\delta}$ -, W δ -, to which the mood suffix with the personal marker are attached. The personal markers used in the desiderative are historically possessive suffixes.

Desiderative, affirmative	negative
Sg.1. <i>tol-ne-m</i> come-DES-(PX.)SG1	$\hat{\delta}$ -ne-m tol / W δ -ne-m tol NEG-DES-(PX.)SG1 come
Sg.2. <i>tol-ne-t</i> come-DES-(PX.)SG2	$\hat{\delta}$ -ne-t tol / W δ -ne-t tol NEG-DES-(PX.)SG2 come
Sg.3. <i>tol-ne-že</i> come-DES-(PX.)SG3	$\hat{\delta}$ -ne-ž tol / W δ -ne-ž δ tol NEG-DES-(PX.)SG3 come
Pl.1. <i>tol-ne-na</i> come-DES-(PX.)PL1	$\hat{\delta}$ -ne-na tol / W δ -ne-nä tol NEG-DES-(PX.)PL1 come
Pl.2. <i>tol-ne-da</i> come-DES-(PX.)PL2	$\hat{\delta}$ -ne-da tol / W δ -ne-dä tol NEG-DES-(PX.)PL2 come
Pl.3. <i>tol-ne-št</i> come-DES-(PX.)PL3	$\hat{\delta}$ -ne-št tol / W δ -ne-štq tol NEG-DES-(PX.)PL3 come

The desiderative mood also has two compound imperfects. They use the same uninflected forms of the verb ‘be’ as the compound imperfects in the indicative. The main verb has the normal desiderative forms.

There is no separate conditional mood in Mari. Instead, forms of the compound imperfects and compound perfects are used.

In existential and possessive sentences the word *uke* is used, which is said to be of unknown origin, although many scholars have pointed to a similarity with the Turkic negative existential (e.g., Tatar *juk*). Its sentence constituent value is obscure (as are those of many Finno-Ugric negative or affirmative existentials), because it can also occur in nominal position with corresponding suffixes. For instance, *jer $\hat{\delta}$ -šte kol uke* (lake-INE fish NEG) ‘there are no fish in the lake’.

The same negator *uke* is also used as a negative answer to a question. The negative verb can be used in negative answers, but then it has a longer form than when functioning as an auxiliary:

Sg.1. <i>o-g-$\hat{\delta}$m</i> / W <i>a-g-$\hat{\delta}$m</i> NEG-(PRS-)SG1	Pl.1. <i>o-g-$\hat{\delta}$na</i> / W <i>a-na</i> NEG-(PRS-)PL1 / NEG-PL1
Sg.2. <i>o-g-$\hat{\delta}$t</i> / W <i>a-g-$\hat{\delta}$t</i> NEG-(PRS-)SG2	Pl.2. <i>o-g-$\hat{\delta}$da</i> / W <i>a-da</i> NEG-(PRS-)PL2 / NEG-PL2
Sg.3. <i>o-g-eš</i> / W <i>a-g-eš</i> NEG-(PRS-)SG3	Pl.3. <i>o-g-$\hat{\delta}$t</i> / W <i>a-g-ep</i> NEG-(PRS-)PL / W NEG-CONN.PL

Constituent negation is expressed with the negative auxiliary, to which the verb ‘be’ is attached as a suffix: *o-g- $\hat{\delta}$ l* / W *a-g- $\hat{\delta}$ l* (NEG-(PRS-)be). This form is also used in many stative relation clauses, but I shall leave this subject for AH to discuss.

NEGATION IN SURGUT KHANTY:
AT THE POINT OF INFORMATION STRUCTURING IN DISCOURSE

1. Introduction

In this study, I will examine the appearance of the subject and object of negative sentences in the discourse of Surgut Khanty. I will pay special attention to the viewpoint of the introduction of new and given information into discourse and referent continuity in discourse. I will show the preferential distribution at the point of information structure, then show some examples of the mechanism of information structure and information flow in Khanty. Finally, I will outline my conclusions derived from the results of my examination of the information structure in Khanty discourse. Here, what I am going to discuss is restricted to only Surgut Khanty, which is one of the dialect of Eastern Khanty. I will discuss the negative particles in Surgut Khanty, *əntə* and *əntəm*, even though there are other resources for negation in Surgut Khanty. The particle *əntəm* is used only as ‘(there) be not’ as a predicate verb in the indicative present:

1. *owpi aj, owpiji əntə ǎpəλ.* (Csepregi 1998:66)
door, small, door-ABL., NEG, fit-3SG.PRS
‘The door is small. He doesn’t enter from the door.’
2. *pa pǎlkəλ tōt əntem.* (ibid. 90)
other/another, side-SG.3SG., there, NEG.
‘There isn’t another side.’

2. Theoretical background

The theoretical background is framed by discourse-based functionalism. In this frame, we attempt to understand the use of language in communication by studying the correlation between grammatical devices and the discourse context. The main methods employ the Preferred Argument Structure (PAS) theory (Du Bois 1987) and topic continuity in discourse (Givón 1983).

Information can be conveyed only relationally, via propositions, while meaning is conveyed either in individual words or via the relations established between words (Lambrecht 1994: 46). The information structure, which is a term created by Halliday (1967), explains how different information is marked in compliance with its pragmatic function in discourse, such as highlighting, de-emphasizing, the contrast of topic and focus, newness and givenness,⁷² and definitiveness and indefinitiveness. The resources

⁷²There have been different opinions about the definitions of the newness/givenness of information. Here new information is a newly introduced referent to discourse; on the other hand, it is a referent which has not been introduced in the preceding discourse. The given

for expressing information, such as morpho-syntax and phonology, differ from language to language. In other words, the pragmatic function of certain linguistic forms map onto these resources (Lambrecht 1994: 5). Here, I will concentrate on the marking of information structure on noun phrases. According to Chafe (1994: 161), the term information flow can be explained as the dynamic changes in thought and language. The change, which is called flow, involves changes in the status of information. The concept is based on a primary function of language, conveying information from the speaker to the addressee, along with the accessibility of the information or the participants' point of view (Cumming and Ono 1997: 116).

Even though Khanty has no special grammaticized forms to represent categories of information, such as new/given information or topic/focus, despite its rich morpho-syntactic system, some tendencies are visible in discourse. My pilot studies of the affirmative sentences of Khanty have shown results similar to those of preceding studies on information flow in different languages (see Cumming and Ono 1998, Brown and Yule 1983); a full NP appears at the boundary of episodic units in discourse and functions as reactivated information; The subject is motivated as a topic; the topicalized referents tend to be shifted to pronoun or zero anaphoric pronouns with verb inflection.

2.1 Preferred Argument Structure

According to the Preferred Argument Structure (PAS) theory, certain argument structures are systematically preferred in spontaneous discourse rather than other grammatical alternatives. Using PAS Du Bois tries to explain the function of subject and object in each intonation unit with their relation to discourse. Certain argument structures are systematically preferred in spontaneous discourse rather than other grammatical alternatives. Du Bois tries to explain the existence and function of subject and object in each intonation unit through their relation to discourse. The central notion of the PAS theory proposes four constraints which correlate between grammar and pragmatics (Du Bois 1987, 2003). These constraints are found in many languages (Ashby et al. 2003).

Grammatically:

“One Lexical Argument Constraint”

“Non-lexical A Constraint”

Pragmatically:

“Given A Constraint”

“One New Argument Constraint”

(Du Bois 1987, 2003)

These grammatical features can become the pragmatic features, as “Given A Constraint” means that the argument of A (= the subject of transitive clause) tends to be given information, and “One New Argument Constraint” means that only one new information typically appears in a clause. Many studies on information structure and flow have shown that new information tends to appear as lexical argument and as

information insures its linkage to the coherence network of the already transacted discourse (Givón 1983, 1984).

object or oblique. Only a few appear in S (= the subject of intransitive clause) or A. Negation has not been studied thoroughly with in regard to PAS either since a negative sentence could function differently from affirmative ones in many ways.

2.2 Topic continuity⁷³

According to Givón, there is a ‘topic hierarchy’ in discourse: some important referents of the story appear repeatedly and are like a *leitmotif*. They make continuity, then coherence in discourse. Studying the frequency of occurrence of these referents (topics), enables understanding of the mechanism of coherence functionally and syntactically. This method makes it possible to study how the grammatical devices function in discourse. For example, what tends to be grammaticized as subject or object, how a ‘returned’ to topic functions in thematic flow in discourse, what grammatical feature is controlled by topic continuity (e.g. in Ute, word order is controlled by topic continuity) etc. Topic persistence reflects the topic’s importance in discourse and the speaker’s topical intent (Givón 1983). According to Givón (1984:333), negative clauses are not used to introduce new information into discourse, nor are they used to introduce new referential participants into the discourse ‘file’.

3. Data

The data used for this study comprises narrative texts of Surgut Khanty (e.g., Csepregi 1998, Csepregi and Sosa 2009), which were recorded in 1992–1996 and 2008–2009. For a closer analysis, I picked three folklore tales. The selected recordings are in total 29.14 minutes.

4. Analysis

4.1 Statistics

There are 26 negative particles in these data for close analysis. Of those, 19 are *əntə* and 7 are *əntəm*. This is about 5% of the total intonation units. In Khanty, the same as in many other languages, negative clauses are much less frequent in discourse than affirmative ones.

4.2 The newness and givenness of information

In addition to these three chosen tales, all the arguments of negative clauses for the entire data set are given information in the text. In example 3, the subject is given information and mentioned as a pronoun, which typically codes given information:

3. *Λῑṽ əntə ăṅkrəmtəΛ.*
He/she, NEG, see there-SG3.PRE
‘She doesn’t see there.’

⁷³There have been different opinions about the definition of topic. See the summary, for example, by Tomlin, Forrest, Pu and Kim (1997). In the method of topic continuity, topic could potentially be equal to any nominal arguments in propositions since topic means the participants in the story (Givón 1983).

This result fits Givón's hypothesis (1984: 324) that a negative declarative speech act normally does not add new information. Also, my data shows the same constraints as PAS; no negative clause carries two lexical arguments nor new information in it; no argument in the A role of negative clauses appears as new information nor in a lexical argument. In example 4, A, 'you two', represents the main characters of the story and is coded by a personal pronoun. It is not new information nor a lexical argument, therefore only the object NP in the lexical argument. The object also is not new information.

4. *nin, jejiyan, jis arəy, jis mǎnt' mǎnt'tə kǒl antə wuɬtən.*
 You two, brothers two, old, song, old tale, talk-PRS.PCT, word, NEG,
 know-PRS.2DU
 'You two-DU, brothers, don't know any old songs, old tale.'

These tendencies are very rigid in my data. This was a predictable result since in natural language the use of declarative clauses and given information is much more common than negatives and new information, the same as in my data.

4.3 Topic continuity in the examples

For a more precise analysis of the argument of negative clauses, I will continue to analyze topic continuity. Most of the topics in the negative clause are *leitmotif*, which appears many times and repeatedly in the story as the important topic.

<i>Leitmotif</i> :	16
The answer 'no':	3
Others: ⁷⁴	8

Example 5 is taken from the beginning of the story. In example 5, the subject of the negative clause, line 7, is the main characters of the story, a father and his sons. Naturally they are mentioned continuously through the story. The main characters are mentioned in a full NP in the first clause, then only through verb agreement:

- 5.
1. *əj jəysat wǎɬɬət.*
A father and sons live.
 2. *ləy kǒw wǎɬtə kǒjanə wuɬi,*
Who knows if they live long,
 3. *ləy wan wǎɬtə kǒjanə wuɬi.*
Who knows if they live briefly.
 4. *əj ɬatnə wǒnta mənət.*
Once they went to the forest.
 5. *wǒnta jǒwtət, wǒnt pətayə.*
They came to the forest, to the deep forest.
 6. *tǎkə tǔwət jǒrəɬət.*

⁷⁴The category 'others' includes exceptional uses of the negative particle, such as a part of some certain verb phrases and as a non-negative or reconstructive dialogue/statement particle.

They forgot fire.

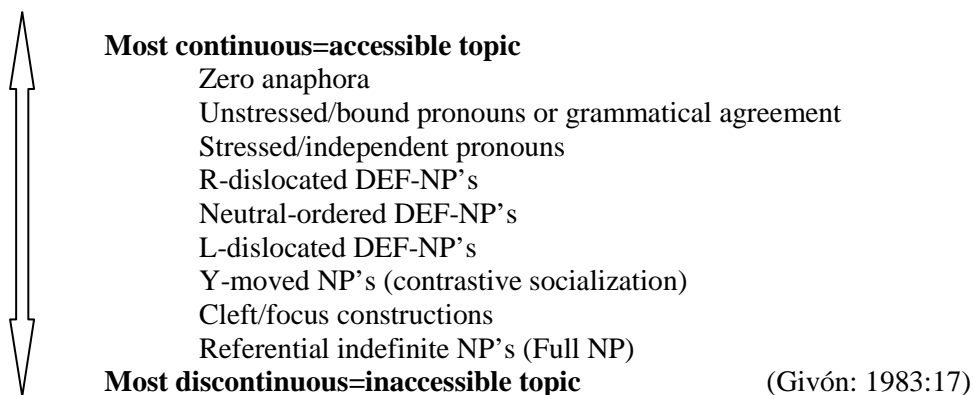
7. *tūwət əntə təjʌət.*

They didn't have fire.

8. *t'et tūwət ʌiw.*

Now the fire was gone. (= there was no fire)

This means that most of the topics in the negative clauses are more easily available than the other given information. The availability of identification depends on the speaker's assumption about the topic's availability. The transition from availability to continuity is motivated by certain assumptions such as that what is continuing is more predictable and that what is predictable is easier to process and vice versa. Even the text itself does not reveal the assumptions made by the speakers or hearers as to topic identifiability in a direct way; the text reveals them through the choice of the resources of information structure such as morphosyntax and phonology. Because the *leitmotif* appears many times and repeatedly, it is more easily available or understandable even it had been ellipsised or marked less (as a pronoun or only verb agreement) than full noun phrases. According to Givón, the scales for coding topic accessibility is as follows:



5. Preliminary conclusion

As expected, all the arguments of the negative clauses in the entire data set include given information and tend to be *leitmotifs*, which are more important and easily available topics than other topics. It means that negative clauses tend to carry more given, available or identifiable topics or higher topicality in discourse than declarative clauses in Khanty.

Even though *leitmotifs* tend to be marked less, e.g., simply as pronoun or verb agreement, full NPs are also often chosen to code *leitmotifs* both in affirmative and negative clauses in my data. In example 6, the S of the sentence, 'her sister' is one of the main characters in the story and mentioned continuously as a *leitmotif*, but marked as a full NP. Similarly, the object of example sentence 7, 'fire', is marked as a lexical argument even though it is the main topic in the story and mentioned repeatedly as a *leitmotif*.

6. *panə opəliΛ əntə jistayə jəγ.*
and, sister-SG.3SG, NEG, cry-INF.TRANS, start-3SG
'and her sister stopped crying.'

7. *tūwət əntə təjΛəw.*
Fire, NEG, have-PRS1PL
'We don't have fire.'

