

## Historically Problematic Morphosyntactic Features in Uralic Languages

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The introductory chapter 1 of this book addresses the question of a novel approach to the history of Uralic – Finno-Ugric and Samoyed – languages. The investigations clearly show that among the reconstructed Proto-Uralic structural features by far not all belong to common Uralic. At the same time a large number of them find equivalents in the neighbouring non-Uralic languages.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the problematics of some Uralic morphosyntactic features. The genitive with the suffix -n has actually been one of the earliest Uralic object cases. Uralic languages are accusativeless because in those languages there is no individual case form for a direct object. The primary determinant of the choice between the indefinite/definite conjugations in Uralic languages was intransitivity/transitivity. Discrimination of indefinite/definite conjugations and concomitant reference to the number of the objects as well as to a person of the object in the verbal forms are phenomenon that is inherent to the whole of Northern Siberia and, besides Uralic languages occur in a number of Paleosiberian languages. In case of Uralic verbal personal k-markers we can probably come across very little etymologically common suffix-material inherent to all Uralic languages and at times they may prove to be of Turkic origin altogether. It may be supposed that a non-personal general-definitive function has always been inherent to the Uralic 3rd person possessive suffix. An unexpected feature in several Uralic languages is the lack of the Finnish type of the pronominal genitive attribute of the possessive suffix (minun lauluni 'my my-song', cf. the Estonian type without a possessive suffix in minu laul 'my song'). It need not necessarily always indicate the retreat of the use of possessive suffixes as is usually supposed.

In chapter 3 it is shown that neither does it exclude the possibility of supposing an eastern specific relationship of Livonian via an onetime broken Finno-Ugric linguistic chain. Chapter 4 demonstrates that it would be more discreet to admit that the origin of the Ugric t-locative, l-ablative and Hungarian k-plural is not known, however, it is hardly probable that they should have a general Finno-Ugric background.

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## Udmurt

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Udmurt (Votyak) is spoken by approx. 70 % of the 750.000 Udmurt as mother tongue (according to the 1989 census). The Udmurt are living mainly in their own Autonomous Republic in the European part of Russia (Vjatka-Kama-Region), where they constitute less than one third of the population. Udmurt belongs to the Permian branch of the Finno-Ugric Languages, which form together with Samojed languages the Uralic language family. In former times Turkic languages (Chuvash and Tatar) had a strong influence on the grammar of Udmurt, whereas the younger Russian influence is restricted to the lexicon. Nevertheless the grammar is typical Finno-Ugric and shows a lot of common features with the nearly related more archaic Komi language. The monograph is based on the Literary

language and will contain chapters on phonology, morphology and syntax. Emphasis will be given to morphology, with special attention to the verbal inflectional system and the functions of these categories. The sketch includes a short Udmurt text with interlinear translation.

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## On Quantification in Finnish

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"On Quantification in Finnish" deals with quantification of nominal and adverbial phrases in Finnish and the interaction between quantification and various syntactic and semantic structures. The focus will be in the description of the NPs which are either syntactically subjects and objects, or adjectives and nouns in the predicative position. The NPs are classified into two structural types: (a) NP = DET + N, where DET (determiner) is lexical, (b) NP = DET + N, where DET is syntactically complex.

Description of quantification expressed at the phrasal level concerns, not only lexical quantifiers, but also different kinds of quantifying nouns and measuring terms. Special attention is paid to the complexity of problems concerning the description of these classes. In particular, the question will be posed which determiners in the context DET + N require the noun to be in the partitive case. In response, a semantic characterization will be offered. The preliminary hypothesis is that the semantics of quantification strongly affects the distribution of morphological case marking of noun phrases and combinations of determiners in Finnish. We raise certain questions about quantifiers which specifically concern the core quantification system of Finnish, and have not arisen in languages where the quantification systems have been previously studied. The theory of generalized quantifiers forms the main theoretical framework for the description of semantic properties of quantifying determiners and lexical quantifiers.

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## Livonian

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The Livonian, or Liv, language (Livonian *randa kēl* 'coast language') is a member of the Baltic-Finnic subgroup within Finno-Ugric. It was until recently spoken in twelve coastal villages of Kurzeme province in Latvia. At the beginning of the twentieth century it had over two thousand speakers, but the dispersal of the population during two world wars and subsequently during the Soviet period has meant that the language has not been passed on to younger generations so that at present only about ten elderly first-language speakers remain alive.

However, since the independence of Latvia in 1991, teaching of the language has been resumed and other cultural activities to foster the language have provided an opportunity for the belated revival of the language. Livonian is a written language, but the orthography has varied somewhat during the period of just over a century since it was first committed to writing.

