ROUTLEDGE

THE
URALIC
LANGUAGES

Edited by
DANIEL ABONDOLO

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Contents

Preface

In basic outline, this volume follows the model of previous works in the series, most particularly B. Comrie and G. C. Corbett (eds) *The Slavonic Languages* (London: Routledge 1993) and E. König and J. van der Auwera (eds) *The Germanic Languages* (London: Routledge 1994). Like those volumes, the present work focuses on the languages of a genetic unit, i.e. languages which can be said to be related to one another in that they have been shown to be later developments of an antecedent, putative, protolanguage. But whereas the Slavonic and Germanic groups are themselves genetic subdivisions of a much larger unit, namely the Indo-European family, with some 425 languages (Grimes 1996), the thirty-odd languages of the Uralic family have not been shown to be related to those of any other genetic grouping.

The total number of people who speak a Uralic language probably does not exceed twenty-five million. Compared with language families such as Indo-European, Semitic, Tibeto-Burman, or even Dravidian, the Uralic family may therefore be seen as small. On a global scale, however, twenty-five million speakers is a rather large number; the Algonkian family, for example, in North America, with a comparable geographic dispersion and number of languages, has only about 130,000 speakers.

Treatment of the present-day Uralic languages, plus one, Kamassian, whose last speaker died in 1989, is spread in this volume over fourteen different chapters. Of course, in a handbook of this size not every Uralic language can receive separate treatment in its own dedicated chapter. For the sake of compactness, for example, the nine or ten Saamic languages are handled in one overview chapter, which first outlines, from a historical perspective, the main isoglosses which distinguish these languages (and their dialects) from one another, then focuses on the synchronic description of one variety, the Eastern Enontekiö subdialect of the Finnmark dialect of North Saami. For similar reasons, the Fennic languages Ingrian, Votic, Livonian, Karelian, and Veps are treated together in a chapter which is primarily historical (Fennic); western readers in search of further detail concerning these languages may profitably consult Laanest 1982. In the case of languages with strong interdialectal cleavages, in particular Estonian, Khanty, and

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Selkup, but to a degree in the Mari, Mordva, Komi, and Mansi chapters, as well, contributors have concentrated on one dialect, referring to other dialects only where this is helpful and unobtrusive. Some further information on the dialects thus sidelined may be found in the relevant historical chapters (Fennic, Permian, ObUgrian, and Samoyedic) and in the Introduction.

Throughout the volume, footnotes have been forborne and bibliography kept to a minimum, in keeping with series format. As a result, the presentation does not always make clear which of the ideas are the authors' own and which are transmitted; it is assumed that such information will not trouble specialists and would be of little interest to the general reader. Many general readers, though, will find that the bibliographical indications, particularly those of editorship and publisher, are often rather more sparse than those to which they are accustomed; this is not always a reflection of scholarly self-effacement but indicates the conditions under which the books were produced.

This book was prepared with many types of user in mind. The primary bias is synchronic, but there is also considerable treatment of the (pre)history of elements of each language and genetic subdivision. Therefore, those interested in diachrony, i.e. in change through time, will come by much general and specific information in this volume concerning the development of the Uralic languages, particularly in the nodal chapters on Saamic, Fennic, Permian, ObUgrian, and Samoyedic.

Those interested in finding out about a particular Uralic language will wish to proceed directly to the relevant language description chapter. These are in the form of brief sketches, and given the range of the material and of the theoretical backgrounds of the scholars recruited to cover it, it is inevitable that they vary somewhat in both style and content. All, however, strive for succinctness. The chapters are ordered on a geographical model and proceed roughly from west to east; thus, those interested in the geolinguistic context of a given language might usefully nose around in adjacent chapters. For example, after reading the Mordva chapter, the reader will find much that is instructively different or similar, from the typological perspective, in the chapters on Mari and Finnish. Parallel historical insights into Hungarian may be gained by a perusal not only of the ObUgrian chapter, but also of those on Permian and Samoyedic.