The reason for this exception would be, for example, the genre of the text, the speaker's technique/strategy and the influence of cultural background. Earlier studies have shown that information flow and structure are sensitive to these factors. Earlier studies on PAS, for example, explain these exceptions with the mentioned above reasons. For example, discourse by so-called good storytellers and teachers, or of cultural folklore tales can differ from typical discourse in information flow and structure. For example, as the given information is mentioned in a full NP, the exceptional language use does not reflect the four constraints of PAS (e.g., Clancy 2003, Kumpf 2003, Hofling 2003, Martin 2003). Further research is needed, however, to explain these exceptional phenomena in information flow and structure in Surgut Khanty.

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**THE CASE OF *NINCSTELENEK* ('THE DESTITUTE'):
NOUNLESS AND VERBLESS IN THE URALIC GRAMMAR**

1. Introduction

The case called the *abessive* or the *caritive* (meaning *-less*) attaches to both nouns (noun+less) and to verbs (verb+less) in the majority of Uralic languages. In Hungarian, the suffixes *-tlan*, *-talan* can be mentioned, as in the word *nincs-telen* ‘the destitute, the very poor, the one without anything at all’ in the title. It means literally ‘there is no x+less, nothing-less’; it is an exceptional formation, and serves as a lucky charm for this workshop because of its exceptional accumulation of negative elements. As in Hungarian, in several Uralic languages there are morphemes that are similar in meaning to the abessive cases, but cannot be qualified as proper cases; actually, abessives are rather atypical as cases as well.

My claims are the following:

1. The abessive suffixes are markers of a special type of negation, suggesting that certain abessive constructions express presuppositional negation.

2. The abessive marked non-finite constructions are instances of not yet completely grammaticalized perfect negations.

Consider the English examples in (1a)–(1d), which offer close equivalents to the abessive-caritive.

- (1) a. How to make blood appear on body **without any wound**.
- b. Halloween Trick: How to Make Blood Appear **Without Hurting** Yourself.
- c. Brutal killing of ‘**defenseless** old lady’.
- d. She is still **unmarried** and has two kids.

The English prepositions and derivative morphemes in ‘without any wound’, ‘without hurting’, ‘defenseless’, and ‘unmarried’ are close equivalents of the Uralic abessives and caritives. All of them express the lack of referents, properties, or events in the situations in their context. The lack of referents, properties, or events is paired with additional conditions on the discourse. What are these conditions? The key concept in understanding the role of these elements implies understanding the meaning of the word *lack*. Something is lacking only if it is in some way expected to be there. For instance, in case of the sentence with ‘without blood’ (1a), the condition is that it is expected in normal circumstances that blood is produced by wounds and wounding. If blood appears suddenly out of nowhere, then it is lacking the wound, it is uncommon, weird, and salient if there is no wound or an event of wounding (1b). If there appears a killer (1c), not otherwise, the condition is that the one who is defenseless is highly likely to be lacking defense in this situation. Otherwise, an expression ‘without

defense' is not used. If someone is referred to as unmarried (1d), the condition is that one is in the age of being married or likely to be married, which happens only from a certain age.

What connects these English examples with the Estonian abessive examples presented in the following section is, firstly, the presence of these conditions. These conditions are only the most likely, expected ones. Blood can be produced in different ways; one may not wish to defend oneself; not all people that fit the conventional description are married. But if these conditions do not hold, the expression would not be used. Secondly, negation does not target these conditions even if they seem to belong to the meaning of these utterances. They are presupposition-like in remaining preserved in negation. Thirdly, in a general predicate negation, as in *She is not married*, there is also a condition that she could be married. There is a question about the alternatives, for instance someone is looking for a wife and wondering about the marital status of the women that cross his way. He can hope but not expect the woman to be not married. *She is still unmarried* is telling more. It is telling that this woman is also normally expected to be married. The environment of the use informs us about the expectations connected with the use of *un-*: if a woman *has two kids*, she is expected to be already married. The choice of negation with *un-* reflects the opposite situation of the expectations. The conditions are not semantic, but discourse pragmatic conditions – implicatures – and they are not fixed and not obligatory.

2. The abessive negation in Estonian

Uralic abessive and caritive negation appears in almost all Uralic languages with considerable variation in its status, but with a strikingly similar cluster of meanings. Abessive-caritive negation is typically more discourse linked than auxiliary negation. Estonian has two negation particles, one for special constituent negation (*mitte*, emerging in contrastive focus and not with finite verb) and the other for general predicate negation (*ei*, originally an inflected auxiliary) (Erelt et al. 1993). Constituent negation particle will not be discussed. Here are some corpus examples of the phenomenon. Example (2a) illustrates an abessive noun, example (2b) an abessive non-finite verb.

- (2) a. *Jalakäija ol-i pimedas helkuri-ta ja*
 pedestrian[NOM] be- PST.3S dark-INE dangling reflector-ABE and
jäi auto alla.
 was hit by a car
 'The pedestrian lacked the dangling reflector in the dark and was hit by the car.'
- b. *Mari on söö-ma-ta.*
 M[NOM] be.3S eat-M_ABE
 'Mary has not eaten.' (Literally "Mary is without eating.")

In example (2a) with an abessive-marked noun, dangling reflector, there is a situation where a pedestrian was hit by a car but could have been saved if he had worn the obligatory dangling reflector in dark. The pedestrians are expected to wear

dangling reflectors in Estonia in the dark season. In example (2b), the abessive combines with a non-finite verb. Mary has not eaten yet, in a situation where she should have eaten something by that time or where the fact that she has not eaten is a problem or relevant in some other way. By “cross-categorial abessive” I mean the case meaning ‘without’, which appears on nominals (1) as well as other categories, such as verbs or mixed categories with verb properties (2).

3. Nouns and abessive

How does the abessive combine with nouns, and what does the abessive negation on nouns compare with standard negation and affirmative sentences? The following sections take a closer look at the details. Sentence (3a) illustrates an affirmative possessive expression (*The house has a roof*) with their negative counterparts with the negation particle (3b) (*The house does not have any roof*) and with the abessive negation in (3c) (*The house lacks a roof*). The sentence in (3a) illustrates an Estonian possessive construction, formed by means of an adessive argument (possessor) and the copula ‘be’, with the possessee in the nominative, and its standard negation as in (3b), with the possessee in the partitive. Sentence (3b) typically describes a neutral description of a situation, or a situation where houses either have roofs or not. In (3b), the description is from an advertisement of houses on sale, about a half-built house that does not have a roof yet – in a choice where there are houses with or without a roof, as in an advertisement for half-built houses to sell. Sentence (3c) describes the same situation, a house without a roof. However, in this case, the house can be expected or supposed to have a roof – it is not a fifty-fifty option as in the case of the advertisements. One is expecting the house to have a roof; the rooflessness is a distinct feature of the house in this situation. This can happen in a context where the house is meant for living, not building, and does not have a roof because of a hurricane or other natural forces.

- (3) a. *Maja-l on katus.*
house-ADE be.3s roof[NOM]
‘The house has a roof.’
- b. *Maja-l ei ole katus-t.*
house-ADE NEG be roof-PTV
‘The house does not have a roof.’
- c. *Maja on katuse-ta.*
house[NOM] be.3S roof-ABE
‘The house does not have the roof, the house is without the roof.’

4. Predicates and abessive

How does the abessive combine with verbs, and how does the abessive negation on verbs compare with standard negation and affirmative sentences? Since the discussion of the TAM properties will concentrate on the abessive negation of the perfect tense, Section 4.1 introduces the Estonian two perfects, Section 4.2 establishes their presuppositional semantics, .

4.1. The be-perfect and the constrained have-perfect in Estonian

Estonian has a non-possessive perfect (the ‘be-perfect’), as in (4a), and a possessive perfect (the ‘have-perfect’-like perfect), as in (4b); the latter is established by Lindström and Trigel (2010). This is an instance of the grammaticalization of a stage 2 perfect (Lindström and Trigel (2010) on the basis of the classification of Heine and Kuteva 2006). This ‘have-perfect’ is formed with an adessive argument, the copula ‘be’ – as the Estonian possessive construction in (3a) – and a passive past participle, as in (4b). This perfect does not have all properties of the have-perfects, for instance, it cannot be used with inanimate adessive phrases, as tested out by Lindström and Trigel, as in (4c).

- (4) a. *Ma ol-en uju-nud.*
I[NOM] be.1s swim-ACT_PTCP
‘I have swum.’
- b. *Mu-l on ujutud.*
I.ADE be.3s swim-PASS_PTCP
‘I have swum. (I have done my swimming).’
- c. *#Kohvri-l on nurga-s seis-tud.*
suitcase-ADE be.3s corner-INE stand-PASS_PTCP
‘The suitcase has stood in the corner.’
(Lindström and Trigel 2010: 383)

4.2. The presuppositional constraint of the Estonian have-perfect

I am now complementing the previous study by Lindström and Trigel (2010) with a pragmatic-semantic analysis of the affirmative perfect sentences in order to show what is special about the abessive negation.

The crucial difference between the be-perfect (4a) and the have-perfect (4a) concerns the meaning element of the foreseen, expected, or planned nature of the event. The swimming event is not necessarily planned in the sentence with the be-perfect (4a). However, there has to be a planned, foreseen, and expected swimming event in the sentence with the have-perfect (4b). Since this meaning element is retained after the negation test, as in (5b), it is qualified as a presupposition. Negation does not affect the meaning that the swimming was planned; it only targets the assertion that swimming was not done, as in (5a).

- (5) a. *Ma ei ole uju-nud.*
I[NOM] NEG be swim-ACT_PTCP
‘I have not swum.’
- b. *Mul ei ole uju-tud.*
I-ADE NEG be swim-PASS_PTCP
‘I have not swum.’

Having established the presuppositional condition of the possessive perfects, we can now also explain why inanimate adessive NPs are anomalous with the Estonian have-

perfects. The suitcase cannot plan, expect, or foresee its movements or positions in the corner, and the presupposition about a plan that belongs to the utterance with the construction is blocked.

4.3. The abessives with verbs instantiate the morphological negation of the Estonian have-perfect

What is the meaning of the abessive with verbs? In this section I wish to show that the m-formative non-finite abessive verbs instantiate the morphological negation of the Estonian have-perfect. I refer to the construction under question as the “abessive construction”, understood as the construction with an adessive argument, the finite verb ‘be’ and the abessive form of the *ma*-infinitive in Estonian, NP_{ADE}/NOM+be+VM_{ABESSIVE}.

In other words, sentence (6a) with the adessive topic indicates the lack of an event that has been planned, foreseen, or expected. It is the negation of the presuppositional *Mul on uju-tud*, as in (4b), and not that of *Ma olen uju-nud*, as in (4a). The abessive negation has two variants; the topic can be adessive, as in (6a), or nominative, as in (6b).

(6) a. *Mul on uju-mata.*
 I-ADE be.3S swim-M_ABE
 ‘I have not swum (as I planned to, yet).’

b. *Ma olen uju-mata.*
 I[NOM] be-1S swim-M_ABE
 ‘I have not swum. (I have not swum at all. Not: I am not swimming now.)’

There is an event structural difference between the two constructions, and the difference concerns the involvement in the event. Sentence (6a) with the adessive topic can also have an event structurally specific meaning that the subject is swimming now but has not finished yet. Differently from (6a), the sentence with the nominative topic cannot mean that the subject has swum already a little or that he is swimming at that time; the subject has not swum at all.

5. Abessive NPs

Having established the presuppositional nature of the abessive negation with verbs, one can give more detail to the meaning description of the abessive with the nouns as well. The methodology is as follows. The sentences in (7) are based on a corpus example with the abessive negation (7a), which is simplified as in (7b), and then contrasted with the standard negation. Example (7d) is manipulated in terms of explicating the presuppositions (blocking the presupposition of the possibility or expectation of snow in January) in order to test for the sensitive meaning elements. Testing the abessive constructions in contexts that block the projection of the presupposition about a normal or expected state of affairs by stating the opposite, the utterances containing abessive are not natural, as in (7d). This means that the utterance with the abessive negation has presuppositions about a standard, foreseen, possible, or expected state of affairs. The exact identity and variation of the meanings will be left for study elsewhere. The

message to take home is about the way to distinguish the abessive negation from other types of negation – negation in general is context-dependent, giving rise to implicatures and involving presuppositions.

- (7) a. *Jaanuarikuine New York oli lumeta ja kevadiselt karge.*
 January-time N.Y. was snow-ABE and spring-like
 fresh

‘There was no snow in the New York of January and the weather was fresh as if it were spring.’

- b. *Juulikuine New York oli lumeta.*
 July-time N.Y. was snow- ABE
 ‘There was no snow in the New York of July.’

- c. *Juulikuises New Yorgis ei olnud lund.*
 July-time in-N.Y. not be-ptcp snow.part
 ‘There was no snow in the New York of July.’

- d. *Jaanuarikuises Rios ei peagi lund sadama.*
 January_time-ine R.-ine not must snow.part fall-M_ILL

%Jaanuarikuine Rio oli lumeta.

January-time R. was snow- ABE

‘In the Rio of January, there should be no snow. There was no snow in the Rio of January.’

These preliminary tests suggest that the constructions contain a presupposition about an expected state of affairs in a given situation. The meaning of Estonian cross-categorical abessive constructions contains a presupposition about a plan, a standard or an expectation concerning a normal, foreseen, possible, or expected state of affairs.

6. Summary

The Uralic languages have a whole array of forms expressing negation: negative auxiliaries, affixes, verbs, and particles (cf. Miestamo 2005). It is relatively uncommon that a case expresses negation in languages. This phenomenon does not appear in the well-described Indo-European languages and is therefore little studied. Morphological negation as opposed to syntactic negation typically appears in the languages of Asia, Turkic, Tungusic languages. In that respect, the Uralic languages that do have inflectional morphology – case – expressing negation and that are relatively better described may provide a suitable testbed for exploring the finer semantics and pragmatics of other languages with similar phenomena.

The abessive negation, due to its nature as negation expressed by case in many Uralic languages, has several morphosyntactic constraints and semantic properties that make it an interesting object of study. The example of the phenomenon in this brief sketch was based on the Estonian abessive. The Estonian abessive, as many Uralic abessive-caritives, is an instance of cross-categorical case, which means that it appears

on nouns as well as verbs or non-finite verbs (see more on this phenomenon in Tamm 2011, and on the abessive-caritive that appears on bare verb stems in Udmurt, Tamm, this volume).

The abessive case expresses negation, and it is an instance of pragmatic case. It is part of a nonfinite verb form, and it attaches to nominal head. The tests suggest that the constructions contain a presupposition about an expected state of affairs in a given situation. The meaning of the Estonian cross-categorial abessive constructions contains a presupposition about a plan, a standard or an expectation concerning a normal state of affairs.

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**NEGATION ACROSS LINGUISTIC MODULES:
STRESS AND REFERENCE TO EVENTS**

1. Introduction⁷⁵

One could think of negation as if it were as simple as turning a “plus” sign into a “minus” by linguistic means, as in (1).

- (1) a. My name is Anne.
b. My name is not Anne.

In (1a), there are no specific markers to correlate with the “plus”. The accent on Anne indicates the new information, the focus. In sentence (1b), there is an extra “not” and an accent in the clause on Anne again to signal the “minus”. There are now two further questions. Firstly, is the “minus” simply a “minus”, or is it more complex in its meaning than the “plus” and, secondly, if the content of the “minus” is more complex than the “plus”, is this complexity uniformly reflected in the form as well?