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## Vogul (Mańši)

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The Vogul language (endogenous name: Mańši) is spoken by approximately 3.000 speakers in northwestern Siberia. Together with Ostyak, it forms the Ob-Ugric branch of the Finno-Ugric language family and is generally considered to be closest relative of Hungarian. In the introductory section general information on the Vogul people and their sociolinguistic situation is given. The dialect described in the following sections on Vogul phonology, morphology, and syntax is the Northern one, spoken by the greatest majority of modern Voguls and forming the basis for the literary language. Vogul is in the most respects a typical agglutinative language and its grammar is relatively straightforward, i.e. unencumbered with major rules of inflection. In this study particular care is taken to place (Northern) Vogul in a general Finno-Ugric and a complete Vogul context. This means that although the major emphasis lies on the synchronic description of (Northern) Vogul, the discussion is supplemented by observations of a historical nature to show to which extent (Northern) Vogul has adhered to general Finno-Ugric patterns and to which extent it has diverged both from the related languages and other Vogul dialects. This study closes with a (Northern) Vogul folklore text with an interlinear transcription and translation

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## Main Language Shifts in the Uralic languages

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The aim of this book is to address the issue of some main language shifts in the group of Uralic languages. The motive for supposing the language shifts is based on the newest research results in population genetics. Thus Lapp (Saami) languages have long been supposed to have developed in the manner that the Lapps' ancestors shifted from their earlier language to a Finno-Ugric language form. The author believes that earlier the Lapps spoke some kind of an unfamiliar language or a Finno-Ugric language form that they changed for a Finnic language form. The data of population genetics make one suppose that the development of Samoyed and Ugric languages took the same course and that the Samoyeds' and Ugrians' ancestors shifted from their ancient, probably a Paleosiberian language form to a Finno-Ugric language form. At this the linguistic data seem to indicate that the Samoyeds obtained a Finnic(-Lapp) language form. A peculiarity of Mordvin languages "in word stock they are close to Finnic languages, in grammar to Ugric and Samoyed languages" makes one also suppose a language shift.

The introductory chapter I of this book addresses the question of the historical development of groups of languages by way of convergence and divergence, gives a short overview of the nature of the innovative treatment of Uralistics as well as the author's aspirations to distinguish between the actual factology of Uralic languages and mythical perceptions emerged in Uralistics.

Chapter II is dedicated to mainly three language shifts in the Uralic language group: Samoyed, Lapp and Ugric along with Mordvin.

Chapter III is meant to set a background for the language shifts under observation by means of several more recent investigated concrete lexical and morphosyntactical treatments. As related to it, the author observes the substratum toponymic

matter of North Russia which is unquestionably partly of the Finnic type and which testifies to the existence of onetime spoken languages of that type considerably farther in the east than the present-day Finnic linguistic area reaches (supposedly the Samoyeds' shift to a Finnic language form took place somewhere in the east). The linguistic area of the use of the accusative and genitive direct objects as well as the initial component *n* of personal suffixes in the Uralic language group also speaks for the shift from Samoyed former language(s) to a Finnic language form.

In chapter IV an example of evidentiality in the Uralic language group is given, illustrated by the Samoyed Enets: there is nothing specifically intrinsic to Uralic languages in it.

The book ends with a Conclusions, an appendix with Figures and a References.

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## Contact-induced Perspectives in Uralic Linguistics

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The author of the book would make an attempt to outline a few features of a recent significant paradigm change in the Uralic (Finno-Ugric and Samoyed) linguistics. The main factor of linguistic processes is supposed to be language contacts, not so much a spontaneous change of languages, although the latter should also be borne in mind. The concept of linguistic affinity has also been subjected to criticism. The common features of Uralic languages developed thanks to various contacts among different languages whereby a language of the lingua franca type could operate as an intermediary.

Thus any Uralic language could always differ from other languages of this group, partly retaining its origin from source language(s), unknown us to date. Later on it could also, additionally, become more similar to other Uralic languages thanks to language contacts or, on the other hand, it could become more different as a result of contacts with others than Uralic languages. The role of a language prestige in the process of language changes through history is being emphasized at present.

The similarities between Finnic-Lapp and Samoyed languages have earlier been regarded as a result of a better survival of the Proto-Uralic heritage at the extreme peripheries of the expansive zone of occurrence of Uralic languages. But the Finnic-Lapp--Samoyed similarities may hypothetically be regarded as ontime areal-typological (contact) similarities. Northern Indo-European languages - Germanic, Baltic and Slavic - are supposed to have developed so that the speakers of Uralic language form learned to speak that of the Indo-European.

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## Enets

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Enets is one of the Samoyed languages, fairly little investigated but of considerable interest from the point of view of historical linguistics. The native speakers of Enets live in Siberia, on the eastern bank of the Yenisey River, close to the estuary of the river.

The written records about Enets were first fixed in the 17th century. Now there are about 200 Enetses, from them nearly 100 can yet speak Enets. All the Enetses can speak Russian and/or Nenets, partly also Nganasan. In the 18th century the number of the Enets population is supposed to have exceeded 3,000. The Enetses have never had their own written language or school instruction in their mother tongue.