Typological comparatists, i.e. those interested in particular constellations of linguistic phenomena such as vowel inventories and harmony, consonant oppositions and gradation, negation, reflexive pronouns, loanwords, or the makeup of the noun phrase, will probably prefer to dip into various chapters as guided by cross-references and the subject index. Insofar as the diversity of the Uralic languages permits, the language description chapters follow a parallel design in order to facilitate such cross-linguistic checking.

Limits on space have meant that the Introduction cannot aspire to a balanced and critical survey of all topics, contentious or otherwise. It is written with the general reader in mind, and aims to provide basic background

and to serve as an overture to some of the more prominent themes which crop up throughout the book; readers interested in gaining an overall impression of the Uralic language family should begin here. For further, and complementary, basic background reading, one might best begin with the far-reaching articles by B. Comrie and P. Sammallahti in Sinor 1988; with the compendious Hajdú 1992; and with Décsy 1965, which is concerned with Finno-Ugric only but is original and rich in insights. Historical and sociolinguistic perspectives on the Finno-Ugric languages and their speakers may be obtained from Haarmann 1974 and Taagepera (forthcoming). For the Samoyedic peoples and languages, the best overview is still Hajdú 1963. For a survey of the relatively insecure status of the languages spoken in the northern areas of the former Soviet Union, see Janhunen 1991.

Notes on Transcriptions and Other Apparatus

The default mode of presentation for language forms, even for languages with long-established orthographies, is phonemic; slant lines are therefore eschewed save where ambiguity would arise. Phonetic transcriptions, whether broad or narrow, are given in square brackets. In some instances, language data are presented on a more abstract plane, as well, in the form of a morphophonemic code. Such forms are given in majuscule and explained in the relevant chapters: see Finnish, Nganasan, and Hungarian.

Vowels are transcribed in accordance with the useful fiction of a three-tongue-height space, with basic **i e a o u** standing roughly for the vowel qualities of Spanish or Latin. These are supplemented by characters with dieresis, used to indicate a value of frontness or backness opposite to that of the plain symbol; thus **ü ö** are rounded *front* and **ï ë** are unrounded *back* vowels. A front (unrounded) low vowel is written **ä**, and the symbol **å** is used to render a back rounded low vowel. Phonologically distinct vowel length is rendered by doubled letters, e.g. **ii ïï üü uu**. Refinements and deviations from this usage are detailed *in situ*.

To simplify the typography of the transcription of consonants, palatalization is indicated uniformly by j superscript, e.g. **pʲ tʲ sʲ**, and separately from other feature diacritics, e.g. the palatalized pendant of hushing **š** is written **šʲ**. In most Uralic publications, it is traditional to combine such diacritics; thus what we write as **šʲ** here would be **ś**. Labialization is indicated in this volume by w superscript, e.g. **kʷ tʷ**. Affricates are transcribed either with their release component written superscript, e.g. **tˢ dᶻ**, or with unit symbols, e.g. **c ¢**, depending on the phonology of the language concerned.

The orthographies of Hungarian, Finnish, and Estonian are used in an ancillary role in the chapters describing these languages. The writing systems of many of the Uralic languages spoken in Russia differ considerably in their use of Cyrillic; details will be found in the relevant chapters. For Nenets and Saami this book uses special writing systems, elaborated by the authors of the

pertinent chapters in this book, which depart somewhat from the principles outlined above. It was deemed appropriate, in the light of the potential frailty of these languages, to cleave to these rather than to impose another system from outside.

Where relevant, forms are segmented insofar as the approach of the author and the type of transcription allow. Inflectional suffixes are preceded by hyphen, derivational suffixes by an equals sign, as in English *neighbour=hood-s*. The plus sign indicates the boundary between the members of a compound (*wind+fall*); ampersand signals reduplication (*willy&nilly*). Double hyphen precedes enclitics, e.g., *--kä*, Finnish *e-n--kä* 'and I don't', but follows a prefix, e.g., *em--* in Hungarian (orthography) *em--ez* 'this, (closer to speaker than *ez*)'. The glosses that accompany such forms have been designed to match them morpheme for morpheme: thus in the Mansi form *aasʲ-əm-nəl* FATHER-sl-abl, the root, meaning 'father', is *aasʲ*; the inflectional suffix *-əm* to its right is that of the first person singular (sl); and the inflectional suffix at the end of the form, *-nəl*, is the ablative. In keeping with common practice, full stop serves to link items that are separate in the metalanguage of the gloss, e.g. PRO.sl means 'first-person singular pronoun'.

