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Book of Abstracts

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Plenary Sessions

Challenges of Standardizing a small Baltic Finnic Language (until the end of the 18th century): The case of Estonian

Kristiina Ross (Institute of the Estonian Language, Tallinn)

Estonian is a Baltic Finnic language, which, due to the small size of its speaker base, has developed in socio-linguistically complex conditions. Until the middle of the 19th century, the local elite consisted of representatives of Germanic peoples (Danes, Germans, and later Swedes) who had occupied the region since the 13th century. Written Estonian began to be used primarily by German-speaking clergy, following the demands of the Lutheran Reformation, starting in the 1520s. The first significant surviving texts in Estonian date from the first half of the 17th century. From the pre-Reformation period, isolated Estonian words and phrases have been preserved in Latin or Low German documents. However, based on individual terms (such as *ristima* 'baptize') and church language formulas (e.g., the wording of the 2nd commandment), it can be inferred that the oral standardized Estonian used by the clergy began to develop before the Reformation.

The written Estonian used in the first half of the 17th century clearly shows features of a colonial (or missionary) language. It was used in German-Estonian bilingual books (catechisms, church handbooks) that served as a tool for German-speaking clergy who did not know the local language. From the end of the 17th century, books started to target Estonian-speaking peasants as their audience. Written language began to shift closer to the spoken language.

A decisive milestone in solidifying the status of the Estonian language was the Bible translation (1739). With the Bible translation, a language standard based on the dialects of Northern Estonia was established, which remained in place for a century. In the publications for the inhabitants of Southern Estonia, a language variant based on the local dialects was used, a foundation for which had already been laid earlier with the translation of the New Testament (1686).

In the 18th century, the literacy rate among Estonians was so low that the Bible translation remained difficult to understand for most Estonians. A few Estonians who managed to obtain a university education assimilated into the German elite. The divide between the written language created by the German intelligentsia and the language used by Estonian speakers was somewhat reduced by the movement of the Moravian Brethren. In the 18th century, Estonian began to be used more frequently in written form outside of religious texts. The current research phase raises the question of how well the language preserved in 18th-century manuscripts aligns with the two church language standards or how much it reflects variations influenced by contemporary dialectal features.

The existence of a Bible translation and the expanding written use of Estonian in the 18th century raised the prestige of the language and laid the foundation for the Estonian national awakening in the mid-19th century.

On contemporary research into Uralic grammar

Jussi Ylikoski (University of Turku & Sámi University of Applied Sciences)

The primary objectives of Uralic linguistics have remained largely unchanged for nearly two centuries, but the field continues to develop over time. The history of Uralic linguistics has witnessed periods of transformation, trends, and even revolutionary activities, yet, by and large, the progress has been steady. Similarly, the methods of historical-comparative linguistics have evolved gradually, becoming more refined over time, but without drastic changes.

In recent years, Uralic linguistics has also engaged in self-reflection and has gained increased visibility in the broader field of linguistics, notably through the publication of two massive reference works (*The Oxford Guide to the Uralic Languages* edited by Bakró-Nagy, Laakso & Skribnik; *The Uralic Language* edited by Abondolo & Valijärvi). These volumes offer a comprehensive yet condensed overview of the state-of-the-art in the 2020s, with the majority of contributions dedicated to the synchronic description of dozens of languages. However, the core task of the field, and probably the most significant content of the aforementioned works, still lies in what we know about the earliest phases of the family and the processes that led to the development of the current branches and individual languages.

Paradoxically, it is precisely these core aims – the reconstructions of the Proto-Uralic grammar and lexicon, and the evolution of the entire family – that tend to become outdated the quickest. Our understanding of Finnish phonology or the inflectional morphology of Tundra Nenets has not fundamentally changed over the past century, nor is it likely to change in the next hundred years. In contrast, our knowledge of the phonology, morphology and perhaps also syntax of Proto-Uralic, and consequently the entire development of the language family, is constantly evolving. In my talk, I will evaluate contemporary research into Uralic grammar in more detail and also consider the potential directions future research might take.

The Construction of Hungarian Grammar: Insights from Language Acquisition Research

Ágnes Lukács (Budapest University of Technology and Economics, Faculty of Natural Sciences

Although cross-linguistic research has long been central to the study of language acquisition, Finno-Ugric languages have been relatively underrepresented. In recent decades, research on Hungarian has increased significantly, offering important data on typologically diverse developmental patterns and on how language-specific features influence morphosyntactic development. With its rich inflectional morphology and discourse-configurational syntax, Hungarian provides a useful context for examining how children acquire grammar in a language structurally different from widely studied Indo-European languages.

This talk draws on findings from experimental studies, naturalistic corpora, longitudinal data, and standardised assessments to examine how Hungarian-speaking children acquire key elements of morphosyntax. Topics include early morphological productivity, morphophonological variation and allomorphy, developmental shifts in cue use for thematic role assignment, the acquisition of verbal agreement and aspectual marking, and the development of focus and topic structures. The talk also addresses methodological difficulties in studying languages with rich morphology and flexible word order. Data from both typically developing children and those with language disorders show how general learning mechanisms interact with the specific grammatical features of Hungarian.

The findings presented in this talk give an overview of how children acquire grammar in Hungarian, and also point to the importance of including typologically varied languages in

acquisition research. It also offers a glimpse into a new volume on *First language acquisition in Finno-Ugric languages (Kirjavainen, Lukács, Vihman)*, which presents a broader survey of phonological, lexical, and morphosyntactic development across Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian, and North Saami.

The legacy of Éva Schmidt. A lifework on, to and for the Khanty

Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián (Institute of Ethnology, HUN-REN Research Center for the Humanities)

Undoubtedly, the most influential researcher in the field of Ob-Ugric studies in the 20th century was Éva Schmidt (1948–2002), a Hungarian scholar, linguist, folklorist, and ethnographer. During an exceptional career, she created a vast oeuvre through her professional knowledge, field experience, language skills, and personal commitment. This consists not only of her specific scientific achievements, given her intellectual influence has had a profound impact on Hungarian, European, Russian, not the least the local – indigenous – science and the communities she researched.

Besides her personality, what makes Éva Schmidt's life's work truly unique is her series of fieldwork: in 1970, after decades she was the first European scholar to reach the Khanty, namely, the village of Tugiyany on the banks of the Ob. In 1971, and again in 1980 and 1982, she had the opportunity to do fieldwork. From 1991 to 2002, she was active in the first Khanty folklore archive in the town of Beloyarsk in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug, which she herself had initiated. There, in addition to her fieldwork activities, she also played a prominent role in shaping the emerging scientific life of the Ob-Ugric peoples.

Her interests were wide-ranging, if we were to name the main themes, they certainly included traditional folklore, questions of mythology and belief, dialectal differences, as well as the history of individuals, families, ethnic groups, and settlements. In her scientific papers, she studied, among other things, the system of folklore genres, the Ob-Ugric song culture, the bear cult. Furthermore, she also researched the interpretation of materials collected by earlier fieldworkers, but in her legacy there are also grammar descriptions, dialect grammars, and various materials to support language revitalization.

The presentation will concentrate on Éva Schmidt's career, her scientific activities, and her legacy. The focus will be on the processing of the legacy and the results so far, through which the contents of the oeuvre and the legacy will be presented. To understand this, we must define the core issues: what, why, and for what purpose did Éva Schmidt conduct research? In order to answer this question, it is essential to change our perspective, as she taught us: beyond the importance of Ob-Ugric studies for Hungarians (and for science in general), what opportunities does field research offer for the individuals and the community being researched? The presentation will highlight that, while conducting her research with world-class scientific precision, Éva Schmidt was working primarily not for academic purposes but for the Khanty and Mansi peoples themselves.

Building a Future for Livonian

Valts Ernštreits (University of Latvia Livonian Institute / University of Tartu Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics)

Latvia’s indigenous Finnic people—the Livonians—have walked a long path over the past millennia, evolving from one of the most important players in the medieval Baltic region to a small, scattered community of fewer than 1,000 people, with fewer than 20 fluent language

speakers today. What is particularly unusual about the Livonians is the resilience and endurance they have developed over time. Despite the loss of language and cultural domains, various forms of assimilation, and the devastating impact of the 20th-century wars—which led to the complete loss of the Livonian area—the transmission of the Livonian language and intangible heritage has continued through an unbroken living tradition, recently even showing signs of recovery. At different times, various factors have supported the continuation of the Livonian language and intangible heritage, including the community's isolated territory and nature-determined lifestyle differences, external support for strengthening Livonian identity and cultural processes, and even negative developments that forced the community to redefine itself and intensify efforts to sustain and revitalise its language and culture under unprecedented conditions. In this talk, I will examine the conscious efforts to sustain and revitalise Livonian that have been ongoing for over 150 years, the sociolinguistic background of these efforts, the reasoning behind them, the effects they have produced, and how they have evolved over time. The core focus of this talk will be the revitalisation efforts over the past decade in three key areas: sustaining identity, supporting education and language transmission, and building accessibility through analogue and digital resources and instruments. I will explore the issues, challenges, and problem points identified, as well as possible approaches to address them. More broadly, I aim to provide insights from the Livonian perspective on what revitalisation means for communities like the Livonians, how a revitalisation "end-state" might be defined, and whether revitalisation is truly feasible in the present day.

Symposia

A.1: Power imbalance and hierarchies in Finno-Ugric studies

Edygarova, Fedina, Vyatchina

Changing discourse of cultural and linguistic relatedness of the Ob-Ugric peoples in Khanty-Mansiysk

Csilla Horváth (University of Helsinki)

The present paper aims to describe the discourses of cultural and linguistic relatedness among the Ob-Ugric communities and actors of Khanty-Mansiysk between 1990 and 2025. The presentation discusses the changing representations of the concept of Finno-Ugric relations among the Khanty and Mansi of Khanty-Mansiysk, as well as in the agenda of educational institutions, other institutions of Ob-Ugric importance, including the Ob-Ugric press and media, with special attention to the participation of Ob-Ugric public figures in the Finno-Ugric social network. The paper also introduces the significance of Arctic indigenous as a category in forming the contemporary ethnic identity of the Ob-Ugric peoples. The paper focuses on the dynamics of the replacement of the concept of relatedness to the Finno-Ugric peoples by the concept of belonging to the Arctic peoples in the public discourse of the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug.

The pre-war data on the Ob-Ugric institutions, actors and communities of Khanty-Mansiysk were collected during several fieldworks in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug, carried out between 2006 and 2019. Data collected during the COVID-19 epidemics and the Russian invasion of Ukraine were obtained online, via personal communication and observation of various social media sites. Consultants, interviewees and other sources of information are anonymised in the paper for the sake of their personal and institutional safety.

On intersections and differences between Finno-Ugric and Indigenous studies

Maria Fedina (University of Helsinki)

Many Finno-Ugric peoples self-identify as Indigenous, and some have official Indigenous status in the respective countries or regions. Indigenous studies is an emergent field that focuses not only on the cultures, languages, and historical and contemporary experiences of Indigenous peoples, but, among other things, also aims to incorporate and represent Indigenous knowledge systems in research and academic settings. The Saami, whose traditional languages belong to the Uralic language family, have been particularly well-represented in Indigenous studies. This representation includes not only the coverage of Saami-related themes but also the presence and leadership of Saami researchers in the field.

Finno-Ugric studies have historically been dominated by linguistic, literary, folklore, religious, historical, and, to some extent, archeological research. These same disciplines are also well- represented in Indigenous studies. However, there are significant epistemological, methodological, and ethical differences between two fields. These differences include

motivations for the choice of topics (what interests the researcher vs. what the community needs), varying onto-epistemological foundations of research (objectivity vs. relationality), researcher-community relations before, during, and after research projects, approaches to researcher's positionality, representation of researchers originated in the communities, and even differences in writing style.

The present contribution is inspired by my own personal and academic experiences. I was born in Syktyvkar, Komi Republic, into a Komi-Russian family. Throughout my childhood and youth, Finno-Ugric matters were in one way or another constantly present around me, primarily through my mother. Firstly, because of her being a lecturer and later the dean of the Finno-Ugric Faculty at the Syktyvkar State University, and later, through her participation in the activities of *Komi Voityr*, the Komi representative movement. Academically, in my own doctoral dissertation, I analyze experiences of urban Komi residents, their belonging and place-making in urban areas. Institutionally, I am affiliated with the research group in Indigenous studies at the University of Helsinki.

Somewhat ironically, at the University of Helsinki, Indigenous studies fall under the Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian studies. The reason behind it is that the pioneers of Indigenous studies group were Saami researchers. In 2015, the contemporary Global Indigenous studies group was formalized, uniting Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers, who are active in the variety of regional and national contexts.

In my contribution, I thus aim to address the following questions: 1) What can Finno-Ugric and Indigenous studies learn from each other? 2) How can scholars be more reflective and attentive to ethical and methodological choices when conducting research with Finno-Ugric groups?

Beyond Boundaries: A Cross-Border Perspective on Finno-Ugric Studies

Svetlana Edygarova (University of Helsinki)

Finno-Ugric studies originated with the historical-comparative method, which aimed to prove the kinship of Finno-Ugric languages. As Professor Jussi Ylikoski (2023) notes, the goals and objectives of Finno-Ugric studies have largely remained the same to this day. Thanks to researchers from prominent Finno-Ugric research centres in Finland, Hungary, Estonia, Germany, and Austria, Finno-Ugric languages are now well-documented and represented in typological and other linguistic studies worldwide. Specializing in Finno-Ugric languages can lead to a promising academic career, with opportunities for substantial research grants. However, the situation for native speakers and the use of these languages is worsening by the day, with the number of speakers rapidly declining (Prozes 2022, Lallukka forthcoming). Cooperation with native researchers and speakers has gradually decreased since the early 2000s and came to a complete halt in 2022 with Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

In this paper, I aim to answer the question: what can Finno-Ugric studies do to improve the situation of Finno-Ugric languages in Russia? One important approach is to amplify the voices of native speakers, for example, by actively involving them in the research process and through the study of personal experiences. Despite isolation, many native speakers of Finno-Ugric languages, including highly educated and qualified individuals, live in Europe and worldwide today.

Another important aspect is the adoption by scholars of Finno-Ugric languages of indigenous research methodologies and ethical principles when studying Finno-Ugric peoples and languages. These principles include conducting collaborative research projects where native speakers have equal status as research participants, clearly articulating the researcher's

positionality, approaching studied communities with respect and responsibility, and providing feedback about the research to the language community (Smith 1999, Kovach 2009). These methodologies have already been successfully applied in Sámi studies (Porsanger & Seurujärvi 2021, Virtanen, Keskitalo & Olsen 2021) and could serve as a valuable model for studying other Finno-Ugric languages.

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Power structures and researcher's positionality: a critical autobiographical reflection

Olesya Khanina (University of Helsinki)

This paper is an attempt to reflect critically on my experience of doing fieldwork with Uralic speaking communities in Northern Siberia (2005-2017). While I still consider the research methods I used, including ethical premises, appropriate and fair, I did not question then my own positionality or power structures engrained in my interactions with the community. It is uncommon to focus an academic paper on own mistakes, but I want to take up the challenge set by the symposium organizers and to propose an autobiographical observation about why things happened the way they did and what could have been done better. In the current situation, when travel from Finland to Siberia is next to impossible for me, I cannot amend my blunders by doing, but I can contribute to a discussion of better practices. I admit that they may now sound theoretical, when I consider both the current political isolation and internal resistance to change, unavoidable for every professional with years of experience. However, I believe that changes are possible when a critical mass builds up, at least in what concerns the academic practices.

When I now look back at my fieldwork experience, I clearly discern power imbalance that I actively, even if unconsciously, used to reach my professional goals. In this paper, I want to analyze the covert foundations of the unfair hierarchies and systemic reasons which turned me, together with many other linguists working on indigenous languages of Russia, into their unwitting accomplice.

The power imbalance instantiated in my interactions with the Uralic speaking communities and other local people (since these communities were by no means socially isolated) had deep roots in social injustices of the countries I had been socialized and educated in: first USSR and then Russian Federation. Access to higher education, income levels, access to modern technologies (at least back then), mobility, etc. differ significantly across the country. On the social scale, myself, born and raised in an urban environment in or near the country capital, in a family of intellectuals, was literally on the opposite end of a Uralic community based in a remote rural

setting of Siberian Arctic and deprived of most of their cultural heritage by ruthless state policies. I resented the community, but still relied heavily on my unreflected authority for at least two reasons: without it, I would not have been able to achieve my professional objectives, and I would have risked my personal safety.

These professional objectives originated in common practices of the western academia, where research results in form of journal papers mattered tremendously more for a successful carrier than activities aimed at empowering speakers of indigenous languages, e.g. developing training programs for community members or preparing published materials to be used by the communities. The situation has not changed since then: such activities are encouraged in words, but they rarely count for obtaining salaried positions. Fighting against the status quo is clearly not what can be expected from junior researchers whom I was at the time. Connected to the priorities is a somewhat different aspect: generally accepted timeframes of linguistic fieldwork. Scientifically relevant results need to be obtained as quickly as possible and several years of involvement into a particular indigenous community is already regarded as long-term. However, today, when I can count 20 years of working with these languages, I reckon life-long collaboration as the most ethical and meaningful choice. Even if no young scholar can realistically promise it as such, the academic world is fully able to consider this as a default situation and promote it as such. I would not deny that the field of language documentation, which emerged as a response to severe language endangerment all across the globe, is very successful in collecting the data for future language preservation and revitalization efforts. I wonder, though, why the academic community at large regards the efforts itself as foreign, such that shall be undertaken by someone else, while in practice these could be a core part of our job.

The societal injustice and academic practices can be removed only by a strong societal effort. Without undermining the need for such effort, I would like, however, to also consider smaller steps which can be done differently already today at an individual level. I would try to describe them using a frame of the past conditional: 'what could have been done differently in my particular situation back then'. E.g. if a hierarchical positioning for my own safety was necessary in the context of a remote Arctic village, I could have loosened the stance with my consultants. More vulnerability in private interactions with them would not have exposed me to immediate danger but could make our communication more egalitarian. Another example concerns community collaborators that me and my colleague made a part of our linguistic team. If we had invested our time into finding young and curious members of the community who did not know the language but could turn out more open for new skills and new knowledge, the activities we had launched could have a higher chance to be continued after the end of the documentation project. In reality, we relied on elderly people who mastered the language but could not become fully involved because of their age. Finally, I would have wanted to be told that life-long fieldwork was the default option. I could then have discussed with my consultants their aspirations for 10-20-30-years time and I could have prioritized my professional activities consequently. Long-term planning was in fact something unimaginable for a young scholar raised in a collapsing state of the time, but if we consider today better ways of doing fieldwork, students coming from a western country would not have such limitations.

Summing up, it is vital to discuss the issues I raised in the paper both at the level of academic community and in education provided for those who will work with Finno-Ugric communities in the future. Spelling out the societal hierarchies, researchers' privileges, and external limitations to our good intentions could be one of the first steps towards reversing the power imbalance.

Shifting Loyalties of Grigoriy Vereshagin

Marina Osipova (University of Bologna)

Grigoriy Yegorovich Vereshagin (1851–1930) stands as an influential figure in Finno-Ugric ethnography. Widely regarded as one among the first Udmurt scholars, Vereshagin also gained his recognition as a defender of Udmurts during the Multan Case trial, where he refuted accusations of human sacrifice. However, his later works, including "O bylom kannibalizme u inorodtsev" and "Ostatki yazychestva u votyakov", present a stark shift by promoting the narrative of Udmurt primitivism, suggesting past practices of cannibalism.

While this shift in perspective may seem to align with colonial expectations, it could also reflect a brave and complex intellectual stance. As one of the few Udmurt intellectuals, Vereshagin's work may have been shaped by his precarious position within both the Russian academic and Udmurt communities. He was likely one of the few Udmurts who openly expressed his views—risky for someone navigating a career under imperial scrutiny. By tackling controversial and stigmatizing subjects, Vereshagin might have risked his career to engage with narratives that were taboo or misunderstood. His decision to engage in these debates — despite the potential personal cost — suggests he may have been seeking to control the narrative around Udmurt culture rather than let outsiders dictate it. Thus, the research question is how did Vereshagin's controversial transformation from an Udmurt defender to a critic challenge our understanding of indigenous scholars working under colonial pressure: was he a traitor to his people or a strategic player in Russian academia?

This hypothesis complicates the earlier view of Vereshagin's work as merely capitulating to colonial stereotypes. Instead, his writings might reflect an attempt to influence the discourse from within, showing bravery in addressing topics others shied away from, even at the expense of further marginalizing his people. This enigma surrounding his legacy—whether as a defender or accuser—reveals the complex relationship between indigenous intellectuals and the power hierarchies they navigated in Russian academia. The contradictions within Vereshagin's scholarship invite further inquiry into the delicate balance between advocacy, survival, and the pressures imposed by a colonial intellectual framework.

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Rethinking the fate of Nenets cultural artefacts in Finnish museums

Galina Iaptik (University of Helsinki)

Many artifacts of Nenets culture are housed in ethnographic museums across Europe, including Finland. They were originally collected and brought there by ethnographers and folklorists who traveled to Yamal to study the local cultures. For Finland, notable figures in this endeavor include Matthias Alexander Castrén, Toivo Vilho Lehtisalo, and others.

Nowadays ethnographic museums increasingly strive to overcome their imperial pasts, cases of restitution of cultural objects to their rightful communities are becoming more common. As a representative of the Nenets people, I wonder if repatriation processes could be applied to Nenets cultural objects. I'm also interested in exploring what these artifacts are and what meanings they carry. I would like to delve into their history and understand how they ended up in museums.

Earlier, I conducted a small-scale study of Nenets artifacts in the collections of museums in Leipzig and Dresden. Then I discussed this experience with people from the Nenets community. Thus, I understood how such work can happen, what its directions are, and what to pay attention to.

In particular, I was interested in the principles of reciprocity outlined by indigenous researcher Elizaveta Yaptik (2023) in her dissertation on the reciprocal relationships in Nenets culture. According to these principles, when someone receives a gift from a Nenets individual, they become entwined in a relationship with them, as accepting such an item carries a sacred obligation. Consequently, I speculate that Nenets artifacts housed in European museums may carry similar obligations. Nevertheless, there are practices aimed at releasing these obligations, allowing the items to transition into another realm. Hence, I wish to investigate the nature of these artifacts, their journey to museums, and contemplate potential courses of action.

I hope that through this it is possible to initiate a conversation about the heritage of Nenets culture. I also want to think about whether repatriation of these objects is possible, and what can be done with them so that there is no debt behind them.

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The Ingrained Epistemic Injustice: Recognizing, Overcoming and Analyzing Colonial Tropes in Finno-Ugric Studies

Maria Vyatchina (University of Tartu)

This research paper examines the persistence of colonial tropes in academic discourse. Ethnography, as a discipline and approach, is deeply rooted in the colonial era, and many narratives produced by colonial ethnography continue to be prevalent. One prominent trope is the depiction of cannibalism among indigenous peoples (Barker, Hulme et al. 1998), which has historically served to alienate marginalized groups. Another means of reinforcing boundaries and accusing distinctive groups has been blood libel (Dundes 1991; Geracy 2000), disseminated

against various religious minorities, including Jews, Pagans, Roma, and even Christians during the late Roman Empire.

Art Leete (2019) highlights the origins of the trope portraying Finno-Ugric peoples in the North as peaceful. From the 19th century onward, ethnology, folklore studies, and other humanitarian disciplines produced stable narratives that characterized the *Inorodets* population in the Russian Empire and the USSR as inferior, culturally backward, and submissive. Consequently, groups within the Uralic language family are often labelled as 'silent', 'passive', and 'obedient'. Despite significant epistemological shifts, these narratives remain vivid and are frequently found in academic volumes, textbooks, and media coverage.

In my presentation, I will explore the structuring role that colonial narratives play in knowledge production, operating from 'centre to periphery', from former metropolitan cities to regional margins, and from established academic institutions to academic colonies (as defined by Svetlana Karm). Although these colonial narratives serve as imperial artefacts, their folkloric elements, anecdotal character, and even absurdity render them appealing. This allure tempts authors to embellish their writing and audiences to engage in the unconscious marginalization of others.

Through specific examples from ethnographies and fictitious literature, I will demonstrate how colonial narratives are seamlessly integrated into texts, making them more compelling. Authors often fail to interrogate the stigmatizing effects of these tropes, and audiences are frequently unaware of the layers of social exclusion and epistemic violence that underpin them. By recognizing and compiling such enduring colonial narratives, researchers can uncover new dimensions of oppression, inequality, and epistemic injustice faced by indigenous populations globally and in Northern Eurasia in particular.

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Digitalization of Finno-Ugric Minority Languages: Personal Experience

Egor Lebedev (Moscow)

In recent years, the digital landscape has transformed the preservation and promotion of minority languages, including those within the Finno-Ugric family. This abstract reflects my personal journey and experience in the digitalization efforts for the Udmurt language, a member of the Finno-Ugric group, while highlighting my positionality and motivation for initiating this project.

As a member of the Udmurt community and a developer deeply committed to cultural and linguistic preservation, I was driven by a dual motivation: a personal connection to my heritage and a professional passion for leveraging technology to address societal challenges. Witnessing the gradual decline of the Udmurt language and its limited digital presence, I felt a profound responsibility to contribute to its revitalization. This led me to embark on a mission to create innovative digital tools that could make learning Udmurt engaging and accessible.

The journey began with the development of applications designed to teach the Udmurt language in an interactive and culturally relevant manner. These tools were not merely technical solutions

but also a means to instill pride and curiosity about the language among native speakers and new learners alike. Beyond individual applications, I recognized the critical role of community in sustaining linguistic heritage. This realization inspired the creation of the “Udmurt Digital” community, a collaborative platform that brings together language enthusiasts, educators, and technologists to share resources, ideas, and strategies for expanding the digital footprint of Udmurt.

Through this abstract, I share practical insights and reflections on the challenges and successes encountered during this journey. My positionality as both an insider within the Udmurt community and a technologist has shaped the approach and outcomes of this project. By emphasizing grassroots initiatives and community-driven efforts, this work underscores the transformative potential of digital tools in preserving minority languages and ensuring their relevance in the digital age.

A.2: Shifting and competing ideologies in minority language development and language maintenance

Tánczos, Edygarova, Puura

Language ideologies behind the Võro and Seto language use and planning

Helen Plado (University of Tartu, Võro Institute)

Until the end of the 19th century, there were two literal languages in Estonia: North Estonian and South Estonian. Hand in hand with the national awakening in the second half of the 19th century, the stance of 'one nation, one language' evolved. For different reasons, South Estonian was forced out of use (Laanekask 2004, Raag 2008). At the beginning of the 20th century, the development of Standard Estonian began, and by that, standard language ideology became dominant in Estonian society. Standard language ideology was accompanied by purism. These three ideologies dominated Estonian society through the period of independence 1918-1940 as well as through the Soviet time (1940/44–1991). (Cf. e.g., Lindström. Risberg, Plado 2023)

In our presentation, we analyze the vitality and use of the Võro and Seto languages on the background of 'one nation, one language' ideology, standard language ideology, and purism. We concentrate on two main research questions:

1) how did the domination of these ideologies influence the use of the Võro and the Seto language through the 20th century? To answer the question, we use the data from an online questionnaire (conducted at the end of 2022, 660 answers) to research language shift. Based on the open answers, we can conclude that the language shift from Võro/Seto to North Estonian (that has been taking place since the 1960s) was influenced by rejecting Võro and Seto languages and excluding these from education and other public use. We demonstrate that the roots of the negative attitude towards Võro and Seto are in the dominating language ideology. We also ask if giving up 'one nation, one language' stance in the 2000s (cf. e.g., Ehala 2004) has influenced the use of Võro/Seto;

2) what kind of an impact have the dominating language ideologies had on Võro language activism and language planning in the 1990s and 2000s, and do Võro community members reflect these ideologies? To answer this question, we analyze three types of data: a) writings about the main principles of Võro language planning (e.g., Iva 2000), b) interviews with Võro language editors conducted in 2023, and c) posts on the FB group *Võro kiil* ('Võro language'). We claim that Võro language planning has abandoned the standard language ideology, whereas it has overtaken purism (e.g., the principle 'the older, the better'). The language editors also follow the puristic line; however, as the users do not follow purism, language planners have to find the balance between the principles of the Võro language planning and the stance of the language community.

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Language attitudes and language choices towards interpreters of Ukrainians living in Finland

Eduard Diladi, Maria Frick & Yan Kapranov (University of Oulu)

The aim of our research is to map language attitudes and changes in language attitudes among Ukrainians living in Finland during the war. In our analysis we use data from a survey conducted by the LanWE project[1] in 2022/2023. Our research focuses on an open-ended question in the survey that reveals language attitudes towards interpreters and interpreting. We use both content analysis and discourse analysis in our approach to the data. Through content analysis we describe recurring themes and motives in the respondents' responses. Through discourse analysis we explore how the respondents express their language attitudes and what kinds of discourses are activated. Preliminary observations of the data indicate that respondents often have negative attitudes towards Russian-speaking interpreters and that there is a need for more Ukrainian-speaking interpreters. The linguistic attitudes of Ukrainians in Finland towards interpreting and interpreters have not been studied before, so our research provides a unique insight into the current situation. The results of our research will help to map the language attitudes of Ukrainians in interpreting contexts. Further research on interpreting situations and language attitudes of Ukrainians in Finland could provide a theoretical basis for practical solutions.

[1] https://www.oulu.fi/en/projects/language-and-social-interaction-war-and-exile-lanwe

Language planning of North Sámi health care terminology

Felix Mäkelä (Universityof Oulu)

North Sámi language policy and language planning has two main goals: to stay as a united language despite state borders and to expand from an endangered language to a language used in as many domains as possible. This requires terminology planning.

However, North Sámi language planning doesn't have enough resources to meet the growing demand of specialized terminology in barely any field. Insufficient and incoherent terminology in eg. the health care field has a negative impact on the Sámi language training of health care professionals and training conducted in North Sámi. It increases the risk of dividing the languages along the nation state borders (see eg. Mäkelä 2022) and raises internal language barriers between professionals in Sápmi.

This presentation examines preliminary results of an evaluation of corpus planning in North Sámi in the health care field: does the corpus planning reflect the goal of a united North Sámi language? The study will focus on around 300 terms for communicable (infectious) diseases and their symptoms. Communicable diseases and especially their symptoms, such as fever and coughing, are so common and timeless that they will, together with both rarer and newer diseases, like Covid-19, give a good view of corpus planning throughout the years.

The data consists of mostly written material from the 19th century to this day and will thus give a long-time perspective into the matter. Examples of data sources are dictionaries and learning material. The data will be collected by the snowball method.

This study is a language policy evaluation, which is the fifth and final stage of the language policy cycle, a policy cycle that has been adapted to the purposes of language policy and planning research (Gazzola et. al 2024: 5-9). The evaluation is made with ethnographic methods adapted to the policy evaluation setting (McCarty & Halle-Erby 2024), but without the

participation part to avoid burdening already busy corpus planners.The theoretical frame is Ulrich Ammon's (2003) theory that language planning is a social and dynamic process and involves several different groups (actors) with different positions of power. The mapping of actors, variation and linguistic components will be made like in similar earlier works (Olthuis 2007; Mäkelä 2022). Lars Vikør's (2011) corpus analysis model can also show whether the planning reflects the ideology behind.

The results will reveal any tendencies of the North Sámi terminology dividing the language along the nation state borders. This research does the groundwork and provides stakeholders with something to work from – it opens for practical collaboration with stakeholders to develop and streamline the North Sámi terminology planning to prevent further division.

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Crossing Ideologies in Discourses on Sámi Language Development

Annika Pasanen (Sámi allaskuvla / Sámi University of Applied Sciences)

Sámi languages are a group of Indigenous languages currently undergoing active processes of strengthening and revitalization. Positive developments have occurred at varying rates in different countries, regions, and communities that speak different Sámi languages. In Finland, three Sámi languages are spoken: Inari Sámi, North Sámi, and Skolt Sámi. All of these languages have been actively revitalized and developed for decades (Aikio-Puoskari 2016).

For the smaller Sámi languages, Inari and Skolt Sámi, intergenerational language transmission was interrupted under post-war circumstances, and revitalization has involved both the renewal of the language itself and the key factors that support language vitality. The language has gradually gained a foothold in educational settings, administration, public services, and within families (Pasanen 2015; Juutinen 2023). In contrast, North Sámi has always had L1 speakers across all generations in Finland, but assimilation has influenced the language's vitality to varying degrees in different areas (Aikio 1988; Rasmussen 2013). In some areas, there is a need to re-establish the entire speech community, while in others, the focus is more on strengthening Sámi language rights and expanding existing language domains.

This diverse situation and the varying needs of the Sámi have given rise to different, and at times conflicting, discourses on how Sámi languages should be developed. These discourses can be seen as reflecting the phenomenon of ideological clarification (Dauenhauer & Dauenhaur 1998; Roché 2019), social processes that clarify the goals, responsibilities, and priorities of language development.

In this paper, I analyze the ideologies and ideological clarifications linked to the development of Sámi languages. The data for this study consists of online news texts from Yle Sápmi, the Sámi branch of Finland's national broadcasting company Yle. I focus on news from the period 2013–2023 and analyze them by highlighting discourses on how Sámi languages are currently being developed and how they should be developed. Key questions include: What does revitalization mean, and what is its goal? Who should or should not be involved? Who is responsible for the language? What should be prioritized?

My analysis highlights common themes in revitalization discourses, such as a strong personal commitment to the Sámi language and its intergenerational transmission. However, differences between the Sámi languages are also evident in the data. While expanding the speech community is viewed as the key goal for revitalizing Inari Sámi, the focus in North Sámi development is on addressing the needs of L1 speakers.

The example of the Sámi languages has inspired several other Indigenous and minority communities in their efforts for language revitalization. Understanding the ideological foundations of revitalization is crucial in the current situation, where the vast majority of the world's languages, including Uralic languages, are at risk of disappearing.

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New speakers of Sámi in Unjárga – transmitting the Sámi language to the next generation

Sini Rasmus (Sámi allaskuvla – Sámi University of Applied Sciences)

This paper focuses on new speakerness in the Sámi context. The case study has been done in Unjárga, a small Sea Sámi municipality in northern Norway. The assimilation in Unjárga led to a near stop in the transmission of the Sámi language to the next generation by the middle of the 1960's. The language ideologies caused by norwegianization of that time nearly resulted in a total language loss in many families. Now, the phenomena of new speakerness is increasing in Unjárga, and many are now learning their heritage language.

Through survey- and interview data the processes and results of actively using Sámi language in social networks have been analyzed. This paper focuses on the individual's heritage language learning process in the context of language revitalization. What are the motivations to learn and choose the language to own children, how to find interlocutors, and how children and their language networks affect the new speakers' opportunities of language use will be discussed.

Wider, crucial questions relate to how to become an active Sámi speaker as an adult, and how families in these processes should be supported.

Several of the new speakers of Sámi report emotional challenges in the process of reclaiming their language. One of the most important motivations and empowering factors of reclaiming the Sámi language in active use, seems to be the importance of transmitting the language to the next generation. This paper sheds light on the experiences of language learning and interaction efforts, and how the new speakers of Sámi expand their language network through children.

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Language policy, planning and management in the Udmurt language – Two case studies

Kamilla Kaiser (University of Szeged)

In this research I analyse the corpus planning projects and actions that were taken in order to shape and broaden the lexicon of the Udmurt language in light of the general language planning processes. Throughout two case studies, namely two of Kuzebai Gerd's (1898-1937) works and the *Come up with a new word* [Малпа выль кыл] competition, I explore how they can be fitted into the theoretical background of LPP and LM. Another aim of this study is to provide a retrospective evaluation of the aforementioned cases using quantitative methods.

The base questions are – as stated by Gazzola et al. – *"how policy choices are made, how they originate and unfold, and then what measures ought to be adopted in order to reach what goals, through which means, and what lessons are learned for further developments"* (2024: 2). In this sense, I will examine the organisers and founders of the above stated language planning actions, followed by the methods of spreading the neologisms amongst the speakers, as well as cross-checking the suggested neologisms in corpuses (Arkhangelskiy 2018; Arkhangelskiy – Medvedeva 2014; Bezenova 2019) to see, whether they can be found outside of their original context.

To classify the cases, both are examples of *bottom-up* language policy (Lanstyák 2023) as their initiators and executors are mainly community-based organisations or individuals. Starting from the 1920's, parts of Kuzebai Gerd's work can be evaluated as individual activity, especially two of his publications, *About the Suomi (Finnish) and the Udmurt language* [Суоми (финн) кыл сярысь но удмурт кыл сярысь] from 1926 and *New Udmurt words* [Виль удмурт кыл'ёс] from 1928, where he published altogether 284 items, suggesting that these neologisms should be used instead of excessive loaning from Russian. At the same time Gerd reached out to the speaker community asking to decide whether his creations are suitable, moreover to get the people involved in recommending new words (Gerd 1928: 19).

Gerd did not only have an effect on his contemporaries, but inspired an online competition as well in 2013, almost a century after his time. The competition *Come up with a new word* [Малпа выль кыл] was founded by the *MUSH* [МУШ] group, the *Udmurtlik* [Удмуртлык] association and the youth group *Shundi* [Шунды]. They aimed to involve the average language user in the process of creating new words in order to generate Udmurt translations for potential loans. On one hand, linguists and journalists, on the other, ordinary speakers decided on the suitability of

the creations. As a result, they proposed Udmurt variants for 45 loanwords of which a list is available online at the site of the *MUSH* [МУШ] group. By examining these projects, we can gain a better understanding of LPP and LM implemented in specific cases, and of the mechanisms that play a role in the spread of neologisms.

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Perspectives on Minority Languages in Finland's Language Policy

Lotta Jalava (Institute for the Languages of Finland)

Minority languages have only begun to gain visibility in Finland's official language policy since the early 2000s, despite growing attention to linguistic rights and language endangerment of minorities in the latter half of the 20th century. However, the minority languages that have been spoken in Finland for centuries have had very different statuses and have emerged at different times in national language policy.

While the Sámi languages, the forefront in the recognition of linguistic rights, received their own language law in the early 2000s, awareness of the Karelian language and Finland-Swedish Sign Language as distinct languages—separate from Finnish and Finnish Sign Language—was then only beginning to spread from researchers and activists to broader societal discussions. At the same time, the languages of immigrants and the teaching of their native languages also became an important part of the public discussion on multilingualism.

During the 2000s and 2010s, alongside language policy programs addressing the status and future of Finland's national languages, new programs and reports emerged focusing on the situation of the endangered autochthonous minority languages. By the early 2020s, challenges and revitalization goals for several minority languages of Finland were consolidated in the Finnish Government's language policy program, which specifically addressed Sámi languages, Finland's Romani language, Karelian, and the two sign languages used in Finland. By the mid-2020s, revitalization programs have been developed for all of these language groups.

Support for these different languages has been approached from a variety of perspectives and justifications. For example, the human right and linguistic rights of the Sámi people are closely tied to the international discourse on indigenous peoples, while the rights of sign language users

are strongly linked to disability perspectives and rights. Moreover, the history of supporting Finland's Romani language is partially connected to advancing the education of the Romani children.

In my presentation, I will examine the perspectives, discussions, and arguments related to the support of Finland's minority languages from the 2000s to the 2020s, as well as the overall picture that emerges from the society's relationship with these minority languages. In this way, I aim to show how autochthonous minority languages have gradually become part of national language policy in Finland through public discourse.

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Citizen sociolinguistics for co-researching language ideologies: reflections from a Finnish context

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The presentation deals with language ideologies in Finland and is based on a project (LANGAWARE 2023–25) that investigates societal awareness of linguistic variation and change using exploratory, participatory methods. The key component of the project is to explore 'language regard' (Preston 2013) in collaboration with language users and communities (of practice). The concept covers metalinguistic beliefs, attitudes and attention to language as well as language ideologies. By following the key principles of Citizen Science created in the Austrian Citizen Science networks (ECSA 2015), the project offers an opportunity for non-professionals to join professional linguists in investigating the dynamics of linguistic diversity. The project fosters bottom-up approaches to language and enhances dialogue between scientific and lay participants. By stretching from Folk Linguistics (Preston & Niedzielski 2003) to Citizen (socio)linguistics (Svendsen & Goodchild 2023), the project contributes to development of perceptual sociolinguistics, particularly on research concerning societal awareness of language matters and language ideological structures.

This presentation discusses with examples how citizen sociolinguistics can contribute to both scientific and lay understanding of language ideologies. We present data from two different contexts: 1) a co-research course in the Helsinki Adult Education Center on linguistic variation and perceptions (Kielikokemukset yhdessä tutkimuksen keinoin), and 2) an online Work Practice Program week for high schoolers around the country (WPP, Kielitiede-TET). In this presentation, we will briefly introduce the exploratory praxis of these co-research contexts, and focus on example discussions that were conducted in small groups.

Our examples deal with the use of English in a Finnish context and issues related to language change and maintenance. In the globalized world, the case of Finnish with regards to English

faces similar questions of power relations and ideologies that many, often smaller languages, such as Karelian or Sámi, meet in the contexts of dominant languages. Currently, many Finnish speakers are worried about the growing dominance of English and the loss of prestige of their mother tongue. Our co-researchers understand and welcome linguistic change but express worries on the fate of Finnish language. Our examples showcase both inter and intra-individual tensions in language ideologies: on one hand, "mixing languages" and influence of English is seen as a natural phenomenon but on the other hand, discussions reflect monological view of language (e.g. Dufva et al. 2011). Closer analysis on the reflective exchanges in several, separate group discussions shed light on the contradicting ideologies.

LANGAWARE project joins in suggesting citizen science as a practice to inspire and empower both citizens and academic researchers. For non-professionals, co-research offers new insights into language as well as possibilities to talk about language on their own terms, while also receiving input and feedback from professionals. From the academic point of view, group constellations for co-reflecting both research-informed and experiental-based language topics, allow all participants to develop their own ideas on 'language' further. Group reflections, for example, enabled deeper discussions on linguistic change, interesting for both academic research purposes as well as for lay participants beyond their everyday level of thought.

Along our presentation we will highlight, how the collaboratory practices piloted in the project can contribute to expanding both lay and professional understanding of language regard. We also claim that creating common space for sharing perspectives not only has advantages for professional linguistics but also in terms of well-being and subjective interests of lay participants and their needs.

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The impact of language planning on the school education of the Udmurt language in the light of a minority native language pedagogical journal

Zsuzsanna Salánki (Eötvös Loránd University)

In modern societies, as a result of the social, cultural, and social changes that are induced by globalization and urbanization, the language use in schools and in particular the teaching of the native language, and the activities of the teachers play a decisive role in the survival of the language beside the language use within the family.

The subject of this study is the scientific-methodological journal 'Mother Language' (*Vordskem kyl*) published in the Udmurt Republic, which is generally known not only among educational staff but also among the Udmurt speaking community. The journal has been published since 1990, with 10 issues per year. It can be found in all kindergartens, schools, and public libraries that teach the Udmurt language, and has a number of individual subscribers.

The journal is bilingual: it is mostly in Udmurt, with fewer writings and studies in Russian. Most of all, it is a knowledge-sharing platform for practicing teachers, as it publishes the teaching materials, lesson plans, general methodological writings, and new scientific results

used in public education, i.e. preschool, primary and secondary education. Most of the authors are teachers actively working in public education, or university professors in a disciplinary or pedagogical field. In addition, they publish educational news, mainly about school events, new textbooks or other publications.

The main subject of my presentation are studies on methodological and educational policy of the journal, which aim to answer the following questions:

- What trends of change can be observed in the theme of the journal, in the materials published in the past decades? To what extent the following categories are published: (1) language and linguistic materials, (2) materials in literature, local history, regional knowledge, and (3) educational methodological materials aimed at general socialization?
- How does the fact that the number of children fluently speaking the Udmurt language or children with a native level proficiency is decreasing have an impact on the proportion of the topics above and their contents?
- Whether the laws, curricula, and other legal documents regarding language use, native language education, and educational work have an impact on the development of the proportion of the studies published in the journal, on the topic and the content of the articles?
- Can we observe the methodology of the development of balanced bilingualism in teaching activities and in the use of native languages at home, outside the school (for parents, grandparents) as an occurring theme, with special regard to linguistic myths opposing bilingualism?

"Let's write either in Russian or literary Udmurt, following the generally accepted rules": (Non-)standard orthographies for Beserman, a new language in Russia

Christian Pischlöger (University of Vienna)

The Beserman are a small people - 2,036 persons declared themselves Beserman in 2021/2022 - in the northwest of the Udmurt Republic in Russia. The majority of Beserman consider their mother tongue to be a separate language; the vast majority of linguists consider it to be one of the Udmurt dialects. In 2021, a group was founded on VK, the "Russian Facebook", to motivate as many Beserman as possible to declare themselves as Beserman in the Russian census in 2021. An administrator of this group shortly later became the (co)author of the first two books (2021, 2022) in Beserman. The orthography of the first book was initially celebrated and adopted by many as an ideal solution, and 2022 eventually Beserman was recognized as a separate language in Udmurtia. Shortly afterwards, an Udmurt linguist presented another "strictly scientific" draft of orthography. Although this linguist is still convinced to this day that Beserman is "just" an Udmurt dialect, he managed to win over important people in Beserman society for his solution. In October 2023 the dispute culminated in an online vote in which 378 people, i.e. almost 19% of all Beserman, took part before it was canceled prematurely. The result was a stalemate between the two above mentioned solutions. Two other solutions – the "traditional Udmurt orthography" and another orthography used by Moscow linguists in the *Beserman Thesaurus* (2017) – found only very few supporters. The presentation shows the main strands in this controversial issue, which ultimately lead to the newly recognized language hardly being used in writing anymore, since - in the eyes of most Beserman - a language of its own must also have a uniform standard orthography. A special focus is on the critical examination of the role of linguists from outside the Beserman community. The method is linguistic (online) ethnography including interviews and personal communication with some of the main actors involved.

Finnish research on the Veps language during the Continuation War: an examination of field researchers'language attitudes

Ulriikka Puura (Finnish Literature Society)

In the field of humanities, there has been a lot of debate about the colonial features of fieldwork in recent years. Efforts have been made to decolonize field research, e.g. by dissolving the roles of researcher and informant into a research partnership. During war, the fieldwork carried out under exceptional conditions emphasizes the inequality of the power relations even further.

During the Continuation War (1941-1944), the Finns carried out fieldwork collecting cultural and linguistic materials in the territory they occupied in Karelia. This presentation examines the attitudes individual wartime field researchers expressed towards the Veps language and its speakers. The study is based on wartime fieldwork reports and other archival material of two Finnish researchers who collected material in the Northern Veps area. Studying Veps and collecting linguistic material was seen as the duty of Finns during the war, and a notable amount of Veps vocabulary, place names and proverbs were collected in a short period of time from the occupied areas. Reino Peltola and Jussi Rainio were early career Finnish linguists sent to the Veps villages shortly after the beginning of the occupation. Both researchers' relationship with the Veps people continued long after the war as well. Reino Peltola continued his fieldwork with the Veps who moved to Finland in the post-war years. Jussi Rainio kept in close contact with the Veps until the end of his life and made several trips to the Veps area over coming decades.

In this presentation, it is considered whether the explicit attitudes of the Finns who did fieldwork among the people of Veps differed from the attitudes of researchers simultaneously collecting Finnish dialectal materials in the Finnish countryside. Through critical analysis of archival data, we try to find out how Rainio and Peltola perceived the Veps language at the beginning of their fieldwork and later, as their knowledge of Veps accumulated: was Veps from their point of view, for example, undeveloped, exotic, under the threat of disappearing, permeated by Russian influence? Is colonialism a useful concept in regard to war time Veps research for describing the attitudes, underlying language ideologies and power relations between the researchers and the Veps people? In particular, the long temporal perspective of Jussi Rainio's materials gives an opportunity to examine how the attitudes of an individual researcher towards the Veps language and its speakers developed over the decades, as Rainio's position evolved from a representative of the conqueror to a supporter of the Veps people and, through his marriage to a Veps woman, also a part of a Veps family.

Karelian speakers' and learners' views on multilingual practices

Outi Tánczos (University of Helsinki)

In my presentation, I discuss the views expressed on multilingual practices by respondents of a recent survey on the Karelian language in Finland. Attempts to develop and revitalize the Karelian language in Finland have strengthened during the past two decades, and in the last few years the threat of losing the language has been started to be reacted to at the societal level. Recently Karelian has been included in Finland's language policy guidelines (Language policy programme 2022). For the purposes of language revitalization work and language policy it is necessary to obtain up-to-date information about the use of the Karelian language in Finland. In 2024, I conducted a survey together with Lotta Jalava from the Institute of the languages of Finland to gather information on Karelian language proficiency, use and attitudes. The online survey reached a considerable number of respondents, nearly 500. The survey was not statistically representative, but if we start from the assumption that the respondents represent a

group that is particularly interested in the development of the Karelian language, examining their characteristics is meaningful and may shed more light on the revitalization process.

A clear majority of the respondents said they only had learned Karelian in adult age. In Finland, the possibilities to learn Karelian outside of the home are mainly located in civic colleges and at the University of Eastern Finland, which has together with the Karelian language revitalization project designed forms of education that cater to many age groups. Also, the respondents' evaluation of their language proficiency showed significant differences between comprehension and production skills. This means that at least the younger generations of the Karelian speaker base in Finland are characterized by L2 speakers, many of whom are still learning the language. Most of them have grown in a monolingual family in a society where multilingualism has not been widespread. Against this background, the question of how the respondents feel about phenomena that seem to challenge the prevailing language norms, e. g. learner language or code-switching, becomes very interesting, especially as language attitudes play a central role in language revitalization (e.g. Dołowy-Rybińska & Hornsby 2021, Underriner, Marean, Keskitalo, Zahir, Bommelyn & Tuttle 2021). In my presentation I examine attitudes towards multilingual practices in the survey data and discuss their effect on the revitalization process of the Karelian language in Finland.

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Round-table

Finno-Ugric Studies meeting the People: how to convey information about our discipline?

Johanna Laakso (University of Vienna), Marianne Bakró-Nagy (HUNREN), Elena Skribnik (LMU Munich)

In the three Finno-Ugric nation states and, at least to some extent, in the Uralic-speaking titular republics and regions of Russia, a basic knowledge about the Uralic languages (their existence, their historical relatedness and geographic spread) is fairly firmly entrenched among the general public. It is an acknowledged part of the national identity and present in the official school curricula. However, these ideas are often based on outdated knowledge and intertwined with romantic and/or ultra-relativist but scientifically untenable ideas about the national past, the national "mentality", the "Finno-Ugric world-view", etc. Outside Finland, Estonia, and Hungary, knowledge about the Finno-Ugric languages is sparse and often covered in a mesh of myths and stereotypical beliefs (à la "the most difficult language of the world", "a vast number of cases", or "so-and-so many words for snow"). Even less is known about the academic study of the Finno-Ugric languages, which is often understood as either national root-seeking or – as linguistics in general – simply in terms of learning and knowing languages, or, in connection with language endangerment, in relation to the vulgar Darwinist "extinction narrative".

Against this background of ignorance or misconceptions, what is the responsibility of Finno-Ugric studies, and what are the challenges which academic research should tackle? To this

roundtable discussion, an international group of experts will be invited to discuss a number of questions, such as:

–What can/should we expect a layperson to know about our field? (What could/should we do to help them reach this level of knowledge?)

–Why is it important to spread information? (Political decision-making; better understanding of linguistic diversity in general…?)

–What does a speaker/a student of a certain Finno-Ugric language need to know about the Finno-Ugric background of the said language?

–How does the ignorance about the implications of Finno-Ugric relatedness relate to the ignorance about (historical) linguistics or language diversity in general?

–What could be done in order to spread more adequate knowledge about language relatedness, its implications and the current state of the art? How can we popularize academic research without trivializing it?

–Do we need a more concentrated effort to raise our profile, also with respect to the recruitment of students? How does popularization of research fit in with our increasing workload in our other academic duties?

–Should we take the "societal impact" (now writ large in the evaluation of research projects or academic institutions at least in Finland) of our research more seriously? How can we measure it?

–What are the dangers of misguided or amateurish popularization? (Relativistic ideas of "Finno-Ugric mentality" etc. reinforcing stereotypes and prejudices, or even fuelling ultra-nationalist or xenophobic ideas of the national past? "Fun facts" or factoids distorting the image of our discipline, i.e. the understanding of what Finno-Ugric studies are about?)

–How does Russia's war on Ukraine affect the popularization and the image of Finno-Ugric studies? (More knowledge about the history of Russian colonialism, vs. the war news portraying the indigenous minorities of Russia mainly in the role of victims?) How should we as an academic community react to this?

B.1: Prehistoric lexical layers in Saami and Finnic

Junttila, Aikio, Kuokkala, Juutinen

The relative chronology of the Finnic **š* > *h* change and the Slavic first palatalization

Santeri Junttila (University of Helsinki / Institute of the Estonian Language / University of Tartu)

In the research literature, the Proto-Slavic first palatalization of velars **k* > *č*, **g* > **ʒ́* > *ž*, **χ* > *š* is usually dated earlier then the Proto-Finnic change **š* > *h*, cf. i.e. Kallio & Laakso (2021). This has been the state of the art since the studies of Koivulehto (2006) and Kallio (2006). This conclusion is drawn from three arguments:

1. The first palatalization predates **š* > *h* in two proposed loanwords:
   - Fi *hauki* 'pike' < MPFi **šawki* ← PSl **ščaukā* > Ru *ščuka* 'pike'
   - Fi *hirsi* 'beam' < MPFi **širti* ← PSl **žirdi* > OCSl *žrъdь* 'pole'
2. The first palatalization does not have to postdate **š* > *h* in two proposed loanwords:
   - Fi *ies* 'yoke' < LPFi **iǩes* (**iges*) ← PSl **jiga* : **jižesā* > OCSl *igo* : *ižesa* 'yoke'
   - Fi *kimalainen* 'bumblebee' < LPFi **kimala-* ← PSl **čimeli* > Ru *čmel'* 'bumblebee'
3. The first palatalization does not have to postdate loanwords including Sl. *č*, *ž*, *š*, as in:
   - RuCSl *šlěmъ* 'helm' ← PGerm **helmaz* > Go *hilms* 'helm'
   - Ru *Lučesá* (river name) ← Lith *Laukesà*

The arguments 2 and 3 are both based on the observation that the relationship between Slavic *č ž š* and non-Slavic velar stops may result from sound substitution.

In argument 3, this kind of a sound substitution was necessary when the velar stops were not possible before front vowels – in other words, *č ž š* were still allophones to the velar stops. However, this allophony actually means that the first palatalization was not completed yet. It was still going on, if it affected the new vocabulary borrowed into the language.

In argument 2, the proposed substitution of **ž* as **k* or its weak grade **ǩ* ~ **g* (alternating in the flexion of the word) in **iǩes* is especially unexpected. The borrowing must at least predate the Slavic change **ʒ́* > *ž* to be compared with PFi **kimala-* ← CS **čimeli* and to match Lauri Posti's (1975: 169–171) arguments for both: Proto-Finnic had no affricates, and Saami *č*-, too, was substituted with *k*- in borrowings into Finnish. However, as we know today, there was an affricate **c* in Proto-Finnic indeed.

In argument 1, the Slavic etymology of Fi. *hauki* lies on shaky ground. The Slavic word lacks a solid IE etymology, and the Finnic stem vowel does not match the Slavic one. Most probably, both words belong to a large group of common fish names of unknown origin (cf. Jakob 2024: 164–171). No certain cases of Sl *č* or *š* → Fi *h* have been found, whereas there seems to be two further loanwords with Sl *ž* → Fi *h*:

- Fi obs. *hakara* ‚sting' < MPFi **šakara* ← PSl **žāgādla* > OESl *жагало* ‚sting'
- Fi *häkä* ‚carbon monoxide; mist' ← PSl **žegā* > Ru dial. *жёга* ‚burning of sticks etc.', CSSl *žega* ‚heat, blaze'

However, there may be another option to explain *h-* in *hakara*, *hirsi* and *häkä* from Slavic *ž-* than predating the *š* > *h* change. I will consider this option in my paper, as well as discuss the above argumentation.

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A revision of Finnic chronology: Middle Proto-Finnic Livonian

Patrick O'Rourke (University of Tartu)

The current understanding since Pekka Sammallahti (1977) is that South Estonian is the first language to have diverged from Proto-Finnic. This divergence would have taken place already during Middle Proto-Finnic times, whereas all other Finnic languages, including Livonian, are reconstructed to have diverged from the succeeding proto-language stage, Late Proto-Finnic (Kallio 2007, 2014).

Nevertheless, there are certain sound changes in Livonian that based on Finnic reconstruction are evidently Middle Proto-Finnic. One such example from the literature is the contrary chronology of sound changes in Livonian vis-à-vis Finnic, namely, the sporadic labialisation of **i* before **v* and the sound change **ti* > **ci*, e.g. Livonian *tõvā* (~ *tiva* ~ *tüva*) < **tüvä* vs. Finnish *syvä*, South Estonian *süvä* < **süvä* 'deep' (Kallio 2007: 238; O'Rourke 2022: 27). In the case of this difference in chronology, Kallio suggests Pre-Livonian, in addition to Pre-South Estonian, to have diverged early, but without referring to a particular language stage.

In addition to already established examples from the literature, I argue that there is a further example of a Middle Proto-Finnic isogloss between Livonian and the rest of Finnic, namely, the representation of Proto-Finnic **nc*. The only *A*-stem word exhibiting this isogloss is Livonian *võntsa* 'forehead', cognate with Finnish *otsa* and Estonian *ots* id. The word is explained by Koivulehto as a borrowing from Germanic **anþja* into Middle Proto-Finnic **ontťśa*, nowadays reconstructed as **oncca* (Koivulehto 1979: 290; Kallio 2015: 29). As can be seen in this case, Livonian has retained the pre-affricate nasal. Furthermore, there are four *E*-stem words in Courland Livonian, in which the nasal is preserved before the affricate: *kīņtš* 'nail' < **künci*; *kǭņtš* 'lid' < **kanci*; *lēņtš* 'southwest' < **länci*; and *lǭņtš* 'forest meadow' < **lanci* (Viitso & Ernštreits 2012: 123, 133, 165, 173). The expected regular form for *kǭņtš* : *kǭndõd* 'sg : pl' is suggested to be ***kǭž* : *kāndõd* (Setälä 1899: 363; Posti 1942: 253–255; Kettunen 1947: 52–53; Kallio 2016: 41–42), but this explanation assumes the Proto-Livonian form to have been **kansi*. This reconstruction rests on the theory of two analogical developments: firstly, that the long inital-syllable vowel in Livonian developed because of the vocalisation of *n*, and secondly, that the nasal was restored throughout the nominal paradigm (Setälä 1899: 363). This unnecessarily heavy explanation also leaves the question of the affricate unexplained and can, therefore, be deemed in its entirety to be circular reasoning (cf. also Viitso 2008: 51–52). Since the Proto-Finnic form is now reconstructed as **kanci* < **kanti* (cf. Kallio 2007: 235–236), I offer a more economical explanation in that the retention of the Livonian affricate shows that the deocclusion of **c* > **s* (ibid. 241–242) did not take place before a nasal in Livonian.

Based on sound changes such as those mentioned above, I argue in my presentation that the chronology of the divergence of Pre-Livonian would be at least on par with that of Pre-South Estonian, in line with what has been suggested already by Tiit-Rein Viitso (2008: 59–60, 84–85).

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The stratification of Veps vocabulary

Riho Grünthal (University of Helsinki)

Recent conclusions on the early spread of the Finnic languages quite unanimously suggest that the early spread of Pre-Finnic from east to west was followed by secondary spreads that mainly occurred from south to north. While this development is illustratively seen in the development of Finnish and Karelian dialects, the position of Veps is more ambiguous. In taxonomical models it is traditionally classified as a northern Finnic language relating to a historical core area that was adjacent to the Gulf of Finland as a descendant of the northeast branch of the Finnic languages (Kallio 2014, Koponen 1991, Laakso 2022: 241, Lang 2020: 317–331, Viitso 2000). In addition to the assumed early spread zones (Grünthal 2020), this is based on the evidence of the southern-most Finnic varieties, South Estonian and Livonian, which display innovations and inherited features that are lacking elsewhere. However, geographically Veps is the eastern-most Finnic language that has a historical connection with more eastern water routes, cultural areas and spread zones.

From a lexical and etymological viewpoint, only little attention has been paid to the language-specific characteristics of Veps. This is mainly caused by two facts. Firstly, Veps shares the basic vocabulary with other Finnic languages including inherited Uralic vocabulary, early Baltic and Germanic loanwords, and a high number of derivations based on shared Finnic word stems. Secondly, long-term and widespread Veps-Russian bilingualism has strongly influenced Veps communities, and it has been noticed by several generations. Due to the ubiquitous Russian influence the amount of Russian lexical, grammatical and phrasal borrowing casts its shadow on other, diachronically important features.

In our paper we will pay special emphasis on the etymological origin of less transparent Veps vocabulary. We assume that, in addition to shared Finnic vocabulary and more recent Russian borrowings, the geographically eastern location of Veps involves traces of early language-specific development and the secondary integration of the Finnic-speaking area that can be seen in lexical spreads.

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Substrate in Finno-Permic languages

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A considerable number of vocabulary items that have been traditionally reconstructed for the now defunct "Finno-Volgaic" or "Finno-Permic" proto-languages involve irregular sound correspondences and phonological features either foreign or atypical of Uralic languages (Aikio 2015: 44–47). Especially the rare phoneme **š* (singleton and different clusters e.g. **kšt*, **kšn*, **šm*, **šn*) is clearly overrepresented in these words whose distribution is limited to Finno-Permic languages (Saami, Finnic, Mordvin, Mari and Permic). Aikio offers a list of 21 words that contain the phoneme **š* in various combinations. Words in this list mostly pertain to animal husbandry (e.g. Finnish *lehmä* 'cow', Erzya *l'išme* 'horse'), agriculture (e.g. Mari *šož* 'barley', Komi *ćuž*, Udmurt *čužjem* 'malt', Fi *riihi*, Komi *rịŋịš* 'drying barn'), nature (e.g. Fi *pähkinä*, Mari *pükš*, Udmurt *pašpu* 'nut', Fi *vaahtera*, Erzya *ukštor*, Mari *waštar* 'maple') and primitive technology (e.g. Fi *huhmar*, Mordvin *čovar* 'masher'). Given the irregular sound correspondences, the foreign phonological structure, the limited distribution, and the clustering semantics, Aikio puts forth the idea that these types of words in Finno-Permic originate from an extinct substrate source and calls for the topic to be explored further. It seems that Aikio's call has thus far mostly fallen on deaf ears.

In this presentation, I will explore the topic of Finno-Permic *š*-substrate or shubstrate further. Firstly, I aim to expand the potential substrate corpus beyond the 21 words mentioned by Aikio by gathering all words that could potentially reflect a cluster containing an *š* but are distributionally more limited, i.e. are found only in one or two branches of Finno-Permic. Even a cursory look into this type of vocabulary shows that there is potential there. For example, there are a number of words limited to Saami and Finnic that seem to reflect an earlier **šŋ*-cluster, e.g. North Saami *vuoskku* 'perch' (< Proto-Saami **vuosŋōn*) and Finnish *ahven* (< Early Proto-Finnic ?**ašŋənə*). The idea of Finnish *ahven* being a substrate word is not new (Ariste 1971: 257) but to my knowledge it has not been previously suggested that it together with the Saami word could belong to the Finno-Permic *š*-substrate. If 'perch' turns out to be part of the *š*-substrate – like its phonological structure and meaning would suggest – then from this observation it can be extrapolated that other words reconstructable to Proto-Saami with the

cluster **sŋ*, e.g. **kẹsŋẹs* ‘juniper’ > South Saami *gasnges*, North Saami *gaskkas* (Lehtiranta 2001: 42–43), are also potentially part of the same substrate.

Secondly, after collecting the potential words reflecting clusters containing an *š*, I will examine their co-occurring structural properties. For instance, most *ahven*-type words in Finnic, e.g. Finnish *ien* ‘gum’, *haiven* ‘single hair’, *huomen* ‘morrow, tomorrow’, *höyhen* ‘feather’, *joutsen* ‘swan’, *jäsen* ‘member, limb’ (Hahmo 1994: 122–123) have comparanda that is for the most part limited to Finno-Permic languages. Thus, even words that do not bear the explicit phonological hallmarks of the *š*-substrate could potentially be identified as such if some of their co-occurring structural properties can be determined to be indicative of substrate origin.

There are words that bear many of the same phonological and structural characteristics as words belonging to the Finno-Permic *š*-substrate but have not been listed as such, e.g. North Saami *lasta*, Finnish *lehti* ‘leaf’, Luleå Saami *sassne* ‘tanned reindeer leather’, Finnish *hihna* ‘leather strap’, Finnish *tuhat*, East Mari *tužem* ‘thousand’. Due to the fact that there are similar looking words particularly in Baltic, cf. Lithuanian *šikšnà* ‘untanned leather; leather strap or belt’, *tūkstantis* ‘1000’, the Finno-Permic words have often been considered Indo-European loanwords. Recently, given that the Baltic words themselves often lack an Indo-European etymology, this idea has been challenged and it has been proposed that rather than being loanwords from Baltic to Finnic or vice versa, words such as Finnish *hihna* and Lithuanian *šikšnà* instead represent parallel loans from a substrate that has been tentatively identified to be the same substrate as the Finno-Permic *š*-substrate (Jacob 2023: 188, 478). The idea of Baltic and Finno-Permic languages sharing the same substrate raises interesting questions about the distribution and geography of the *š*-substrate that I will also be exploring in my presentation.

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Finno-Saamic (?) *ćć – revisiting the evidence of loanwords and inherited words

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It has traditionally been assumed that a geminate affricate *ćć can be reconstructed for Proto-Finno-Saamic (Sammallahti 1998), but the plausibility of this protolanguage has been frequently debated during the last decades (see, e.g., Itkonen 1997; Aikio 2012; Kuokkala 2018). According to traditional accounts, Finno-Saamic *ćć is reflected by *ćć in Proto-Saami and *cc in (Late) Proto-Finnic (Kallio 2007: 230; Lehtiranta 1989; Sammallahti 1998). As Finno-Saamic *ćć does not seem to have a secure Uralic background (as noted by Häkkinen 1992), and as *ćć appears in relatively few common etymologies of Finnic and Saami, many of which are known loanwords, it is reasonable to ask whether there are any reasons to consider the emergence of *ćć a shared Finno-Saamic innovation. In this presentation, the etymological evidence for the reconstruction of *ćć to a common predecessor of the two branches is analyzed critically. This is relevant for both historical phonology of the two branches and for the stratification of their loanword layers.

Only a small number of putative common Finno-Saamic lexemes displaying *ćć can be reconstructed, and some of these are probable loanwords from known sources, such as Germanic or Baltic (e.g., Finno-Saamic (?) *meććä ‘forest’ ← Baltic *medi̯a-), which can be borrowed separately or diffused between early forms of Finnic and Saami (cf. Aikio 2012). The few possibly Finno-Saamic words with uncertain etymology also lack good Uralic cognates, and many display such irregularity that it is doubtful whether they can be reconstructed to a common protolanguage of the two branches (for example Finno-Saamic (?) *rī(ć)ću- > Finnish *riisua* ‘take off clothes’ ~ Lule Saami *rihttjot* ‘struggle’ (Kuokkala 2018: 30)).

Earlier, the sequence *ćć was also reconstructed for Proto-Uralic, but the lexical evidence for this is mostly unconvincing, as noted by Häkkinen (1992). Zhivlov (2023: 119) mentions Proto-Uralic geminate *ćć but does give only *VććV ‘self’ (> Fi *itse*) as a possible example. If the geminate *ćć occurs mostly in loanwords or words with obscure etymologies and in no (or only in very few) Uralic words, it is a priori doubtful to try to assume that this is a common innovation of Finnic and Saami. This is especially true as the evidence for Proto-Finno-Saamic in general is very weak, and other possible phonological innovations have been criticized (see Kuokkala 2018 on the alleged common developments involving the labial vowels in non-initial syllables).

The putative Uralic examples of *ćć as well as other Proto-Uralic sequences that might have yielded Proto-Finnic *cc or Proto-Saami *ćć (cf. Jakob 2023: 120 footnote 3) will also be analyzed critically in this presentation to shed more light on the history of geminate affricates in Saami and Finnic.

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The Saami contracted *-is* nominals: Finnic influence or parallel development?

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The history of the derivation in the Saami has been rather understudied. The best description thus far is in Mikko Korhonen’s *Johdatus lapin kielen historiaan*, and Korhonen himself says that it is less than perfect (Korhonen 1981: 313). This presentation will study the contracted *-is*

nominals in Saami languages and possible Finnic influence in the preservation of this type. The derivative *-is* dates back to *-*s*, (or *-*as*) and it is of Finno-Saamic origin (Korhonen 1981: 313, 327). An example of common nominals in Finnic and Saami is SaaN *sarvvis,* gen. *sarvá* 'male elk' which has a cognate in Finnish *hirvas*, gen. *hirvaan* 'a stag' (Korhonen 1981: 30, Aikio 2009: 276).

The nominals ending *-is* in Saami are either contracted or imparisyllabic, or even both, like *rikkis* 'rich' which has both genitives in use; the imparisyllabic *riggásа* and contracted *riggá*. It seems that the imparisyllabic form of *rikkis* is used in the most western part of North Saami. Also, it seems that in South Saami the *-is* nominative has been replaced with the contracted form, see e.g. varying nominative forms *faelies, faala* 'a whale' (Aikio 2009: 286).

The contracted *-is* nominals include old words such as *njálggis*, gen. *njálgá* 'sweet, tasty' (= Fi *nälkä* 'hunger') and rather many Scandinavian loanwords, such as *smávis*, gen. *smávvá* 'small' (= Swe *små* 'id.') (Rauhala 2018: 117–119), and Finnic loanwords, such as *viissis*, gen. *viisá* < Fi *viisas*, gen. *viisaan* (Álgu). Some of the Scandinavian loanwords have been borrowed from Saami to Finnic, such as *valas*, gen. *valaan* 'a whale' (< PS **vālēs*, Aikio 2009: 286).