Negation appears in sentences that are not neutral in discourse; negation requires context. I can start a conversation by saying “My name is Anne”. But if someone starts the conversation with “My name is not Anne”, then we can presume that she feels the need to clarify the situation about his identity in more elaborate ways. Typically, what is being negated is on the one hand linked to the previous information or conditions of the context (e.g., the fear that people might otherwise think that she is Anne, or that people would not learn her identity because of false information). On the other hand, it is relevant to create a contrast with the information in this context (stressing that Anne is not her name).

Since the contrasted negated material differs in structure and content, the ways of contrasting are different as well. Therefore, many languages have alternative ways of expressing negation, and it is especially common that different clause types (imperatives, non-verbal and existential clauses) are negated in ways different from standard negation. Uralic grammars also combine several forms of negation.

This paper does not concentrate on the behavior of the types of negation in different sentence types, and it is not directly about the variously expressed negative forms within one sentence. The goal is not to give an exhaustive description of an inventory of negation types, or any exactly measured phonetic description of negative formatives. I will present some aspects of the data of prosody, semantics and pragmatics of the Estonian negation that are theoretically puzzling. I will show how negative forms encode information at various levels of grammatical description, syntax, morphology, semantics, pragmatics, and prosody, but that there are some interesting mismatches and correlations.

⁷⁵Some ideas of connecting several modules in explaining negation was developed for grant number ETF7998 of the Estonian Science Foundation.

2. Accent, stress, and negation

Negation and accented constituents or stressed syllables tend to co-occur in languages. An examination of languages where many types of negation interact can tease apart the phenomena that are generally not well understood and that are in need of further research. For instance, the understanding of the relationships between negation, scope, focus, accent, and their relatedness to semantics, pragmatics, or syntax⁷⁶ is likely to be improved on the basis of the Uralic data. Consider the interplay of focus and negation in example (1) in Estonian.⁷⁷ The previously negated sentence would have two variants in Estonian. The fear that people might otherwise think that she is Anne is addressed in the way presented in (2a), with an unstressed negation particle *ei* (historically, a negation auxiliary) and a bare verb. What is negated is “I am Anne”. The situation that people would not learn her identity because of false information is solved in (2b), again with an unaccented negation particle and a bare verb, but with an additional negation particle *mitte* preceding Anne. What is negated is the exact identity “Anne”, and the sentence is typically prolonged with a clause providing the identity, with *but*. The particle *mitte* precedes the focus, and the particle *ei* precedes the verb.⁷⁸

- (2) a. *Ma ei ole Anne.*
 I[NOM] NEG be A[NOM]
 ‘I am not Anne.’
- b. *Ma ei ole mitte Anne, vaid...*
 I[NOM] NEG be NEG A[NOM] but
 ‘I am not Anne, (but ...).’

The particles in these sentences are not accented. We could conclude on the basis of this data set that in negation, accent is not assigned to the element carrying the negative meaning, but assigned to the first nominal in the scope of negation. This is the situation with syntactic negation. However, in case of the morphological negation, the element carrying the negative meaning is stressed, as in examples (3a) and (3b), with *mitte-* and *eba-*.

- (3) a. *Ma ole-n mittesuitsetaja.*
 I[NOM] be-1S NEG-smoker[NOM]
 ‘I am a non-smoker.’

⁷⁶See Dahl (1979), Payne (1985), Horn (1989), Dryer (2005), Miestamo (2005) for the background of these issues.

⁷⁷The glossing follows the Leipzig glossing rules <<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>>. Added abbreviations: ABE – abessive, M_ABE – *m*-formative abessive non-finite (see Tamm and Viks (2009) for more information on glossing in Estonian). Evaluations of ill-formedness try to classify the judgments by the following signs: * grammatically unacceptable, # semantically unacceptable, % pragmatically unacceptable, violates a Gricean maxim, ?? possible, but not found in native productive texts, ? odd use, rather context-dependent.

⁷⁸See Sang (1984), Paldre (1998), and Erelt et al. (1993) for more discussion on Estonian.

- b. *Ma ole-n ebatavaline.*
 I[NOM] be-1S NEG-usual[NOM]
 ‘I am not usual, I am unusual.’

3. Morphological negation expressed by suffixes

However, the data in (3) do not tell us if the negative *mitte-* and *eba-* are triggering the stress in the word or accent within the phrase because of negative content. In order to see the situation more clearly, suffixes could be checked.⁷⁹ The data in (4), which have suffixed negative morphemes, *-tu* and *-ta* (abessive) have stress on the first syllable as expected in Estonian words and not on the negative morphemes, *-tu* and *-ta*. The latter is referred to as the abessive or caritive negation, and can be compared to the English examples formed with the affixes *-less*, *un-*, or *without* as in *He is speechless/unprepared*, or *he did it without thinking* (see Tamm this volume, Tamm 2011).

- (4) a. *Kati on aru-tu.*
 K[NOM] be.3S reason-less
 ‘Katie is unreasonable.’
- b. *Kati on karu-ta.*
 K[NOM] be.3S teddybear-ABE
 ‘Katie is without her teddybear, Katie does not have her teddybear (any more).’

4. Morphological negation, adjectives, participles, and verbs

These morphemes *-tu* and *-ta*, which are attached to nouns in (4a), can be attached to verbal stems as well by means of combining a diachronically motivated nominalizer *m* with *-tu* and *-ta*, (*-matu* and *-mata*). We would expect them to behave as other morphological negation formatives, that is, to have stress on the first syllable of the word and not on the negative morphemes, *-tu* and *-ta*. This prediction is borne out with the variant with *-tu*, as in (5a), but not obligatorily with the variant with *-ta*, as in (5b). In (5b), there is variation. The (secondary) stress can be on the syllable /ma•/.

- (5) a. *Ma ole-n surematu/nähtamatu/võitmatu/ootamatu.*
 I[NOM] be-1S die/see.PASS/win/wait-NEG[NOM]
 ‘I have eternal life, I am invisible/invincible/unpredictable.’
- b. *Mari on uju-ma•ta.*
 M[NOM] be.3S swim-M_ABE
 ‘Mary has not swum.’

⁷⁹Uuspõld (1966), Tamm & Wagner-Nagy (2009), and especially Tamm (2009) and Wagner-Nagy & Tamm (2010) address the issue of the abessive and caritive negation and prosody in the Uralic languages and Estonian.

It must be emphasized at this point again that my article does not wish to contribute to the phonetic description of negation. I wish to point out the particular nature of the verbal abessive negation within the rule system linking the Estonian syntax, morphology, semantics, pragmatics and prosody.

5. The puzzle of the abessive negation and stress

What is the linguistic level or module that is responsible for the stress /ma/ in sentence (5b)? It cannot be accounted by the hypothesis that the first syllables have stress; /ma/ is not the first syllable. It cannot be accounted by the hypothesis that negative elements are unstressed, but something else in the environment must carry the stress, because the examples in (3) have stress on negative morphemes /'eba/ and /'mitte/. The logically following idea that the foot – or the complex morpheme – that contains negation is stressed would not work either, because of the examples in (5a), which do not have any stress on the foot or the morpheme. Therefore, we have to search further than phonology, morphology, and syntax.

Is there a categorical difference between (5a) and (5b)? The sentence in (5a) describes properties; the verbs that are affixed are deverbal adjectives as shown in (6a). They can be parts of NPs headed by a noun, and they agree with the noun in case and number; number agreement is demonstrated in (6b). The concrete events of dying, being seen, being won or waited for are not part of the meaning; they do not have concrete temporal reference in (6a) and (6b).

- (6) a. *Ma ole-n surematu/nähtamatu/võitmatu/ootamatu inimene.*
 I[NOM] be-1S die/see.PASS/win/wait-NEG[NOM] human[NOM]
 ‘I am someone with eternal life, I am an invisible/invincible/unpredictable person.’
- b. *Me ole-me sure-matu-d inimese-d.*
 we[NOM] be-1PL die-NEG-NOM.PL human-NOM.PL
 ‘We are people with eternal life.’

What is the situation with the verbs that are affixed with the *m*-nominalizer and the abessive? Are they deverbal adjectives? The answer is yes, but this category has different properties from the category described in (6). Sentence (6a) with the noun that is modified by the adjective has a parallel in (7a), but sentence (6b) with agreement does not have a parallel in sentence (7b) with the abessive. The sentences are odd and worse than in the series in (6), since it is not clear if the participles can denote a property of the noun in (7). Most importantly, these examples do not have the stress /ma/; adding it results in an unnaturally pronounced sentence.

- (7) a. *??Mari on uju-mata naiskonnaliige.*
 M[NOM] be.3S swim-M_ABE team.member[NOM]
 ‘Mary is the team member who has not swum.’

- b. ??*Nad on uju-mata naiskonnaliikme-d.*
 M[NOM] be.3PL swim-M_ABE team.member-NOM.PL
 ‘They are the team members who have not swum.’

6. Reference to events as a condition of stress

I test the relatedness with a concrete event with the addition of a temporal locator of the event *veel* ‘still, yet’. If the temporal locator is compatible with the phrase, then there is reference to the event in the construction. If the sentence is incompatible with *veel* ‘still, yet’, then there is no event (although we cannot say with certainty that the category in question is an adjective: cf., *I am not yet ready* – yet + adjective). Sentence (8a) shows that the addition of *veel* ‘still, yet’ to the sentence with the abessive improves the sentence considerably; therefore, in the construction with the abessive, there is an event that is referred to and the category is more verb-like. Sentence (8a) is in stark contrast with the sentence with the adjective-like *surematu* ‘with eternal life’ in (8b), because there is no event of dying that could be referred to.

- (8) a. ?*Mari on veel uju-mata naiskonnaliige.*
 M[NOM] be.3S yet swim-M_ABE team.member[NOM]
 ‘Mary is the team member who has not swum.’
- b. #*Me ole-me veel sure-matu-d... inimese-d.*
 we[NOM] be-1PL yet die-NEG-NOM.PL human-NOM.PL
 ‘We are people with eternal life.’

Sentence (9a) shows that the addition of *veel* ‘still, yet’ and the verb *surema* ‘die’ with the abessive is odd because of pragmatic reasons: it is odd to say that we have not died yet, and convey that our dying is also expected, foreseen, under our control, and simply not yet accomplished at that moment. Sentence (9a) displays the stress on /ma•/ despite the pragmatically odd effect. The most remarkable sentence follows in (9b), and it contains the abessive displaying the stress on /ma•/ and the felicity and compatibility with *veel* ‘still, yet’.

- (9) a. %*Me ole-me veel sure-marta.*
 we[NOM] be-1PL yet die-NEG-NOM
 ‘We are the people who have not died yet (contrary to the plans).’
- b. *Mari on veel uju-marta.*
 M[NOM] be.3S yet swim-M_ABE
 ‘Mary has not swum yet.’

7. Concluding remarks

Sentences in (9) show clearly that the clauses with the verbs with the abessive negation with *-mata* are discourse linked and pragmatics is part of the conditions that determine the occurrence with the morpheme with the specific verbs, but more importantly, these sentences are clearly referring to events.

What is the solution to the puzzle, what is the information that the stress then links with?

1) The answer involves morphology and phonology, because we have the stress on the foot at the beginning of the morpheme that corresponds to it.

2) This morpheme has conditions that are perhaps syntactic (category related) and certainly semantic in nature. The semantic condition is the obligatory relatedness to an event; depending on the grammar framework, the condition is either semantic or syntactic.

3) The pragmatic conditions are relevant in the analysis as well in order to explain the difference between the standard negation and abessive negation, which practically occupies the semantic space of the negation of the perfect of a sort.

This is a brief overview of a problem that requires advanced skills in several areas of linguistics in order to be done justice to: phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, discourse, pragmatics. In none of these areas, this presentation should be regarded as exhaustive. For instance, a phonetician and a phonologist should take a better look at the nature of the stress in the abessive verbs and label it properly. One could scrutinize the nature of the categories, and to try to figure out the relationship between semantics and syntax in the abessive constructions in more detail, and so on. However, tying these disciplines together is the relevant point of this paper. Hopefully I have shown how complex even the simplest-looking linguistic data are, exactly as the linguists working on particular languages for centuries have established. A good understanding of these data requires the cooperation of several specialists but crucially also theories that can handle the data that link to several linguistic modules from a more global point of view.

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**NEGATION OF PREDICATIVE POSSESSION
 IN SAMOYEDIC LANGUAGES**

The typology of possessive negation is a fairly uncharted field to date. Naturally, there have been some observations but there is no elaborated framework yet. It can be observed that, generally speaking, possessive structures do not have a dedicated negation element, but use an element that also appears in other sentence types. Often it is the morpheme used in standard negation, but almost as often the negation predicate of the existential sentences. Naturally, based on the languages in question it is impossible to set up a comprehensive typological classification. One of the reasons is that only seven languages were included in this study, and another that these languages are closely related. Nevertheless, a classification will be given that can be used as a starting point for further research. The aim of this paper is to examine the structures of negation of predicate possession by means of three main questions:

- 1) How many constructions for possession are used in total in the given language?
- 2) Does the negation of the possessive structures correspond with other negation sentence types and if so, which are they?
- 3) Are there several ways to negate possessive structures?

Two main groups can be established: In the languages of group: A) possession can only be expressed in one, in those of group B) in several ways. The following table demonstrates a preliminary categorization of some Uralic languages.

Type A one possessive construction		Type B more than one possessive construction		
one negative element	two negative elements			
A₁ one – one	A₂ one – two	A₃ one – two	B₁ two – two	B₂ two – two
	functions of neg. elements kept separate	functions penetrating into each other's	functions penetrating into each other's	functions of neg. elements kept separate
Finnish, Estonian	Kamas, Non-Northern Selkup	Hungarian, Taz-Selkup, Nenets, Enets	Mansi, Khanty	Nganasan

A short description of the groups and subgroups:

Type A

The languages of this group only use one way to express possession. This can be a transitive or an intransitive construction. Accordingly, negation can also only be expressed in one way, thus the standard negation element or another element, generally the negative existential predicate, is used. Depending on how many negative elements there are in the given language and how the negative elements correlate, further subgroups can be distinguished.

Type A₁: There is only one negative element, which is also used for the negation of possessive structures. (In this case, the imperative elements will not be taken into consideration, since they never correlate with other sentence types.) E.g. Finnish, Estonian.

(1) Finnish (p.k.)

<i>Laura-lla</i>	<i>ei</i>	<i>ol-e</i>	<i>kirja-a</i>
Laura-ADES	NEG.3SG	be-EP.CN	book-PART

‘Laura doesn’t have books.’

Type A₂: Two negative elements can be used: one for standard negation and one for possessive and existential negation. In this group, it is an important criterion that the standard negative element cannot be used for the negation of possessive structures of any tense category and that the existential negative element does not express standard negation. E.g. Kamas, Non-northern Selkup.

There are only very few Kamas examples for negative sentences, only two could be found, which unambiguously expresses possession. They are the following:

(2) Kamas (Joki 1944: 85, 96)

a. *üjü-t* *naga,* *uda-t* *naga,* *mäja-n*
foot-3SG_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG hand-3SG_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG mountain-LOC
selandə-ga
crawl-PRS.3SG

‘(S)He has no feet, he has no hands, (s)he is crawling on the mountain.’

b. *dizən* *am-zit-tən* *nago-bi*
they.GEN eat-INF-3PL_{PX} NEG.EX-PST.3SG

‘They did not have anything to eat.’