From all the other Samoyed languages, Nenets and Nganasan are the closest to Enets. Enets has received most of the outside influence from Nenets, more recently from Russian. Enets has two dialects: Bai (Forest) and Madu (Tundra). The dialects primarily differ phonetically and lexically, partly also morphologically. The present outline has been compiled on the basis of the Bai dialect. In the Enets phonology the opposition of short and long vowels can be observed. Although there is a fairly good survey about the grammar of Enets, very few longer texts have been recorded. Enets is typologically a rather common Uralic language. Agglutination predominates over flexion, synthetical features over analytical ones.

The parts of speech in Enets are nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, postpositions, conjunctions, particles and interjections. Grammatical gender is lacking. The category of case is primarily expressed by means of suffixes, there are seven cases. The nouns are used with the possessive suffix. There are also subject and object conjugations with differences in personal suffixes. The nouns may also be conjugated (nominal conjugation). The Enets modes are indicative, exhortative, conjunctive, debitive, optative, imperative, auditive, interrogative and quotative. The tenses can be expressed by a common verbal aspect but in the preterite and future tenses separate suffixes can also be used.

The separate orientation can be expressed by a trinomial distribution of locatives: to where? where? from where? In case of verbal negation a separate negative auxiliary is used. The verbal forms can indicate the subject person and, in addition to its number, also the number of the object. Enets has no compound sentences: instead of a subordinate clause participial, gerundial and infinitival constructions are used. An attribute precedes its main word. In Enets there are numerous loan words from Nenets, particularly concerning reindeer rearing, Nganasan loans in connection with reindeer hunting and Russian loans related to more modern spheres of activity.

This outline is the first extensive modern survey about Enets.

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## Kamass

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Kamass is one of the Samoyed languages, extinct to date, relatively little investigated but of considerable interest from the point of view of historical linguistics. The Samoyed and Finno-Ugric languages together form the Uralic family of languages. The Kamass native speakers lived in Siberia, on the northern slopes of the Sayan mountains. Earlier they were reindeer rearers of shamanistic faith. Up to date they have changed to using Russian or some local Turkic language and become agriculturists.

The first written records about the Kamass language date back to the year of 1721. The author of this outline is the last gleaner of the Kamass linguistic facts whose last informant died in 1989. Kamass is supposed to have had the Koibal dialect, the latter, however, has left us nothing more in writing than about 600 words.

Likewise, the main Kamass dialect itself was divided into two subdialects.

The number of the native speakers of Kamass was very small years ago already, perhaps a couple of hundreds only. Kamass never had an alphabet of its own, to say nothing about having its own written language or school instruction.

In Kamass a strong phonetical and lexical influence by the neighbouring Turkic languages can be observed. Due to the scarcity of Kamass written records, it is possible to report only an approximate phonological characterization and a few basic features of syntax. On the other hand, a comparatively good picture can be obtained about its morphology and lexicology, there are also a few longer texts available.

Typologically, Kamass is an agglutinative language with numerous flective markers. Synthetical features predominate over analytical ones. On the whole, Kamass is a rather typical Uralic language. The parts of speech in Kamass are nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, postpositions, conjunctions, particles and interjections. Grammatical gender is lacking. There are three numbers: singular, dual and plural. The category of case is predominantly expressed by suffixes, there are seven cases. For the complete abstract, please see [www.lincom.eu](http://www.lincom.eu).

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## Ostyak

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This study is intended to provide a grammatical description of Ostyak, one of the Uralic languages spoken in Western Siberia. The description is based on the Northern Ostyak dialect of Obdorsk, although divergent features of other dialects are also discussed. The present paper emphasizes the syntactic aspect of the language, typically ignored in previous descriptive work on Ostyak, which mostly concentrates on its phonology and morphology.

Part 1 is a concise sketch of the Ostyak grammar, made up of the following sections: "Introductory remarks" (geo- and sociolinguistic data, previous studies, dialect division), "Phonology" (including phonotactics and prosody), "Morphology" (grammatical categories, word formation, illustrative paradigms), and "Basic syntax" (types of simple and complex sentences, discourse phenomena). A sample text in the Obdorsk dialect of Ostyak is provided.

Part 2 elaborates on certain syntactic topics that are of a particular interest from the typological viewpoint. In particular, the following topics are discussed: information structure and word order, object agreement, passivization, the relative clause, clause-chaining and reference tracking, and the category of the evidential.

Part 3 serves to provide the necessary reference. It contains the bibliography relevant to the present study, as well as the basic bibliography on Ostyak. The latter includes editions of the folklore texts, lexicographic publications, comprehensive descriptions, and the most important studies on certain aspects of the Ostyak grammar.

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