The three-syllabled nominals are far more common than the contracted ones, and it seems that the contracted forms are preserved the best in the area of Finnic influence (Lule, North, Inari, Skolt Saami).

The derivational influence beween Finnic and Saami is difficult to study; what is common, what is borrowed, what is parallel development. The contraction does not necessarily date back to Finno-Saamic protolanguage, as it still does not exist in all Finnish dialects and not at all in Karelian. If it is not Finnic influence, can we see the contraction as a dialectal phenomenon, supporting the

The questions to be answered in this presentation are the following:

1. In which languages the contracted type still exists?
2. How long has the contracted *-is* has been productive, i.e. gained new words and in which areas?
3. What is the relationship between the Finnic and Saamic contracted *-s* nominals? Can we detect Finnic influence in Saami contraction, does it date back to common Finno-Saamic protolanguage, or is it parallel development?

The data for this study will be collected from etymological sources, especially from Álgu, the etymological database of Saami. In addition the grammars, dictionaries, and digital analyzers will be used to find the inflection of the *-is* nominals in different Saami languages in order to study the distribution of the contracted nominals in modern languages.

Abbreviations

PS Proto-Saamic, Swe Swedish, Fi Finnish

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Observations on the stem vowel correspondences and source forms of Germanic loanwords in Saami

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The highly numerous Germanic and younger Norse loanwords in the Saami languages have been the subject of research from early on (e.g. Qvigstad 1893), and criteria for different age layers of the borrowings have been gradually refined (Sköld 1961; Aikio 2006; Kallio 2009). At least since the mid-1900's, however, the testimony of the non-initial-syllable vowels has not been much discussed, and the subject seems to have been covered with a commonly adopted agnosticism. In our talk, we make a survey of the currently available corpus of loanwords and attempt to show that there is a clear systematicity between the Saami and Germanic stem vocalisms, and that the stem vowels can also be used as a criterium in distinguishing between temporal layers, particularly between Proto-Norse and Old Norse (or later) borrowings. Furthermore, we discuss the likely source forms of the older loanwords especially in the light of the stem ending of the Saami word (*-V* or *-Vs*) and argue that the semantical and syntactic characteristics of the word have to a large extent decided whether the nominative or an oblique case form has been used as the source for the borrowing. Finally, we make a brief comparison with the patterns observable among the older Germanic loanwords in Finnic.

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The verbs meaning 'to sell' and 'to give' in Saami

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The oldest Saami verb meaning 'to sell' is Kildin Saami *mīgke* with synonymous cognates in Ter Saami, Akkala Saami and the Njuõ′ttjäu′rr dialect of Skolt Saami, as well as in other branches of the Uralic language family. Also North Saami *vuovdit* 'to sell' with synonymous cognates in Inari, Lule, Pite and Ume Saami goes back to Presaami, but its cognates outside Saami languages don't mean 'to sell', but 'to give'. A third Saami verb meaning 'to sell' is South Saami *doekedh* with synonymous cognate in Ume Saami. Also this verb has Presaami background, but its cognates outside Saami languages (e. g. Finnish *tuoda* 'to bring') have other meanings than 'to sell'. In Skolt Saami the common verb for 'to sell' is *kaaupšed;* it is beside other verbs known in North, Inari, Kildin and Ter Saami too.

Wide spread Saami verbs meaning 'to give' are Lule *vaddet* (cognates in South, Ume and Pite) and North *addit* (cognates in Inari, Akkala, Kildin and Ter). In Skolt Saami, the verb *â'dded* is only known in Paaččjokk dialect, where it means 'to (give a) hit (e. g. with axe)'. A common verb for 'to give' is in all Skolt Saami dialects *u'vdded.*

The oldest Saami printed matter, i. e. Abc book and Mass book ("sång book") published in 1619 by Nicolaus Andreae, has in the meaning 'to give' the verbs *addele* and *wuobde.* The verb *wadde(-)* 'to give' occurs first time in a Abc book published by an unknown author in 1638.

The last occurrence of verb *addel(-)* ‘to give’ (beside *wadde*-) is in Manuale Lapponicum, published by Olaus Stephani Graan in 1669. (More information on these books, see Qvigstad & Wiklund 1899, Kazakėnaitė & Blokland 2024.)

Saami printed matter of 17th century contains no verb with meaning ‘to sell’. The Latin Saami word list made by Z. Plantinus in 17th century (see Koponen 2014 with further literature) has entries “Dare *vaddeth”, “*Tradere *waddith*” and “Vendere *tvåketh*”.

The presentation outlines the Protosaami and post-Protosaami developments that have led to the verbs meaning ‘to sell’ and ‘to give’ in modern Saami languages.

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Anthropology of technology and loanwords: new tools forstudying the connection between lexical and archaeological evidence in prehistoric contexts

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Loanwords have been used to reconstruct past lifeways and the intensity of cultural contacts. Such interpretations are typically based on the Wörten und Sachen -method that connects borrowed words with archaeological finds. Borrowed words are typically classified on the basis of semantic categories, and a large number of words (i.e. concepts) in certain categories have been used as evidence of, e.g., the intensity of relationships between communities. The most important problem with this method is that the semantic categories are based on a modern (European) understanding of hierarchical connections between concepts. We do not know if such categories were understandable in prehistoric times or if they represent past reality.

The anthropology of technology provides a more reliable basis for studying the connection between lexical and archaeological evidence. In this field of research, technology is understood broadly as covering “all aspects of the process of action upon matter” (Lemonnier 1992: 1). In archaeology, the most interesting technologies are such that cannot be learned easily, but instead require intensive long-term contacts between student and teacher for the student to be able to master the technology independently. In the case of distinct communities such social learning cannot be expected unless the members of two communities have close and long-lasting contacts. Specific types of pottery and stone tool making, but also, e.g., animal husbandry, cheese making, and wool processing can be considered such technologies that require an elongated period of social learning. As do all technologies, they include five related components: matter, energy, objects, gestures, and specific knowledge (ibid. 1992: 5–6).

From archaeological contexts it is possible to detect artefacts that can be used to reconstruct past technological processes. When a prehistoric technological process is described, the concepts referring to its components can be taken as reference material for loanwords. These concepts can be connected to different word categories, e.g. matter and objects are typically nouns, but gestures are verbs and adjectives. In such analysis the connection between loanwords is not based on modern understanding, but on independent analysis of prehistoric technological processes.

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Spread of Northwestern Indo-European and Uralic to the Baltic Sea basin viewed through (shared) substrates

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Proto-Finnic, Proto-Saami and Proto-Germanic emerged in the Iron Age somewhere around the Baltic sea. While the historical phonology of these protolanguages and their predecessors, Proto-Uralic and Proto-Indo-European are well known already for decades, many aspects regarding the locating and dating of these protolanguages, as well as the histories of their vocabulary layers, remain topics of active research (cf. Aikio 2012, Saarikivi 2022 regarding Saami and Finnic, Roberge 2010 regarding Germanic).

The earlier languages of the Baltic Sea area have only been preserved in substrates left behind in Proto-Finnic, Proto-Saami and Proto-Germanic. As for the Saami languages (Aikio 2012) and Germanic languages (Polomé 1986) the substrate borrowings from extinct sources are considered a part of the mainstream research paradigm.

As for the Finnic, the situation is more complicated. The three language groups under consideration represent a significant amount of shared vocabulary, traditionally interpreted as borrowings from Proto-Germanic and Proto-Scandinavian to Finnic and Saami (LÄGLW). In my paper I argue that this shared vocabulary should be analyzed in connection with the emergence of Germanic from Proto-Indo-European, taking into account the presence of the substrate vocabulary. A similar analysis has recently been conducted by Jacobi (2024) in connection to shared Finnic-Baltic vocabulary (for instance Fi. *lohi* ~ SaaN *luossa* < **lose* ~ Lithuanian *lasis,* Swedish *lax,* etc.).

A substrate explanation can also be offered for some shared Finno-Saami-Germanic vocabulary without Baltic parallels. In any case, the number of old Germanic borrowings in Finnic and Saami is higher than that of the Baltic borrowings, and the pre-Germanic substrate hypothesis well established even in the mainstream IE studies, in a similar manner to pre-Greek hypothesis. In my paper, I investigate the vocabulary traditionally considered as Germanic borrowings in Finnic and Saami and argue that a part of this vocabulary is not of IE origin in Germanic. Some words can be explained as possible borrowings from Finnic / Saami, for instance:

PG **buskōn* ‘Angelica, rapidly growing plant’ [> Engl. *bush,* Sw. *busk,* etc.] < PU **pučkə* ‘Angelica, Apiacaea, stalk’ (> Fi. *putki,* saaN *boska*);

PG *turba* ‘turf’ < PF **turveh* < **turveš* ‘id.’ (probably a derivative of **turpe-* ‘swell, puff up’);PG **embja* ‘swarm of bees’ < (Northern) Finnic *ampi(ainen)* ‘bee’ < PF **ampe-* (< PU *ïmpe-*) ‘shoot; sting’

PG **fajta* ‘fat’ < PU **pajta* (> *mahapaita,* saaN *buoidi* ‘fat’)

and probably even PG **fata* ‘pot; vessel’ < PF **pata* < **paδa* ‘id.’

Others, in turn are possibly shared substrates, for instance

PG**aiþin* ‘mother’ ~ Northern Finnic *äiti* ‘id.’, Est. *eit* ‘older relative woman’

PG **kauma* ‘folded hands’ ~ Northern Finnic *kämmen* ‘id.’

PG **selha-z* ‘seal’ ~ PF **šülkes* ‘id.’

Still others, are likely substrate, but adopted to Finnic and Saami from Germanic. In any case, the role of non-IE and non-Uralic languages in the Bronze Age Baltic Sea area can be discussed not only through absence of etymologies, but by developing methodologies of substrate studies by taking into account lexical histories of many branches of IE and U languages simultaneously.

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Two Strata of Proto-Norse Loanwords in Saami: Evidence for an Extinct Norse Variety

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The study of Proto-Norse loanwords in the Saami languages has provided crucial insights into early Germanic-Saami contacts. However, key aspects of these borrowings, such as their relative chronology and the precise linguistic background of their source varieties, remain insufficiently explored. In this paper, I argue that Proto-Norse loanwords in Saami can be divided into at least two distinct strata, each originating from a different source language. One stratum derives from a language closely resembling Proto-Norse as reconstructed through the comparative method, while another reflects a now-extinct early Norse variety with phonological features unattested in recorded Germanic languages.

A particularly striking phonological feature in the latter stratum is the substitution of Proto-Norse postconsonantal *j with Proto-Saami *ć, as seen in examples such as Saami *skālćō ‘seashell’ and *āvćę ‘bird-cherry’ (> North Saami *skálžu*, *ávža*) from Proto-Norse *skaljō- and *hagja- (> Old Norse *skel*, *hegg*). I propose that this pattern reflects a sound change in the source variety, where postconsonantal *j developed into a stop or affricate. In addition, this language did not exhibit Sievers’s law, which vocalized *j into *i after heavy syllables in other Germanic varieties. The presence of more than 30 such loanwords in Saami, including the Saami ethnonym for Norsemen (*tāńćę), suggests that this now-extinct Norse variety played a major role in the earliest Norse-Saami contacts.

The distribution of these loanwords further supports a geographically localized influence. Place-name evidence from Troms county in northern Norway, such as the North Saami island name *Sážžá* (< *sāńćā), derived from a predecessor of the Norwegian name *Senja*, suggests that this extinct Norse variety was spoken along parts of the Norwegian coast. The findings presented in this paper contribute to a more refined understanding of the phonological and dialectal diversity of early Norse and its role in prehistoric language contact in Scandinavia.

B.2: Perspectives on Saami with a particular focus on the smaller languages

Danbolt Ajer & Piha

Actional classification of verbs in Kildin Saami

Maria Kosheleva (Moscow) & Sofya Rachinskaya (Moscow)

Our talk is devoted to the actional classification of verbs in Kildin Saami. We base our research on the procedure suggested by Tatevosov (2003, 2016). All the data were gathered by elicitation (translation and judgement tasks) in the village of Lovozero (Murmansk Oblast, Russia) in 2022-2024.

According to Tatevosov (2003, 2016), the actional class of a verb can be determined by analysing the range of interpretations available to it in the imperfective and perfective forms. We chose the Nonpast form as the prototypical imperfective form, and the Preterite form – as the perfective form (the Preterite can also have imperfective and habitual uses, so we had to additionally control the context). We did not use the Present Perfect verb form because it exhibits a range of highly diverse readings and demonstrates significant restrictions in its use.

The resulting set of actional classes of Kildin Saami verbs based on isolated lexemes (115 in total) shows little diversity: <ES, -> (achievement), <S, S> (state), <ES, S>, <ES S, S>, <EP, ->, <P, P> (activity), <ES, P> (accomplishment), <ES P, P> (accomplishment). Moreover, classes <ES, S>, <ES S, S> and <EP, -> are represented only by one lexeme each.

Such results suggest that the actional classification in Kildin Saami should be based on actional pairs or groups of verbs (as proposed by Sergei Tatevosov (2016) for Russian). Therefore, in Kildin Saami, aspect is lexical, but is, however, guided by principles other than those characteristic of many Slavic languages. Whereas in Slavic languages telic and atelic interpretations cannot be combined in one lexeme, in Kildin Saami the combination of ES and P interpretations is widely attested (about thirty verbs from our set). At the same time, in Kildin Saami, the combination of ES and S interpretations is quite marginal, whereas the combination of EP and P interpretations is not attested at all. Lexical aspect is not a widespread phenomenon in the Uralic languages and can be found only in Samoyedic languages (Bradley, Klumpp, & Metslang 2022). However, according to the authors, "development towards aspect proper in Uralic languages of Russia is a prospect", of which Kildin Saami may be an instantiation.

Two or more verbs can constitute an actional group if they differ only in one aspectual derivation and no additional semantic component is added to the derived form. We will show that some of the aspectual derivations in Kildin Saami satisfy this principle and there are certain tendencies observed in their distribution with respect to the actional class of a verb. For instance, suffix *-s-* forms ES interpretations from stative verbs, but derives delimitative interpretations from process verbs.

This classification also offers crucial insights into the behaviour of tenses and the inchoative suffix *-škued'd'-*. For instance, verbs with telic interpretation are able to have future time reference in the Nonpast form whereas atelic verbs have to use either the a*l'l'ke* 'to begin' plus infinitive construction or the inchoative form of the verb (*-škued'd'-*). Additionally, the behaviour of the Present Perfect and the range of its possible interpretations hinges crucially on the actional classification.

In our talk, we will delve deeper into the actional classification of Kildin Saami verbs based on the actional pairs and groups and highlight peculiarities of their interaction with different tenses.

Abbreviations

P – process, S – state, EP – entry into a process, ES – entry into a state.

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Skolt Saami reflexive verbs in *-õõttâd*

Miika Lehtinen (University of Turku, University of Oulu)

Reflexes of the Proto Saami (PS) reflexive suffix **-tẹ-* are found across the Saami languages, e.g. South Saami *luajhta**d**idh,* North Saami *luoitá**d**it* 'descend, go down' from *luejhtedh, luoitit* 'put down'. However, only in Eastern Saami languages (Inari to Ter Saami) is the suffix found attached to imparisyllabic verb stems (E. Itkonen 1980: 36–37), for example, Skolt Saami *čuä'jt**õõttâ**d* 'show up' from *čuä'jted* 'show, point at'. Moreover, when attached to parisyllabic stems, the suffix is reduplicated in Eastern Saami Languages (E. Itkonen 1980: 37–38). Compare Inari Saami *luáštá**d**â**tt**âđ,* Skolt Saami *luâšttõõ**tt**âd,* Kildin Saami *лụəšt**t**ȍ**ɒt**ɒ^{δ}* 'descend, go down' (< PS **luoštā-tẹ-tẹ-*) with the South and North Saami examples mentioned above (< PS **luoštā-tẹ-*). The Skolt Saami verb also has a double suffix **-dõõtt-,* but *d* has been regularly deleted in syllable-initial position.

The reflexive verbs in Eastern Saami languages have not been thoroughly studied before, except for the late Auli Oksanen's unfinished doctoral thesis manuscript, which I sadly have not been able to get access to. Feist (2015: 118–119) in his grammar of Skolt Saami mentions the *õõttâd*-verbs as reflexive/reciprocal and gives some examples and notes on the formation of the derivatives.

In this presentation, I will present an overview of the formation and meaning of the Skolt Saami (deverbal) verbs in *-õõttâd.* The research is based on T. I. Itkonen's dictionary *Koltan- ja kuolanlapin sanakirja* (1958) and the folklore collection *Koltan- ja kuolanlappalaisia satuja* (1931) by the same author.

The formation of the *õõttâd*-verbs is generally as follows:

Parisyllabic stems: overstrong (sometimes strong) grade + *-õõttâd*; in *ed*-verbs vowel change from palatalized to low. Examples: *cõggâd* 'push, support; stop, hold back' → *cõggõõttâd* 'push back, resist', *ǩie'ssed* 'drag' → *ǩeässõõttâd* 'retreat';

Imparisyllabic stems: inflectional stem + *õõttâd.* Examples: *tuõ'll'jed* 'hold on' → *tuõ'll'jõõttâd* 'stay on, stick to'; *lä'ǧǧsted* 'throw' → *lä'ǧǧstõõttâd* 'turn a somersault'.

Moreover, the reflexive verbs are often derived from parisyllabic stems via an intermediate derivation (as also E. Itkonen (1980:36) notes (my translation from German): "The suffix is often attached to a trisyllabic verb root, which is, in turn, derived from a disyllabic primary root."). Most often this is a continuative-frequentative derivation in *-d-, -č-* or *-l,* e.g. *puåldčõõttâd* 'burn oneself' from *puåldčed* 'burn (tr., cont.)' from *puä'ldded* 'burn (tr.)'.

The meanings of the *õõttâd*-verbs can be divided into six classes, here shown ranging from the most prototypically reflexive to the least prototypical.

1. <u>Direct reflexive</u>: The agent is also the patient of the action. Example: *kaggõõttâd* 'rise, ascend, stand up' ← *kaggâd* 'raise'

2. <u>Reciprocal</u>: Two or more agents symmetrically carry out the action on each other. Example: *tiõrvtõõttâd* 'greet each other' ← *tiõrvted* 'greet'

3. Adversative passive: The agent inadvertently causes another participant to carry out the action on the agent itself. Example: *kåå'ddtõõttâd* ‘get killed’ ← *kåå'ddted* ‘make (someone) kill’ ← *kå'dded* ‘kill’

4. Indirect reflexive: The agent is not directly the patient of the action, but the result of the action is in the agent’s personal sphere (e.g. it concerns the patient’s belongings or is done for its own benefit). Example: *juâkkõõttâd* ‘divide one’s inheritance or properties’ ← *jue'ǩǩed* ‘divide, distribute’

5. Zero meaning: The meaning of the derivative is essentially the same as that of the base verb. Example: *kårrõõttâd* ‘curse’ ← *kårreed* ‘id.’

6. Continuative-frequentative: In this case, the suffix *-õõtt-* is synonymous with the continuative-frequentative suffixes *-d-, -č-* and *-l-*. Example: *salkkõõttâd* ‘empty many containers or little by little’ ← *salkkâd* ‘empty’

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Impersonal and passive modal constructions in Aanaar Saami

Tuomas Koukkari (University of Oulu)

This presentation seeks to shed light on the usage of impersonal constructions with modal verbs in Aanaar Saami, and in particular, to determine the extent that impersonals are used in a passive sense, as opposed to the usage of passive verbs with modals or passivized modals. A related question concerns what cases are used to express the patient (if present) in impersonal modal constructions. The focus is on modern literary Aanaar Saami, using the SIKOR corpus. The results indicate that impersonals are much more common than true passives, and do quite often get used in a passive sense, but with the patient in the accusative.

A common feature in many Uralic languages is the extensive usage of impersonal, monopersonal and so-called zero-person constructions with modal verbs. In Saami, these phenomena are relatively restricted (Koskinen 1993: 55, 69; 1998: 12), but generic impersonal constructions without an overt subject present nonetheless appear to be quite common with some modals in at least North and Aanaar Saami (Koskinen 1998: 77, 132-133; Koukkari 2024).

One of the functions of a zero-person construction with modal verbs in Finnish is to replace the impersonal passive (ISK § 1355, § 1364). The Finnish impersonal passive is often not considered a true passive, as the patient does not behave like a prototypical subject (Kelomäki 2019: 129-131), despite often appearing in the nominative case. The same applies to impersonals: the patient is often in the nominative, but is nonetheless best treated as the syntactic object (Vainikka & Brattico 2011). Saami languages, by contrast, have passive verbs with which the patient does act as a true subject, and which can be regularly derived from the corresponding active ones (e.g. Aanaar Saami *ettâđ* ‘say’ > *ettuđ* ‘be said’). In Saami impersonals, the patient is usually treated as a regular object in the accusative case (Mettovaara 2023: 102, 108-109), but at least in some modal constructions, the nominative is also attested (Korhonen 1962: 235-241).

There are thus three potential ways of expressing the passive with modal verbs: an impersonal construction as in Finnish, an active modal verb with a passivized main verb, and a passivized modal verb. All of these strategies are attested in North Saami, although passivized modal verbs are rare (Koskinen 1998: 45-46, 77, etc.).

The research presented here shows that true passives are quite rare with modal verbs in Aanaar Saami, and passivized modal verbs appear to be wholly absent. While it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between a passive sense and a generic impersonal one (cf. ISK § 1363-1364), impersonal constructions do seem to take over the uses of the passive in Aanaar Saami similarly to the Finnish system. The patient in such impersonal constructions is most commonly treated as a regular object and appears in the accusative case. It appearing in the nominative is rare and mostly occurs in texts translated from Finnish; this agrees with results presented by Mettovaara (2023: 108-109), who attributes such usage to Finnish interference.

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Aanaar Saami demonstrative pronouns: a reappraisal

Jukka Mettovaara (University of Oulu)

Saami demonstratives have received little attention in literature, and most of it focuses on the diachronic development of the demonstrative stems (Bergsland 1950; Kont 1970; Keresztes 2010). The most recent treatment is by Ylikoski (2020), who provides synchronic descriptions of the demonstrative systems in six Saami languages, including Aanaar Saami.

There appears to be an agreement that the Proto-Saami demonstrative system had 2–4 members. According to Ylikoski (2020: 399), Proto-Saami probably had four demonstrative stems of the type **tV*-; Koponen (2022: 109) elaborates by postulating at least a proximal **tāt* and distal **tę̄t* and possibly also **tiet* (closer to the addressee) and **tuot* (farther away from the speaker and the addressee).

Aanaar Saami, traditionally classified as the westernmost member of the eastern Saami languages, has minimally a fourfold demonstrative system, according to synchronic descriptions of the language. Following Ylikoski's classification (2020: 408), they are the deictic ones *tiet* (proximal, near addressee), *taat* (proximal, near speaker) and *tuot* (distal, far), and the anaphoric *tot*. The fifth member, *tovt* (distal, further), is rare in use and appears to have

a defective inflectional paradigm. (Olthuis 2000: 157–158; Morottaja 2007: 60–61; Morottaja & Olthuis 2023: 211–212.)

The system described above would appear to match closely with the Proto-Saami system. However, the historical situation seems to have differed from the current one and deserves closer scrutiny. For example, sources before the 21st century only give a tripartite system consisting of *táát ~ taat*, *tot* and *tuot* (Lönnrot 1854: 183; Andelin 1861: 393; Itkonen 1991: 33). Of course, the limited nature of the descriptions by Andelin and Lönnrot may result from other factors, such as their age. Nevertheless, an interesting finding is that Erkki Itkonen's *Inarilappisches Wörterbuch* (1986–1989), whose material was collected in the 1950s and earlier, does not recognize *tiet* only in its current addressee-proximal meaning (op. cit., 4959). In addition, the dictionary contains a hitherto undescribed demonstrative stem *ti-* (op. cit., 4951), whose meaning seems to vacillate between almost all other deictic pronouns.

In my presentation, I attempt to bridge the gap between the historical and current demonstrative pronoun repertoires in Aanaar Saami and shed some light on the enigmatic *ti*-pronoun and its role in the deictic system.

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Variation in Aanaar Saami adjective attribute marking

Merit Niinemägi (University of Tartu)

From an areal perspective, the two most common ways of marking adjective attributes in the languages of Northern Eurasia are juxtaposition and agreement. Juxtaposition is considered to be the prototypical marking of adjective attribution in Uralic languages. In other words, the morphologically unmarked adjective typically precedes the head of the noun phrase (Rießler 2016: 125). In some languages, e.g. Finnic languages, juxtaposition has been replaced by agreement marking of adjective attributes.

The prototypical marking of Saami adjective attributes, however, is unique within the Uralic language family as well as within the languages of Eurasia in general. Saami languages generally distinguish between two separate adjective forms, of which one is used as a predicate, the other as an attribute. While the former agrees with the subject in number, the latter typically does not show agreement, e.g. Aanaar Saami *visteh láá muččâdeh* [room.PL be.3SG beautiful.PL] 'the rooms are beautiful', *but mučis visteh* [beautiful.ATTR room.PL] 'beautiful rooms'.

Yet, the adjective attribute marking system of the Saami languages is far from uniform. Not all Saami adjectives have a distinct attributive form and in some languages, there are also instances of head-driven agreement. Aanaar Saami in particular stands out by the wide range of adjectives which show (optional) agreement with the head noun in attribute position (Rauhala 2013: 211). Moreover, in Aanaar Saami, the attribute marking of some adjectives is inconsistent, i.e. their so-called attributive form is occasionally disregarded in favour of the unmarked base form which then also may agree with its head noun (e.g. muччadeh visteh [beautiful.PL room.PL] 'beautiful rooms', cf. examples above). Previously, the inconsistency in the attribute marking of Aanaar Saami adjectives has been described as a feature of the Eastern dialect (Morottaja 2007: 23), but to this day, there have been no thorough studies on the variation and its possible determinants.

The present research aims to shed more light on Aanaar Saami adjectives with inconsistent attribute marking. More specifically, I will give an overview of these adjectives and discuss the intra- and extralinguistic factors which might play a role in their variation. Particular attention will also be paid to the optional head-driven agreement attested with these adjectives.

For the present study, adjective attributes were collected from two anthologies, Inarinlappalaista kansantietoutta 'Aanaar Saami Folklore' and Aanaarkiela čájttuzeh 'Aanaar Saami Language Samples' which contain transcriptions of language samples collected in 1887 and 1952, respectively. In addition, more recent examples of Aanaar Saami adjective attributes were collected from the text corpus provided by the SIKOR corpus at UiT The Arctic University of Norway.

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Modelling complex numerals as part of Inari Saami revitalising

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Trond Trosterud (UiT The Arctic University of Norway)

Traditionally, complex (multi-word) Inari Saami numerals, such as 53, inflect for number and case throughout the word form in a way that is similar to, but not identical to, the pattern known from Finnish. Among young and new speakers, there is a tendency to inflect only the final part and treat the numeral as an opaque stem, or even to use only the nominative form. Looking at texts for correct forms is of no help, since complex numerals are typically written with Arabic numbers, as in example (1) taken from the Inari Saami corpus SIKOR:

(1) *já sämikielâlâš mátttáättâs finnim uáppei lohomeeri Suomâ vuáđuškoovlâin lii kiäppánâm suullân 50:jn 1990-lovo aalgâ rääjist.* (SIKOR)

and the number of pupils receiving Sámi instruction in Finnish primary school had been reduced to about 50 at the beginning of the 1990ies.

The numeral "50:jn" is a comitative form, intended to represent the wordform *viiđáinluvvijn*, but the distributed inflection is not shown in writing. We have been able to find only one example of explicitly inflected complex numerals in SIKOR:

(2) *Njuovvâm maŋa tiäddu tiäđust-uv kiäppán viiđ**áin**luvv**ijn** prosenttáin* (SIKOR)

slaughtering after weight of.course decreased five.SG.COM.ten.SG.COM percent

Naturally, the weight decreased by 50 % after slaugthering

The system of complex numeral inflection is as follows: In singular, the non-final parts of the numeral are (short) genitive sngular forms, whereas the final part is inflected for case. In Finnish, on the other hand, all parts are inflected. Cf. table 1, which shows the singular case forms of the numeral *vitlovkulmâ* '53'.

Case	**Inari Saami**	**Case**	**Finnish**
Nom	vitlovkulmâ	Nom	viisikymmentäkolme
Gen	viđâlovkuulmâ	Gen	viidenkymmenenkolmen
Ill	viđâlovkuulmân	Ill	viiteenkymmeneenkolmeen
Loc	viđâlovkuulmâst	Ela	viidestäkymmenestäkolmesta
Com	viiđáinluvvijnkulmáin	Ade	viidelläkymmenelläkolmella

Table 1: Numeral forms in singular

In plural, Inari Saami and Finnish show the same pattern: Full case and number agreement across the board. The historically recent comitative plural shows a deviant pattern, as expected: The nonfinal parts occur in genitive plural, with the clitic case ending added to the final part. Cf. table 2, which shows the plural case forms of the numeral *vitlovkulmâ* '53'.

Case	**Inari Saami**	**Case**	**Finnish**
Nom	viiđahlovehkuulmah	Nom	viidetkymmennetkolmet
Gen	viđâiluvijkuulmâi	Gen	viisienkymmenienkolmien
Acc	viiđâidluuvijdkuulmâid	Acc	—
Ill	viiđáidluvvijdkulmáid	Ill	viisiinkymmeniinkolmiin
Loc	viiđâinluvvijnkuulmâin	Ela	viisistäkymmenistäkolmista
Com	viđâiluvijkuulmâiguin	Ade	viisilläkymmenilläkolmilla

Table 2: Numeral forms in plural

We modeled a finite-state transducer for the plural forms (the ones with full agreement) as follows, for simplicity restricted to numerals between 20 and 99, although the same pattern holds for higher numerals as well: Each of the classes of numeral parts (tens, ten, ones) were inflected for the 6 cases shown in table 2, giving rise to 6 x 6 x 6 = 216 forms for each 3-part numeral. In order to block the generation of non-existing forms, we added a so-called DIACRITICAL FLAG on each case ending, as shown in (3), where U = unification, nc = number-case, PlLoc (etc.) = number-case values (for a presentation of diacritical flags, see Beesley and Karttunen 2003, chapter 8).

(3) a. viiđâin@U.nc.PlLoc@luuvijn@U.nc.PlLoc@kuulmâin@U.nc.PlLoc@

b. viiđâin@U.nc.PlLoc@luuvij@U.nc.PlGen@kuulmah@U.nc.PlNom@

Forms like the ones in (3a), with corresponding number-case values, are accepted by the language model, whereas forms with conflicting values, like the ones in (3b), will be ruled out during compilation. For the partial agreement forms in singular we added flags @U.nc.attr@, so that genitive, locative and illative singular all were unified with this flag. The result was a transducer analysing and generating all and only the attested complex numeral forms.

We intend to include the transducer in an interactive language teaching program and let it be used by learners of Inari Saami. In our talk, we will report on the pedagogical effects of teaching complex numerals with support of this program.

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Community-Based Language (re)vitalization: a case study of Aanaar Saami

Bianca Benini-Morottaja (University of Turku)

In my Ph.D., I aim to critically analyze the community-based approach in indigenous language revitalization programs (Fitzgerald, 2018; McCarty, 2018). For this study, I examine two endangered languages, Aanaar Saami (Inari Sámi), spoken by an indigenous group situated around the lake Inari in Northern Finland. The other one is Apurinã, a Brazilian Aruák language (also Arawak in scientific literature). Apurinã people inhabit the Central Purus River in the Amazon Basin region. Acknowledging the dissimilarities between the two contexts, AS and Apurinã share similarities in their revitalization paths. After long oppression, indigenous communities have recently produced their own language materials. For this presentation, I will address the case of Aanaar Saami (hereafter AS). AS is one of the nine Sámi languages used in central and northern Fenno-Scandinavia and the Kola Peninsula of Russia. There are three different Sámi languages spoken in Finnish territory: Inari Sámi, Skolt Sámi, and Northern Sámi. All three languages are used in the municipality of Inari (Aanaar), and AS is only spoken in Finland. Traditionally, the language has been used in the region around Lake Inari in Northern Finland. The number of speakers has never been more than 1,000 people (Olthuis et al., 2013). I include AS in this research since its revitalization process is described as exemplary, and the language has been used as a medium of instruction in schools since 2000 (Aikio-Puoskari, 2018). In my presentation, I will examine the initiatives and programs developed to support the revitalization of AS, as discussed by Pasanen (2015, 2018), and in Apurinã language community (Lima-Padovani, 2019; da S. Facundes, et al., 2019). Furthermore, I intend to investigate the challenges involved in the co-production of teaching and learning material that not only includes Indigenous knowledge (on language, culture, and landscape). My presentation focuses specifically on how these materials can contribute to maintaining Indigenous language through implementing community-based strategies. The theoretical framework utilized in this research is based on the critical theory in applied linguistics (Pennycook & Makoni, 2019) and a decolonial approach, which sheds light on the power dynamics to be considered when developing tools that can further social justice (Kovach, 2009). Decoloniality is viewed as an ongoing process of becoming and relearning the position of the research process (Datta, 2017). Key aspects of this research include decolonial practices and an indigenous research framework on the practices of language revitalization efforts.

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Presenting SAMLA: The Network for Research and Teaching of Small Saami Languages

Minerva Piha & Hanna Danbolt Ajer (Nord University)

The Network for Research and Teaching of Small Saami Languages (SAMLA) works in support of research and revitalization of small Saami languages, in the intersection between language research and language education. In this presentation, we will introduce the aims and activities of SAMLA, and what the network has done so far.

Small Saami languages have related histories and face similar (yet unique) challenges, and some challenges are different from the ones faced by larger minority languages. SAMLA gathers researchers from Finland, Sweden and Norway within the fields of South Saami, Lule Saami, Skolt Saami and Inari Saami. Through workshops, seminars and guest lectures SAMLA supports and advances cross-border and cross-disciplinary research and contributes to building more robust research communities within these fields.

SAMLA further supports professional development for teachers and emerging teachers of small Saami languages, as we believe the education and support of language teachers is crucial to revitalization. We provide a space for working and emerging teachers for meeting, storying, and sharing of experiences. We hold designated workshops for teachers to voice and compare institutional needs and concerns, as well as discuss possible solutions. Further, SAMLA supports professional learning through seminars and panel discussions with researchers both from the Nordics and internationally.

The results of SAMLA's activities will be presented in numerous ways for different audiences: from blog posts to academic articles, from policy briefs to conference presentations, the work of SAMLA will have a wide reach not only among a global community of minority language researchers and educators – but also decisionmakers, policymakers, the wider academic community and the public.

The start of SAMLA is in 2025 when the network gathers to a workshop to identify common challenges of teaching small Saami languages in different Nordic countries and to map the scopes of cooperation.

The unique strength and ethical commitment of SAMLA is its close engagement with stakeholders: learners of South Saami, Lule Saami, Skolt Saami and Inari Saami. The ultimate goal for all SAMLA's activities is the benefit of language learners of these critically endangered indigenous languages in our Nordic region.

The future participle suffix *-jassa* in the 1811 Saami Bible

Torbjörn Söder (Uppsala University)

This paper deals with the constituent *-jassa*, which is found in the so-called Swe. *sydlapska bokspråket*, here referred to as OLSS (Old Literary Southern Saami). This Saami literary language, which is mainly based on Ume Saami, was created in Sweden in the middle of the 18th century for priests in their missionary work among Saami in Sweden (Sköld 1986; Wickman 1984). An early version of the language is found in Pehr Fjellström's works from 1738. At two conferences, one held in Lycksele in 1743 and one in Umeå in 1744, improvements of the language were discussed and implemented. In 1755 the New Testament (*Ådde Testament*) was published in the revised version of the language; however, OLSS was continuously elaborated and in 1780 the comprehensive Saami-Latin-Swedish dictionary *Lexicon Lapponicum* (LL; Lindahl & Öhrling) was published.

In LL a few forms ending in *-jassa* are mentioned and they appear to be the first published occurrences of such forms. The grammar section of the dictionary treats them as equivalents of Latin future participles, e.g. OLSS *etsejassa* ~ Lat. *amaturus* 'who will love' (xlviii). The 1811 Bible (*Tat ailes tjalog* 'The holy scripture'*)* shows *-jassa* as an integrated part of the language, whilst it is still lacking in the 1755 New Testament.

Following LL, forms ending in *-jassa* are here treated as active future participles and the constituent *-jassa* as a past participle suffix that attaches to verb stems (*etse-jassa* love-FPRT).

The presentation aims to describe and analyse the semantic, morphological and syntactical properties of forms containing the suffix, by examining instances and their context in the 1811 Bible. The study also includes a comparison of passages with the suffix in the New Testament of the 1811 Bible and corresponding passages in the 1755 New Testament, in order to examine and analyse the settings where the suffix has been inserted. A comparison is also made with the 1703 Swedish Bible, the 1776 Finnish Bible, and the Swedish test translation of the Bible translated between 1774 and 1793 (Læstadius 1833: 147), to examine possible systematic correspondence between the translations pertaining to the suffix (Eklund 2010; Tiällmann 1696: 109; Vhael, Barthold G. 1733: 95). Finally, the paper discusses the background and distribution of the suffix in other Saami varieties (Hasselbrink 1981–1985: 139; Schlachter 1958: 71; Lagercrantz 1923: 107) and its etymological background.

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Future time reference in the Kildin Saami translation of the Gospel of Matthew

Sofya Rachinskaya (Moscow)

The Gospel of Matthew, translated by Arvid Genetz and published in a Cyrillic script in 1878, is the first book written in Kildin Saami. As such, it demonstrates peculiar grammatical features that are either completely absent or significantly different from what one can observe in later texts and modern spoken Kildin Saami. One of the notable differences is the strategies used for future time reference.

There are four ways to refer to future events in modern Kildin Saami (Kosheleva 2023). For verbs with telic interpretation, future time reference with perfective viewpoint is expressed with the **nonpast** form of the verb. On the other hand, for atelic verbs, the most common way to refer to the future is the auxiliary verb *al'l'ke* 'to begin' and infinitive of the main verb (***al'l'ke+inf*** construction). An alternative strategy, which is also common, but less grammaticalized as a future time reference marker, is to employ the inchoative suffix ***-škued'd'-***. Finally, there is a Future Perfect construction which consists of the potential form of the verb *l'iijje* 'to be' and past participle of the main verb (***be-pot+ptcp.pst*** construction).

In Genetz's Gospel, two more future time reference constructions are employed, which are not attested in modern Kildin Saami. The first one consists of the potential form of the verb *l'iijje* 'to be' and infinitive of the main verb (***be-pot+inf*** construction). In modern Kildin ***be-pot+inf*** construction is used as an analytic conditional construction. There is also a seemingly identical *be-pot.3sg+inf* construction in various books translated by A. Antonova, but the actual meaning of the construction in those books is prohibitive, which is likely to be a direct calque of Russian *буде́т+inf* (*be.fut.3sg+inf*) prohibitive construction briefly described in (Endresen et al 2021).

The second future time reference strategy absent in modern Kildin is using a **potential** form of the verb, which is extinct for the majority of the verbs in the modern language . Neither construction has a clear equivalent in Russian, therefore it's unlikely to be an influence of the source language for the translation.

Furthermore, the constructions that are present both in the Gospel and modern spoken Kildin Saami, demostrate significant differences in their usage. For example the ***be-pot+ptcp.pst*** construction in modern Kildin Saami can be used as both subject resultative and object resultative. In the Gospel, in contrast, there are only examples of its object resultative usage. Another difference is that, in contrast to modern Kildin, the usage of both ***al'l'ke+inf*** construction and forms with ***-škued'd'-*** for future time reference is rather marginal. In their place ***be-pot+inf*** is used in the Gospel, but unlike *al'l'ke* and *-škued'd'-* it can be used both in perfective and imperfective contexts. Additionally, potential mood of the main verb is used for future time reference only in conditional clauses, replacing the conditional mood markers that are used for conditionals in past and present tenses.

In my talk I am going to further elaborate upon the differences in future time references between modern Kildin and the language of the Gospel as well as differences between the constructions themselves.

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Productivity and trends of frequentative and continuative verb derivations in Aanaar Saami written literature

Petter Morottaja (University of Oulu)

Aanaar Saami (or Inari Saami) as a part of continuation of Saami languages in the Nordic country and Kola peninsula belongs to the eastern branch of Saami languages, and its traditional regions are located in Northern Finland. The already scarce number of speakers has been slowly declining throughout the last century, but recent revitalization actions have overturned this trend, and have raised a new demand for knowledge about the traditional properties and development of the language.

The study on point considers the occurrence of Aanaar Saami frequentative and continuative verb derivations and the changes on the frequency of the occurrences in Aanaar Saami written sources ranging from late 19th century to present time. According to Olthuis (2024), the Aanaar Saami frequentative and continuative verb derivations consist of verbs formed with derivative ending *-diđ, -(â)ččiđ, -(e)ldiđ, -(â~u)hčâđ, -(â)llâđ,* and *-(â)ddâđ*. The main motive for the research is to determine a) the productiveness of aforementioned derivates, and b) the trends of popularity of the frequentative and continuative verb derivations as a whole.

The usage of frequentative and continuative verb derivations could be viewed as lexicalized or productive, with the main distinction being that productive derivates allow the derivation to be applied to novel root verbs, while lexicalized derivates do not. Applying the definition of productivity in word-forming by Gaeta and Ricca (2015), the productive, as opposed to lexicalized, derivations should manifest itself in more abundant variety (transparent) root verbs.

If not lexicalized, frequentative and continuative verb derivations can be considered to be non-essential in transferring information: the verb *väzziđ* 'to walk' conveys essentially the same process as the continuative verb *vazâččiđ* 'to walk for a longer time'. However, non-essential verb derivations can add to the richness of linguistic expression, and studying these fine details in meaning might be a way to conclude if some traits are typical specifically to Aanaar Saami or Saami languages in general.

I will determine the occurrence of frequentative and continuative verb derivations as well as their relative frequency in various points of time. The data consists of following time layers and sources, respectively: 1886, *Inarinlappalaista kansantietoutta* (Koskimies & Itkonen 1978); 1952, *Inarinsaamelaisia kielennäytteitä* (Itkonen 1992), as well as writings in Aanaar Saami in *Sápmelaš* magazine; 1968–1970, *Tovlááh mainâseh* (Morottaja 1997); 1988–2000, writings in *Anarâš* magazine; and 2000–2021, the Aanaar Saami "Newspaper texts" collection in Saami

International Korpus (SiKOR). The productivity of the frequentative and continuative verb derivations will be assessed by examining the spectrum of root verbs of the derivations. As a result of longitudinal study, it can be determined if some of the typical, fine-detailed traits are fading, or possibly being revitalized.

The study will shed new light on the fine-detailed traits of Aanaar Saami verbal system, as well as the productivity of frequentative and continuative verb derivations. The results can be applied to a broader context of revitalization of Aanaar Saami in forms of learning material and language modelling.

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A borrowed hortative particle in Kola Saami

Michael Rießler (University of Eastern Finland)

Hortative is a verbal modality semantically related to the imperative mood, but not a morphological category. A bound particle *-ka* marking the hortative in Kola Saami features in contemporary writing, for instance in Alexandra Antonova's literary translations into Kildin Saami. It also drifts like a ghost across theoretical literature on Saami and Uralic linguistics.

It was Julius Mägiste (1968) who first mentioned the borrowing of a "hortative particle" from Russian in Kola Saami. His evidence were two examples from spoken Kildin Saami, published as transcripts in a volume by Georgi Kert in 1961. Kert's descriptive grammar of Kildin Saami (1971) – published ten years later and using one of these two examples – briefly describes this particle and its Russian-language origin too, but without reference to Mägiste.

Whereas Mägiste's finding deals with "suffix borrowing", the formative is described as a "borrowed discourse-pragmatic marker" (without further discussion and mistakenly attributing Mägiste's finding to Ter Saami) in a study on contact-induced language change in Kola Saami (Blokland/Rießler 2011). In the same study the authors also briefly mention the observation of hortative constructions in today's Kola Saami speech.

In a recent handbook chapter on TAM and evidentials in Uralic languages (Bradley/Klumpp/Metslang 2022), the borrowing of the "hortative particle *=ka*" from Russian in Saami is touched upon, but without specifying which Saami language and referring only to the very short description in the meta study by Klara Majtinskaja (1982). A recent grammar sketch of Kildin Saami in the same handbook does not mention the particle either (Rießler 2022).

The particle's phonetic form, syntactic locus as an enclitic particle, and function as an interrogative marker – incl. syntactic and stylistic restrictions – is like the Russian source word.

This study provides the first detailed description of the hortative particle in Kildin Saami and Ter Saami and shows that it is regularly used, including in Standard Written Kildin Saami.

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Final *-*m* in Central and Southern Saami

Patrick Mayrhofer (University of Vienna)

In Proto-Saami, the markers of the accusative singular (AccSg) and of the 1st person singular in verbs (Vx1Sg) both had the form *-*m* (Sammallahti 1998: 65, 78, *et passim*). In this talk, I will be discussing the development of Proto-Saami final *-*m* and its various reflexes in Central and Southern Saami from a diachronic and dialectological perspective, focusing especially on the situation in 20th century Ume Saami. The reflexes of these two suffixes in the older Saami texts and in dialect material collected during the first half of the 20th century have been examined for this study. In the case of the latter, I have relied heavily on Ume and Pite Saami archive material housed at *Institutet för språk och folkminnen* (ISOF) in Uppsala, collected by C. Axel Calleberg, Björn Collinder, Valter Jansson, Nils Moosberg, Israel Ruong, Tryggve Sköld, and K. B. Wiklund. Starting with the older Saami literary corpus, Olaus Stephani Graan's *Manuale Lapponicum* (Qvigstad 1947: 23, 25–9, 31–2, 37) and Lars Rangius' translation of the New Testament (Wilson 2008: 89–90, 92–7, 111) both show original *-*m*. Only in nominals suffixed for the 2nd and 3rd person singular the AccSg marker is found as *-p-* in both Graan and Rangius (note Rangius AccSg.3Sg <pz> (< *-*msē*); cf. Wilson 2008: 98–9, 111). As Wilson (2008: 111) suggests, the these possessed forms resulted from a change in which *m became *p* before obstruents. Those AccSg forms with *-p-* were later extended analogically to the unpossessed AccSg, and then similarly to the Vx1Sg of verbs. The 20th century varieties from South to Lule Saami can be classified into four main groups according to their reflexes of *-*m*: (1) the *m*-type, (2) the *p*-type, (3) the *v* (*p*)-type, which has *v* in in all polysyllabic forms as opposed to *-p* in monosyllabic ones, (4) and lastly the *v* (*v*)-type, which has *v* in both monosyllabic and polysyllabic forms. The *m*-type is found throughout the southern-most Saami area, such as Hïerjedaelie or Snåase, while the more northern *p*-type is attested, *inter alia*, in Aarborte, Dearna, Gávtjávrrie, and Ulliesjávrrie. The innovation of *-p* > *-v* must have originated somewhere in the Pite and Lule Saami areas as all those varieties examined have completed this shift, thus constituting the *v*-type. This innovation later spread to the eastern (forest) Ume Saami dialects, where it has not taken place in monosyllabic forms (and should be classified as the *v* (*p*)-type), as is the case with Málåge and Måsskure. Calleberg's (ULMA 22480) material from the forest dialect of Suorssá shows great variation with polysyllabic verbs and nouns having both *-v* and *-p*; monosyllabic forms however consistently have *-p*. Larsson (2012: 131) also notes the same about AccSg forms in Moosberg's word collection from this variety. The transitional region between the eastern Ume Saami *v* (*p*)-type and the Pite–Lule *v*-type is made up by varieties spoken around Giehkure (Västra Kikkejaur). These have *-v* in polysyllabic forms but show great vacillation between *-p* and *-v* in monosyllabic ones. As noted by Siegl (2017: 271), in Sköld's data from Luöbniejávrrie there is variation between final *-m* and *-p* in monosyllabic forms. Similar observations could also be made in Jansson's fieldnotes from Luöbniejávrrie (ULMA 34455), as well as in Jansson's (ULMA 34455) material from Gáŋssjá,

Calleberg's (ULMA 22480; 2139) from Málmiesjávrrie, Collinder's from Iggajávrrie (ULMA 16359), and Ruong's (ULMA 16763) from Njallajávrrie. In these varieties, one can thus clearly speak of an ongoing change *-p* > *-v*, diffusing from the north, in monosyllabic forms at the time of attestation.

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Relative and absolute chronology in Eastern Saami vocalism

Ilya Egorov (LMU Munich)

Saami historical phonology is a relatively well-studied field. However, most major studies have focused on the development from Proto-Saami to North Saami (cf. Korhonen 1981; Sammallahti 1998), while the phonological development of other Saami languages has often been overlooked. This study aims to address this gap by examining the relative and, where possible, absolute chronology of changes in the vowel systems of the Eastern Saami languages.

A range of syncopes and apocopes considerably changed the word structure of particular East Saami languages. Kildin and Akkla Saami are most affected by these processes, cf. PSaa. **muorę* 'tree' > AkSaa *murr*, KSaa. *muurr*, PSaa. **āltō* 'female reindeer' > AkSaa. *aлī*, KSaa. *aallt*. These processes also occurred in Skolt and Ter Saami to some extent: PSaa. **muorę* > SkSaa. *muõrr* (*muǭrr*), TSaa. mī̮ rr, but PSaa. **āltō* > SkSaa. *äldd* (*ȧlD̄ᴬ*), TSaa. *ạ̄ l̄ᵈta*.

Delabialization affected non-initial syllables of all languages except Aanaar: PSaa. **kuorōs* 'empty' > TSaa. *kī̮ ə̂ ras*, KSaa. *kuras*, AkSaa. *kuɛras*, SkSaa. *kuâras*, AaSaa. *kuárus*. In Ter, it is evident also in the initial syllables: PSaa. **koatē* > TSaa. *kī̮ ə̂ ɒ̰tɛ* 'Saami tent'. Other processes, such as the monophthongization and other quantitative changes of PSaa. **uo*, **ie*, **oa*, **ea*, the labialization of PSaa. **ā*, and the lowering of PSaa. **o*, will also be discussed in the presentation.

The main source is Lehtiranta's (1989) etymological glossary, expanded with Itkonen's (1958) materials and supplemented by other works processed in the Álgu database. This body of materials will also include Akkala Saami examples from Zaikov's works (1987; Kert & Zaikov 1988). Consistent inclusion of Akkala Saami material will contribute to a more comprehensive and detailed understanding of the phonological development of the Eastern Saami languages. Special attention in the etymological corpus will be given to Russian loanwords, which, in the absence of written sources, can aid in the absolute dating of phonetic shifts (cf. Juutinen 2022).

The revision of phonetic shifts in the Eastern Saami languages will help shed light on the structure of the Saami phylogenetic tree. It will provide important evidence for discussing

topological issues such as the affiliation of Aanaar Saami with the Eastern Saami languages, the subdivision into mainland (Aanaar Saami, Skolt Saami, Akkala Saami) and peninsular subgroups (Kildin Saami, Ter Saami), and the relationship between Akkala Saami, Skolt Saami, and Kildin Saami. In this context, a crucial role is played by the careful analysis needed to distinguish between innovations relevant to tree structure and secondary homoplastic changes, which will be undertaken in the scope of this talk.

Abbreviations

AaSaa – Aanaar (Inari) Saami; AkSaa – Akkala Saami; KSaa – Kildin Saami; PSaa – Proto-Saami; SkSaa – Skolt Saami; TSaa – Ter Saami.

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Lule Saami dialects

Torgny Hedström (Uppsala University)

The received view of how many – and which – main dialects there are of Lule Saami and where they are spoken (Wiklund 1901: 2–3; 1915: 4; Sammallahti 1998: 21–22; Ylikoski 2022: [130]–131) is in some regards out of date, and in other regards even misleading. In my talk I will present my current dissertation project where I am pursuing a basic synchronic survey of the current Lule Saami dialects. I have conducted extensive, structured interviews with about 15 Lule Saami L1-speakers representative of different areas in Sweden and Norway. Varieties only sometimes considered Lule Saami are also included: Pite Saami (e.g. Korhonen 1979: 541; Angéus Kuoljok 1997: 19; 2003: 5–8) and Northern Gällivare (e.g. Wiklund 1890: [iii]; Grundström 1946–1954; Korhonen 1981: 15). In this way, measurement points are produced that are interesting compared with idiolects of Lule Saami proper, since one would expect Pite Saami and Northern Gällivare to be the most divergent. The survey consists of three sub-surveys: a phonetical one of 12 variables, a morphological one of 12 variables, and a lexical one of 45 variables. In each sub-survey, the outcome of every variable is turned into binary data (or sometimes ternary, quaternary etc.) that is distributed over the measurement points (representing the idiolects of the interviewees) that are plotted on a geographical map for each variable. From the data of all variables within each sub-survey, an overall analysis is produced by plotting the individual data sets of my interviewees on a PCA (principal component analysis) diagram in order to illustrate how the idiolects group themselves. Last, an attempt to synthesis of the three sub-surveys will be pursued, and the result will be presented in both PCA diagrams and a geographic map.

Intriguingly, Lule Saami exhibits a couple of dialects in Norway that are spoken only there and that until now have not been scientifically described at all (cf though Qvigstad 1925: 19; Qvigstad's unpublished notebooks; Lagercrantz 1939: passim). Contrary to the received view,

no dialect seems to be spoken in both Norway and Sweden. Furthermore, it turns out that the Lule Saami language in Sweden differs considerably from that in Norway, especially when it comes to lexicon and phonetics. This is contrary to what is said in most of the central works (Wiklund 1891: [i] f.; Qvigstad 1925 ibid.; Sammallahti 1998: 21; cf however Rydving 1986: 200 f.). Another finding is that many of the traditional Lule Saami dialects are still spoken in Sweden, albeit in slightly altered versions; dialect levelling seems to be working very slowly. Differences between the language of older sources and that of my recordings have emerged though. The project is to be concluded in 2025.

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B.3: South Estonian within and beyond Uralic studies

Weber

South-Estonian in Historical Perspective: Non-Linguistic Aspects

Indrek Jääts (Estonian National Museum)

For centuries, Baltic German scholars shared a common understanding of the Estonian language and its two main dialects – that of Tallinn (Reval) and Tartu (Dorpat). The first Estonian intellectuals took the idea of the Estonian language and its two main dialects from the Baltic Germans in a ready-made form and did not question it. When F. J. Wiedemann began to compile a grammar of the Estonian language in the 1860s, he concluded that it could not include South Estonian dialects because they were too different. The young Jakob Hurt, himself from South Estonia, made it clear to Wiedemann that South Estonian dialects were part of the Estonian language.

This concept was firmly rooted in Estonian nationalist discourse, and no serious attempts were made to change it. It was a kind of social agreement. The dialects of South Estonia lived on as a local oral language. Standard Estonian, based mainly on the central dialect of northern Estonian, served as the literary language. (The Tartu literary language, based on the Tartu variety of South-Estonian, was superseded in the late 19th century.) The school system and print media both used Standard Estonian. Soviet national policy supported the notion of the Estonian (socialist) nation, the Estonian language and its dialects. The latter were to disappear gradually.

The problem arose when South Estonian dialects began to disappear in the process of modernisation (urbanisation, migration). Radio and television, both in Standard Estonian, played an increasingly important role in people's daily lives. In the wider society, local dialects were not prestigious and some speakers began to feel ashamed of them. Many people no longer passed their dialects on to the next generation, and their survival as a local oral language came under threat. Some did not like these developments and decided to act to reverse them. The Võro and Seto movements emerged from the late 1980s. Activists started to argue that the varieties spoken by the Võro and Seto people were not dialects of Estonian, but a separate language (or languages). New standardised written languages were created. A serious challenge was posed to the hitherto prevailing concept of the Estonian language and its dialects for the first time.

Interestingly, in parallel, some linguists (P. Sammallahti, P. Kallio, and others) also found that South Estonian is a separate language. Paul Ariste, on the other hand, shared the traditional concept of the Estonian language and its dialects for his whole life. Didn't he (and other big names of Soviet Estonian linguistics) realise that Southern Estonian is a separate language? Or did Finnish linguists of the late 20th century look at the Estonian language and its dialects without the glasses of Estonian nationalist discourse for the first time? Can we explain the linguists' new understanding of the South Estonian language with the new ideologies (critique and deconstruction of nationalism, valuing cultural and linguistic diversity, ethnic and linguistic minorities rights)? Võro and Seto activists, of course, liked the linguists' new approach and adopted it in their arguments.

Anyhow, there are no clear linguistic criteria to distinguish between languages and dialects. Linguists are operating within and influenced by the ideological frameworks of their time, just like everyone else. In the case of languages and dialects, it is a political and social agreement that must be made by the people and societies concerned. What we are witnessing is an attempt to change the hitherto valid agreement. It will be interesting to see where it ends up.

South Estonian language or languages – speakers' identity vs linguistics perspective

Sulev Iva (University of Tartu & Võro Institute):

The presentation will discuss the issues of naming and classifying South Estonian languages, drawing on existing classifications, censuses and opinion polls.

The South Estonian language or languages are currently referred to and classified in quite different ways, depending on the point of view of the namer and classifier. The speakers and developers of Võro and Seto themselves generally refer to their language as Võro or Seto language respectively (Eichenbaum, Koreinik 2008, Kuuba 2024), and do not agree to call their language a dialect, a variety or anything less than a distinct language. The status of Võro and Seto as languages in their own right is underlined by the Võro Institute, the Seto Institute and the decisions of both the Võro and Seto Congresses (DCV 2023, SK 2024). Admittedly, the speakers of Mulgi and Tartu have not, as far as is known, developed the same firmly expressed view of their own languages as distinct languages.

On the other hand, among linguists, there seems to be a prevailing view that there is a South Estonian language as an individual language, whose dialects or varieties are Võro, Seto, Mulgi and Tartu (see e.g. Glottolog). And thirdly, the official language policy of the Estonian state is still based on the outdated view of Estonian dialectology, according to which South Estonian is a dialect group of the Estonian language, which includes the Mulgi, Tartu and Võru dialects, and the Setu subdialect. The official position of the Estonian state, in particular, but also the current prevailing classification in linguistics, thus contradict the South Estonian languages' speakers' identity and perception of their own language, but also, as far as Võro is concerned, the ISO standard, according to which Võro is an individual language.

However, modern language classification and naming practices should be based not only on linguistics or official state language policy, but also on the self-determination and identity of the speakers of these languages. To this end, it should treat South Estonian not as a dialect group or individual language, but as a language group – South Estonian subgroup of the Finnic languages, consisting of four closely related living individual languages, Võro, Seto, Mulgi and Tartu.

Tartu and Mulgi remain somewhat problematic, however, as the linguistic identity of their speakers fluctuates between language and dialect or is unknown. In addition to today's living South Estonian languages, a separate topic is the extinct language islands of South Estonia, of which at least Leivu can certainly be regarded as a distinct language (Kallio 2021).

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The language shift of Võro and Seto South Estonian in the 20th–21st century

Liina Lindström & Triin Todesk (University of Tartu)

In traditional Estonian dialectology, South Estonian has been considered one of the two main dialect groups of Estonian (Kask 1984, Pajusalu *et al.* 2018). This hierarchy has been endorsed since the establishment of the Mother Tongue Society in 1920, which marks the beginning of a systematised research on dialects (Pajusalu *et al*. 2018: 38), and the growing need for nationalistic language planning (Lindström *et al.* 2023). However, the linguistic community working on the Finnic languages and specifically on South Estonian, has in the recent decades been treating South Estonian as a language separate from (North) Estonian (Sammallahti 1977, Viitso 1985, Kallio 2014, Prillop *et al.* 2020, etc.).

South Estonian is a cover term for several varieties of which Võro, Seto, Mulgi, and to a lesser extent, Tartu are still spoken today. Despite the numerous attempts of the Võro and Seto communities to change the situation, the Estonian language policy still follows the traditional dialectological hierarchy. This means that the varieties of South Estonian have similar rights to the varieties of North Estonian – they are considered regional varieties (*eesti keele piirkondlik erikuju*) that may be used parallel to the literary standard (Language Act), but this does not offer sufficient legal rights or protection for the preservation of South Estonian. This has been felt as belittling for the members of the language communities and has led both Setos and Võros to declare their languages indigenous to Estonia.

In this presentation we introduce the main results of the survey conducted in 2022 with 660 participants of Võro or Seto origin to illustrate the sociolinguistic situation of the Võro/Seto speakers for the past 60 years. The survey revealed that the language shift from Võro/Seto to Estonian has been actively going on since the 1960ies and one of the recurring issues was the Soviet-era preference and enforcement of Estonian, up to the point where students were forbidden to use Võro/Seto in schools and parents were told that South Estonian will adhere to their children's progress in school. Many parents thus chose to speak Estonian with their children and Võro/Seto was reduced to a "granny-language" heard and acquired from grandparents. Nowadays, few families speak Võro or Seto at home with young children, and Võro and Seto are taught at schools only as a facultative subject (Lindström *et al.* 2024).

Our aim is to illustrate how the approach of considering South Estonian a dialect of Estonian and the resulting language policy have contributed to the decline of prestige and position of South Estonian and are deterring South Estonian from public and domestic use. The efforts of language activists in the last three decades have given Võro and Seto more visibility and higher prestige (Lindström *et al.* 2024: 470), but with no adequate legal status and the lack of governmental support, this has not stopped the ongoing language shift and the language situation has seen no noticeable improvement

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The role and necessity of South Estonian onomastics

Evar Saar (Võru Institute)

Southern Estonian place names are related to the territory where the South Estonian language has been spoken. This territory has decreased over the last hundred years, has become similar to an archipelago and is developing towards the direction where it is more and more difficult to find informants who speak South Estonian.

While collecting names in the beginning of 2000s, the language of communication with informants was extremely important. In addition to names, it was possible to find out native imagination of a settlement and landscape around them while interviewing people in the Võro. For example, it would not have turned out that local families in Räpina parish have unofficial surnames, which function as farm names as well. Farm names that definitely belong to a place existed only in official use in Estonian (Saar 2019). The same has been observed when collecting names in Karelia, that the results are different depending on the language of interviewing. The language of power imposes an official hierarchy, a different structure of the settlement, and a perception of names.

It is important to know South Estonian vocabulary and name typology while studying Finnic substrate place names in Latvia. It is reasonable to consider South Estonian as one basic component in the Finnic language space while studying Finnic place names, e.g. distribution of name elements, generic terms etc (see e.g. Raunamaa 2020, Saar 2011).

When studying the personal names of Southern Estonia, it should be noted that Southern Estonia is located in several regions of different cultural influences. One is the governorate of Livonia, where there are many similarities in the name systems, regardless of whether it is Estonian, South Estonian or Latvian. The second is an area under the influence of the Orthodox Church, were similarities between Seto, archaic Võro, Ingrian, Votic, Veps, Karelian etc. are significant. (Saar 2016, Kuzmin 2022) The third are East Central European personal names, which influence is noticeable only in South Estonian names within the entire Finnic namestock. The influence can be seen in the old personal names and in the place names developed from them because of the intervening languages Polish, Belarusian and Latgalian. (Saar 2017)

In addition to historical onomastics, it is fruitful to study socio-onomastic questions in Southern Estonia, which has much in common with other regions of the Europe. It concerns regional language and landscape loss, the choice of official place names in a situation where expansive language has a strong influence, place names in the linguistic landscape etc.

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South Estonian in the Surnames of Põlva Parish

Eva Saar & Kaisa Tammoja (University of Tartu)

There has been little in-depth linguistic analysis of Estonian surnames and the surnames themselves as a single region. Among the parishes, for example, the surnames of Jaani parish in Saaremaa have been studied (Henno 2000), among the parishes of South Estonia, the names of Räpina have been examined in more detail (Saar 2019), and analytical overviews can also be found on the surnames of the parishes of Kanepi and Urvaste (Kont 1986) and Kambja (Ernits 1998).

Family names were given to the peasantry in Estonia and Livonia after the emancipation from serfdom in the 1820s and 1830s. Previously, people of peasant status generally did not have official surnames. In Livonia, the first people to choose a surname were the farmers, and only afterwards the farm or mansion servants. The most important general requirements was that only close relatives could have the same surname within the same estate. Therefore, in many areas, the first to choose surnames were the farmers and then the servants.

In Põlva parish (South-Estonia) surnames were given in the summer of 1822. Unlike many other parishes in Estonia and Livonia, both farmers and servants were given surnames at the same time. The assignment of surnames was entrusted to the pastor of the Põlva parish, Johann Georg Schwartz (Tammoja 2021). The pastor was an estophile, knew the family connections and the (South Estonian) bynames in use among the people, which were often used as a base for a surname. The peculiarity of surnaming in Põlva parish provides an opportunity for a deeper study of the way in which surnames were chosen by both the landlords and the subjects.

In our presentation, we will show the results of analysing the names of appellative origin given during the general surname assignment in Põlva parish, where we aimed to answer the following research questions:

- How many South Estonian words were adopted as surnames, what was their share in the adoption of surnames?
- In which manors of Põlva parish were there more names taken/assigned in South Estonian and in which were there none at all?
- Which semantic fields inspired the adoption of surnames?
- Which surnames were chosen with positive and which with negative connotations, and what might have been the motives for choosing these names?

In the presentation we will also show the frequency of surnames, with a special focus on unique surnames (surnames given only in one estate), surnames given only in Põlva parish and surnames given only in Livonia.

As this is a topic not yet researched in Estonia, we will also look at the links between surnames and the social status of the recipients. Proponents of socionomastics (Terhi Ainiala, Emilia Aldrin et al.) have mainly studied the relationship between place names and personal names and their mutual effects, but the relationship between surnames and the social status of the name recipient (especially in the lower social class) has so far not been investigated much.

Who were the recipients of the appellative surnames: landlords or serfs? Was it an old byname and was the old farm name not used? Could the name have been chosen in the process without any previous connection? Who obtained surnames with positive or negative connotations?

The research material consists of nearly 900 surnames in Põlva parish, collected manually from the 1826 census (Rahvusarhiiv, EAA.1865.2.7/14; Rahvusarhiiv, EAA.1865.2.64/6-24) and then systematised as research material.

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Variation in locative case forms in Lutsi, a South Estonian variety of Latgale

Uldis Balodis (University of Tartu, University of Latvia Livonian Institute)

Lutsi – one of the three South Estonian language island varieties – was spoken for at least several centuries in the countryside surrounding the city of Ludza in Latgale (eastern Latvia) with the villages where it was spoken clustering into three geographical groups named after the historical parishes in which they are located to the south (Pilda), southeast (Nirza), and north (Mērdzene) of Ludza (Balodis & Pajusalu 2021, Norvik et al. 2021). The varieties spoken by each group are similar, but not identical or uniform (Mets et al. 2014). One observed difference is the variation in the inessive case ending, which has an analogue in South Estonian subdialects spoken in southeastern Estonia where a similar variation can be seen (Balodis 2022). However, other variations also exist in Lutsi locative case endings, for example, in the illative case.

This presentation describes the variations in locative case endings observed in the different parts of the Lutsi speech area and compares this to locative case endings in the other South Estonian language island varieties – Leivu and Kraasna, historically spoken in Latvia and Russia, respectively – as well as South Estonian varieties presently spoken in southeastern Estonia (as described, e.g., in Iva 2007). The distribution of these variations may also provide insight into possible areas in southeastern Estonia where different parts of the Lutsi speech community may have originated.

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Undescribed and unstudied language resources of Leivu South Estonian

Janek Vaab (University of Tartu)

Leivu South Estonian, spoken near Alūksne and Gulbene in northeastern Latvia until 1988, represents the earliest branch of South Estonian (Kallio 2021). While the majority of existing descriptions of Leivu have been based on manuscripts, particularly the works of Valter Niilus (1935a, 1935b, 1937), audio recordings made between 1956 and 1962 have remained largely unexamined. To date, only 2 hours and 45 minutes of these recordings have been transcribed and published in a collection of Estonian dialect texts (Mets et al. 2014). Unfortunately, these transcriptions have been edited, with repetitions and self-repairs omitted, and they contain occasional inaccuracies. Those transcriptions account for only a small fraction of the over 12 hours and 8 minutes of recorded Leivu material housed in The Archive of Estonian Dialects and Finno-Ugric Languages (AEDFUL), nearly 10 hours of which remained untranscribed until 2023.

The aim of this presentation is to introduce the new on development morphologically annotated corpus of spoken Leivu South Estonian, based on these recordings. It outlines the need of the corpus, the transcription method used, and their importance in documenting this extinct language. Additionally, insights are provided into the speakers and recording conditions. The presentation addresses two main questions:

(1) What linguistic features can be identified from the newly transcribed Leivu recordings?

(2) How does Leivu compare to and align with other Southern Finnic languages, particularly Livonian and other South Estonian varieties?

Preliminary findings from the corpus reveal distinct linguistic features, including the phonetic variation of /j/, /h/, and /ʔ/, the use of the polar interrogative particle *vei(s)*, and debitive constructions (examples 1–3).

(1) Leivu South Estonian

nu ua ***`kiitmise*** *`piehmest* (Mets *et al.* 2014: 95)
PP bean.PL **boil.DEB.PL** soft.TR
‘The beans must be boiled until soft.’

(2) Livonian

min’nən vẹ ĺ’ ***vīməst*** *sie rå¯’ tā’giš* (Norvik, Tuisk 2024)
SG1.DAT be.PST **bring.DEB** DEM money back
‘I had to bring this money back.’

(3) Seto South Estonian

ma ***piät*** *rahha ka `kokko `korjama* (SetKo)
SG1 hold.SG2 money.PRT PP together collect.SUP.ILL
‘I have to raise the money as well.’

The use of the debitive construction to mark deontic necessity sets Leivu apart from other South Estonian varieties and aligns it more closely with Livonian.

In conclusion, this research continues the work started in the 1950s offers a significant resource for the study of Leivu South Estonian, providing a dataset that can enhance our understanding of the language's structure. The creation of this corpus provides valuable data for future studies.

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South Estonian in Western Siberia

Ivan Ubaleht (Omsk)

Speakers of South Estonian appeared in Siberia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They founded mono-ethnic settlements in Siberia and were engaged in agriculture. Until the mid-twentieth century, South Estonian was used in all spheres of life in the Estonian settlements in Siberia. In the second half of the 20th century, South Estonian began to be supplanted by Russian. At the beginning of the 21st century, South Estonian (as well as Estonian) is used in communication only by older people and only in limited communication situations.