The possessive sentences can be negated with the negative existential verb (*nago-*). The verb has to agree with the possessum in number. The standard negation element (*ej*) does not appear in this paradigm.

Those Selkup dialects, which do not belong to the Northern group, show a different behaviour than the Northern dialects, since no negative existential verb is used for standard negation and, therefore, belong to this typological group. In the negative possessive construction, the negative existential verb has to be used, which takes in the sentence-final position and agrees with the possessed NP in number and person.

- (3) Southern Selkup, Ob Dialect (Bykonja 2005: 308a)

ma-nan tol'd'z'i-o-w t'angw-an
 I-LOC ski-EP-1SG_{PX} NEG.EX-3SG

'I do not have any skis.'

(The standard negative element in Non-northern-Selkup is *as*, *aa* etc.)

Type A₃: This group differs from group A₂ inasmuch as the existential negative verb or the standard negative element penetrates into the paradigm of the other element. Among others, Hungarian and Northern-Selkup belong to this group. In Hungarian for instance, the possessive structure has to be negated by the negative existential verb *nincs* 'there is not'. However, this verb's paradigm is incomplete and, therefore, the past tense forms can only be expressed with the standard negative element (*nem* 'no').

- (4) Hungarian (p.k.)

a. Péter-*nek* *nincs* *könyv-e*
 Peter-DAT NEG.EX.3SG book-3SG_{PX}

'Peter doesn't have books.'

b. Péter-*nek* *nem* *volt* *könyv-e*
 Peter-DAT NEG be.PST.3SG book-3SG_{PX}

'Peter didn't have any books.'

Standard Neg
 → Neg
 predicative
 possession

Taz-Selkup belongs also in this group. There are two possessive constructions in Northern Selkup: nominative possessive and locative possessive. The nominative construction can be negated by the negative existential verb (*čäänkiqo*). The sentence is constructed in the same way as the positive sentence. As mentioned above, in Northern Selkup the negative existential verb is also used in negative sentences in past tense, which means that this element infiltrated the standard negation. This phenomenon cannot be found among the Non-Northern dialects, and that is why the two dialectal groups have to be classified individually.

- (5) Taz-Selkup

a. *a* *imaqota* *qəəli-ti čäänka*
 but elderly.womanfish-3SG_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG

'But the elderly woman doesn't have any fishes.' (Kuznecova 1993: 8/1–2)

b. *man* *ašša* *ila-k*
 I NEG live-1SG

'I do not live.' (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 237)

c. *man* *ilī-ptä-mi* *čäänka*
 I live-NMNL-1SG_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG

'I did not live.' (Kuznecova et al. 1980: 237)

NEG.EX →
 Standard negation

In Nenets this sentence type can be negated with the negative existential verb, that has the form *janjos^j* or *junjos^j* in the Tundra dialect and *dakos^j* or *jiikuš* in Forest Nenets. The negative existential verb behaves syntactically exactly as its affirmative counterpart and can take on mood and tense markers. The verb itself has to agree with the possessed NP.

(6) Tundra Nenets

- a. *mañ tañana ñii-dmʔjil'e-ʔ*
I there NEG-1SG live-CN
'I do not live there.' (Almazova 1961: 183)
- b. *marinča xasawa ti-da junggu-wi-ʔ*
Marincha man reindeer-PL.3SG_{PX} NEG.EX-NAR-3PL
'Sir Marincha doesn't have any reindeers.'
(Labanauskas 2001: 106)
- c. *piða maa: wad'e-ta-w jangu*
(s)he say.3SGtell-PTPRS-1SG_{PX} NEG.EX.3SG
'(S)he says: I did not say anything.' (Tereshchenko 1965: 132)

NEG.EX → Standard

Type B1: In these languages, there are two different possessive structures. One is negated by the standard negative element, while the other by the existential negative verb. However, the existential verb can also be used as standard negative element. To this group belong for example Mansi and Khanty.

(7) Northern Mansi

- a. *aat'a-n taj saali at ooñsʲ-ə-s*
father-2PL_{PX} then reindeer NEG have-EP-PST.3SG
'Our father did not have any reindeer.' (Ivanova 2004: 60)
- b. *suup aat'im, neelum aat'im*
mouth NEG.EXtongue NEG.EX
'(S)he doesn't have a mouth or a tongue.' (Kannisto 1951: 246)
- c. *pil vaat-m-uu aat'im*
berry collect-PTPST-1PL_{PX} NEG.EX
'We did not collect any berries.' (Munkácsi 1893: 468/71)

Type B2: This group differs from group B₁ inasmuch as the two negative elements are completely separated, i.e. none of them penetrates the other's paradigm. Only Nganasan belongs to this group.

(8) Nganasan (ChND, collected in August 2008)

- a. *mənə ni hon-di-m*
I woman.ACC have-CO-1SG_{PX}
'I have a wife.'
- b. *mənə ni ñi-ndi-m hon-ə-ʔ*
I woman.ACC NEG-CO-3SG have-EP-CN
'I do not have a wife.'

Nganasan knows two ways for the negation of predicative possession with an existential verb (*təisʲa*): a verb with a complete paradigm (*d'angujsʲa*) and a particle-like negative existential predicate (*d'anʲku*). For the negation in the present tense, the existential predicate *d'anʲku* is mostly used. It can only agree with the subject in number. Inflected forms of the verb *d'angujsʲa* can also be used in the present tense but appear less frequently.

- c. *mənə ni-mə təi-ču*
 I woman-1SG_{PX} exist- Co.3SG
 ‘I have a wife.’
- d. *mənə ni-mə d’əŋku / d’əŋguj-ču*
 I woman-1SG_{PX} NEG.EX/ NEG.EX-Co.3SG
 ‘I do not have a wife.’

As we see, the verb occupies exactly the same position in the sentence as *d’əŋku*, i.e., the basic constituent order is Possessed NP V.

Other possibilities in Nganasan:

(9) Nganasan (KTT, collected in March 2008)

- a. *mənə d’əŋku kŋiga-mə / kobtuā-mə*
 I NEG.EXbook-1SG_{PX} daughter-1SG_{PX}
 ‘I do not have any books / daughters.’
- b. *mənə nuə-gali / kŋiga-kali i-ču-m* AT THE TIME
 I child-CAR book-CAR be- CO-1SG
 ‘I do not have any children / books.’ [I am without children / books.]
- c. *mənə d’əŋgu-m nuə-gali / kŋiga-kali* NOT AT ALL
 I NEG.EX-1SG child-CAR book-CAR
 ‘I do not have any children / books.’

Summing up, we can say that several constructions can be used in Nganasan. The most prevalent types are the nominative possessive and the habeo constructions. The type, where the possessor is expressed by a locational NP is very rare.

Abbreviation

ACC	accusative	NEG	negation
ADES	adessive	NMNL	nominalizer
CAR	caritive	O	objective conjugation
CN	connegative	PART	partitive
CO	coaffix	POM	possessum
DAT	dative	POR	possessor
DIM	diminutive suffix	PP	postposition
DU	dual	PRS	present
EP	epentehetic vowel	PT	participle
EX	existential verb	PST	past
GEN	genitive	PX	possessive suffix
LOC	locative	SG	singular
NAR	narrative		

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Symposium 30.

Madis Arukask: Vepsian language and culture in the 21st century / Язык и культура вепсов в 21-м веке

Madis Arukask
Tartu

THE ROLE OF FOREST IN THE VEPSIAN TRADITIONAL CULTURE IN THE 21TH CENTURY⁸⁰

From the modern perspective the traditional culture can be viewed as a construct the more significant peculiarities of which are temporal distance and characteristic stereotypes. It is thus possible to discuss the traditional as an unlikely construction, something that need have no valid link to the one-time reality (cf. Honko 1990, Ó Giolláin 2003, Anttonen 2005, others). Folklore genres that have displayed signs of changing or retreating over time are viewed as primary “evidence” of traditional culture. Among the more powerful motive forces for folklore studies, especially during the period of its birth, has been the recording and capturing of retreating cultural phenomena, leaving the more contemporary processes out of focus. At the same time, genre-systemic changes can also be explained by social circumstances, their change or transformation, around which the tradition merely adjusts itself.

Consequently, traditional culture might seem to be something of secondary nature, the values, practices, and representations of which need not constitute anything independent or original. Traditional culture would then be seen as existing “independently” only as a utopia or a fantasy, something poetical – and indeed that’s how, ever since Romanticism, it has come to be described. This is the filter that sometimes inevitably tends to intervene between the materials held in the folklore archives and the contemporary researcher studying them. But it also interferes with the modern researcher doing fieldwork, when s/he tries to find something “old” and “authentic” in a society that has already modernized.

My own fieldwork in the Onega and Middle Vepsian villages in the last 6–7 years, situated in contemporary Russia, have nevertheless offered a different experience of traditionality. This has been possible through informants whose world view is still prevailed by such features as: locality, orality, tenets of folk belief, isolation from the

⁸⁰This research was supported by the European Union through the European Regional Development Fund (Center of Excellence CECT) and by the Estonian Science Foundation (research grant no. 7385).

bigger centres, and archaic communality. The last one includes also the world of the dead. Were it possible to add into this list isolation from modern media society, the result would probably be a “perfectly ideal” picture of traditionality. Yet today, the members of this community are simultaneously also people inhabiting the contemporary information society who nevertheless have a natural understanding of things that an inhabitant of the Western culture is often unable to grasp in the same way, due to the rational world view and education. By this, I want to suggest that regardless of the proposals set out above about the secondary and constructed nature of the traditional, there is still reason to speak about a traditionality existing in reality in a more or less compact form; a traditionality that exists and can be experienced as a continuum even without the “help” of a modern perspective.

Here, I would like to add to the list of features peculiar to the traditional world view also the absence of symbolism in the modern sense. The last point characterizes particularly the type of attitude toward the features listed above – toward manifestations of folk belief, ancestors and, last but not least, space. The treatment of living folk religion in a symbolic or mystical key (instead of lifelike bricolage) can indeed be seen rather as a modern deficiency than a reality that actually exists or has existed.

Going on to discuss traditional space in the Vepsian village culture, I should begin with natural surroundings. Over the last four years, I have done fieldwork in a group of Vepsian villages connected by the River Oyat (Vingl/Vidl, Nemž, Järved, Kurba, Ladv) – situated in the Podporozhye district of Leningrad oblast. Although the river has undoubtedly played a major role in determining the location of these villages (waterway as a communication channel, cf. also Mullanen 1994: 122–124; 2005: 57–60), the forests and marshes lying between the groups of villages nowadays certainly have a far greater significance for the conception of space in folk religion. Certainly the role of the river has also been reduced by the improvement of highway connections over the last decades. At the same time, the people’s daily relations with the forest have not undergone a visible decline. It is true that at present, slash-and-burn agriculture is no longer practised in the forest. Still, many of the informants have taken part in asserting in their youth, and remember the relevant practical skills, as well as corresponding rituals.

The forest-related way of life (or forest as a way of life) is also topical because of the need for daily subsistence. Berries and mushrooms are picked in the forest, men go off to catch fish in lakes located deep in the forests or marshes – trips that require both time and knowledge of the roads and paths. Here, the forest is not a patch of bush or a park near the home but a damp thicket entangled with lush green growth in the summer that goes on for tens and tens of kilometres. My current informers have, as a rule, spent a large part of their youth in the forest – felling trees by hand, logging, and sending the logs off for rafting – a job that held an important place in the Soviet planning economy in the after war period.

In a way characteristically, this industrial past has not caused great changes in the people’s attitude toward the forest as a *locus* of animistic spiritualization. The forest has always been a place associated simultaneously with practical needs and notions of folk belief. Logging, sometimes on a rather monstrous scale, goes on in the Vepsian forests at present, too, carried out by Russian and Finnish companies which sometimes employ local labourers. But even that has not, in my view, caused fundamental change

in many people's consciousness of the old animistic practices nor, at the same time, injected into them any modern environmentalist ideas, although regret is felt for the destruction of the forest. One must admit that animistic traditional and modern ecological thinking are actually two genetically completely different things. Present-day Vepsian folk culture carries consistently on the attitude toward nature and the forest as an animated space that has probably characterized the inhabitants of the North Eurasian forest zone for thousands of years. The way of life of the Vepsians I have studied can thus still be seen as a traditionally and ecologically *stable and localized way of life*, wherein *the concept of nature is divided into elements – air, earth, fire and water being the most basic* (cf. Honko 1994: 68).

Nature and space are articulated, in the Vepsian folk culture, both by natural objects and animistic spirits who are still held in regard by people moving in the forest. This relationship is not fantastic, but real and devoid of mysticism, supported by diverse practices and oral genres of folklore.⁸¹ The Vepsian tradition is rich in tales of personal experience and in legends, although the narrating of the latter shows signs of retreating. The events experienced and described in them often go beyond the simple (and also widely spread) plot of getting lost in the forest, in which a person that has entered the forest at an inauspicious time or has been sent there with curses, loses his way by stumbling onto an evil track or the path of an evil one/ antagonist which leads him astray, so that only by making the appropriate charms (turning his clothes inside out, for example) is s/he able to find the way out of the forest that has now become malevolent (as a part of otherworld). Very often the protagonist of those stories is a seer (*tedai*) who, endangering his/her own life or health, at a crossroads enters into a ritual dialogue with the spirit of the forest in order to bring back alive the creature (either human being or animal) lost there (see also Salve 1995). I have personally met seers who have placed themselves into such situations in the interests of their communities. In the summer of 2009, I heard a story about a *tedai* who had come to terms with the spirit of the forest concerning the retrieval of a lost cow that had sunk into a bog, in which the domestic animal was brought out and handed over to the world of humans by a bear.

Thus we can model the forest as an ambivalent *locus* which, as a result of human behaviour (entering the forest in *matul* / under a curse, not *blahaslavas* / a blessing), arbitrary accident (stumbling onto an evil path), or apparently also the spitefulness of spirits, may turn into its own negative opposite. The main problem in the Karelian traditional culture, as Laura Stark has shown in her studies (2002, 2006), has been the maintaining the borders between human culture and the otherworld in its different forms (forest, realm of dead etc.). Something similar can be said also about the Vepsians relation to the forest. The forest is not just a landscape deriving from and constructed for human interests, but an animistic spatial and mental whole very rigidly associated with moral principles and beliefs and the anticipatory or compensatory practices arising from them.

Each Vepsian knows a simple spell intended to turn aside any kind of evil, which it is obligatory to utter upon entering the forest. Similar spells are also used for establishing a relationship with the house spirit upon moving house, and for pleading

⁸¹Karelian folk belief from similar aspects has been studied by several Finnish scholars (cf. Järvinen 2004, Tarkka 1994, 1998, many others).

for the favour of water spirits. Place, conceived as a situation, has thus prompted in humans a learned cultural behaviour which has become a carefully observed routine.

Side by side with the seers, herdsman also have a special role here, since over the summer period when the herds are at the mercy of the forest, they have been subjected to various taboos in order that the cattle may not be injured through attacks of wild beasts or getting lost. This taboo complex has been known by the word *ümbardus* (Russian *obhod*), and the herdsman has acquired it as a kind of art or temporary potency from the community's seer. That *ümbardus*, in some kind of material embodiment, has then been hidden by the herdsman into an anthill in the forest. Therefore, children in particular have been prohibited from disturbing anthills lest they endanger the compact concluded in the cooperation of the seer, the herdsman and the forest spirit, which the welfare of the whole community's joint herd depends on throughout the grazing season. In connection with the *ümbardus*, seemingly incredible stories have been told about herdsman whose herds were protected and kept safe by the forest with relatively minimal safeguarding from the herdsman's own part. The herdsman, however, has all through that period been prohibited from doing several things regarded as natural, in ordinary life: stealing, breaking branches in the forest, cropping his hair and beard, breaking birds' nests, killing snakes, fishing, touching anthills, passing through gaps in fences, eating in the forest, picking black berries, letting the scourge pass out of his own hands (cf. Mishurinskaya 2000: 58).