Deviating from common practice, verb stems are glossed with the English third person singular present indicative form, e.g. (Erzya) Mordva *jarsa-* 'eats', contrast the infinitive *jarsa=ms* 'to eat' and the third person singular present form *jars-i* '(s)he eats'. For a list of abbreviations used throughout the book, see p. xxii.

Bibliographical Notes

There have been eight quinquennial international Uralist congresses since 1960. These have convened at venues rotating among Finland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union. With the exception of the first congress, they have been large events, and their proceedings, when published, usually run to several volumes. Thus, particular citations will have details such as '1B', meaning the second volume (B) in a subset of volumes.

No uniform convention of citation has emerged, but a widely used compromise writes *CXIFU*, where *C IFU* stands for *Congressus ... internationalis fenno-ugristarum* (with varying capitalization) and *X* stands for the number of the congress in question.

Perhaps out of piety, the first congress is referred to simply as *CIFU*, without the '1'. Details are as follows:

CIFU   *Congressus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum Budapestini habitus* 20.–24.IX.1960, Budapest.

C2IFU   P. Ravila, M. Kahla, A. Räisänen et al. (eds) (1968) *Congressus secundus internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum Helsingiae habitus*

23.–28.8.1965, Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne.

C3IFU   P. Ariste, V. Hallap et al. (eds) (1975) *Congressus tertius internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum Tallinnae habitus* 17.–23.VIII.1970, Tallinn: Valgus.

C4IFU   *Congressus quartus internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum Budapestini habitus* 9.–15. Septembris 1975, Budapest (I 1975, II 1980, III 1981).

C5IFU   *Congressus quintus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum*, Turku 20.–27. VIII. 1980, 1981.

C6IFU   È.A. Saveljeva and G.V. Fedüneva (eds) (1990) Материалы VI международного конгресса Финно-угроведов [Syktyvkar 24–30 July 1985], Vols I–II, Moscow: Nauka.

C7IFU   L. Keresztes et al. (eds) (1990) *Congressus septimus internationalis fenno-ugristarum*, Debrecen.

C8IFU   H. Leskinen et al. (eds) (1995) *Congressus octavus internationalis fenno-ugristarum*, Jyväskylä: Gummerus.

The following festschrifts are frequently cited:

Bereczki Festschrift	Domokos, P. and Pusztay, J. (eds) (1988) *Bereczki emlékkönyv (Bereczki Gábor 60. születésnapjára)*, Budapest: Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Budapest.
Hajdú Festschrift 1	Bereczki, G. and Domokos, P. (eds) (1983) *Urálisztikai tanulmányok (Hajdú Péter 60. születésnapja tiszteletére)*, Budapest: ELTE.
Hajdú Festschrift 2	Bakró-Nagy, M. Sz. and Szíj, E (eds) (1993) *Hajdú Péter 70 éves* [Festschrift for Péter Hajdú on the occasion of his 70th birthday], Linguistica. Series A, Studia et dissertationes 15 Budapest: MTA Nyelvtudományi Intézet.
Rédei Festschrift	Deréky, P., Riese, T., Bakró-Nagy, M., and Hajdú, P. (eds) (1992) *Festschrift für Károly Rédei zum 60. Geburtstag*, Studia uralica 6; Urálisztikai tanulmányok 3; Linguistica Series A, Studia et dissertationes 8, Vienna – Budapest: Institut für Finno-Ugristik der Universität Wien – MTA Nyelvtudományi Intezet.

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Taagepera, R. (forthcoming), *The Finno-Ugric Republics and the Russian State*, London: Hurst.