Siberian Estonians (including speakers of South Estonian) were studied by scientists from Estonia [1-3] and Russia [4]. These studies were largely dedicated to cultural aspects, folklore, and traditions of Siberian Estonians. Linguistic aspects of varieties of South Estonian in Siberia have been affected to a lesser extent. It is also necessary to note that T. B. Agranat and V. A. Orlov are engaged in the study [5] of a Seto dialect in Eastern Siberia. Therefore, now varieties of South Estonian in Western Siberia are not well studied. We are creating a collection of audio recordings of speech by native speakers of South Estonian in Western Siberia to fill the knowledge gaps in this area. Our audio recordings are available on GitHub and licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 license (CC BY 4.0).

Below we will give a brief description of the language situation in the settlements of Western Siberia inhabited by speakers of South Estonian at the beginning of the 20s of the 21st century. We made expeditions to these settlements to collect audio data of South Estonian.

Lileyka (Лилейка) and Novouyka (Новоуйка) are located in Sedelnikovsky District of Omsk Oblast. In 2024, Lileyka has 29 residents, all villagers are Estonians. Almost all villagers use South Estonian in all areas of life. Lileyka is one of the last Estonian mono-ethnic villages in Siberia. We made an expedition there in 2023. Novouyka is located near Lileyka, several Estonian families live there.

In the northern part of Omsk Oblast, a group of elderly speakers of South Estonian lives in the town of Tara. They are members of the local Estonian ensemble "Rõõmus". They were born in now non-existent Estonian villages located in the north of Omsk Oblast. Isolated speakers live in Tarskiy District, for example, in the village of Bobrovka. There are no more than 10 native speakers of South Estonian living in Mikhaylovka (Tarsky District).

In the south of Omsk Oblast, South Estonian is used in the villages of Zolotaya Niva (Okoneshnikovsky District) and Semyonovka (Kalachinsky District). Several dozen native speakers live there. Isolated speakers live in the city of Omsk. A language club for communication in South Estonian is held in Omsk. Native speakers of South Estonian from other Siberian settlements join the communication in this club via the Internet.

Speakers of South Estonian live also in the following settlements: the village of Nikolaevka in Kyshtovsky District of Novosibirsk Oblast, the village of Oravka in Chanovsky District of Novosibirsk Oblast, the village of Antsensk (now only a few people live there), Kotochigi and Vikulovo in Vikulovsky District of Tyumen Oblast. We are planning expeditions to these settlements in 2025 or 2026.

The varieties of South Estonian in Western Siberia are close to Võro. Speakers of South Estonian identify themselves as Estonians or as local Russian Estonians. For the most part, they do not have a self-identification as Võros, although they know the word "Võro". For comparison, speakers of a Seto dialect in Eastern Siberia have a strong self-identification as Setos and they have a very high loyalty to their language. The degree of language preservation among Setos in Eastern Siberia is higher than among speakers of South Estonian in Western Siberia.

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B.4: The Size of Uralic Nominals

Burukina, Egedi, Georgieva

Secundative themes in Kazym Khanty and DP-restriction

Aleksandra Belkind (Leipzig University)

Claim: In this talk, I present new fieldwork data from the Kazym dialect of Northern Khanty (Ob-Ugric, Uralic) and show that theme argument is secundative alignment has syntactic size restriction. In particular, I argue that secundative themes are obligatorily lacking the DP-layer in the structure, but are able to host all other kinds of modification. Contra to predictions of many previous approaches that tie reduced structure to the complete absence of case-marking, secundative themes are marked with oblique case. Despite the oblique marking, DP-restriction on secundative themes is explained via lack of syntactic licensing. Crucially, oblique marking on the secundative theme cannot be analyzed as an inherent case marking or as a PP.

Data: Kazym Khanty is a Nom-Acc language. It allows both indirective and secundative alignment in applicative and causative clauses (Malchukov et al. 2010) (1). In indirective alignment, the indirect object (recipient or causee) is marked with Dative and the theme - with Accusative (Ø-marked on nouns). In secundative alignment, the higher object (recipient/causee) is marked with Accusative, and the theme – with oblique Locative-Instrumental case.

(1) a. Kašəŋ χujat λəχs-əλ-a lipət mă-s
Every person.[NOM] friend-POSS.3SG-DAT flower.[ACC] give-PST.[3SG]
'Everyone gave a flower/flowers to his friend.'

b. Kašəŋ χujat λəχs-əλ lipət-ən mă-s-λe
Every person.[NOM] friend-POSS.3SG.[ACC] flower-LOC give-PST-3SG>SG
'Everyone gave a flower/flowers to his friend.'

Secundative alignment is used, when the indirect object is topical (e.g. Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011, Sipőcz 2015). Restrictions on themes has not been previously discussed.

Size restriction on secundative theme. The theme in secundative alignment is structurally reduced, i.e. smaller than DP. As Khanty is a language without articles, the presence of the DP-projection is not directly visible. Nevertheless, the DP-restriction is evident from the ungrammaticality of the DP-level modifiers, e.g. demonstratives (2), possessive markers (4), and universal quantifier (3). Note that this restriction cannot be re-analyzed as indefiniteness requirement on the theme (contrasting with topicality of the recipient). A proper possessive marker allows for a non-unique and non-specific, i.e. indefinite interpretation (Mikhailov 2023), but is still ungrammatical on a secundative theme (4).

(2) *Nurum tăm kińška-(jət)-n tɛλ pun-s-ɛm
shelf.[ACC] this book-(PL)-LOC entierly put-PST-1SG>SG
Intend.: 'I've filled the shelf with this/these book(s)'

(3) *Toxtər-en məšəŋ ut-λ χuλ purtəŋ-ən mă-s-λe.
doctor.[NOM] ill something-POSS.3SG.[ACC] all medicine-LOC give-PST-3SG>SG
Intend.: 'Doctor gave the patient all medicine.'

(4) *Vasja-jen aŋk-eλ muλsər an-əλ-ən mă-s-λe
Vasya-POSS.2SG.[NOM] mother-POSS.3SG.[ACC] some cup-POSS.3SG-LOC give-PST-3SG>SG
Intend.: 'Vasya gave his mother one of his cups.'

Importantly, only the DP-layer modifiers are ungrammatical. All other kinds of nominal modification is allowed: low quantifiers (5), numerals (6), number marking and adjectives (7) are allowed.

(5) ok Toχtər-en məšəŋ ut-λ kašəŋ / itəχ purtəŋ-ən mă-s-λe.
doctor ill something-POSS.3SG every some medicine-LOC give-PST-3SG>SG
'Doctor gave the patient every/some medicine.'

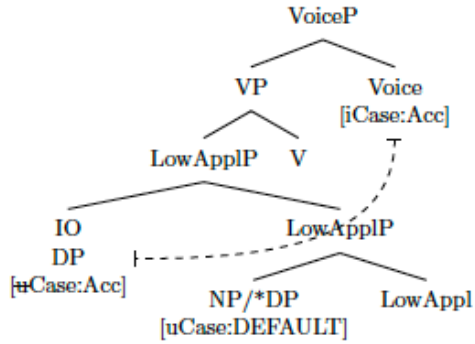
(6) ok Maša-jen ik-eλ χəλəm puχ-ən tə-s-λe
Masha-POSS.3SG.[NOM] man-POSS.3SG.[ACC] three son-LOC bring-PST-3SG>SG
'Masha gave her husband three sons.'

(7) ok λiw aškola-jew nuwi ow-ən λət-s-əλ
they.PL.NOM school-POSS.1PL.[ACC] white door-LOC buy-PST-3PL>SG
'They bought white door(s) for your school.'

Analysis: There are two related questions regarding the secundative theme: (i) what is the reason for the DP-restriction, and (ii) what is the origin of the Locative-Instrumental marking. I propose a model where both can be captured by the absence of syntactic case licensing. The analysis is based on the assumption that NP-sized arguments can survive derivation without being licensed, while DP-sized arguments require obligatory licensing (e.g. Kalin 2018, Lyutikova

& Pereltsvaig 2015). It has, furthermore, been argued that syntactic licensing is linked to case assignment (e.g. van der Wal 2022). For the clauses in (1), I assume a low applicative structure (Pylkkänen 2008 etc.) and propose the derivation in (8) for the secundative alignment. Here, both objects are introduced as a DP/NP and Voice case-licenses the highest caseless nominal in its c-command domain, in this case the IO. This prevents Voice from agreeing with the theme, which remains unlicensed and bears a marked default case.

(8)



Importantly, the oblique-marked theme has all the properties of pseudo-incorporated nouns, except the absence of case marking (e.g. Massam 2009, Driemel 2020), e.g. a reduced structure, inability to bind etc. The current analysis is able to account for this properties, as unlicensed nouns are expected to stay in situ and be syntactically passive. The only unexpected property of the secundative themes is the oblique case marking. I argue that Khanty uses an oblique case as default marking f unlicensed nominals. The marked default case, that surfaces on unlicensed arguments.

Alternative analyses: There are two possible alternatives: (i) the theme can be claimed to bear an inherent lexical case. This is implausible, since inherently case-marked nominals never have a DP-restriction, neither in Kazym Khanty nor cross-linguistically. (ii) The secundative theme is introduced within a PP. There are indeed adpositions with selectional restrictions on DPs, e.g. the comitative preposition in Ossetic (e.g. Erschler 2019). There are two variants of this analysis of secundative themes: either the LOC-INSTR marker is the P-head itself, cliticisized to its complement, or LOC-INSTR is the case assigned by a silent P. Both options run into the same problem: LOC-INSTR does not have the DP-restriction in any other environment. Locative and instrumental adjuncts (9), as well as demoted agents in passives (10) are marked with LOC-INSTR case, but can be full DPs. Therefore, LOC-INSTR-marker has no selectional restrictions on DPs and the PP analysis cannot be maintained.

(9) Lexical Case

a. Ar joχ tăm woš-ən wəλ-λ-ət.
many people this town-LOC be-NPST-3PL
'There live many people in this village/town.'

b. Kartλɯŋk ma săŋkəp-ɛm-ən śiw sɛŋk-e.
nail.[ACC] I hammer-POSS.1SG-LOC there_PREV hit-IMP
'Hit (the/a) nail with my hammer.'

(10) Passive agent

Maw-λ-am Maša-jen-ən ńawrɛm-ɛm-a mă-s-i-jət.
candy-PL-POSS.1SG.[NOM] Masha-POSS.2SG-LOC child-POSS.1SG-DAT give-PST-PASS-3PL
'My candy was given by Masha to my kid.' (Colley & Privoznov 2020)

Furthermore, the oblique case on the secundative theme can be overwritten under topicalization (11), which is unexpected both for a nominal marked with an inherent case and for a case inside a PP. Since oblique secundative themes cannot be omitted from the clause, the theme in (11) is indeed topicalized and not e.g. pro-dropped in context of a hanging topic.

(11) śit aj wɛr, ma năŋ-ti *t* wɛr-λ-ɛm
this small business I you.ACC do-NPST.1SG>SG
'This small business I do for you.' [Western Khanty Corpus]

Conclusion: The novel data from Kazym Khanty provide support for a DP-hypothesis in articless Ob-Ugric languages. Furthermore, they show that there is no binary opposition between DP and NP. Rather, structurally reduced nominals (small nominals) can be relatively big, lacking only the highest DP level of the extended nominal projection. Finally, Kazym Khanty data show that case is not tied to DP-projection and arguments without DP can be still marked for case.

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Small nominals real and fake: a case study of bare complements in Moksha

Polina Pleshak (University of Maryland, College Park)

Problem: In this paper, I highlight the differences in the properties of two types of bare complements in Moksha (Mordvin, Finno-Ugric), arguing against their uniform analysis. In

Moksha, complements of spatial postpositions (CSPs) and direct objects (DOs) can be marked with genitive or be bare (1)-(2). This differential marking requires explanation.

(1) a. *st'ər'-t'* *šir'ə-sə-nzə*
girl-DEF.SG.GEN side-IN-AGR.3S
'near the girl'

b. *markš* *šir'ə-sə*
table side-IN
'near a / the table'

(2) *vas'ɛ* *ker'-əz'ə* *šuft-t'* / *ker'-s'* *šuftə*
Vasja[NOM] cut-PST.3SG.O.3SG.S tree-DEF.SG.GEN cut-PST.3SG tree
'Vasja cut the tree / a tree.' (Toldova 2018: 575)

One possible account of such asymmetric differential marking is a difference in the structural size of nominals (e.g., Danon 2006). It is tempting to provide a uniform analysis for both positions: genitive complements are full DPs, which get assigned genitive; bare complements are of a smaller size, resulting in their caselessness. Such an account would also explain the agreement pattern: genitive complements trigger agreement, while bare ones do not (1)-(2).

I argue that despite superficial similarities, bare CSPs and DOs should be analyzed differently. Bare CSPs are indeed caseless small nominals (SNs), while bare DOs are full DPs on which the case is realized as null due to the absence of the formal definiteness feature (weak case in terms of De Hoop 1992). I build my analysis based on primary fieldwork data collected in-person and online in 2015-2024 in the village of Lesnoje Tsibaevo (The Republic of Mordovia, Russia).

Theoretical background: I adopt the hierarchical model of DP (Abney 1987; Szabolsci 1984), with several functional projections between NP and DP (Alexiadou et al. 2007). I assume that DPs are phases (Svenonius 2004, a.o), and nominals within a language may vary in size, that is, not all of them must be realized as DPs (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002; Pereltsvaig 2006, a.o.). Only DPs need case, and smaller structures remain caseless (Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2015).

Data: A thorough examination reveals substantial differences between the properties of bare CSPs (BCSPs) and bare DOs (BDOs), both morphosyntactic and semantic. First, BCSPs cannot bear a plural marker (3a), which is required for the plural interpretation of BDOs (3b).

(3) a. *markš-n'ə-n'* / **markš-n'ə* / **markš-t* *šir'ə -sə*
table-DEF.PL-GEN table-DEF.PL table-PL side-IN
'near (the) tables'

b. *son* *mi-s'* *akšə* ***alaša***
3SG[NOM] sell-PST.3[SG] white horse
'He sold a white horse / *white horses.'

Second, BCSPs can contain a genitive possessor triggering agreement on the postposition (4a); possessors are ruled out in BDOs even when such a DO triggers verbal agreement (4b).

(4) a. [*mon'* *markš*] *šir'ə-sə-n*
I.GEN table side-IN-1SG.AGR
'near my table.'

b. **Vas'a* *ker-əma-n'* [*mon'* *šuftə*]
Vasja[NOM] cut-PST.1.O-SG.O.3SG.S I.GEN tree
Int.: 'Vasja cut my tree.'

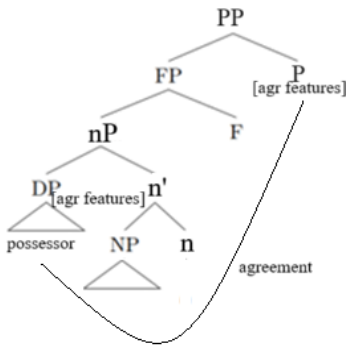
Third, BCSPs can be definite, while BDOs must be indefinite (1)-(2).

Analysis: I assume that the number is in Num; the formal definiteness feature and marking (which is not in one-to-one mapping with definite interpretation, see Danon 2006 for a similar proposal for Hebrew), features targeted by agreement probes, and case features are in D. Possessors generate low in the structure in nP, and the nominal agreement probe is in NumP (right below DP). Given the number marking data, BCSPs are smaller than NumP, while BDOs are at least NumPs, i.e. BCSPs are smaller than BDOs. In this light, it is unexpected that the

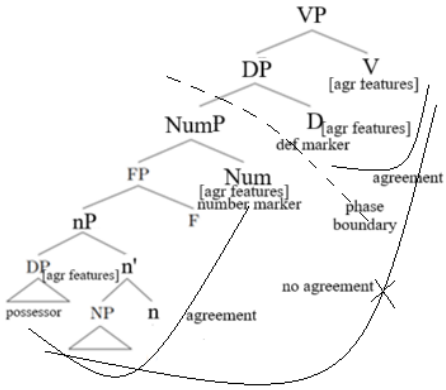
former can accommodate possessors and be definite, whereas the latter cannot. I argue that the restricted properties of BDOs have nothing to do with their structural size and must receive a different explanation. My analysis is as follows.

Moksha BCSPs are SNs lacking NumP and DP (I label them FP); as a result, they do not carry number marking, formal definiteness marking, or case, and do not trigger agreement. External agreement with their possessors is possible because there is no DP phasal boundary between the possessor DP and the probe (5). Moksha BDOs, on the other hand, are full DPs. The presence of NumP is manifested by obligatory number marking. They contain a structural position for possessors. However, the presence of possessors is always reflected on D, while BDOs require a D with no formal features, as only such Ds are realized as null and trigger no agreement (6). This results in only unpossessed indefinite DOs being bare.

(5)



(6)



Conclusions: Although the absence of case on a nominal might indicate its reduced structure, not every bare nominal is an SN. A comparison between different bare nominals within a language might shed light on whether the observed properties are conditioned by reduced structure. In the talk, I will elaborate on my analysis of BDOs as full DPs and discuss several diagnostics that can help to identify SNs and distinguish them from imposters, including overt marking-interpretation mismatch and restriction on modification.

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Most abstracts introduce some complex patterns: On the relationship between indefinite QPs and NPs in contemporary Estonian

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The term *agreement* generally refers to the transfer of grammatical features from one linguistic element to another (Corbett 2006). Agreement occurs at both the sentence and phrase levels and can involve features such as person, number, gender, case, mood, definiteness, and other grammatical attributes (Haig & Forker 2018). In this study, we examine agreement in the context of Estonian quantifier phrases (QP) containing indefinite quantifiers *osa* 'some', *enamik* 'most', and *enamus* 'majority', which have acquired the quantifier function relatively recently (Lõbu 2011). In such phrases, the singular quantifier functions as the head of the phrase, while the dependent noun phrase is either in the partitive when being governed by the quantifier which is in a subject or object case (1-2) or agrees with the quantifier in other cases (3) (Metslang 2017). Unlike numeral quantifiers, which trigger singular marking on the noun (e.g., *kaks autorit* 'two authors', ex. 3), nominal singular quantifiers can also take plural complements. In usage, the quantifier phrases in question are paradigmatically intertwined with noun phrases

(NP), where the quantifier agrees with the nominal head in both case and number (4). It has been suggested that QPs with a singular quantifier highlight the quantity, whereas NPs with a plural quantifier have a specifying function (Erelt & Metslang 1998: 660). However, it remains an open question whether this differentiation is also cognitively real for speakers of Estonian.

The constructions are subject to further variation. First, the dependent noun can be marked with the elative case in both phrase types (5). Second, when the QP is in the subject position, it introduces variation in number agreement at the clause level, allowing the predicate to appear in either singular or plural form (1). The choice of the predicate form depends on factors such as the quantifier used, sentence type, information structure, and whether the quantity is bounded or unbounded (Erelt 2017).

(1) ***Enamik*** ***abstrakte*** *jõud-is* ~ *jõud-si-d* *õige-ks*
most.**SG.NOM** abstract.**PL.PART** arrive-IPF.3SG arrive-IPF-3PL right-SG.TR

aja-ks.
time-SG.TR

'Most abstracts arrived on time.'

(2) *Korraldaja-d* *võt-si-d* *vastu* ***enamiku*** ***abstrakte***.
organizer-PL.NOM take-IPF-3PL PTCL most.**SG.GEN** abstract.**PL.PART**

'The organizers accepted most abstracts.'

(3) ***Enamiku-l*** ***abstrakti-de-l*** *ol-i* *kaks* *autori-t.*
most-**SG.AD** abstract-**PL-AD** be-IPF.3SG two.SG.NOM author-SG.PART

'Most abstracts had two authors.'

(4) ***Enamike-l*** ***abstrakti-de-l*** *ol-i* *pealkirja-s* *koolon*.
most-**PL.AD** abstract-**PL-AD** be-IPF.3SG title-SG.IN colon.SG.NOM

'Most abstracts had a colon in the title.'

(5) ***Enamike-l*** ***abstrakti-de-st*** *ol-i* ***osa*** ***viide-te-st***
most-**PL.AD** abstract-**PL-EL** be-IPF.3SG some.**SG.NOM** reference-**PL-EL**

puudu.
missing

'Most (of the) abstracts were missing some (of the) references.'

QP-related changes have been noted in several studies and language planning sources. These include the replacement of the quantifier *enamik* 'most' with *enamus* 'majority' (Lõbu 2011; Erelt, Erelt & Ross 2020), a rise in the use of singular verb forms agreeing with subject QPs (Erelt 2000, Erelt 2019), an increasing preference for elative case in dependent nouns (Metslang 2017; Erelt, Erelt & Ross 2020), and an observed increase in plural use of the quantifiers such as *osa* 'some' and *enamik* 'most' (Erelt & Metslang 1998; Lõbu 2011; Erelt, Erelt & Ross 2020).

In this paper, we map all mentioned aspects of QP~NP variation in contemporary Estonian, drawing on data from various genres in the Estonian Reference Corpus (2023) and comparing it with the University of Tartu's speech corpora. Beyond mapping the scope of number agreement variation, we aim to analyze speakers' linguistic choices using multivariate statistical models and explore the factors driving both variation and language change.

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Noun phrase structure of Kazym Khanty, a language of the Ob-Yenisei area

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Kazym Khanty is a standardized variety of the North Khanty language, with its own orthographic system, a dictionary (Solovar, 2020) and a descriptive grammar (Kaksin, 2010). Geographically, the Khanty languages belong to the Ob-Yenisei area, which comprises four non-related language families in contact. There is still no overview of noun phrase structure in the area, even though language-specific descriptive works have been emerging lately: Enets (Shluinsky 2020), Selkup (Däbritz & Budzisch 2022), and Evenki (Däbritz 2023). Other descriptions are scattered across relevant grammars and fieldwork reports. Based on the available materials, the goal of my study is to analyze Kazym Khanty NP structure using functionally oriented linguistic theory, thus enhancing cross-linguistic comparisons between the Uralic languages and their neighbours.

Noun phrases can be studied from different angles and theoretical frameworks (Rijkhoff, 2004; Dryer, 2007). For Kazym Khanty, I am building an ontology of morphosyntactic types using the methodology proposed by Rießler (2016). This cross-linguistic classification of adjective attribution in the languages of Eurasia is based on source, pattern, and locus, thus it can be extended to morphosyntactic description of noun phrases in general. In addition to well-known NP characteristics in Uralic languages, such as juxtaposition and head-final constituent order, this approach also implies studying violations of those, as well as noun phrases without nouns. The latter are definitely present in North Khanty but are not discussed in the above-mentioned papers on Ob-Yenisei languages, nor described in the grammar of Eastern Khanty (Filchenko, 2010).

The main typological characteristics of Kazym Khanty NP are typical of Uralic family. Constituent order is head-final and fixed, with the only exception of postpositional phrases, which are head-initial. Juxtaposition is the main syntactic type, whereas in possessive NPs dependents agree with heads in person and number. Dependents are always in the (unmarked) nominative. Possible dependents are nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals, non-finite verb forms, relative clauses and postpositional phrases. My talk with provide an overview of all morphosyntactic features of those types, observing both possessive and non-possessive NPs.

In addition to the size and possible dependents, three distinctive aspects of Kazym Khanty noun phrases will be covered. Firstly, evidence demonstrates elliptical noun phrase with demonstratives, possessives and numerals as dependents (Fedorov 2022). According to Nikolaeva (1999) attributive adjectives can also be used independently in North Khanty. In independent use, adjectives and demonstratives take on the formatives of the respective noun. Secondly, deviations from the standard head-final structure are observed in other Ob-Yenisei languages, but the specific patterns are different. In North Khanty, head-initial structure is triggered by postpositional phrases, while in Selkup the same effect is caused by some quantifiers, and in Enets by some demonstratives in a specific information structure pattern.

Thirdly, North Khanty, and Kazym in particular, uses embedded noun phrases for comparison. The formative suffix *-at-* that is used in these structures is seen by some researchers as a

nominalizing word-formation suffix, while others see it as a morphological suffix with a parametric meaning. This issue is worth further inquiry.

To summarize, Kazym Khanty NP structure is quite typical for the Uralic languages. However, there are a few interesting points that have not been discussed in full: use and marking of modifiers without nouns, deviations from the head-final structure and morphosyntax of embedded noun phrases. My approach is cross-linguistic and helps to understand Kazym Khanty NP structures in areal dimension.

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Small, Smaller and Even Smaller: Small Nominals in Kazym Khanty

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Problem. The status of DP in languages without articles has been a subject of debate in theoretical literature. Proponents of the Universal DP approach (Longobardi 1994) assume that D layer is always present in structure. At the same time, Parametrized DP approach (Boškovic 2009) suggests that DP is absent in languages without articles. The current work, however, shows that both approaches do not hold. According to Pereltsvaig (2006), nominal phrases in languages without articles can be either full DPs or *Small Nominals* (SNs), such as NPs or NumPs. Pereltsvaig argues that some properties of full DPs are inaccessible for SNs due to their syntactic incompleteness. For instance, SNs cannot control PRO, bind reciprocal and reflexive pronouns, they do not take wide scope and never exhibit specific interpretation.

Data. The data from Kazym Khanty (Ob-Ugric < Uralic, henceforth KKh) were collected in several field trips in the village of Kazym (Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug, Russia) in 2019-24. The data show that in a number of contexts, nominal phrases in KKh face similar restrictions. In the talk, we are going to show that such restrictions may be imposed by a small size of syntactic structure of the nominal phrase.

Contexts. We examine the properties of nouns in the following contexts: (a) *unmarked nominal dependents* (UND, henceforth): nouns modifying other nouns and expressing non-referential relationships such as material or origin), (b) *attributivized nouns*: denominal adjectives derived with suffixes *-əŋ* and *-əp*, (c) *numeral + noun* subjects that do not trigger dual or plural agreement on the predicate, (d) preverbs (adverb-like preverbal entities) that are decomposable into a nominal stem and a dative marker, (e) locative-marked *theme in secundative alignment*,

(f) bare nouns, which are non-referential direct objects that exhibit semantic properties of pseudo-incorporated nominals (Dayal 2011).

Functional Sequence. The full DP structure that we assume is [DP [PossP [NumP [ClP [NP]]]]]. Adjectives and unmarked nouns merge in specNP while numerals are base-generated in specClP (Dékány 2021). Next, the number morpheme is Num head. In specPossP, non-agreeing possessors merge, and in specDP we find universal quantifiers, agreeing possessors and demonstratives.

Main idea. We argue that in Kazym Khanty, there are NP-, ClP- and PossP-sized small nominals (cf. Table 1 for results). NP-sized small nominals include unmarked nominal dependents and bare nominals. They are only compatible with adjectives and other unmarked nominal dependents, and cannot bear number or possessive marking. Moving further, ClP-sized nominals are attributivized nouns, *numeral* + *noun* constructions and preverbs. They can be modified not only by adjectives and unmarked nominal dependents but also by numerals. PossP-sized nominals are themes in secundative alignment. In addition to being compatible with adjectives, unmarked nominal dependents and numerals, they can also be modified by non-agreeing possessors and can be marked for number.

	Bare nouns	UND	Attr nominals	Numeral + Noun	Preverbs	Theme of permutative
Adj	ok	ok	ok	ok	ok	ok
UND	NA	ok	ok	NA	ok	ok
Numerals	*	*	ok	ok	ok	ok
PL	NA	*	*	*	*	ok
Possessors	*	*	*	*	*	ok
Univ Q	*	*	*	NA	*	*
Dem	*	*	*	*	*	*

Table 1. Modification of Small Nominals.

Theoretical Implications. Kazym Khanty data (a) provide evidence for the existence of small nominals of various sizes and support (b) the claim made by Pereltsvaig (2006) that small nominals can appear in argument positions. Moreover, the data constitutes an argument in favour of (c) analyses of the nominal functional sequence involving different projections for number and numerals. More precisely, our data show that numerals are base-generated below NumP, i.e., in specClP (Dékány 2021).

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Pragmatic definiteness in Selkup

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This study is a corpus-based analysis of the Samoyedic language Selkup and is taking a closer look at the different strategies of expressing pragmatic definiteness in different speech settings. The corpora used are Budzisch et al. (2019) and Brykina et al. (2020), both covering Northern, Central and Southern Selkup with a total of 409 texts (17,092 sentences, 97,562 tokens).

Based on Hawkins' (1978: 106ff.) taxonomy, the aim is to present an overview of expressing anaphoric, direct situational and associative anaphoric references in Selkup and exploring the different strategies in use. A common marker are e.g. demonstrative determiners which can be used as devices for marking anaphoric reference, i.e. the mentioning of an aforementioned entity, as shown in example (1).

1. *Na* *šoːqor-t* *paːr-o-nd* *siga-l-ba-dɨt.*
   DEM stove-GEN top-EP-ILL climb-INCH-PST.REP-3PL
   'They climbed on top of the oven [which is been introduced before].'
   (Budzisch et al. (2019); TMR_1981_Robbers_flk.044)

In example (1), the anaphoric demonstrative *na* is used, but for direct situational reference - the reference to an entity which is in the immediate vicinity – the deictic demonstratives *taw* (proximal) and *to* (distal) can be used, as shown in example (2b) in which the piece of meat present in the direct situation is referred to:

2. a. *Teb-a-nni* *polʼena-kka-n* *paːr'-i-ndɨ* *wed'i-kussoːg-ə-m*
      3SG-EP-DAT/ALL log-DIM-GEN top-EP-ILL meat-piece-EP-ACC
      pen-na-t, *qal.*
      put-CO-3SG.O say.PST

   b. *"Taw* *am-di!"*
      DEM eat-2SG.O
      'a. He puts a piece of meat on top of a log for her and said: b. "Eat this!"'
      (Budzisch et al. (2019); KMS_1966_TwoSisters_flk.022)

For associative anaphoric reference (mentioning of a referent linked to an anchor), the referent is usually marked possessively with a genitive marking or a possessive suffix, the anchor can be expressed explicitly or it is only recognizable from the context. Example (3) illustrates this for *ɔːq* 'door' which is marked to be the house's door:

3. *ɔːmtɨ-lʹ* *qoː-n* *m ɔːt* *šeːr-na,* *m ɔːt-ɨ-n* *ɔːq-qɨt*
   horn-ADJZ head-GEN house enter-CO.3SG.S house-EP-GEN door-LOC
   nɨl-lɛ-ja.
   stand-RES-CO.3SG.S
   'He enters the house of the tsar and stands at the door.'
   (Budzisch et al. (2019); BEP_1977_Itja3_flk.012)

Beyond demonstratives and possessive marking, Selkup employs additional means to indicate pragmatic definiteness. Unmarked noun phrases (NPs) can be pragmatically definite based on contextual cues, particularly through word order (e.g., sentence-initial objects before an overt subject, though overt subjects are rare in Selkup). Furthermore, definite reference can be achieved through superlatives, universal quantifiers, and generic phrases, though their usage is context-dependent. Personal and zero pronouns, as well as proper names, are employed according to accessibility hierarchies (Ariel 1990).

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The Samoyedic Predestinative as a bundle of D and Appl: Forest Nenets

Gleb Bubnov

Introduction.This presentation provides data from Samoyedic languages, though it is primarily based on my own fieldwork data from the Forest Nenets language. Samoyedic languages have a category that expresses a potential possessor. This category is traditionally called the (pre)destinative and is considered a nominal category (Bakró-Nagy et al., 2022) (since the potential possessor behaves exactly like the regular possessor) with temporal semantics (see Nikolaeva (2015) for Tundra Nenets and Leisiö (2014) for Nganasan).

It was briefly proposed earlier for Forest Enets that predestinatives may be considered nominal applicatives (Siegl, 2008). I will show, based on Forest Nenets data, that Samoyedic predestinatives are actually applicatives, and I will explain syntactically the nominal properties of potential possessors.

Data.The tense of the predestinative matches the clause tense.

(1) puša-tă-j^{w} to-ŋa
wife-DEST-1SG.POSS arrive-GFS
* 'My future wife arrived'
OK 'A girl entered my family'

(2) ńe-tă-j^{ə} to-ŋa
girl-DEST-1SG.POSS come-GFS
* 'My future girlfriend arrived'
OK 'A **sex worker** came to me (a girl came to become mine)'

A predestinative phrase cannot be the subject of a transitive verb

(3) a. *čikæ ńe măń^{ə} puša-tă-j^{ə}
this girl 1SG wife-DEST-1SG.POSS
'This girl is my future wife'

b. ^{OK}čikæ ńe măń^{ə} [puša-tă-j^{ə} me-w^{ə}nta-j^{ə}]$_{VP}$
this girl 1SG wife-DEST-1SG.POSS take-PROSP-1SG.POSS
'This girl is the one I will take as a wife in the future'

A predestinative phrase cannot be the subject of a transitive verb

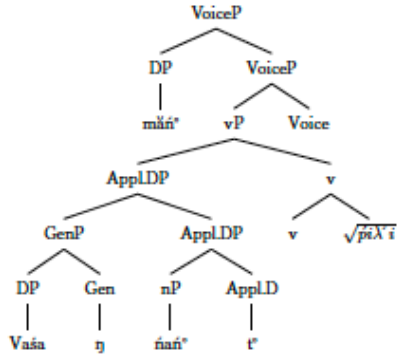
(4) *l′ekaλ-tă-j^{ə} jablaka-m ŋamuλ′a
doctor-DEST-1SG.POSS apple-ACC eat
'The doctor who will treat me is eating an apple'

A predestinative phrase can be the object of a transitive verb

(5) Peča l′ekaλ-tă-j^{ə} kapta
Petya doctor-DEST-1SG.POSS call
'Petya called a doctor for me'

Analysis. Based on data demonstrating the close connection of the predestinative to the clause predicate, I propose analyzing the Samoyedic predestinative as a low applicative in the terms of Pylkkänen (2008). The predestinative head, *Appl*, can only appear within the verb phrase, specifically attaching to the internal argument. Moreover, following Lee (2024), who analyzes the bundling of *Appl* introducing Addressee with C, which has certain syntactic consequences, I propose that our *Appl* head is bundled with the head D and introduces a potential possessor inside DP, thereby explaining its nominal properties.

(6) mäńᵊ Vaśa-ŋ ńańă-tᵊ
1SG Vasya-GEN bread-DEST
pil´i-ŋa-tᵊ
bake-GFS-1SG
'I baked bread for Vasya'



This presentation will also offer an analysis of possessive agreement with potential possessors and affix ordering in predestinatives.

List of Abbreviations

acc — accusative; cvb — converb; dest — predestinative; gen — genitive; gfs — general finite stem; poss — possessive; pRosp — prospective; sg — singular; 1 — first person

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B.5: Verbalization of motion events in Uralic

Bradley, F. Gulyás, Hirvonen

Verbs of falling in some Finno-Ugric languages through the lens of lexical typology

Egor Kashkin (Moscow)

The talk will be devoted to a subclass of motion verbs, namely to the verbs of falling. Falling is understood as an uncontrollable downward meaning without contact with a surface in the course of motion (cf. in English *fall*, *drop*, *plummet*, *plunge* etc.). Although this domain is part of the broader motion domain, it develops many specific semantic oppositions that are understudied in dictionaries and in the descriptive lexicological tradition.

Methodologically, I rely on the frame-based approach to lexical typology which suggests describing lexical semantics and comparing it cross-linguistically by studying lexical combinability and its constraints (see Rakhilina, Reznikova 2016 for details). The typological background for verbs of falling comes from Rakhilina et al. (eds.) 2020, Ryzhova et al. 2024, among others.

My sample includes those languages and language varieties, for which I have first-hand field data, mainly obtained by elicitation (as for secondary sources, they are taken into account where available, but contain many gaps). These are Hill Mari, Izhma Komi, Tatyshly Udmurt, and Shuryshkary Khanty. For Moksha and Kazym Khanty, I will quote some data from publications by other authors using the same theoretical approach (Zhornik, Egorova 2018; Vaneyan et al. 2020).

The semantic parameters that will be discussed in the talk include (but are not limited to) the following:

— Falling down from an upper surface vs. falling of a vertically oriented object located on the ground, cf. Tatyshly Udmurt *us'ənə* for the former vs. *pogranə̂* for the latter.

— Falling of liquids and free-flowing substances: colexification patterns of these frames with each other, with motion frames beyond falling and with falling of multiple objects, e.g. Hill Mari *viläš* related to free-flowing substances, or to overflowing liquids, or to small multiple objects of natural origin (leaves, apples etc.).

— Starting point of falling, cf. Hill Mari analytic item *läkt-ən vaz-aš* (go_out-CVB lie_down-INF) which specifies falling out of a container.

— Frontness, e.g. Tatyshly Udmurt *kə̂mas'kə̂nə̂* which is restricted to falling on the front side.

— Relation between the domains of falling and other semantic domains, primarily sound (e.g. Izhma Komi ideophone-based verbs, such as *z'il'gys'ny* ‘fall with clinking (glass, small metal objects)’, *grimgys'ny* ‘crash down (heavy object)’) and destruction (e.g. Tatyshly Udmurt *kụaškanə̂* ‘collapse’ or even three quasi-synonyms in Shuryshkary Khanty — *ărkəmtti*, *rəxńəmtti* and *laknəmtti*).

In the talk, I will elaborate on these points and discuss some more semantic oppositions, both comparing the systems within my language sample and evaluating them from a typological perspective.

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The expression of motion events in Estonian

Piia Taremaa & Ann Veismann (University of Tartu)

In this paper, we provide a systematic review of the research that has addressed the structure of motion descriptions in Estonian. In particular, we focus on the core components of Talmy's (1985; 2000b) motion event model, Path and Manner. We also examine current evidence on the finer aspects of motion encoding, such as expressing Ground (e.g., Source and Goal) and Manner (e.g., force and speed) in relation to satellite- and verb-framing strategies.

Estonian, like Finno-Ugric languages in general, has been suggested has been suggested to adopt satellite-framing strategies (for claims regarding Finno-Ugric languages, see Talmy 2000b: 27, 60). This means that Estonian predominantly applies a strategy of expressing Manner in the verb and Path in the so-called satellite, i.e., verb particle (e.g., *Ta jooksis välja* 'S/he ran out'). At the same time, the verb-framed strategy is also commonly applied in Estonian (e.g., *Ta väljus joostes* 'S/he exited running').

Based on the available literature (e.g., Pool & Pajusalu 2012; Nelis & Miljan 2016; Montero-Melis et al. 2017), we measure the extensiveness of the satellite-framing strategy in Estonian. We demonstrate that although Estonian is best described as a satellite-framed language, corpus data suggests that path verbs are far more frequent than manner verbs, while manner verbs are substantially more numerous (Pajusalu et al. 2013; Taremaa 2017). We also show that the distribution between satellite- and verb-framing patterns, as well as the expression of fine-grained aspects of Ground and Manner, is heavily dependent on various factors, such as genre, experimental task, and context (e.g, Taremaa et al. 2022; Tuuri 2023).

In addition to a verb-centred focus, we also evaluate the usage and role of verb particles in motion event descriptions. Estonian verb particles (e.g., *sisse* 'in', *alla* 'down') are highly productive, and in Talmy's model, Path is key to lexicalisation patterns. Verb particles can combine with both manner and path verbs, convey aspectual information, and share categorial similarities with free adverbs or adpositions. Despite these characteristics, their role in motion encoding strategies is often overlooked within the framework of lexicalisation patterns.

Finally, by analysing existing data from Estonian and other languages (e.g., Finnish and English), we draw conclusions about the degree of Estonian's path-salience (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2009) and manner-salience (Slobin 2006), aiming to place Estonian within these two clines of salience. While doing so, we also carefully consider the various ways Ground can be expressed in Estonian, and the richness of manner features available for conceptualisation and linguistic encoding.

This systematic overview and analysis of existing data and research will significantly enhance the understanding motion event lexicalisation in Uralic languages, while also opening up future prospects for comparative research in the field.

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Moving beyond the verb-satellite duality. A constructional analysis of path-incorporation in Hungarian

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It seems consensual that Hungarian belongs to the group of satellite-framed languages (Slobin 2000: 115, Talmy 2007: 72). The basic tendency is that the verb refers to the motion and its manner: *fut* 'run' expresses the velocity of the movement, while *elfut* (VPFX.run 'run away') specifies the path (the vector in Talmy's term) with a preverb. Our paper aims to refine this categorization by providing a corpus-based analysis of constructions that can be characterized by path-incorporation. One of these target constructions is a motion verb used without a preverb but with a nominal complement specifying the path of the motion as a direct object: $øV_{MOTION}\ N_{ACC}$ (where ø represents the lack of any satellite).

(1) *És a Latyi mért fut csak félkört?*(#6977270)
and the Latyi.NOM why run.PRS.3SG.INDEF only semicircle.ACC
'And why does Latyi run only a semicircle?'

In (1), the path component of motion is expressed by the nominal complement *félkört* ('semicircle' in the accusative case), thus, there is no satellite component in the sentence. As Talmy (2007: 139) claims, a nominal complement cannot function as a satellite. However, it is also claimed that "[p]robably also deserving satellite status are such compound-forming verbal adjuncts as the first element in English (to) *test-drive*." (2007: 139). In Hungarian, similar structures have recently been created in an increasingly productive way based on nominal

compounds (Palágyi 2024): *erdő-járó* forest-walker ‘walker in the forest’ > *erdő-jár* forest-walk ‘to walk in the forest’. The nominal compounds, however, can be traced back to the use of the “accusative motion construction” (see in 1), *járja az erdőt* walk.PRS.3SG.DEF the forest.ACC ‘someone walks in the forest’, respectively.

The present research conducts a corpus-based analysis on a network of constructions in which the ground or path is increasingly incorporated into the meaning of the verb. According to our hypothesis, the “accusative motion construction” is the first stage of “path-incorporation”, in which the “manner-incorporating verb” (Talmy 2007: 92) is completed with the semantic component of the path as the result of processing the meaning of the construction as a whole. In other words, the nominal complement referring to the ground/result of the motion provides the verb with an implicit reference to the path of motion, therefore there is no need for any satellite element in the context of the verb. The entrenchment of “accusative motion construction” (as a multi-word clausal core, see Imrényi 2017) can motivate components to elaborate a compounding pattern, then nominal compounds may become compound verbs by back-formation, forward-formation, or cross-formation (Palágyi 2024).

The corpus-based analyses explore the use of accusative case expressing path or ground with the prototypical Hungarian motion verbs *jár* ‘walk’, *megy* ‘go’, *fut* ‘run’, and the research ranges over the motion verbs that show distributional similarity with these three according to the Thesaurus tool of SketchEngine applied to Hungarian Web Corpus. We also investigate the network of constructions from the other direction, looking for compound verbs in which the path or ground is already incorporated as a satellite. By examining further connections between the components of the instances found, we can get to additional structures that incorporate the path or the ground to a certain level. The acceptability (and hence the conventionality) of path-incorporation is examined with a survey using a sample of constructs found in the corpus and testing the scalarity of their comprehensibility by 50 informants.

Our conclusion is that the consensual and rigid typology of Hungarian as a satellite-framed language needs to be revised, either modelling a “parallel system of conflation” (Talmy 2007: 104–105) in the case of Hungarian or describing the use of the “accusative motion construction” as an interim stage of the emergence of a new satellite.

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Framing vs. Unframing Path-coding: Insights from Hungarian Learners’ Expressions

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This study compares data from native Hungarian speakers (H-L1) and B1-level Hungarian learners whose native language is Japanese (H-L2(j)). The aim is to identify the characteristics of learners' path-coding in motion event descriptions and to understand how their expressions differ from those of L1s.

Talmy (1991) proposed a typology of motion event descriptions, distinguishing between verb-framed (V-languages like Japanese) and satellite-framed (S-languages like Hungarian)

languages. Hungarian, as a prototypical satellite-framed language, expresses path notions such as UP and TO.IN through elements linked to the verb root. While Talmy argues that paths provide a temporal frame for events, Matsumoto (2017) critiques this view, highlighting exceptions. Eguchi (2025) discusses the tension between Hungarian preverbs and case affixes/postpositions as illustrative of this issue. These elements, distinguished from satellites (adverbials), are collectively categorized as "head-external" elements. He reformulates Talmy's typology into "Head Path-coding Languages" and "Head-external Path-coding Languages," which this study adopts.

This study investigates these influences by examining how learners encode horizontal complex trajectories with either two or three path segments: Source (/S/), Medial (/M/), and Goal (/G/): (1) Source-Medial (/S-M/ scene), (2) Medial-Goal (/M-G/ scene), and (3) Source-Goal (/S-G/ scene). Additionally, one motion event with three path segments was analyzed: (4) Source-Medial-Goal (/S-M-G/ scene). Previous research has given limited attention to how such trajectories are encoded (see Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2009, Bohnemeyer et al. 2007). The study employs the experimental set from Experiment C of the MEDAL project, focusing on differences between H-L1 and H-L2(j).

First, examining the main verbs, H-L1s used manner verbs in 86.2% of cases, whereas H-L2(j)s used them in only 35.1% of cases, with 59.5% of their expressions relying on deictic verbs. There was no significant difference in the rate of path mention between H-L1 and H-L2(j) (H-L2(j): 75.6%, H-L1: 83.0%). However, there was a notable difference in the frequency of path expression per clip (H-L2(j): 0.88 times, H-L1: 1.41 times). This suggests that H-L1 tends to express each path component at least once, often through double-coding with preverbs and case affixes, whereas H-L2(j) does not. Among the 74 clauses produced by H-L2(j), only 29 included a preverb. Moreover, out of these 29 instances of preverb usage, 24 were in combination with a deictic verb. These findings indicate that H-L1 tends to treat each path as a telic event and prefers using preverbs, while H-L2(j) tends to use a combination of preverbs and deictic verbs as path verbs. This suggests that the preference for deictic verbs among learners is not merely a direct transfer from Japanese but rather an influence from Japanese as a Head Path-coding Language, where path verbs are primarily expressed within the head.

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A corpus-based investigation of the use of Finnish and Hungarian posture verbs for motion events

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Introduction

In terms of Talmy's (2007) well-known typological classification, Hungarian and Finnish are so-called satellite languages regarding the expression of motion events, i.e. the finite verb form indicates the manner, and a satellite marks the path of the motion (Pasanen & Pakkala-Weckström 2008, Slobin 2015: 115). In languages like English, posture verbs (*lie*, *sit*, *stand*, *kneel,* etc.) need to be modified by a satellite to signify getting into the posture (Talmy 2007: 118). In Hungarian and Finnish, by contrast, motion events can be expressed by posture verbs. Expressions like *székre áll* (chair.SUB stand) 'get up on [a] chair' and *hän istuu sohvalle* (he/she sit sofa.ALL) 'she/he sits down on the sofa' lack path satellites that are systematically distinguished from elements of nominal constructions (prepositions, case markers) (Talmy 2007: 141–146). Nevertheless, these expressions can be described in a constructional framework (Goldberg 1995). Under this approach, although the linguistic perceptual conditions of posture verbs do not involve motion (see Dimény 2021), they are able to elaborate a "lative-framed path construction" by extending the scope of verbal meaning. This construction, into which locative verbs may also integrate, are form-meaning schemas partially independent of lexical items (even if the schema is best instantiated by a motion verb). The present research investigates the use of 'being-in-a-state' type verbs as motion verbs on a corpus basis.

Material and methods

The analysis primarily focuses on the Hungarian verbs *áll* 'stand', *ül* 'sit'*, fekszik* 'lie'*, guggol* 'crouch', *térdel* 'kneel' (analysed as posture verbs in Dimény 2021) and their Finnish equivalents *seisoa* 'stand', *istua* 'sit'*, maata* 'lie', *kyykkiä* 'crouch', *polvistua* 'kneel'. Additionally, it also explores posture verbs that exhibit distributional similarity with these five verbs according to the Thesaurus tool of Sketch Engine applied to Hungarian Web and Finnish Web corpora. The key step of the research is a contrastive analysis of how the five locative verbs listed above are used in the [verb + lative case/postposition] construction, based on a representative sample of data from the Finnish (fiTenTen 2014) and Hungarian corpus (huTenTen2023), both available in the Sketch Engine framework. By manually analysing a representative sample of the five locative verbs, the research reveals the semantic and structural features of the schema under investigation and infers the productivity of the [verb + lative case/postposition] construction from frequency values. From a cross-linguistic perspective, we expect the construction to be more frequent with the corresponding Finnish verbs, since the path of a motion event in Hungarian can be specified by preverbal (satellite-framed) path constructions as well (e.g. *le-ül* down-sit 'sit down').

Results and discussion

In line with our hypothesis, the overall proportion of the "lative-framed path construction" is higher for Finnish verbs, but its distribution is more uneven than for their Hungarian equivalents. The two languages are similar in that verbs with 'kneel' and 'crouch' meaning (*térdel* and *polvistua*, *guggol* and *kyykkiä*, respectively) which denote postures of shorter duration than the other three are used most in the construction, while 'lie' (*fekszik* and *maata*) is hardly used at all. The use of locative verbs as motion verbs does not depend on the frequency of the lexeme, but verbs other than the five verbs used as a starting point for the research, which are more specific (e.g. expressing the inaction of the agent, prolonged waiting), are not used and do not seem to be compatible with the construction. Overall, the use of locative verbs as motion verbs seems to be fundamental in languages such as Finnish and Hungarian, where case constructions and postpositions systematically express whether the Ground is a location or a

destination in relation to the Figure (the two are less consistently separated in European languages). That is how a group of Finnish and Hungarian locative verbs can express the MOVE/BE$_{LOC}$ opposition, more specifically, the 'be in a posture' and 'get into a posture' opposition (Talmy 2007: 120) in a "lative-framed path construction". The construction can only be classified as having a *satellite* if the term is interpreted much more broadly than in its original sense.

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Telic verbs of motion in Udmurt

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In Udmurt, telic verbs of motion with converbs drawn from verbs of motion can be understood as verb-framed types of motion events (see, e.g, Talmy 2007). In these cases, the path (and the telicity) of the event is expressed by the syntactically superordinate verb, while the manner of the motion can be seen as expressed by the converb:

(1) rita bi̯ź̆i̯-sa pot-e no vedra pi̯rt-e, ut'alt-e.
Rita run-CVB go_out-3SG CONJ bucket take_in-3SG clean-3SG
'Rita runs outside, takes in a bucket and starts to clean.' (UdmCorp.)

In the following example, however, in addition to the verb *koškį̆nį̆* ('go away'), the converb conveys the path (and telicity) of the event as well, due to the usage of the inherently path-incorporating motion verb *lobʒ́į̆nį̆* 'fly away':

(2) śin aź-i̯śt-i̯m lobʒ́i̯-sa košk-i-z.
eye in_front_of-ELAT-1SG fly_away-CVB go_away-PST-3SG
'It flew away so I cannot see it anymore.' (UdmCorp.)

In the case of the utterances with the verb *lobʒ́į̆nį̆* 'fly away', that is, the path and manner of the motion event can be expressed solely by the verb *lobʒ́į̆nį̆* as well:

(3) jurij gagarin inśör-i̯ lobǯ-i-z.
Jurij Gagarin space-ILL fly_away-PST-3SG
'Jurij Gagarin flew into the space.' (UdmCorp.)

In the case of the first two examples mentioned above, the converb constructions can be considered to be as cases of grammaticalization as well. In these constructions, the converb usually provides the lexical meaning and the other component loses some of its lexical properties: syntactically, it functions like a main verb but is interpreted rather as an auxiliary. Similar constructions are used in other languages of the Volga-Kama Sprachbund as well (cf. e.g., Bradley 2015) but the phenomenon is also quite common cross-linguistically and can be regarded as similar to the so-called asymmetrical serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald 2011).

The primary lexical meaning of the auxiliary can be retained to different extents in different environments: the interpretation of converb constructions depends on the semantics of the converb and the syntactically superordinate verb, as well as on the pragmatic and syntactic contexts of the construction. For example, *koškįnį* 'go away' and *potįnį* 'go out' tend to behave in a different way when they occur with different types of converbs – they can encode more abstract meanings. For instance, *potįnį* 'go out' can express telicity without marking the direction of the event, and *koškįnį* 'go away' can encode rapid change of state:

(4) oźį mon vań sezon-jos-se ik ućkį-sa pot-i.
so I all season-PL-ACC.3SG PCL see-CVB go_out-PST.1SG
'I have seen all of its seasons [from the beginning to the end].'(UdmCorp.)

(5) peśa-sa ik košk-i.
sweat-CVB PCL go_away-PST.1SG
'A cold sweat came over me.' (UdmCorp.)

In my presentation, I plan to examine telic motion verbs *koškįnį* ('go away'), *pįrįnį* ('go in'), *potįnį* ('go out'), *tubįnį (*'go up'), *vaśkįnį* ('descend'), and *vuįnį* ('arrive') combined with different converbs in Udmurt, focusing on their similarities and differences considering aspectuality, degree of grammaticalization and their distribution. I will rely on examples collected from an Udmurt electronic corpus (UdmCorp.), as well as questionnaires and semi-structured interviews conducted in Udmurtia and Tatarstan in 2015/2016.

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UdmCorp. = Udmurt corpora (http://udmurt.web-corpora.net/index_en.html)

Interactions between Associated Motion and the tense-aspect system of the Nganasan language

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The grammatical category of Associated Motion has recently been defined as "a verbal grammatical category, distinct from tense, aspect, mood, and direction, whose function is to associate, in various ways, different types of translational motion (spatial displacement/change of location) with a (typically non-motion) verb event" (Guillaume, Koch 2021: 3). It is evident that the category of Associated Motion holds significant theoretical interest, as it demonstrates the capacity of certain languages to grammatically encode the 'fact-of-movement' through affixes or other grammaticalized elements, rather than relying exclusively on lexical means. Based on how motion trajectory is encoded, Leonard Talmy categorized languages into 'satellite-framed languages' and 'verb-framed languages' (Talmy 1991: 486). Complementing this typology, the notion of 'equipollently-framed languages' was later introduced, wherein both motion and trajectory are conveyed through grammatically equivalent forms (Slobin 2004). From a typological standpoint, it is widely recognized that Associated Motion exhibits notable interactions with the tense-aspect verbal system in both polysynthetic and fusional languages. In this context, one need only refer to David Wilkins's seminal study on Mparntwe Arrernte, a language in which Associated Motion is specifically employed to indicate that the action denoted by the verb occurs against the backdrop of a motion event with a particular spatial

orientation (Wilkins 1989: 270-298). The existence of similar grammatical categories, such as 'Associated Posture' in Lao (Enfield 2002: 242-254), further challenges the inclusion of Associated Motion in the T-A-M system, thereby invalidating certain earlier theoretical assertions.

Focusing more narrowly on the Yeniseian region, little systematic research has been conducted on Associated Motion, though an areal perspective may yield scientifically significant insights. In this regard, recent work on certain Tungusic languages warrants mention, including discussions of Evenki, a language spoken in areas adjacent to the Samoyedic region. In Evenki, we find a productive -ndA suffix meaning ‘to go and V’ or ‘to go in order to V’. This suffix has been variously categorized, with some scholars considering it an aspectual or a modal marker, although it is generally regarded as a derivational suffix, as it remains compatible with the full range of mood, tense, and person-number inflections (Pakendorf, Stoynova 2021). The objective of this paper is to examine the interaction between Associated Motion and the tense-aspect system of Nganasan. The study has two primary goals: firstly, to contribute to the descriptive grammar of Nganasan, and secondly, to enhance the typological framework through which Associated Motion can be examined. The analysis is based on data from the Nganasan Spoken Language Corpus (NSLC 2017), which was developed through studies on the grammar of Nganasan conducted by the Institute of Uralic Studies at the University of Hamburg. Data from this corpus will be analysed from two perspectives: qualitatively, through an examination of individual occurrences within their specific syntactic contexts, and quantitatively, by comparing data to derive broader insights regarding the relationships between the temporality of the action encoded by Associated Motion (whether prior, concurrent, or subsequent) and other grammatical categories of the verb (tense, mood, aspect, person, number). Additionally, leveraging the metadata section of the corpus, it will be possible to explore the frequency of Associated Motion forms in relation to the geographical distribution of speakers and the degree of control over communicative situations, allowing for sociolinguistic inferences. Ultimately, this analysis will contribute to shed light on the complex interplay between motion, temporality, and verbal morphology across languages.

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Motion verbs in Northern Siberian languages: the analysis of Nganasan, Dolgan and Evenki

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The aim of this presentation is to analyze the lexicological category of motion verbs in three non-related Northern Siberian languages, namely in the Uralic Nganasan, the Turkic Dolgan and the Tungusic Evenki from an areal-typological point of view. The research is primarily based on Talmy's framework (2000) that classifies the members of this category based on the semantic element they lexicalize, which can either be the Figure, the Manner or the Path of the Motion event.

From the three languages mentioned above, only Nganasan has been studied previously in this regard (Gusev 2007, Vojter 2024). As opposed to what Talmy (2000) and others (e.g. Filipović 2007) claim about Uralic (or at least, Finno-Ugric) languages, Nganasan can be analysed as verb-framed with no presence of any Path-satellites. Yet, it has a semantically split system with verbs expressing Figure (either human versus non-human entities), Manner (e.g. *hojkisʲa* 'run') and also Path (e.g. *ŋonsɨsa* 'go out'), sometimes even more of them in only one lexeme (e.g. *huaŋkə* 'run away, escape'). While Path is expressed inherently within the limits of the verb, Manner can be added to it in the form of a non-finite satellite. The other function of Manner verbs is being present in mostly non-boundary crossing situation types (see Filipović 2007: 38). The additional meaning of the verbs depends on their aspectual characteristics, since the expression of Path and having a perfective lexical aspect are connected to each other in Nganasan (see more in Vojter 2024).

However, my talk also aims to give these results a wider perspective by researching motion verbs of those languages that are the closest to Nganasan geographically, that is, Dolgan and Evenki. I investigate the syntactic and semantic characteristics of motion verbs in these languages on the basis of Talmy's framework and I address my questions to the typological similarities and differences these systems can possibly have. The talk also covers other aspects, such as how their 'come' and 'go' verbs can be interpreted regarding their deictic meaning or the possible grammaticalizations where the usage of a motion verb exceeds its typical function. The study is based on the Nganasan Spoken Language Corpus (Brykina et al. 2018), as well as the INEL Evenki (Däbritz – Gusev 2021) and Dolgan (Däbritz et al. 2022) Corpus.

The presentation offers a complex description of the motion verbs in Nganasan, Evenki and Dolgan, not only as languages of their own, but also as languages that have their own areal connections. The main focus being on Nganasan, this research results in deepening the knowledge about this specific language and about Samoyedic languages overall. However, building an areal typology involving endangered languages from other families will support the linguistic exploration of Northern Siberia and help portraying Nganasan from a broader perspective.

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B.6: Grammatical Subjects and Objects in Uralic

Hiietam, Sahkai, Tamm

Subject-marking in non-finite verb structures in Meadow Mari

Levente Máthé (Eötvös Loránd University)

This paper focuses on subject-marking strategies in passive participle constructions (marked with *-me/-mo/-mö*, hereafter *-mO*) in Meadow Mari. The subject is generally marked with the genitive (1), but nominative (2) marking is also common (cf. Kangasmaa-Minn 1966: 169-183, Shagal 2018: 63).

(1) Meadow Mari (Brykina & Aralova 2012: 477)

[**Tud-ən**	ilə-me]	pört	jər	šuko	peledəš	ul-o.
3SG-GEN	live-PTCP.PASS	house	around	many	flower	be-PRS.3SG

'Around the house in which he lives, there are a lot of flowers.'

(2) Meadow Mari (Sebeok & Ingemann 1961: 27)

[**lum**	tol-mə-m]	bućaš tüŋal-ət.	
snow	come-PTCP.PASS-ACC	wait.INF	begin-3PL

'They began to wait for the snow's coming.'

Meadow Mari shows DSM (Differential Subject Marking, de Hoop & de Swart 2008) in *-mO* non-finite clauses, and my research aims at providing an explanation for the variation. Brykina and Aralova (2012: 488) claim that in Meadow Mari participial constructions the marking of the subject of the embedded clause depends on its semantic properties. Based on data elicited from native speakers, they found that genitive marking is accepted with subjects denoting: a) personal pronouns, b) other pronouns, c) proper names, d) animate, human, e) animate, non-human, and f) inanimate entities. They assume that only the latter two types can appear in the nominative, but their results could not prove the existence of nominative-marked subjects expressing animate, human entities.

I claim that i) animate, human subjects can also receive nominative marking, ii) that all the semantic categories introduced by Brykina and Aralova (2012) can get genitive marking in Meadow Mari, and ii) animacy is not the only factor motivating the variation according to corpus data.

I conducted a small-scale corpus research using the Meadow Mari version of the KORP infrastructure (Borin et al. 2012) to investigate the occurrence and the frequency of nominative and genitive subjects in the *-mO* construction.

In KORP, I found 713 sentences in which the participle acts as an attribute and the noun (its actor) receives the genitive marking, and 636 with nominative subjects. Nominative subjects seem common with nouns denoting non-human entities and intransitive verbs (3). In a set of 22 randomly selected sentences that contain a relative embedded clause with a nominative subject, 17 has an intransitive verb. Human subjects and proper names can also appear in the nominative paired with an intransitive verb.

(3) Meadow Mari (KORP)

Ala-kušto	[**pij**	optï-mo]	jük	šokt-a.
somewhere	dog	bark-PTCP.PASS	voice	to be heard-PRS.3SG

'Somewhere dog barking is heard.'

Genitive subjects seem widespread with pronouns, human entities and transitive verbs.

(4) Meadow Mari (KORP)

Lenin	da	[**tudï-n**	vujlatï-ḿe]	Kommunist partij	onč̑ə̑ko
Lenin	and	3SG-GEN	lead-PTCP.PASS	communist part	forward

onč̑-jen-ə̑t.
looks-PST2-3PL

'Lenin, and the Communist Party he led, looked ahead.'

Preliminary results thus show that subject-marking strategies can possibly depend on a set of intertwining factors, such as animacy, the transitivity and semantics of the verb and dependency relations.

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Hungarian and Mari canonical partitives display subject-object asymmetries

Kata Kubínyi (ELTE), Gabriella Tóth (KRE), Anne Tamm (KRE)

Subset-superset relations can be encoded either by canonical or pseudo partitive constructions: *two of **the students*** vs *a pair of **student**s*. Canonical partitive phrases are defined by (1).

(1) [$_{DP}$1 two [$_{NP}$ silent N head [$_{PP/KP}$ of [$_{DP2}$ Det [NP students]]]]] (following Falco&Zamparelli 2019:11)

As opposed to SAE and Finnic-Saamic languages, the partitive relation can be marked on DP1 in Uralic (the subset). The exponent is possessive suffixes bearing number-person features of the superset (DP2). The superset is hereby overt or covert. There is language-specific variation based on the feature "human". Hungarian is more restricted than Mari. In Hungarian, 1) the referent of a possessively marked numeral is thereby almost always [+human] as in (2a), and 2) DP2 cannot be overtly expressed if its features are reflected on DP1 (2b). In Mari, no such limitations exist, as shown in (3a-b). (Tóth et al. 2024.)

(2) a. {Context: *Itt van három könyv.}* [here be.3SG three book] 'Here are three books.'

*(Közül-**ük**)*	*kettő-t /*	**Kettő-**jé**-t*
among-3PL	two-ACC /	*two-PX.3SG-ACC

elolvastam.
read.PST.1SG

'I read two of them.' [–human] / Lit.: *'I read his/her two.'

b. {Context: *Itt van három diák.*} [here be.3SG three student] 'Here are three students.'

*Kettő-**jük**-et /*	**közül-**ük***	*kettő-**jük**-et*	*vendégül*	*látom.*
two-PX.3PL-ACC /	*among-3PL	two-PX.3PL-ACC	as_guest	see.1SG

'I host two of them.' DP2 expressed **(Hungarian)**
/ Lit.: *'I host their two from among them as guests.' DP2 cannot be expressed

(3). a. {Context: *Tyšte kum kn'iga ulo.*} [here three book be.3SG] 'Here are three books.'
Kokyt-šy-m ludynam. [two-PX.3SG-ACC read.2PST.1SG] 'I have read two of them.'

b. {Context: *Tyšte kum student ulo.}* [here three student be.3SG] 'Here are three students.'

Kokyt-šy-m / *Nunyn* *koklašty(-št)* *kokyt-šy-m* *unala* *üžam*.
two-PX.3SG-ACC / they.GEN among(-3PL) two-PX.3SG-ACC as_guest see.1SG
'I host two of them.' **(Mari)**

Hungarian and Mari also diverge in the subjecthood of canonical partitive phrases like *kettő-jük* 'two of them' from example (2b) (with no overt superset) and *kokyt-šo* 'id.' from (3b) (with or without an overt superset). Partitive quantifier phrases can be subjects in Mari, similarly to Finnish or English, irrespective of their semantic (+/–human) and morphosyntactic (+/– overt superset) properties (4). In contrast, Hungarian tends to avoid canonical partitive quantifier subjects (PX- inflected numerals) (5a), favoring the *-(A)n* numerical state adverbial suffix, (5b). The suffix *-(A)n* has been considered a collective suffix (e.g., Dékány&Csirmaz 2018), a case suffix marking numerical state adverbials (e.g., Bencédy et al. 1974) and an indefinite plural nominal predicate (Schvarcz 2022). The contexts for examples (4) to (8) and (2b) and (3b) match. Mari has "collective numerals" ending in *-(y)n* (Riese et al. 2022); (6) can be used for (4).

(4) *Kokyt-šo /* *Nunyn* *koklašty(-št)* ***kokyt-šo*** *provalitlen.*
two-PX.3SG / they.GEN among(-3PL) two-PX.3SG fail.2PST.3SG
'Two of them failed.' **(Mari)**

(5) a. *?? Kettő-jük* *megbukott.*
two-PX.3PL fail.PST.3SG
'Two of them failed.'

b. *Közülük* *kett-en* *megbuktak.*
among-3PL two-NUM.STATE.ADV fail.PST.3PL
(Hungarian)

(6) *Kokt-**yn** / Nunyn* *koklašty(-št)* *kokt-yn provalitlen**yt**.* **(Mari)**
two-ADV / they.GEN among(-3PL) two-ADV fail.2PST.3PL 'Two of them failed.'

While the PX-partitive triggers singular agreement (4, 5a), adverbials appear with plural agreement in the adverbial forms, (5b, 6). However, inserting a plural subject-DP into (5b, 6) is not grammatical (7, 8). Incompatibility with nominative subjects points towards subject-like properties. Substituting the superset-phrases *közülük* and *nunyn koklašty(št)* 'from among them' in (5b, 6) with a personal pronoun, "degrades" the adverbials *ketten*/*koktyn* into appositive modifiers (9), (10).

(7) **Közül-ük* *kett-en* ***(a) diákok*** *megbuktak.*
among-3PL two-NUM.STATE.ADV the student.PL fail.PST.3PL
Intended to mean: 'Two of them / the students failed.' **(Hungarian)**

(8) **Kokt-yn student-vlak /*Nunyn* *koklašty(-št)* *kokt-yn student-vlak provalitlenyt.*
two-ADV student-PL / they.GEN among(-3PL) two-ADV student-PL fail.2PST.3PL
Intended to mean: 'Two of them / the students failed.' **(Mari)**

(9) **Hungarian:**
Ők kett-en *megbuktak*.
they two-NUM.STATE.ADV fail.PST.3PL
'The two of them / they two failed.'

(10) **Mari:**
Nuno kokt-yn provalitlenyt.
they two-ADV fail.2PST.3PL

We aim to provide elicitations of the subject-object asymmetries in Hungarian and Mari.

Abbreviations

2PST 2nd past tense, DP1 subset, DP2 superset, K case, NUM.STATE numeric state, P postposition, PX person suffix

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Unselected subjects and objects in Estonian resultatives

Heete Sahkai (Institute of the Estonian Language)

The talk will explore Estonian resultative sentences that breach several constraints observed to hold of the well-studied and productive English resultative construction.

In particular, it has been observed that while intransitive and ambitransitive verbs may occur in resultative sentences with unselected objects, the obligatory syntactic arguments of the verb must be realised (e.g. Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004). This is not necessarily the case in Estonian resultatives. In (1), the theme argument of the verb *tilkuma* 'to drip', normally obligatorily realised as the subject, is not realised in the sentence. Instead, the subject is the patient argument of the result phrase *märjaks* 'wet-TRA'. In (2), it is the obligatory theme object of a caused motion verb that is not realised in the resultative sentence. (The examples are taken from the Estonian National Corpus but have been simplified for the sake of brevity.)

(1) *Põrand* *tilku-s* *märja-ks.*
floor drip-PST.3SG wet-TRA
'The floor became wet as a result of water dripping onto it', lit. 'The floor dripped wet.'

(2) *Me* *tõst-si-me/tassi-si-me/vii-si-me* *toa* *tühja-ks.*
1PL lift/carry/take-PST-1PL room.GEN empty-TRA
'We emptied the room by lifting/carrying/taking the things out', lit. 'We lifted/carried/took the room empty.'

Example (2) also breaches the observation that if a transitive verb lexically entails that one of its obligatorily realised arguments is force recipient, the result phrase is predicated of this argument (Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2001). The caused motion verbs in (2) have a theme argument that is a force recipient and must normally be realised in the sentence, but the result phrase is not predicated of this argument.

A third observation is that the result phrase designates a state that is contingent on the properties of the main verb (Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004) or that is lexically determined by the verb as a conventionally expected result (Boas 2003). In case of (1) and (2), a location becoming wet or empty does not seem to be a strongly conventionalised result of a (caused) motion event. In sentence (3), a caused motion event (the man lifting something) causes a change-of-state event (the pitchfork handle breaking), which again does not seem a typical result of caused motion.

(3) *Mees* *tõst-is* *hanguvarre* *katki.*
man lift-PST.3SG pitchfork.handle.GEN broken
'The pitchfork handle broke as a result of the man lifting something with the pitchfork', lit. 'The man lifted the pitchfork handle broken.'

A fourth observation is that a shared argument has parallel thematic roles in the two events expressed by a resultative sentence (Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004). This is not necessarily the case in Estonian resultatives. For instance, in (1), the subject *põrand* 'floor' is a participant in both events, but it is the patient of the becoming wet event and the goal of the dripping event.