According to one report heard during the 2009 fieldwork, the herdsman was also prohibited from going to the church during that time. This summer I managed to interview one old man in village Ladv, the shepherd who made the *ümbardus* ritual last time in 1994. It seems that very possibly this kind of agreements between human society and the forest spirits are made even today when the herding period starts. Here are text examples from the summer of 2010:

Shepherd, see, cannot... goes to the forest, sees berries everywhere, (he) cannot pick berries. Our father took us with my younger sister to the forest, we went and picked blueberries and cloudberry. Our father could not pick berries. Father also was not allowed to cut trees at all. Nothing... While going just go. With whip, shepherd all the time keeps his whip close to him. The whip for him is as important as the charm. And when he takes this (---) obhod/ümbardus, he does not go, no other work makes. Nothing. Only herding. And..., his cattle could get endangered, bear comes or wolf takes or cow itself gets lost; and, see, earlier too, the milk of particular cow disappeared (?), this one was promised to the master of the forest by shepherd, for not to cause any harm, let him take milk, see, this way it was. But in general no other work was allowed to do. Touch something, make some work – make bad to yourself, later farm mistresses do not hire you.

– *What else was forbidden for shepherd?*

Yes, to drink vodka was not allowed, this way, to be drunk was not allowed, to quarrel was not allowed – what (kind of obhod/ümbardus) was taken. I do not know, was it allowed to have intercourse with a woman or not, maybe..., but in general he has all the places in summer..., as..., as I know the eunuchs live that way, nothing to do..., I do not make any other work, I am as the holy one, as, how to say, angels too, and that..., and I do not make any bad work. Nothing. For not to make bad it is better to make no (other) work. He did not chop wood, did not saw, did nothing. Maybe he

makes harm to some beast or kills mosquito or fly, I do not know..., what kind of agreement was taken by him, what kind of... words.

In addition to the forest as an ambivalent animistic whole, natural or seminatural sacred places, customarily located near outstanding natural features or ruptures in the continuity of landscape, require separate discussion. We are speaking here about peculiar objects, primarily stones, and occasionally it would seem that the Vepsian word *kivi* (stone) has shifted here to signify also such natural sacred places as need not contain a stone, in the common sense. As a rule, these sacred places are associated with Christian saints and calendar feasts, often unofficially, as far as the Church was concerned. Since a considerable part of the churches of Russia's rural areas have remained demolished ever since the 1920s and 1930s, Christianity has been peacefully surviving in its vernacular, "village" mode. I have met not very much Orthodox clerics at smaller, local feasts, where the services and rites are celebrated by the people themselves. Often the date of the feast does not coincide with any feast of the Church calendar, thus rather resembling a cumulative rite with a probably pre-Christian feast having over time taken on a Christian superstratum – blessing with an icon, some elements of the church ritual carried out on the people's own initiative, like a procession led by a cross, etc.

Similarly to the herdsman's *ümbärdüs* as a periodical contractual promise, common people also have a regulative and ordering phenomenon in their lives in the form of *zavet* – some promise/vow, primarily individual and made in a sacred place, that may be expressed either in an object or an act. In both cases, the activities are recognizable as practical magic which, in the case of the *zavet*, has come close to Christian high religiousness. Still, that kind of ritual relationship cannot be handled as Christian in the ordinary sense. Studying Karelian beliefs about forest Laura Stark has stressed that *Christianity was not a category used to classify or organize the relations between this world and the other side, but was rather an attribute to forge strategic and situation-specific equivalences between two spheres plotted as opposites* (2002: 128).

In conclusion it can be said that traditional culture, or at least features characteristic of it, can even nowadays be found, observed and treated as actual self-sufficient reality in Vepsian villages. Just like we can discuss the traditional via the modern, we can also discuss contemporary manifestations of culture as extensions of the traditional reaching out of the past, or as ruptures of the corresponding continuity. It is a question of knowing the folkloric matter and of a wish to choose the perspective according to one trend or the other. In addition to such features as locality, orality, communality and practicality, a configuration of the real and the unreal different from that peculiar to modernity – all marked and supported by corresponding practices and genres reflecting folk religion – is also characteristic of the traditional culture.

The space of traditional culture is born in the cooperation of natural conditions and notions of folk religion. In the Vepsian folk culture, an important part thereby is played by nature spirits (but also kinship relations, including those with the dead) which determine people's behaviour and attitudes. For centuries, Christianity has shaped the norms of behaviour and social coherence here, particularly in collective acts, but it has also had an impact on individual crisis behaviour and the ideological border lines between culture and wilderness. At the same time it is clear that a large part of human cultural duties and obligations, known and practised in detail, is still related to the forest environment. In addition to the practices and principal tenets employed, an

important role is played here also by current folklore genres, the function of which is to preserve and recreate, in their diversity, actual cultural unity. Genres help to take one's bearings in the cultural space on a daily basis, while their internal spatial structures represent diverse dimensions, supporting thus the diversity of genres.

As a result of the reciprocal reflections from the real space of activity to folklore and vice versa, the vitality of the traditional features of modern Vepsian folk culture is still impressive. In potential, traditionality exists as long as space and tradition are mutually connected in human activity. Upon isolation of the one from the other, this continuity is broken and the repertoire of meanings, explanations and conclusions may transform beyond recognition even if the physical environment is preserved.

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**VISITING HOLY SITES AND TELLING ABOUT THEM
BY THE VEPSIANS OF OJAT-RIVER⁸²**

This article tries to outline the mental-religious map of the Vepsians living at the central course of the Ojat' river basin in Leningrad oblast, Russia. It is merely based on materials of folkloristic fieldworks made in 2008–2009 and contains materials from the villages Vidl, Nemž, Järved, Kapšjarv, Rihaluiń (also: Rihakoiń or Rihakoisi), Sarjarv, Šondal, Vilhal in Podporozh'e region. Some secondary data comes from Mägär'v in Podporozh'e region, Rebag', Noidal in Boksitogorsk region and Vārasjarv in Oshta region of Vologda oblast.

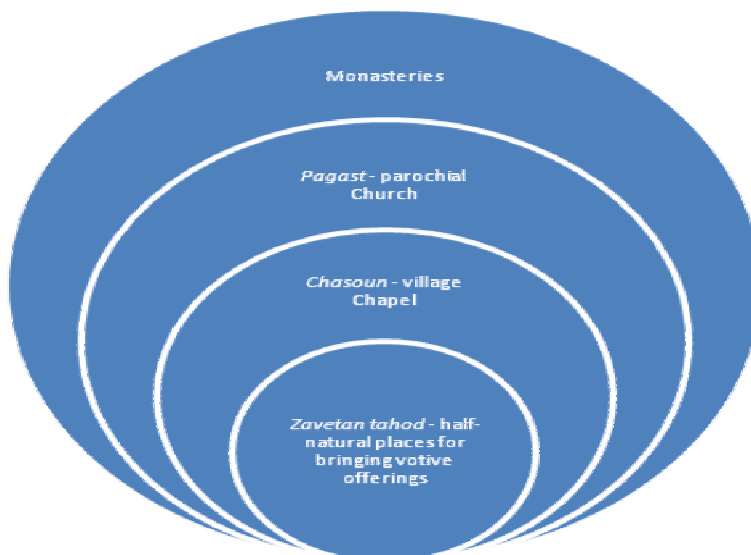
Two dimensions of mental-religious space

In the Northern areas where the Parochial Churches and clerical authorities are mostly far away, the religious practices have had strong local features of “village Orthodoxy” which can be outlined also as the form of “imagistic” religiosity (e.g. Whitehouse 2002: 133–152). Important role here played the web of holy places called *zavetan tahod*, sometimes purely natural places for votive offerings (sing. nom. *zavet*; also *toivotuz*; infinit. *zavetoida*, sing. 1st p.: *zavetoičen*; also *toivotada*). This mental-religious topography can be schematized in concentric circles, the central one of which would denote holy places familiar to the family circle (see, Scheme). When moving from the centre outwards, the next one would denote the circle of the village chapels, then would come the *pagast*'s, i.e. parish churches and finally the sphere of monasteries in the vicinity or further away, which certainly were familiar to the Central Ojat' Vepsians through their pilgrimages thereto. For example, Alevtina Shustrigina, a former Vepsian teacher (b. 1944) told us in 2009 in Vilhal that her grandfather used to join the train of sleighs that gathered at the *S'ima* Chapel-site in winter-time to travel Murmansk. Some of those who joined the train continued their pilgrimage to the Solovetsky Islands, one of the most important monasteries of the Russian North. A most representative assortment of quite expensive icons in the present day home altars is a proof of the itinerancies and pilgrimages. The very name of the chapel comes from the name *Zosima*, one of the founder-monks of the monastery in Solovetsky islands. Thus also Central Vepsians, often considered lived in margins, were integrated into the larger web of Northern economy and holy places.

According to the stories told by Alevtina as well as numerous others, the local chapels and chapel-sites were often simply called „stones“. According to Vladimir Dal's Vocabulary the Russian word *kamen'* (stone) denotes any important building in the dialects of Northern Russia. Evgenij Platonov (2007) mentions instead that local chapels have been considered subordinated substitutes to the bigger parish churches. When used for a local chapel where just the most important sacraments can be done the word „stone“ it refers as a kind of metonymy to a parish church or *pagast* (in Mägär'v,

⁸²This research was supported by the Estonian Science Foundation (research grant no. 7385).

T´erl and Vidl) where are done all the sacraments. The several places in the parochial village environment were connected to calendar holidays and those referring different religious narratives of local character. Calendar holidays connected to orthodox Christian saints celebrated all over Russia were called *prestol´nye prazdniki* (Veps. *stolan praznikad*). Part of the celebration was *proguljanie* that included reciprocal hosting. To the clearly different way of rituality was connected to so-called *zavetnye prazdniki*, which also had a touch of local contexts. If the first ones were abstract and bound to official church calendar, the latter were connected to some specific local story from the bygone days. For example, the Rihakoisi chapel-site, Čassovenski and Grišakov ag´ votive places in Järved have been the kind of local sites – *zavetan tahod* – visited mostly by inhabitants of certain villages having personal wishes on mind in the past. The same features of religiousness characterize the whole region. Evgenij Platonov brings an example where nobody in a village used to work on the day two old women were struck by lightning while working on a field many decades ago. Everybody used to bring a votive offering or a *zavet* to a certain place on that day. In another village people used to pay a visit to the chapel the day the village had burnt down once upon the time. A general opinion was that not celebrating such days would bring back the sickness, epidemic or disaster of bygone days. Similarly to other holidays, working was banned. Platonov also demonstrates that quite some of the local *zavetnyi* holidays connected to wishful praying have gradually turned into *prestol´nyi* holidays celebrated similarly all over Russia, the original reason for celebrating them buried in oblivion. He also mentions that customizing the specific traditions of the local *zavetnyi prazdnik*’s to fit the orthodox culture and make them acceptable to the state church has been carried out all over the Novgorod District since the 16th and 17th centuries already.



Zavetan tahod (places for votive offerings) as chapel-sites or purely natural surroundings

Thus, *chasoun's* and the former *chasoun*-sites are connected to narratives telling the stories of events that finally led to building a chapel. For example, it was told that the *Modenskaja* chapel and icon of Rihaluiń were set up when the animal disease devastated this village and it was said to have died out only after consecrating the icon of Our Lady of Modena (*Modenskaja* or *Kosinskaja*) and beseeching it. When available saints were not sufficient enough to beat the pest or some other disaster, it would be quite logical to ask a more unique saint to interfere. The origin of Our Lady of Modena cult becomes nearby from Staraja Russa in Central Russia. Our Lady of Modena is used to heal children and cure limbs. Therefore children's plaids have been mostly brought to Rihaluiń for *zavet* each year on July the 3rd. But it was also common to bring sheets of cotton, an icon scarf and throw coins. Inhabitants of the village had selected someone to take care for the chapel, and finally it was *Annoi-babaiń* (Annoi-granny). One of our informants from Kurba village, Galina Egorova (b. 1939 in Rebag) told:

We used to go to a Chapel of Modenskaja in Rihakoiń on the 3rd of July. Modenskaja – it is a kind of feast. It was an awfully nice shore (of the lake) there! We arrived and one of us gave the offering. I am ill, for example – all right – I will be healthy again! There used to be gifts brought to her (Our Lady of Modena) – some (votive) towels, pieces of cotton fabric, whatever... You would bring a gift to a Saint. Those votive feasts (*zavetnye*) are like that – if something hurts somebody: “I'll go to the Modenskaja”. Everybody believed in those things in olden days... /---/ So we would go to a Modenskaja – the chapel was filled with children's shirts already! Women brought everything there! Annoi-granny guarded the chapel. We dropped the coins and she gathered all the money to bring the new candles there. – The whole chapel was robbed thereafter (by the robbers)...

We ourselves have documented a *Čassovenski praznik* celebrated on a Sunday following St. Peter's Day at the Lake Vougedjärv (Russ. Beloozero) in 2009. Lake water was sprinkled on the icon of *Bogomater' Vseh Skorbjashhih Radost'* (The Joy of All Sufferers) and people bathed in the lake thereafter. As we can see, these times the feast was seen as *zavetnyi*, but nowadays it seems to be more *prestol'nyi*. Zinaida (Zina) Levkina (b. 1927 in Sarjarv), one of our most important informants participating in the *Čassovenski* feast each and every year, told:

Some butter, sheep's wool and heddles were brought to Čassovenski feast site. And the towels were also given at those sites. The kind of (emanation) Our Lady is there! Thus we just went there, prayed, crossed ourselves made crosses and washed the icon (*Vseh Skorbyaschihh Radost'*). /---/ Last year, too, we were there, five of us, and put some ten candles there.

Zinaida comes from Sarjarv which locates some twenty five kilometres from the place of *Čassovenski* feast. But she is quite well informed about the different character of the place in the past. Instead one of our informants, Galina Ivacheva (b. 1939), told that when she was a child and fell ill, she was taken to *Čassovenski* by her granny. A couple of decades later she, in turn, took also her daughter who has felt ill to *Čassovenski* site to make (or bring) the individual giving of *zavet* and intimately pray for her health. The place is yet *zavetnyi* for Galina. Thus, it has turned to celebrate as *prestol'nyi* just generation ago. Galina wanted to hear nothing about nowadays practice where the crowd do not concentrate on the Word of God, but come there to chat instead. It is merely a social, secularized event in her opinion. Although the very icon

of the *Čassovenski* feast is kept at Galina's very home, she never participates in the feast. The icon is here in safe hands because the fact that her daughter works in police-station. Thus, it is not due to her deep or weak religiousness. As a rule, people here use not consider themselves as "true Christians" too frequently. Mostly they confess, for example: „I am not a proper Christian. I am a siple human being. Do not believe very strongly.“ But after a while appears a deep personal relation to the different aspects of holiness.