Fifth, it has been observed that more than one result phrase cannot be predicated of the same argument in a resultative clause (e.g. Iwata 2020:493). This is possible in Estonian, as shown in (4). The examined resultatives with unselected subjects and objects may contain two result phrases that are predicated of different arguments: in (5a), the result phrase *tühjaks* 'empty-TRA' is predicated of the subject of the sentence, while the result phrase *põrandale* ' floor-ALL' is predicated of the missing theme argument of the verb. (5b) is a transitive sentence of the same type.

(4) a. *Tass* *kukku-s* *põranda-le* *katki.*
cup fall-3SG floor-ALL broken
'The cup fell on the floor and broke', lit. 'The cup fell on the floor broken.'

b. *Poisi-d pilla-si-d* *telefoni* *põrandale* *katki.*
boy-PL drop-PST-3PL phone.GEN floor-ALL broke
'The boys dropped the phone on the floor and it broke', lit. 'The boys dropped the phone on the floor broken.'

(5) a. *Purune-nud* *kütusepaak* *voola-s* *tänava-le* *tühja-ks.*
break-PST.PTCPL fuel.tank flow-PST.3SG street-ALL empty-TRA
'The broken fuel tank emptied on the street', lit. 'The broken fuel tank flew on the street empty.'

b. *Ta* *puista-s* *kasti* *põranda-le* *tühja-ks.*
3SG scatter-PST.3SG box.GEN floor-ALL empty-TRA
'S/he emptied the box by scattering the contents onto the floor', lit. 'S/he scattered the box onto the floor empty.'

Finally, it has been observed that when a change of state verb is followed by a result phrase, the result phrase further specifies the change described by the verb but does not describe a second change (e.g. Iwata 2020:191). Estonian resultatives with selected as well as unselected (6) arguments however may express two change-of-state events. In (6a), the burning of the interior of the flat causes the flat to become empty, and in (6b) the demolishing of the buildings on the plot causes the plot to become empty.

(6) a. *Korter põle-s* *seest* *täiesti* *tühja-ks.*
flat burn-PST.3SG from.the.inside completely empty-TRA
'The fire completely destroyed the interior of the flat', lit. 'The flat burned completely empty inside.'

b. *Nad lammuta-si-d* *krundi* *tühja-ks.*
3PL demolish-PST-3PL plot.GEN empty-TRA
'They cleared the plot by demolishing the buildings on it', lit. 'They demolished the plot empty.'

The talk will list the key differences between the English and Estonian resultatives as a basis for future theoretical analyses.

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Signaling located referents through grammatical objects in Estonian

Rodolfo Basile (Kyoto University; University of Tartu)

This paper investigates how located referents (or *locatees*) may be signaled through grammatical objects in Estonian by looking into a random sample of sentences containing the verb *leidma* 'to find' and comparing it to a random sample of sentences containing the verb *leiduma* 'to be found'. The intransitive *leiduma* 'to be found' can express locational function by acting as some sort of copula (1).

1. *Raamatus* *leidub* *ka* *pilte* *ja* *tabeleid*
book.INE find.MID.3SG also picture.PART.PL and table.PART.PL
'In the book there are also pictures and tables (to be found).' [EKSS]

In a similar way to its Finnish counterpart *löytyä* 'to be found' (as argued by Basile & Ivaska 2021; Basile 2024), it becomes (partially) bleached of its meaning 'find' and flags the located element for partitive case (for *partitive subjects* in Finnish and Estonian see Huumo & Lindström 2014). Such verb may hence appear in locative or existential constructions (Haspelmath 2022; Creissels 2019). On the other hand, the transitive verb *leidma* 'to find' is usually not associated with locative, existential or other types of presentational constructions, essentially because it takes an object instead of a subject or a subject-like partitive-marked NP. Hence, its main function goes hand in hand with its lexical meaning. In (2), the main overt argument of the verb *leidma* is marked for either partitive or genitive(/nominative for plural total objects) case, which are common ways of marking objects/patients in Estonian. However, (3) shows that when the construction-level aspect of the sentence does not necessarily align with the perfective nature of the verb, and when the verb is indexed for second persons, the meaning slightly changes.

2. *(Ma)* *leidsin* *õlut(/õlle/õllesid)* *külmkapist*
(1SG) find.PST.1SG beer.PART(/GEN/PL.PART) fridge.ELA
'I found beer(/a beer/beers) in the fridge.'

3. *Leiate* *õlut(/õllesid/õlle)* *külmkapist*
find.PRES.2PL beer.PART(/PL.PART/GEN) fridge.ELA
'You can find (lit. you find) beer(/beers/the beers) in the fridge.'

Namely, (3) seems to be a pragmatically marked clause in which the use of a second-person-indexed strategy has the communicative purpose of informing the (generic) interlocutor about the location of something at a certain position, similarly to what copulas signal in nonverbal locative or existential clause constructions. It is, however, clear that such construction has restrictions: for example, it is less likely to be used when the object is animate/human or in negative sentences.

In this paper, we collect a balanced random sample of a total of 2000 sentences, 1000 for the lemma *leidma* 'to find' and 1000 for the lemma *leiduma* 'to be found', from the Estonian National Corpus (Koppel & Kallas 2022). We provide a descriptive statistic of the different types of constructions (including *ennast leidma* 'to find oneself' and *aset leidma* 'to take place') found in the sample by analyzing their morphosyntactic and pragmatic characteristics, and by considering the polysemic nature of the two verbs. We propose possible grammaticalization paths and then compare the constructions found in the sample to their Finnish counterparts. We also aim at answering the question whether transitive constructions containing the verb *leidma* 'to find' can express location and, if yes, to what extent.

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How Hungarian and Polish learners of Finnish use the partitive and total object cases. Object cases, definiteness, and aspect in Finnish, Hungarian and Polish

Erzsébet Panka (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan)

In my doctoral dissertation and further papers I studied the ways in which Hungarian learners of Finnish use the partitive and total object cases. My research included analysis based on a fill-in test designed to assess learners' use of Finnish object cases, supplemented with introspective interviews providing additional insight into the learners' thought processes. In my subsequent research I made similar tests and introspective interviews with Slovakian and Polish learners of Finnish. In my presentation I will analyse the new results and compare the ways in which Hungarian and Polish learners use the Finnish partitive and total object cases. According to *Iso suomen kielioppi,* the use of the Finnish object cases is determined by three main factors: (1) the polarity of the sentence; (2) the aspect of the sentence; and (3) the quantitative boundedness (quantification) of the object-NP. In my presentation, I briefly compare how object cases, quantification, definiteness and aspect are expressed in Finnish, Hungarian and Polish.

In my earlier analysis I found that while Hungarian learners were able to use the partitive correctly in certain contexts, they struggled with its broader application, particularly in distinguishing between definiteness and quantification. Other difficulties raised when learners attempted to map Hungarian verbal prefix (and aspect) rules onto Finnish, resulting in total object cases where Finnish has partitive verbs.

In my earlier analysis I concluded that the difficulties of Finnish language learners spring from the interplay between object cases, quantification, definiteness, and aspect, which diverge in Finnish and Hungarian. In the current presentation I will focus on the difficulties experienced by Polish learners: are the difficulties that Slavic L1 learners experience similar to or different from those experienced by Hungarian learners? And what can be the reasons of the difficulties?

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Ablative marked arguments of verbs of consumption in the Mordvinic languages

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In this talk, I argue against the objecthood of the ablative-marked argument of verbs of consumption in the Mordvinic languages. In earlier research, the ablative has been considered one of the cases of objects along with the nominative, the genitive and the inessive (see e.g., Alhoniemi 1991; Bartens 1999: 93–94). The ablative case marks the patient of only a restricted group of verbs, namely verbs of consumption, such as E *jarsams*, M *jaʀcams* 'to eat' and E *śimems*, M *śimәms* 'to drink', see Example (1).

(1) Moksha
Симсь ведьта.
śim-ś ved′-ta
drink-PST.3SG water-ABL
'He drank water.' (MokshEr: Moksha-2005_3-4_107-122)

Rueter (2022) remarks that there are considerable differences between objects marked with the other case endings and the ablative. In this paper, I develop Rueter's findings further and give more details about the behavior of the ablative case with verbs of consumption. I combine the results from two corpora of the Mordvin literary languages, the ERME and the MokshEr-corpus.

Verbs of consumption form a special verb class from a semantic point of view, as they express an event where both the agent and the patient are inflected (see e.g., Næss 2007: 52–54). The ablative marks the patient only with this group of verbs, and therefore, it does not participate in the same kind of variation as other object cases that are attested with a wider variety of transitive verbs. In my argumentation, I consider the semantic features of verbs of consumption with and without an ablative marked participant and look at the passive and causative formations of consumption verbs.

Based on material from the corpora, the ablative case expresses a demoted patient and occurs in contexts, where the focus is on the change in the agent. Furthermore, verbs of consumption with the ablative marked argument behave like intransitive verbs regarding passive and causative formations. Therefore, I argue that the ablative case is better regarded as a case ending for adverbials than that of objects.

Analyzing the Mordvinic ablative case with verbs of consumption and comparing it with other cases of objects sheds more light on the development of the Proto Uralic separative case into an abstract case ending in the Mordvinic languages and beyond. In Mordvinic, this case ending demotes the patient and the focuses on the change in the agent. Interestingly, verbs with the ablative marked argument pattern with intransitive verbs in many respects, which questions the

earlier hypotheses about it becoming a case for direct objects already in the western Uralic protolanguage.

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B.7: Clause combining in Uralic languages: functional and interactional perspectives

Leisiö, Laury

Object case alternation in Finnish complement clauses under negation: A quantitative study

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As is well known, the contrast between total and partitive objects (see examples (1a) and (1b)) is neutralised in negative clauses in Finnish and other Finnic languages (see (2)). Less appreciated is the fact that this partitive of negation can occur across clause boundaries (see however Almqvist 1987). Thus, in (3), both total (realised as genitive) and partitive objects are possible even though the adverbial *loppuun asti* 'until the end' forces a perfective reading, consistent with a total object.

In cases such as (3), we can infer competing motivations (Du Bois 1985): the semantics of the complement clause would motivate a total object with genitive case, while the negation in the main clause motivates a partitive object. This leads us to ask which factors are associated with either total or partitive object in complement clauses under negation in Finnish. To answer this question, we turn to corpus data, more specifically the Suomi24 corpus, which represents discussion forum discourse from the website of the same name. The corpus was queried for a selection of 15 complement-taking predicates that were negated. The predicates represent various semantic classes (Noonan 2007), which have been found to correlate with different degrees of structural integration in previous studies (see Givón 1980). The resulting dataset of approximately 4,400 tokens was annotated for a number of variables such as type of complement clause (finite, participial, infinitival), constituent order (between verb and object), type of verb phrase (mood, voice), and type of object (noun, pronoun, adjective). The data is then analysed statistically using logistic regression.

The corpus data will be used to test typological predictions regarding structural integration in different types of complement clause (e.g. along the hierarchy proposed by Cristofaro 2003). We hypothesise that complement clauses that are more structurally integrated (i.e. infinitival and participial clauses) will have more partitive objects. We also hypothesise that object marking will show distance effects such that objects that precede the verb in the complement clause will be more likely to have partitive objects. The findings will also be discussed against a larger areal frame, with reference to similar phenomena in cognate Finnic and neighbouring Indo-European languages in the Circum-Baltic area such as Lithuanian (Arkadiev 2016).

Examples

(1) a. Hän piti **puheen**.
3SG hold.PST.3SG **speech.GEN**
'He/She gave a speech.'

b. Hän piti **puhetta**.
3SG hold.PST.3SG **speech.PAR**
'He/She was giving a speech.'

(2) Hän ei pitänyt {***puheen** / **puhetta**}.
3SG NEG.3SG hold.PTCP **speech.GEN** / **speech.PAR**
'He/She didn't give a speech / He/She wasn't giving a speech.'

(3) En tiennyt hänen pitäneen {**puheen** /
NEG.1SG know.PTCP 3SG.GEN hold.PTCP.GEN **speech.GEN** /
puhetta} loppuun asti.
speech.PAR end.ILL until
'I didn't know that he/she gave the speech until the end.'

Abbreviations

3SG = third person singular, GEN = genitive, ILL = illative, NEG = negation, PAR = partitive, PST = past tense, PTCP = participle

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Jos kukaan on normaali 'if anyone is normal'
Impact of the conditional type on the distribution of Finnish NPIs

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According to Haspelmath (1997: 73, 293–294), Finnish NPI indefinites (a subgroup of negative polarity items, NPIs), such as *kukaan* 'anyone,' *mikään* 'anything' or *koskaan* 'ever,' appear ungrammatical in conditional clauses, and e. g. positive polarity items (PPIs; *joku* 'someone' in 2) should be used, instead. However, as (1) and (3) show, this is false (see also VISK § 1641), but rather than treating this claim as an accidental error in a typological study, I suggest that it is a symptom of Finnish NPIs' biased distributions in conditionals. Let us compare the title quote, given in its sentential context in (1), and the allegedly ill-formed (2).

(1) *Asia – –* *pala-si* *normaali-ksi*
issue return-PST.3SG normal-TRA

(jos ***kukaan*** *on* *normaali* *mielenterveyspotilas).*
if anyone be.3SG normal mental health patient

'The issue was normalized (if anyone is a normal mental health patient, in the first place)' (Suomi24, 2005)

(2) *Jos* ***joku*** ***/?kukaan*** *soitta-a,* *sano* *minu-lle.*
if someone anyone call-3SG say.IMP.2SG 1SG-ALL
'If anyone calls, tell me.' (cf. Haspelmath 1997: 293) (clause order: *p q*)

Ex. (2) displays a regular *content conditional*, in which the antecedent ('if anyone calls') functions as a proper condition for the imperative in the consequent ('if *p* then *q*'; Sweetser 1990: 113–116), while the conditional in (1) can be labelled as *metatextual*: the antecedent comments the felicitousness of the word choice *normaali*, and there is no real-world dependence between *p* and *q* (Dancygier 1998: 103–109). Hence, the distribution of Finnish NPIs seems to be affected by the type (or domain) of the conditional connection (see e. g. Dancygier 1998; Sweetser 1990), and thus, also by the syntactic integration between the antecedent and the consequent (note the parenthesis in (1)). Indeed, according to VISK (§ 1641), Finnish NPIs are most frequent in conditionals used as nonrestrictive additions, which description fits to metatextual (or more widely *conversational*) conditionals (see Dancygier

1998: 106). However, syntactically more integrated content conditionals may also host NPIs in Finnish: see (3); cf. (2), whose ungrammaticality judgement one may challenge, too. Thus, the whole picture of the tendencies and variation behind the generalization, based on only sporadic data evidence in VISK (§ 1641, 1136), remain still insufficiently described.

(3) *Vastaile, jos* ***mikään*** *tuntu-i tutu-lta.* (clause order: *q p*)
reply.IMP.2SG if anything feel-PST.3SG familiar-ABL
'Please reply, if anything felt familiar.' (Suomi24, 2010)

This study aims to uncover distributional patterns of Finnish NPIs in conditionals by analyzing the tokens of NPI indefinites (see above), further NPI adverbs (*ikinä* 'ever,' *enää* 'anymore') and minimizers (e. g. *yhtään*, *ollenkaan* 'at all') in affirmative conditionals in two corpora: Yle News Archive and Suomi24 discussions (see korp.csc.fi). Besides the conditional type (and further subtypes), clause order (cf. 2 and 3), NPI class (e. g. indefinite vs. minimizer), and the register will be considered. In the preliminary news data (incl. NPI indefinites and adverbs; n = 598) both content and conversational conditionals are attested, but most strikingly, non-clausal emphasizing phrases (e. g. *nyt jos koskaan* 'now if ever'; esp. frequent in sports news) comprise ca. 30 % of the instances. The data specific and lexically semi-fixed nature of such attraction points motivates the comparison between different NPI classes, on the one hand, and the datasets, on the other. This study will focus on Finnish items but it invites cross-linguistic comparisons with parallel patterns in other Uralic languages.

Even if the various conditional types are not entirely ignored in NPI research (see e. g. Israel 2011: 250–254 for speech act conditionals: *if you want anything to eat,* [offer]), conditionals are still often only associated with content conditionals (cf. 2). Thus, in general, the current study contributes to a better understanding of the internal variation within NPI contexts: one problematic example (type) does not necessarily define the whole category.

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Discourse particle/sentence adverb + *hogy* 'that' clauses in Hungarian

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The use of linguistic structures consisting of a matrix clause containing only a sentence adverb (SA) or discourse particle (DP) and a 'that' complement clause has been documented in several languages (Romance, Germanic, Slavic), e.g.:

(1) Swedish: ***Måhända att*** *du kan lyckas bättre?*
'**Perhaps (that)** you can do better?' (Beijering & Norde 2019: 90, my emphasis)

Some have identified these constructions as representing a semi-independent phase of subordination (semi-insubordination), but this has not always been confirmed. Researchers argue that the description of these structures requires careful consideration, and despite formal similarities, they should not be treated as a unified category, as different processes can lead to their emergence (Van linden & Van de Velde 2014, Beijering & Norde 2019, Wiemer 2019).

In Hungarian linguistics, these forms have received considerable attention for decades, primarily due to their difficult integration into the grammatical system. It has been widely acknowledged that a significant portion of Hungarian speakers are familiar with and use these structures (Kontra 2001):

(2) ***Valószínűleg, hogy*** *szeret* *téged* - *mint* *egy* *barátot.*
probably that love.IND.PRS.SG3 you.ACC like a friend.ACC
'She probably loves you – like a friend' (MNSz2, #556847698,doc#2324, written press)

(3) ***Persze*** ***hogy*** *megkérdeztem!*
of.course that VPFX.ask.IND.PST.SG1
Of course I asked her!' (MNSz2, #739723,doc#69, literature)

Several theories have been proposed regarding their origin: Elekfi (1995: 393) suggested contamination/ellipsis, Kenesei (2002) interpreted them as a variant of their non-'that'-equivalent, and É. Kiss attributed their development to Romanian contact influence, suggesting that "some Latin antecedent might be at play." (2010: 235) She also emphasized that their widespread use across the Hungarian-speaking area may be due to their unique informational structure, where both the sentence adverb and the proposition carry emphasis.

Our research aims to explore the validity of the hypothesis that the SA/DP + 'that' complement constructions were absent in Old Hungarian and possibly emerged from language contact (Romanian model; see É. Kiss 2010). To investigate this, we examine Old and Middle Hungarian online corpora (RMK, TMK, KED) and additional sources for such forms, while also closely analyzing the characteristics and changes of the *bizonnyal/bizonyára/bizonyával* 'certainly, probably' SA group (Haader 2001, Varga 2024), the *persze* 'of course, naturally' DP (Vaskó 2012), and the *talán* 'perhaps' SA in connection with 'that' complement clauses. Preliminary searches indicate that SA + 'that' complement clauses are already attested in the first half of the 16th century within the *bizonnyal* group:

(4) *mondaanak az legenÿǫk* ***bizonÿauaal hoǧ*** *zepǫk* (SándK. 24, first quarter of the 16th c.)
'The young men would say, **certainly, that** they are beautiful.'

(5) *Azertt Jo Vram Es Jo fÿam* ***Bÿzonÿal hogÿ*** *En Nem twdok Jmmar semmÿtt sem gondolnÿ sem chelekednÿ* (TMK, Svetk. 140, 1569)
'Therefore, my good lord and son, **certainly, that** I can no longer think or act in any way.'

In addition to extensive data collection, we will also examine to what extent the emergence of these Hungarian constructions can be attributed to contact influence, semi-insubordination, the "erosion" of the main clause, or other processes such as ellipsis, analogical extension, or hypoanalysis. Special attention will be paid to the changes in the function of the *hogy* 'that' complementizer, which over the centuries appears to be evolving into a discourse particle in independent (insubordinate) clauses.

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The Finnish non-finite referative constructions in interaction

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The presentation focuses on the use of a type of embedded Finnish non-finite clause construction, referative constructions, in written and spoken language. The term *referative construction* (aka. *participle construction*) is used here to refer to structures formed with participle forms, their dependents and matrix clauses, such as below:

(1) *Hän* *sanoo* *lähte-vä-nsä.*
3SG say.3SG leave-PTCP-PX.3SG
'She says that she is leaving.'

(2) *Hän* *huomas-i* *tois-t-en* *jo*
3SG notice-PST.3SG other-PL-GEN already
men-nee-n.
go-PTCP-GEN/ACC
'She noticed that the others had already gone.'

(3) *Juna* *näyttää* *saapu-va-n.*
Train seem.3SG arrive-PTCP-GEN/ACC
'The train seems to be arriving.'

Referative constructions typically have matrix verbs expressing communication, cognition or perception, and they are often considered as alternatives to subordinate clause constructions with the conjunction *että* 'that'. The participles used have some clause-like properties, such as the opposition of past and non-past tense, and a passive form. (See e.g. ISK §538–540; from the development of the structure, see Forsman Svensson 1983, 5–7.) Added to tense and voice, the participle ending and its subject marking varies according to whether the subject is shared with the main clause (1) or not (2). In examples 1 and 2 above, the participles are objects of the transitive matrix verbs. The subject of the participle form is shared with the matrix verb also in example 3, but as the verb *näyttää* 'to seem, to appear' is intransitive, the participle cannot be its object. The subject (*juna* in ex. 3) is in nominative case. In the most recent comprehensive grammar of Finnish, the constructs like example 3 are analysed as "verb chains" with their matrix verbs (ISK §542). There is also a third type of referative construction, used with certain intransitive verbs, such as *osoittautua* 'to prove' or *paljastua* 'to be revealed' (ISK §542). Then, the participle acts as the subject of the matrix verb, and subject-NP of the participle is marked

with a genitive case similarly to example 2. This type, however, is infrequent in the datasets examined here.

In Finnish, referative constructions are thought to be a feature of written Standard Finnish (Ikola et al.1989, 468). In written and spoken language in general, nonfinite structures are used in different ways and to different degrees (Herlin et al. 2005, 18). The type presented in example 3, possible with intransitive sensory perception verbs, forms a larger proportion of referential constructions in spoken dialects than in written Standard Finnish (Ikola el al. 1989, 469). Spoken Finnish referative constructions have not been examined since the study on Finnish Dialect Corpus by Ikola et al. (1989). Dialect interview data are a specific genre with narratives and descriptions of old practices, and this kind of data may not tell much about the interactional contexts of referative constructions. Thus, modern spoken datasets need to be examined.

Finnish *että*-clauses have been examined in the framework of interactional linguistics, questioning earlier views about subordination (Koivisto et al. 2011). The notion that *että*-clauses and referative constructions are alternatives to each other, is based on written language. Although referative constructions are relatively infrequent in speech, they may have some specific functions in interaction. The presentation aims to answer the following questions: What kind of referative constructions are used in Finnish everyday conversation and in what contexts? How fixed they are: what kind of variation is found and with which matrix verbs they occur? The data come from annotated corpora of spoken Finnish: Arkisyn (everyday conversations) and Sapu (informal interviews from south-western Finland). The data will be compared to findings done in previous studies on Finnish dialect corpus and various written datasets, as well as in studies examining the functions of subordinate *että*-clauses in conversations. By comparing the dialect corpus data with more recent speech and analysing features that Ikola et al. (1989) did not consider (e.g. the frequency of shared and different subjects), new information can also be obtained about possible historical change and areal variation.

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The Possibilities for Identifying Newly Emerged Postpositions in Hungarian

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This research investigates newly emerging postpositions in Hungarian, focusing on possessive structures through a corpus-based approach. It operates within a functional cognitive framework that treats parts of speech as categories defined by prototype categorization, avoiding rigid boundaries. In ongoing language change, this framework enables the description of coexisting stronger and weaker schemas.

Theoretical Background

Árpád Sebestyén (1965) highlights the challenges older grammars face in categorizing postpositions, which function similarly to noun case markers in Hungarian (Balogh 2000;

Tolcsvai Nagy 2017). A postposition forms a composite structure with its noun, creating a complex meaning where one component enhances the other's meaning (Langacker 1987). This aligns with the constructionist view that constructions are form-function pairs with inherent meanings (Goldberg 2006; Langacker 2009).

The presentation also uses the results of research on grammaticalization. Grammaticalization is the process by which a lexical element evolves into a more grammatical one (Heine et al. 1991, Dér 2008). As grammaticalization progresses, a formerly independent element becomes reliant on another, resulting in a shift in syntactic placement (Bybee et al. 1994).

Materials and Methods

The material for the investigation is drawn from the Hungarian National Corpus, where I searched for possessive structures: primarily possessive nouns with person markers, and from there I further filtered for possessive syntagmas. I examined the frequency indicators and collocational candidates of these possessive nouns. This resulted in a list containing possible postpositional candidates.

I conducted new searches to examine the following:

- **Syntactic independence:** the degree of free placement in the sentence: a) the occurrence ratio of noun - postposition candidate word order, b) the distance between the noun and the postposition candidate in the sentence,
- **Formal construction constraints:** Analyzing the presence or absence of the *-nak/-nek*$_{\text{DAT/GEN}}$ suffix.
- **Degree of meaning abstraction,**
- **Patterns of expansion with subordinate clauses** (e.g., omission of the ’possessor’ in the main clause).

Conclusion

This research enhances our understanding of part-of-speech shifts and grammaticalization in contemporary Hungarian. It offers insights into measuring the progression of grammaticalization, particularly concerning postposition formation.

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"If you say why": Causal clauses in flux in the Volga Region

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Among the body of Proto-Uralic vocabulary that can be reconstructed, conjunctions are conspicuously absent (Aikio 2022: 14); even today some Uralic languages largely make do without conjunctions. Those used in modern Uralic languages can be easily identified as borrowings or new formations. None are more transparent than verbose conjunctions used to introduce postposed causal clauses in languages of the Volga-Kama Region such as Mari *molan man-aš gə̑n* why say-INF if 'because (lit. if one says why)', Udmurt *malį ke šu-ono* why if say-PTCP.NEC 'because (lit. if one must say why)', Chuvash *mĕnšĕn te-sen* why say-CVB.COND 'because (lit. if one says why)' (Šutov 2009: 391). At first glance this striking convergence between languages with little or no genealogical proximity suggests a contact linguistic interpretation. Closer investigation immediately complicates the picture, however, for two critical reasons.

Firstly, comparable constructions can be found in minority languages of Russia outside of the Volga Region, and also beyond Russia and its present and historical contact zone belonging to different genera:

- Turkic: Sakha *toɣo die-teχ-χe* why say-MDL-DAT, Tuvan *deerge čüge* say.NPST.PTCP-DAT why (Matić & Pakendorf 2013: 384), Old Uyghur *na üčün te-sär* what due_to say-COND (Marcel Erdal, p.c.). Notably not found in Dolgan (ibid.), Tatar, or Bashkir (own investigation).
- Tungusic: Western Even *ịamị go꞉mi* why say-SS.COND (Matić & Pakendorf 2013: 384).
- Mongolic: Buryat *jüündeb ge-xe-de* why say-PTCP.FUT-DAT (Skribnik & Daržayeva 2016: 138).
- Northeast Caucasian: Lezgian *vučiz laɣa-j-t'a* why say-PRF.PTCP-COND, Tabasaran (Šutov 2009: 391), Chechen *hunda äl-ča* why say-CVB (Gerasimov 2022: 17), Ingush *hana ealcha* why say.CVB.TEMP (Nichols 2011: 530).
- Sino-Tibetan: Newari *chae-dha-e-sa* why-say-INF-if (Saxena 1988: 387), Kokborok (Gerasimov 2022: 17), colloquial Burmese (Okell & Allott 2001: 63), modern Tibetan (Eric Mélac, p.c.).
- Shina (Saxena 1988: 387), Nepali *kina-bhanē* why-say.IPFV.CVB (Gerasimov 2022: 17).
- Koreanic: Korean *wae-nya-ha-myeon* why-Q-say-COND.

Secondly, in the Uralic languages these forms seem to be extremely recent innovations, in the case of Udmurt being described as forms that only arose in the 1940s (Šutov 2009: 391).

This is to say: genealogy is not a straight-forward explanation for this convergence, given that Mari and Udmurt are only distantly related, and not related to Chuvash at all. Language contact alone is not a straight-forward explanation, given that the structure arose too late for the historically strong, but presently weak, contacts to be decisive. Shared Russian influence is not a straight-forward explanation, given that no such conjunction exists in Russian. However, coincidence is also not a satisfying explanation, as development of a conjunction of this type, though noted in general linguistic and typological literature (Kuteva et al. 2019: 375), does not seem to be exceedingly common globally. Gerasimov (2022: 24) describes languages with SOV word order in pragmatically neutral declarative sentences as likely candidates for this particular grammaticalization, but this seems to be doubly the case for SOV minority languages of Russia.

This talk sets out to, in an admittedly speculative fashion, determine why this might be the case: It draws up a scenario on how, when and why these conjunctions appeared seemingly out of thin air over the course of the last century in Mari and Udmurt, and postulates that these

languages might serve as a model; that this development occurring in Mari and Udmurt, but also other minority languages of Russia and possibly beyond, might be a case of *convergent evolution* of sorts, where given a similar starting point (SOV language with no established mechanism for postposed overt causal clauses and previously weak literary traditions), a similar set of circumstances (sudden rise in dominance of a SVO language with postposed causal clauses, sudden rise in literacy, sudden breaks in dynamics of language usage and transmission connected to political violence) can lead to a similar end point, even if the individual cases happened in isolation from one another.

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Never-ending sentences in Finnish everyday conversation: prosody, embodiment and grammar as indexes of turn continuation and completion

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Our presentation concerns multi-unit turns (MUT; e.g., Houtkoop-Steenstra & Mazeland 1985; Marian et al. 2021), also known as never-ending sentences (Auer 1992; Laury & Ono 2014), in Finnish everyday conversation. These are long, complex turns by one speaker – narratives as well as other types of long turns – consisting of sentences, clauses, and other units of talk often combined in ways not commonly described in standard grammars. Such long turns flout the conversational constraint allowing speakers only one turn-constructional unit (TCU; a clause, sentence, phrase) at a time. Our methodologies are Interactional Linguistics (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018) and Usage-based Grammar (Laury & Ono 2019) and our data come from the Arkisyn corpus of audio- and video-recorded Finnish conversations. Our research questions are the following: How are MUTs projected at the outset? What prosodic, bodily-visual and grammatical means are used by speakers in our data in order to show that they intend to continue their lengthy turn, or that they are done, so someone else can take a turn?

Our study is part of a larger research project comparing Finnish MUTs with those in a number of other languages. Existing studies on the role of prosody and bodily-visual conduct in turn holding and turn yielding in general, and on MUTs in particular, have almost exclusively been based on data from languages in the Indo-European family, especially Germanic, and it is

unclear whether findings from those languages apply to languages outside that family (see, e.g; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2018: 69).

The following is a slightly simplified excerpt of a MUT from our data (SG 441, Arkisyn). The speaker continues her long turn much longer than what is shown here.

```
1     >nii mutta  < tiekssä   Jorma että;
      PTC  but      know-Q-2SG NAME COMP
      yes but you know Jorma that

2     (0.6) sä <feidaat  silleen>;
            2SG fade-2SG DEM.ADV
      you fake it so

3     et   sä  syöt    nyt pienen    annoksen
      COMP 2SG eat-2SG now small-ACC portion-ACC
            that you eat a small portion now

4     ku   oll#aa# yhteises   ruokapöy#däs#
      when be-PASS shared-INE dinner.table-INE
      when (we) are at the dinner table together

5     ja  sit  sulla   on     tuolla      joku ↑salamakkara,
      and then 2SG-ADE be-3sg DEM.LOC-ADE some  secret.sausage
      and then you have some secret sausage over there

6     (0.2) .hhh [ja  sit   ku  sä  tuut     saunasta=
                  and then when 2SG come-2SG sauna-ELA
      and then when you come (in) from the sauna
```

Initial results from our data indicate that, unlike what has been claimed earlier, narratives in conversation are not always projected in advance by a preface but rather emerge in the course of interaction in response to local contingencies, and that embodied behavior can be used to make room for a multi-unit turn. Signs of turn continuity typically include combinations of certain conjunctions or particles (e.g., *ja sit* 'and then', l. 5, 6) and prosodic features such as lengthenings, breathings (l. 6) and pauses (l. 2, 6); rush-throughs (lack of pause and increased speech rate; l. 6); words carrying an initial pitch upstep (l. 5); and utterance-final pitch rise or level pitch (l. 1, 2). A prominent stress can also imply continuity in some contexts. Certain demonstratives (e.g., *silleen* 'in such a way', l. 2) may also indicate that a lengthy turn is underway. Signs of completion, in turn, include features such as creaky voice (cf. Ogden 2004), and utterance-final steep pitch fall. Naturally, the prosodic signs of completion are typically combined with syntactic and semantic completion.

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Clause combining in Finnish legal language from a functional perspective

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Complex sentence constructions are one of the most typical features of any legal language. However, they are hardly an intended goal of clause combining and sentence formation in legal texts, but rather a consequence of the intended sequence of information content (Fabricius-Hansen 1996, Piehl 2012, Mattila 2017: 112–113) and other features that are independent of the syntax of legal texts. The function of legal texts as linguistic realisations of legal norms and the resulting binding nature of legal texts have a significant influence on these features (Piehl 2012, Mattila 2017: 52–53). The syntactic features can therefore be seen as a consequence of the different pragmatic elements that influence legal texts, i.e., many of the more complex syntactic features can be explained through the fact that they appear in a legal text and therefore fulfil specific legal functions and follow information structures typical for legal texts.

In my presentation, I demonstrate how clauses are combined in Finnish legal language, resulting in (more or less) complex sentence constructions that are, to varying degrees, functionally motivated (s. also Oksanen, forthcoming). I employ a usage-based constructional approach in order to display the interplay between the syntactic and pragmatic features of complex clause combinations. These constructions are then categorized based on whether or not the clause combining serves a functional purpose either due to a standard linguistic function (e.g. a relative clause providing additional information on its matrix clause), a pragmatic function (e.g. a clausal component indicating focus or other information structure functions), or a more rigid legal function (e.g. a conditional clause expressing causality, for instance "IF offence X THEN consequence Y" construction present in criminal law). This categorization provides a transparent overview of the varying functions behind the clause combining constructions of Finnish legal language.

As the entirety of legal language would constitute a rather immense and unspecified set of texts, the analysed material will be limited with the help of branches of jurisprudence. The examples of the presentation are collected from laws and statutes concerning Finnish labour law, as it is a relatively autonomous branch of law not too affected by the EU legislation and offers thus a concise set of texts suitable for the aim of this presentation. The presentation will include clause combination examples from my upcoming doctoral dissertation concerning syntactic and text-structural features in German and Finnish labour law (Oksanen, forthcoming), as well as new examples from other laws and statutes not included in the dissertation.

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From Clause Combining to Discourse Structuring: Coherence in Ob-Ugric narratives

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Clause combining and in particular the connection between two clauses is well documented for the Uralic languages: both functional and according to their relationship (co-ranking, i.e. coordination and clause-chaining, i.e. subordination). Clause combining is not only about

combining clauses into sentences but as well into paragraphs and ultimately into the structuring of a discourse (*monologue discourse* after Longacre, Shopen 2007). This aspect is also recently gaining attention for Uralic languages (Bakró-Nagy, Laakso & Skribnik 2022).

Coherence („underlying organizing structure“ according to Tannen 1984 and cohesion as „one factor contributing to coherence“, Tannen 1984: xiv) can be created at three different levels: grammatic, thematic and pragmatic (Brinker 2000). Narratives are particularly suitable for the analysis of coherence-creating clause combining.

The coherence-creating function of adverbial clauses is well known: subordinate and matrix clause thus can be regarded as *margin* and *event line*, comparable to margin and nucleus of sentences according to Longacre (Shopen 2007: 269f, 372). Bridging Linkage Constructions are particularly noteworthy in this context:

Northern Mansi (Ob-Ugric) OUDB Northern Mansi Corpus. Text ID 1232: 12-13 http://www.oudb.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/?cit=1232

(1) *sʲopər axt toul*	*ojka*	*ta*	***mowint-i***
capercaillie crop_of_a_bird	old man	DEM	**laugh-PRS[3SG]**
‘Old Man Wood Grouse Crop laughs.’			
mowint-ime-t	*xowt*	*taːl-n*	*peːl-we-s*
laugh-CVB-3SG	fir	needle-DLAT	prick-PASS-PST[3SG]
‘While he was laughing, he got pricked by a fir needle.’			

In the so-called repeating type of Bridging Linkage, as example (1) illustrates, the Bridging Clause represents the margin as a subordinate clause and recapitulates the content of the preceding main clause (Reference Clause). The event line continues with new information in its following matrix clause (Guérin 2019). Some additive co-ranking strategies can also be viewed as providing coherence with regard to these aspects:

Kazym Khanty (Ob-Ugric) OUDB Kazym Khanty Corpus. Text ID 883: 81-82 http://www.oudb.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/?cit=883

(2a)	*ɬaːjəm*	*aːɬɛmə-s*	*naːŋk*	***ili seːβər-ti***	*pit-s-əɬe*
	axe	lift-PST[3SG]	larch	**cut_down-INF**	start-PST-SG<3SG
	‘She quickly lifted an axe and started to chop down the larch.’				
(2b)	***seːβər-s-əɬe***	***seːβər-s-əɬe***	*βeːβɬi*	*pit-əs*	
	cut-PST-SG<3SG	**cut-PST-SG<3SG**	frail	become-PST[3SG]	
	‘She chopped and chopped and got tired.’				

The first two clauses in example (2b) recapitulate the action of (2a) in a similar way to a Bridging Linkage Construction. The following clause contains new information and thus continues the event line.

Another current topic in research is the so-called pre-mirative context (Skribnik 2023): this refers to specific coordinating sequences of clauses that consist of a verb of motion and a subsequent verb of perception. It is followed by new information, often with a mirative reading, which also corresponds to the structuring in margin and event line:

Eastern Mansi (Ob-Ugric) OUDB Eastern Mansi Corpus. Text ID 1549: 45-47) http://www.oudb.gwi.uni- muenchen.de/?cit=1549

(3)	*kom*	*øɑ̯æ-ətæ-n*	***mən-iː joxt-əs***
	man	fishing_weir-SG<3SG-DLAT	**go-PRS[3SG] come-PST[3SG]**
	‘The man goes to his fishing weir. He arrived there.’		

sonsil-iː-tə	*øɑ̯æ*	*nəsə nœːr-nə*	*pɒrtəjirøɑ̯æ-wə-s*
look-PRS-SG<3SG	fishing_weir	what-DLAT	smash_into_pieces-PASS-PST[3SG]

‘He looks: "What smashed the fishing weir into pieces?"’

A corpus-based systematic analysis of coherence in discourse is still missing for the Ob-Ugric languages. The aim of my talk therefore is to present various clause combining strategies of Ob-Ugric narratives based on their coherence-creating function.

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B.8: Epistemic categories in Uralic and beyond: evidentiality, intersubjectivity, epistemic authority and engagement

F. Gulyás, Kubitsch, Szeverényi

Contextualization as a key concept for modelling evidentiality

Nóra Kugler & Szilárd Tátrai (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

The central claim of the presentation is that in the on-going, dynamic process of contextualization, phenomena of natural epistemology (Givón 1982; Bednarek 2006), including evidentiality, can be described using comparative concepts of contextualization (Auer 2009, Tátrai 2022). In the operations of contextualization, the phenomena that shape the mental world of the participants in the discourse are linked, including the construal of evidentiality and epistemic modality (cf. Kugler 2014). The proposed functional cognitive approach to operational description is more flexible than the widespread a priori categorization, which requires a binary choice between categories for interconnected, inextricably linked phenomena, and is also able to implement language- and culture-specific features of construal into the description, along with the general semantic space of evidentiality. Since consultants usually provide contextual explanations of their linguistic behaviour (such as *I said this because we both heard it from our mother*), empirical data collected by field workers also fit in the contextualisation model.

1) Contextualization is inherently perspectival, as knowledge can be construed in discourse from the perspectives of the participants. Egophoricity (cf. Floyd et al. eds. 2018) is well related to the phenomenon of intersubjectivity and perspectivization (cf. Verhagen 2019).

2) Contextualization includes epistemic grounding, which allows the speech participants for the joint attention of the referential scene by linking its process and its figures to the ground of the discourse (cf. Brisard 2021; Langacker 2015). Epistemic grounding can efficiently deal with the „evidentials" and the most grammaticalized markers among them.

3) Contextualization, in addition to context-dependent sharing of knowledge, also allows the speaker to reflect on his/her own and his/her speech partner(s)' reflexive relation to the construing processes. The display of this reflexive relation is an indication of metapragmatic awareness (Verschueren 2000). Metapragmatic awareness is related to the referential scene, its construal and the factors of interaction, and, most importantly for evidentiality, to the organization of the mental world of discourse (Tátrai 2022). Reflexive contextualizers play an important role in the organization of the mental world of the discourse. The discursive alignment of the speech partners' mental functioning also provides an applicable factor for modelling engagement (cf. Bergqvist 2016; Evans et al. 2018).

The presentation illustrates the proposed modelling of phenomena 1) – 3) on Hungarian corpus data through the interpretation of the potentialis construction of the verb and the metapragmatic function of lexicalized markers.

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Evidentiality, Egophoricity and Epistemic Modality in Scientific Discourse: Finnish Musicology as a Case Study

Benjamin Schweitzer (Universität Greifswald/Jyväskylän yliopisto)

The analysis of epistemic categories such as evidentality, egophoricity and epistemic modality had its origin in the research on oral discourse, departing mainly from the research on phenomena found in non-European languages (Bergqvist & Kittilä 2020). An early observation underlines this approach:

> […] while for us definiteness, number, and time are obligatory aspects, we find in another language location near the speaker or somewhere else, source of information − whether seen, heard, or inferred − as obligatory aspects […] (Boas 1938: 132-133).

Languages of special purpose (LSP) are varieties of their respective languages in which, first and foremost, *source of information*, i.e. the proof of evidentiality, is such an "obligatory aspect". One might thus come to the assumption that the core idea of Boas' assessment (even though LSPs are not languages in their own right) applies to them as well: Scientific argumentation is based on providing the source of the knowledge presented, may it be existing literature, result of an experiment, the *doxa* or even the speaker's own invention. But scientific texts also display a special attitude towards egophoricity – here understood, referring to Dahl (2000: 58), as "egophoric references", expressing the subjective position of the speaker: Whether or when the person of the scientist hides behind the text or steps into the foreground (by avoiding or using first person singular pronouns and other markers of egophoricity), is an often controversial point in different cultures of academic writing (Hyland 2002). Epistemic modality, e.g. in the form of taking stance by means of boosters or distancing themselves by hedges (Hyland 1998; 2000) or even "strengthening the argument by weakening the claim" (Meyer 1997) are means of presenting scientific findings that authors usually employ with deliberation and often strategic and/or culture-specific implications, as, with regard to Finnish language, a study by Salmi-Tolonen (1992) has shown. With this in mind, we may analyse written utterances from specialised texts and scientific writings, asking which role epistemic categories and their interaction play both on intratextual and, especially on transtextual, discourse-related levels. This approach, as an explicit dealing with written scientific discourse, has been taken by, e.g., Janik (2007) and Toscher (2019), both with reference to the field of historiography.

My paper concentrates on examples from Finnish musicological discourses on art music. This field is of special interest for several reasons: Writing about art, especially about music and even more so in Finland, is a subject that is to a huge extent a matter of interpretation, where backing up findings by evidence is often challenging. In addition, we often have to take a considerable imbalance of expertise between writers and readers into consideration. In such a scenario (see Busch 2018 for verticality in discourse) between the communication partners, the experts' subjective position and stance may exert a strong influence and sometimes might even outweigh comparatively weak evidentiality: Authority by (asserted) expertise provides discursive power, but also the possibility and danger of manipulation. The neutral aspect of expressing epistemic authority (Bergqvist & Kittilä 2020: 6ff.) may consequently be loaded with strong claims. The examples my analysis is based on are taken from specialised texts on Finnish music from a timespan of several decades, thus intending to show how the interrelations between the closely connected epistemic categories developed in one field of expertise, but in different historical phases. I will also attempt to identify diachronically constant and possibly even typical uses of epistemic categories against the background of previous research on Finnish academic writing, even though only additional contrastive analysis will prove whether a certain way of use is "typically Finnish" or even "typical for a Finnish musicological text". Thus, my main goal is to provide a systematised analytical approach that, abstracting from music, could be transferred to the analysis of scientific discourses of other genres under the aspect of epistemic categories as well.

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Beyond evidentiality: epistemic authority and other effects on the use of grammatical evidentials in Southern Finnic

Denys Teptiuk, Miina Norvik, Petar Kehayov (University of Tartu)

The Southern Finnic languages (Standard & South) Estonian and Livonian have developed grammatical means for the expression of evidentiality based on verbal reports. The grammatical evidentials therein cover two meanings: reportative with the unknown/unspecified source, and quotative with the specified source (Aikhenvald 2004; Kehayov & Skribnik 2022). The additional epistemic meaning of uncertainty in the truth-value of the report is often ascribed to

the Estonian grammatical evidential (Aikhenvald 2004: 193), while this additional meaning is less typical for Livonian (Kehayov et al. 2012). Besides the reporter's uncertainty, we also observe mirative overtones arising in contexts where the reported state-of-affairs was not expected by the reporter (1). Reports marked with the grammatical evidential usually contain information deriving from first-hand accounts of other speakers, otherwise inaccessible to the reporter (2).

(1) Estonian

Suur	*oli*	*minu*	*üllatus*	*kui*
big	be:PST.3SG	1SG.GEN	surprise	when
kaal	*näitas,*	*et*	*mina*	***kaaluvat***
weights	show:PST.3SG	COMP	1SG	weigh:REP.EVID
kokku	*72,4*	*kilo.*		
altogether	NUM	kilogram.PRT		

'I was surprised a lot when the weights showed that I weighed 72,4 kilos.' (etTenTen21)

(2) Livonian

ma	*u'm*	*kūlõn*	*ku*	*oksāka'ļḍi*
1SG	be.1SG	hear:APP.SG	COMP	stickleback:PL.PRT
Rīgõs	*sā̆l*	*Vēnas*	***ve'jjijid***	*ja*
Riga:INE	there	Daugava:INE	catch.fish:REP.EVID:PL	and
Liepās	*ma*	*u'm*	*ī'ž*	*nā̆'nd*
Liepaja:INE	1SG	be.1SG	self	see:APP.SG
ku	*kešīļdõks*	*āt*	*ve'jjõnd*	*oksāka'ļḍi*
COMP	net:PL.INS	be.3PL	catch.fish:APP.PL	stickleback:PL.PRT

'I've heard that three-spined sticklebacks have been caught in Riga, there in Daugava, and in Liepaja I've seen that three-spined sticklebacks have been caught with a landing net.' (Suhonen 1975: 26)

This study aims at extending previous descriptions of the grammatical evidentials in the Finnic languages by scrutinizing additional connotations arising from grammatical expression of evidentiality based on corpus material. Furthermore, we investigate how the asymmetry in epistemic authority (Grzech 2020; Bergqvist & Grzech 2023, i.a.) between the current speech participants is reflected in the use of grammatical evidentials in these languages.

Our preliminary results for Estonian show an effect of this parameter on the distribution of grammatical evidentials relative to person. While the grammatical evidential is relatively frequently used in reports about the current speaker, who is also the (first person) reporter (accounting for ca. 1500 exx. in etTenTen21), it is rarely used in reports about the (second person) interlocutor (ca. 60 exx.). Furthermore, in the reports about the current speaker, the grammatical evidential acquires quotative interpretation more frequently than reportative. In such cases, the quotative reading often triggers additional epistemic and mirative effects (cf. First Person Effect in Aikhenvald 2004: 225), for which contextual cues and alternations with the epistemically neutral indicative mood are robust indexes. In contrast, reports about the interlocutor do not contain specification of the source. This can be viewed as a distancing strategy: to avoid potentially face-threatening situations the speaker keeps information sources vague. This is also found in reports about the current speaker boasting about their own qualities, e.g. *ma* ***pidavat olema*** *ilus* [1SG must:REP.EVID beautiful] 'People say, I am beautiful'.

Considering the rarity of epistemic overtones in the use of the Livonian evidential (cf. Kehayov et al. 2012), we expect to find differences in the use of the grammatical evidentials with the same meaning between the closely related Estonian and Livonian, potentially stemming from different conventionalisation paths of the evidentials therein and their uses in the limited number of genres available for moribund Livonian.

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Reported evidentials in Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian: a pilot study of translated fiction

Gabrielė Aputytė & Jurgis Pakerys (Vilnius University)

A number of Baltic (Latvian, Lithuanian) and Finnic (Estonian, Livonian) languages in the eastern part of the Circum-Baltic area use a reported evidential (RE) construction that developed on the basis of participial forms (Aikhenvald 2018; Friedman 2018; Holvoet 2007; Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001). Consider the forms of RE marked in bold in (1):

(1) Estonian *Ta **rääkivat** saksa keelt*
Livonian *Ta **rõkāndiji** saksā kīeldõ*
Latvian *Viņš **runājot** vāciski*
Lithuanian *Jis **kalbąs** vokiškai*
'He, reportedly, speaks German'

We believe that the use of parallel corpora is one of the ways to advance the studies of evidential constructions in Baltic and Finnic. In our talk, we will discuss the frequency of use of RE construction in Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian on the basis of a pilot study using a small parallel corpus of translated fiction. The corpus consists of one Lithuanian and two Latvian novels, alongside their direct translations into Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian: Alvydas Šlepikas, *Mano vardas – Marytė* (2011; translated into Latvian and Estonian), Jānis Joņevs, *Jelgava 94* (2013; translated into Lithuanian and Estonian), and Nora Ikstena, *Mātes piens* (2015; translated into Lithuanian and Estonian). We admit that a clear shortcoming of our corpus is that it does not include original Estonian fiction.

In the original Latvian texts (*Jelgava 94* and *Mātes piens*), 143 instances of the RE construction were found. In the Estonian translations of the novels, RE correspondences appeared in only 45 cases (31.5%), while in the Lithuanian translations, the use of RE was twice as low, with only 22 instances (15.4%). Despite low frequency of use of RE in Lithuanian, it is worth noting that we identified 5 constructions which were used independently from the Latvian original, i.e., the RE construction appeared only in the Lithuanian text. In the Lithuanian novel (*Mano vardas – Marytė*) no RE constructions were found. None appeared in the translation of this novel into Estonian, while in the Latvian translation, RE was used 33 times and this demonstrates the productivity of the construction in Latvian.

As our corpus expands in the future, we expect to identify more RE constructions in Lithuanian. For example, Daugavet (2023) reports that in a parallel Lithuanian-Latvian corpus *LiLa* (https://sitti.vdu.lt/en/lila-parallel-corpus/), perfect and evidential (mostly RE) constructions in Lithuanian are of similar frequency: in total, 160 perfect and 157 evidential constructions were found. In line with our findings, Daugavet (2023) observes that evidentials in Latvian are notably more frequent than in Lithuanian: the Latvian part of the corpus contains 615 perfect and 461 evidential constructions.

We also noted that when RE construction was absent in the translations, it was sometimes replaced by lexical markers, such as Lithuanian *esą* 'reportedly', Estonian *väidetavalt* 'allegedly', the verbs of speech (Lithuanian *pasakyti* 'say, tell', Estonian *ütlema* 'idem'), or specialized phrases like Estonian *tema sõnul* 'in her/his words', among others.

We admit that our data are too limited to draw any definitive conclusions and we are looking forward to compiling a larger corpus that could confirm (or refute) our initial observation that RE in Latvian is more frequent than in Estonian, and least frequent in Lithuanian. It should be also noted that the frequency of use of RE may, to some extent, depend on the preferences of individual authors and translators.

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The use of past tenses to express epistemic primacy and epistemic authority in Udmurt

Rebeka Kubitsch (University of Szeged)

The presentation discusses the use of the past tenses to express epistemic primacy and epistemic authority in Udmurt.

Epistemic authority is the right to know, to claim ownership of knowledge (Bergqvist – Grzech 2023: 20). Epistemic authority and epistemic primacy are often used as synonyms, and the two notions are strongly connected. However, epistemic primacy is inherently relative and it depends on the knowledge status of the other discourse participants (Stivers et al. 2011: 13–14). Also, while epistemic authority is gradable, epistemic primacy is not gradable – one either has it or not (cf. Grzech 2020: 29).

Udmurt has a complex past tense system consisting of two synthetic (called as first and second past tense) and a number of analytic past tenses. These past tenses are used in the marking of evidentiality, and the morphological marking of the information source is intertwined with the past tenses, primarily with the ones expressing indirect information sources (Leinonen – Vilkuna 2000). The analytic past tenses are built up from a verb form of one of the synthetic tenses (present, first past tense, second past tense and future) and either from the first past tense

form of the ‘be’ verb, *val,* which is evidentially unmarked, or from the third person singular second past tense form of the ‘be’ verb, *vylem*, which is evidentially marked for indirect evidence. Furthermore, the past tenses can have various uses and interpretations besides marking the information source. These uses are not strictly evidential but they are frequently associated with evidential markers in the languages of the world and they are linked to other epistemic categories such as mirativity or epistemic modality (cf. Aikhenvald 2012, Boye 2012).

The research material is primarily from corpus data, from which interviews and social media entries are utilized. These are supplemented with the results and observations from other materials collected from native speakers through elicitation sessions and a questionnaire. These targeted evidentiality in Udmurt, however, they can provide insights in connection with epistemic primacy and authority as well.

The presentation shows that highlighting the speaker’s indirect evidence or merely the presentation of the information as inaccessible are tools for disclaiming the speaker’s epistemic primacy or lowering the degree of their authority to claim ownership of knowledge – this can be associated with the second past tense and also with the analytic past tenses that comprises second past tense forms. Meanwhile, the first past tense and the analytic past tenses comprising first past tense forms have complementary functions, i.e., they can signal the speaker’s epistemic primacy and claim epistemic authority. This can be observed in the example below.

(1) *Mama* *mon-e* *2-ti* *kurs-yn* *dyšetsky-ku-z*
mother I-ACC 2-ORD course-INE study-CVB.SIM-POSS.3SG

vord-i-z *//* *vord-em.*
give_birth-PST1-3SG give_birth-PST2[3SG]

‘My mother gave birth to me when she was studying in the second course.’

One of the consultants claimed that the first past tense is more suitable if they are in the main focus of the discussion, while if the focus is on the mother, the second past tense suits better. This observation can be explained by taking into account the notion of epistemic primacy in the application of the past tenses: if the speaker is in focus, it can be assumed that they have epistemic primacy over the information concerning themself. However, if the focus is on the mother, the speaker does not have the relative right to the ownership of knowledge, therefore presenting the information as inaccessible is more warranted.

This means that the past tenses in Udmurt are sensitive to the epistemic status of the discourse participants and the choice for the past tenses also depends on the speaker’s relationship to the event in question (cf. Bergqvist – Grzech 2023).

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Pre-mirative context marking and epistemic authority in the *val*-based analytic past constructions of Udmurt

Mari Saraheimo (University of Helsinki)

In Udmurt, there are several analytic verbal forms, of which some have seemingly overlapping functions (see Saraheimo 2022, Saraheimo & Kubitsch 2023). Two of these are the first remote past or pluperfect (1) and the imperfective past (2), where the former combines the evidentially neutral first past form of the main verb and the unchanged past form of the 'be'-verb (*val*) and the latter a present tense form with *val*. Both constructions have two comparable functions, namely that of an interrupted or discontinuous action, or an action that is in contrast with the following information (3), as well as an emphatic function connected to assertivity (Saraheimo & Kubitsch 2023, Kubitsch 2024).

1. *Odig* *kɨl* *gine* *vera-j* *val.*
   one word only say-PST1.1SG be.PST1

   'I had only said one word.'

2. *So* *vakɨt-e* *uj* *klub-ɨn* *uža-śko* *val.*
   that time-ILL night klub-INE work-PRS.1SG be.PST1

   'At that time I was working at a nightclub.'

3. *Mon* *ton-e* *badʑ̑im* *ńi* *koža-j* *val,*
   I you-ACC big already reckon-PST.1SG be.PST1

   noš *ton* *veś* *anaj-ed-len* *vera-m-ez-ja*
   but you always mother-POSS.2SG-GEN say-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-ADV

   gine *uli-śkod* *vɨlem...*
   only live-PRS.2SG be.PST2

   'I've reckoned you as a grown up, but you always turn out to act asyour mother says…'

The study aims to describe these functions in more specific terms, and to dissect the differences in the meaning of the constructions, in other words, when and why the main verb shall manifest in present tense and when in the first past. The data is drawn from newspaper articles and blog texts and complemented by consulting native speakers. Preliminary results show that instead of marking an aspectual or modal category of a discontinuous action or an action with unprecedented results, both constructions mark a pre-mirative context (see e.g. Skribnik 2023). While PST1 + *val* is used broadly with a variety of verbs with different semantics, PRS + *val* is prone to be chosen with stative verbs with inherently imperfective semantics. The use of the analytic constructions including *val* in general seems to be connected to endophoric events, which is in line with obervation's done by Spets (2023) for similar analytic constructions in Mari and other studies on the use of pluperfects in narration in general (Pallaskalllio 2016; Lund 2015). The assertive function of the constructions has presumably risen from this tendency. The effect has been enhanced by the existence of evidential opposition with the evidential second past form of the 'be'-verb *vylem*, the use of which has been associated with a lower level of epistemic authority (Kubitsch 2024).

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"Clear remembrance" as an evidential category

Silja-Maija Spets (University of Turku)

The functional domain of evidentiality can be classified into different categories according to several semantic properties. One widely cited classification is the Plungian's (2010) model based on binary parameters of direct/indirect and personal/non-personal access to knowledge. However, the classification faces challenges when new categories are proposed to the domain – a change accompanied both by increased data on understudied languages as well as extended view on 'evidentials' as more than just highly grammaticalized linguistic elements.

No surprise, most of the new categories belong to the group of cognitive information sources due to the almost boundless amount of human mental processes used in knowledge acquisition. One noteworthy new member that occurs along the traditional cognitive categories of 'inference' and 'assumption' is the category of 'memory' introduced by Nuyts (2023). In my presentation I will join this progress by discussing another lesser-known cognitive evidential category of 'clear remembrance' attested in Uralic languages Meadow Mari and Hill Mari. Earlier sporadically identified in some other languages of the so-called "great Eurasian evidentiality belt" (e.g. in Khalkha Mongolian by Brosig 2018: 54–58), the analysis on Mari contributes to a more theoretical and typological view on the functions and development of this category.

In Mari, the function of 'clear remembrance' has its roots in analytic past tense constructions. These constructions are based on expressions with present value followed by elements *âl'e* and *âl'â* in Meadow Mari and Hill Mari, respectively. Representing grammaticalized 3rd person singular past tense forms of the verb 'to be', the function of these 'was'-elements is to shift the temporal interpretation of the present expression into past from the utterance time. This is illustrated in example (1) below:

(1) Meadow Mari

šarn-et	*ćaj,*	*kuze*	*tušto*	***jüštâl-ənа***	***âl'e****?*
remember-2S G	maybe	how	there	swim-1PL	âl'e

'You remember maybe, how we used to swim there?' (Spets, forthcoming)
Literally: [we swim there] + [so it **was**]

As the example shows, the analytic past tense constructions are often chosen over morphological past tenses in complement clauses of cognitive verbs with the meaning 'to remember'. This can be explained by morphosemantics of the construction: the present expression equals a synchronic memory that the speaker re-lives in their mind, while the past-marked *âl'e*/*âl'â* element explicates that the event is not actually present but located in the past.

My central claim is that when a speaker frames a piece of information as 'clearly remembered', they overtly mark that it originates from their subjective mental processes and is thus not to be exposed to judgement about its objective truth value. Rather, the Mari expressions are used to mark an imaginative epistemological stance (c.f. Mushin 2001: 76–79) which means that the claim is a description of a speaker-exclusive imagination world and not necessarily of the actual one. Indeed, the 'clear remembrance' construction in Mari shares form with counterfactual expressions and is typically used for marking states of affairs that the speaker cannot have a factual access to.

Crucially, the Plungianian classification is semantically not capable of distinguishing 'clear remembrance' or 'memory' from categories like 'inference' or even 'sensoriness'. Thus, I propose two new parameters for clarifying the internal borders within the domain of evidentiality: internal/external division for the type of acquisition channel as well as active/passive division for the speaker's type of participation in the knowledge formation. In this approach, 'clear remembrance' is characterized by internal acquisition of the knowledge as well as the speaker's active participation in forming of the information.

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The future necessitive participle *-šaš* as an epistential modal marker in Meadow Mari

Bogáta Timár (University of Tartu)

My talk discusses the function of the future necessitive particle *-šaš* as a marker of epistentiality, ie. epistemic modality and inferentiality. Epistentiality is coined by Kugler (2015), who, based on a study on Hungarian, defines it „as based on his/her existing knowledge (processed experience, available information), the speaker infers the occurrence of an event, evaluating its degree of probability." (Kugler 2015).

Meadow Mari generally uses mental state predicates (1) and lexical modal markers (2) to denote the speaker's rights and responsibility for knowledge (cf. Timár 2021 and Timár 2024). However, the future necessitive participle, among a number of other functions, can also denote epistemic force (3), which insofar hasn't been thoroughly studied.

(1) *Iktə-da-n=at* *tə̂gaj* *dneβnik-da* *uke,* *šon-em*
one-2PL-GEN=ADD such diary-2SG NEG.3SG think-1SG
'I think none of you has such a diary' (Corpus of Literary Mari)

(2) *maša* *uze* *mal-a* *də̂r.*
Masha already sleep-3SG probably
'Probably Masha is already asleep.' (elicitated)

(3) *tugeže* *tə̂* *eŋer-ə̂šte* *kol* *šuko* *lij-šaš.*
therefore this river-INE fish many be-PTCP.FUT
'So there must be plenty of fish in this river.' (Corpus of Literary Mari)

Based on my own fieldwork recordings (based on San Roque et al. 2012) and questionnaire data, I evaluate the epistemic modal markers in Meadow Mari according to their modal force and context. I studied how they relate to the statements of Kugler (2015) that „inferentiality cannot be detached from epistemic modality, since they simultaneously represent the process of inference and the probability of the commentator". Based on the results, I argue that while not all of them denote inference, *-šaš* is not only one of the strongest epistemic force markers but fits the requirements of an epistential modal, as it is preferred when the speaker directly infers their proposition from the information provided at the time of the utterance.

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Reporting/quoting constructions and intersubjectivity in Nganasan conversations

Sándor Szeverényi (University of Szeged)

The analysis of Nganasan (and Samoyed) conversations is still in initial phase. The primary reason of its is the quabtity of the language material. However, the same can be said for most of the smaller Uralic languages. No studies have yet been carried out to investigate the organisation of discourse in Nganasan, or grammatical phenomena whose realisation and use differs from those in the better known and analysed narrative texts.

Due to the lack of tradition of interactional linguistics and discourse analysis, the present talk is also a kind of methodological and theoretical pathfinding. My approach applies the basic frame of interactional linguistics and discourse analysis (e.g. Englebretson 2007, Selting 2000, Selting & Couper-Kuhlen 2001).

I look for relevant structures in morphology and syntax, taking into account ethnosyntactic aspects as well. I do not take intonation into consideration. Structures (markers of shared knowledge, common knowledge and intersubjecivity, epistemic stance) and their proportions in the conversations are different from narrative texts,.

The texts can be found in the NSL corpus (Brykina et al. 2018). In the analysis I focus on the following linguistic means of languages use such as (based on e.g. Wagner-Nagy 2019):

- morphological evidentials (inferential-mirative, non-visual sensory, reportative-quotative),
- inferential-epistemic lexemes (SEEM-verb, particles, adverbials),
- discourse-markers (mostly particles),
- sentence modality: interrogative verbs, WH-questions,
- negation,
- reported speech construction with speech verbs.

The presentation aims to contribute to our general knowledge and intersubjetivity through the language use of a specific socio-cultural community.

Certain story-telling strategies characterise the analysed conversations, e.g. the Abstract & Orientation introductory part is well separated. The reason for this is on the one hand, the speakers' previous experience of being expected to provide texts by fieldworkers. On the other hand, it also corresponds to traditional story-telling, which is traditionally interactive in nature. The typical discourse strategies usually appear in the 2nd half of the conversation. As the conversation progresses, its characteristics become more reflexive. More particles and more speech verbs are included, but utterances are shorter, and there are more turning points. Evidentiality in contextualization during the dominant markers of intersubjectivity.

The reportive (evidential suffix) and the quotative means further differences in genres: the reportative evidential is the basic marker of perspective in conversations. The reported speech construction is always direct in narratives and conversations as well. There is no indirect quotation even in cases where the person quoted is present. This confirms our hypothesis that perspective persistence is a salient feature of the language.

The analysis also gives us an idea of individual language use characteristics, e.g. different proportions of certain particles for different speakers.

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The Kildin Saami (evidential) Perfect

Maria Kosheleva (Moscow)

My study is concerned with the Kildin Saami analytical verb form traditionally referred to as the (Present) Perfect (1). The data were elicited from 6 consultants (translation and grammatical judgement tasks) in the village of Lovozero (Murmansk Oblast, Russia) in 2022-2024.

1.	*sɨjj*	*veenns-et'*	***l'ee-v***	***lihk-ma***
	3PL.NOM	boat-ACC.PL	be-NPST.3PL	make-PTCP.PST

'They have made boats.' (Rießler 2022: 230)

The Perfect is mentioned in most grammars of Kildin Saami. However, in most cases, the description of the verb form boils down to the way it is formed and a few words about its meaning. Moreover, researchers drastically disagree on its alleged nature. Kert (1971: 197-198) describes the Perfect as a past perfective form whereas Rießler (2022) presumably views it as resultative.

The aim of the present study is to describe the diverse behaviour of the Kildin Saami Perfect with the focus on its evidential reading. I will show that the Perfect encompasses several distinctive meanings: resultative, experiential, past perfective, and inferentive evidential in terms of (Aikhenvald 2018) (cf. the inferentive evidential reading in (2)). From the Uralic

perspective, evidential extensions of perfects are quite common in the language family as a whole (Bradley, Klumpp, & Metslang 2022). However, Saami languages have not been previously considered to use this strategy.

2.	*suull j*	*axxta*	***l'ii***	***čʊʊŋŋ-ma***	*peeŗ 'ŗ 't-e*
	thief.NOM.SG	yesterday	be.NPST.3SG	get.into-PTCP.PST	house-DAT.SG

OK{Inspector is looking at footprints on the carpet. It seems that the footprints were left yesterday. The footprints lead only one way – into the house.} 'The burglar got into the house yesterday.'

*{Yesterday, the speaker saw a man breaking a window of their neighbour's house and getting into it.} 'The burglar got into the house yesterday.'

Basically, the Kildin Saami Perfect encompasses all the meanings (to a certain extent) found on the path of grammaticalization of perfects from resultatives to past perfectives and evidentiality (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1994). However, the Kildin Saami Perfect is quite unusual in combining both past perfective and evidential readings which are usually deemed to be mutually exclusive. In my talk, I will discuss some restrictions and peculiar properties of the inferentive evidential reading of the Kildin Saami Perfect such as, for instance, the requirement of the existence of the lexically determined result and anchoring to the speaker in both polar and wh-questions.

In addition, I will compare the conditions of the use of the Perfect with those of the Preterite, since the differences between them have not been previously investigated. Among other things, I will show that the Kildin Saami Perfect contrasts with the Preterite as inferentive vs neutral.

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B.9 Discourse particles in the Uralic languages

Zubova, Tomingas, Teptiuk, Todesk, Markus

Permic 'if'-based particles

Timofey Arkhangelskiy (Universität Hamburg)

Particles in Udmurt and Komi present two riddles that seemingly do not have much in common. First, Udmurt has a particle *iśke* 'then, in that case', which is widely assumed to be a Chuvash borrowing (< Modern Chuvash *ɕke*, earlier *əɕke*), e.g. by Fedotov (1968: 102). The peculiar thing about this particle is that there are absurdly many similar particles in both the standard language and the dialects that are believed to be its variants. There are at least *ośke*, *uske*, *ȯzke* and *äske*, as well as their shortened or metathetic variants *śike*, *śke* and *ske*. There is no known regular phonological correspondence between the dialects that could have accounted for this multitude. Second, Komi has a particle *eśkę*. It is claimed by the grammars to be a conditional particle equivalent to the Russian *bi̯*. However Tillinger (2022) points out that, unlike *bi̯*, it is compatible with any tense forms and curiously tends to appear in the apodosis of conditional sentences, but not in the protasis.

I claim that both particles are actually grammaticalized adjunct clauses that involve a conditional conjunction (*ke* in Udmurt, *kę* in Komi) cliticized to a predicate. The Udmurt particles are most probably based on different predicates, which explains their number. The Komi particle might be a phonologically reduced form of *esiʒ́=kę* 'if it is so / that way', yielding the sense 'then, in that case' naturally compatible with an apodosis, but not protasis.

Both Udmurt and Komi have optional pro-drop, do not need any auxiliaries with non-verbal predicates in the affirmative present, and have enclitic conditional conjunctions. Therefore, a clause 'if it is P' can be packed into one phonological word, which facilitates its grammaticalization. In Komi, a number of words are historically based on this construction: *siʒ́kę* / *sić́kę* 'then; in that case' < *siʒ́=kę* 'if it is so', *gaškę* 'maybe' < *gaž=kę* wish=if 'if there is wish / if you wish', *burakę* 'probably; it seems' < *bura=kę* well=if 'if it is good' (Serebrennikov 1963: 382). The Udmurt *ośke* 'then, in that case' appears in early newspapers, where it is often spelled as *oźke* and is straightforwardly derived from *oź=ke* 'if it is so' (*oź* being a widespread variant of the standard *oźi̯* 'so, that way'). It is very probable that *iśke* is based on another, now non-existent proximal demonstrative **iź* 'so, this way'. A crucial piece of evidence is provided by Munkácsi (1887: 59), who actually was the first to propose this hypothesis for *iśke*. He attested *iśke* with the stress on the first syllable, as would be expected of a combination with the conditional *ke*.

Uske, *ȯzke* and *äske* most probably come from combinations of the 3SG negative verbs in FUT (*uz=ke*) or PST (*ȯz=ke / ęz=ke*, depending on the dialect), with an elided connegative of a lexical verb. This is compatible with the fact that the verb in the apodosis of a conditional may be FUT-marked or PST-marked in Udmurt. Compositional combinations like that are available in contemporary Udmurt. Besides, even though Kirillova (2008) claims *uske* to be synonymous with *iśke*, a usage example under a different headword, *kutį̈ni̯* 'catch', contains this word in the sense 'otherwise; if not', which can be expected of a combination with a negative verb.

Chuvash origin of the Udmurt *iśke* can be ruled out independently of the aforementioned considerations because of a semantic mismatch. Descriptions, Russian translations and usage examples of its potential source, *(ə)ɕke* (Ashmarin 1937: 115-116; Fedotov 1963: 65-66), make clear that it is semantically a pretty typical enimitive particle, in terms of Panov (2020).

While individual etymologies for each of these particles may require another look, it is clear that we are dealing with a closely-knit family of particles grown out of a conditional

construction. The proposed historical source for these particles explains their properties and may shed some light on the diachronic development of Permic languages.

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A diachronic perspective on the discoursive functions of the Mari 3SG possessive suffix

Johannes Hirvonen (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)

Several Uralic languages employ possessive suffixes in functions related to discourse organization, including the marking of identifiability, contrast, or topic shift (e.g. Nikolaeva 2003, Gerland 2014, Simonenko 2014). The origin of these discoursive functions of Uralic possessive suffixes has received internal explanations (Fraurud 2001, Kiss & Tánczos 2018), but some studies have also suggested language contact as factor in the development of the possessive suffixes' functions in individual Uralic languages (e.g. Serebrennikov 1972: 10, Leinonen 1998: 75, Nikolaeva 2003: 140–142).

Across these studies, the data comes from different sources such as 21st century spoken or written corpus data, 21st century elicited data, or from secondary literature with data from various older sources. But so far, no study about possessive suffixes has systematically investigated the diachronic development of their discoursive functions within a single language (an exception being Halm 2018 on Hungarian). This is a gap in the study of the grammaticalization or contact history of possessive suffixes in any language, and Uralic in general.

This talk addresses this issue by investigating the discoursive functions of the Mari 3SG possessive suffix in a sample of early 20th century Mari oral texts representing its dialectal sub-groups, and comparing them to the possessive suffix's functions in 21st century oral texts (Volkova et al. 2024). There is an abundance of recorded dialectal oral texts of early 20th century Mari (Bradley 2016: 119–129) which makes it possible to conduct such a dialectologically informed study.

I show that the Mari varieties of the 20th century exhibit variation with respect to the frequency and the functions of the 3SG possessive suffix, including, for example, a higher share of partitive-like contrastive examples in the eastern varieties, the existence of anaphoric marking in Meadow Mari varieties – which is hardly reflected in studies investigating contemporary Mari (e.g. Simonenko 2014) – and an increase in functions resembling the Russian discourse particle *zhe* in 21st century texts.

Thus, this historical corpus-based study of different varieties allows to uncover diatopic and diachronic microvariation of the possessive suffix's functions within Mari, to subsequently draw conclusions about its internal reconstruction in Mari, and to detect possible contact influence from its most important contact languages Chuvash, Tatar, and Russian. In sum, the study contributes to understanding the development of the discoursive functions of the 3SG possessive suffix in Mari, and in the larger context, of this phenomenon in Uralic.

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Stratifications of alternativity: Functions of the word VÕI in the Southern Finnic language area

Helle Metslang, Miina Norvik, Karl Pajusalu, Eva Saar (University of Tartu)

The presentation addresses the syntactic and pragmatic functions of the word *või/vai/vaj/vej*, with its variants (here referred to as VÕI), in the Southern Finnic language area. VÕI is a Finnic stem by its origin, and the word functions as a disjunctive conjunction in most Finnic languages. In the presentation, we aim to answer the following questions:

–What are the syntactic and pragmatic functions of the word VÕI in the Southern Finnic language area?

–What functional shifts have occurred in the usage of the word VÕI?

–Which types of usage of VÕI are widespread in the area, and what factors might have facilitated their spread?

We rely on existing research and available data sources (corpora, grammars, text collections, etc.). The language varieties studied include Courland Livonian, Salaca Livonian, Standard Estonian, South Estonian, Estonian dialects, South Estonian language islands, Soikkola Ingrian, Votic, and southern Finnish dialects.

The most striking shift in the syntactic and pragmatic function is the transformation of VÕI into a marker of polar questions (cf. Metslang et al. 2017), where VÕI no longer appears within the sentence but on its periphery. The grammaticalisation of the interrogative particle grows out of the function of VÕI as a particle linking linking the sentence to the preceding or following context and located at the beginning or end of the sentence. Clause-initial interrogative VÕI is common mainly in the southern part of the area: South Estonian, the Leivu language island, Salaca and Courland Livonian, but also in Votic, and as a Votic influence also Soikkola Ingrian. In the case of Livonian, we observe complicated borrowing processes (see Sakel 2007): MAT-borrowing (e.g., Latvian *vai* 'or' is a Finnic loan), internal grammaticalization (Latvian *vai* 'or' > 'question'), and PAT-borrowing (the Latvian-influenced polysemy 'or'/'question' of *või* in Livonian). Clause-final interrogative VÕI tends to occur mainly in the northern part of the area (Standard Estonian, North Estonian dialects) but also in some southern Estonian varieties, incl. Lutsi, southwestern and southern Finnish dialects, and also in spoken common Finnish). Clause-final interrogative VÕI is a relatively late development and often requires another question marker in the sentence.

Syntactically, when used as a conjunction, the word VÕI may have shifted in meaning, expressing, e.g., metalinguistic disjunction in Votic (ETY, cf. Haspelmath 2007: 27) or adversative disjunction in Estonian. The combination of VÕI with the particle *ka* has developed into a particle or adverb with concessive meaning, such as in the Ingrian *vaik* or Finnish *vaikka* (Ikola et al. 1989: 103–104).

When used as a conjunction, VÕI may be used in different pragmatic functions, as self-correction, expressing uncertainty (see e.g., Rass 2021). Communication formulae have developed based on VÕI, signaling changes in information, doubt, questioning, etc.

In the presentation, we will examine the spread of syntactic and pragmatic usage types in the area, as well as the internal and external factors that have contributed to this spread.

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Particle and conjunction VAI in Latvian: origins, semantics and functions

Andra Kalnača & Ilze Lokmane (University of Latvia, Rīga)

Latvian and Finno-Ugric languages (e.g., Estonian and Livonian) share a discourse element – the indeclinable polyfunctional (auxiliary) word *vai* (Latv.), *või* (Est.) and *või* (Liv.). In Latvian, *vai* (with the falling intonation *vài*) as a particle and conjunction is considered a borrowing from Finno-Ugric (e.g., ME IV; Endzelīns 1951; Pokrotniece 2007). On the other hand, *vai* (with the stretched intonation *vaĩ!*, also with the falling intonation *vài!*) as interjection has been inherited from the Indo-European proto-language (cf. Lith. *vaĩ,* Goth. *wai,* OHG. *wē,* Lat. *vae,* Middle Irish *fáe* 'weh!' ME IV, see also Smoczyński 2018). It is undisputed that since its beginnings, the Latvian written language has been using *vai* both as an interrogative/emphasis particle and

as an interjection, moreover, until the second half of the 19th century, with a lot of variation as to its written form *wai, waj, way, vai, vaj, woi, voi, wuj* (Pokrotniece 2007). Since the 17th century texts, a process can be noted that, besides to the oldest Latvian interrogative particles *ar, arī, arīg, arīdzan, neg,* there is a more and more frequent use of *vai,* the latter almost completely displacing the inherited interrogative particles in modern language. Since the end of the 18th century, Latvian texts show a competition between *vai* and the inherited disjunctive conjunction *jeb* 'or'; in modern language, both are used, but in different senses (e.g., Nītiņa, Grigorjevs 2013; Kalnača, Lokmane 2021).

For a typological and contrastive comparison with Finno-Ugric material, especially Estonian *või*, a closer look at the semantics and functions of the Latvian particle and conjunction *vai* is necessary. Therefore, in our paper we will focus on *vai* solely as a particle and conjunction, while *vai* as an interjection is left outside the scope of this study.

In Latvian, the particle and conjunction *vai* alone or in combination with other lexical items can perform a variety of functions. Firstly, as a particle *vai* is multifunctional and expresses different semantic nuances depending on place in the phrase and its adjacent environment. E.g. at the beginning of a sentence *vai* performs the function of an interrogative particle:

(1) ***Vai*** *viņš* *ir* *greizsirdīgs?*
Q 3.NOM.SG be.AUX.PRS.3 jealous.NOM.SG
'Is he jealous?' (LVK2018)

The interrogative particle can also be located at the end of the sentence, conveying doubts or dissatisfaction of the speaker (Nītiņa, Grigorjevs 2013):

(2) *Viņš* *dzimteni* *pārdod,* ***vai****?!*
3.NOM.SG motherland.ACC.SG sell.PRS.3 **Q**
'He is selling his motherland, **is he**?!' (LVK2018)

If the speaker wishes to ascertain whether his or her thoughts are correct and expects an acknowledgment from the addressee, the combination *vai ne* or, more seldom, *vai jā* can be used at the end of the declarative sentence (Nītiņa, Grigorjevs 2013):

(3) *Dzīve* *ir* *skaista,* ***vai*** ***ne****?*
life.NOM.SG be.AUX.PRS.3 beautiful.NOM.SG **or** **not**
'Life is beautiful, **isn't it**?' (Karogs)

Vai also performs the function of an indefinite particle function, most often in the phrases *diez vai, diezin vai* 'hardly'*, nez vai, nezin vai* 'I wonder if' (Nītiņa, Grigorjevs 2013), while in the function of an emphatic particle *vai* is used with adverbs expressing measure or extent (e.g., *gluži vai* 'quite or', *gandrīz vai* 'almost or') (Nītiņa, Grigorjevs op. cit.).

Secondly, *vai* is also a coordinating conjunction with a disjunctive meaning, which alone or in combination with particles can link both equal parts of a simple sentence and parts of a compound sentence (Nītiņa, Grigorjevs 2013; Kalnača, Lokmane 2021):

(4) ***Vai*** ***nu*** *zivju* *toreiz* *bijis* *vairāk,*
either PTCL fish.GEN.PL then be.AUX.PTCP.NOM.SG more
vai *līvu* *vīri -* *bijuši* *stiprāki*.
or Livonian.GEN.PL man.NOM.SG be.AUX.PTCP.NOM.PL strong.NOM.PL

'**Either** there were more fish back then, **or** the Livonian men were stronger.' (LVK2018)

Vai is widely used in the function of a semantically neutral subordinating conjunction introducing subject or object clauses (Nītiņa, Grigorjevs 2013; Kalnača, Lokmane 2021):

(5) *Viņš domā,*
vai *viņa* *prāts* *un* *jūtas*

if	3.GEN.SG	mind.NOM.SG	and	feeling.NOM.PL
ir	*spējīgi*	*radīt*	*kaut ko*	*lielu.*
be.AUX.PRS.3	capable.NOM.SG	create.INF	something	great.ACC.SG

'He wonders **if** his mind and feelings are capable of creating something great.' (LVK2018)

Previous studies have focused more on the use of *vai* in polarity structures in Baltic and Finno-Ugric material (e.g. Metslang *et al.* 2017; Norvik *et al.* 2022, see also Nau, Ostrowski 2010), but other functions of *vai* have not been examined or compared more closely. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to classify and analyze as many uses of *vai* as a particle /conjunction in Latvian as possible, based on the *Latvian National Corpora Collection (LNCC)* (available at: https://korpuss.lv/en/) which contains data from 39 different corpora.

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Old commitments and repeated speech acts: interpreting Hungarian *tényleg*

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The talk discusses the interpretation of the particle *tényleg* 'really'/'indeed' in Hungarian, which only contributes to the use conditions (Gutzmann 2015), analogously to *csakugyan* and *valóban* (cf. Egedi 2009), except for minor differences (cf. Kiefer 1988). *Tényleg* can appear syntactically and prosodically integrated or non-integrated in the sentence. Integrated *tényleg* appears in declaratives responding to assertions or to polar questions and in (responding) polar interrogatives; non-integrated *tényleg* appears in declaratives, in polar and *wh*-interrogatives.

The paper will show that integrated/non-integrated occurences of *tényleg* are felicitous in the contexts characterized in Table 1, some of which are exemplified in (1)-(4) below:

Config.	*Context*	*Integrated*	*Felicity*	*Ex.*
C1	New assertion	✓	×	
C2	Repeated assertion w/o current evidence	✓	×	(1A-B)
C2A	Rep. assertion w/o current evid., Addr. is a child	✓	✓	(1A-B)
C3	Repeated assertion with current evidence	✓/×	✓	(1A- B′)

C4	Repeated assertion, predicate of personal taste	✓	✓	
C5	Repeated assertion, predicate of personal taste	×	×	
C6	Repeated assertion, stronger commitment	✓	✓	(2)
C7	Repeated assertion, stronger commitment	×	×	
C8	Contradicting a previous assertion	✓/×	×	(3)
C9	Answering an (indirect) question	✓/×	×	(4)
C10	Reasserting a statement rejected by interlocutor	✓	✓	
C11	Reasserting a statement rejected by interlocutor	×	×	
C12	Confirming a previous assertion	✓	✓	
C13	Confirming a previous assertion	×	×	
C14	Asking a new question	✓/×	×	
C15	Asking a repeated question	×	✓	

Table 1. Felicity of (non-)integrated *tényleg* in different contexts.

(1) A: Esett éjjel az eső.
fell at.night the rain
'It rained last night.'

B: (B heard the sound of rain last night.)
Tényleg esett.
TÉNYLEG fell
'It rained indeed.' (OK if A is a child!)

B′: (B did not hear anything, but looks out and sees that the ground is wet.)
Tényleg(, esett).
'It rained indeed.'

(2) A: Pali lehet, hogy külföldre ment.
Pali maybe that abroad went
'Maybe Pali went abroad.'

B: Tényleg külföldre ment.
'He went abroad indeed.'

(3) A: Pali nem ment külföldre.
Pali not went abroad
'Pali didn't go abroad.'

B: (#Tényleg) külföldre ment.

(4) A: Pali külföldre ment?
'Did Pali go abroad?'

B: (#Tényleg) külföldre ment.

Analogous behaviour in configurations C2A and C6 support extending Northrup's (2014) analysis of Japanese *yo*, a "relative authority marker" to *tényleg,* felicity mismatches in C1, C8, C9, C12 and C15 contradict it. Adopting Yuan & Hara's (2019) account of Mandarin *dique*, which marks the prejacent issue as old (and believed to be old by all participants) would explain the (in)felicity of *tényleg* in C1, C2A, C3, C6, C8, C9, C15. This approach, however, would predict *tényleg* to be felicitous in C2, and *dique* in C10 and C12, contrary to fact. Yuan & Hara (2019) propose that Mandarin *zhende* marks the prejacent issue to be old, which some participant y has failed to resolve. Adopting the latter account for *tényleg* would explain its

behaviour in C1, C2, C3, C10, C15, as well as in C12, where, apparently, *zhende* is not felicitous, but would not explain the felicity of *tényleg* in C3 and C6.

The talk proposes that integrated *tényleg* in declaratives marks that a commitment has been made previously to prejacent *p,* and in polar interrogatives that a commitment has been made to *p*, the "highlighted alternative" (Roelofsen & Farkas 2015). The fact that it is only compatible with particular declaratives (C3, C4, C6, C10) has to do with general principles of conversation (i.e., prohibitions against reasserting propositions without reason). The data will be captured with the help of a minimal modification of Yuan & Hara's (2019) analysis of *dique*, in Farkas & Bruce's (2010) framework. Non-integrated *tényleg* is proposed to be felicitous in interrogatives (C14, C15) when a question act realizing the same form type has been made in the discourse. The formal account minimally modifies Yuan & Hara's (2019) analysis of *dique*. Infelicity of non-integrated *tényleg* in C5, C7, and C11 is due to blocking by integrated *tényleg*.

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Well, why are they so many? – In search of explanations for the abundance of discourse particles in Yugan Khanty

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Yugan Khanty (<Ob-Ugric<Finno-Ugric) has a wide range of particles (Csepregi 2017: 205--209), which at first glance easily can be seen as discourse particles (DiP; last word (1)).

(1) Schön 2017

tʲət	*mən-t-ən*	*quːnt*	*mən-ɐ*	***βəs***
so	go-PRS-2SG	if	go-IMP.2SG	**PTCL**

'So if you have to go, **well** go!'

However, apart from modal particles, the literature seems to avoid the description of DiPs in Khanty (Csepregi 2017, Gugán–Schön 2022, Honti 1984).

This corpus-based study aims to identify and describe DiPs in modern Yugan Khanty according to Fischer's (2006) theory along with their functions. Among the possible DiPs, one commonality peeks out: The function 'well'. This is used as a first anchor point since there are at least 14 particles which appear in narratives and dialogues with this same discursive function, namely: *ɐː*, *jɐː*, *kʉtʃ*, *qatʲɐ*, *no*, *noː*, *nu*, *oːs*, *tʲaqɐ*, *tʲɛ*, *tʲɛt*, *tʲi*, *tʲuː*, *βəs*. They can be told apart by origin: One dates back to Proto-Ob-Ugric (*oːs*), some are grammaticalized from pronouns (*tʲɛ*, *tʲɛt*, *tʲi*, *tʲuː*), borrowed from Russian (*ɐː*, *kʉtʃ*, *no*, *noː*, *nu*) or Tatar (*jɐː*), while some have unclear etymology (*qatʲɐ*, *tʲaqɐ*, *βəs*; cf. DWS 1, 189, 307, 570, 588, 979, 1489, 1491, 1492, 1634). They also can be systematized by the fact that while some of them are monosemantic (*ɐː* 'well', *jɐː* 'well'), others are highly polyfunctional, like ex. *βəs* being a) a coordinating conjunction, b) an interrogative particle as well as c) a DiP (1); or *oːs* with around seven functions: 'and', 'or', 'again', 'suddenly' 'more', 'lo and behold' (2), 'well'.

(2) Schön 2019

sɐːr	*oːsɣə*	*rɐːs-ən*	*mɐː*	*tʉβɐt*	***oːs***	*βɒːɣ-t-əm*
now_then	next	time-LOC	1SG	3SG.ACC	**PTCL**	ask_for-PRS-1SG

‘Now then, **lo** I will ask for him next time.’

A previous study on the demonstrative pronoun *t̮i* shows its grammaticalization pattern from demonstrative determiner to manner demonstrative to discourse particles with several functions like for example deictic presentative (3), modal particle, summarizing particle (Schön 2024).

(3) Gugán–Schön 2022: 633

‘[The wife] picked up her husband’s eyes [=glasses] and took them home. She brought them home and put them in her sewing box. The husband rode downhill, he rode the sledge.’

iːttən-ɣə	*jiɣ-m-ɐ*	***t̮iː***
night-TRNS	become-PTCP.PST-LAT	**PTCL**

‘After night broke on, **here it was**!’

But the different origins and the possible polyfunctionality still does not explain the fact that all above mentioned particles with similar functions like ‘well’ are present synchronically in Yugan Khanty – as proves the balanced corpus of 59.000 tokens (39.000 structured narratives, 20.000 free dialogues, 23 native speakers, collected between 2010–2016 in Siberia) used in this study.

This research is in search of explanations for this abundance of discourse particles in Yugan Khanty looking at both language external (speaker background) and internal (function, syntax) factors. The mono- or bilingualism of the speakers will be taken into account, as well as the text genre (tales, legends, personal accounts, unstructured interviews) or form of the data (dialog, narrative – direct or indirect speech). Next to the sentence types (declarative, interrogative, imperative, exclamative), the syntactic position (sentence initial, internal, final, stand alone) will be analysed in order to establish possible patterns for the DiPs.

Each and every above mentioned DiP will be examined for their different functions to identify a distribution between them.

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Russian influence on the use of discourse particles in North Khanty

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My paper investigates the use of discourse markers of both Khanty and Russian origins in two North Khanty dialects, namely, in the Synja and the Upper Kazym dialects.

Lipski (2005), analyzing the speech production of Spanish-English, Nahuatl-Spanish, Quechua-Spanish bilinguals, found that the occurrence of many elements that are borrowed from the majority language can be explained with the same motivation. Since administration, education, most official situations and expert positions are related to the majority language, interpretation, correction, and qualification of information are usually expressed in the majority language. Consequently, minority language speakers typically activate a number of elements from the majority language that help to present what is being said in a professional and convincing way. According to his research, this can also be found even in the speech of monolinguals within a given minority language speaking community.

The aim of the presentation is to verify Lipski's observations in a Khanty-Russian context. The investigation takes Crible - Zufferey (2014) as a basis for the definition of discourse markers and follows Crible (2018) for the grouping.

In the case of both Khanty dialects, the texts consist of short, free-form passages for which the fieldworker has only provided the stimulus. The stimuli are either the headwords of Steinitz' (1966-1988) dictionary, or, in the case of the other text, elements of the Khanty fauna and flora, natural forces, etc. However, the texts contain sufficient interpersonal interaction for the investigations because speakers tend to try to make sure that the fieldworker has understood or understood well what is being said.

The Synja corpus is based on over 70 hours of sound recordings. The Kazym Khanty material, in turn, totals 4.5 hours of recorded material. Although there is a huge difference between the two amounts of sound recording, the speech tempo of the Synja Khanty informant is much slower than that of the Kazym Khanty one. The Synja Khanty speaker is a middle-aged woman who is familiar with both the traditional Khanty way of life and that of the Russian-style villages. The Kazym Khanty speaker was a young woman in her 20s who had grown up among reindeer herders and was studying at a teacher training college at the time of the fieldwork.

In the Khanty corpus, the distribution of Russian discourse markers among the relevant types correlate with Lipski's findings. The presentation will survey the groups of discourse markers used by the Khanty speakers, with particular attention to the origins of the elements they contain. It means that, on the one hand, the use and function of discourse particles of Russian origin will be examined, namely *ведь, вообще, все равно, даже, значит, конечно, конкретно, наверно, наоборот, например, обычно, просто* (evidently, in their adapted forms)*;* in comparison with those of Khanty origin, for instance *il'i mŭj* 'or what'*, jastl* 'he says'*, lŏpʌ* 'he says', *śĭ ewəʌt* ' well, it seems'*, wante* 'look, listen' etc.

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Downtoners and intensifiers in different registers: The Estonian case

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The topic of our presentation is the use of downtoners and intensifiers in seven registers of the Estonian language.

The use of downtoners and intensifiers in registers has been studied mainly from two perspectives. One approach focuses on the use of specific downtoners and mainly compares their frequencies in spoken and written communication (Chafe, 1982; Ajmer, 2013). The second group of studies deals with linguistic variation of large groups of particles across registers and situational features that affect particle frequencies (orality, spontaneity, dialogicity, everydayness, and involved production) (Biber, 1988; Biber & Conrad, 2019; Goulart et al., 2020).

Our research questions are: 1) How frequently are the downtoners and intensifiers used in different registers? 2) What situational factors affect the frequencies of use?

We have placed among downtoners and intensifiers three groups of particles: 1) epistemic particles indicating the degree of probability of the proposition (e.g., *vist* 'probably, possibly', *kindlasti* 'certainly, definitely'); 2) vaguely quantifying particles (e.g., *üldiselt* 'generally', *absoluutselt* 'absolutely'); and 3) relational particles that refer to a connection with some knowledge, statement, reasoning, source, context, etc. (e.g., *loodetavasti* 'to be hoped, hopefully', *tegelikult* 'actually').

The study is based on the Estonian Pragmatic corpus consisting of 0.5 million words from every register (see Prillop et al. 2021): three spontaneous dialogical registers (everyday spoken conversation, institutional interaction, instant messaging), and four editable written monological registers (online news comments, prose fiction, media, and academic prose). The total number of downtoners and intensifiers on the corpus is 28 741.

Our results show that

– the frequency of downtoners falls in the scale from everyday spoken conversation to academic prose, while the frequency of intensifiers is relatively the same in every register except academic prose;

– downtoners dominate in dialogues; in other registers, the frequencies of downtoners and intensifiers are relatively similar;

– epistemic particles are more frequent in dialogues, quantifying particles have relatively the same frequency in every register, and relational particles have relatively the same frequency everywhere except in academic prose;

– ten basic particles stand out clearly, providing 15% of all particles but 76% of usage;

– the dominance of basic particles is most remarkable in dialogues, while in academic prose, they are used equally with other particles;

– the previously proposed situational features that affect particle frequencies work well only for downtoners in online comments, prose fiction, and media.

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The discourse particle *no(h)* in non-initial position in Seto

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The discourse particle *no(h)* is common in Seto South Estonian and is widely attested also in the neighbouring Finnic languages (see Hennoste 2000, Keevallik 2016 for Estonian, Markus 2024 for Ingrian, Sorjonen & Vepsäläinen 2016 for Finnish, etc.) where it is thought to share a common Finnic ancestry (Keevallik 2016). The neighbouring languages Russian (Bolden 2016) and Latvian (see Tomingas 2022) feature a similar particle *nu*, which has also been borrowed to the minor Finnic languages, e.g., Livonian, Ingrian, and Seto, but not to Estonian and Finnish.

In the languages that feature NO, it is typically in the clause-initial or clause-internal position (Auer and Maschler 2016: 10), while other syntactic positions are less frequent. The focus of this talk is on the use of *no(h)* in Seto in the non-initial positions, i.e., 2nd, intermediate, and final position. Special attention will be given to 2nd position and clause-final uses of *no(h)*, since these two positions distinguish Seto not only from the contact language Russian but from most of the Uralic languages – as a discourse particle, clause-final *no(h)* is found only in Seto, Estonian, and sporadically in Livonian, while 2nd position use is unique to only Seto (1).

1.	*võta*	*v-*	*tütar*	*eederit (.)*	*võta*	***no***	*`proovi*
	take.IMP.2SG.	t-	daughter	diethyl ether	take.IMP.2SG.	PAR	try.IMP.2SG.
	’have, daughter, some diethyl ether, have NO (and) try!’						

In Seto, the NO-element appears mainly as *no* or *noh*, but one of the variants is also *noq* which is homonymous with the temporal adverb *noq* ‘now’. Seto also features *nu* as a Russian borrowing, at least in form, since by syntactic position, *nu* has a wider use in Seto than in Russian. The aim of this talk is thus to describe the distribution of *no*, *noh*, *nu*, and *noq* and their prosodic variants *noo*, *nuu*, *nooh*, *nuuh* in the non-initial syntactic positions, and to compare these findings with Estonian and Russian.

The data is from 39 recordings which are part of the Interdisciplinary Corpus of Seto (SetKo) and were made between 2010 and 2023, altogether 270000 words. Most of the data is from East Seto speakers who live in the Pechora district in Russia, i.e., those are speakers who live in a Russian-dominant environment, have a command of Russian themselves, and are less influenced by Estonian, while some recordings from North and South Seto (spoken on the Estonian side of Setomaa) are also included.

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SetKo = Interdistsiplinaarne seto korpus (Interdisciplinary Corpus of Seto); more information at: https://setko.ut.ee/; texts partially available at University of Tartu Corpus of Dialects (https://murre.ut.ee/)

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The discourse particle *agā* ‘but; or; perhaps; whether’ in Courland Livonian

Marili Tomingas (University of Tartu)

For minor Finnic languages like Courland Livonian that often have limited corpora and resources available, there has so far been little research done with the special focus on discourse particles. The topic would still need a wider coverage to investigate the particles more precisely, including their possible origin, their grammaticalization and development, and their syntactic and pragmatic use.

The particle *agā* ‘but; or; perhaps; whether’ is one of the most multifunctional among Livonian discourse particles, having derived from the conjunction *agā* ‘but; or’. It has acquired a modal particle use in the meaning ‘maybe, perhaps’ and additionally it has also developed into a question particle ‘whether, if’ for yes/no-questions. However, it is not an entirely neutral question particle, but rather involving a supposition or a doubt in it (Norvik et al. 2022: 140), see example (1):

(1) AEDKL: SUHK0506-01

AB:	*`ikš*	*u'm*	*ē*	*`Vāldanum.*	(.)***agā***	*teg*	*sie-dā*	*tīeda-t*
	one	be.3SG	HESIT	Vāldanum	PTCL	2PL	DEM.PART	know-2PL
	[*`kaⁿ*?]							
	too							
TV:	[*nā̄*.]							
	yes							

AB: ‘one of these [who has a birthday] is um Vāldanum (.) **perhaps/whether** you know him as well?’

TV: ‘yes’

The presentation focuses firstly on explaining the possible development of the discourse particle *agā* based on the dictionaries and earlier text resources available. The second part of the presentation shows the empirical use of the particle based on spoken Courland Livonian data. The data is taken from the audio recordings in the University of Tartu Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages (AEDKL), recordings with six different native speakers from the years 1986–2012 are used. The material is analysed qualitatively, considering intonation, stress and self-repairs that help to interpret the functions of the discourse particles in the recordings. Based on the spoken language material, a brief overview of the syntactic and pragmatic use of *agā* is also given.

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B.10: Marginal Phonemes

Fejes, Rueter

An unidentified marginal phoneme

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In Standard Udmurt, a semivowel /w/ occurs only in about 50 stems, always following word-initial /k/ and preceding /ɑ/ as in the word /kwɑc/ '6', with one exception, /kwiŋ/ '3', in which it is followed by /i/. The case is similar in most of the dialects, although some dialects also have /w/ in about 30 stems word-initially, but always preceding /ɑ/, e.g. /wɑŋ/ (Standard /vɑŋ/) 'be:PRS:3SG' (Csúcs 1990: 24, 1998: 279; Kel'makov 1998: 83–86; Bartens 2000: 51–52 etc.). Both its rarity and the fact that it occurs in a restricted phonemic environment are reasons for classifying /w/ as a marginal phoneme. (Although the same segment occurs in a wider set of environments in various dialects, its functional load is low everywhere; cf. Tarakanov 1964.)

However, the same phenomenon can be also described in a different way (cf. Tarakanov 1964: 75; Winkler 2001: 8–10, Edygarova 2022: 509, Suihkonen 2023: 587). According to this approach, in these words the vowels /uɑ/ (in the case of '3', /ui/) are used, of which /u/ is not syllabic, and the two vowels form a diphthong. Winkler (2001: 8) also adds that in such cases "*u* is pronounced as a bilabial semivowel". Accepting such an analysis, we should conclude that the diphthongs /u̯ɑ/ and /u̯i/ are marginal phonemes in Udmurt.

A third analysis is also possible: the supposition of a labialized velar plosive /kʷ/. However, in this case, dialectal word-initial [w] has to be analysed as a realisation of a distinct phoneme /w/.

The three cases cannot be distinguished phonetically: in all cases we expect that after the release of the stop, F1 is low and it fastly and gradually grows until it reaches the value typical for /ɑ/. (In the case of /kwiŋ/ ~ /ku̯iŋ/ ~ /kʷiŋ/, a similar process is also expected with F2.) In order to determine which analysis is the proper one, only phonological arguments can be presented. However, due to the restricted environments in which these segments can occur, no strong arguments can support any of these analyses. However, using Occam's razor, an order of preference for the possible analyses can be presented.

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Kildin Saami voiceless sonorants

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Kildin Saami is described as a language with an exceptionally large consonant inventory, 113 segments according to the PHOIBLE database (Moran & McCloy 2019). This number is reached due to the opposition between palatalised vs. plain consonants and the contrast in quantity. Such an analysis was proposed by Kert (1971) and then reproduced with some modifications by Rießler (2022). The Kildin Saami consonantal system is remarkable not only for its size, but also for the presence of cross-linguistically rare elements, such as the voiceless sonorants *l̥*, *r̥*, *m̥*, *n̥*, *j*. All of these, except *j*, can be palatalised, and both plain and palatalised counterparts are claimed to come in long or short varieties. Voiceless sonorants are rare not only cross-linguistically but also in Kildin Saami itself, their functional load is weak, and the evidence in favour of their phonological status is questionable.

In the present talk, we reapproach the synchronic phonological status of Kildin Saami voiceless sonorants, arguing that they are to be treated as clusters with underlying /h/, i.e. /rh/ pro /r̥/ etc. We will also present some acoustic data which could support this solution. Finally, we will show that Kildin Saami voiceless sonorants originate historically from clusters with /h/.

The status of /h/ is of crucial meaning for the discussion of the voiceless sonorants. /h/ is treated as a part of "preaspirated stops" by Rießler (2022), however, the fact that the speakers divide the "preaspiration" and the stop by a syllable border in intervocalic contexts, e.g, *naːh.pa* 'into a cup', clearly indicates that one is dealing here with a biphonemic cluster. /h/ has several (morpho)phonological restrictions, one of which is that it only occurs in strong grades, cf. the alternation: *naːhpʲ* 'a cup' vs. *naːpʲesʲtʲ* 'in a cup'. Similarly, voiceless sonorants are restricted to strong grades: *aːjjt* 'a barn' vs. *aːjtesʲtʲ* 'in a barn' (the orthography, which represents <ā йтэсьт ~ ā jтэсьт> instead of <*айтэсьт> even in the weak grade, is misleading). Voiceless sonorants mostly occur before voiceless stops, as does /h/. These facts allow the interpretation of voiceless sonorants as underlying clusters: /aːjjht/ vs. /aːjtesʲtʲ/ 'in a barn'.

Phonetically, although the Kildin Saami voiceless rhotics and palatal approximants are entirely voiceless, the voiceless nasals and laterals are only partially devoiced. They consist of a voiced onset followed by a voiceless phase, and the acoustic analysis reveals variation in the spectra of the voiceless laterals concerning the proportion of the voiced and voiceless parts. That is, some types of Kildin Saami voiceless sonorants are cluster-like not only phonologically but also acoustically.

Historically, the Kildin Saami voiceless sonorants originate from the Proto-Saami plain sonorants in the position before geminated stops and affricates, which generally yield "preaspirated" stops and affricates in the strong grade: KSaa. *jeːr ʲr ʲtʲ* 'side' < PSaa. **earttē* , cf. KSaa. *tɨhkʲ* 'louse' < PSaa. **tikkē*. This pattern is replicated by the adaptation of the borrowings. Russian stem-final non-geminated voiceless consonants behave as geminates in this regard, yielding "preaspirated" stops: KSaa. *pɒʰp* 'priest' < Rus. *pop* 'priest'. A sonorant followed by a voiceless stop or an affricate in a word-final cluster is voiceless: KSaa. *kueļ̥ʲļ̥ʲtsʲ* 'ring', < Rus. *kol'co* 'ring'. Thus, in Russian loanwords /h/ + stop clusters and voiceless sonorants also behave similarly.

In conclusion, we propose that, despite there being minimal pairs demonstrating contrast between voiced and voiceless sonorants in Kildin Saami, the latter can be interpreted as biphonemic sequences, namely, clusters of the type sonorant + /h/. Kildin Saami /h/, in turn, is to be viewed as a separate phoneme rather than a feature.

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Marginalised by scholars? – The question of loan phonemes and vowel harmony in the Permic dialects

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The dialectal monographies of the Komi languages since the 1950s have presented usphonological descriptions, that often include loan phonemes such us as [f], [x], [t͡s], and more in some cases (see for example Igushev 1973; Zhilina 1975; Batalova 1990: 21 etc.). These phonemes occur also in the vocabularies of the given dialect through lexical examples. To some extent, descriptions of Udmurt dialects feature some of these borrowed sounds as well (see Csúcs 2002; Kelmakov 2003). In my presentation, I am aiming to raise questions, to give an overview on marginal sounds (both consonants and vowels) of the Permic dialects based on earlier studies by Permic dialectologists.

Based on chapters of my dissertation, I take a fresh look at the literature and collected data of Permistics from the 20th and 21st century. Regarding [f], [x], [t͡s], not each of the Permic dialects retain these borrowed phonemes – replacing them with [p], [k], [t͡ɕ] ~ [t͡ʂ] ~ [s] respectively –, but many of them have adapted these new sounds into their phonological inventory via loanwords. According to Vászolyi (1964: 25–27), the Kanin Zyrian dialect has glottal fricative [h], which makes it the only Permic dialect to have such a phoneme in its sound inventory.

The Izhma Zyrian, the Upper Sysola Zyrian, and the Zyuzdino Permyak dialect even incorporated [x] to a level, where this velar fricative replaces original [k] in Russian loanwords (Igushev 1973: 12; Sakharova–Selkov 1976: 24–25; Zhilina 1975: 55; Sazhina 2016: 244). A similar process is visible when original [p] is replaced by [f] in a few Russian loanwords in Izhma Zyrian, Luza-Letka Zyrian (Igushev 1973: 7, 13; Sakharova–Selkov 1976: 23; Zhilina 1985: 16), and On Permyak.

The second issue is the question of vowel harmony that has been neglected (or stated as non-existing) mostly for Komi dialects. As Sorvachova–Sakharova–Gulyayev have described, vowels in the Upper Vychegda Zyrian have a palatal equivalent when neighbouring palatal consonants (1966: 12–13, 22), but they do not provide further information about the quality of these palatal vowels, only showing them in a few given examples (rendering them as *á, ó, ý, э́, о́, и́, ы́*). They also conclude that these allophones are not important, thus they retain frommarking them in their assembled vocabulary. In addition to the Upper Vychegda dialect, a rather similar but more regulated rule applies for the central subdialect of Pechora Zyrian, where vowels can have a palatal allophone based on the vicinity of palatal consonants. Furthermore, the central vowels (*э̨, и̨*) are only present in words that contain front vowels (Sakharova–Selkov–Kolegova 1976: 8–9).

In my study I argue that these vowel rules can be seen as a form of vowel harmony based on backness (for the general picture of Uralic vowel harmony see Fejes 2022). Regarding the origin of this vowel system, I aim to suggest two possible origins: 1) a relict of the long-lost vowel harmony of (?Pre-)Proto-Permian or 2) a possible substrate from an Ob-Ugric language (as these dialectal areas correspond with Ob-Ugric hydronyms and other place names). These questions are yet to be answered as we have insufficient data from these dialects, and only the two monographies are reliable sources on these phenomena.

When assembling the sound inventory (including phonemes and allophones) of the Permian dialects, we might have to revaluate the status of these borrowed sounds as they have become more prevalent and irreplaceable in most of Komi and Udmurt dialects, i.e. the previously attested and described phonetic replacement of the loan sounds does not occur anymore even at the second half of the 20th century. Further observation and field research would be necessary to measure the current tendencies of dialectal speakers when it comes to the use of such loan phonemes and the presence of any form of vowel harmony in the two given Zyrian dialects.

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B.11: Prosody of Uralic languages

Lippus, Asu, Mády

Metrical Incoherence or Opacity: A Stratal OT Analysis of Rhythmic Gradation in Nganasan

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The topic of Rhythmic Gradation in Nganasan (Wagner-Nagy 2018) has been the subject of much discussion in the literature since it has been considered as an example of metrical incoherence (González 2003 and Vaysman 2009). In contrast to literature such as Hayes 1980 and Selkirk 1980 which argue that stress and foot-parsing are equivalent to each other, the literature on metrical incoherence argues that stress and foot-parsing should be considered as two phonological entities separate from each other since in various languages such as Nganasan, rhythmic phenomena explained by feet are seemingly independent of stress assignment:

1) Strong Grade (Vaysman 2009, p. 43):

(a) (ɟyˈty)-(rəky) "hand-SIM"

(b) (ŋuˈhu)-(rəku) "mitten-SIM"

2) Weak Grade (Vaysman 2009, p. 43):

(a) (ˈni-rə)(gɨ) "woman-SIM"

(b) (ˌtɨri)(ˈmi-rə)(gɨ) "caviar-SIM"

In the examples above, while primary stress is in the antepenultimate syllable because it's avoiding word-final position and stressing a [ə], the alternation between the strong grade [k] and the weak grade [g] seems to be controlled by whether the consonant is in an even or odd syllable respectively. From facts such as these, Vaysman 2009 provides an analysis in terms of Optimality Theory (OT) which accounts for the Rhythmic Gradation facts in Nganasan by making stress be partially independent from the foot-parsing needed to generate Rhythmic Gradation.

Nonetheless, recent literature such as Benz 2018 and Kaplan 2022 have argued that cases of metrical incoherence can be reanalyzed as instances of opacity where phonological rules apply even though the context controlling for them is no longer present. They do so in terms of Stratal OT (Kiparsky 2000), a version of OT in which there can be more than one stratum and each stratum can have different constraint rankings. Thus, the current proposal will argue that what we see in Rhythmic Gradation in Nganasan is not a case of metrical incoherence, but a case of phonological opacity involving two strata.

For a word such as *ŋuˈhuðu* "mitten-3SG.POSS" (Vaysman 2009, p. 24), we can say that the constraint ranking in Stratum 1 is such that stress is assigned on every odd syllable no matter whether it is in the last syllable or not (**EDGE** dominates **NonFinal**). Since stress is now present on every odd syllable, Rhythmic Gradation could then be reanalyzed as a case of onset voicing whenever a syllable is stressed (**RG** dominates **IDENT(voice)**):

/ŋuhu-tu/ "mitten-3SG.POSS"		EDGE	NonFinal	RG	IDENT (voice)
1a) ☞	ˌŋuhuˈðu		*		*
1b)	ˌŋuhuˈtu		*	*!	
1c)	ŋuˈhutu	**!		*	

In Stratum 2, the previous winning candidate *ˌŋuhuˈðu* is the new input, but now the constraint ranking has changed such that stress assignment now cares about stress being in a final syllable (**NonFinal** now dominates **EDGE**). Nonetheless, at this level of representation Rhythmic Gradation can longer apply, yet all of the changes Rhythmic Gradation caused in Stratum 1 are maintained as well (**IDENT(voice)** now dominates **RG**), thus making the original relationship between stress and Rhythmic Gradation opaque:

/ˌŋuhuˈðu/ "mitten-3SG.POSS"		Non Final	EDGE	IDENT (voice)	RG
2a)	ˌŋuhuˈðu	*!			
2b) ☞	ŋuˈhuðu		**		*
2c)	ŋuˈbuðu		**	*!	

More constraints are required once other candidates and the effects of /ə/ and /ɨ/ on primary stress are considered, but overall, a Stratal OT analysis is attractive not only because it can explain the same facts as Vaysman 2009, but because it can do so without having to invoke metrical incoherence. Furthermore, it sets a framework that can help explain other opaque interactions involving Rhythmic Gradation as well.

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On nominal stress in post-shift Kamas: words of Samoyedic origin and Russian loans

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Recordings of Klavdiya Plotnikova, the last speaker (or rememberer) of Kamas, although representing a specific variety of a language severely affected by attrition, nevertheless offers a window into word-prosodic phenomena distinct from the previously documented (in writing) states of Kamas as well as from the patterns of dominating Russian. Compared to severely restricted grammar and lexicon, the phonetics of Plotnikova's Kamas appears relatively intact, being quite distinct from her Russian (e.g. preserving a very clearly articulated glottal stop).

It should be noted, however, that investigating prosodical distinctions in an extinct language with no possibility to consult a speaker must be approached with caution.

First, the speech signal itself does not contain unambiguously detectable 'stress features.' Languages differ widely with respect to the presence and acoustic manifestation of word stress. It is an oversimplification to assume that word stress can be directly observed by measuring vowel intensity and duration, as in [Normanskaya 2022]. On the one hand, absolute values are not telling because of intrinsic differences in intensity and duration between vowels. On the other hand, evidence must first be presented to justify the relevance of word stress distinctions, as well as the choice of features considered to be its acoustic correlates.

Second, data consisting of texts rather than isolated words should also be disentangled with respect to higher-level prosody.

Third, not only each grammatical form should be considered separately (since different affixes may have their own effect on word prosody), but also each occurrence of each wordform in the corpus.

Some observations will be made here based on the data from the INEL Kamas Corpus [Gusev et al. 2023]. We will speak of 'prominence' as manifested in the signal (w.r.t. specific parameters: duration, intensity, tonal changes) rather than specifically of word stress. 'Tonal accent' will be used to denote a noticeable change in pitch within a syllable. Nouns of different origin (native Kamas / Samoyedic vs. recent Russian loanwords) will be considered.

1. The presence of lexically long vowels in Kamas must be taken into account. In Plotnikova's records, these are apparent in words *büːzʼe* 'man' (cf. the absence of length in *nüke* 'woman'; cf. Forest Enets *buuse* 'old man'), *saːgər* 'black'.

2. We found no evidence for a systematic first-syllable prominence, except with phonemically long vowels which can also be more intensive but still show no tonal prominence.

In native disyllabic stems with two vowels of the same quality (*tibi* 'man', *koʔbdo* 'girl'), the second syllable may be longer but approximately of the same intensity.

3. Stem-final open syllables are automatically lengthened before consonant-initial suffixes. This is observed e.g. with lative *-nə* and locative *-gən* (but not with the plural *-ʔi*). Tonal accent (probably reflecting phrasal prosody) may appear on the suffix itself or on the preceding, lengthened syllable. Even when bearing tonal accent, these case suffixes keep low intensity and short duration.

4. The original stress in Russian loans is reflected purely in vowel duration (cf. [Klumpp 2022: 821–823]), with no tonal accent. This is independent of the automatic lengthening described above. In words with final original stress, the same syllable bears lengthening (ː) and tonal accent (◌́): *stʼenáːnə* 'wall-LAT' (< Rus. /stʼe'na/). In words with non-final original stress, both the originally stressed and the pre-suffix syllable undergo lengthening, but only the latter receives tonal accent: *svaːdʼbáːnə* 'wedding-LAT' < Rus. /'sv**a**dʼba/, *kaːrtačʼkáːnə* 'card-LAT' < Rus. /'k**a**rtočʼka/.

5. The plural suffix *-ʔi* does not trigger lengthening of preceding vowels. In contrast, it is usually itself prominent with respect to duration and pitch (possibly also intensity). When attached to Russian loans, it disfavors the expression of the original stress through lengthening, resulting in its retraction or suppression.

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Southern Finnic word prosody in the light of new typological datasets

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During the last years the areal-typological study of Uralic prosodic features has made significant progress thanks to new comprehensive datasets, such as UraTyp (see Norvik et al. 2022, Pajusalu 2022) and EstTyp (see Pajusalu et al. 2024). These datasets include more than 350 features from more than 30 Uralic languages, among them 58 phonological features. In this paper we focus on southern Finnic word prosody, exploring innovative quantity and tonal alternations found in this language group. We combine methods of quantitative and qualitative typological analysis in order to comparatively study the prosodic phenomena included in the datasets.

Southern Finnic languages, incl. North Estonian, South Estonian, Livonian, and Votic, share several innovative word-prosodic features, such as three-way quantity oppositions and a tendency towards foot isochrony. In the southernmost Finnic varieties of Livonian and the South Estonian language islands, there are special prosodic features shared with neighboring Latvian and Latgalian dialects, e.g., tonal contrasts (Balodis et al. 2016; Norvik et al. 2021). In our study we also pay attention to the possible opposition of long and overlong quantities in monosyllabic feet, as proposed already by Tiit-Rein Viitso for northern Seto (Viitso 2000), e.g., (long) *seen* ‘inside’ vs. (overlong) *siin* ‘mushroom’.

Our study indicates that long-term contacts between southern Finnic and Baltic languages have resulted in the emergence of several typologically rare word-prosodic innovations in southern Finnic which are atypical for other Uralic languages.

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The loss of /h/ affecting the quantity patterns: The case of South Estonian Leivu dialect

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The South Estonian Leivu dialect was spoken in northern Latvia, near the southern border of Estonia, until the 1980s (Nigol 1988). The Leivu dialect shares features with the South Estonian Western Võru dialect (cf. Nigol 1955). However, it has also undergone several changes

influenced by contacts with the Latvian language (cf. Nigol 1955; Vaba 1997). Changes in the Leivu dialect show similarities with the Livonian language, another Baltic-Finnic language that has also been in contact with Latvian (Viitso 2009). One shared innovation is the loss of /h/ in these two languages (Viitso 2009). In Livonian, the loss of /h/ is complete, whereas in Leivu, the loss of word-internal /h/ concerns words in the first (Q1) and second (Q2) quantity degrees. In the third (Q3) quantity degree words, /h/ is long and has been retained (Viitso 2009), e.g., *liha* (Q1) [liɑː] 'meat', *raha* (Q1) [rɑːː] ~ [rɑː.ɑ] 'money', *lehmaq* (Q2) [lʲeːmɑʔ] 'cow, pl.nom'; but in Q3 *lehma* [lehːmɑ] 'cow, sg.prt', *tahtse* [tɑhːtse] 'I wanted'.

Previous research on Leivu has indicated that the loss of /h/ from disyllabic Q1 words can result in two kinds of vowel duration ratios: in some cases, the first vowel is pronounced longer (duration ratio 1.6), while in other cases, the second vowel is pronounced longer (ratio 0.6–0.7) (Teras 2021). This variation in duration ratios also characterizes Leivu Q1 words: sometimes V2 is pronounced longer (ratio 0.8, Teras 2010), like in common Estonian (ratio 0.8, Lippus et al. 2013). In other cases, V1 is pronounced longer (ratio 1.5, Teras 2010), resembling the ratio found in common Estonian Q2 words (ratio 1.8, Lippus et al. 2013).

This paper aims to find out how the loss of /h/ affects the quantity patterns in Q2 words. The spontaneous speech of three male speakers is analysed acoustically. Sound durations in Q2 words, where word-internal /h/ is lost from between voiced sounds, are measured, and duration ratios are calculated. Preliminary results indicate that the loss of /h/ results in three kinds of patterns: 1) the loss of /h/ lengthens the first syllable's short vowel (e.g., *le**hm**aq* [lʲeːmɑʔ]); 2) the loss of /h/ lengthens both the preceding vowel and the following consonant (e.g., *le**hm**aq* [lʲeːmːɑʔ]); 3) the loss of /h/ does not affect the duration of the neighbouring sounds, and the Q2 word is pronounced like a Q1 word (e.g., *le**hm**aq* [lʲemɑˑ]). Duration ratios in words exhibiting these three patterns will be discussed in more detail in the presentation.

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Prosodic structure of the trisyllabic foot in Soikkola Ingrian (Finnic)

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Ternary feet present challenges for metrical stress theories and are a subject of a hot theoretical debate. It is questioned whether such feet exist at all and how they should be best represented formally: as flat ternary feet, recursive binary feet, binary feet with extrametrical syllables, combinations of binary and unary feet, or as an alternation of stressed and stressless feet (Martínez-Paricio 2013; Martínez-Paricio & Kager 2015; Martínez-Paricio & Kager 2021; Torres-Tamarit & Jurgec 2015; Torres-Tamarit & Cabré 2021; Golston 2021; Féry et al. 2024).

In this talk, we discuss phonetic and phonological data on the ternary foot in Soikkola Ingrian, a minor Finnic variety spoken in Russia (cf. Kuznetsova et al. 2023; Kuznetsova 2023). In particular, we compare the following prosodic units:

1) a disyllabic foot;

2) a trisyllabic word consisting of a disyllabic foot and a monosyllabic foot (2+1 foot);

3) a trisyllabic word consisting of a monosyllabic foot and a disyllabic foot (1+2 foot);

4) a trisyllabic foot.

Table 1. Processes in different types of prosodic units in Soikkola Ingrian

	1) 2-syl-labic foot	**2) 2+1 foot trisyllable**	**2) 1+2 foot trisyllable**	**4) 3-syllabic foot**
a) long V2 shortening	× *kurk̆kī*	× *kerk̆kīmā*	× *pā-pǭli*	✓ *kerk̆kimä* < **kerk̆kīmmä*
b) loss of *h* S_S	× *vaha*	× *ahtahān*	× *mā-halt̆tias*	✓ *ahtahan* [ˈahtaɣan ~ ˈahtaːn]
c) gemina-tion ˈS_Vː	✓ *kurk̆kī*	✓ *kerk̆kīmā*	✓ *mā-halt̆tias*	✓ *kerk̆kimä* < **kerk̆kīmmä* < **kerkīmmä*
d) gemina-tion ˈS_V	× *kurki*	× *murkinā*	× *nōr-kansa*	✓ *-CVCV(C) *murk̆kina* < **murkina*

By the sum of its prosodic properties, the trisyllabic foot does not correspond to any of the other three units, cf. Table 1 with a summary of the prosodic processes that either apply (✓) or do not apply (×) to each unit:

a) post-stress long vowel shortening after the heavy stressed syllable, which has led to the merger of the /V/ – /Vː/ contrast in the post-stress syllable;

b) loss of intersyllabic *h*;

c) prosodic "secondary" gemination after a stressed syllable before a long vowel;

d) prosodic "secondary" gemination after a stressed syllable before a short vowel.

We conclude that Soikkola Ingrian manifests one of the most compelling cases of the ternary foot both in the Finnic space and against a broader cross-linguistic background. By inspecting the prosodic properties of the second vs. third syllable of the Soikkola Ingrian trisyllabic foot, we also briefly address the question of how this foot might be best represented in formal phonology.

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A kinematic study of the syllable-foot interaction in Estonian

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Estonian is known for possessing a ternary distinction (short, long and overlong) in phonemic length that is operative at multiple prosodic levels, including the segment, syllable, and foot (e.g. Lehiste 1960). Although the three-way length distinction is phonologically limited to stressed syllables, unstressed syllables play a vital role at the level of the foot: Estonian feet are trochaic, and the duration of the unstressed vowel in a foot is inversely correlated with the length of its stressed syllable. Vowels and consonants each participate in a two-way orthogonal length contrast between short and long that yields the four combinatorial possibilities of VC, VCC, VVC, and VVCC. The third (overlong) quantity degree, in contrast, is a property of the foot rather than individual segments, where the distribution of lengthening depends on the phonemic length and quality of the segments in the stressed syllable (Lehiste 1997, Eek & Meister 2003).

Although acoustic aspects of the durational patterns of Estonian feet have been amply investigated (e.g. Lehiste 1997, Eek & Meister 2003; Lippus et al. 2013), little is understood about the articulatory mechanisms underlying the interplay between segment, syllable and foot (Türk, Lippus, Šimko 2017; Katsika et al. 2024).

This paper explores the kinematic relationship between the syllable and both lower (segmental) and higher (foot) level prosodic units in Estonian using Electromagnetic Articulography (EMA) – a point-tracking method for measuring the position of parts of the mouth during speech (see e.g. Rebernik et al. 2021). The aspects that are studied include the extent to which the phonemic length contrasts are reflected in differences in the kinematic profile (i.e.,duration, displacement and velocity of constriction gestures) of the foot (i.e., across both its stressed and unstressed syllables), and how these differences are shared across different foot structures (i.e., disyllabic vs. trisyllabic). In addition, differences in the kinematic profile of syllables with primary vs. secondary stress are investigated.

Two-, three- and four-syllable test words with their first vowel varying in quantity (Q1, Q2, Q3) are considered, varying not just in terms of word length, but, consequently, in foot structure and stress distribution as well (see Table 1). The test words are elicited in frame sentences with

balanced distribution of syllables and stresses. In the sentences, disyllabic and tetrasyllabic words begin with a two-syllable foot, which is followed by either the primary stress of the next word or by an unstressed syllable in disyllabic words and the secondary stress of the next foot in tetrasyllabic words. Trisyllabic words, on the other hand, are ambiguous as to whether they contain a disyllabic or a trisyllabic foot, but they unequivocally involve an unstressed third syllable. The EMA data are analyzed in terms of constriction gestures, identified semi-automatically on the basis of velocity criteria across the length of the test feet.

Table 1. Examples of test words used in the study.

	n syllables	word	transcription	glossing
Q1	2	*nabi*	ˈnɑ.pi	catch.SG2.IMP
	3	*nabida*	ˈnɑ.pi.tɑ	catch-INF
	4	*nabidagi*	ˈnɑ.pi.ˌtɑ.ki	catch-INF-CLI
Q2	2	*daami*	ˈtɑːmi	lady.SG.GEN
	3	*daamina*	ˈtɑːmi.nɑ	lady-SG.ESSIVE
	4	*daaminagi*	ˈtɑːmi.ˌnɑ.ki	lady-SG.ESSIVE-CLI
Q3	2	*daami*	ˈtɑːːmi	lady.SG.PART
	3	*daamide*	ˈtɑːːmi.te	lady-PL.GEN
	4	*daamidegi*	ˈtɑːːmi.ˌte.ki	lady-PL.GEN-CLI

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The alignment of co-speech gestures with prominence in Estonian: a preliminary analysis

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The paper presents a first investigation of the alignment of co-speech gestures with intonation in Estonian. Co-speech gestures are visible actions of body parts that are used during speaking and primarily related to speech prosody (Kendon 2004). More specifically, this study focuses on the link between head and eyebrow movements and prosodic prominence, i.e. the phenomenon by which a syllable or word in an utterance stands out relative to other syllables

or words in the utterance. It has been shown previously for other languages that prosodic prominences serve as the main anchor points for head and eyebrow movements (e.g. Ambrazaitis & House 2022) but no such analyses have been carried out for Estonian before.

The data was collected using Electromagnetic Articulography (EMA) as a side-product of an articulatory study. EMA is a point-tracking method for measuring the position of parts of the mouth during speech (see e.g. Rebernik et al. 2021), but the method also allows for recording the movements of other body parts, and has recently been used for measuring co-speech head nods (e.g. Frid et al. 2019; Carignan et al. 2024) or capturing hand and finger movements in sign language studies (Mertz et al. 2024).

The data comprises short sentences consisting of four words, designed to be elicited as one phrase in broad focus, with the nuclear pitch accent on the final word (e.g., *Sinna selle maali paneksime.* 'We would put this painting there.'). In addition to the sensors for capturing articulatory movements in this study, sensors were placed on the back of the neck (cervical vertebra, approx. C3-C4), on the left and right mastoid and the nasion to measure movements of the head in relation to the body, and in the central position above the left and the right eyebrow to measure the movements of eyebrows. The data was recorded from 15 native Estonian speakers.

The paper analyses the vertical movements of the head and eyebrows and their alignment with the accented syllable nuclei.

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Towards a tonal system of Hungarian intonation: the expression of pragmatic contents in polar questions

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Introduction. Hungarian polar questions are characterised by a rising-falling contour, intonation being the only means to mark sentence type, while word order is identical to that of declaratives. In canonical information-seeking polar questions, the rise begins on an accented syllable, and f0 reaches its maximum on the penultima, followed by a final fall on the last syllable. If the contour spans over a syllable sequence where the accented syllable is the penultima, the f0 maximum and the final fall are both realised on the phrase-final syllable

(compression). In phrases in which the accented and the phrase-final syllable coincide, there is only a rise (truncation). This pattern is called the Hungarian question intonation (Ladd 2008).

The neutral polar question intonation can be modified when additional or non-canonical content is available. In questions that express surprise, the neutral contour can be repeated several times even in relatively short utterances. Although Varga (2010) claims that the contours that constitute polar question expressing incredulity are multiple rise-falls, it seems that in non-final contours, only the fall preceding the next low accent is produced consistently, while the rise is substituted by a high plateau.

In order to capture the phonological relevance of intonational variation in polar questions on the long term, an attempt was made to adapt the DIMA system (German intonation: modelling and annotation, Kügler et al. 2019) to Hungarian intonation. DIMA is based on tonal events, but unlike ToBI, it allows associating tone labels with syllables in which a change of f0 is present, but with which neither a pitch accent nor a boundary tone is associated. Furthermore, DIMA introduces phrase-initial boundary tones that are absent in the German ToBI system. By applying DIMA to polar questions, we have a tool at hand that allows to mark phonetic variation in intonation that might or might not contribute to the abstract tonal representations of f0, as would be expected in ToBI.

Methods. For the initial steps, the Akaka Maptask Corpus was used (Molnár et al. 2023). Tonal events in each polar question were labelled by three experienced researchers independently, serving as a basis for further refinements of the label system. Additionally, grammatical and pragmatic categories were defined based on contextual information. Since both label systems are under development, we will exemplify the proposed analysis by polar questions that resemble our previous analysis of surprise (Mády et al. 2023).

Results. Figure 1a shows an example of a neutral polar question with rising-falling intonation that contains a single contour with a grammatically complete sentence ('can I ask something?' verb + accusative noun). The label sequence is given as %L L* H L%, reflecting the rise starting at the initial accented syllable, the f0 maximum on the penultimate syllable and a final low boundary tone. Figure 1b represents an incredulous polar question in which there is positive contextual evidence for the content of the question ('Akaka castle?' proper name + noun) which contradicts the speaker's previous expectation. The mismatch between contextual evidence and speaker expectation is reflected by the presence of a pitch accent on each content word both initiating a pitch contour on their own. The resulting tone sequence is %L H* L* H%, since the last pitch-accented word is monosyllabic, in which the rise-fall is truncated to a rise.

Discussion. Attempts for the automatic prediction of tones based on deep neural networks are not satisfactory yet but will hopefully improve based on more data.

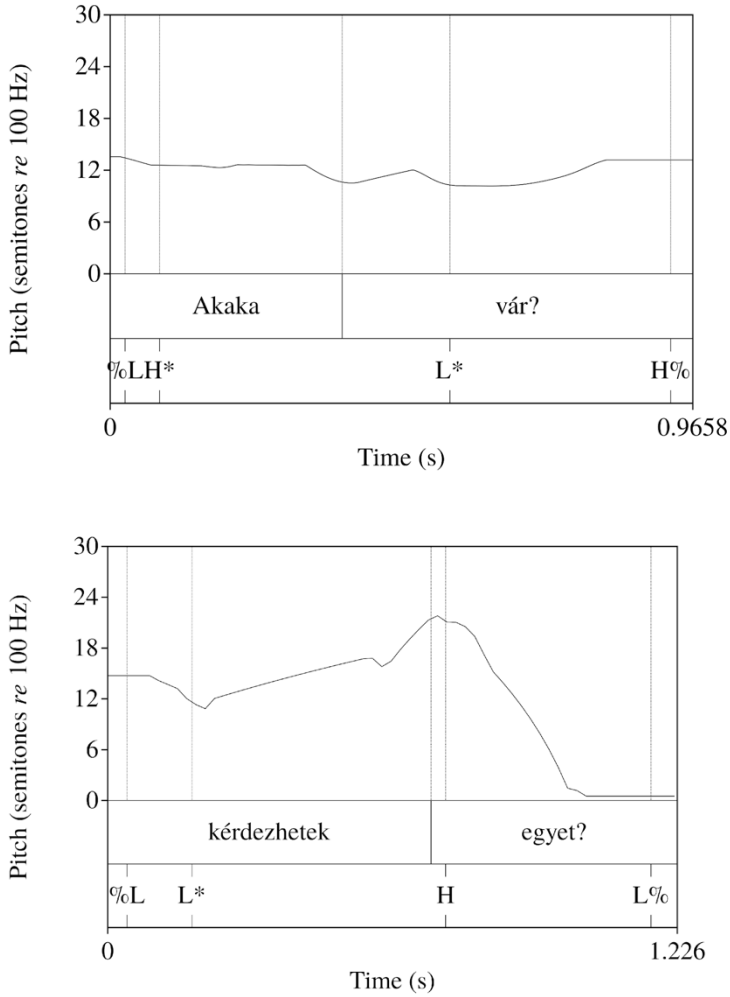

Figure 1a, b: *neutral intonation with one pitch accent in a polar question (left) and with two f0 pitch accents signalling surprise (smoothed f0 contours in semitones).*

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Mismatches in Hungarian prosody and syntax: An acceptability and interpretation study

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The present work focuses on mismatches in the prosody-syntax interface in Hungarian. It is a discourse configurational language, with a fixed syntactic focus position that is preverbal (É. Kiss 1994). Prosodic prominence in Hungarian is typically left headed, with f0 maxima aligned with the left edge of syntactic and prosodic phrases (É. Kiss 2002, Varga 2002, Olaszy 2010, Kálmán and Nádasdy 1994, Szendro˝i 2001). The prosody of Hungarian is traditionally

described as having only a supplementary function in marking information structure (IS), with word order being the primary tool for determining focus. However, more recent investigations suggest that prosodic prominence can occasionally have a primary role in marking focus, if syntax fails to resolve ambiguity. For example, Langer and Kügler (2023) show that prosodic prominence plays a role in resolving ambiguity in sentences where the preverbal (focus) position has several phrases, with the focused word bearing prosodic prominence. This goes against the observation that prosodic marking is left headed in the preverbal position of a narrow focus (NF) sentence.

In our current work, we examine whether prosodic prominence in Hungarian can be interpreted as marking focus in the post-verbal domain. To exemplify this, we start with the following examples of broad focus word order sentences. Sentence (1) is a default broad focus (BF) sentence, serving as a starting point for examples (2) and (3). Boldface indicates prosodic prominence, while the square brackets indicate the scope of syntactic focus.

1. [**Megvett-em** a könyvet]$_F$ BF
   bought-I the book
   'I bought the book .'

2. [Megvett-em a **könyvet**]$_F$ BF, repair
   bought-I the book
   'I bought the book .'

3. [Megvett-em **a** **könyvet** **és** **a** **széket** is]$_F$ BF
   bought-I the book and the chair also
   'I bought the chair as well as the book .'

In (2), we present a default BF focus word order, with prosodic prominence in the postverbal domain, which is an unexpected and infrequent form. Native listeners report that (2) occurs occasionally as self-correction in spontaneous speech production, where the speaker initiates a sentence production with the broad focus word order instead of a narrow focus one. Due to this 'false start', the phrase that is now in the postverbal domain cannot be syntactically focused, hence the speaker corrects the production by prosodic marking. In our ongoing study, we are interested in understanding how listeners interpret such productions of focus marking, where they are confronted with mismatching syntactic and prosodic focus markings.

In example (3), we have the same word order, but here, the postverbal domain has two noun phrases connected by the conjunction 'and'. Furthermore the additive particle 'also' is present in the sentence. Following the traditional analyses, the particle 'also' can be analysed as focus sensitive, giving rise to prosodic focus markings. Langer (2021) found that the syntactic hosts of the additive particle were always accented. We plan to extend these analyses to further study the influence of focus sensitive particles in the postverbal domain.

Our planned study employs acceptability tasks and interpretation tasks, utilizing both read- ing and listening exercises, which embed the examples above in plausible dialogue contexts. In these, sentences similar to (2) may be framed as production errors, where a speaker aims to syntactically focus a phrase by placing it in the preverbal position, but fails to do so. Instead of restarting the sentence, they choose to prosodically mark the desired element while retaining the BF word order. We expect that in the reading exercise, the participants will be unable to interpret the BF sentence structure as NF. On the other hand, we hypothesise that in the listening task with prosodic marking on the postverbal NP, the NF interpretation becomes available, though less preferred, than the NF word order with the matching intonation. In the listening task, all critical sentences will be interspersed with sentences with matching and mismatching prosody to give us a more precise degree of acceptability (to be measured using 5-point Likert scales). All critical sentences will be interspersed with controls. Additionally, an interpretation

task will be conducted with a different set of participants, to further nuance our understanding of how listeners interpret the non-canonical prosodic realizations. We hypothesise that participants will be able to correctly interpret sentences like (3) in reading with the additive particle 'also' as NF, despite the BF word order. We expect that the reason for this is the presence of the additive particle, and its focus sensitivity. In the acceptability task, we will compare the sentences with the NF word order and the BF word order without the additive particle. For (2), we hypothesise the same tendencies in the listening task as in the reading task, with higher ratings for the postverbal prosodic marking. All critical and control sentences will appear in a dialogue to give context, to enable the possibility of creative interpretations. A creative interpretation in this context would be a BF word order sentence with a NF interpretation. It will be measured by the acceptability task compared to standard NF word order sentences. It will also be measured by the interpretation task, where the participants will describe the NF word order interpretation for the BF word order critical sentences if our hypothesis is correct. The results of the experiment sketched above will be presented during the workshop.

Our study is the first to address the question of how Hungarian listeners interpret and resolve mismatches between syntactically and prosodically expressed IS, that occur frequently in everyday interactions. Furthermore, it analyzes the possibility of focus occurring in the postverbal domain in Hungarian, as a result of prosodically –and not syntactically– expressed IS.

Acknowledgments

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Prosodic expression of focus in Estonian, Finnish and Hungarian complex noun phrases

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This comparative study investigates the prosodic marking of focus in complex noun phrases (NPs) in Estonian, Finnish and Hungarian. Sharing word-prosodic properties like stress and quantity [1], these languages differ in their phrase-level prosody, including prosodic focus marking. While in Estonian and Finnish, f0 is raised on the focused word [2-3], in Hungarian, the highest f0-peak typically occurs at the left edge of the pre-verbal focused constituent [4-5].

This study investigates whether sentence-level prosodic focus marking is mirrored at the level of the NP (on Estonian and Finnish NPs, see [6-8]). In a production study, comparable target sentences across the languages were constructed (1). A sentence-initial target subject NP was

elicited (e.g., 'cheerful famous knights') with focus either on the first adjective (A1), on the second one (A2), or on the noun (N). Target words were disyllabic and controlled for vowel quantity in the initial syllable. 20 speakers per language read aloud ten different target sentences embedded into three different contexts eliciting the different focus conditions (20 x 10 x 3 = 600 sentences per language). Participants were recorded in Helsinki, Tartu and Budapest. After manual correction of f0 to avoid microprosodic influences in Praat [9], for each word in the NP (A1, A2, N), f0-max and f0-slopes were fitted with Linear Mixed Models with focus condition as predictor, and by-participant random intercepts.

Results show similarities in the phrasal prosody of the three languages (Fig. 1). For all focus conditions, the highest f0 peak occurred on the NP-initial word (except in A2 in Hungarian). After the initial f0-peak, every word in the NP had a lowered f0. Focus on A2 or N raised f0 compared to the lowered post-focal f0 in A1 focus, but did not reach the height of an initial f0-peak. Concerning f0-slopes, the focused word showed significantly steeper slopes than in identical non-focused words in all three languages (Fig. 2). Importantly, this phrase-prosodic pattern differs from NP-internal focus marking in Germanic (focal f0-raising and deaccenting post-focal words), and Romance languages (accentuation of all words within an NP) [10]. When considered alongside earlier findings on sentential prosody in Finno-Ugric languages [2-5], this study underscores a strategy of prosodic highlighting of focus in NPs that differs from focus highlighting in entire utterances. The results imply the necessity of revising and expanding a focus typology (e.g., see [11]), and at the same time call for further studies of lesser-studied Finno-Ugric languages.