Such a *zavetnoid tahod* were considered as holy places, if there was a spring and a tree (for example the huge pine on the top of hill in Rihakoiñ); a spring and a stone; or a cave and a brook; and other possible combinations of the mentioned phenomena present. Even nowadays the so-called *zavetan tahod* are found by the side of former roads, especially by the brooks; also at lakes or on lake islets and sometimes also on crossroads. So, the holy as cultural category appears always on the borderlands of culture and nature, in other words – visible signs of nature referring to the invisible of divine. The concepts of health and wholeness are also connected with natural anomalies or divine apparitions using those natural complexes mentioned above. These places were called also as liminal. Veikko Anttonen writes:

“The ritual explicates, how the boundaries, which are important for the categorization of social values, are not only abstractions, but a part of the physical body of every single member of the given culture. Therefore, the religious symbolic action grows up from the mentioning of boundaries connected with purity, wholeness and legitimacy of social categories.” And further: “Both human body and territory giving the basic cognitive structures to the religious metaphorical language makes the main directories for social and personal behavior” (Anttonen 1996: 92, 94).

As we can see from the material met among Vepsians by Ojat these places locate by the roadsides between village groups where a footbridge crossed a brook (Veps. *purdeg*) or a spring (also *purdeg*) is found. One of the most dominant conditions appearing holiness has been live spring water also wider in Northern Orthodoxy (known as *vodobeg* in Novgorodian District). The most popular saints at spring-sites have been different emanations of Our Lady, but also *Mikola Milostlivyi* (St. Nikolaus) – known as the patron of pilgrims and wayfarers all over the Northern Russia.

Half-natural or even completely natural holy places, where there was an icon either with or without an icon cupboard attached mostly to a tree, which was usually a spruce, form a separate group. According to many informants plenty of icons were found by the sides of forest paths, for example in Šondselga, where people went on *Voznesenie* or the Elevation of the Cross, which is celebrated on September 27th. Also in Vārasjarv and in the region of Kapšjarv and Rebag´ there were places „without a chapel and a cross“, that people visited also on certain holidays. For example, such a place is situated in the Grišakov Ag´ (Corner of the Grishakov clan) of Järved village group by the road from Vidl to Ladv where some people still gather to revere *Kazanskaja Bogomater'* (Our Lady of Kazan) on July 21st. Commemorative candles are lit, icons are taken to the stream to be washed in its clear and holy waters is taken back home. Most of the places of a so-called exceptional topography or natural phenomena were connected to some saints: in Mägär´v to *Makkove* (St. Makkabeus, Russ. *Makavei*) in 14th of August; in Nemža Ag´-village-corner to *Frol* and *Lavr* (St. Florus and St. Laurus) in 18th of August; on the roadside to Kapšjarv to *Mikola Milostlivyi* etc. In N´urgoil at lake Kapšjarv people went to such wholly natural holy places on the

Transfiguration of Our Lord (19th of August), while at Lake Jerlajärv on the *Il'lanpei* feast (feast of St. Elias, August the 2nd). On the first site there was a huge pink stone lying in the coastal waters where coins were thrown; on the second site coins were simply thrown into the clear waters of the brook. Tatiana Nikolaeva (b. 1935) from Rebag´ told us about the worshipped stone and live water-stream:

There was a great flat roundish votive (*zavetnyi*) stone in Jerlajärv. We dropped coins around this every St. Elias' Day. The crowd gathered by the stone and bathed. Some of us give the offerings by dropping the money. Thereafter some tea was drunk. /---/ Then all the people go around in the village, feasting. There was no cross or anything! Just a stone. In Njurgoil there was only a stream at the feast of Transfiguration of Our Lord (*Spas*). And we dropped our offerings directly in the stream. There was no chapel, only this shallow votive (*zavetnyi*) stream...

Especially important are huge trees which sometimes played the role of the very chapel. One of our informants, Tatiana Egorova (b. 1928, Rebag´), told for example that on the road between Noidal and Rebag´ there was a giant spruce where an icon of *Mikola Milostlivyi* was tied. This was also a place where votive offerings or *zavet's* were taken, such as crumbled bread, goats, wool, yarn, butter, wax, cloth or votive towels (so-called *zavetnoid palatentsad*). Apart from that candles were lit, prayers recited, there was kneeled and begged like on an ecclesiastical liturgy. Icons could have been also temporarily brought to stones, brooks and springs. A prohibition to take anything away there from indicates also the holiness of a place. It was allowed for beggars, to other people a severe punishment followed.

The people (*ristituizhed* – Christians) came to pray near this huge spruce. They took some bread, broke it, and tasted a bit of bread. And left the rest... The better crumbles and groats of wheat were left to the birds. No towels, no coins were put. But thereafter they put the coins, towels in the parochial church – gave the votive offerings (*zavetoiñe dara*). /---/ The beggars are allowed to take these offerings but others may not!

All these cases should be classified as the rites in the exterior space, principally seen as non-Christian *versus* Christian inner-space worship which contains highly symbolic meaning. These two do not exist in contradiction in mind of elderly generation, at all. In other words, the natural and supernatural are criss-crossing here easily.

Table 1. *Stolan praznikad* and *zavetnoid praznikad* during the summer-period by the Vepsians in Ojat water basin:

At the roadside to <i>Kapšjärv</i> and from <i>Rebag´</i> to <i>Noidal</i>	May, 9 th	<i>Mikola Milostlivyi</i> (St. Nikolaus)
<i>Vougedjärv</i>	Sunday following St. Peter's Day, June, 9 th	<i>Čassovenski / Vseh Skorbjashhih Radost´</i> (The Joy of All Sufferers)
<i>Rihaluin´</i>	July, 3 rd	<i>Modenskaja / Kosinskaja</i> (Our Lady of Modena / <i>Kossinskaya</i>)
<i>Ladv</i>	July, 10 th	<i>Samson</i> (St. Samson)
<i>Ladv</i>	July, 21 st	<i>Kazanskaja Bogomater´</i> (Our Lady of Kazan)
<i>Sarjarv</i>	Friday before St. Elia's Day, August the 2 nd	<i>Paraskeva Pjatnica</i> (Paraskevi of Iconium)
<i>Jerlajärv</i>	August, 2 nd	<i>Il´lanpei</i> (St. Elia)
<i>Nemž Mägär´v Korvoil</i>	August, 14 th	<i>Makkove</i> (St. Makkabeus)
<i>Nemž</i> , corner of <i>Ag´</i>	August, 18 th	<i>Frol i Lavr</i> (St. Florus and St. Laurus)
<i>N´urgoil</i>	August, 19 th	<i>Spas</i> (Transfiguration of Our Lord)
<i>Šondselg</i>	September, 27 th	<i>Vozneseñe</i> (The Elevation of the Cross)

Personal bringing of *zavet* and prayer at Ristkivi-site in July, 2008

Our research team was present when an elderly woman was bringing a *zavet* driven by deep distress about the health of her close relatives at a natural holy place in July 2008. Svetlana (Sveta) Rohmanova (b. 1935) made this five km long quite difficult trip to bring relief to her severely ill grandchild with two other women of younger generation from the same village. In addition to a material offering, „taking“ a *zavet* also means making vows and keeping „promise“. It is important to return to the site and thus reassure you have kept the promise. Accordingly, a *zavet* can be considered a dedication in your mind – a kind of duty or other self-sacrifice. It can sometimes also be connected to some work or a pilgrimage. It is quite the same pursue when pilgrims donate to a monastery or offer free labour in order to have sins redeemed or sickness cured.

Having stepped over the imaginary border of the *zavetan taho*, Sveta started to make prostrations (*zemnyi poklon*), each time touching the stone with her forehead for three times. After each prostration she made the sign of the cross. The tension that had gradually grown during her journey was clearly visible in the intensity of her movements and burst out in contact with the „holy“. Then Sveta started to „measure“ the stone with her lap, as if hugging it from each side.

After that Sveta placed her votive offering, i.e. *zavet* – terry towels in this case – onto the „stone altar“, where a clear sign of an orthodox crucifix formed of three welts of natural origin could be seen. Placing the two towels of different colour to the altar Sveta intensively thought about her grandson in wheelchair and also her sick son in law. This evokes strong emotions. Sveta bursts into tears, but calms down pretty soon. Between Sveta’s mind, her bodily action and the stone seems to be made a strong connection. It also comes out later that Sveta regards this stone a creation of somebody, possibly a God or a saint. Also a spring used to be under this stone but this was dry at least in August 2008. The slash and burn fields of the village had also been here before the war, so, situated in the borderland of three village groups, this worship site did not use to be in the wildest periphery.

Then Sveta took from her wallet a handful of coins which were meant for offering. The youngest of the ladies recited *paternoster*. After that candles were lit. Everybody had calmed down by then and people started to chat with relief. This could be summarized as a pretty ordinary three-phase “liminal rite”. The contact was made with the „holy“ in its first part and working off rather intense emotions and returning to the prosy sphere took place in next two ones. Putting towels on the stone could be seen also as a kind of adaptation. While red-lettered icon scarves were hung to a special roost in *chasoun*’s, then terry towels replaced them here. Ristkivi (“cross-stone”) functioned as a holy *ambon* (altar) in the same time. Also the candles, so common in an orthodox liturgy, were lit on. After that relevant prayers were read. Actually we were in a sanctuary in the middle of deep forest and no act of liturgy was different of those common in ecclesiastical orthodox worship by its very structure. On our way back we had some meal by the Kivoja (“stone-brook”), where also offerings to the local forest spirits were left – as far as the forest is the most dominant element in this region.

All the women in Nemž told us that the tradition was completely broken, even the road to the stone choked with weeds and was forgotten for decades. Only a few elderly people knew where to find the stone. Younger generation admits also that they do not consider themselves very religious. Only the last decade in some extend has brought religious values back. Nevertheless, there have to remain someone who despite fading traditions could re-call from her childhood memories the „main scheme“ of ritual practice so that some 25-minute dense worship could took place at the stone. Presumably Sveta acted as her mother or granny who had brought her here to worship in her childhood. Sveta was the only one of this company who had been here before the war. And also the only one who had participated in orthodox worship of those days. Klavdiya (Klava) Nikonova, the woman next by age, had also accompanied her mother bringing a *zavet*, but this happened already in the 1950-ies. She is a quite non-religious person as she said. So, two of women seemed to lack a script for ritual behaviour. A decade of Stalinist terror and the war had broken the tradition. Everything religious was strictly outlawed in the 1930-ies already but a total control was managed only by the 1950-ies. People were exhausted by that time. The natives from the one corner of the Nemž village had been replaced by prisoners in the 1930-ies and they deceased in crowds. Their dead bodies were buried in the forest by the roadside every night. In addition to the wartime famine (when all resources were sent to the front) starvation continued after the war (when crops were directed to feed Leningrad). In addition the whole crops badly failed in 1946. No wonder the most part of the people had no spirit to go to the chapel nor vigour to make a journey to the Ristkivi in such circumstances.

Revitalized traditions or newly invented commonality?

Are the collective worship rites of our days a reproduction or an invention of a newer, recently invented „tradition“? This kind of practices, seems to me, are rarely instructed only by some elderly woman. Due to insufficient transmission-process and influences from summer-guests or new inhabitants it is even more common to see processions similar to those found anywhere in Russia. The local flavour has been lost ... Also Platonov (2007) writes, that the *prazdnik*'s on the sites of chapels and prayers in chapels have often been „revitalized“ by *dachnik*'s as town-dwellers and seldom by the local people themselves. The locals were said not to care so much about praying **inside** the chapels, because they consider it the business of clergymen who “know the prayers better anyway”. The locals have used to visit chapel-sites only with their „minor wishes“ or *zavet*'s in olden days, to avoid the return of some pest or to get a relief to their everyday troubles.

But, to what extent are the communal or individual rituals a continuation of an old tradition? Or is the tradition wholly re-invented? After interviewing the villagers briefly we can make a conclusion that it is rather typical to this region that a more sustainable tradition is carried on by Vepsian women who have immigrated from Vepsian habitats from the regions of Vologda oblast after their villages „shut down“ during 1950-ies–60-ies. They were said to be active in carrying out memorial rites also in the former *Makkove* chapel site in Nemž. Zinaida Levkina for example took us to the former *Makkove* chapel-site on the river-bend of Nemž, where they bless the icon and set candles together with a couple of vigorous old woman from Väräsjärv every single year. In olden days *Makkove* has been celebrated also in Mägär´v and Korvoil as well as Nemž as an important feast for bigger cattle. But the worship by far-away Ristkivi was not newly invented because of distance of the site and individual character of rite. What we were lucky to observe presented the “structure in conjuncture” or as it is put by anthropologist Marshall Sahlins (2000: 158): “Culture works as a synthesis of stability and change, past and present, diachronic and synchronic dimensions“.

Another example about the dynamics in creating a meaning to an old cult is the cave altar and the genesis of the new chapel next to it in the vicinity of Vilhal by brook Čoroja. Originally a hollow has been grooved into the sandstone for a kind of altar and that's how a peculiar „cave altar“ has been formed. (We, of course, cannot exclude the possibility that the cliff has also been modified by a human hand.) Alevtina Shustrigina, a Vepsian teacher, told that the cult of the sandstone outcrop, quite exceptional in this region, captured the minds in community especially during the times of troubles, finally after the World War 2nd. It has told that the cliff started to change its shape without any human interference. First it took the shape of a soldier, then the Saviour and finally that of Our Lady with Baby Jesus.

The place has gradually enlivened after *perestroika* and become quite popular since about five years. But the visitors nowadays, however, tend to have purely touristic or even a new-age orientation. The brand-new chapel next to it has been built as late as in 2005 by a man whose drunkard father used to go and pick the donation money to buy hangover cure himself. His son tried to recoup this recompensing his father's sin. So, the outcrop of a place might be a former natural worship site known already throughout ages. It has been temporarily forgotten, to become actual again and again through

different crises, meaning-giving contexts and storytelling. All cases recently described show that the motivations to visit holy places are continuously variable and in constant dynamic throughout the time. And this variability enables hopefully also the future existence of local religious practices.

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VEPSIAN RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPE IN THE POST-SOVIET PERIOD⁸³

From the second half of the 1980s, people of the former Soviet Union and other countries of the so-called socialist camp experienced great changes in politics and economy as well as in other spheres of life, including religion, in a short time. Definitely, the changes in the religious outlook and practice manifested themselves differently in different peoples, for example by revitalization of ethnic beliefs, revival of earlier traditional religious organizations, or emergence of totally new religious movements. This also applies to Finno-Ugric peoples in different ways. It is obvious that the situation of Eastern Mari and Udmurts who had not even formally been Christians was radically different from peoples with old Christian traditions. For the latter, an essential aspect was their confessional affiliation. For example, the Ingrian Finns had a strong Lutheran identity which was related to their ethnic identity. Namely this differentiated them clearly from their neighbours and close linguistic relatives – Votians and Izhorians – who were Orthodox. The Vepsians have also been an Orthodox people from the very distant past. Contacts with Christianity happened as early as at the turn of the second millennium. The Vepsians were baptised simultaneously with other tribes that laid the foundation to the Russian state – thus, earlier than other Baltic-Finnic peoples, not to mention the more distant Finno-Ugric peoples. For example, the Mordvinian peoples were converted to Christianity as late as in the 15th–16th centuries, already by a strong state and a strong church. A number of monasteries were established in the vicinity of the Vepsian territory. These became essential not only for the Vepsians but also for whole Russia. According to historical sources, even the founder of Svirsky monastery, one of the most important monasteries in Northern Russia, Alexander Svirsky was of Vepsian origin. The longevity of the Christian tradition is proved by the fact that the Vepsians have essential Christian terms (like God, Sunday, fast, godmother and -father, baptise, etc.) in their mother tongue. An interesting case is the Vepsian word for Easter, *äipäi*. Nowadays its first component means 'many', but obviously in this context its meaning is 'great', like in the Russian archaic term 'velikden' and the Latvian 'lieldiena', both of which mean 'great day'.