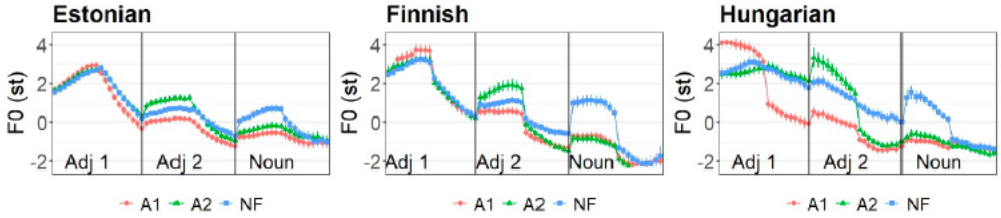

Fig. 1. Time normalized f0-contours displayed as ten equidistant f0-points per vowel in each disyllabic target word across focus conditions (red = A1, green = A2, blue = N focus).

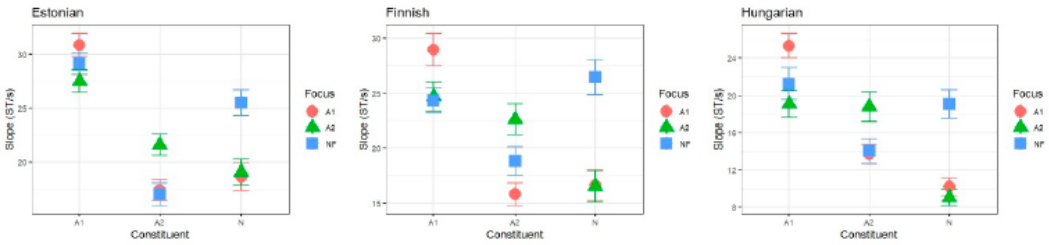

Fig. 2. f0-slopes on A1, A2, and N split by focus condition.

(1) Target sentences of similar structure across the three languages

a. Finnish: nolo ruma lelu vaivasi teiniä
embarrassing ugly toy bothered teenager
'The embarrassing ugly toy bothered the teenager.'

b. Estonian: need rõõmsad kuulsad rüütlid j ahtisid karusid
these cheerful famous knights chased bears
'These cheerful famous knights chased bears.'

c. Hungarian: a gazdag önző ügyfél vet-te meg a könyv-et
the rich selfish customer buy-PST VPRT DEF book-ACC
'The rich, selfish costumer bought the book.'

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B.12: Building diachronic corpora for minority languages – facing methodological challenges

Shagal, Zhornik, Trosterud, Arkhangelskiy, Arkhipov, Bradley

Digitization of text collections by the Finno-Ugrian Society

Niko Partanen (University of Helsinki, Finno-Ugrian Society)

The Finno-Ugrian Society has a rich 140-year history of publishing research and materials on Uralic and Altaic languages and cultures. These publications encompass scholarly research, text collections and dictionaries.

Digital processing of transcribed texts in Uralic languages has historically presented formidable challenges. However, advancements seen over the last decades in Unicode coverage and text recognition technology have made it possible to handle even highly detailed phonetic transcriptions relatively easily (see, for example, Partanen et al. 2022: 375). Consequently, the Finno-Ugrian Society has initiated the digitization of its text collections and plans to publish these materials electronically. This follows the work already finished earlier with the digitized journals, and digitization of the dictionaries is expected to follow.

The main rationale for this order of proceeding has been that the resulting data is increasingly complex and requires further and further processing. When research articles are digitized, providing a PDF file online meets most of the demands very adequately. With the text collections we are looking more toward electronic corpora that contain the original data, but in a widely enhanced form. The dictionaries, on the other hand, would demand extensive reformatting from word entries into structured data (see Partanen & Rueter 2025). Good results have also been reported in adapting dialectal data to contemporary tools of language technology (Rueter et al. 2022). Much of this work needs to be done after digitization, and can be seen as later research, whereas some parts already need to be taken care of during the digitization phase: defining which task belongs to which work phase is crucial, as this also delineates the actors involved and resources needed at different steps.

Providing text collections as corpora requires accurately recognized and proofread texts with metadata that is restructured and harmonized. Enhancing the transcription with phonemic transcription and contemporary orthography layers is also central for the general usability and further processing of this data. Providing the original transcription as-is in a digital format would be the bare minimum, but both modern research use and community access call for higher standard. With a contemporary orthography layer, the materials can be easily connected to various historical corpora that will be eventually created, and if the materials are licensed openly, researchers can fruitfully build upon each other's work. Creating the orthography layer either partly or fully automatically also appears to be a realistic goal (Partanen 2024).

In recent years, copyright associations in Finland have started to agree to contracts where older works are made openly available. This is a good first step, but the practice doesn't involve re-lisencing, which would be important for new corpora that are created on the basis of original publications. The Finno-Ugrian Society has started to negotiate new licensing with the original authors, which is a more flexible but also very resource-intensive approach. At the same time, we have also seen initiatives of the Indigenous people represented in these texts. In instances where the rights are particularly challenging to renegotiate, usually due to the copyright holders being impossible to reach, serious consideration must be given to how the authorship is understood and weighted in relation to the people's right to their own cultural heritage. This may also involve more a nuanced distinction between the authorship of different components, i.e. the authors of the text and translations.

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Preparing the FLEx morphological analyzer for the Komi-Permyak language

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Within the project "Komi-Permyak corpus" (NKFIH FK 143242), our research group is working on the construction of a 300,000 token Komi-Permyak corpus (PermCorp) containing written texts of several periods, pre-labelled the grammatical annotations with an automatic tool and then finalized by manual checking, with English sentence translations (Németh et. al 2023). Although the project has to deal with the challenges that arise when building a diachronic corpus of almost any minority language in Russia with a small number of speakers (from estimating the frequency of text types available in the language to writing systems that change several times over time to programming a user-friendly search interface), in this talk, we will present the problems we encountered when preparing a general-purpose, fixed-structure morphological analyzer for machine processing of an under-documented, incompletely described language.

Since the aim of our project, besides the development of the corpus, is to publish a morphological analyzer that we use and that can be easily used by other researchers, independently of the level of their competency in Komi-Permyak, we have decided that rather than creating our own morphological analyzer, we will apply a general analyzer for the Komi-Permyak language system which already has a user interface and user documentation. So that others can use this tool to machine-generate the morphological analysis of the data they have collected or that are not in the corpus, published in written form. Our choice was FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEx), one of the few documentation software that is suitable for processing purely written texts and also has a general purpose analyzer.

In corpus building, authors usually create their own morphological analyzer, which provides a high degree of flexibility, but PermCorp's authors decided on adapting to the structure of the FLEx analyzer and accept its limitations. The FLEx general analyzer allows the user to define phonological and morphological rules according to a predefined set of rules known in the language, so that it can efficiently segment word forms into morphemes using the added dictionary (the analyser does not deal with context, word environment). The resulting Permyak morphological analyzer and dictionary will be published as a FLEx file (‘project’), so that we can provide an immediately usable tool for other researchers wishing to annotate.

In this talk, we will illustrate what it means to adapt to the FLEx analyzer in a language where, for example, morphotactic rules are not described in sufficient depth, by means of adjective and verb categories. We would like to show that technical constraints sometimes influence the choice of the main glossing principles (e.g. for verb mode marking or for adjectives functioning occasionally as nouns), while at other times a multistage rule system needs to be established (e.g. to introduce a category that treats nouns and adjectives as a unit or to handle morphological alternations like [v] ~ [l]). Some issues require a separate corpus analysis in the absence of exhaustive language descriptions (e.g. morphotactic rules for adjective suffixes), while for others we have not found a way to use the FLEx automatic analyzer to produce a clear output without human judgment (e.g. in case of verb syncretism). We also present our experiences with the FLEx parser's ability to handle large token counts, its support for collaboration between multiple linguists, and the slowdown of the software due to the combination of lexicon and grammar rules.

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Challenges in development of corpora of Samoyedic languages from legacy data

Maria Brykina, Josefina Budzisch, Aleksandr Riaposov, Alexandre Arkhipov
(University of Hamburg)

In this paper, we're dealing with corpora of endangered Samoyedic languages, based primarily on legacy data of various kinds: INEL Kamas, Selkup and Nenets corpora and Selkup Language Corpus (SLC). We will outline a few problems that arose in the process of their creation. Most challenges are due to the heterogeneity of the data as well as to the many open questions in the grammar and lexicon of the languages in focus. Source materials within each corpus vary in dialects and/or the time period represented, in modality (written vs. audio), in transcription conventions used in different sources, or in combination of these.

Kamas data have two main sources: Kai Donner's written collection (1912–1914) and the audio recordings of the last speaker, Klavdiya Plotnikova, by Ago Künnap and others in 1963–1970. Selkup data in two corpora come from several publications and from the fieldwork archive of Angelina Kuzmina who worked in many places where the Selkup lived in 1960s– 1970s. Nenets data come from several publications and from the fieldwork archive of Svetlana Burkova.

Challenges in transcription. Diverse orthographies and transcription conventions used in different sources for each language or major variety need first to be converted into a common representation in order to make uniform morphological analysis possible. This was chosen to be a Latin-based transcription, similar though not identical across different corpora. Conversion rules are created based on prior knowledge of phonology of each variety and applied automatically, with further manual adjustments when needed. Sometimes, however, our knowledge evolves during the text analysis, thereby causing the need to make changes to already analyzed data.

Challenges raised by alternative text versions. Although the Kamas texts collected by Kai Donner are best known from their posthumous edition by A. Joki (1944), their phonologized transcription used as basis for glossing relies on G. Klumpp's unpublished edition of Donner's manuscripts. The latest version of the corpus also includes the narrow transcription by Donner from the same unpublished edition. Meanwhile, the original German translation by A. Joki as published in (Joki 1944) is also provided, supplemented by an edited modern translation based on the new reading.

In the Selkup archive of Angelina Kuzmina, the same text recorded from the same speaker is sometimes found both as an audio recording and written down by the collector. Only in two cases the audio and the written version were judged close enough to be treated as the same text item. The remaining more than two dozen pairs had to be analyzed and included in the corpus as different text versions sharing a similar storyline and overlapping to some extent.

Challenges in lemmatization. The absence of a formalized standard, combined with diverse transcribing traditions and a high dialectal diversity (in case of Selkup and Nenets), results in significant variation across the data. This makes it difficult to identify a single "canonical" form for a word or morpheme. Consequently, choosing consistent lexical and grammatical representations remains a major challenge in the development of these corpora. E.g., forms encountered across Selkup dialects for the noun 'grandmother' include *imɨl'a, imn'a, nima, niːba, al'diga, al'ǯiga, ad'uka*; for 'horse' — *čünd(V), č'un(n)V, č'untV, kVn(n)V, kVtdV, kVnd(V)*, among others.

Challenges in morphological analysis. In the case of lesser studied languages, a thorough analysis of texts typically encounters unknown morphological elements. Particularly in Samoyedic languages with their rich verbal morphology, derivational suffixes that have not yet been described or classified frequently emerge. To address this, placeholder labels such as DRV ("unspecified derivation") are used in the corpora. This approach allows marking unidentified morphemes systematically, with the goal of future classification and analysis, which can be hindered by small numbers of examples in the corpus. E.g. out of a few dozens of such unidentified derivation markers in a working version of the Forest Nenets corpus, only eight had 10 or more occurrences.

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Incorporating past, present and future into the Pite Saami documentation corpus

Joshua Wilbur (University of Tartu)

Pite Saami is a critically endangered Uralic language spoken by a handful of individuals from Arjeplog municipality in Sweden and adjacent areas of Norway. Over the last 15 years, I have been compiling an annotated documentation corpus using the ELAN annotation software (Sloetjes & Wittenburg 2008). The corpus is clearly "opportunistic" in the variety of genres, modes and dates of the contents. Although it predominantly consists of my own multimedia recordings (both elicited and spontaneous speech) of arguably the last generations of native speakers, it also includes random older archived recordings (up to 100 years old), heritage transcribed texts dating back to 1893, as well as very recent contemporary media arising from on-going revitalization efforts, including television, radio and children's literature; with these diverse Pite Saami texts in mind, the corpus covers the "distant" past, the present state of the language, and should be set to incorporate future developments of Pite Saami. Automatic lemmatization and glossing of the corpus (e.g., Gerstenberger et al. 2017) is even supported

using Natural Language Processing pipelines developed in collaboration with colleagues involved in endangered language documentation and with Giellatekno at UiT in Tromsø.

In this talk, I will present a brief overview of the creation of the Pite Saami documentation corpus, including how I have attempted to incorporate all of these various texts (from heritage texts up to contemporary media), especially concerning technical, ethical and legal aspects. I will pay special attention to the CARE principles for indigenous data governance (as proposed by Carroll et al. 2021),[1] and provide an analysis of the extent to which these both should and can realistically be implemented for Pite Saami as a minor and a critically endangered Uralic language.

While the Scandinavian political context which frames the Pite Saami situation is dif-ferent to those of most other minority Uralic languages, this analysis will hopefully con-tribute to the discussion of CARE as a viable framework for minor Uralic languages in general, and especially concerning corpus building.

[1]Inspired by the FAIR data principles (Wilkinson et al. 2016), CARE stipulates that using indigenous data requires supporting the indigenous community, reflecting its values and ethics, and actively involving the community in determining how the data is used.

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The corpus of Soikkola Ingrian: key issues and solutions

Fedor Rozhanskiy (University of Tartu)

This paper discusses the experience of compiling a corpus for the Ingrian language – one of the minor moribund Finnic languages (Markus & Rozhanskiy 2022). The number of published texts in the Soikkola dialect of Ingrian is critically small. There are two fairy tales in Porkka (1885: 130–134, 143–145), three fairy tales in Sovijärvi (1944: 222–228), small collections of texts in Ariste (1960: 7–87) and Laanest (1966: 111–154) with translations into Estonian, several short texts in (Virtaranta 1967), and one short text in (Virtaranta & Suhonen 1978). The only published Soikkola text with morphological glossing is a fairy tale from (Porkka 1885: 130–134) annotated and commented by Rožanskij & Markus (2012: 448–503). The work on the corpus of the Soikkola dialect of the Ingrian language began in 2011, when a collection of Soikkola texts was recorded and processed as part of the project "Documentation of Ingrian: collecting and analysing fieldwork data and digitising legacy materials" (funded by the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme). The corpus work continues now in course

of the project "Creating a multimodal corpus of Soikkola Ingrian" (funded by the Kindred Peoples' Programme). The aim of this talk is to discuss the difficulties and conceptual challenges encountered during this process and the solutions chosen to address them. The discussion is structured according to the various stages of the work.

Stage 1 – Data collection

At this stage, there were three main challenges. First, many speakers had not regularly practised communicating in the Ingrian language for a long time. Second, they were unaccustomed to speaking Ingrian in the presence of people they did not consider to be Ingrian. Third, the houses of many Soikkola residents were located close to a motorway, which was a source of considerable noise, and it affected the quality of the audio recordings. In order to overcome these challenges, spontaneous speech was recorded after some preliminary "warming up" elicitation work had been done, all researchers were instructed on techniques for encouraging speakers to switch to their native language, and the team was trained in audio recording methods under various conditions.

Stage 2 – Transcription of the texts

Transcribing Ingrian texts turned out to be an extremely time-consuming and even exhausting process, as the average age of the speakers was over 80. For people of this age, accurately repeating a fragment of text they had heard is a difficult task, due to both physiological factors (many elderly people have hearing issues), and psychological factors (speakers tend to "correct" the grammar, semantics, and pragmatics of fragments they do not consider ideal). Also, it was not always possible to transcribe the text with the same speaker from whom it had been recorded. As a result, transcribing one minute of text often took 2–3 hours of work. To speed up the process, the following techniques were used: (1) the text was preliminarily transcribed by the researcher, and during the session with the speaker, this transcription was checked, and problematic fragments were clarified, (2) the entire audio file was divided into short, convenient fragments for listening, and (3) the entire transcription process was recorded on a voice recorder, so that it could be available anytime later.

Stage 3 – Compiling a primary collection of texts in ELAN

The main challenge at this stage, both technically and conceptually, was developing a transcription method. On a technical level, it was decided to minimise the number of characters with double diacritics in order to avoid future problems with searching for forms that could have been inputted in various ways. Conceptually, it was decided to create separate tiers for phonetic transcription and for standardised phonological transcription. For the latter, decisions were made regarding which types of variability to neutralise (e.g., pronunciation features of a particular idiolect) and which to retain (e.g., variation in grammatical forms). A separate tier for comments was also introduced to explain all differences (except for regular ones) between the phonetic and standardised transcriptions.

Stage 4 – Morphological analysis

Texts were converted from ELAN to FLEX, where morphological annotation is performed, after which the texts were converted back into ELAN. The main issues at this stage relate to the limitations of FLEX. Specifically, there are difficulties in handling compounds or compound-like forms (FLEX does not allow the use of a hyphen as a separator for parts of a compound and cannot process forms where the inflected part is not the last, e.g., *ke-l–ikkee* who-ADE-DER$_{INDEF}$ 'by someone'). Additionally, FLEX is designed for inflectional morphology and cannot analyse syncretic forms without markers as forms of the same word, e.g., *ava-* as the stem of the verb 'open' and *ava* as the 2Sg imperative form 'open!'. In all such cases, technical solutions must be applied, such as treating compounds as two separate words and combining them after conversion to ELAN or entering syncretic forms into the FLEX lexicon as separate lexemes.

Stage 5 – Corpus publication

The conceptual challenge at this stage is choosing the format. For the Ingrian language, the key issue is to find a format that allows the corpus to be used both by researchers and by members of the language community. The proposed solution is to (a) publish the corpus both online and in the form of a printed text collection, and (b) accompany the texts with translations into both English (for researchers) and Russian (for the language community). In the printed version, the texts are presented both in a multi-line format with morphological annotation and as continuous text. A grammatical index is attached to the texts to facilitate the search for grammatical forms in the printed collection.

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Steps and strategies of developing the Uralic basic vocabulary dataset UraLex 3.0

Mervi de Heer (Uppsala University)

Basic vocabulary i.e. core vocabulary and especially the information on historical relationships it carries, offers a compelling opportunity for comparative linguistic studies on languages and language families that may have scarce resources. Often associated with quantitative historical linguistic research, basic vocabulary datasets are available on internet platforms covering many language families. An important attribute of such wide-scale datasets is that they can be mindfully updated and that the contributors have methods for version control. For instance, the basic vocabulary dataset for the Indo-European language family, IE-COR (Heggarty et al. 2023) is described as a successor of an older IELex dataset (for a current version, see Dunn & Tresoldi, 2021) but with complete renewal of the data. An example of continuously updated basic vocabulary database with updates contributing directly to an established database is the Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database (Greenhill et al. 2008).

For the Uralic family, the UraLex basic vocabulary dataset is readily accessible and subject to extensive updates (versions 1 and 2: Syrjänen et al. 2018, de Heer et al. 2023 & Syrjänen et al. 2021, version 3 will be published in 2025). UraLex 3.0 is a basic vocabulary and cognacy dataset complied by the BEDLAN (Biological Evolution and the Diversification of Languages) research initiative. UraLex 3.0 covers 28 languages and consists of 313 meanings which include several established basic vocabulary lists. Updates are implemented in Git version control system.

This paper presents challenges the UraLex project has faced but also solved during the development of its three versions. These challenges include the immediate problem of determining the lexemes associated with the basic vocabulary meanings especially in cases when a language may not have a strong standard. Definition of basic meanings, treatment of synonymy and missing data are also important parts of this problem. Further, challenges and

strategies regarding the coding of historical relationships to account for both horizontal and vertical transmission and the role of cognacy are discussed. Lastly, the inclusion of metadata on collaborators' work, various literary sources and authors' contributions is described.

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C.1: Reappraising Public Representations of Finno-Ugric Identities

Lukin

A Pole looks at a Russian and sees a Finn
Some observations on the 19th century notions of language and kinship

Łukasz Sommer (University of Warsaw)

In mid-19th century, about the same time the Finnish national movement was discovering the concept of Finno-Ugric kinship and testing its possible benefits for their nation-building agenda, a somewhat distorted variant of that concept was employed by a few romantic-minded Polish activists and intellectuals. Poland was a political non-entity at the time, the autonomous kingdom under Russian rule a shadow of the former Commonwealth. The Russian Empire was beginning to embrace political Panslavism, positioning itself as a Slavic empire and thereby the natural leader of the Slavic world. In Poland's romantic literature and historiography of the time, Slavicity was an important point of reference, but Polish romantics were reluctant to perceive Russia as a liberator or legitimate leader. In the long run, the nationalistically inclined Polish intellectuals tended to stay away from Panslavic sympathies.

Some inventive attempts were made, however, to recapture the Slavic label for the Poles without acknowledging Russian dominance. One of Poland's most influential cultural figures of the period, the émigré poet Adam Mickiewicz, delivered a series of lectures on Slavic literatures in the College de France in Paris, in which he did his best to question Russia's Slavic credentials. Referring to the racial classifications of J. F. Blumenbach and prioritizing them over language, he classified the Moscow Tsardom as founded by Finnic peoples who merely adopted a Slavic idiom but remained Finnic in their essence. The "genuine" Slavs, he insisted (such as the Poles, the Czechs, or the properly Slavic Russians of Ukraine and Novgorod), were a Caucasian race and some of the "best predisposed to civilization", while "the Finn — gloomy, miserable, created to toil in the yoke or to destroy — encountered a superior being in the Slav, but defiled it with his touch". Two decades later, the historian and ethnographer Franciszek Duchiński abstained from Mickiewicz's derogatory language, but he elaborated his concept and essentialized it further by classifying the relevant ethnic groups in explicitly racial terms.

The "Finns" as portrayed by Mickiewicz have hardly any points in common with the romantic self-image of the Fennomans, but they do correspond with M. A. Castrén's worries about Finns being perceived by the world as related with "the despised Mongols". As a patriotic Finnish linguist, Castrén was concerned that linguistic data might give the Finns an unwelcome racial label. He would seek comfort in the fact that linguistic classifications did not correspond with racial features; at other times he would encourage the Finns to prioritize cultural achievements over prestigious descent. Both the Polish and the Finnish romantics were working within a similar discourse, which employed organic metaphors for describing language and conceptualized linguistic kinship as not just akin to (and at times synonymous with) biological and racial. These conflations of language and race can be found in works by prominent authors of the 19th century — philosophers, ethnographers, historians and, indeed, linguists — but it also seems to have lingered on in popular concepts about language and identity long past the 19th century. Paradoxically, the discourse which stressed the central role of language as a foundation of thought and marker of identity, was just as capable of downplaying its role as something superficial and adoptable as — opposed to the immutable bonds of blood and race.

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In the shadow of Greater Finland. The frame of scientific work of Ilmari Manninen in Finland

Ildikó Lehtinen (University of Helsinki)

Ilmari Manninen wrote about U. T. Sirelius, who was his teacher and contemporary researcher, the following estimate: “Sirelius was born under lucky stars. Few scholars have been blessed with such excellent opportunities.” (Manninen 1929, 240.) What these “excellent opportunities” meant? My purpose is to find out Manninen’s position in Finnish ethnology primarily based on archival sources. The material based on the correspondence of Manninen, and as method is the re-reading of Manninen’s studies.

1 Evaluation of the Estonian ethnology in Finland

When it comes to ethnological research Manninen valued two aspects, research based on fieldwork and an international network of scholars. His field limited on native North Karelia, West Lapland and Estonia. At the same time, the interest of Finnish scientific community focused on Finland. The time of Karelianism was over, and Estonia was not valued as equal with Finland. In Tartu, in Estonia Manninen seemed to have adopted an Estonian identity, and most of the scholarly work focused on Estonian ethnology. What was Estonia from Finland’s point of view? Has Estonia been looked only in the frame on Finno-Ugric discourse, or, like Elsa Enäjärvi-Haavio, as “an important addition to Finland’s resource”?

In 1919, an Estonian exhibition opened in the National Museum of Finland. Most of the artefacts represented the collections of the National Museum of Finland, and the purpose of the exhibition was to get to know Estonian culture. When presenting the exhibition, U. T. Sirelius emphasized cultural contacts and often referred to Karelian culture in comparison. (Sirelius 1919, 68-73.) In own works, Sirelius did not present Estonian connections or cultural contacts. There was no interest in Estonian folk culture or museum life in the pages of the journals or newspapers either. Manninen presented the new organized Estonian National Museum in the newspaper *Uusi Suomi* (1923, 1929). An interesting point, why was the author of Manninen’s monograph about the Estonian folk dress an archaeologist and not an ethnologist? (Helsingin Sanomat 10.12.1927.) The question arises, did it reflect a kind of feeling of superiority, which the art historian Timo Huusko also pointed out? In Finland, when evaluating Manninen’s life

work, the experience teaching as docent in Tartu, and the work of organizing museum collections and exhibitions seemed has been forgotten. Does the attitude reflect an underestimation of the Estonian ethnology, a kind of post-colonialism?

2 The study of Finno-Ugric peoples in the new political situation after 1927

Manninen's return to Finnish ethnology was not self-evident. The field was open to Sirelius. On the contrary, in the 1920s and 1930s entering Russia did not mean field work, and Manninen was satisfied with visiting museums and research institutes. Manninen's choice was to focus on museum collections and make syntheses based on them.

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Fragments from the Finno-Ugric past

Anna-Mari Immonen (University of Helsinki)

The National Museum of Finland has over a thousand pieces of textiles in its Finno-Ugric collection. (The Finno-Ugric collection contains over 17 000 objects in total.) Most of these patches are fine embroidery patterns, examples of women's craftmanship. Patterns were collected especially in the late 19th century and they were parts of women's shirts, women's headdresses or long towels, so called *käspaikat*.

Vast majority of the patches were collected by archaeologists and museum workers Th. Schvindt and A. O. Heikel. They were also interested in ethnology and worked as keepers at the National Museum of Finland and its predecessor, the State Historical Museum. It was founded in 1893, but even before that there were several organizations in Helsinki that acquired objects for their collections. These were the Historical and Ethnographic Museum, the Ethnographic Museum of the Student Unions and the Finnish Antiquarian Society among which Heikel and Schvindt were active.

Fieldwork and the collection of research data were an important part of museum work. Axel Olai Heikel (1851–1924) made collecting trips to as far as central Russia. He travelled among the Mordvins and the Maris in 1880s. During his trips, he also visited museums in Kazan, Moscow and St.

Petersburg and explored their collections. Heikel had a broad interest in Finno-Ugric Peoples and their material culture, while Theodor Schvindt (1851–1924) focused his studies more narrowly on the Finnish borders. However, he made an expedition to Tver Karelia in 1882 and collected large numbers of embroidered patterns there.

In my presentation I will examine patches as part of a broader phenomenon, the definition of Finnishness, which took place at a national institution, the National Museum of Finland. I draw on the perspectives of affect theories to understand the emotions and experiences that influenced the fieldwork and the collection of objects. What kind of objects affected collectors and how? I also pay attention to how these fragments, i. e. patches, were analyzed and displayed in the museum. What emotions or aspiration they were intended to evoke in the audience through publications and exhibitions?

As Sara Ahmed has stated, we move toward and away from objects through how we are affected by them (Ahmed 2010, 32). Embroidered textiles attracted researchers for several reasons. First of all, embroidery offered way to go back in time and place to find some kind of common, imagined and nostalgic Finno-Ugric past. In this sense, patches with beautiful embroidery created a sense of belonging and a sense of community which were important emotions in nation-building (Macdonald 2013, 96-99). In addition, ornaments collected among Finno-Ugric Peoples were utilized in textiles for the purpose to create a feeling of cultivated bourgeois home. For example, Schvindt's (1894–1895) and Heikel's (1899) publications in the end of 19th century aimed to give ideas for decorating home with Mordvin and Karelian patterns. Consequently, embroidery shaped the present moment but also looked to the future at both individual and national level.

I am aware of the fact that Finnish identity and Finnish national goals were partly built using elements from cultural heritage of Finno-Ugric Peoples. This is important to recognise when considering the colonialist overtones of the collection history of the National Museum of Finland and promoting decolonising measures in museum work and collections. Patches that have been ignored in recent research are one way of making visible the reason for existence and the historical context of the Finno-Ugric collection in Finland.

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Skolt Saami Music Tradition in Paččjokk during 1910s and 1920s Transcriptions and Recordings by Isak Saba, Armas Launis and Armas Otto Väisänen

Marko Jouste (University of Oulu)

In my paper, I shall investigate and analyze Skolt Saami music tradition of Paččjokk in Pechenga region from 1910s and 1920s. Its musical and textual features and local particularities have not yet been studied comprehensively as the focus of research has been in the culture of another Skolt Saami village called *Suõ'nn'jel*.

The period of the late 19th century and the first decades of 20th century represent a vast societal change as the Norwegian, Finnish, and Russian settlement and cultural impact increases in the Paččjokk area. The founding of town of Kirkenes, mining industry, and improving livestock farming in riverside areas of Paččjokk-river as well as new forms of open sea fishing pose serious threats to the traditional way of life of the Skolt Saami. There is also the impact of the First World War (1914–1918) and the Russian Civil war (1917–1922) in the area.

The material from 1910s and 1920s contains unique oral history describing the way how the Skolt Saami have experienced their own life and these historical changes in the region. In the long narrative songs called *leu'dd*, the performers tell stories of the Skolt Saami way of life,

particular events in the village, life stories of relatives and neighbors, and comment the relations between different people living in the region. For example, one leu′dd reveals the Skolt Saami experience of the Bolshevik occupation of Pechenga during year 1920. Furthermore, the independence process of Finland as its own state between Norway and Russia and the annexation of the Pechenga area to Finland in 1921 created a completely new social, economic, and cultural situation in the area.

There exist three collections of Paččjokk culture and music made during 1910s and 1920s. These offers a unique material to examine a historical Skolt Saami culture and music tradition belonging to the area of Paččjokk. The work of these three collectors contains total of 24 transcriptions by Isak Saba (1875–1921) from the years 1913–1920, 71 transcriptions and 60 recordings by Armas Launis (1884–1959) made in 1922, and 31 transcriptions by Armas Otto Väisänen (1890–1969) from the year 1926. There are also various examples of leu′dds performed by the same persons in all three collections.

After 1920s examples of the tradition of Paččjokk was recorded only frequently due to the rapid cultural change caused by the building a modern Finnish infrastructure in the area (e.g. tourism, urban living areas, mining industry, hydro-electric plants), which had a crusial impact on the Skolt Saami and traditional culture. After the Second World War the whole Pechenga region was ceded to Soviet Union. From 1950s onwards, the recording of the Skolt Saami culture focused almost solely to language and culture of *Če'vetjäu'rr*, where the people of Suõ′nn′jel were resettled after the forced emigration.

A perception of Votians from an Estonian perspective

Madis Arukask (University of Tartu)

There are two sides in studying and representing smaller kindred peoples. Often a cultural conceptualisation or artistic representation of a given group speaks more about the (national) cultural aspirations or 'needs' of its author, no difference whether s/he is a researcher or an artist. Examples of this kind of use of the culture of the kindred peoples to construct national identity can be found both in Estonia and Finland. On the other hand, any study and/or artistic depiction has also been of great importance to the peoples themselves - external interest can raise their self-esteem and self-awareness. The search for identity of Russia's minority peoples today has consisted in a constant positioning of themselves between East and West.

At the same time the line between East and West often does not coincide in cultural-linguistic vs. political-ideological terms, which does not make the situation easier.

In this paper, I will take a closer look at the attention dedicated to Votians in Estonia. I will focus on the person of Paul Ariste as a researcher and populariser, as well as a promoter of Votian identity in the second half of the 20th century. As a researcher, Ariste was selective in his choice of informants in the field. Understandably focusing on older people (born at the end of the 19th century) with good language skills, he created his own image of the 'ideal' Votianess, which he presented both rhetorically and analytically in his diaries. Above all, it was a counterpoint to the cultural situation, secularisation and language loss of the Soviet era. But it can also be taken as a veiled warning message about the cultural and linguistic situation in the Soviet Estonia at the time.

Ariste's work and collections have been an important and fundamental source of the cultural revitalisation in some Votian villages of the Leningrad Oblast that began in the very end of the 20th century. Of course, the Russian-speaking revitalists do not use Ariste's rhetoric presented from an Estonian perspective. Today's Votian 'own' is based on people's place identity and kinship relations, on material ethnography and historical knowledge, as well as on

environmental activism in the struggle against the constant expansion of the Ust-Luga port in the region. Linguistic identity and language learning, as well as Western cultural influences, have been brought to the region until recently by Estonian researchers, first of all by Heinike Heinsoo. The knowledge that the Votians (as well as other Finno-Ugric peoples in Russia) continue to exist is needed by both the Votians themselves (or their descendants with a Russian identity) and the enthusiasts in Estonia and Finland. It is very likely that the radically changed political situation will widen the gap in perceptions on both sides.

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The Kveeni minority people in the north of Norway: Regaining or recreating cultural group identity within the Fenno-Ugric cultural heritage after centuries of Norwegianising and assimilation processes

Siri Skogstad Berntsen (University of Oslo and the Arctic University of Tromsø)

The project examines historical ornaments from the Eastern Sea Finnish area, collected by the Finnish ethnologist Thomas Schwindt in the 1800s, and the ornaments connection to the Kveeni cultural heritage, a minority culture in the north of Norway. The ornaments gathered by Schwindt, was published in a book in 1895: *Finnische Ornamente, part 1* (part 2 was published in 1905). As several of these ornaments have been taken in to use as identity markers by cultural agents within the Kveeni culture, in the *käsityö* practice (handwork), these ornaments become particularly interesting. In what way are the ornaments important connections for the Kveeni culture? What do the identity markers consist of? The research will identify connections between the Kveeni culture and the ornaments. The initial hypothesis regards the importance of the creation or expression of cultural- and groupidentity for a suppressed and norwegianised minority people, that originates from the Fenno-Ugric cultural group by language and historical relations (belonging to the "east"), but is situated geographically in "the west", as a minority people under the domination of a majority Germanic or "western" cultural group, the Norwegians, right in the border areas between the cultures of "the east" and "the west", the terms are used here as different cultural pronunciations from the perspective of the Kveeni. The ornaments collected by Schwindt, and other relevant ornaments from the Fenno-Ugric cultural heritage, are connected to an understanding of the cultural identity of the Kveeni people, that to a great extent has been lost, and the way these ornaments become agents, as part of regaining or inventing the group's cultural identity in ongoing revitalisation processes.

The historical core area of the Kveeni people is the Tornevalley in northern Finland and Sweden (the greater Tornevalley area includes five communes on the Swedish side and six communes on the Finnish side, connected by a common culture, history and language, and a Finno-Ugric heritage). This cultural region was split in two by nation state processes, and the drawing of national state borders in the Cap of north, this in the time period where the ancestors of the Kveeni people migrated from the Tornevalley, to the north Norwegian coastline and settled there, becoming a minority within the Norwegian nation state borders. The Kveeni people in the north of Norway and the meänkieli speaking people in Tornedalen (in Swedish and Finnish Lappland), were exposed for similar submissive nation state processes, where the culture and languages of the groups, and the groups identification and belonging to a different cultural landscape, were suppressed, making these cultures and their expressions not allowed to exist, within the borders of the (geopolitical) nation state, in Norway and Sweden especially. Historical ornaments from the Tornevalley area will obviously be of great interest for the

research. One example is the material culture of the distaffs, a rich folk art tradition in the Tornevalley, that might have strong connections to the Fenno-Ugric cultural landscape. The project will have a look at the embroidery of the Kveeni folksuit for women. The Kveeni folksuit is a modern reconstruction or construction launched in 2001. The embroidery on the shirt and head wear is of importance, as it is based on a head wear from the Tornevalley. These cultural connections have deep historical roots, not only were they important in the past, but also in the present, where they create bonds between the relatives the kveeni speaking minority culture in northern Norway and the meänkieli speaking minority cultures in the region Tornevalley. In the political landscape of revitalisation, the research gives focus to how historical ornaments from past cultures become important cultural agents in the present, and contribute to create identity and understanding of self in revitalisation processes.

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Estonian perspectives on Finno-Ugric spirituality

Piret Koosa (Estonian National Museum)

From the 1960s to the 1990s, the Estonian National Museum organized numerous field expeditions to other Finno-Ugric peoples within the Soviet Union. The primary aim of these trips was to collect objects of material heritage. During the expeditions, photos, drawings, and occasionally video recordings were made, alongside writing ethnographic descriptions and field diaries. This material provides us valuable insights into the lives of Finno-Ugric peoples during these decades. It also enables us to better understand Estonian ethnographers' perspectives regarding their smaller kindred peoples – exploring their motives for collecting, as well as the commonalities and differences they perceived with the locals, etc. One interesting topic that ethnographers occasionally address concerns local spiritual and religious practices and beliefs. Most of the peoples the ethnographers visited had religious backgrounds – either Russian Orthodox or traditional animist – that were different from those of most Estonians. Another layer was added by the officially atheist Soviet framework. In my talk, I intend to examine the fragmentary material on religion found in the ethnographers' accounts, focusing on the contexts these comments occurred and on how the researchers' positionality is reflected in their observations.

The different languages of Kola Saami literature

Tintti Klapuri (University of Helsinki) & Michael Rießler (University of Eastern Finland)

The history of Kola Saami fictional literature is generally considered to begin in 1989, when Oktiabrina Voronova (1934–1990) published her bilingual poetry collection *Jaalla/Žizn'* in Saami and Russian. Voronova's sister Iraida Vinogradova (1936–2004) published mainly poems for children in the 1990s and 2000s. In our paper, we describe how Voronova's and Vinogradova's texts, and the discussion concerning them, are related to Saami ethnic and language revival. Our starting point is the idea that the production of literature in the Saami languages has played a central role in the revival project.

In the popular-scientific discourse on Kola Saami writing Voronova is represented as the "first Saami poet in Russia" precisely because she was the first writer to publish in Saami (Bol′shakova 2012; Sergejeva 1995). Like Voronova, the Skolt Saami writer Askol′d Bazhanov

(1934–2012) started publishing in the 1970s, but solely in Russian (Rießler 2018b). The emphasis on the language of publication is also evident in earlier Soviet discourse. Thus, Bazhanov is presented in the anthology of young Murmansk writers *Stupeni* (see Zaitsev 1979) as "a Saami poet" who writes in both Saami and Russian. This is wrong because Bazhanov had virtually no knowledge of the then evolving written standard for Saami used in the Soviet Union (cf. Bol′shakova 2021) and based on Kildin Saami language. Bazhanov, however, was a native speaker of Skolt Saami.

Similarly, the sisters Voronova and Vinogradova where not native speakers of Kildin Saami, but Ter Saami. However, both took active part in language planning activities for standardized written Kildin Saami. This regards in particular their co-authorship of primers, readers, and didactic materials, in addition to the aforementioned literary production.

Interestingly, whereas Vinogradova's literary texts follow the orthography for standard written Kildin Saami, Voronova's Saami language production has been described as Ter Saami in the literature (e.g. Gaski 1996). At the same time, it has never been clearly described what makes her text "Ter Saami" – a language which is otherwise not known to have been used in writing by any other author to date.

Moreover, the way in which the collection has been produced raises some questions. Voronova had published in Russian earlier; primary sources (Smirnov 1995), scientific-popular discourse (Bakula 2012) and research (Bakula 2019) suggest that Voronova originally wrote her texts in Saami and then translated them together with the Murmansk writer Vladimir Smirnov into Russian. It is, however, highly unlikely that Smirnov knew any form of Saami. It is also noteworthy that the Saami and Russian sections in *Jaalla/Žizn'* are not identical but differ in both form and content. A similar difference can also be seen in Iraida Vinogradova's bilingual texts.

In our paper, we examine the above problematic in the context of Kola Saami and pan-Saami ethnic and linguistic revival and the production of minority literatures in the Soviet Union and Russia. Our main research question is how and for what purpose have Saami languages been used as literary languages within the Saami revival in the Soviet Union and Russia in the 1980s–2000s. The primary material consists of different language versions of Voronova's and Vinogradova's texts as well as of scientific-popular discourse on Kola Saami literature.

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Symbol of identity or just everyday life – the role of religion of Mari people during 2000s

Helena Ruotsala (University of Turku)

The everyday life of Mari people has experienced many different changes. The Mari is an old ethnic minority and in spite of their interesting and long-time their own religion has survived many dramatic changes. The role of their own everyday life has played an important role also during the last decencies, when their own culture became more visible and had more effect in their political life. Although, the latest changes in the beginning of 2000s have had its own effects of the Mari culture. E.g. the role of Mari language has changed dramatically.

I have studied Mari people in a rural village, which is situated on the border between Mari El and Tatarstan. My interest has been on the everyday life of the Mari people. I had planned to continue my fieldwork with my Mari research assistant, but first Covid-19 was against our field trip and then Russia's attack against Ukraine prohibited our final field work and my dream to continue field work went in vain. During Covid-19, my research assistant made some interviews concerning on Mari identity issues, I will use this material to discuss the current everyday life of the Mari people and concentrate also on the role of their own religion. My questions are e.g.: What is the current Mari identity today and which features are important in it? What role does the current language politics play in this and what is the role of Mari religion in their current identity?

Patriotic shades

Karina Lukin (University of Helsinki)

Having their roots in the cultural policies of the Soviet Union, the multifarious ethnic performance groups represent traditional minority or majority dances and songs in different arenas. While in the local level, these groups have been described important for the sense of regional community, in the level of Russian federation they symbolize the multinationalism or multiculturalism often in imperial frames. There are possibly dozens of such kind of folk ensembles among the Nenets. They perform in Narian-Mar and Salekhard public events and arenas, and travel for example to Moscow and St. Petersburg. Additionally, some of the groups are active in social media platforms.

In my paper, I want to give an overview on the folk ensembles and their history. More importantly, I want to focus on the recent developments related to the folk ensembles' public image and societal task. The paper is based on newspaper material collected from Narian-Mar and Salekhard newspapers and YouTube, and it aims to describe and analyse the changes 1) in the ways in which the work of the folk ensembles is described in local written media and 2) in the frames in which the performances are set.

C.2: The Possibilities of Studying Finno-Ugric Religions in a Changing World

Leete, Vallikivi

Religion vs tradition: Folk motives of saint's holidays in Estonian and Finnic culture

Ana Marić (University of Tartu)

Estonia is considered to be one of the least religious countries in Europe, and yet there are so many christian holidays, especially the saint's holidays in Estonian culture and tradition that are celebrated in a unique and traditional way and are one of the main and important parts of Estonian heritage and national identity.

The main aim of this research paper is to analyze and depict the folk motives and their meaning carriers in the saint's day of Estonia and how they resemiotize the religious customs of the saint's days and present them in the new sign system. The saint's holidays which will be the focus of the analysis are: Mardipäev (Saint Martin's day), Kadripäev (Saint Catherine's day), Jaanipäev (Saint John's day) and Jüripäev (Saint George's day). The main methods which will be used in this paper are Juri Lotman's notion of semiosphere and Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotic triade, in order to establish and produce the new signs from the folk motives.

Also, one of the goals is to portray these saint's holidays as the symbols of finnic culture, tradition and history and the reflection of the religious and traditional contrast among the finnic nations and their own ways of celebrating these holidays and passing them by from one generation to another and thus creating a wide image of finnic pride and identity.

Yamal Nenets Film Series: Reusing Fieldwork Material

Liivo Niglas (University of Tartu)

The presentation will showcase and discuss an ongoing audiovisual project focused on the Yamal Nenets' nomadic reindeer pastoralism. The project is based on film footage recorded during three months of ethnographic fieldwork in a reindeer herding brigade of the Yar-Sale sovkhoz in 1999. The goal is to create a 12 to 15-part film series that delves into the everyday life of Nenets reindeer herders during the calving period in spring. The individual films, ranging from 15 to 70 minutes, will depict the herders and their families caring for reindeer, relocating camps, and performing rituals and daily tasks.

The presentation aims to demonstrate an approach to continuing anthropological research on Indigenous minorities in Russia given the current geopolitical situation, which impedes physical presence in the field. It will explore the possibilities and risks of reusing previously collected audiovisual data from anthropological, technological and ethical perspectives.

Silences of Fieldwork: Investigating Tacit Knowledge in Arctic Communities

Laur Vallikivi (University of Tartu)

Ethnologists conducting research on religious practices and ideas in distant and diverse cultural settings often depend heavily on the spoken accounts of their interlocutors. This paper discusses the methodological challenges associated with relying primarily on verbal information, particularly when researchers overlook the significance of silences during fieldwork. Focusing on studies among the Nenets and other Northern Indigenous groups—communities known for their preference for practical action over verbal explanation and their cautious use of words for

cosmological reasons —I explore what various forms of silence encountered in the field can reveal and how these may index different layers of the tacit in both everyday and ritual contexts.

With physical access to field sites in Russia currently restricted, studying tacit and situated cultural aspects from a distance poses a considerable challenge. Nevertheless previous research experience and established networks can potentially help overcome some of these limitations, allowing for a continued nuanced analysis of religious and cultural processes in Finno-Ugric communities in Russia. Furthermore, a careful re-examination of earlier field notes, photos and videos accumulated over the years can provide a valuable foundation for future research when access is restored and participant observation becomes feasible once again.

Why I do not research the Khanty religion

Stephan Dudeck (University of Tartu)

After more than 30 years of studying the Khanty way of life using anthropological methods, I've now been involved for three years in a research project on ethnicity and religiosity.

Although I have participated in religious practices as part of my research and even documented them scientifically, in particular the 2016 Bear Ceremony among the Surgut Khanty (Dudeck 2022), I have always avoided publishing ethnographic texts about these practices.

Precisely because of the importance of religious practice, and the ideas and values associated with it, for the cultural persistence of the Khanty, my research partners repeatedly made it clear to me that I should not describe their religion. I understood these admonitions in the spirit of Kenneth M. George's conclusions about the secrecy tactics of Indigenous religion in the highlands of Sulawesi to protect itself from Muslim and Christian monotheism. One of George's interlocutors puts it succinctly:

I have coffee beans. I will give them to you and you can roast them and make coffee. I have sheaves of rice. Go ahead and take them and cook some rice. But this is my religion. I will give you my religion. But don't, don't turn my religion into culture' (George 1993, 234).

Yet without knowledge of the ideas and practices commonly described as religious, no knowledge of Khanty culture is possible. Since the Enlightenment, scholarly speech has always been public speech. But what to do when public speech about religion contradicts the ethos of a religion itself? And how to research cultural objects and fieldwork materials related to religious practices and knowledge when direct communication is no longer possible? What are the options for risk management to minimise harm when risk is difficult or impossible to assess?

In my presentation, I will explore the reasons for these contradictions and present methodological approaches that I am currently using in collaborative research with Khanty partners on their cultural heritage located abroad.

The question of religious affiliation has been controversial at least since the Christian missionisation of the Khanty in the 18th century. Speaking publicly about religion is associated with the obligation to confess, which meant that at first only affiliation to the Christian religion, then to state-imposed atheism, and finally to the colonial concept of shamanism could be legitimately declared in public. In addition to these external factors, there are principles of information management inherent in Khanty social and environmental concepts that sanction the transmission of knowledge in linguistic form.

My paper will touch on the social function of secrecy in holding groups together and demarcating them from the outside, thus facilitating the autonomy of social elements in the units they encompass. Secrecy also has a protective function, which cannot be reduced to the avoidance of moral judgement, exclusion and loss of status. Frequently, internal risks, the loss

of effectiveness of internal practices or their danger to the outside world are also reasons for drawing information boundaries. Secrecy practices also always contain elements of transgression in the establishment of the hidden and the secret, its disclosure or its destruction. Finally, keeping secrets from the inside and respecting information boundaries from the outside are linked to ideas of respect and recognition.

How can communicative boundaries be explored without violating them? If words and knowledge cannot be considered neutral, but their potency and associated risks must be recognised at different levels of communication, what are the implications for the possibilities and impossibilities of researching Khanty religion? I will consider how these insights into secrecy strategies and information management in communication within Khanty society, but also with outsiders, can contribute to an understanding of the anthropological methods I use today.

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Religious traditions of the Eastern Udmurt in a transformed situation

Eva Toulouze (INALCO, Paris & University of Tartu) & Ranus Sadikov (Ufaa)

The Eastern Udmurt are the descendants of people who migrated in the 16th-18th centuries on Bashkir regions, eastwards from their original territories. The migration was due to multiple causes, but today's generation reminds only one, the attempt to flee from Evangelisation. And history proves that they were able to carry on until our days many of the traditions of their ancestors. Emphasising their religious distinctness from the Christianised Udmurt, they call themselves "true Udmurt", *чын удмортъёс*. They live in villages in the north-western districts of the Republic of Bashkortostan and in the south of the Perm kray in the Russian Federation.

The religion of the Eastern Udmurt, being of an agrarian character, fully corresponded to their peasant way of life. It functioned fully until the 1930s, when traditional rural culture was disrupted and religion was persecuted. But even in Soviet times, many rituals and customs continued to live, even in a clandestine way. What suffered more was collective ritual life, the collective ceremonies. The beginning of the 1990-s witnessed an active process of revitalisation of the ancient religion of the Eastern Udmurt in modern forms. According to many modern Udmurts' understandings, the preservation of their ancestors' religion in one of the conditions for survival in the increasingly globalised world. Many rural Eastern Udmurt still believe in the sacred character of the rituals, and for some, especially for the intelligentsia, the traditions of older religion are seen as their cultural and ethnic heritage.

We may distinguish different levels and categories in the contemporary rituals of the Eastern Udmurt.

<u>Rituals and customs of worshipping deities:</u>

- Family calendar sacrificial ceremonies and occasional ceremonies
- Clan calendar sacrificial ceremonies and occasional ceremonies
- Village and intervillage calendar sacrificial ceremonies and occasional ceremonies
- General calendar sacrificial ceremonies

<u>Traditions of worshipping ancestors and the dead</u>

- Family occasional funeral and commemorative rites

- Clan calendar commemorative rites

Spirit propitiation rituals

- Private magical rituals.

All of them may also be categorised into relicts existing only in some locations, and generally widespread rituals, taking into account that some have not lost continuity and others have been object of reconstruction.

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Exploring the Finno-Ugric Sensitivity

Art Leete (University of Tartu)

When I started my trips to the Khanty people while being an ethnography student, their mode of world perception captured my attention overwhelmingly. Over time, the northern Finno-Ugric sensitivity started to appear much more mundane to me. I got used to the ways people in the Western Siberia and Komi territory treated their environment and other than human beings, but also the Russian Orthodox Church and other Christian groups, surviving or appearing in these regions. I still admitted that the sense of the world around us was different there, but this did not amuse me anymore as extraordinary or shocking. But today, all this becomes somehow mysterious, again. My annual trips were interrupted first by travel prohibitions during the COVID-19 pandemic and then by the outbreak of full-scale war of Russia against Ukraine. Anyhow, our Laboratory of Arctic Studies at the University of Tartu continues efforts to approach the Finno-Ugric people of Russia. The question is, what have we learned during these years, which research methods are the most adequate today and what are our perspectives in both, cognitive and ethical frameworks. Similar problems are widely discussed among the scholars dealing with the Finno-Ugric and Arctic peoples of Russia. Still, as the international situation is dynamic, these issues should be addresses continuously. There exists a possibility that current troubles with exploration of the Indigenous groups and ethnic minorities of Russia lead us towards new scholarly methodologies as the war has brought a critical need to think more about our cognitive limits.

C.3: The Winter in Finno-Ugric cultures

Ermakov, Kuznetsov, Troitski

Yule spirits in calendar representations of Komi-Zyryans

Anatoly Panyukov (Syktyvkar)

In the folklore of the Komi-Zyryans, an exceptional variety and versatility of ideas about the holy spirits is found: the existence of a special holy game "expulsion of the holy spirit", Christmas songs about the holy spirits, stories about the holy spirits and much more. A wide range of local terms (about thirty options) also speaks of the variability of representations. Most of them do not have a clear etymology, but they are all related to the general mechanisms of personification of this image, which open up a wider context of traditional ideas. The specific mythological image of Crackling Frost is also organically included in the sphere of ideas about Christmas spirits.

Yule games in the traditional culture of Komi-Zyryans

Galina Savelyeva (Syktyvkar)

The report uses the example of the traditions of Vym, Letka and Vishera to present scenarios for holding youth meetings during the Christmas period. Christmas games have a clear structure, which is associated with both organizational moments and a song-game scenario. Games dedicated to Vasiliev Day and Epiphany are especially distinguished. It is these gatherings that have a communal character, and each age group has a certain ritual role. The main elements of the script include general round dances, with which the game begins, round dances played by individual couples, and choruses - songs with the names of specific guys and girls. In addition, there were games of a dedication and test nature, designed for beginners. Of the local features, one can distinguish the origin of the Vym games, which is associated with the structuring of the girl group. In this regard, the option of creating girlish couples is interesting, reflecting both ritual and gender and age attitudes.

Stories about Christmas fortune-telling in the tradition of Vishera Komi

Alexey N. Rassykhaev (Syktyvkar)

The holy period in the Vishera tradition is called the *Vezha (Вежа)*, *Vezhadyr (Вежадыр)*. Rituals of divination were common, which were mainly occupied by premarital girls. This period of time in folk culture is characterized as a border, when you can easily establish a channel of communication with the spirits of the other world and find out the answers to life's questions.

In the folk culture of the Vishera Komi, this process was called terminologically in the Komi language borrowed from the Russian and adapted word *Gadaitschöm (гадайтчӧм)*. Some types of fortune-telling are informants or do not name, or prefer to name it by action: *Kyyzys'ni* (*кыызысьні*) 'to listen', *Weedzedchini* (*видзедчині*) 'to see' and so on.

Most often they tried to guess on the eve of the milestone dates of the calendar: on the night of the Old New Year (Vasil's day) or on the eve of Baptism. Considered, that the day of the Vasil's day will come more often and more accurately.

A significant part of the fortune-telling took place in the house, Accommodation under a number of conditions, Facilitating contact with otherworldly forces. The divination rituals took

place around midnight in the dark, Before the sleep. The fortune-tellers were localized around such dangerous loci, People's Traditions as Borders, How to enter the underground, window over the stove, The threshold of the house. Attributes were used in fortune-telling, Helping to easily communicate with otherworldly spirits — water, candles, Mirrors, ash. For the same purpose, it was recommended to abandon body crosses, Remove the Icon, open a window or window, Use of vocative sentences, Calling upon the evil forces for help.

Divination with a saucer and summoning the spirits of dead people were common, Using a ring and a glass of water, Burned newspaper, A bread shovel. On the street they were guessing with a comb, Freezing water in a spoon, Listening at Road Crossings. Informants often talk about this, That the predictions came true, The girls were married to those, Who was seen during the reading.

To the question of the ritual symbolism of the Vishera's festival «Chicken Dinner»

Lyudmila Lobanova (Syktyvkar)

The report examines the local holiday of the Vishera's Komi "Chicken Dinner." This holiday is celebrated only in villages and villages along the Vishera River and its tributary Nivshera, its date is the November 27, this is eve of Nativity Fast. The name of the holiday and its characteristic rituals are not found in other Komi traditions. The main source for the report is expeditionary field materials of the 1990-2020s, which are recorded in the form of memories of this holiday. The report made an attempt, through consideration of the symbolism of the rituals that make up the festive action, to reveal the origins of this holiday and its role in the annual cycle of the Vishera folk calendar.

Winter in the Mythological Beliefs of the Udmurts*

Nikolai Anisimov (Estonian Literary Museum)

Udmurt mythology is closely connected with the natural cycle, in which winter is conceptualised not only as a climatic phenomenon, but also as a sacred transitional stage in the rhythm of human and world life. In traditional mythological representations of the Udmurts, winter symbolises the time of silence, death and preparation for rebirth. The study is based on ethnographic sources, folklore materials and field observations of the author.

The peculiarities of the winter cycle are clearly expressed in the folk calendar. Unlike the spring-summer period, winter is not so rich in rituals. The Udmurts divided the year into two half-years, each of which was perceived as a completed time unit. With the beginning of Christianisation the beginning of winter was considered to be the *Vedenye* holiday (Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary into the Temple) celebrated on November 21 (December 4, New Style), which was associated with the 'letting in' of winter, which demonstrates an animistic interpretation of seasonal forces.

The winter solstice period was perceived as *Vozhodyr* (crossroads of time/transitional time), the time of activity of the spirits of the transitional time *vozho* and manifestation of other, chaotic beginnings. During this period prayers were held in shrines, emphasising the sacredness of cosmic transitions. The northern Udmurts concluded the winter cycle with the *Kyshno praznik* (women's holiday), which included symbolic elements of purification and inversion of social roles.

An important aspect is the perception of winter as a symbol of the world of the dead. The otherworld (*kezyt dunne*) was associated with cold, winter, and an inversion of the living reality. The dead were buried in winter clothes, and ritual actions were accompanied by elements of

protection from the cold of the afterlife: mittens, wool, and the element of fire. Such elements symbolised the protection of the living and the adaptation of the soul to the 'eternal cold' of the world of the dead.

The mythological image of winter is supplemented by images of spirits and deities. *Lymy urt* - 'the soul of snow', *Vozho mumy* - the ancestress associated with the transition time, and *Vozho* spirits embody the notions of animistic and spiritual fulfilment of natural forces. Winter mourners represent dead ancestors, chaotic forces and magical mediators who ensure fertility and harmonisation of the cosmos.

The available materials allow us to say that winter in the Udmurt mythological tradition is not just a season, but a mythological and ritual knot linking death and rebirth, chaos and order, the cold of the afterlife and the warmth of the home hearth. Winter beliefs and rituals represent a complex syncretic layer combining archaic elements with Christian ones, reflecting the stability and adaptability of the Udmurt mythological system.

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Udmurt Winter Through the Prism of the Folk Calendar and Rituals

Tatiana Minniyakhmetova (Innsbruck)

Winter in the Udmurt regions presents not only a beautiful picture with sparkling white snowflakes in the rarely appearing rays of the sun, but also a real concern for the struggle for life. Reality itself forces a human to establish a connection and approach to the conditions of the winter climate, to build ways of survival, to provoke winter to favour people and to provide them with more normal conditions for experiencing winter time. Any changes in the weather, natural phenomena were recorded by human and studied and analysed in a special way in order to react appropriately to them in the future. Gradually, this was reflected in oral folklore and became a certain guideline in everyday life.

Winter is an important period in the Udmurt calendar. It is in winter that the count begins: the winter solstice is the starting point of time, and the first new moon from this period determines the entire lunar annual calendar, according to which the ritual calendar is mainly established. In addition to the solar and lunar calendars, the Julian and Gregorian calendars have firmly taken root and function among the people, which are important landmarks today.

According to the perception of the annual cycle by the Udmurts, it is possible to divide the calendar year into two years, consisting of half-years, a winter year and a summer year. The winter year is perceived as closed and dead while the summer year is open and alive. And there is an idea that the weather conditions that occurred in winter are reflected in the summer weather, and vice versa.

The report will consider such ideas about the annual cycle, folklore and folk wisdom about winter and its features, the organization of the ritual calendar and its accompanying rites, attracting material on the pagan Udmurts.

Songs and laments in a winter theme: analysis of the material recorded during field studies

Natalia Ermakov (Tallinn)

Songs, laments, as well as rituals and beliefs associated with them hold a significant place in the spiritual culture of the Erzya people. They play an essential role in shaping the ethnic group and serve as a key element in preserving self-awareness and cultural distinctiveness. The theme of winter as a symbol of death and stasis is also present in this context.

The presentation addresses the texts of songs and laments, and the context associated with lamentation. The analysed materials were collected between 2000 and 2017, reflecting the traditions of Ardatovo district of the Republic of Mordovia. These findings are expected to be of interest and value to scholars in international folklore studies and related disciplines.

Solar eclipses in the Finnic-Ugric traditions

Andres Kuperjanov (Estonian Literary Museum)

A solar eclipse is only visible as complete in a very narrow band and is therefore a very rare natural phenomenon. For example, a century may pass without a total solar eclipse visible in Estonia. The last total solar eclipses seen in Estonia were in 1914 and 1990, with the next coming in 2126. The maximum diameter of a full shadow disk can be 264 km, but in most cases, it is significantly smaller. Therefore, a total solar eclipse may not be visible all over Estonia at once.

Similar solar eclipses occur every 18 years (this cycle is called saros) but shifted by about 1/3 the circumference of the Earth. The saroses themselves are also cyclical phenomena, one series of solar eclipses begins with a partial solar eclipse at the north or south pole, lasts for about 13 centuries, and ends the cycle with a partial solar eclipse at the opposite pole. There are 70-80 solar eclipses in one saros cycle, of which about 50 are total. Since there are two to five solar eclipses per year, there are about 40 saros cycles going on at once, of which about 25 have reached the age to cause total eclipses. For example, *Saros 145* (1981, 1999, 2017) began in 1639 with a partial solar eclipse at the North Pole, the first total eclipse (annular) was in 1891. According to the oldest and universal idea, the Sun or the Moon is eaten, the eater is usually a dragon, the embodiment of primordial forces. Many peoples used to shout loudly during an eclipse and forge all kinds of rattling household objects. It was hoped that the dragon would be frightened by the noise and go away. Although the absence of the sun lasted only a few minutes and the total eclipse only a little over an hour and a half, the total blackout was perceptibly quick, and it is easy to imagine the panic it caused at a time when the arrival of eclipses was not very precisely known.

The presentation examines the beliefs narratives and folklore about the eclipses by the Finnic Ugric Peoples.

Winter fishing and the winter of fishing: social-ecological mutations at work within the Finnic communities of the Baltic

Anatole Danto (University of Tartu)

This oral presentation is based on ethnographic research carried out among various Finnic communities in the Baltic Sea watersheds. This long-term survey seeks to understand the interrelationships between human communities and their insular, coastal, marsh or riparian environments. In particular, it aims to decipher the changes at work affecting primary activities linked to the "wild": gathering, gleaning, hunting, fishing...

Winter is an ambivalent season in the multi-site field surveyed. First and foremost, it is a time for land-based activities, in preparation for the other seasons, when frost, ice and snow are absent (gear repairs, net raking, basketry practices, cutting down woody debris, etc.). But it is also the focus of a large number of hunting and fishing activities in aquatic environments, which take advantage of the cold season to target a particular species or territory, and, above all, the presence of ice. Contrary to popular belief, winter is just as important as any other season in community calendars. This season, the length of which varies according to multiple criteria, is

historically a season of opportunity: hunters and fishermen accumulate few reserves, and predation is used primarily for immediate food needs. This became anchored in local cosmologies, through the sedimentation of thoughts and representations. We can observe practices that specifically target the winter season, and have adapted strongly to it.

However, climate change, which is affecting this region in particular, is disrupting these historic community seasonal patterns. Coupled with other ongoing changes, notably socio-economic and political, the winter season now appears to be a season of uncertainty. These uncertainties are leading to a wide range of changes in practices, from abandonment or prohibition, through reorientation to emergence.

The aim of this talk is to show what winter means from an ethno-historical point of view for the Finnic communities of these territories, but also, and above all, to decipher the changes underway. These changes, which are rapid and brutal, certainly lead to adaptations, but above all to the disappearance of practices. A "winter of fishing" can also be observed in the field, making the perpetuation of many ancestral local activities totally uncertain.

But like any winter, a spring may follow: the aim is also to sketch out a few avenues of transformation in local societies, which may prove interesting to observe.

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Healing Charms and Healing with Animals

Mare Kõiva & Tadziana Valodzina (Estonian Literary Museum)

According to Katharina Leibring (2016), more special animal studies have been carried out in Scandinavia and Eastern European countries (Sweden: Leibring 2013, Kalske 2005, Germany: Nübling 2012, Austria: Reichmayr 2005, 2015). In addition to linguistic research, branchesof zooanthropology and zoofolkoristics developed as independent directions in Eastern and Southern Europe, including among Finnic-Ugric peoples (e.g. Gura 1997, 2006, Vinokurova 2011, Popova 2023, Lobanova 2023, Snoj 2023, Babič 2022, Golež Kaučič 2018, 2024, Toncheva 2022, Marjanič et al. 2007, 2022). More recently, attitudes with a folkloric, anthropological or ecological approach have been published in the USA (Thompson 2018, 2021), England, China and other Asian countries, with the view extended to indigenous peoples with a small number of language users and rich Asian cultures that have stayed away from observation.

We have observed the healing of animals with charms and healing people with animals in Finnic-Ugric traditions. We ask the following questions: What species of animals were used in

the healing rituals? What patterns of charming are manifested in our subject matter? What kind of knowledge is there behind the folk veterinary?

The research is based on quantitative as well as qualitative research methods; a qualitative analysis was carried out using folkloristic methods.

C.4: Traditional Creation and Modern Experience in Folk Music Revival

Oras, Särg

Leelo and a leaf flute.
Representatives of Estonian traditional music on stage at the 2nd half of the 20th century

Liina Saarlo (Estonian Literary Museum, Tartu)

In Estonia, performing traditional music on stage became a basic form of traditional music performance during the 20th century. Already between the two world wars, various stage performances of folk music were popular and went on tour around Estonian village houses, alternating between instrumental and vocal music, performances of customs, storytelling, etc. during the show. (e.g. Sildoja 2014.) These concerts had the enlightenment-educational, national and entertaining purposes as well. Both representatives of the traditional oral culture and (half) professional performers were present at these concerts. Such a form of performance gained even greater popularity during the Soviet period, during which stage performances of folk tradition – under the name of folk creations – were especially valued, elevated to the same level as representatives of classical music and arts. The performances took place on ever more prestigious and larger stages, all the way to the Estonian-wide general song and dance festivals. (Oras 2023) Despite the political agenda, performances like this kept traditional music in focus, and more generally, helped re-normalize traditional music among urbanizing Estonians, reducing and softening the invasion of European authorial classical and popular music, and Soviet propagandistic mass music as well.

In addition to professional actors-musicians – such as e.g. Laine Mesikäpp (Oras 2023) – emerged a kind of local prominent performers who acquired the status of a specialist and a symbol of a local tradition, and who embodied the local tradition both outside, for journalists, radio listeners, folklorists, and cultural officials, as well as inside, in the eyes of their own community.

These performers can be defined on the one hand by a great need for performance – performing on stage was a way of self-expression inherent to them. On the other hand, they could also be defined by a sense of mission, the presentation of the tradition was no way random choice, but they were indeed interested in the legacy of the past. Although they were completely modern people, having either received a contemporary cultural education, or being involved with modern cultural practices such as choral singing, or local history research, they felt obliged to share the knowledge and arts they had inherited from their parents with the modern world.

In Western Estonia, Eliise Emmeliine Junts, or Lääne Liisi (1918–2002) became such a symbolic specialist. A woman from a simple rural music-loving family emerged as a valued performer at both community and regional events, also reaching the Estonian-wide stage at the 1973 General Dancing Festival. She collaborated with folklorists in addition to folk music groups and composers, having correspondence e.g. with Veljo Tormis, the great figure of Estonian choir music. Today, she has gained the status of a memory symbol of her local community.

In the paper, I will study different aspects of Lääne Liisi's creative life, motivations for her practices and the reception of her performances in her community.

Contrary aspects of marginality versus being in focus which played important role both in her biography as well as creativity come under consideration. In the late 1940s she was repressed into the economic and social margins by the Soviet authorities, but this didn't stop her from coming on stage as early as the 1950s. She was a forerunner of cultural activities, the singer,

the folk music group leader, etc., but she did not perform on so-called soloist instruments, but rather on marginal, "joke instruments" such as leaf flute, bottle and keg instruments.

Finally, I also pay attention to the changing role of runosongs to her creativity and performative life. It is obvious that the poetic legacy of the Lääne Liisi included rather a newer, end-rhymed and literary singing tradition. The literary experiments of her youth were in the form of stanzaic poems. During her performing career she acquired the reputation of specialist of archaic traditions – which included also the knowledge and creative use of runosongs.

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The Role of Identity, Continuation, and Participation in the Finnish and Breton Revived Oral Song Traditions

Venla Sykäri (Finnish Literature Society, SKS)

In this paper, I will discuss the relation of the continuation of the tradition, especially in the form of intergenerational cooperation and transmission of knowledge, and questions of identity and the possibility for audience participation, to the practice and popularity of revived forms of oral singing. I will take up two different cases: the Finnish runosong and rekilaulu traditions, and the Breton dance song tradition *kan ha diskan.* All are traditions which for contemporary singers mean learning oral methods and styles based on orally transmitted songs texts and melodies from archives. The three traditions are stylistically very different, and in certain societal sense even opposite: the latter is connected to reviving a minority language identity and leans on substantial intergenerational continuation, whereas the runosong singing in Finland represents an interrupted tradition intentionally connected to a distant mythic past by generations of scholars. The rekilaulu songs are short rhyming couplets, which are today known as fixed-form folk songs by many, yet barely recognised as the vital improvisatory culture it was during its peak time.

In Finland, the revival of traditional oral singing chiefly concerns the epic and lyric runosong. During the 19th century, the runosong traditions were vital in eastern Finland and Russian Karelia, as western parts of Finland had already changed to rhymed oral models. Large part of the archived material derives from Karelian and Ingrian regions, which, as related to the Finnish national symbol Kalevala, has recently caused debates over linguistic identities and cultural appropriation. Oral transmission of the runosong singing stopped in Finland several generations ago, but in the 1980s, a small group of educated folk singers began to learn the runosong singing and methods of oral composition with the help of archived material. In addition, a small number of folk singers practice this form. Performers sing alone or alternate between lead singer and choir, and audience listens as in any contemporary concert. Small scale jam sessions are also organised. Despite the skills and depth of knowledge acquired in the genre by a number of artists, the traditional runosong has not gained popularity among the public at large. The more recent Finnish tradition of rhyming couplets, the *rekilaulu*, has remained entirely marginal in research but now enjoys a come back among a circle of folk singers, with jam sessions and workshops organized during the last couple of years.

Brittany in France is today one of foremost European scenes for performance of traditional music. In addition to musical instruments and songs that are performed alone or in groups, in the Breton speaking western and central Brittany this especially means dance music and a style

of vocal accompaniment of dance called *kan ha diskan* (“call and response”). *Kan ha diskan* is typically performed by two singers, sometimes three, in the following manner: the leading singer sings a verse, which the other singer repeats, with overlap in the last two or more syllables by both. The songs are performed in conventionally organized sets of melodic and rhythmic styles, which allow the dancers and singers to alternate pace and energy. The texts vary from dramatic ballads to different kinds of old narratives and funny, anecdotal songs.

As a performance style, the *kan ha diskan* relates to songs in Breton language that are performed for local Breton dances. Reviving the dance and singing culture thus relates to reviving and maintaining the use of Breton. By the mid-20th century, the vertical transmission of the Breton from parents to children stopped. In France Breton was not only forbidden at school but stigmatized as the language of peasants, and parents preferred French to give their children a better future. Therefore only few singers had internalized the Breton language as a child and continued to speak it, and when bringing the song texts and melodies back from archives, many singers learned a new language along with the songs. The song technique with repetition and overlap demands good knowledge of the song texts and Breton pronunciation. However, as the first revival of the local evening events with dance begun already in the 1960s, singers who were native in Breton took up the tradition, and the later 1990s revival could lean on native performers’ impact. First song courses were organized in early 1980s – at the same time the runosong begun to be learned and taught in Finland – but in Brittany the courses were taught by singers who were immersed in the practice as children and had already a long career as performers. Local dances as an activity that today engages a lot of people has secured a very large popularity for the song revival.

The goal of the analysis of the different consequences for these traditions that rely on the singer’s knowledge of pre-modern oral song forms is to discuss what else, beyond skills and enthusiasm of the performer, shapes song revival movements and the possibilities they provide.

Revitalizing Besermyan *Krezh’*: From the Original Sources to the Stage Versions

Maria Korepanova (Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre, Tallinn)

There is always an essential difference in the performance of traditional music in its authentic environment and on stage. Even if the performers are "authentic" bearers of tradition, music and music-making change their original meaning on stage, since they are taken out of the context of vernacular culture. In the case of the contemporary revivalist process, however, this difference is multiplied because of the specific motivation and cultural background of all participants in the musical event – the musicians themselves and their audience.

This paper will discuss the challenges of being a professional stage folk music performer and the strategies for solving them. The modern stage performer faces different expectations of the audience than it was in the original folk environment. The stage musician is expected to have a high level of professional skills, a creative approach to interpreting music, and at the same time a commitment to the genuineness of musical content and of the experience being created. The performer's own motivation may vary, but it usually includes the desire to give a second life to the folkloric tradition they are practicing, and in doing so, to implement their own creative ideas.

The author of the paper, being a stage performer of Besermyan *krezh*'es (northern Udmurtia) and their long-term collector and researcher, based on her own experience of revitalization of this disappearing folklore tradition, will analyze different strategies of both revivalist activity and the realization of her musical creative pursuits. Using the examples of the author's concert projects, the author will discuss autobiographically such different approaches to the revitalization and actualization of this ancient vocal genre as a analytical and performing

attempt to restore the improvisational and variation techniques of *krezh*'es; an experiment in the fusion of traditional and modern free improvisation; and placing *krezh*'es in the context of folk tales and legends. The ultimate goal of these experiments is to create authenticity of the traditional music experience both from the performer's and the audience's point of view.

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The Musical Patterns of Torupilli Juss – Variations in the Bagpipe Playing of Juhan Maaker (1845-1930)

Kadri Allikmäe (University of Tartu's Viljandi culture academy)

Before the 19th century, the Estonian bagpipe was the only instrument used to perform at dances, weddings, fairs, work parties, and other social gatherings in Estonia. We know very little about how the tunes were actually played. The main research issue this master's thesis, "The Musical Patterns of Torupilli Juss - Variations in the Bagpipe Playing of Juhan Maaker," seeks to address is to determine what musical form (as is known today in traditional music) existed in the bagpipe songs of one of the last traditional masters of the Estonian bagpipe. The music of Juhan Maaker, a native of Emmaste Parish on Hiiumaa Island was born in 1845 and died in 1930, was recorded, and based on this information, we can obtain more knowledge about how the Estonian bagpipe was traditionally played. The first aim of this thesis is to analyze the musical form of the bagpipe tunes of Juhan Maaker, in order to determine how a traditional player used to play them. The second aim is to enrich the vocabulary of Estonian folk music research and to find practical tools that a modern day player of Estonian bagpipe could use to understand the traditional way of playing better, and to provide information to current bagpipe players on how to recreate a similar way of playing in a live concert situation today.

The research materials used for this thesis were transcriptions made by the modern folk musician Cätlin Mägi of Juhan Maaker's music, which was recorded two times in 1921 by the Estonian composer Cyrillus Kreek and his research colleagues – Johannes Muda and Andrei Laredei, as well as by the Finnish folklore collector Armas Otto Väisänen. In total, 16 recordings, including 16 transcriptions (scores) of eight different labajalg dance tunes were investigated.

Different levels of Juhan Maaker´s music were analyzed and the research questions were:

1. What is the general form of the tunes?
2. How does the player play tunes that were played twice or thrice differently at different recording times?
3. How does the musician variate with the smallest musical thought – a musical motif (equals with 1 bar in the 3⁄8 methric rhythm)?
4. Which parts of the form has the musician varied most frequently and how exactly?
5. What can be concluded from the bagpipe playing of Juhan Maaker? How could one use the results of this research in a live concert situation today?

Musical form analysis was used as a method to compare the musical form of the same tune recorded at different times and to also analyze the variations of separation notes and the melodic and rhythmic variations of musical motifs that he used to use most often. As a side method, playing through these tunes with an Estonian bagpipe and an electronic Techopipe bagpipe was used to comprehend the musical thinking of Juhan Maaker better.

For the form analysis, I constructed a special colour-based method that allowed me to visualize different units of musical pieces (like motifs, parts, and playthroughs) in comparison to the system of motifs or parts being named only with letters or numbers that is and has mostly been used by researchers. The aim of this was to outline the musical playing pattern of the player more efficiently and to illustrate the differences of the parts, similarly to ethnic belt patterns, where the pattern is clearly visible.

About the Process of Singing and the Conception of Authenticity in the 21st-Century Estonian *Regilaul* Tradition

Taive Särg (Estonian Literary Museum), Marion Selgall & Helena Trei (Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre)

According to the history of the Estonian language, the verb *laulma* 'to sing' predates the noun *laul* 'song', which is derived from the verb (Kasik 2015). The linguistic usage in folk song *regilaul* suggests that verb forms dominate among words with the *laul-* stem, indicating that in traditional song texts, singing was primarily discussed as an activity rather than songs as objects. Moreover, the *laul* in *regilaul* texts could appear as an indivisible entity, as illustrated in verses such as: "There's plenty of song if I let it out, plenty of tune if I roll it along" (Särg, Veskis 2024). In today's music world, shaped by written culture and audio recordings, the central focus has shifted to the *work*, i.e., the individual song.

Regilaul (or runosong), the Finnic singing heritage with a long history, has adapted to contemporary Estonia, existing both as a distinct tradition and in fusion with other musical styles. *Regilaul* is performed collectively in both (partially preserved) traditional settings, such as by the Seto *leelo* choirs, and new contexts. The *regilaul* singing skills, once fading, have been revived across Estonia and are taught in music education (since 2007 also at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre) and in workshops, many organized by Janika Oras and the folk song group *Väike Hellero*. Numerous arrangements of *regilaul* and new music, inspired by it, have been created; to name a few, 21st-century examples include choral arrangements by composer Pärt Uusberg, rock arrangements by Trad.Attack!, and tradition-adjacent renditions by Celia Roose with various ensembles.

This presentation addresses questions arising from the tension between preserving and innovating the traditional features of *regilaul* performance and the associated discourse on authenticity. As orally transmitted folk music originates from the past, its performance in a new era is influenced by the desire to sing in a way resembling the original and the need to provide meaningful experiences for today's audiences.

Modern *regilaul* performances usually are structured around the concept of the *work*, as seen in concert programs and album tracklists. However, some musical events aim to organise singing as a continuous process. An example is Jaak Johanson's (1959–2021) "Gate Games", where participants moved through the city while singing together.

In music, and especially in historical music, authenticity has served as a criterion for good performance. This concept is subjective, multi-faceted, and encompasses various aspects of performance. While 20th-century musicology often associated authenticity with the supposed "correct" rendition of a written musical work, later scholarship has emphasized the sincerity of the performer's and listener's experience. An authentic performance has been defined as the ability to create, based on a notated work, a cohesive harmony between adherence to period traditions, the performer's artistic intuition, and audience reception and expectations (Mardhatillah et al. 2023).

Similarly, in the late 20th-century discourse on folk music revival, the category of authenticity (or analogous terms such as 'tradition' or 'genuineness') was frequently used to analyse and evaluate performance characteristics. Here the authenticity defines the relationship between the source and the performer to the presumed "correct" performance. Different aspects of authenticity have been distinguished, such as the authenticity of process, result, or audience experience (Ronström 2014). Today, aesthetic(s) of folklore revival, influenced by prior local musical experiences and global music, integrate authenticity as one of their components.

We examine 21st-century ideas of good *regilaul* singing, drawing on press materials and the Regilaul Conference roundtable (2023), as well as *regilaul* singing occasions, such as the Forest Song Festivals (since 2018), and Regitram during the International Music Day (2024). Our focus lies on the categories through which the ideals of contemporary *regilaul* are achieved. One such categories is often a poetic form, but there may also be a process-like, partly improvised participatory singing.

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Estonian and Finnsih Folk Music Festivals as Part of Traditional Music Revival

Helen Kõmmus (Estonian Folklore Archives of Estonian Literary Museum)

Folk music festivals have played a significant role in the global traditional music revival since the 1960s until nowadays. Considering this, the presentation seeks to answers the following questions: How can contemporary Estonian and Finnish folk music festivals bring out and enhance the characteristics of local folk music? What part have Estonian and Finnish folk music festivals in traditional music revival movement? The research is based on the fieldwork conducted since 2004 at the Kaustinen Folk Music Festival (Fin. Kaustisen kansanmusiikkijuhlat, founded in 1968) in Finland and the Viljandi Folk Music Festival (Est. Viljandi pärimusmuusika festival, founded in 1993) in Estonia (Kõmmus 2023). Methodologically the study applies phenomenological qualitative research methods, including participant observation and interviews (Orbe 2009). The theoretical framework relies on the studies related to folk music revival, Finnic traditional music and folk music festivals (Kuutma 1998; Laitinen 2003; Rüütel & Tiit 2005, 2006; Ronström 2014). The presentation reveals how a comparative study of current folk music festivals of linguistically, culturally, and historically related Estonian and Finnish peoples highlights significant features of their folk music. It also offers perspectives to comprehend the practices and processes of local folk music festivals in the context of global traditional music revival.

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A Touch That Stays with You: Reviving a Traditional Singing Wedding in South Estonia

Janika Oras (Estonian Folklore Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum &
Triin Rätsep (Seto singer, food service entrepreneur in South Estonia)

This paper examines the revival of traditional wedding ritual in a wedding in southern Estonia in 2023. One of the aims of the three-day celebration was to experience and reinterpret in a modern context the meanings of songs and singing that have played a central role in Finnic wedding ritual. In particular, we focus on the experience of wedding singers, who recreated songs in a historical style that were intended to address modern couple and wedding guests. The extensive use of old wedding songs, which are distinctive in both style and language, raises questions about the inclusivity and exclusivity of the singing - prompting an exploration of how other wedding participants (non-singers) perceived the singing and the entire ritual process.

Based on in-depth interviews and the authors' own experiences as participants, the study shows that while wedding singers felt an exceptionally strong sense of communal energy, some non-singers struggled with the exclusivity of songs in the old style of singing at certain moments, particularly due to unfamiliar language and content. However, several emotional and participatory aspects of the wedding ritual helped to unite the whole group and allowed non-singers to feel included: moments of communal singing of familiar songs, having a personal role in the course of the wedding, and the energising effect of skilful verbal and embodied improvisation enabled by the open structure of the ritual.

D.1: Transdisciplinary approach in the studies of the human past

Tambets, Saag, Kush

Two asbestos-tempered Early Metal Period pottery types in the Eastern Finland, c. 3000-1500 calBP and their connections with protolanguages

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This paper concentrates on two Late Bronze Age – Early Iron Age (i.e. Early Metal Period) pottery types in Finland: Luukonsaari and Sirnihta Wares. This time period was important for the forming and development of the cultural areas later recognized as Iron Age farming societies (coastal groups) and hunter-gatherer societies (inland and northern groups), where the latter was also the economical context for the two types of pottery studied here. This was also the period when the Saami and Finnic languages appeared for the first time in the linguistic map of the area of modern Finland due to which we also discuss the potential connections between these ceramic types and these two groups of languages.

We start with the basics by exploring the typological aspects of these pottery types and by presenting new radiocarbon dates connected with them as until now they have been only vaguely defined and dated. Bayesian modelling of the existing dates together with our new dates puts Luukonsaari Ware in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (c. 2800-2100 cal BP), whereas Sirnihta Ware is considerably younger, belonging to Early Iron Age (c. 2000-1450 calBP).

Once a solid typo-chronological background is set, we discuss more general questions such as 1) the contacts of Luukonsaari and Sirnihta Ware to other contemporary pottery groups (e.g., Paimio, Morby, Kjelmøy, and Anttila Wares) 2) the importance of Textile Ware in the formation of asbestos-tempered Luukonsaari and Sirnihta Wares and 3) potential connections with the proto-languages spoken in the region.

We conclude that populations using Luukonsaari and Sirnihta Wares probably had connections with contemporary pottery groups as both Sirnihta Ware and Luukonsaari Ware share typological features with the contemporary rock-tempered Morby Ware from the coastal regions even though they differ in their temper material. There is also an interesting connection between Textile Ware and the two studied pottery types. Textile Ware was usually rock-tempered, but there is also evidence of asbestos-tempered Textile Ware that date close to the start of the Luukonsaari period and exist in the same geographical area (Kainuu and Northern Savonia; see also Lavento 2001).

Considering the connections with languages and archaeology, it needs to be borne in mind that archaeological continuity rarely correlates with linguistic continuity (see e.g. Aikio & Aikio 2001; Piha et al 2022). As a result, correlation between archaeological and linguistic continuity can be proven only if linguistic studies on the language in question allows it. Based on Germanic loanword evidence Saami and Finnic were spoken in Finland during the Early Iron Age, possibly already in the late phase of Late Bronze Age (Häkkinen 2010, Kallio 2015, Schalin 2018). Thus considering the proposed times and the suggested locations of Proto-Finnic

in Estonia (Lang 2020) and Proto-Saami in Finland (Aikio 2006), the most likely connection between these two proto-languages and the two pottery types studied here is the one with Proto-Saami and Sirnihta Ware.

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Uralic spread, Seima-Turbino and flower pots

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The seminal paper by Grünthal et al. (2022) advances a new scenario of Proto-Uralic disintegration and spread. They suggest a rapid spread of Uralic languages through Common Uralic, a dialect continuum whose breakup formed the Finno-Ugric language families. They suggest that the vector for Uralic spread was the Seima-Turbino trading network (ST), within which the Uralic languages were used as lingua franca. The key hypothesis in the Sejma-Turbino scenario is that the trade network would have consisted of representatives of different Eurasian cultural groups, for whom a common language would have been necessary. Timing of the disintegration of Proto-Uralic would have taken places during the ST, which was an intensive but short-lasting period about 4200-3800 years ago.

The scenario entails multiple testable hypotheses, e.g. 1) Do studies replicating the dating of the of Uralic family support the idea of rapid spread and division of a dialect continuum about 4000 years ago? 2) Would genetical studies support the idea that the participants of ST trading network were from different origins - so that they would have needed to acquire a common language? 3) What kind of legacy we assume to see in the language structure in the case that it spread as lingua franca, as a language spoken by adult learners or as L2 language?

In this presentation I summarise a review paper by Vesakoski, Salmela and Piezonka (2025) and a phylolinguistic paper by Vesakoski, Tresoldi, de Heer, Soosaar, Syrjänen & Dunn (submitted ms), in order to comment on the above mentioned questions from archaeological, archaeogenetic and linguistic point of views. In short, phylogenetic studies support the rapid spread about 4000 years ago and hint for de-complexification of the language structure. The hypothesis of Uralic languages as this lingua franca is supported by the fact that the ancient DNA results of individuals buried near the Altai Mountains in the Sejma-Turbino context show a very diverse genetic background - individuals or families from different regions would have specifically needed a common language.

We putatively identified a new communication space that can be visualized based on the archaeological material of the Altai and Saian mountains, the common characteristic of which can be considered "flower pot-shaped" pottery (Piezonka et al. 2024). This network could be called the "flowerpot complex". However, existence of such complex necessitates further archaeological studies.

In our scenario the characteristic Sejma-Turbino bronze objects would have originated in the south of the area of this flowerpot complex, and that it was this flowerpot complex that would have been the intermediary matrix of Sejma-Turbino in general. This scenario supports the suggestion that the original homeland of the Uralic languages would have been in the foothills of the Sayan Mountains (Peyrot 2019, Bjørn 2022), in which case the Samoyedic languages would have remained there (Janhunen 2022), whereas Common Uralic would have spread westward within the Sejma-Turbino contact network. The region of Western Siberia would instead have been a secondary homeland for the Finno-Ugric languages, while the "bend of the Volga" would have been a tertiary homeland for the "Western Uralic languages". Each angle of this scenario – and coupling is with any genetic ancestries – can and should be further tested within respective disciplines.

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Eastern Finnic populations: genetic structure inferred from genome-wide and Y-chromosome data in light of historical data

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There is a certain consensus between archaeologists, linguists and geneticists that the Proto-Finnic populations have developed about 3000 years ago (Lang 2024: 416). Eastern Finnic populations, including Karelians, Veps, Votes, Ingrians, and Ingrian Finns, are a significant component of the Finnic history. However, they still remain understudied, also from the genetic point of view (but see e.g. Ilumäe et al. 2016; Tambets et al. 2018; Balanovska, Chernevskiy & Balanovsky 2021; Németh & Szeverényi 2024 mentioning some of those groups).

In this work (cf. Agdzhoyan et al. 2024), we explore the gene pools of Karelians (Northern, Tver, Ludic, and Livvi), Veps, Ingrians, Votes, and Ingrian Finns using both Y-chromosome markers (N=357) and genome-wide autosomes (N=123). The data is analysed with statistical, bioinformatic, and cartographic methods.

The autosomal gene pool of eastern Finnic populations can be divided into two large categories based on our results of PCA and ADMIXTURE modeling:

a. "Karelia" — Veps, Northern, Ludic, Livvi, and Tver Karelians;
b. "Ingria" — Ingrians, Votes, Ingrian Finns.

This clustering reflects the major areal groupings of the populations in question.

The Y-chromosomal gene pool of Eastern Finnic populations is more diverse than the autosomal gene pool and contains three main genetic components:

a. “Northern” — prevails in Northern Karelians and Ingrian Finns;
b. “Karelian” — prevails in Livvi, Ludic, and Tver Karelians;
c. “Southern” — prevails in Votes.

Ingrians and Veps occupy intermediate positions. Both are close to Northern Russians (which are outside the aforementioned three clusters) but also gravitate towards each other and to Novgorod Russians (which are part of the “Southern” cluster, together with Votes), while Ingrians additionally gravitate towards the “Northern” and the “Karelian” cluster.

We argue that this general Y-chromosome clustering reflects the genetic ancestry of all the popupations in question. In particular, our phylogeographic analysis has found that the Y-haplogroup N3a4-Z1927 carriers are frequent among most Eastern Finnic populations, as well as among some Northern Russian and Central Russian populations. This haplogroup is also frequent on the territory of Finland (Preussner et al. 2024). The founder of this haplogroup lived about 2400 years ago, but a rapid population growth among his descendants, according to the analysed data, occurred about 1700-2000 years ago. This growth chronologically corresponds to the archaeological period of the so-called “typical” *Tarand* graves (I-IV c. AD),characteristic of Estonia, northern and western Latvia, south-western Finland and north-western Russia during the Roman Iron Age (Lang 2018: 174-77, 306-7). The Y-haplogroup N3a4, however, is relatively rare among Estonians (Ilumäe et al. 2016), so its founder might have rather originated from a territory outside the center of the Tarand culture, potentially from its easternmost part which was a starting point for the Finnic migrations to the east.

In the talk, our genetic findings will be discussed in the context of what is known about the Eastern Finnic groups from the archaeological, linguistic, and other historical sources.

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Mothers on the move – thousands of complete mitochondrial sequences reveal the layered formation of the common maternal genepool of Finland and Estonia.

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We undertook a large-scale population-based examination of the maternal genepool of several populations residing in the Circum-Baltic Area. For this purpose, we collected over 6000 complete mtDNA sequences from Estonia, Finland, Sweden, Latvia and Poland with additional modern and ancient haploid genomes from published sources. We reconstructed maximum parsimony trees for all of these sequences and revealed shared monophyletic clusters common to the Circum-Baltic region. The shared mitochondrial genepool of Estonia, Finland and Sweden comprises temporally structured layers of maternal lineages stemming from the Late Neolithic to the Middle Ages. We discuss the association of some of these lineages with movement of peoples uncovered by archaeology and research on Y-chromosome and ancient DNA. We detect an increase in maternal effective population size during the Iron Age, coinciding with the diversification time of the Finnic languages. Contrasting the general notion of relatively homogenous mitochondrial genepool of Europe, the phylogeny-informed approach allows us to detect a geographic pattern previously associated primarily with male lineages. Almost 40% of Finnish mtDNA sequences belong to monophyletic clusters common with linguistically related Estonians, whereas below 8% are shared with geographically close Swedish population. In Estonia, roughly 15% of mtDNA sequences belong to shared Finnish-Estonian clusters, whereas 7% form common clusters with the Latvian samples. Despite known Swedish settlements from recent history, less than 2% of Estonian mtDNA samples form common clusters with Swedes.

Finnic females?
Tracing the origin of the women in the Proto-Finnic-speaking Eastern Baltic

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Speakers of Proto-Finnic are thought to have arrived in the Eastern Baltic by the beginning of the Iron Age (ca. 500 BCE; Kallio 2015). Meanwhile, the archaeological and ancient-DNA (aDNA) record from the region of modern-day Estonia attest to a concurrent change in the material culture and in the gene pool (Lang 2016, Saag *et al.* 2019). Specifically, aDNA has highlighted the appearance of Siberian-like ancestry, both in the paternally inherited Y-chromosomal haplogroups and genome-wide, by the Early Iron Age at the latest (Saag *et al.* 2019). This ancestry is still present in the extant Estonian population (Ilumäe *et al.* 2016, Tambets *et al.* 2018). As the frequency of this ancestry is higher in Y chromosomes than genome-wide – in the ancient and extant populations alike – and as Y-chromosomal haplogroups are only carried by males, the population movements relating to their arrival have often been postulated to have been male-dominated; however, such views have also been criticized recently (Moilanen *et al.* 2023). Notably, the existing aDNA record rests almost exclusively on males, shadowing the possible role of women in the arrival of the Siberian-like ancestry and the Finnic language. In this study, we have explicitly focused on studying females from the Early Iron Age *tarand* cemetery of Kunda Hiiemägi in present-day Northern Estonia.

With the use of aDNA analysis and radiocarbon dating as well as provenance and diet-related isotopes, we will provide a glimpse into the daily lives of Early Iron Age populations and illuminate the complex population dynamics behind the cultural transition at the arrival of Finnic languages to the Eastern Baltic.

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Archaeogenetic study of historic Livs

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The Late Iron Age and early medieval period were a dynamic time in the Eastern Baltic region for the formation of various ethnic groups. One such group was the Livs, who inhabited the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, with their core settlements concentrated around the lower reaches of the Daugava and Gauja rivers. There are notable records that describe the history and culture of medieval Livs. They were mentioned in the 13th-century *Livonian Chronicle of Henry*, lending their name to the historical region of Livonia, which includes present-day southern Estonia and Latvia. The Livic language, belonging to the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic language family, was replaced by Latvian over the centuries but is undergoing a revival process since the restoration of Latvian independence.

The Livs played an important role in the history of the Finnic-speaking groups in the Eastern Baltic, so understanding their origins and mutual influences with other groups is important for better comprehending the processes that shaped the genetic and cultural landscape of the region. Given the inherent difficulties in using individuals from the present-day Latvian territory with alleged Livic ancestry to study the historic Livs, the analysis of DNA from human remains in archaeological sites of Livic/Finnic context can offer crucial insights for understanding the origins of the Livs and, more widely, Finnic speaking groups in Eastern Europe.

In this study, we aim to investigate the population structure of the Livs and their genetic connections to medieval/early modern and contemporary populations from the eastern Baltic region using ancient DNA (aDNA). We generated whole-genome sequences from individuals dating to the Late Iron Age and early medieval period (10th to early 13th century AD) from what is now Latvia. Our final dataset includes 56 ancient genomes that passed authenticity and contamination checks, with a minimum coverage of 0.03x, enabling downstream population

genetic analyses. This includes 40 individuals from two Livic burial sites, Ogresgala Čabas and Salaspils Laukskola. In addition, there are 16 individuals from other Late Iron Age and medieval sites across eastern Latvia, including the southeastern (Kivti, Kristapiņi, Augustinišķi), northeastern (Asaru/Buliņu, Daņilovka), and northern (Jaunpiebalga) regions, which are mainly associated with Latgalians (Baltic cultural context) and are used as a comparative background from neighbouring territories. Genetic analysis showed that the investigated individuals exhibit close affinity to modern populations from Eastern Europe, with Livic individuals displaying significant genetic diversity. We examined identical-by-descent genomic segments shared between ancient as well as between ancient and modern individuals. Our findings indicate that the Livs were genetically closer to other ancient individuals from Latvia than to those from Estonia, with the exception of individuals from the Siksälä site from the south-easternmost corner of Estonia who showed the opposite pattern.

Northward spread of Samoyedic: linguistic evidence

Olesya Khanina (University of Helsinki) &
Asap Idimeshev (Uzbek Academy of Sciences)

This is the first talk in the series where we join evidence and perspectives from three disciplines, linguistics (this abstract), archaeology (abstract by A.Idimeshev), and paleoecology (abstract by N.Rudaya), to reconstruct the northward spread of Samoyedic languages.

To begin with, Proto-Samoyedic (PS) was spoken much to the south of the current Northern Samoyedic (NS) area, as based on several types of linguistic evidence. First, Proto-Uralic (PU) was most probably spoken in southern Siberia, as corroborated by the reconstructed lexicon related to the environment, by present locations of the Uralic languages, and by loanwords from Indo-Iranian (II) (cf. a summary of the hypothesis in Grünthal et al. (2022); there is some debate about exact location of PU along the east-west axis, but no one doubts its southern location in respect to the modern NS languages). Second, PS flora and fauna lexicon, as analysed by Helimski (2000), point to southern Siberian taiga, not to the Arctic environment. Finally, many terms for the Arctic environment differ in the NS languages, as shown by Gusev (In prep.); this implies that they were not inherited from a common protolanguage but developed independently. This also indicates that these languages came to the Arctic areas separately, e.g. in several northward spurts from the PS homeland, *contra* Helimski 2000: 23 (or from the Proto-NS homeland: if such a protolanguage existed, it was neither spoken in the Arctic given the variation in the lexicon). Gusev & Khanina (Subm.) provide non-lexical (phonological and morphological) evidence that NS languages diversified first, but were in secondary contacts later, and thus indirectly support the hypothesis that joint inhabitation of the Arctic by NS speakers is incidental and not evidence for their protolanguage being spoken here. Besides, the cognacy of the NS names for the Yenisei river (Helimski 2000, Janhunen 2012), or for a 'big river/sea' for modern groups unfamiliar with the river itself, may indicate that the NS speakers did not withdraw from the Yenisei area during diversification of their languages.

As for the time frame of the northward spread, linguistics suggests the following. First, clear II borrowings are absent from PS but are attested in abundance in all other Uralic branches, with earliest layers dated 4000 BP (Holopainen 2019). Grünthal et al. (2022) suggest that the split of Samoyedic from PU had to happen earlier, but not much earlier, given the good preservation of the PU morphology and regular phonological evolution of PU vocabulary in PS. Samoyedic languages share numerous phonological and morphological innovations, and so it is quite probable that at least another millennium passed before diversification of PS. If northward spreads of Samoyedic languages were accompanied by cultural spreads – and it is hard to imagine it differently, given the dramatic influence of Samoyedic onto linguistic map of Western Siberia – archaeological evidence for such spreads starting 3000 BP can be consulted to fine-tune the time frame. After 3000 BP, the first northward movement of a cultural tradition are the latest stages of the northward dissemination

of Andronoid and Post-Andronoid cultures to steppe, forest-steppe, and southern taiga zones of Western Siberia (3400-2800 BP), (Shun'kov 2022: 456-481). Since Andronovo is associated with II speakers, the lack of visible II influence in PS suggests that PS was not yet spoken in the area, and so its spread to the area happened later. The next noticeable northward spread of a cultural tradition is Kulai dated 2300 BP, and we take it then as the earliest possible time for the linguistic spread. Finally, by 1100 BP the middle Ob' area saw influx of numerous socially dominant groups speaking individual Turkic languages (Chindina 1991). Since no Common Turkic influence onto PS can be seen (Helimski 2000: 17-18), in contrast to numerous later contacts between individual Turkic and Samoyedic languages, disintegration of PS had to happen before that. Thus, the northward spread of Samoyedic most probably happened at some point between 2300 and 1100 BP.

So linguistic evidence points to a northward spread of Samoyedic languages from Southern/Central Yenisei to the Yeniseian Arctic. The spread took place between 2300-1100 BP and happened in several waves or spurts. Hence, a question to archaeology can be formulated: Are there any known archaeological cultures that are attested both in the south (earlier) and in the north (later) of the vast Yenisei-Ob' area? If one or several material traditions that relocated in the similar directions at the similar time frame can be discovered, linguistic and cultural migrations could be linked as concomitant.

Besides, Khanina (2022), based on an overview of earlier research, suggested that (a) the northward spread of Samoyedic could be connected to emergence of reindeer herding, (b) another northward spread of some NS languages took place in the end of the 17th cent. Archaeological evidence for the former and climatic drivers for the latter can be checked out.

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Northward spread of Samoyedic: archaeological evidence

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Based on the available linguistic data, about 2.3-1.1 ka BP Samoyedic speaking groups started spreading northwards after the breakup of Proto-Samoyedic in the Middle or Upper reaches of the Ob or Yenisei (see abstract by O. Khanina).

During this period, 2.3-1.1 ka BP, five northward cultural spreads in the Ob and Yenisei basins are distinguished on archaeological evidence: (1) Nizhneporozhinsk (3 cent. BC); (2) Kamensko-Makovsk (2 cent. BC); (3) Shilka (1 cent. AD); (4) Thin -cordons ceramics cultures (1 cent. AD – 9-10 cent. AD); (5) Kulai-Relka-Vozhpai (3 cent. BC – 9-10 cent. AD).

1. In the 6 cent. BC, under the influence of the Tagar culture, the Nizhneporozhinsk culture developed in the southern taiga zone of Middle Yenisei. In the 3 cent. BC, part of this population

spread north along Yenisei, presumably ousted by the Kamensko-Makovsk variant of the Tsepan culture, which arrived from the Angara region into the Nizhneporozhinsk culture territory (Mandryka, 2018).

2. In the 2 cent. BC, the Kamensko-Makovsk variant, under pressure from the Shilka culture, also spread northward along Yenisei. There, it merged with the Nizhneporozhinsk to form the Malokorennino culture of Taimyr (Mandryka, 2018).

3. The Shilka culture, which contained components of the nomadic cultures of the Xiongnu period, including the Tes, penetrated into the southern taiga zone of Middle Yenisei and Lower Angara in the 2 cent. BC. In the 1 cent. AD, part of the Shilka culture population spread northward to the lower reaches of the Yenisei. There they also participated in the formation of the Malokorennino and Ust-Cherninsk cultures of Tajmyr (Mandryka, 2018).

4. The thin-cordons ceramics cultures diffused in the Ob and Yenisei basins from the taiga regions of Southern Siberia, starting at the beginning of the new era. Later, thin-cordons ceramics are classified as the Yazaevo type of the southern taiga zone of the Angara-Yenisei interfluve, dated to the second quarter of the 1 millennium AD (Senotrusova et al., 2023). In the 4-6 cent. AD, the Aikan complexes of thin-cordons ceramics stretched along the taiga zone of Middle and Lower Yenisei and the lower reaches of Angara. From the 5 to the 9 cent. AD, thin-cordons ceramics were widely spread across Western Siberia: in Kansk and Krasnoyarsk forest-steppe, Northern Angara, Middle Ob, Tomsk region (Chindina, 1991; Okuneva, 1997). In the second half of the 1st millennium – beginning of the 2nd millennium, ceramics with thin-cordons appeared on the Taimyr peninsula (Khlobystin, 1998).

5. The Kulai culture formed in the 5 cent. BC in the Middle Ob region. In the 3 cent. BC, there was a significant southward expansion of this culture to the Lower and Upper Ob region, the interfluve of the Ob and Yenisei, Ob and Irtysh (Chindina, 1984). In the 6 cent. AD, new cultures formed on the basis of Kulai: in the Upper Ob region – Verkhneob and Odintsovo; in the Middle Ob region – Relka. In the 9 cent. AD., the Vozhpai culture formed under its influence in the Middle Ob region; Vozhpai sites at the Middle and Lower Ob region and in Taimyr date to the 9-10 cent. AD (Chindina, 1991; Khlobystin, 1998).

As for the emergence of reindeer herding as a possible northward driving factor, there is currently no archaeological evidence of any reindeer-accompanied northward movement of people. The two earliest locations with evidence of reindeer domestication are one in the north – Ust-Poluy in the Yamal peninsula (3 cent. BC – 2 cent. AD) (Gusev & Plekhanov, 2021) and the other in the south – Syry Chaatas in the Minusinsk Basin (1-4 cent. AD) (Kyzlasov, 1952). However, there is no evidence of reindeer domestication in the vast territory between the two locations before modern era.

Any of the five cultural spreads considered in the paper can potentially be correlated with the northward spread of Northern Samoyedic languages. While the connection was earlier suggested for (5), (1)-(4) were not mentioned in this role before. Besides, it is worth noting that subsequent northward spreads of cultural traditions along Ob and Yenisei cannot be considered as concomitant with the linguistic spread. Indeed, in the 6 cent. AD the territory of the Sayan-Altai was occupied by groups speaking individual Common Turkic languages; in the 9-10 cent. AD turkization extended also to more northern territories, including the southern taiga zone of the Middle Yenisei and the southern part of the Middle Ob (Chindina, 1991). Since Proto-Samoyedic had no contacts with Common Turkic, northward spread of Samoyedic had to occur before the expansions of these cultures.

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Northward spread of Samoyedic: environmental evidence

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The studied period is determined by the earliest possible time of the northward spread of Samoyedic languages from their Proto-Samoyedic homeland ca. 2.3-1.1 ka BP (see abstract by O. Khanina). We consider the main area of migration of speakers of future Northern Samoyedic languages in the Ob-Yenisei interfluve, assuming that the population could move along Ob or along Yenisei. Archaeological research indicates that five different waves of northward population migrations have been recorded in the Ob-Yenisei interfluve during the period under study (see abstract by A. Idimeshev). The reasons for these migrations have not been established by archaeological research, but we can assume that socio-economic processes, climatic changes, or both may have caused them.

The short period between 2.8 and 2.5 ka is characterized by a pronounced cooling and an increase in humidity in northern Europe and the entire Northern Hemisphere. Che Lan (2021) analysed the data obtained from various palaeoarchives in Central Asia (including southern western Siberia) for the Scythian period (850-200 BC) and concluded that this period was characterised by increased humidity, which provided opportunities for movements of the Scythian population in this arid area.

This wet cooling is replaced by warming under the more arid climate (Wanner et al., 2011). The first two waves of the northward spread (Nizhneporozhinsk and Kamensko-Makovsk), dated to 2.3-2 ka BP, and the onset of the other three, Shilka, Thin-Cordon and Kulai-Ryolka-Vozhpai waves, may coincide with the climatic warming and aridisation observed at the turn of the millennium. This is recorded both for the Northern Hemisphere as a whole and more locally for Taymyr (Klemm et al., 2015) and the southern taiga of Western Siberia (Kurina et al., 2022; Willis et al., 2015). This warming may be related to the Roman Warm Period described for Europe and the North Atlantic, which lasted from about 250 BC to 400 AD (Cambell et al., 1998).

Climate becomes colder and wetter by around 1.8-1.6 ka BP. The subsequent cold period AD (300)400 - 765, the Dark Age Cold Period, marks the transition between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages and is characterised by global population migrations in Europe. At the time, arid Central Asia was experiencing a severe drought (Helama et al, 2017). This may have caused the population to migrate northwards. We can therefore tentatively conclude that the active northward migration of populations began not with climate cooling, but with climate warming, and was probably not linked to reindeer ecology, as hypothesized earlier (e.g. Khanina 2022). South of the possible Proto-Samoyedic homeland, the steppe cultures, e.g. in the Minusink Basin and even as far south as Central Asia, did indeed experience more dramatic climate changes. This means that their climate-driven northward movement may have ousted

Samoyedic speakers from the possible Proto-Samoyedic homeland (Yenisei-bound cultural groups) and caused their northward movement.

The second, more local, wave of the spread of Samoyedic languages occurred at the end of the 17th century, when the various northern Samoyedic languages moved further north. This period coincides with the Little Ice Age phase in the Northern Hemisphere (AD1350 - 1800, Mayewski et al., 2004). The driving forces behind this wave of people moving to the tundra can be either natural, such as increased forest fires and a cooling climate that is more favourable for reindeer, or socio-economic, such as more southern groups moving north, fur tribute, etc.

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Reflection of the multicomponent culture of the Kazym Khanty in folklore materials about the goddess *Vut-imi*

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The most important component of the traditional culture of the Ob Ugrians are the cults of patron spirits - outstanding heroic ancestors, whose images occupy a significant place in folklore. In ancient times, the deified person gradually turned into a means of existence of society, the organization of its life. The cult of the ancestor can be considered as a cultural factor and even a cultural model of traditional society, which served the goals of survival and adaptation of people to new historical conditions, building relationships with the outside world. Their influence could extend to all dialect-ethnographic groups or be associated only with local communities and specific genera. Sacred songs and dances of the most important spirits were performed at bear games, in them, as well as in heroic chants and legends, their past deeds are narrated.

The report is devoted to the image of one of the patron spirits of the Khanty people - the Kazym warrior goddess (she is also known as Vut-imi or Kasum-nai). The purpose of the report is to reveal the nature of interethnic and intraethnic relations of the Khants on the basis of folklore texts of the Khants, Mansi and Nenets about them. Permian features can be seen in the image of the main patron spirit of Kazym. Stable contacts with the Mansi territory are clearly expressed in language, folklore, and cultural traditions. Khanty legends also point to the significant influence of the Nenets culture in the field of reindeer husbandry. As a historical and

ethnographic source containing information about the intercultural communications of the Kazym Khanty, the author considers both previously published songs, tales and legends about the Hut, including information about its zoomorphic images, attributes, epithets, and new material recorded by the author from informants.

The "history" of the life of the Kazym goddess points to constant migrations and the development of new territories in ancient times, explains the contacts of the ancestors of the Kazym Khanty with neighboring ethnic groups. She comes from the upper reaches of the Northern Sosva, an area that, due to its geographical location, has always played an important role regardless of the ethnic composition of the Ob–Ugric population.

In the image of Vut-imi, they see the features of the trickster archetype, standing on the edge of worlds, as a link in the transformation of the ideal world into the real world. Heroes of this type combine the traits of both sexes, as well as the ability to interact with the energies of death. In world culture, trickster women, unlike the usual roguish trickster men, most often appear as seductive femme fatales, which is undoubtedly inherent in the Kazym goddess. In marriages, she acts in relation to her spouses on equal terms, does not tolerate subordination, decides her own fate, and, ultimately, acts as a separate, completely independent, independent person. The plots about the heroine's marriages explain the presence of both interethnic (with the Nenets) and intraethnic ties of the Kazym Khanty, as well as the possible dominance of their ancestors over other ethnic groups in certain historical periods. The most striking page of Kasum-nai's "biography" is her "Nenets period", which may have become the basis for the development of reindeer husbandry among the Ob Ugrians.

The mythology of the goddess's marital relations with the Khanty heroes reflects the kinship and nature of the intraethnic relations of the Khanty: the Kazym group with other local formations (Irtysh, Pym and other Khanty). According to legend, children were born from these marriages – they are the patron spirits of certain places outside the territory of Kazym (for example, Kunovat), which also indicates the presence of "kindred" intraethnic ties.

Thus, the uniqueness of the cult of the Kazym goddess lies in the fact that it absorbed the features of different ethnic groups that are historically related to each other and took part in the formation of the Kazym Khants.

Ancient ways of the Volga Finno-Ugric peoples to Eastern Europe

Nadezhda Yefymyshch (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

В докладе будут освещены исторические события древней прародины финно-угорских народов и их миграция с Южного Урала на территорию Восточной Европы/Украины.

Впервые будут представлены сведения об истории финно-угорских народов Поволжья на примере черемисов/марийцев, которые в результате переселения с территории Российской империи в XVI в. попали на территорию Великого княжества Литовского (сегодня территория современной Украины). Их место и роль в истории, на основе исследований украинских и российских ученых, исторических документах.

Установлено, что финно-угорские народы оставили заметные следы в украинской антропотопонимике, топонимике и материальной культуре. Это будет представлено на материалах Союза уральских народов Украины в результате исследовательской деятельности в Украине в рамках проекта «Финно-угорский мир – миф или реальность».

Ключевые слова: Южный Урал, финно-угры, чемерисы/черемисы, мари, Украина, Союз уральских народов Украины.

Family terms in Estonian runosongs and fairy tales

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Runosong is a poetic musical tradition shared by several Finnic peoples. Runosong is distincted by its poetic form: trochaic tetrameter, alliteration and parallelism – all with their specific characteristic features; the musical form varies more, but in general is based on linear musical thinking (see Lippus 1995). Although runosong texts are recorded mainly at the end of 19th century and beginning of 20th century, typically to folklore they have accumulated the elements from previous time periods. Due to the constrictions set by poetic structure, runosongs are known by their conservative nature having systematically preserved historical root words, word forms and meanings that have been lost in spoken language. The narrative texts in general are believed to use more "up-to-date" language, therefore, folktales have been chosen for comparison.

We proceed from our previous research on the geographical variation of family terms in Estonian runosongs (Harend 2024) that revealed clear regional differences between Southern and Northern Estonia. We have detected two main family sets in runosongs for Northern and Southern Estonian (*eit, taat, õde, vend* vs. *ema, isa, sõsar, veli*). In addition, a number of more local variants of main family terms could be found. Beyond broader distribution areas, certain terms have specific regional distributions. For example, the mother term *emm* (genitive *emme*) is specific to Saaremaa, but *maama* is typical of Setomaa.

In our presentation, we will compare the core family terms found in runosongs with the family terminology of fairy tales using the materials from the database of Estonian runosongs and the database of Estonian folk tales, both managed at the Estonian Folklore Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum. These large material corpora have only rarely been used to study historical variation and development of language. We will comparatively explore how the use of family terms differs across the two genres, by use of terms, their geographical spread, and their meaning. For exploring semantic relationships of words, to identify its meaning components and contextual nuances we use network projections of word embeddings that reveal the semantic field of the terms (see e.g Geeraerts et al. 2023, Baunvig & Nielbo 2022). By comparing the use of family terms in runosong corpus with their uses in narrative text corpora we can detect if the terms are in similar use in traditional poetic and non-poetic language registers and what are their pathways to contemporary Estonian.

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Seto Leelo Tune Typology: Presentation of the Electronic Resource, Methodology and Possible Outcomes of the Typological Study

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This paper presents the results of research aimed at creating a tune typology of Seto polyphonic songs (the Seto *leelo*). The "Seto Leelo Tune Typology" is implemented in the form of an electronic resource that can have both academic and applied value. The academic aim of this typological study is, on the one hand, to compile the most complete possible overview of the Seto *leelo* tune types, and on the other hand, to present these tune types as a system that reflects the historical stylistic layers of the tradition and the interrelationships between them. This would make it possible to unveil historical processes that took place in the distant past as well as in more recent times, thus adding ethnomusicological data to the results of studies of related humanities and sciences.

Tune typology is a discipline-specific task and method of research in ethnomusicology, which is connected with the variant nature of the oral musical tradition. Variants are the only material reality in traditional music, as the models behind them (i.e. objects of performance), exist only as mental images and constructions (Rüütel 1969; Zemtsovsky 1980). Bruno Nettl wrote in this regard of the existence of "some unit of musical conceptualization that is somehow identified" (Nettl 2015: 109); Walter Wiora ja Simha Arom (1991) call such units *preconceived models*. In folk song research, these models are often referred to as "tune types". Tune typologies are based on the identification and analytical description of these types. Studying tune types is important because it provides researchers with insight into the musical repertoire of a tradition and its styles, as well as their historical development. It also helps us understand traditional musicians' musical thinking.

What makes a folk tune (a tune type) an object of performance and a unit of musical thinking is its identifiability, i.e. its recognisability in variants. Therefore, finding representative features of a tune is of great importance in typological studies. In ethnomusicology, different methods are used to determine tune types based on melodic, rhythmic, and formal features, depending on the object of study (see e.g. Elschek 1969, Rüütel 1981, Yefimenkova 1987, Lobanov 2003). In this paper, I will present a typological method that I developed for Seto polyphonic songs. This method is based on the phenomenon of "harmonic rhythm," which is a very important property of musical structure and musical thinking in the leelo tradition. I will also present some other aspects of musical structure that enable the creation of a multilevel classification of Seto tunes.

In addition to presenting the content and potential uses of the electronic resource "Seto Leelo Tune Typology", I will also outline some prospects for interpreting the results of the typological study, with an emphasis on the stylistic layers of this tradition and possible paths for their historical formation.

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Historical layers of Finnic oral poetry

Kati Kallio (Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki), Mari Väina (Estonian Literary Museum, Tartu), Frog (University of Helsinki) & Antti Kanner (University of Turku)

Finding the original places and times of creation of oral poems was a major goal of folklorists in the early 20th century. Since then, it has become clear that the processes of variation and dissemination of oral cultures are so complex and unpredictable that it seems impossible to trace them in detail far beyond the actual sources. Nevertheless, some hypotheses about the historical strata of Finnic oral poetry (runosongs, *regilaul*, *runolaulu*, Kalevalaic poetry) are possible or evident.

For example, poems about iron could not have been used until there was knowledge of how to work it. Clear borrowings from Old Norse traditions must have occurred at the time when these traditions were still in use in Nordic cultures. Christian motifs were not adopted until enough Christian influences had arrived in the Finnic area. Medieval Christian themes that were rejected by the Lutheran Reformation probably originated in oral poetry before the Reformation if these are common in later folklore collections from Lutheran areas – but the themes shared by medieval Eastern and Western Church may have also spread later from the Russian Orthodox regions. The Finnish song about coffee did not emerge until there it was possible to drink coffee in the region.

However, all new motifs and stories can make use of older poetic patterns. It is typical of oral poetry to create new themes and motifs by building on or referring to earlier elements, such as formulae, motifs, plots, or worldviews. Thus, a Christian motif may make use of earlier pre-Christian elements, and later users may develop the motif further and make new combinations and interpretations or use it in new contexts.

The same is true of the poetic meter. Based on linguistic and poetic characteristics, cultural centrality and wide genre distributions, it seems clear that the meter and the whole poetic system of runosongs emerged at a time when most of the Finnic languages had not yet diverged. However, it is also likely that the new poetic system was building on earlier traditions and styles of singing, and that it may have incorporated stories and songs from the pre-runosong periods. Since then, with the cultural contacts and changes in local languages, dialects and singing styles, the meter has adapted to new versions.

As a result of assimilations, bilingual settings, and language shifts, trade and collaboration, songs may have been translated or re-interpreted. In different Finnic settings, poems and whole poetic and singing cultures have developed in different directions in relation to historical, cultural, political, religious etc. developments, and contacts with other language groups. At the same time, influences – singing styles, formulae, motifs, song types – may have spread from one Finnic area to another at any time from the divergence of the languages to the intense documentation of the tradition in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Methodologically, no single type of feature, data, or method can provide all the answers. The models developed across different features, data types, and the triangulation of different methods must be evaluated in terms of probabilities. Although the relative dating of individual formulae, images, motifs, narrative patterns, melodies, etc. may be highly uncertain, modelling

of a periodization of these may have a much higher probability insofar as it idoes not depend on any individual element.

In this presentation, we combine two strands of research to discuss the analysis of historical layers of Finnic oral poetry. In the multidisciplinary research on retrospective methods, there has been a lively discussion on comparisons between different time periods, and on characteristics of cultural continua. At the same time, digital humanities create opportunities to analyse larger folklore corpora than would be feasible manually. Due to the work in the FILTER project (see https://blogs.helsinki.fi/filter-project/), we are now able to analyse, visualise and project onto maps different features of a corpus of some 250,000 texts relating to the Finnic runosong tradition. More detailed work, taking into account the linguistic and ethnic settings at the time of the recording, may help us to think about the varying relationships of different features of the poetic tradition to ethnic and linguistic histories.

Fog as a Symbol and Physical Phenomenon in Ukrainian Folk Songs and Estonian Runosongs: A Comparative Study

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Fog, as both a natural and metaphorical phenomenon, plays a significant role in various cultural traditions. It significantly reduces visibility and can pose serious hazards, sometimes causing losses comparable to those from extreme weather events such as tornadoes or hurricanes (Pruppacher et al., 1998; Gultepe et al., 2014). However, beyond its physical characteristics, fog holds deep symbolic value, often representing mystery, uncertainty, and transitional states. This study seeks to explore how fog is depicted in the oral traditions of Ukrainian folk songs and Estonian runosongs, examining both its physical and metaphorical representations.

This study is guided by the following questions: (1) How is fog represented in Ukrainian and Estonian folk songs? (2) To what extent do environmental and physical experiences of fog influence its metaphorical usage in these oral traditions? (3) How can the integration of physics and computational analysis enhance our understanding of fog as a cultural motif?

Our research is based on two corpora: a corpus of four collections of Ukrainian Folk Dumas (Hrushevska, 1927, 1931; Skrypnyk, 2009, 2019) and a corpus of Estonian folk songs maintained by the Estonian Literary Museum (ERAB).

The study adopts a transdisciplinary approach that combines physics, folklore studies, and computational analysis. The physical phenomenon of fog is examined through the lens of meteorology, focusing on how fog forms due to condensation of water vapor, obscuring visibility and creating a sense of disorientation. Mie scattering theory (1908) describes how light is scattered by the small water droplets in fog, reducing clarity and producing a dreamlike visual effect. By examining the physics of fog alongside the lyrics of Ukrainian and Estonian folk songs, the research highlights fog-prone seasons and examines different types and forms of fog as experienced in these regions.

Drawing on cognitive metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), the study argues that fog serves as a metaphorical bridge, connecting natural experiences with human psychological states such as confusion and transformation. The study investigates how fog is used to symbolize personal, existential, or communal uncertainty, reflecting deeper cultural narratives in both traditions.

Using the RStudio, the corpora will be processed through text mining to identify recurring motifs and patterns associated with fog. This approach will allow for a quantitative comparison of the symbolic use of fog, shedding light on its structural and semantic functions.

Preliminary analysis suggests that while Ukraine and Estonia have distinct climatic conditions – Ukraine's climate being predominantly continental and Estonia's influenced by maritime conditions – both regions share similar fog-prone seasons. These shared environmental experiences appear to have shaped both cultures' symbolic use of fog in their respective folk traditions. The research will demonstrate that the physical experience of fog, with its ability to obscure vision and soften sounds, is reflected in the songs, where fog often represents emotional and existential uncertainty.

By combining physics with computational analysis of folk song corpora, this study offers a deeper understanding of how physical experiences shape cultural expression. The research underscores the parallels between geographically distinct but climatically comparable regions, illustrating how natural phenomena like fog influence cultural memory and tradition.

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General Session

GS: Ethnography

The Kreewing /krieviņi/ sub-ethnic group – waiting for Prometheus

Dmitrijs Ščegoļevs (University of Latvia)

Until very recently, a small but highly productive sub-ethnic group known as the Kreewings /Krieviņi/ lived in the Bauska region of Latvia. Descendants of the Baltic Finns – the Votians – not only laid the foundations for the modern Bauska region but also had a strong influence on the formation and further development of the Latvian state.

Having lost their folklore and language at the end of the 19th century, the Kreewings /Krieviņi/ left behind a galaxy of outstanding statesmen, artists and literary figures, phenomenal actors, and scientists. They had strong and prosperous farms and a special virtue characteristic only of the Votic origin.

Experts believe that the Kreewings /Krieviņi/, as a sub-ethnic group, merged with the Latvians and Lithuanians and disappeared from the historical record. This raises the question: why do the descendants of the Kreewings /Krieviņi/ still remember their ancestors and take pride in belonging to the once powerful Kreewings /Krieviņi/ families of Latvian historic region Zemgale?

In order to put forward a hypothesis and find an answer to the question of what the basis for the success of the Kreewings /Krieviņi/ in their new place of residence was, the author used an interdisciplinary approach. By combining methods from social anthropology, sociology, history, and ethnography, it became possible to identify the historical memories and keys to self-esteem of the descendants of the Kreewings /Krieviņi/ today, as well as to trace the evolution of perceptions of the Votic people and Kreewings /Krieviņi/ in general in ethnography, biographies, literature and public discourse.

The insight that changes the prevailing view of Kreewings /Krieviņi/ history and its role in shaping local identity is that Kreewings /Krieviņi/ were not war prisoners, but, in modern terms, 'colonists' with special rights and different dynamics of coexistence and later assimilation within the Latvian environment.

During his presentation, the author will discuss the elements and characteristics of the "Kreewing code" and outline the historic trends and current situation of the Kreewings /Krieviņi/ sub-ethnic group and its fate shortly in light of postmodern trends.

Together, we will seek an answer to the question of whether the Kreewings /Krieviņi/ sub-ethnic group is truly 'dead' or whether it is merely in a deep sleep, awaiting its Prometheus.

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GS: Etymology

The oldest layers of the Estonian lexis in the light of the recent research

Iris Metsmägi (Institute of the Estonian Language, Tallinn)

In 2012, the Estonian etymological dictionary (EES) was published, that enabled to make a systematic overview about the origin of the Estonian stems (Metsmägi, Sedrik, Soosaar 2013). The overview is outdated in many points for now, as the dictionary reflects the state of research

before the year 2000. In the recent decades, a huge new-quality research has been done in the fields of the Uralic historical phonology and lexicology, e.g. Aikio 2002, 2006, 2012, 2015, 2020, Zhivlov 2014, 2023. Also, there are new studies revising the earlier proposed loan etymologies: on the oldest, Indo-European and Indo-Iranian borrowings in the Uralic languages, e.g. Holopainen 2019, 2021, Simon 2020, Holopainen, Junttila 2022.

Since 2013, a new academic version of the Estonian etymological dictionary has been prepared at the Institute of the Estonian language. The results of the recent research have been systematically collected for the new dictionary. Although the chapter on the history of the Estonian stems (Soosaar 2020) in the most recent comprehensive treatment of the history of the Estonian language takes a part of the newest research results into account, a provisional comparison shows that some improvements can still be made. For instance, to the list of the Uralic stems (i.e., the Estonian stems having cognates in the Samoyed languages), the words *kesi* 'bran, chaff' (Aikio 2006: 17–19), *köis* 'rope' (Aikio 2006: 19-20), *pool* 'half' (Aikio 2012: 238), *sõda* 'war' (Aikio 2002: 27, 2006: 30) etc. can be added. Several Indo-European etymologies, listed as certain, have been questioned in the recent research, e.g. *mõskma* 'to wash' (Simon 2020: 248, Holopainen, Junttila 2022: 42–43), *müüma* 'to sell' (Simon 2020: 247–248), *nimi* 'name' (Simon 2020: 248–249), *vedama* 'to pull, to drag' (Holopainen, Junttila 2022: 40–42, 92–93). Thus it is even not sure, whether it is possible to talk about the group of the Indo-European borrowings with cognates in (almost) all branches of the Uralic languages at all.

The aim of the presentation is to reanalyse and summarize the composition of the oldest layers of Estonian lexis (i.e., the words having cognates in the other branches of the Uralic languages besides the Finnic), using the data drawn together into the Estonian etymological dictionary in progress. The question about how detailed grouping of the lexis is practical, i.e. which layers are necessary to educe, will be touched as well.

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Neuer samojedischer Wortschatz – Compiling an updated etymological dictionary of the Samoyed languages

Kaisla Kaheinen & Tapani Salminen (University of Helsinki)

Published in 1977, Juha Janhunen's *Samojedischer Wortschatz* (SW = Janhunen 1977) is one of the cornerstones of diachronic research into the Samoyed languages, and into Uralic etymology in general. SW has retained its status as a general reference work for scholars looking for information on the lexicon and reconstruction of Proto-Samoyed, as well as the spread of individual cognates of Proto-Samoyed lexemes in the modern Samoyed languages. The publication of SW can be characterized as a revolutionary event for the reconstruction of Proto-Samoyed, since, for the first time in history, a complete account of the PS sound system, based on regular sound correspondences, became widely available to researchers. At the same time, Eugene Helimski was independently working on his own reconstruction (see Хелимский 1979), the striking resemblance of which to the one used by Janhunen in SW is certainly an impressive showcase of the effectiveness of the comparative method.

Nearly half a century after the publication of SW, several changes and additions have been made to the reconstruction of Proto-Samoyed, especially concerning the vowel system (Helimski 2005; Salminen 2024). New lexical materials, such as dictionaries, corpora, and specialized studies have appeared, (cf., for instance, Helimski 1997 for Mator, Alatalo 2004 for Selkup, and Kaheinen 2023 for Nganasan), containing previously unknown cognates of Proto-Samoyed lexemes, and new etymological suggestions have been made, most of which have not been thoroughly evaluated yet. These have not been incorporated into a single publication but remain scattered across publications, some of which are difficult to access, or are passed on in the form of manuscripts or even as word-of-mouth between specialists. This makes it very difficult for more generalist researchers to familiarize themselves with diachronic Samoyed studies, and even from a specialist perspective, the disorderliness of data is very impractical.

In this talk, we present our project of compiling an updated and enhanced etymological dictionary of the Samoyed languages. The dictionary, which is to be published both as an online database as well as in print, will contain all lexical stems that can be reconstructed for Proto-Samoyed, their cognates from the most up-to-date sources, and further etymological references. The reconstructions will be updated to match the recent advances in the field. The main goal of our work is to create a widely available, comprehensive corpus of Proto-Samoyed lexemes that can be used as a reference work by specialists and non-specialists alike and contribute to the diachronic study of the Samoyed languages by highlighting previously neglected findings and by making new ones.

Our presentation addresses several acute questions that have arisen over the course of our work so far. What needs to be determined before the work can proceed further, is, for example, to what extent should etymological discussion be included in the work in the case where the authors disagree with an existing etymological proposal for a given lexeme, how much explicit argumentation to include in defence of the new reconstructions, as well as a few specific details of the reconstructions themselves, especially concerning non-first syllable vowels.

With a project of this scale, there are also questions related to matters of funding, publication, and workflow management. Gathering an etymological dictionary is a long-term project, the likes of which are difficult to complete in the current era of project-based short-term employment. The pressure to gain 'merit' as quick as possible may favour writing shorter

papers over long-term work, or the premature publication of unpolished results. Digital databases make data more widely accessible in an updatable format, but on the other hand, they require maintenance and are vulnerable to digital obsolescence. For the work to reach completion, compromises need to be made regarding the amount of detail and number of sources vs. simplicity and time constraints. With this presentation, we wish to open the discussion concerning these matters in Uralic etymological research and dictionary-compilation.

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New vowels in Mari: Iranian loanwords and Uralic inheritance

Christopher Culver (University of Turku)

Since Bereczki (1994) and Aikio (2014) it has been the consensus that two vowel correspondences in Mari point to a loan origin for the given word: 1) *a* across all Mari varieties and 2) Meadow Mari and Eastern Mari *a* versus Northwestern Mari and Hill Mari *ä*. This was necessitated by the raising of Proto-Uralic *ä and *a in Mari, but the details have differed: Bereczki reconstructed only a single new low vowel *a for Proto-Mari; Aikio reconstructed Proto-Mari *a and *ä; and Napolskikh & Savelyev (2023) have reconstructed only a single *ä while claiming that the correspondences underlying Aikio's purported *a represent a post-Proto-Mari development.

Most recently, Culver (2025) has proposed inherited etymologies for some Mari words with pan-Mari first-syllable *a*, in cases where earlier Proto-Uralic *-aCj- or *-ajC- can be reconstructed. This talk presents some Iranian loan evidence in support of this phonetic development: Mari *manaš* 'to say' can be derived from the Alanic descendant of Proto-Iranian *man-yo- 'to consider', and by comparing the derivational history on both sides, we can establish that Mari *mut* 'word', too, is ultimately a borrowing from the same Iranian verb (cf. Ossetic *mæt* 'consideration').

The talk will then turn to the new Proto-Mari tense vowel *ę̂ that Savelyev (2022) reconstructs. A different triggering environment than proposed will be considered based on Mari *mež* 'wool' (Iranian loan) and *ter* 'sled' (inherited). On the other hand, in Mari *peŋam* 'burn (of sun); smolder' we do not find tense *ę̂ as the new reconstruction demands, and the word may be traced to a derived form of PU *päjwä 'sun; heat'.

Finally, the talk will note Mari *šaške* 'mink' (cf. the hitherto unnoticed Udmurt *ćajį* id. alongside the traditional comparison to Veps and Baltic material) and Mari *paŋga* 'палочка' (cf. Erzya Mordvin *ṕiŋǵä* id., which in Paasonen's dictionary is regarded as a derivation from PU *päŋi 'head'), which may result from still-unknown rules for retention of PU *ä, or point to borrowing from neighboring varieties of Uralic.

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A reappraisal of the vowel system of Proto-Mansi

Juho Pystynen (University of Helsinki)

The development of the vowel systems of the Mansi varieties stands in need of systematic update. The most detailed treatise remains Steinitz (1955), who reconstructs a large yet fairly asymmetric system with three vowel heights and vowel length. A more compact system was proposed by Honti (1980, 1982), pared down to two vowel heights, but facing criticism already at the time (Tálos 1984, Helimski 1985). With different adjustments, the system recently sketched by Zhivlov (2023) shows again closer structural similarity to Steinitz' system, unfortunately including its main asymmetries.

I present an overarching reanalysis of the reconstruction. Firstly, external comparison and general typology of vowel system chainshifts indicate that the elimination of height contrasts has indeed not been the correct solution, and Proto-Mansi should be still reconstructed with three degrees of vowel height, as attested in all varieties of Mansi and reconstructed also for Proto-Uralic. There exists however also an opening for questioning instead the reconstruction of vowel length. It was already seen by Honti that the length contrast as reconstructed by him would continue as such only in Northern Mansi, and more or less major reshuffling would be required in all other varieties. Reconstructing instead parallel rise of vowel length in the post-Proto-Mansi period, with distinct conditions in each dialect group, simplifies the phonological and phonetic trajectories and accords better with the evidence of loanwords from e.g. Komi.

A second result targets the reconstruction of vowel rounding. Most reconstructions have agreed on a four-way quality contrast among the close vowels: *i, *ü, *į, *u. The non-cardinal vowels *ü, *į however show limited phonological distribution and poor retention in the Mansi varieties, and allowing for conditional development in particular consonant environments, they can be dispensed with. For short *į and Steinitz' long *ǖ, which have seen little treatment in later works due to their absense from native Uralic or common Ob-Ugric etymologies, this does bear a cost of positing a marginal contrast between velar *k and uvular *q, treated as allophonic in previous work but phonemicized in any case in most of the attested dialects.

The newly obtained Proto-Mansi system appears remarkably close to systems such as those reconstructed for Proto-Ugric by Sammallahti (1988) or Proto-Ob-Ugric by Zhivlov (2023). This vindicates especially the methodological critique of Tálos (1984), who considered Honti's approach to reconstruction to place undue weight on the evidence of Khanty. More severe systemic divergence leading to the attested Mansi dialects might be, regardless, attributable to later Mansi–Khanty Sprachbund effects, which are thus seen to be yet stronger than has been recognized in the past — and further underlining the necessity of comparing Mansi also with its more distant Uralic relatives, not only with its presumed sister branch.

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The history of the Hungarian imperative suffix

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This presentation focuses on the history of the Hungarian imperative modal suffix *-j*. Due to the morphological status of the present-day Hungarian *phoneme j ,* it has different distribution in the phoneme system compared to other sonorants. Unlike other sonorants, it can also occur at absolute word endings after obstruents: *dobj* ‘throw-IMP-SG2’ *vágj* ‘cut-IMP-SG2’*, rakj* ‘put-IMP-SG2’*„ lépj* ‘step-IMP-SG2’, etc. The reason is that in this phonotactic situation it has a morphologically marked role. However, since sonorant consonants cannot be in this position, the sonorant approximant [j] is replaced by voiced [j̥]: *dobj* ‘throw-IMP-SG2’ *vágj* ‘cut-IMP-SG2’) or voiceless [ç]: *rakj* ‘put-IMP-SG2’, *lépj* ‘step-IMP-SG2’ (Siptár 2001: 387–395). How might this be related to the historical aspect?

The imperative morpheme has been related to PU **-k* or to a diminutive form of **-j*, which later had a vocative function (Collinder 1960: 304; Hajdú 1966: 71, 136; Papp 1956: 282-301, Rédei 1980: 649-654). The changes in Hungarian, the development of the individual morpheme variants, have also been discussed in the literature (Abaffy 1991: 111–115; 1992: 139–150), but the findings are based on a relatively narrow corpus.

The history of the the imperative modal suffix is connected to the history of *γ*, a discussed sound in the history of Hungarian phonology, and its correspondences (x, x'), which vocalized at the end of a word, became *j*-after a consonant and disappeared during the 13th century. The vocalization of *γ* has significantly modified the consonant system.

Nowadays, all surviving documents from the Old Hungarian period can be analyzed in a database (Simon–Sass 2012, Simon 2014). The Old Hungarian variants of the imperative modal suffix are documented in much more detail than before with the help of the Old Hungarian Corpus, thus providing a more precise picture of the development of the morpheme and its variants.

The analysis based on the database may also draw a more accurate and clear picture of the role of *γ* and its later correspondences of the imperative mode suffix *-j*.

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GS: Grammaticalization

Towards a Typology of Transcategorial Diminutive Markers in the Uralic Languages of Northeastern Eurasia

Maria Ilinichina Satina (Moscow)

The vast majority of the works, e.g. (Nieuwenhuis 1985; Jurafsky 1996; Dressler, Barbaresi 2001), is primarily concerned with describing the properties of diminutives in the nominal domain, therefore diminution is conventionally perceived as a purely nominal category. I aim to highlight the fact that a number of noteworthy phenomena can be observed in languages, where the diminutive markers are of transcategorial nature.

The data from the following languages will be discussed: Northern Mansi (NM; Ob-Ugric < Finno-Ugric), Kazym Khanty (KKh; Ob-Ugric < Finno-Ugric) and Nenets (Samoyedic); a considerable part of the NM data was gathered from the speakers of the Sosva and Upper Lozva dialects during the field trips to Khanty-Mansiysk in 2024.

The main phenomena under discussion in the present study are the following:

1. Both in NM and KKh the diminutive suffixes, when used in the verbal domain, act as inflectional rather than derivational markers and seem not to modify the meaning of the base verb *per se*, as would be expected of the verbal diminutive in its canonical understanding (Audring, Leufkens, van Lier 2021), but to put one of the participants of the situation described in the sentence in empathy focus, e.g. in (1) the empathy is directed at the object. We argue that the main factor influencing the choice of the participant to be put in empathy focus is discourse salience. In (1) the noun *pīɣ* 'boy' is located in the focal position and the empathy encoded by the marker *-riɛ* is directed at it. In (2) the noun *xājtnut* 'wolf' takes the clause-initial focal position, therefore this sentence was considered unnatural by the speakers, who were instructed that in the described situation they should empathize with the boy.

2. The diachronic data suggest that transcategoriality is one of the stages that a diminutive marker undergoes before grammaticalizing in either verbal or, more commonly, nominal domain. In KKh most of the instances of the diminutive marker *-ije* occuring on particles, verbs and adverbs, as in (3), are found in relatively old and mostly folklore texts (Solovar 2012); in modern KKh the diminutive markers are only productive in the nominal domain. In modern NM the strategy of encoding empathy via the use of the diminutive in the nominal domain is more common than in the verbal one, although both uses are grammatical. The Nenets diminutive marker *-ko/-ku*, which serves as a marker of positive evaluation (Tereschenko 1947, p. 55-56), bears close resemblance to North Mansi transcategorial suffix *-kwe* in its semantics and external form, but synchronically can only occur on nouns.

Examples

1. NORTHERN MANSI

am	*pīɣ-um*	*xājtnut-na*	*tajapa-we-s-**riɛ***
1SG	boy-POSS.1SG	wolf-LAT	eat-PASS-PST-**PEJ**

'My son was eaten by the wolf.'

2. NORTHERN MANSI

ʔxājtnut	*pīɣ-um*	*juw-tajapa-s-**riɛ**-t-e*
wolf	boy-POSS.1SG	inwards-eat-PST-**PEJ**-SG.O-3SG.S

'The wolf ate my son.'

3. KAZYM KHANTY

wet	*mʉw*	*sʉŋa*	*at-**ije**-n*	*măntaλ,*	*šaj*
five	earth	corner.DAT	let-**DIM**-POSS.2SG	go.EVID.NPST.3SG	tea

jańśi	*χot*	*ar-**ije***	*tăjtɛm*
drink.NFIN.NPST	house	many-**DIM**	have.EVID.NPST.1SG

'Let him go to the five corners of the earth; I have many houses where I can drink tea.' (Solovar 2012, p. 62-63)

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Resultatives grammaticalizing into passives, perfects and past tense forms in Udmurt

Erika Asztalos (HUN-REN Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics)

Claims: In the talk, I present a novel analysis of Udmurt of *-(e)mi̯n* forms (which traditionally have been referred to as "resultative participles"). I argue that *-(e)mi̯n* forms cannot be analysed in a homogeneous way in contemporary Udmurt, and that the heterogeneity that they show in their use and in their morphosyntactic behaviour on a synchronic level is a reflection of two ongoing and typologically common grammaticalization processes, i.e.