Definitely, the religious standards of the Vepsians differed from what the church considered ideal. In many cases we might speak about manifestations of syncretism – although people believed in God, they did not cease to believe in nature spirits. Still, spirits and other religious beings were seen as being created by God and subordinated to him. Although during the centuries of Christianity, nature spirits had become somewhat demonized, it was still appropriate to turn to them in prayer along with God, St Mary, St Nicholas the Wonderworker and other saints. An essential role belonged (and still belongs) to dead ancestors (*roditels*) who were also turned to for help. Although the roots of their cult may be pre-Christian, the Orthodox Church also

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considered them essential, and in this respect popular imagination fit with religious ideas particularly well. One might say that Vepsians' and Russians' beliefs concerning the *roditels* were particularly similar. Incidentally, when assessing Vepsians' syncretist Christianity, one should consider that the Orthodox Church used Old Church Slavonic, which was hardly understandable for Vepsians whose command of even modern Russian was insufficient or nonexistent at the beginning of the last century. The teachings of the church reached the people mostly in an oral and mediated form, and they were processed and placed into the living system of oral heritage.

In any case, the complaints by church leaders of the past about Vepsians' indifference to religion and their superstitions should not be overestimated. Perhaps such attitudes tended to be amplified as Vepsians were non-Russians. As little attention should be paid to people's opposition to religion and the church, which was particularly emphasized by Soviet authors. To prove this, they gave examples of misconduct of clerics, especially drunkenness. People's withdrawal from the church because of school education and also because of clerics' unworthy behaviour was described, for example, by the first writer of Vepsian descent, Makaryev, in his ethnological overview *Vepsians (Vepsy)*. The book was also published in Finnish (1931) in the Soviet Union. Naturally, it is naive to contrast religion and science, but namely this was done, and one should admit that it had some impact. Still, it is certain that the brutal destruction of the functioning church did not destroy religion but caused traumatic experiences even in those who participated in hostilities to the church. Later they have often regretted what they had done in their youth.

A recurrent question I have been asked about Estonia is, "Do you have churches?" People were missing them. My affirmative answer was received approvingly but with self-pity, "You see... But here..."

The new attitude to religion and churches that came with perestroika was met with relief and satisfaction. People's general mentality was well expressed in Nikolai Abramov's poem "Lekam ristad" ("Let's raise the crosses", Abramov 1994: 28). The poet asks whether people's life improved because churches were closed down, and his answer is negative. Still, the hope expressed in the final verses that the crosses of shrines should show the people the right way has not come true – in none of the central Vepsian villages churches have been restored, neither does the village life show any progress in any other respect.

Although the Russian Orthodox Church is visible at its highest level now, it is still very far from restoring its former activities in congregations. In Vepsian villages, too, former churches, if not completely destroyed, still accommodate clubs or shops. It is obvious that the villages with a decreasing and ageing population cannot be a priority for church leaders compared to new towns founded in the Soviet period. For example, a church has been built in Central Vepsians' district centre, Podporozhye.

In villages, however, there is even a certain regression, as an increasing number of people who used to be religious leaders of their communities have deceased. Thanks to them, even after two generations of hostility to church it was possible to arrange prayer meetings. They baptised children and took care that the dead were buried in the Orthodox tradition with the right funerary equipment. At several places organized building of makeshift chapels instead of the destroyed ones and kept up contacts with the church located somewhere far, taking contributions there and bringing back church candles and other necessities. Naturally, it was impossible to preserve the whole rich

liturgy of the Orthodox Church by means of oral tradition; it became simplified and faded completely when the only knowledgeable person in the vicinity died. The children of the atheism era who had already become aged by the end of the past century have admitted with regret, "We have lived our lives but do not know the prayers." It is worth noting that the aforementioned experts of religion were women. The Finnish researcher Prof. Kaija Heikkinen has referred to the fact that during the whole Soviet period Vepsian women lived lives that included many features opposed by the ruling regime (cf. Heikkinen 1994). Even more, this was women's quiet resistance movement, which was simultaneously their survival strategy. Women took care of the gardening plots and privately-owned farm animals from which families got their main means of livelihood, although officially this was considered of marginal importance, and all efforts should have been concentrated on work on collective farms. Officially, the international solidarity of the proletariat was emphasized, but for women family ties and relations with their neighbours and the village community were more important. Therefore, it is no wonder that women took over several functions of the persecuted church, believing in God instead of the Communist Party.

Still, one should not say that nothing has changed for the better. In the 1990s it was noticeable how icons which had been hidden for decades appeared again in holy corners of many houses. The danger of being persecuted for religion has disappeared, and therefore in some villages the few younger, working-age women living there are ready to replace the older generation. Although they do not remember any prayers from their youth, they can read prayers from books published in recent times.

Recently a few ministers have visited Vepsian villages during religious holidays. At least in the former district centre of Central Vepsians – Russ. Vinnitsy, Vepsian Vidl, Vingl – a congregation has been established. With material support from Finns, holidaymakers from St. Petersburg or some local wealthy people, new proper chapels have been built in some villages. Earlier chapels had been destroyed, and prayer meetings were held under the open sky, or, on the initiative of elderly women, makeshift shelters had been built of boards. Still, not all the village chapels have been restored.

It is not less important that opening of the Soviet Union to the world meant that entirely new religious movements could enter its territory. The earlier ones could also resume or broaden their mission work. Differently from some other Finno-Ugric peoples, the religious developments on the territories of Vepsians (and Karelians) have been influenced by the closeness of the large city of St. Petersburg and Finland. Evangelical mission work has originated from there. In relation to St Petersburg, it should be mentioned that, even in the Soviet period, Vepsian young people settling there sometimes found religious alternatives to the amateurish Orthodoxy of their home region. For example, some young people who had moved to the city are known to have joined Baptist congregations. A man from Sondjala, as his mother has said, even "worked" as a Jehovah's Witness.

Especially in the early 1990s, various peddlers of religious literature and organizers of meetings travelled around the villages. In Vidl, even the charismatic movement of Word of Life arranged their religious meetings in the 1990s. One might think that in summer, when there are more young people present in villages, they even had a target group as charismatic movements are attractive first of all to the young. The opportunities that opened up in post-socialist Russia provided a challenge for

missionary religious movements and churches. Later, different mission organizations have found a definite region for their work or have withdrawn. For example, the Lutheran Church has founded congregations in the region reaching the Urals or even further, among Finno-Ugrian and other peoples. These congregations are affiliated to the Ingrian Church who also trains ministers in its seminary. There is, however, no Vepsian Lutheran congregation, although there are Karelian, Mari, Udmurt and other congregations.

In recent times readiness for Ecumenical cooperation can be noticed, for example Finnish Pentecostal missionaries have closely cooperated with St. Petersburg activists of the Russian Methodist Church. At Järved even a Methodist congregation was founded, although services were held irregularly, depending on when the pastor who lived near St. Petersburg was able to come. The women who have congregated there were born in the 1930s or even later; thus they had no immediate connection with the functioning Orthodox Church. Therefore, they cannot be said to have abandoned Orthodoxy or converted to another religion. They simply seized the opportunity they were offered. As Vepsians have lived for a long time without religious authorities, they seem to be very tolerant in religious matters. A great part of the older generations do not even know about confessional differences, as Vepsians have never lived in a conflict zone between different religions, like the Ingrians have. In recent years this small congregation has been in the doldrums as, due to change of pastors, the visits to the village have become rare. The situation is better in Kurba forestry settlement where religious meetings are arranged by a local woman, a former teacher. Most probably through the Kurba fellowship group, evangelical songs have spread to other villages too, and they have also been sung when celebrating Orthodox holidays (fieldwork notes of Madis Arukask, 2010).

Religious literature in the Vepsian language also poses a problem. In the late 20th and early 21st centuries there were great achievements in translating religious books into Vepsian and their publishing. Still, it has to be admitted that this admirable work has proceeded without proper guidance, not taking into account the readers of the books or rather the lack of them. Publishing started with the booklet *The Life of Jesus (Iisusan elo)*, some separate gospels and The Acts; by now the whole New Testament has been published. Unfortunately, Vepsians for whom Vepsian is their first language and better known than Russian belong to the older generation. As they usually have no reading habit even in Russian, they are even less able to read a text in the Roman alphabet that is unaccustomed to them. Moreover, the Vepsian translations of the New Testament inevitably include words that need not be understandable to people from their everyday linguistic competence. In all languages into which the Bible has been translated, this has meant creating new words for new concepts, or assigning new meanings to familiar words. The Vepsian translation also includes new derivatives or words and forms that have disappeared from everyday use but have preserved in old writings. There are also words which may be used in only a few villages but are not understandable to the majority of Vepsian speakers. Here, a clear parallel could be drawn with the Livonian New Testament, the publishing of which during World War II fell into a period when the language loss had developed too far; neither did the book printed in Finland reach Livonians. For the younger and middle-aged generation, the Russian language is definitely more customary, and all the factors hindering the older generation are even more valid about them. Even their everyday Vepsian is poor, not to

mention understanding rarer words. Perhaps only the Roman alphabet is an easier obstacle for them. Definitely, reading the translations out at divine services or, in a more informal atmosphere, at prayer meetings would help to get used to their language and make them more understandable.

This has been confirmed by a few (semi)occasional of experiences of my own, when religious or secular Vepsian books have been read out. Unfortunately, there is no proper place for such readings, as there are no churches. Evangelical missionaries who have arrived from elsewhere and for whom the Scripture in Vepsian should be essential have been merely guest speakers with no command of Vepsian. Therefore, meetings have been held in Russian or, in the case of Finnish speakers, with translation into Russian. Still, villagers say that at meetings arranged by Finnish missionaries some songs in Vepsian have been sung.

In several respects, the present-day religious situation of the Vepsians resembles that of some other Finno-Ugric peoples with old Orthodox traditions – the Karelians and the Komi – where also evangelical congregations and groups have emerged. In the territories of the Karelians and the Komi, congregations of the Ingrian Lutheran Church have been founded; according to the Estonian ethnologist Piret Koosa, in Komi villages some other religious trends are also represented (2010).

In conclusion it can be stated that the Vepsian religious landscape of the 21st century is devastated and fragmentary, resembling a carelessly felled forest where some trees or clumps of trees have survived, where some stumps have grown new shoots, and where the seeds carried by the wind have produced new species not known in the forest before. How they will grow in the future is difficult to predict.

Most probably, the present inhabitants of Vepsian villages are not going to see crosses on church steeples or hear church bells. Until there are still people in villages, most probably the current practice of Orthodoxy by lay speakers will continue, perhaps also visits by evangelists, and maybe in a larger or more viable village a new evangelical group will be formed. A more viable congregation will hardly be formed, as the number of inhabitants in villages continues to decrease. How long can villages without any children or schools survive? This can depend on coincidence of several factors. Generally, however, the present inhabitants of Vepsian villages are old-age pensioners whose children and grandchildren live their lives mostly in cities, far from their homes, and their story is not a Vepsian story any more; their religious searches and findings will not shape the Vepsian religious landscape.

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SOME IDEAS ABOUT THE SOUL AMONG VEPSIANS

One of the key notions of the traditional worldview and religion – the “soul”, understood as the vital force and spiritual nature of the man, has been scrutinized by researchers of many nationalities, including Finno-Ugric ones. This is however not the case with Vepsians, for whom this multifarious subject has never been specifically considered. This paper deals with some aspects of the folk concept of the soul in the Vepsian tradition. We have analyzed all available sources: linguistic and archaeological data, beliefs, birth and funeral rites and folklore, and identified the set of ideas Vepsians have about the soul. Even a cursory glance would show it is diverse in composition and genesis, and does not build into a clear system. One would notice the slight effect of the Christian religion, with its full-fledged ideas about the immortal soul, which the folk tradition has adapted to people’s life.

Let us consider the ideas in more detail.

There is one name for the human soul in the Vepsian language: *heng’* (Cent., S. Veps.), *heng* (N. Veps.). This fact implies that the characteristic feature of the Pre-Finno-Ugric concept of the soul (4,000–3,000 BC) – duality and, possibly, plurality, expressed through two or several names (e.g. among Komi-Zyrians, Udmurts, Ob’ Ugrians), has not been preserved in the mentality of the people. The Vepsian word *heng’* (*heng*) has other meanings as well: heart; man (person); land lot (per capita); item, i.e. the human life or soul in the Vepsian worldview appears as a “complex interlacement of anatomical features, physiological processes and mentality, with social characteristics on top of that” (TM 1989: 54). A similar notion exists in all Balto-Fennic and in some Finno-Ugric languages, cf.: Fin. *henki*, N. Kar., Livvi *hengi* ‘breath, inhalation, exhaled air, life, soul, spirit, ghost, incorporeal creature, phantom, person’. Ludic *heng* and Votic *entši* have, in addition to the above, also a meaning of the “heart”. Estonian *hing* means ‘breath, sigh, smell, life, soul, specter, personality’; Sámi *hǣkke* – ‘soul, life’; Udmurt *tšij* – ‘smoke’; Mansi *šex* – ‘fog, mist’ (SKES 1955, I: 38). The semantic circle of the above Finno-Ugric terms reveals parallels in many spheres of the Vepsian national culture.

The soul is one of the two constituents of a human being, the life of the other constituent being contained in the body. The soul corresponds to breath: Veps. *heng’* (*heng*) ‘soul’ and *hengaiduz* ‘breath’ have the same root. This ancient perception has been preserved not only in Balto-Fennic languages, but also in the languages of many other nations (cf. Slav. *dyua* – the root being “дых-“, “дух-“). Identification of the soul with breath is in a way mirrored in the North Vepsian popular belief that in order to conceive a child the spouses should breathe at each other during sex.

Judging by linguistic data, Vepsians believed the human soul is located in the heart: Veps. *hengenkarieine* ‘heart’ – literally “soul’s pit”; *heng’* ‘soul, heart’. As the same time, among Vepsians of the Beloye Lake area we discovered the idea that the soul resides in the centre of the human body, and the heart may be such centre. Local

villagers suggest this is the reason for placing the grave post in the middle of the grave (photo 1).

When the soul leaves the body, the person stops breathing, dies, they say: *heŋg' läk's* 'the soul is gone' (died) (Pondal).

It is believed the soul finally leaves the body of the dying person through the mouth, with the last breath. Hence the Vepsian idiom: «Suřm oli hambhiš» – “Death came close” (Зайцева, Муллонен 1972: 528), which is literally interpreted as “Death was in the teeth” and, thus, in the mouth. Other presumed outlets for the soul were the nose and ears. Evidence of that is the Vepsian belief that if a child was born dead these pathways were to be used to “return the gone soul=breath back” by blowing through stones into the newborn’s nose, mouth and ears.

Having a living immortal soul was considered a prerequisite for being a human. It could be viewed as a carrier of some ethical ideal. E.g., a callous person would be described as: “Hänuu heŋged iile” – “He has no soul” (*Šimgär*); a good person – “Heŋget ii sö řist'it” – “Man of a good soul (lit. ‘doesn’t eat souls’)” (*Voilaht*). One sometimes runs across judgments about a lower status of a woman’s soul compared with a man’s soul, formed under the influence of patriarchal social relations: “Ende muga sanuiba: ak om heŋgetoi, uuniiž heŋg' akou, ka i hänelle man andeižiba” – “They used to say: the woman has no soul; had the woman had soul they’d allocate land for her, too” (*Šimgär*) (Зайцева, Муллонен 1972: 114–115).

Unlike humans, animals have steam instead of soul. These ideas, most likely of Russian origin, appear in the words of the shepherds’ Russian-language charm in usage among Vepsians: “And I, the servant of God, shall also pray to the heavenly Powers. Celestial angels walk there carrying vigil light, lighting up the steam and the heart in my cattle, for each beast to burn and yearn in their heart for their masters and mistresses and for me, the servant of God, the shepherd...” (*Šimgär*) (Винокурова 2006: 265). In the mind of the people, the demise of a human differed greatly in significance from the death of any of the fauna, as reflected in the language: “Řist'it koleb, a živat kadob” – “A man dies, and a beast drops” (*Enařv*) (Зайцева, Муллонен 1972: 165).

Vepsians have different ideas about the moment the soul appears in a person. According to the texts of North Vepsian birth charms, when a woman gets pregnant, she gains two integrated souls: her own, and the future child’s. A similar perception of a pregnant woman as one to have two souls has been known also among Slavs (CM 2002: 33). Vepsians believed the souls got separated during delivery. Parturition started with a rite in which the woman addressed the master spirits of the cattle shed – the most common place for child birth among Vepsians, or of another place, asking for permission to give birth: “Rodinsijan ižandaized, rodinsijan emagaižed! Pästkat mindei rodimaha kak's heŋged eriži!” – “Masters and mistresses of the birth place! Let me have two souls born apart!”. To ease and lessen labour, they’d let the woman drink water with salt and the earth (in summer) or snow (in winter) taken from three crossroads, and say: “Kut řened řesarat oma erigeitut, muga erigeikaha řened kak's heŋged eriži” – “Like these crossroads are separate from each other, may these two souls separate from each other”. Sometimes a woman helping in delivery would take water from a tub and put it through a horn while chanting: “Kut Sünd om erigeitanu man i taivhan eriži, muga erigeikaha řened kak's heŋged eriži” – “Like God has separated the Earth and the Sky, may these two souls be separated”.

Vepsians called a stillborn *hengetoi* – lit. “soulless”, implying he/she had no soul. On the other hand, the Vepsian word *hengetoi* was applied also to very little – live – infants. We thus see a contradiction, which may be due to the Vepsians having also other ideas about the time the soul appeared in a baby, which have presumably been adopted from Slavic people. Byelorussians and Ukrainians in Polesye, for instance, have had a belief that a child is born with no or with an “inferior” soul – steam, like in animals or non-Christians, and it is only through christening that they acquired a true soul (Толстая 2000: 62). This presumption is corroborated by a third meaning of the Vepsian word *hengetoi* – ‘godless’, i.e. having no Christian soul (see. *hengetoin* – Зайцева, Муллонен 1972: 115).

Since death occurs the moment the soul leaves the body, the presence of all family members in the last minutes of a person’s life was considered obligatory, and was called *heng varaida* ‘soul guarding’. They said *heng ei lähte* ‘the soul wouldn’t go’ about a long agony, and attributed it to various hindrances on the soul’s way out. Hence, if a person suffered too long various barriers in the soul’s way out were eliminated: the chimney, windows, doors were opened, the roof ridge was lifted, etc. One was not allowed to work in the house where a dying person was lying. The person was moved from the bed to a bench. A dying infant was unwrapped. Some means of Christian origin were also employed such as Sunday prayer.

In old-time beliefs of many nations, souls of the deceased are ferried to the next world across water. In many ancient Indo-European languages the notion of “the other world” had originally had the meaning of “referring to the water” or “located across the water / across the river” (Маковецкий 1996: 77). Vepsians had similar ideas. The linkage between water and the world of the dead is evidenced by the siting of old Vepsian burial barrows (10th–early 13th cent.) – along River Oyat’ banks. Archaeologists have also noted that a majority of the sites (23 mound clusters) were concentrated in the lower course of the river, a smaller proportion (10 mound clusters) – in the middle course, and only one – in the upper course, near the village of Vinnitsy (Кочкуркина, Линецкий 1985: 157).

Such ideas are reflected also in Vepsian burial traditions. It was believed the soul departs or flies off to the next world upon death. Northern Vepsians had the following rite for that moment: a chip was cut off in one stroke from the roof ridge cover log (*prince’s log*), and put into water. The dying person’s face, neck and chest were washed with this water with the following accompanying text: “Knäz, batüşko, anda hänele dälğmeine ald!” – “Prince, the gracious father, give him the last wave!” (Винокурова 2010: 72). Analyzing this rite we can picture the travel of the dead man’s souls to the next world. Folk ideas about the soul’s travel are amazingly accurately portrayed in the rite. The chip symbolized the soul. It was believed the soul was immersed in water after death. Magic dipping of the chip into water corresponded to this belief in the rite. Many nations related the “*prince’s log*” with the top – the “sky” (Байбурин 1983: 91). After a person died, the soul went to the other world, one of its presumed locations being the sky. To reach the sky it was supposed to cross water expanses; the last wave was needed to cast the wandering soul to the opposite shore.

The dead man’s soul was expected to be cleansed while moving through water. Vepsians had a symbolic representation for these ideas: while the dead body stayed in the house, a glass of water – the “water expanse”, through which the soul’s transition and purification proceeded, would be located in certain places within the dwelling that

signified the “border” between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Northern Vepsians traditionally put the glass with water and a small stone in it (*čuur kivi*) on the windowsill. Central Vepsians filled two glasses with water: one placed on the cooking stove, the other one – above the top casing of the door. Southern Vepsians put a glass of water and a bread crust on the icon shelf (Строгальщикова 1986: 67, 70). A towel was necessarily hung on the side wall in the front corner for the “soul to dry itself” or “rest”, as people explained.

A possible location for the other world was across the river. Some Vepsian beliefs and rites depict “water transfers” of the soul from the “shore of the living” to the “shore of the dead” and back. In this case, the terminal state of a person was viewed as a crossing to the other bank of the river, the return to the world of the living by the same route still being possible. Death meant the river could not be crossed back. E.g., A. Demidova (1907) told a story of when her daughter was in the terminal state. A “wise” woman decided to read stones to tell her daughter’s fortune. According to the woman, if the daughter, who was then across the river, managed to cross it back, she would be well. The conclusion of the fortune-telling was inauspicious: the daughter would not get well because, as the woman said, she only managed to reach the middle of the river “from the other bank” (Винокурова 2010: 73).

The river crossing and return (in other words, death and life) issue, was often dealt with through special rites. Thus, if somebody among Vepsians from Kapsha endured long sufferings, they would have someone of the family get water from three wells at night. These wells were supposed, as local people put it, “not to see each other”, i.e. be far apart. The water was then collected in one vessel and carried around the village, trying to avoid any encounters. This way one tried to build a kind of a water border between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Then the water was taken home and used to wash the sick one. This washing was supposed to expedite the person’s crossing of the water barrier one way or the other.

Some Vepsian folk ideas behind the rites connected with dying suggest a somewhat different location of the world of the dead. It could be not only beyond some water barrier or, more specifically – across the river, but also in the river’s lower course (this opinion agrees with the archaeological data mentioned above), which is characteristic of the Finno-Ugric tradition. This idea is very definitely conveyed by the following North Vepsian ritual text. If a person agonized too long, water was to be taken from the river for them. Certain rules were followed in taking the water: it was drawn with an icon lowered into the river along the current strictly twenty seven times. The dying was washed with this water and drank it, while the spell was chanted: “Kuna veded d’oksob, sinna hän mängaha ičeze putit möto” – “Wherever the water runs, may he travel also along his way” (Винокурова 2010: 73).

The belief is that the dead man’s soul leaves the world of the living forever after the fortieth day. Until then, it would visit home and other places where the deceased had been while alive, or hovers at the grave. At the same time, many Vepsian customs feature the idea that the soul resides constantly at the grave. In some Vepsian villages, one or two poles from the stretcher would be stuck into the ground at the foot of the grave right after inhumation. They believed the soul could climb the pole and thus stay connected to the living for forty days and for a year. Visiting the cemetery, one would greet the deceased and offer food in their memory. One can sometimes observe a fairly recent urban-genesis tradition of putting up fences around graves, but it contradicts

existing folk beliefs that “one mustn’t fence the dead in”. Fences are believed to prevent the souls of the dead from occasionally visiting their living relatives. That is why fence gates in many Vepsian cemeteries are kept open – as a kind of compromise between old and new traditions (photo 2).

In the traditional Vepsian worldview, the appearance of the soul is pictured in various ways. Judging by several Vepsian fortieth day ceremonies the author has participated in, the soul of the deceased is conceived as the person’s invisible twin. The fortieth day procedure in the village of Voilahta, Babayevsky District, Vologda Region, was as follows. At about five in the noon on the eve of the fortieth day, the dead man’s wife, son and a weeper-woman went to the cemetery by car. The weeper cried lamentations inviting the deceased come visit his home one last time. The widow and the weeper led the “guest” home along the road, and the son drove home. The participants solemnly welcomed the “guest” on the porch, with bread in their hands and with lamentations. The bathhouse was heated for him, and clean underwear, a towel and a venik (bundle of leaved twigs) were prepared there. Lamentations accompanied calling of the “guest” to the bathhouse and the washing. The bed for the night was made for him on the bench. On the fortieth day’s morning they wailed to wake the “guest” up. One observed whether the pillow was hollowed – if so, the deceased was said to have spent the night at home. The commemoration repast followed. The idea that the deceased was invisibly present at the table and participated in the meal was reflected in the custom to cover the dead man’s food and spoon, “so he’d eat invisible”. Ojat’, Kapsha and Southern Vepsians covered the spoon and pastry with the tablecloth, while Shimozero and Beloye Lake area inhabitants covered them with an egg pancake, calling the covered food *panafid*. The participants of the commemoration repast in Northern and mid-Ojat’ Vepsian settlements determined whether the deceased was present at the meal. To this end, a little child was put onto the heating stove and asked to look at the place at the table designated for the deceased through a sieve or a horse collar (Строгальщикова 1986: 80–81).

After the repast, “send-off of the dead man’s soul” took place until midday. Several participants of the activities took *kissel* and leftovers, and walked to the crossroads or the village margin, where they either handed the food to the needy or threw it out, and bowed in the direction of the cemetery. Some returned home, whereas two or three close relatives saw the soul to the very grave.

The soul was sometimes portrayed as derivatives of the fire – burning candles or smoke. This appearance of the soul after death was often linked in folk mentality with righteousness or sinfulness of the deceased. In the Orthodox tradition, candles were to be burning constantly in the house at the dead body side until funeral. People commonly believed that flickering of the candle flame meant angels were flying in the house, and angels would only come if the dead man’s soul was righteous. Relatives would take the straw on which the body had been washed to the field to burn it. They believed the smoke heading upward signified the soul was righteous, whereas smoke clinging to the ground meant it was sinful (Богословский 1865: 220). One would “get a soul” for a stillborn child by rocking them in the smoke of a burning broom (Särgjärvi) (Светляк, notebook IX, p. 2). The alleged connection between soul and fire is reflected also in the language: *ön päivan heñg’ palab kod’ihe nãht* ‘the soul yearns (lit. “burns”) day and night for home’ (Põndal) (Зайцева, Муллонен 1972: 114).

Strongly rooted in the Vepsian tradition are perceptions of the soul as a bird. They may be interwoven with the ideas of the soul as the man's invisible twin. E.g., if when two relatives were leading the "guest" home from the cemetery on the fortieth day (Southern Vepsians) a bird flew over them, they would think it was the "dead man" (Йоалайд 1997: 21). Some other facts of the Vepsian culture are also connected with the "soul=bird" mythologem. Grave decor in the shape of wooden carved birds can be found in old south Vepsian cemeteries. This group of ideas is represented also by the still commonly practiced, both among Vepsians and throughout Russia, custom of commemorating ancestors by leaving bread crumbs or grain on the grave to feed birds. The bird-soul idea shows vividly through in Vepsian lamentations.

In Vepsian funeral lamentations, cuckoo was the embodiment of the soul of the deceased, especially the mother: "Käroute-se, kalliž kandjaihudem, libedaks linduižeks, käbedaks kägoihudeks i lebastade minunnost jugedale radole-se" – "Turn, thou, dear mother, into a swift bird, a red cuckoo, and rest by my side from hard work" (Ресоил) (Зайцева, Муллонен 1969: 101). The choice of this very bird to represent the deceased mother orphaning her children has something to do with the biological nature of the cuckoo – a bird that abandons its brood. The plot with a dead person flying down in the cuckoo body and talking to one's family was typical also of Slavic lamentations. Vepsian lamentations, however, stood out for a special, red, colour of the cuckoo. A universal connotation of the red colour is fire or heat, which predetermines life and, hence, is, in essence, the soul. In the world mythology, the notion of the fire-soul often merged with the animal-soul ideas, generating intriguing mythological combinations.

According to Vepsian beliefs, a human soul could also morph into a butterfly. Vepsians from the village of Päžar forewarned against killing moth flying in the house – it was thought to be the parent's soul visiting on the commemoration day. Unlike their congeners from Päžar, Southern Vepsians believed souls of deceased parents would appear in the form of so-called *baskaižed lipkoižed* – "beautiful butterflies" – quite big, brightly coloured butterflies – rust-coloured, brick red or brownish, with motley spots on the wings (Винокурова 2006: 219).

Morphing of the soul into some flying representatives of the fauna is related to the ideas about its lightness, airiness, ability to fly.

Vepsians had once presumably shared a universal belief that after a person had died their soul would move into a tree. It was manifest, for instance, in the tradition of Kapsha and Southern Vepsians to plant a juniper on the grave of a christened child or a young girl, and decorate it with ribbons. Vepsians of these groups also used to plant juniper, sometimes alongside with rowan and bird cherry, in old mound-shaped burial grounds – *kāmist* (*kōmist*), where, as the legend says, *Chud* (which local people believe to be their ancestors) were buried. On Easter, juniper in the Chud cemetery was adorned with ribbons (Винокурова 1994: 72).

Let us thus emphasize first findings following from this study, which, however, require thorough verification using a broader range of comparative materials. The multi-tiered worldview complex identified is, in general, similar to the ideas of Balto-Fennic and Slavic peoples. In the Vepsian tradition, like among those European nationalities, one may see a more significant transformation of early mythological ideas about the soul towards more likeness with the Christian concept as compared with other Finno-Urgic nations.

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Illustration to paper



Photo 1. Grave in Pondol's cemetery. The grave post in the middle of the grave. I. Vinokurova's photo 2001.



Photo 2. Open barriers – typical appearance in the Vepsian cemeteries. Cemetery in the Korhvil. Vinokurova's photo 2003.