(1) *resultative > passive* (cf. Nedyalkov & Jaxontov 1989), and
(2) *resultative > perfect > past tense forms* (Bybee et al. 1994).

Background: *-(E)mi̯n* forms always stand in predicative position and they can be formed both from transitive and intransitive verbs. They can act as predicates in main clauses without any copula/auxiliary, cf. (3)–(7) (they can, however, combine with a non-present tense or a non-indicative copula/auxiliary). Most commonly, *-(e)mi̯n* forms/constructions have been referred to as resultative participles (e.g., Leinonen & Vilkuna 2000), or as passive constructions (Asztalos 2011, F. Gulyás & Speshilova 2014).

Aims and data: The aim of this study was to investigate whether *-(e)mi̯n* constructions show the same semantic properties and morphosyntactic behaviour in old folklore texts from the end of

the 19th century and in contemporary corpus data, and whether a uniform account of *-(e)mi̯n* constructions can be provided at all. The study focused on copulaless occurrences of *-(e)mi̯n* forms.

Results and analysis: While in the folklore text sample all occurrences of *-(e)mi̯n* constructions showed the properties of resultative constructions (as defined by Bybee et al. 1994), contemporary data revealed to be more heterogeneous, thus, a fourfold classification is proposed for them:

1. The majority of the examples showed the characteristics of resultative constructions: i) they describe a *state* resulting from a previous action/event, ii) they are formed of telic verbs, iii) they are compatible with the adverb *na* 'still', and iv) transitive verbs undergo voice change, cf. (3).
2. Other instances, while still featuring a voice change with transitive verbs, do not describe a *state* resulting from a previous action/event but refer to the previous action/event itself (4). These were analysed as (actional) passives (as defined by Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988).
3. Perfects (5)–(6): i) They present previous actions/events as relevant at utterance time; ii) they can be formed of atelic verbs; iii) when formed from transitive verbs, they do not undergo any voice change (6).
4. A few examples showed the properties of past tense forms (7)–(9): i) they can describe past events without necessarily referring to their relevance at utterance time; ii) they can co-occur with temporal adverbials referring to a specific time; iii) they can describe a sequence of events in the past.

Diachronic implications and further questions: I propose that the homogeneity of the folklore data indicates that the primary function of *-(e)mi̯n* constructions was the expression of resultativity, while the heterogeneity of the contemporary data is the reflection of the two ongoing grammaticalization processes outlined in (1) and (2). The questions of how the grammaticalization process might affect the past tense system of Udmurt, and whether the influence of Russian might play a role in the presumed grammaticalization processes will also be addressed in the talk.

(3) *Lavka* *uśt-emi̯n* *na* *bere,* *so-ze* *no* *ta-ze* *baśtį-nį*
shop open-(E)MI̯N still as that-DET.ACC and this-DET.ACC buy-INF
vu-o-d *na.*
arrive-FUT-2SG still
'As the shop is still open, you will manage to buy some things.' (UC; Udmurt duńńe 26.03.2013)

(4) *Georgij Gŕazev* *2014-ti* *ar-i̯n* *pusj-emi̯n (…)* *Rośśi-i̯ś*
G. G. 2014-ORD year-INE award-(E)MI̯N Russia-ELA
Žurnalist-jos-len *sojuz-zį-len (…)* *znak-en-i̯z.*
journalist-PL-GEN association-3PL-GEN sign-INS-3SG
'In 2014 Georgij Grjazev was awarded the medal of the Russian Journalists' Association.' (UC; Udmurt dunne 2017.03.08.)

(5) Context: 'I could barely get up today. I'm just sleepy somehow.'
4 ćas *gine* *iź-emi̯n,* *noš* *para-je* *odnoze* *mi̯n-ono.*
4 hour only sleep-(E)MI̯N but class-ILL absolutely go-PTCP.NEC
'I have only slept four hours, but I absolutely need to go to class.' (UC; Udmurto4ka 17.10.2014)

(6) Context: The author of the blogpost describes her grandfather.
So *ulon-az tros* *ma-je* *adʒ-emi̯n* *ńi.*
3SG[NOM] life-INE.3SG lot what-ACC see-(E)MI̯N already
'He has already seen a lot during his life.' (UC; Marjalen zareźez 2014)

(7) [About an event which is going to be dedicated to Vera Bogdanovskaja.]
Ta – Rossi-i̯ś niri̯śeti-os-i̯z pe̯l-i̯ś ni̯lki̯šno ximik, ul-emi̯n
this Russia-ELA first-PL-DET among-ELA woman chemist live-(E)MI̯N
1867-ti – 1896-ti ar-jos-i̯.
1867-ORD 1896-ORD year-PL-ILL
'She is one of the first women chemists from Russia, she lived between 1867 and 1896.' (UC; Udmurt duńńe 23.04.2014)

(8) (Wikipedia article on the Vyatka Governorate)
Ta muzjem vi̯l-i̯n ortće val Śibiŕ trakt – ssi̯l'noj-jos-ti̯
this land on-INE pass_by.3SG be.PST Siberia route exiled-PL-ACC
Śibiŕ-e keľan śures (so vi̯l-e og 100 pala
Siberia-ILL sending road that on-ILL around 100 around
ďekabŕist-jos ortć-emi̯n). Kud-og ssi̯ľnoj-jos Vjatka kar-i̯n
Decembrist-PL pass-(E)MI̯N some exiled-PL Vjatka city-INE
ul-emi̯n.
live-(E)MI̯N
'The Siberian Route, the road leading exiled people to Siberia, crossed this land (around 100 Decembrists went along it). Some of the exiled people lived in the town Vjatka.' (UC; Wikipedia: Vatka guberńija 08.03.2013)

(9) *2000-ti ar-e gurt-i̯š fesťival-len ni̯ri̯śeti nunal-az*
2000-ORD year-ILL village-ELA festival-GEN first day-ILL.3SG
Madonna ki̯rdźa-mi̯n, ki̯k-eti nunal-az Majkl Džekson ekt-emi̯n.
Madonna sing-(E)MI̯N two-ORD day-ILL.3SG M. Jackson dance-(E)MI̯N
'On the first day of the festival held in our village in 2000, Madonna sang, on its second day, Michael Jackson danced.' (constructed)

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General Session: History

Professor István Csekey and the Lapua Movement

András Bereczki (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest)

Professor István Csekey (1889–1963) was a prominent figure in 20th century Hungarian and European jurisprudence, who, in addition to his significant academic activities, became one of the most important figures in Hungarian-Estonian and Hungarian-Finnish relations between the two world wars. The eight years he spent as a visiting professor in Tartu, Estonia, were decisive in the development of Csekey's later interests. From then on, he dealt a lot with Estonian and Finnish topics: cultural history, local history and political issues.

After outlining the background, the lecture attempts to explore what could be learned about Finnish history and culture in the early 1930s in Hungary, as well as about the political situation in Finland at that time, with special regard to the activities of the Lapua movement, based on the works of Professor István Csekey. His analyses of the political situation in Finland - nearly a century later - can practically be regarded as a source.

In addition to his teaching and management activities, from 1923 he sent news from Estonia - and sometimes from Finland as well - to more than ten Hungarian newspapers in Hungary and outside of Hungary analysing the political situation on current issues, writing about the past and present of relations with the Finno-Ugric peoples, as well as about his personal experiences. He was awarded a Finnish medal for his work in the so-called Finno-Ugric ethnic kinship movement and for promoting Finland in Hungary.

Professor Csekey has written more than 20 studies and articles on Finland. His writings on the history of culture and relations, as well as on the recent history of Finland, were published as books, book chapters and articles in journals and newspapers. These works fall into five categories. The first group includes his shorter articles written between 1924 and 1929, mainly for newspapers (personal experiences of the Kogutowicz-Teleki expedition to Northern Europe; Hungarian cultural events in Helsinki; cultural congresses, etc.). The second group consists of longer, more scholarly works on the Finnish legal system, written in the late 1920s, which gave the reader a real insight into the system. The third category includes works inspired primarily by the emergence of the Lapua movement, which will be discussed in more detail here. The fourth category comprises articles written in the second half of the 1930s, mainly on cultural themes, and the last is made up of works written during the Second World War.

A legal scholar who rarely dealt with day-to-day political events, he was acutely aware that Finland's history had reached a turning point in 1930 and wrote several articles on the events there. After such an active beginning, one might expect the professor to continue to follow the events and their consequences in new writings after the summer of 1930, but - for reasons not yet precisely explored - this was not the case. For many years after 1930, Csekey did not become actively involved in Finland's newer domestic political developments, although he continued to participate enthusiastically in the activities of the so-called "Ethnic Kinship" movement, promoting Estonia and Finland in Hungary. Initially, he followed the development and growth of the Lapua movement with great interest, almost enthusiasm, but he always expressed reservations about the possible failure to respect the Constitution and the laws in force and the violation of the parliamentary framework. The latter may also be linked to the reduction in his activity in reporting current events in Finland.

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Cultural resilience and networks of the Estonian diaspora: the example of the Australian Forest University

Marin Laak (Estonian Literary Museum)

In the migration era of the 21st century, as the number of people living and working far from their homeland continues to increase. Questions of migration and diaspora are existential for the small nation of Estonia. Though Estonian is among the world's 400 living languages, it has fewer than 1 million speakers, while immigration exceeds outmigration (Tammur et al. 2017); the current worldwide Estonian diaspora consists of 200 000 people (Kumer- Haukanõmm & Telve 2017). I use the term cultural resilience to analyze the ability of native language and culture to sustain itself in an environment where ordinary functioning is disturbed. Resilience is a complex construct, denoting the capability of a system or process to absorb disturbance (Folke et al. 2010) on the individual, societal, and cultural levels (Southwick et al. 2014). Cultural resilience is expressed in the cohesion of a community, the preservation of heritage and the mother tongue. After WWII the global Estonian diaspora was created, where ethnic and linguistic identity was preserved for over 50 years. According to Benedict Anderson (2006 [1983]), native language literature and print culture have had a determining role in the survival of the "imaginary communities" of those living abroad. In the presentation, I will examine the scope and role of informal networks in keeping together the language community of the Western Estonian diaspora using the example of the Australian Forest University. The empirical research and used data are based on the manuscript collections of the Estonian Literary Museum's Estonian Cultural History Archive (ECHA), which collects archives of significant persons and institutions in the history of culture. The archive of the Australian Forestry University contain manuscript documents related to organizing the events, official letters and personal correspondences; materials related to drawing up the schedule of lectures, provisional sketches in manuscript etc. The archives show that the organization of each year's Forest University began a good half year in advance. All communication took place via snail mail letters, via fax or by phone. Letters travelled between compatriots and friends across the Australian continent or even across the ocean. Most of the Forest Universities took place in the New South Wales District, but the organizers also took into account the location of the Australian Estonian Days, which rotated between the larger centers in Australia and took place every three years. To investigate the networks, I will apply analyses of digital dataset of the letters between the compatriots all over the world, incl homeland. Investigating diasporic literary correspondences with the methods of digital data analysis opens up a new interpretive space for the theoretical discussions of cultural resilience of small nations.

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The problems of socio-economic and cultural adaptation of the Baltic settlers in Siberia in the late XIX - early XX centuries

Ilya Lotkin (Omsk)

It is known that part of the population of Siberia has long been exiled. With the development of capitalism, the low-land and landless peasant masses (Ukrainians, Belarusians, Chuvashs, Estonians, Mordovians, Poles, Latvians, Lithuanians, Germans, etc.) were looking for a way out of the difficult economic situation in resettlement and waste. Siberia in this regard was a fertile land. Resettlement to Siberia took on a wide scale in the late 1890s, but the main peak of agrarian migrations occurred in 1907-1911, as a result of the Stolypin reform.

The national immigrants brought with them to new places the established national habits, traditions and features of the economic structure, forming closed settlements, isolated to a certain extent from the surrounding population, which became known as colonies. The term "colony" in the designated German, Latvian, Estonian, Lithuanian, partially Polish settlements became widespread in scientific literature, in documentary materials and everyday life and began to act as a distinctive feature of villages of national and ethnic groups from Russians both in Central Russia and in Siberia.

For us, in this case, it seems important that the term "colony" carries a double semantic load - isolation and self-sufficiency. However, already before the October Revolution, the Baltic colonies began to lose these features - their inhabitants increasingly began to be drawn into trade and economic relations with the surrounding (mainly Russian) population.

The migrations of the Latvian and Estonian peasantry to Siberia were determined by the socio-economic, political, demographic and cultural conditions in which the Latvian, Estonian and Siberian villages were located.

The socio-economic and cultural adaptation of the Baltic settlers in the Siberian region was undoubtedly determined by its main features:

1. Large area. Extending for several thousand kilometers from west to east and more than 2 thousand km from north to south, the territory of modern Omsk inhabited by Baltic settlers, Novosibirsk, northern part of Kemerovo, southern and central parts of Tomsk regions, the central and southern regions of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, the territory of the Altai Territory, Khakassia and several regions of the Irkutsk Region includes the steppe, forest-steppe and forest zones, as well as the taiga subzone. This became a positive factor in the development of the Baltic colonies (the availability of natural resources, a variety of conditions) and negative (low population density, difficulties in interaction between residents of different colonies, the cost of overcoming long distances).

2. Harsh nature. Siberia is located in the harsh natural and climatic conditions of the northeastern part of the country.

3. Placement contrasts. In one of the most developed regions - Omsk - the share of the urban population is 68%, and the population density ranges from 2.6 in the northern zone to 17.2 in the southern forest-steppe and averages 15.6 people per 1 sq. km.

4. One-dimensionality. The most economically and culturally developed areas of Western and Eastern Siberia are squeezed to the Trans-Siberian Railway. Like placement contrasts, this exacerbates the negative impact of long distances.

5. The complexity of the territorial structure is the existence of simplicity and randomness. Two rules hold sway here. Firstly, the "center - periphery" pattern is clearly traced - the concentration of life in cities and the drop in population density, economic activity as they move away from

these centers. (The highest degree of social stratification and economic development was in those Baltic colonies that were located near large cities or the Trans-Siberian Railway). Secondly, there is often no mesoscale: it is easy to distinguish large parts (macromscale) on the territory of the region, each inhabitant of the colony knows his habitat (microscale) well (it is no coincidence that the farm was one of the main ethnomarketing elements among both Latvians and Estonians), but parts of the middle level are rare.

6. The appearance in Siberia of a reaction to space, previously unusual for the culture of the inhabitants of the Baltic States (a relatively weak sense of distance, borders, place). This is partly due to the peculiarities of nature (distances are too large, natural boundaries are not expressed). This manifested itself among the Baltic colonists after the final liquidation of the farm system in the late 1930s.

GS: Language Technology

Challenges in Developing Generative AI for Finno-Ugric Languages

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Modern approaches to generative AI are data-hungry and the majority of the Finno-Ugric family is data-scarce. Interestingly, this is not the only challenge in this development direction. In order to be usable by native speakers, AI solutions need to be reliable, while guaranteeing output quality is a bottleneck. Added to this, several languages of the family consist of dialects and use different orthographies and other writing norms, all contributing to a higher degree of complexity of building AI systems. We will present our experience of developing neural machine translation systems for 20+ FU languages and focus on the main challenges and future outlook.

GS: Literature & Folklore

About the role of Finno-Ugric literatures of Russia in language revival, language planning and Finno-Ugric co-operation

Esa-Jussi Salminen (Youpret Oy, Alkukoti, Sukukansojen ystävät ry)

The Finno-Ugric literatures of the Finno-Ugric minorities in the Russian Federation are never paid much attention to outside Russia. Mainly those literatures are of interest to the people considered. Some attention has been given to them in other Finno-Ugric regions. For example there has been some translation projects, such as translations of different Finno-Ugric literatures into Finnish in Carelia journal in Karelian Republic.

Outside Russia Finno-Ugric literatures were mainly unknown till the end of the Soviet period. The first congress of Finno-Ugric literatures was held in 1989 in Joshkar-Ola. Unfortunately the status of Finno-Ugric literatures worldwide has not risen so much as one could have expected at the time of the “reunion” of Finno-Ugric peoples. There has been some sporadic efforts to translate Finno-Ugric literature from the Russian Federation into Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian and to some extent into other languages, but for example studies of eastern Finno-Ugric languages have got almost no place in the academic circles outside Russia.

I will analyze the main tendencies of the development of Finno-Ugric co-operation in the literature. What has been done and what should be done and why? What are the obstacles in developing the literatures of Finno-Ugric minorities?

An ecocritical perspective on two Udmurt short stories

Martin Carayol (Paris, INALCO)

While Udmurt short stories during the Soviet period were for a long time confined to subjects compatible with socialist realism, some more recent texts have broadened the range of subjects evoked, focusing in particular on the relationship between nature and culture, between the human world and the animal world. Two particularly interesting short stories to study in this respect are Vitali Agbaev's short story 'Ivanaï' (Иванай) and Ilja Baimetov's 'Sparkling Tear' (Быльырам синкыли), both dated 1989, and both of which evoke an animal (a dog and a deer, respectively) developing a special relationship with one human being.

In particular, these two short stories are built on a contrast between the relationship of gratitude and friendship shared by the protagonist and the animal, and the attitude of contempt and enmity towards the animal world expressed by certain other human characters. A system of values is thus put in place that serves an ecocritical purpose regarding the nature/culture relationship. To study this value system, we will draw on a number of theoretical texts on the ecocritical approach, such as LAHTINEN and LEHTIMÄKI 2008 and GARRARD 2004.

We will compare our Udmurt authors with other writers dealing with similar subjects, for instance Finnish author Pentti Haanpää and Iranian author Sadegh Hedayat.

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The Viy motif in Finno-Ugric folklore

Kostyantyn Rakhno (The National Museum of Ukrainian Pottery, Opishne, Ukraine)

One of the current folkloristic problems is the search of folkloric parallels to Viy, a character in the novel of the same name by Nikolai Gogol. It is a formidable chthonic, demonic creature whose eyelids cover the eyes and need to be lifted, and the gaze sees what is hidden from others. Although the writer claimed that this character, like the entire plot of the story, was taken from Ukrainian folklore, some modern researchers claim that Viy is the author's own invention. This is contradicted by folkloric data, including non-Slavic and non-Indo-European.

There are such characters in the folklore of the Finno-Ugric peoples. As a rule, they are very old, have power and enjoy unquestionable authority among the evil spirits. Among the Livonians (Loorits 1998, pp. 185-186) and Ludza Estonians (Kallas 1900, pp. 383-384; Annom Järv, Kaasik, Toomeos-Orglaan 2018, pp. 337-338), like their Baltic neighbors, there was a story about hoboes who spend the night in a barn haunted by devils. They go to sleep, hiding into a large sack, and look like a strange creature from the outside. The devils cannot understand what it is, and bring the oldest devil, whose long eyelids have to be lifted with a pitchfork. He was present at the creation of the world. The old devil scares the young people that the unknown creature is dangerous, they run away and leave the barn in peace.

In a fairy tale of the Hill Mari, a young man tries to save a cursed girl whom he wants to marry. To do this, he endures trials for three nights in a row. On the first night at midnight at a crossroads, he collides with a moving vehicle pulled by a team of three horses abreast, not giving way to them. On the second night at a crossroads, he tames a restive horse and gets on it. On the third night, he has to go to the cemetery, find a stone cross there, settle down at its base and do not go anywhere, do not move, otherwise he will disappear. At a get-together, the guy talks to that same girl. At the cemetery, he looks for a cross, goes, not afraid of anything, sits down. He hears a sepulchral voice, which tells the evil spirits to bring the guy to him. The little devils run around, but do not see him. The main devil tells them to look in all the corners, but they can find him. The main devil says: "Come on, lift my eyelids! I will see him at once!" The little devils lift the eyelids of the main devil, he sees that the guy is sitting at the base of the cross, tells them to grab him. The guy grabs the cross with both hands, the little devils run up to him, but the roosters crow, they all disappear. He removes the curse from the girl and marries her (Aktsorin 1995, pp. 101-104).

Finally, in a Mordvin fairy tale, the old man and the old woman have no children. The old man goes to work, meanwhile the wife gets pregnant, gives birth to a boy. The old man bends down to the spring to drink, Dyachka Nai-Nai grabs him by the beard, demands that he give him something that he does not know at home. He is forced to send his grown son to the demonic creature. Dyachka Nai-Nai has forty stakes with human heads on them, one stake is empty, they will impale his head on it. But the guy gets valuable advice from Baba Yaga on the way and makes Dyachka Nai-Nai's daughter, Beautiful Marya, fall in love with him. She helps the guy cope with her father's impossible tasks. Dyachka Nai-Nai says: "Gather, all my workers, take an iron pitchfork and raise my eyebrows!" All the workers gather at this call, take an iron pitchfork, raise Dyachka Nai-Nai's eyebrows, then he can see something. The boy must count the number of millet grains in the barn and write it dow, tame the stallion in the stable, which turns out to be a seven-headed snake, build a temple and a glass bridge from it to the house of Dyachka Nai-Nai. But Dyachka Nai-Nai says again that this is the work of Beautiful Marya, turns her daughters into doves of the same color, and tells them to recognize Marya. Marya pecks other doves, and the boy recognizes her. Dyachka Nai-Nai says that this is Beautiful Marya's invention, turns her daughters into identical girls, and tells them to recognize Marya. The boy recognizes her because Marya wipes her face with a handkerchief. Dyachka Nai-Nai tells them to spend the night in the church, and in the morning he will marry them. Marya explains that tomorrow he will cut off their heads. Then follows the escape of the couple in love, the pursuit of them, and arrival in our world, where the young man, having broken his promise, forgets Beautiful Marya and almost marries another girl (Shakhmatov 1910, pp. 357-370). Dyachka Nai-Nai is close to similar characters of East Slavic fairy tales with features of Gogol's Viy. The famous demand to raise his long eyelids or eyebrows is presented in many folklore traditions, including the Slavic one. But Dyachka Nai-Nai is united with the elders of the devils from Livonian, Estonian and Mari legends and fairy tales by his status and power over evil spirits. The Beautiful Marya, in order to help her beloved, invariably calls on the clan and tribe of Dyachka Nai-Nai. He leads this underworld clan and tribe, which indicates his possible high status in the mythology of the ancient Mordvins. The meaning of his name is unclear. The ancient Finnish and Lappish magicians were named by the words *noita* and *noaide*, respectively, which are etymologically identical with the Vogul *najt* 'shaman'. But the hypothesis can also be considered according to which the name Dyachka Nai-Nai can be derived from the Slavic **навь-*, meaning 'underworld', 'a spirit of the underworld', 'corpse', 'deceased' with Baltic cognates. The Slavicists have also suggested that the word **навь-* may be associated with the pagan deity of death known as Nyja, who is mentioned in the Polish medieval chronicles.

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The Vepsian 'survival epic' *Virantanaz*. An example for saving minor literatures?

Cornelius Hasselblatt (Estonian Academy of Sciences)

Having published her epic poem *Virantanaz* in 2012, Vepsian author Nina Zaiceva stated three years later that it was a 'first attempt at an epic' (Zaitseva 2015). Another three years later the Estonian scholar and one of the translators of the epic, Madis Arukask, called *Virantanaz* a 'survival epic' (Zaitseva 2018: 269) – regarding the fact that Vepsian today is spoken by less than 2,000 individuals. At the end of the first quarter of the 21st century we can now ask, whether writing an epic is an applicable method for minor literatures/languages to survive.

As foreign reception might contribute to the position and reputation of a literary work (cf. Hasselblatt 2023), one may ask, which elements of the epic make a possible foreign reception attractive? One hypothesis is that ecology obtains an important position as modern societies begin to understand that mankind's survival on the planet highly depends on ecological considerations. As *Virantanaz* contains many ecological elements, these might contribute to the proliferation of the epic. The paper will especially discuss this aspect of Nina Zaiceva's epic *Virantanaz*.

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Along the Nadym River: A Typological and Structural Analysis of Three Northern Khanty Heroic Songs

Vít Adamovský (Eötvös Loránd University)

The first transcriptions of Ob-Ugric (Mansi and Khanty) folklore texts were made by Antal Reguly in the mid-19th century. Due to his early death, these materials remained unpublished in his lifetime. The Mansi-language part of his legacy was deciphered and published in four volumes by Bernát Munkácsi (1892–1921), while the Khanty texts were deciphered by József Pápay, who also conducted extensive fieldwork during his 1898 expedition to Siberia. Although

he collected a substantial amount of new material, Pápay only published a single volume (1905). The heroic epic songs recorded by Reguly were later edited and published in several collections (Zsirai 1944–1951, Zsirai – Fokos 1963–1965), and Pápay's own collections were also published posthumously (Fazekas 1934, Erdélyi 1972). By the late 20th century, the deterioration of Pápay's manuscripts necessitated their urgent preservation, and his handwritten notebooks were reproduced via photoprint in eight volumes under the *Bibliotheca Pápayensis* series (1988–1995), edited by Edit Vértes.

This presentation outlines a typological and structural analysis of three heroic songs from *Bibliotheca Pápayensis*. The most salient feature shared by all three epic songs is their geographical setting along the Nadym River. Although these are three distinct texts, they were collected from only two informants (Pūrəś, Nikolai Selimov), raising questions about intra-performer variability—particularly why the same narrator might recount a story bearing the same title using divergent narrative strategies and stylistic devices.

The first *Song of the Nadym River People* (*A Nadym-folyó melléki nép éneke*) is a fragment of 636 lines recorded during the winter of 1898–99 by Pápay in the village of Xiś-pūγor from an informant identified as Pūrəś (The Old).

The second *Song of the Nadym River People*, although classified as a fragment, spans 2,800 lines and contains a coherent narrative arc. It was recorded by Pápay in January 1889 in Obdorsk (modern-day Salekhard) from informant Nikolai Selimov.

The third *Song of the Nadym River People*, comprising 1,110 lines, was also narrated by Pūrəś and is classified as complete and suitable for publication.

The foundation for the typological analysis is provided by the studies of István Pál Demény, who, in his works (1977, 1988), distinguished five main types of Ob-Ugric heroic songs: *husband-acquiring*, *paternal vengeance*, *the hero's upbringing*, *enemy attack* (often involving *treacherous brothers-in-law*), and *wife-acquiring*.

The structural analysis is based on the identification of so-called *type scenes*—distinct thematic units that follow one another in a fixed sequence. The analytical framework of this section is informed by similar studies of Mansi heroic songs conducted by Bernát Munkácsi (1892–1921). However, given that these Ob-Ugric epic songs are comparable in form and scale to the ancient Homeric epics, they will also be examined through that lens, employing corresponding terminology (Edwards 1992).

This presentation aims to introduce a comparative analysis of these three heroic epics sharing the same title and geographical setting, to better understand their narrative typology, structural variation, and performative context, and thus represents the first step toward a comprehensive structural and folkloristic analysis of all the heroic songs preserved in József Pápay's manuscripts.

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Towards a unified theory of the foot in Ugric poetry and folksong

Géza Kerecsényi (University of Oxford)

What constitutes traditional "Hungarian" poetic meter has been widely discussed in the literature, but is on the whole poorly understood. Forms such as the Hungarian alexandrine ("*magyaros tizenkettes*") came into fashion likely through the influence Ancient Greek and Latin epic poetry, although some maintain that the tendency towards trochaic meters is no doubt influenced by the rigid first-syllable primary lexical stress (and odd non-initial secondary stresses) in the language. Although Mansi shares this lexical stress pattern, which is indeed hypothesised to be derived from Proto-Uralic, Khanty is more varied, with word-initial stress not holding so strictly and often a function of the particular dialect.

This paper seeks to understand the origins of Hungarian poetic meter, and its relationship to lexical stress, through a comparative analysis of Hungarian folk song and poetry with that of Ob-Ugric (Northern Khanty and Northern Mansi), with particular reference to the combination of metric feet with agglutinating morphological constructions and the resulting lexical stress patterns. Additionally, we discuss the realisation of these feet through both dynamic and temporal accents. We uncover patterns of co-variation among the Ob-Ugric poetic structures – sung and spoken – and the literary use of feet to invoke tension, release, and pacing. Our work follows from Schmidt (1995) and Hatto (2017) and draws on the resources from the LMU Munich Ob-Ugric archives, Antal and Bernát's fieldwork collection of Mansi poetry, and various sources of early Hungarian poetry and folk songs, particularly focussing on the Moldavian Csángós of present-day Romania. Consequently, we suggest that in addition to accent patterns, metric feet do indeed serve as a useful tool for the analysis and analogization of a common Ugric poetic and musical tradition.

We acknowledge that there is further work to be done in providing a stronger quantitative basis for the claims discussed in this paper, and additionally seek further clarification regarding the extent to which these features are better identified as having a common Turkic origin, as suggested by Vikár and others regarding the musicological genealogy of the melodic aspects of folk music.

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The diachrony of morphomes in the Finnic group: the role of stem allomorphy

Jules Bouton (Université Paris-Cité, LLF, CNRS)

Morphomes are autonomous morphological structures ('morphology by itself', Aronoff, 1994) that cannot be reduced to syntactic, semantic or phonetic conditioning. Recent findings tend to emphasize the persistence and the vitality of morphomic structures through time and space. The playground for these studies is predominantly the Romance language family, as it offers both diachronic depth and synchronic diversity, which allow to investigate the evolution of inflection classes and stem distributions (Maiden, 2018).

This paper discusses the situation of morphomes in Finnic noun inflection from a diachronic perspective, with a focus on a pattern shared in the northern and southern groups. As the languages under scrutiny underwent a strong standardization process, our approach considers the effects of both diachronic changes and grammar normalization.

We show how the asymmetry between the singular and plural local case forms in Proto-Finnic (PF) gave rise to a *metamorphome*, an arbitrary pattern of stem distribution shared across the lexicon (Round, 2015). As can be observed from Table 1, most PF words share the same stem for partitive and inessive plural. However, in the genitive plural, two competing patterns emerged: the first one (**kaloiðen*) mimics the distribution of singular forms, where all three cases build on the same stem, whereas the second one (**kalaðen*) leads to an unmotivated asymmetric distribution with two different stems in the plural (GEN.PL versus PART.PL). We review the changes which took place in the modern languages (Table 1) and demonstrate that although analogical leveling and phonetic change often led to the spread of new competitors in the plural, the core of the morphomic patterns incorporated this variation and remained broadly stable since Proto-Finnic. We further discuss the relation of this morphome with illative and partitive singular cells. We conclude that the diversity of the alternation patterns (inherited gradation, new gradation types) can often be subsumed under their shared morphological function in inflection.

	GEN.SG	PART.SG	INE.SG	GEN.PL	PART.PL	INE.PL
PF	**kalan*	**kalaða*	**kalassa*	**kalaðen* ~ **kaloiðen*	**kaloiða*	**kaloissa*
liv.	*kalā*	*ka'llõ*	*kalās*	*kalād*	*ka'ļḍi*	*ka'ļši*
est.	*kala*	*kala*	*kalas*	*kalade*	*kalasid* ~ *kalu*	*kalades* ~ *kalus*
olo.	*kalan*	*kalua*	*kalas*	*kaloin*	*kaloi*	*kalois*
fin.	*kalan*	*kalaa*	*kalassa*	*kalojen*	*kaloja*	*kaloissa*

Table 1: Partial paradigm of *kala* 'fish' in some Finnic languages. Shading indicates stem distributions.

Whereas previous work on inflectional morphology in the Uralic languages often made sense of such changes with a combination of phonetic rules and analogy (e.g. Alvre, 1999), we argue that the autonomous morphological principles at play also deserve attention from linguists. In the same way, besides extensive discussion of the morphophonology of stem alternations (see for instance Viitso, 1981), less work has been devoted to the function of these alternations. The case study in this contribution takes such a direction.

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Frequentative derivation in Vote: morphological and functional characteristics

Santra Jantunen (University of Helsinki)

This paper explores frequentative derivation in Vote, an inadequately described part of the grammar, and gives an overview of its functional features. Moreover, I assess the productivity of frequentative derivation in Vote and provide some parallels and comparisons between it and frequentative derivation in other Finnic languages.

Frequentative derivation is one of the inherited suffixal derivational categories in Finnic languages. In general, frequentative derivation is widespread and productive, and frequentative derivatives are numerous. In addition, there are a number of different frequentative suffixes in Finnic languages. In Southern Finnic languages, with the exception of South Estonian, productivity of frequentative derivation has decreased, and they manifest fewer frequentative suffixes. In many respects, frequentative derivation in Vote displays these characteristics. There are two frequentative suffixes, *-el(e)-*/*-õл(õ)*, *-skele-*/*-skõлõ-*, and productivity is more limited (Markus & Rozhanskiy 2022: 344). Productivity of frequentative derivation in Vote is located between the nearly unproductive frequentative derivation in Livonian (Jantunen 2014) and the highly productive one in Eastern Finnic languages (e.g., Puura 2010; Suihkonen 1994: 110).

Frequentative derivation has various functions in Vote. In the earlier research (Ariste 1968: 119; Markus & Rozhanskiy 2022: 344), it is stated that most of the morphologically transparent frequentative derivatives do not display the frequentative meaning. In certain instances, however, the frequentative function is manifested (1).

(1) *kõõz* *matala-la* ***lent-el-i-väd*** *siiz* *ilma* *lee-b*
when low-ADE fly-FREQ-PST-3PL then weather be-3SG

vihma-a *tuõ-bõ*
rain-PRT come-3SG

'When (swallows) flew low, then there will be a bad weather, the rain is coming' (Lindström et al. 2022)

Other functions of frequentative derivatives include the habitual meaning (2), reciprocity, and as regards denominal derivatives, the derivational affix acts as a verbalizer.

(2) *kalmo-i-l* *avvaa* *pääl* *toož* ***lugõ-t-õl-tii***
graveyard-PL-ADE grave.GEN on also lament-CAUS-FREQ-IMPRS
'In the graveyard, on the grave a lament was also sung' (VKS)

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Revisiting the Estonian feminine suffix *-ik*

Loviisa Mänd (Tallinn University) & Szilárd Tibor Tóth (University of Tartu Narva College)

It is widely recognised that the explicit marking of feminine (or any) gender is atypical for Finnic languages. It is believed that the few feminine suffixes found in Finnic languages have developed under the influence of other languages (Mägiste 1928–29: 22). One such example is the diminutive suffix *-ik*, which historically (among its other meanings) denoted feminine gender but by now has lost this function. The feminine function of the predecessor to the Estonian suffix *-ik*, *-(i)kkoi*, is believed to date back to Proto-Finnic, as it has parallels in many Finnic languages. The suffix was primarily used in terms denoting female members of communities, such as *rootsik* 'Swedish woman', *vennik*, in Finnish dialects *venakk(o)*, South Vepsian *veńak* 'Russian woman', Votic *virakko* 'Estonian woman', Ingrian *sõmakkoi* 'female Finn', Lutsi *lätik* 'female Latvian' (Mägiste 1928–29: 24–25). The suffix has also been used in broader contexts, in words like *hõimik* 'female relative', *noorik* 'newly married woman', Ingrian *karjakkoi* 'female shepherd' (Mägiste 1928–1929); Votic *pantavikko* 'girl of marriageable age', *nuorikko*, and *vietävikko* 'bride' (Kettunen, Posti: 1932). Although a range of feminine words derived with the suffix *-ik* are present in many sources of old written Estonian (Gutslaff 1648; Göseken 1660, Hornung 1693, Thor Helle 1732, Hupel 1780), its authenticity has once been questioned: the data on the feminine suffix *-ik* from Gutslaff's grammar have been considered to be his own invention (Keem 1998: 325). Nevertheless, this claim has been refuted (Tóth 2018: 279).

In Estonian linguistics, the feminine suffix *-ik* has been primarily regarded as a distinctive feature of South Estonian (Mägiste 1928–29; more recently Tóth 2018). However, Mägiste (1928–29: 24) provides evidence of the word *noorik* from a broad range of Estonian dialects, which suggests a wider areal distribution of the suffix. By today, for various reasons the suffix has lost its feminine meaning: in modern standard Estonian the only rudiment of the feminine suffix *-ik* is the word *noorik* 'newly married woman'. The historical feminine meaning of the suffix can also be seen in cow names (e.g. *Mustik* < *must* 'black', *Punik* < *punane* 'red', while bull names are derived from the same base words using other suffixes). Apart from that, the evidence of the suffix's former feminine meaning can be found in several Estonian dialects. We aim to demonstrate the distribution of the feminine suffix *-ik* across the entire Estonian language area, using examples found in the EKI (Institute of the Estonian Language) dictionaries of Estonian dialects. Our examples include terms derived with the suffix *-ik* that refer to little girls and young women (of which the latter are mostly pejorative, suggesting a link between diminution/feminity and pejoration).

The examples of forms meaning 'little girl' are: ***latsik*** 'little girl' < South Estonian *lats* 'child'; ***välgik*** 'little girl' < *välk*, *väle* 'swift'; ***väitsik*** 'little girl'. The forms meaning 'young woman' are: ***noorik*** 'newly married young woman' < *noor* 'young'; ***kaasik*** 'female wedding singer, companion of the bride', possibly < *kaas-* 'co-'. Pejorative derivatives include: ***edvik*** 'flirtatious girl' < *edeve* 'vain'; ***kepsik*** 'girl with loose morals' < *keps* 'leg', *kepslema* 'to prance'; ***pordik*** 'immoral woman' < *pordu-*, a root denoting sexual immorality; and ***lupsik*** 'disparaging term

for a woman'. Some derivatives show semantic reduplication, where the suffix repeats the feminine meaning of the base form, e.g. ***lehmik*** 'promiscuous girl' < *lehm* 'cow'; ***naisik*** 'immoral woman, mother of an illegitimate child' < *naine* 'woman'; and ***hatik*** 'flirtatious girl' < *hatt* 'bitch, female dog'.

Our data shows that the suffix appears in all dialects across Estonia. To our knowledge, two of the above-mentioned words are only found in non-Southern dialects: *kepsik* and *naisik*; both Southern and non-Southern dialects feature five forms: *lehmik*, *väitsik*, *pordik*, *noorik*, and *kaasik*; while five forms are found in Southern dialects only: *latsik*, *välgik*, *edvik*, *lupsik*, and *hatik*. In conclusion, the feminine suffix *-ik* is not exclusive to South Estonian, let alone an arbitrary invention of Gutslaff. It is a widespread element across all Estonian dialects as well as in the Finnic languages in general (see the Finnish, Votic and Ingrian examples above).

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Remarks on morphophonology in Northern Mansi Verbs

Susanna Virtanen (University of Helsinki / Finno-Ugrian Society)

The aim of this presentation is to provide an overview of the suffixal morphophonological variation in Northern Mansi verbs. The topic has been touched upon by researchers such as Rombandeeva (2017), Riese (2001), Kálmán (1976), Veenker 1977 and Skribnik and Afanaseva (2004), but there is no comprehensive data-based description of the distribution of allomorphs for any specific suffix. Northern Mansi is the only surviving variant of the Mansi language, spoken in Western Siberia, with about 950 speakers remaining.

In morphophonological research, stem alternation and suffixal variation are distinguished. In Mansi, stem alternation occurs mainly in irregular verbs, of which there are six. All other verbs belong to the regular category. This presentation focuses on the relatively extensive suffixal variation in verb conjugation, which affects both regular and irregular verbs. For example, the past tense suffix */s/* can attach to the verb stem either directly, with the help of the linking vowel */a/*, or with a reduced linking vowel */ə/*. The present participle marker */n/* appears in forms such as */-ne/*, */-an/*, or */-ən/*. Regular verb infinitives are divided between the suffixes */-aŋkwe/* and */-uŋkwe/*, while the suffix */-ŋkwe/* without a preceding vowel is found with irregular verbs.

My research data include a list of 2,058 infinitive forms that I have compiled, with the verbs sourced from the draft version of the Mansi online dictionary produced at the University of Szeged. Additionally, I analyze the distribution of suffix variants using the online version of the Mansi-language newspaper *Лӯимӑ сӛрпос* (*Lūimā Sēripos*), collecting examples through electronic search commands in article data. Methodologically, my data-based research is based on a simple, classificatory morphophonological analysis.

I present my observations on the mechanisms of suffixal morphophonological variation in four morphological categories: infinitive, past tense, present participle, and past participle. I aim to

find common factors between these categories and provide an overview of the reasons for the variation. My results include the observation that the vowel-initiality of a suffix often correlates with the consonant-finality of the stem (necessitating a linking vowel), though not in all cases. Additionally, factors such as the number of syllables in the stem and whether the stem ends in a single consonant or a consonant cluster influence the distribution of suffix variants. Finally, derivational suffixes added to a verb stem also influence morphophonological features.

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General Session: Multilingualism

Integrating Finno-Ugristics and second language acquisition research: A longitudinal study on the development of metalinguistic awareness

Annekatrin Kaivapalu, Sigrid Kaasik-Krogerus, Hanna-Ilona Härmävaara, Mariann Bernhardt, & Ilona Kivinen (University of Helsinki)

Traditionally the strongest areas of research in the Finno-Ugric languages have been the study of language structures, sociolinguistics, and research related to language policy. On the other hand, research on learning and acquisition of Finno-Ugric languages as second and/or foreign language has taken a back seat (see, however Bolotova & Rakin 2007, Durst & Janurik 2011, Kivinen 2022), except for Finnish and Estonian. The research project of the University of Helsinki *Vertailusta virtaa: pitkittäisnäkökulma kielitietoisuuden kehittymiseen* 'Flow from comparison: a longitudinal perspective on the development of language awareness' aims to fill this gap by focusing on the acquisition of Estonian, Hungarian and Sami and mutual intelligibility of Estonian, Finnish, Livonian and Veps.

In this presentation we introduce the preliminary results of the pilot study on the development of metalinguistic awareness during the beginners' courses of Estonian and Northern Sami and the advanced course of Estonian and Skolt Sami in the fall semester 2024. The aim of the study is to answer to the following research questions:

1. How the connections between the target language and the first language, as well as the connections between other previously learned languages, develop: what are the target language phenomena compared to in the source languages and on what basis is the comparison object selected?
2. How do the different levels of metalinguistic awareness (surface awareness, morphology and paradigm awareness and pragmatic awareness, see Kaivapalu 2022) interact with each other at different stages of learning?

The data consists of self-reflections of the learners (50 beginners and 10 advanced learners of Estonian, 7 of Northern Sami and 3 of Skolt Sami) gathered every two weeks as entries to the course diaries. The qualitative content analysis of the data (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018: 103–117) is performed. The results are discussed in the light of the Cumulative Model of metalinguistic

awareness (Kaivapalu 2022) and the theoretical framework of Conceptual Transfer Hypothesis (Jarvis 2023).

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The problems and features of teaching the Mari language at a university (exemplified by Eötvös Loránd University)

Elena Vedernikova (Eötvös Loránd University)

The Mari language, a minority Uralic language, is offered as an optional course at Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) at both BA and MA levels, with student enrollment fluctuating annually. This variation often influences the design and content of the teaching curriculum. The experience of teaching Mari over the past three years (2021-2024) has provided valuable insights into the challenges and unique characteristics of teaching this language, which may also parallel those encountered in teaching other Finno-Ugric languages at ELTE and other institutions.

In contemporary educational settings, language instructors are increasingly expected to adopt a differentiated approach to teaching. This necessity extends beyond language instruction, encompassing a broader pedagogical shift toward engaging and personalized learning experiences. For university-level instructors, the dual challenge of fostering language acquisition while integrating scientific analysis and comparative linguistic study presents a complex, yet rewarding, task. Teachers are tasked not only with facilitating language learning but also with encouraging critical analysis of the Mari language in relation to other Uralic languages, thereby transforming the learning process into a dynamic and intellectually stimulating experience.

This paper will explore the pedagogical principles employed in teaching Mari as a minority language at ELTE, outlining the structure of the teaching programs at both the BA and MA levels. Additionally, an overview of the teaching materials, most of which have been developed by the author, will be provided. The paper will also discuss the effectiveness of current teaching methods and techniques in enhancing student engagement and learning outcomes, while addressing the broader challenge faced by minority language educators in the context of the global dominance of languages like English and Spanish (García, 2006: 161).

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"We Can Speak in Livonian" — From Livonian as a Stage and Written Language to a Spoken Language

Gunta Kļava (University of Latvia Livonian Institute)

For decades, the summer school for children and youth, held annually for ten days, was the sole opportunity to gain basic Livonian language proficiency through instructed learning. However, in the autumn of 2024, with the support of the Ministry of Education and Science of Latvia, the University of Latvia Livonian Institute launched a regular Livonian language learning course. This presentation describes the initial experiences gained from this course, with a focus on the interplay between language attitudes, behaviors, and the methods and approaches employed in instructed language learning. Data was collected through interviews and direct observations, adhering to established research ethics procedures.

A persistent challenge in raising Livonian language proficiency has been helping learners move beyond the beginner level—knowing only phrases and isolated words—due to a lack of opportunities to practice the language (Kļava 2022). In addition to teaching methods and approaches, as well as the domains of language practice, a critical element emerged during the first regular Livonian course: learners' attitudes, feelings, and beliefs about the language. These include their previous experiences with Livonian language learning and their associations with the purpose of learning the language, which lacks pragmatic incentives for everyday use.

Building on prior research into the needs of Livonian language learners, a variety of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Heritage Language Acquisition (HLA) methods were employed in the course design (Ernštreits & Kļava 2023). Although Livonian is not the learners' native language, it holds immense symbolic significance for identity and belonging. The course also emphasized the integration of cultural knowledge and heritage language practices alongside linguistic skills.

The analysis of the first lessons highlights a common phenomenon associated with endangered languages (Sallabank 2013: 85-89). Learners often perceive the language as one used for performance, such as on a stage, relying on controlled, predictable phrases rather than engaging in spontaneous, everyday communication. One learner's comment illustrates this: "I know the grammar, but I can't do this; I don't know how to use the language." After engaging in activities designed to foster language use, several learners expressed surprise and excitement at their ability to use Livonian for everyday conversations on topics of interest.

The experience of addressing learners' inability to converse in Livonian has shown that exposure to authentic language use during lessons—whether through teachers, other participants, or learners themselves—can shift those beliefs and attitudes. This exposure reinforces the idea that Livonian is a fully functional language with practical use, empowering learners and increasing their motivation and willingness to engage with the language. Despite the lack of active language domains, such practices demonstrate the potential for revitalizing Livonian as a spoken language.

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The Intersection of Music and Language Revitalization – Livonian Musical Performers

Bridget Moran-Nae (University of Tartu)

Historically, the Livonian language was spoken along Latvia's west coast and up into Estonia, but it experienced significant decline due to wars, assimilation, and particularly the Soviet occupation (Ernštreits, 2024). While the language is now classified as endangered, efforts have been made to revitalize it through summer schools and cultural activities, rather than via intergenerational transmission. Latvia boasts a vibrant history of traditional music groups, including ones singing in Livonian. This paper examines the role that members of these Livonian music groups see for themselves in the revitalization process. It explores their language attitudes, their views on the intersection of music and revitalization, and the challenges and future they see for themselves in the revitalization process. To conduct this research, once a theory-driven topic list was established, semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of Livonian music groups. These interviews were thematically analyzed in the style of Braun and Clarke (2006). Findings indicate that the members of Livonian ensembles generally harbor positive attitudes towards the Livonian language, viewing their involvement as a means to promote and revitalize it. They can be seen as language ambassadors, using music to elevate the language's status. However, their appreciation does not always translate into regular use of the language, as external factors like limited language domains and insufficient opportunities for language acquisition pose barriers. The ensembles play a vital role as heritage mediators, using music to express Livonian identity and encourage language vitality. However, addressing the practical barriers to Livonian use remains crucial for an effective revitalization process. This study gives a first glimpse of the role of musical groups and singers in the Livonian revitalization movement and their use of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) to transmit, preserve, and popularize the language. It also constitutes a first step towards conceptualizing Livonian musical performers as language policy actors within the Livonian community in Latvia

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Scholarly Terminology and the Vitality of Languages

Antti Kanner, Harri Kettunen and Tiina Onikki-Rantajääskö (University of Helsinki)

In the (post)modern society, the vitality of national languages, as well as those minority languages that are widely used in education and elsewhere, highly depends on developing the languages also for special purposes. Overall, questions concerning the vitality of minority languages suit mutatis mutandis to all languages (see Laakso et al. 2016). Domain loss of languages starts with the languages of special purposes and the academic language in special. International prestige language, English in this case, dominates in those areas of the language where there is no vocabulary or where it is not felt necessary to develop one. (Saarikivi 2020.) Thus, developing up-to-date terminology is one of the core questions. In this paper, we focus on the scholarly terminology. We aim to combine both the theory and practice of language policy to promote terminology as a central area in the issues concerning the status of languages.

First, we introduce some basic results from an internet survey we conducted in the first quarter of 2024. Then, we will turn to a case study on niche sourcing of the key terms of academic theses at Aalto University.

The need for updated terminology and explanations of unfamiliar terms arose in different domains of society in the survey rapport of the state of the Finnish language (Onikki-Rantajääskö 2024). Digital services are crucial in two respects. First, people are often alone in using digital services. Unfamiliar terminology may be an obstacle to using vital services for many users, not just those learning Finnish. The other crucial point is the interoperability of different services and platforms that require harmonization of the joint terminology. These challenges pertain to terminology in general. However, the scholarly terminology is not unaffected by them because academic terms spread to media, education, administrative texts, and public discussion.

Our internet survey revealed distinct differences in the use of scholarly terminology between humanities and sciences. In the humanities, the terminology is more readily available in Finnish and is commonly used in academic publishing. In contrast, the use of scientific terminology in Finnish is more concentrated in teaching materials, reflecting the discipline's focus on education and dissemination of knowledge. Ca. 20% of the answers indicated remarkable difficulties in finding relevant terminology in Finnish in other fields than humanities, where the corresponding share of responses was 10%.

Practical solutions are available to enhance the use of multilingual terminology. Our case studies cover and compare two different multilingual situations. One is Aalto University, where all doctoral students are expected to join the niche sourcing of the Helsinki Term Bank for the Arts and Sciences to add the key terms of their theses to the database. The other is a pilot study to test the idea of niche sourcing of scholarly terminology for comparative purposes in another part of the world, among the Indigenous people in a multilingual setting in the Yucatan peninsula in Mexico, based on fieldwork in the area during the summer of 2025. Although the circumstances are very different in these two linguistic areas, we can potentially learn from the practices of developing new scholarly terminology in different linguistic and societal settings. We conclude our analysis by considering what the results can contribute to the development of Finno-Ugric languages – the situation of the majority languages is similar to that of Finnish. In contrast, the situation of minority languages resembles that of the Yucatan peninsula.

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Supporting linguistic diversity and the national language at the University of Tartu (Estonia): Adapting language policies to address the needs of staff and students

Birute Klaas-Lang & Kerttu Rozenvalde (University of Tartu)

During the last decades, the proportion of international staff and students in universities worldwide has grown rapidly, reshaping language environments in academia. Our paper examines the challenges this shift has brought to a relatively small national language community – the Estonian community – due to the corresponding rise of English (Klaas-Lang 2016; Soler, Vihman 2017; Rozenvalde, Klaas-Lang 2022). Specifically, we focus on the evolving language regime at the University of Tartu, which navigates a dual commitment: adhering to Estonia's protectionist national language policies while actively pursuing internationalization to enhance global recognition and success in higher education and research.

This creates a growing tension between Estonian nationalism – centred on preserving and developing the Estonian language – and internationalization, often linked to the increasing use of English (Soler, Rozenvalde 2024).

In response to these changes and to safeguard the use of Estonian at the university, primarily in administrative context, the University updated its *Language and internationalisation principles* in 2020. Our talk first provides an overview of the university's language. However, research on multilingual university and workplace settings has shown that formal language policies often diverge significantly from actual language practices (Söderlundh 2013; Lin 2022), i.e., the practiced language policies (Bonacina-Pugh 2012). This aligns with Spolsky's (2004) approach to language policy, which we adopt in our study. Since 2021, we have conducted several studies to better understand the real language needs and attitudes of the university's students and staff. In our talk, we present findings from two survey studies (conducted in 2021 and 2023) and a qualitative study (conducted in 2022) that explore the language attitudes and needs of academic staff (both local and international), international degree students, and local Russian-dominant students.

These studies have reached the university's top administrators and influenced the implementation of language policies. Therefore, in the final section of our paper, we highlight the actions taken by the university policymakers to better address the language needs of the university community.

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English-Estonian code-copying in podcasts: comparing males and females

Helin Kask & Anna Verschik (Tallinn University)

So far, the synchronic research on English-Estonian language contacts has been focusing on the language use by females in blogs and vlogs (Kask 2021). The topic of the paper is a comparison between patterns of code-copying (henceforth CC) among males and females in bilingual podcasts. The research question is as follows: are there any differences in code-copying patterns between two datasets (male and female podcasts)?

We use Lars Johanson's (2002, 2023) code-copying framework (henceforth CCF). The choice of CCF is justified because it is a holistic, non-constraint based descriptive model that is

compatible with usage-based approach. It considers all types of contact-induced language change within the same terminology and does not draw lines between lexicon and morphosyntax. Also, it has been applied in earlier research of English-bilingualism (see Kask 2021, Verschik 2019). In CCF, the mental mechanism leading to the impact of one variety on another is copying. Longer, syntactically autonomous stretches in another variety are labeled as code-alternation (henceforth CA): *seda ma otseselt ei avalda, sest et nii on palju lihtsam.* ***Just I've been there***. 'I am not directly revealing it because it is much easier. Just I've been there.'

Other than that, a linguistic item has four types of properties: semantical, material, combinatorial and frequential. If all properties are copied, it is a global copy (similar to borrowing/code-switching in other models): *teed Twitteris oma* ***thread****'i* 'you do your own thread in Twitter'. If only some properties are copied, it is a selective copy (similar to loan-translations, structural borrowing, semantic extension in other models): [at the beginning of the podcast] *alustuseks selline* ***jäämurdja*** 'an icebreaker to begin with' whereas it would be *jääd sulatama* 'to melt the ice' in Estonian. If a compound or multiword item combines global and selective copies, it is labeled as mixed copy, e.g. ***hard-töötav*** (Estonian *töökas, tööd rügav*; English *hard-working*).

Applying CCF to different datasets but in the same sociolinguistic situation (English-Estonian adult bilingual speech) and comparative approach may demonstrate similarities/differences in the preferred type of copies and distribution thereof. The data comes from podcasts: 17 males from 6 podcasts, 8 hours of footage total (69,000 tokens). To identify possible differences in the speech of males and females, the data is compared to the data from 10 female vloggers, 10 hours of footage (117,000 tokens).

The data suggests that the share of different types of copies is similar in the speech of males and females and global copies prevail in both. The type of global copies differs: males copy items with specific meaning, while females, in addition to that, copy items with expressive and figurative meaning. The number of copies and CAs per 1,000 words is significantly higher in female speech: the number of copies is two times higher (accordingly 20 ja 11) and the number of CAs is ten times higher (accordingly 3.2 ja 0.35). Also, female speech is more rich, containing language play, explanations and repetitions in both languages etc.

The differences could be explained also by age: most of the females are teens or in their 20s while male are in their 30s. In addition, the footage of male speech contains episodes of podcasts where the informants talk about their specialty and professional life. However, the footage of female speech is mostly vlogs where informants talk about their everyday life so this is an informal setting that may lead to more colorful language use.

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Code-switching and language play in multilingual Discord calls

Geidi Kilp (Tallinn University)

This study is looking at the language use of native Estonians during Discord calls. Live group calls between Estonians are currently an understudied medium that enables a look into casual communication that exhibits specific characteristics of language use, not only the use of various languages and subject-specific vocabulary, but also frequent word play and fooling around that is common in gaming environments.

The current data has 7 calls collected between August 2023 and January 2025. Additional data is still in the process of being collected. The data is currently at 8 hours, 11 minutes and 11 seconds, tokens totalling ~50 000. During 4 of the calls, the participants were playing the game Dead by Daylight in the background, during 2 calls the game was Don't Starve Together, and during 1 call the game played was Labyrinthine. All games are survival games based on instanced or private lobbies, playable with up to a group of 4 to 8 participants, depending on the game. The participants in the current data are 3 people, with another 3 appearing intermittently. The analysis is qualitative and usage-based (Backus 2015, Zenner et. al 2019), focusing on individual case examples and the cognitive functions behind them.

Preliminary analysis shows frequent word play, including puns, literal translation, modification of pronunciation, word order and word forms, metalinguistic discussions, play on relevant song lyrics etc. Screaming, swearing, singing, humming, monologuing, half-formed thoughts, distractions and cutting into another person's thoughts are also very common, exponentially more so than seen in more formal spoken mediums such as vlogs, interviews, podcasts, news media etc. The main languages are Estonian and English, other languages such as Korean, Japanese, Russian, Spanish, Italian and French are also seen intermittently.

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General Session: Onomastics

From *Riihipelto* to *Öövedenkangas*: Finnish place names in the light of the Digital Names Archive

Jaakko Raunamaa (City of Vantaa)

Place names have played a significant role in the history of Finnish linguistics and settlement-historical research. The lack of old historical documents and archaeological finds makes place names especially important in the study of cultural and linguistic past of Finland (Ainiala et al. 2012). The value of place names was already understood in the early 20th century, when the first collections were created. Over the decades, the Names Archive grew in size and the name collection processes became more systematic. At the end of the 2010s, the Finnish Names Archive contained around 2.7 million place names written on paper card files (ibid.). Almost all of the names were converted into a digital form in 2014–2017 (Ikkala et al. 2018). In digital format, each name has information about location, parish, collector, collection year and place type etc.

Such a large digital name database, covering almost the whole country, is unique in the world. Nevertheless, its use has been limited. At the end 1980s, Eero Kiviniemi used paper card files to assess the features of Finnish toponymy (Kiviniemi 1990). He stacked the name cards and used a ruler to estimate, for example, the most common place names in Finland. Needless to say, there are many shortcomings when using such calculation method. Furthermore, Kiviniemi was not able to take into account duplicate names, which are abundant in the data (i.e. the same name can be mentioned on many name cards).

The aim of this paper is to use digitized Names Archive data to examine the features of Finnish toponymy. First, the duplicate names are removed and the number of names falls to around two million. Following Kiviniemi's study, the cleaned data is used to measure features such as, the most common Finnish place names, the most common specific parts of names and the most common generic parts. As the data includes coordinates of the place name, regional differences can also be examined. Furthermore, computational clustering algorithms are utilized to study how the use of place names has varied by region. The results are compared with the studies that are based either on linguistic data (e.g. Honkola et al. 2019) or genetics (Kerminen et al. 2017).

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About Votic Toponyms

Enn Ernits (Tartu)

The Votic place names have been collected mainly in the second half of the XX century. Since then, the place-name collections of the Institute of the Estonian Language and the Mother Tongue Society originate. The Votic toponymy has been studied by Paul Ariste (e.g. 1967), but in recent years by Aleksandr Dmitriev (2016) and the author of these lines (Ernits 2020a, 2020b, 2024, 2025). The following is an attempt to give an overview of what has been studied, with a primary focus on the classification and origin of place names. This allows us to place them in groups of meanings according to attributes.

The Votic toponyms are first divided into endo- and exotoponyms. Among the first, nature, cultivation and settlement names can be distinguished, but in the first two groups there is a lot of coincidence in terms of origin, so it is expedient to consider them together. One and the same toponym can sometimes denote meadows, swamps, forests, as well as fields and pastures. This indicates their once intermittent use. Among natural and cultivation names, both primary (e.g. *Varõsõõ matala* < *varõz* 'crow' + *matala* 'shallow') and secondary place names (*Polmasoo mettsä* 'mets' < *soo* 'swamp' + *mettsä* 'forest') are distinguished, as well as toponyms without determinant (*Kreivi* 'the part of the shore of the Gulf of Finland that was used as a hayfield' < Finnish *kreivi* 'count'; *Kurč* 'name of a hayfield' < *kurči* 'crane') and single term names (*Liivikko* < *liivikko* 'sandy region; grove?'; *Orko* 'name of a valley' < *orko* 'valley'). They originate from names of a) collections of natural objects (*Čivirõukko-nurmi* < *čivirõukko* 'pile

of stones' + *nurmi* ’field’), b) representatives of the animal kingdom (*Reposoo* 'swamp near Mati village' < *repo* 'fox'), c) plants (*Võhkasuo* < *võhka* ’arum’), d) people (*Sergelähe* 'Sergei spring' < *Sergey* ’a personal name’+ *lähe* ’spring’; *Povarin-soo* < ’Russian *povar* ’cook’), e) location (*Alameri* 'a part of Kurgola Bay' < *ala-* 'lower' + *meri* 'sea') and other aspects of common nouns.

Studying the origin of natural and cultivation names has revealed a number of common nouns that have not been registered outside of toponymy, e.g. **iisi* ~ **hiisi* 'holy grove', **jalain* 'elm', **võhmaz* 'swamp island', etc., as well as personal names (**Jassi*, **Piimo*, **Ul´o*, etc.). The hitherto unregistered noun derivatives are formed mainly by the collective suffix *-kko*: **palanikko* 'burnt place', **polt´s´ikko* 'nettle place, place where nettles grow', etc. Only **niittüzikko* 'multi-part meadow?' has been created using the appendix *-zikko*. The hitherto unrecorded compound nouns are **lidnaamäči* 'stronghold hill' and **savipaja* 'pottery'. Adjectives are derived from nouns: **čärppän* ~ **čärppäne*: **čärppäzee* 'stoat-; weasel-' and **nõmmin*: **nõmmizõõ* 'heath-'.

Among the Votic settlement names, rural, manor, village and farm names can be distinguished. The names of the manors are mostly derived from the names of the villages (*Kattilaa mõizaa* < *mõiza*; *Savi-õja* 'a river, village, manor and mill'), less often from the name of the owner (*Ivan Kosťaa mõiza*; *Pippinää mõiza* < *Bippen*). The villages have been named on the basis of 1) ancient personal names (**Assila* ~ **Assizi*, cf. Livonian *As(e)* ~ Estonian, Livonian *Asse* a. o.a.; *Kukkuzi* < family name **Kukkozõd* < *kukko* ~ *kukkõ* 'cock'), 2) Christian personal names (*Savvokkala* < *Savva*; *Kliimettina* < *Klimenti*), 3) people names (*Tiutitsy* < *chud* 'here: Votian'; **Vad'dd'aa[čülä]* < *vad'dd'aa* 'Votian' + *čülä* 'village'), 4) characteristics of the surrounding area (*Kazikko* < 'birch forest; Liivčülä < *liiva* 'sand') and 5) the location of the village (*Jõgõperä* < *jõki* 'river' + *perä* 'rear [= behind]'; *Mäči* [= Ičäpäivä] < *mäči* 'mountain') and 6) other peculiarities (*Lerrõba*, *Palokka*). Votic farm names are formed from the names of the owners, e.g. *Georgevaa Grigorii talo* < *talo* 'farm'.

In addition to endotoponyms, exotoponyms have also been studied. They have been used by the Votians to designate places of the neighbouring countries (Estonia, Finland and Russia) as well as places in the rest of the world. Place names can be either Finnic (*Ivoolidna* 'Ivangorod' < Ivo ’Ivan’ + *lidna* 'city'; *Koivistoo saari* < *saari* 'island'; *Viro* 'Estonia') or Russian (*Kitai* 'China'; *Vavilona-* 'Babylon'; *Vopskov-* 'Pskov' < Russian dialectal *Vopskov*).

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Karelian personal names in oikonymy of South Karelia

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The scientific report deals with the personal names attested as parts of oikonyms (settlement names) of South (Olonets) Karelia where most of the population in the last few centuries speaks

the Livvik dialect of the Karelian language. According to the statistics, more than 60% of the settlement names in the Livvik area are of anthroponymic origin, which explains the focus of research. Based on the studied oikonyms and microtoponyms, I identify three main groups of human naming: anthroponyms of Balto-Fennic origin, non-Christian names of Russian origin, Christian names and their forms. Within the first group, particular mention is made of the names that relate to the ancient Balto-Fennic "faunistic" tradition (village Hukkal < Hukka 'Wolf', village Kurrenselgy < Kurgi 'Crane', etc.); the names that characterize a person in terms of physical condition, behavior, social status (village Keikkul < Keikku 'Lame', village Hörpäl < Hörppö 'Chatterbox', village Herranselgy < Herra 'Rich Man', etc.); personal names with negative semantics (village Kel'l'ul < Kel'l'u 'Scoundrel', village Tahtahal < Tahtas 'Fool', etc.). The second group includes a number of non-Christian names of Russian origin that once existed in South Karelia, reconstructed based on the toponymic material (*Gorb < village Gorbal, *Zhdan < village Ždianu, *Rubets < village Rubčoilu, etc.). In some cases, Karelian Livviks could have two "Russian" names, from which I carefully assume, that at least in the 16th–17th centuries, there was a tradition to give the child a double name: a Christian calendar name and an everyday non-Christian Russian name. The third largest group includes Karelian forms of Christian names, including female ones, reflected in the oikonymy of the region.

From *Cipollino* to *Happy Ladybug*: Mapping patterns and changes of Estonian kindergarten names

Mariko Faster (Võru Institute) & Kadri Koreinik (University of Tartu)

This paper aims to analyze naming practices, name grammar and semantics, and changes in the names of Estonian kindergartens based on socio-onomastic, etymological and archival research. Another important facet of our research is to move beyond the traditional focus on the taxonomy and etymology of place names by critically exploring the politics of identity (for details see Rose-Redwood et al. 2009; Vuolteenaho, Berg 2009; Saparov 2017).

Our primary research question: Which are the main kindergarten naming patterns? In our analysis we consider the importance of regional (minority-dense northeastern Estonian, South Estonian language and culture, insular varieties) and urban-rural contexts, national and local identities, and changes in naming practices over time. Material has been collected mainly from the home pages of local municipalities and kindergartens and double-checked with the Estonian education information portal Haridussilm.

A principal change in the naming of kindergartens has taken place in Estonia from the 1980s to 2020s. Before Estonia's reindependence (1991), urban kindergartens were mostly named by numbers and settlement names, e.g. *8th Day care of Võru* and rural ones only by settlement name, e.g. *Day care of Mõniste*. A rather similar pattern is observed in Latvia (Pošeiko 2014). Most kindergarten names contain a place name (name of a town, village or street) even today, but no numbers.

In the 1980s to 2000s, a new naming approach developed with mostly new independent names given for kindergartens along different thematic clusters. The preferred themes have been characters from children's books (*Sipsik* 'Raggie', *Naksitrallid*, *Krõll*, *Poku*, *Lotte*, *Sinilind* 'The Blue Bird', *Karlsson* etc.) and nature (*Sinilill* 'Hepatica nobilis', *Pääsusilm* 'Primula farinosa', *Sajajalgne* 'Chilopoda' etc.). In addition, there are neologisms-compound words, which may have been created for particular kindergartens, e.g. *Õnne|triinu*, *Kraavi|krõll*, *Männi|mudila* etc. While some cross-country commonality exists, kindergarten names do vary by regions of Estonia (e.g., Russian (or all-Soviet?) influences in the urban settings of North Estonia).

Name grammar is also investigated, e.g. the role of number categories (singular, plural) and diminutive affixation, use of generics and descriptive adjectives. Name semantics is observed, e.g., the names of national symbols in kindergarten names; the names of role models as group names; translated names from Russian to Estonian, e.g. *Теремок* > *Tareke* 'cottage, cabin.DEM'; *Берёзка* > *Kaseke* 'birch tree.DEM', *Чебурашка* > *Potsataja* 'Cheburashka'. Usually the kindergarten name and names of groups form a series (e.g. kindergarten *Mõmmik* 'bear' has groups *Kaisukarud* 'teddy bears', *Mesikäpp* 'Bruin' (an appellative for bear in fairy tales) etc.). When the kindergarten name and group names do not correlate, then the group names may align thematically. Numbers are rarely used in group names.

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On South Estonian (Ludza and Leivu) Proper Names in Latvia and Their Possible Cognates in other Finnic Areas (Livonian and Krevinian)

Simonas Noreikis (University of Helsinki)

There were two South Estonian "islands" in Latvia: Leivu in Northern Latvia and Ludza in Latgalia, the eastern region of Latvia. In their historical living areas, they left traces in the proper name systems. Given South Estonian's unique position within the Finnic language family (Kallio 2014: 163) and the distinct status of Leivu within the South Estonian dialects (Kallio 2021: 135), investigating South Estonian toponyms – especially those outside Estonia – requires careful consideration of the specific features of South Estonian dialects, including their phonology, vocabulary, etc.

For example, in Latgalia near Ludza, there is the name *Pilda* (Latgalian *Pylda*), which refers to a lake, river, and manor. This name is commonly associated with the Estonian appellative *põld* 'field' (Rudzīte 1968: 189; Breidaks 1970: 162; Breidaks 1973: 100), a comparison seems that appears logical. In EKNR, the name is even recorded as *Põlda.* One counterargument, however, is that *Pilda* was mentioned before the supposed immigration of Estonians into the area (Zeps 1977: 432–433). This argument overlooks the fact that in South Estonian dialects, the native Finnic word *nurm* ('field') is used more widely than the Germanic loanword *põld*. The word *nurm* is also frequently employed in appellative and toponym formation. Consequently, the (South) It is possible that the name has Baltic roots, as suggested by comparisons to Latvian *pilt* 'to drip', Lithuanian *pilti* 'to pour liquid', and the Baltic **pilnas* 'full', **pild-* 'to fill'. In the Leivu area, there is also a river named *Pilupe* (Leivu *Põllupi*), which is a dialectal form of *Pilnupe* (*pilns* 'full'), resulting from *ln* > *ll* assimilation in Latgalian (Zemzare 1940: 80).

On the other hand, South Estonian proper names often have cognates in other Finnic naming systems. For instance, *Pujāti* (in Courland, Kiparsky 1939: 231; 410), *Pujati* (in Latgalia, LĢIA VD), *Pujas* (near Bauska, Dziļļeja 1932: 31), as well as *Puja(s)* and *Pujukalns* in Northern Latvia (LĢIA VD) occur across various Finnic regions within Latvia. These names are consistently explained as being of Finnic origin (LVV V).

In the Ludza region, there is a toponym *Ņukši* (previously written as *Nukši*) and a river named *Ņukšu ups*, which Breidaks presented as Finnic (1973: 99). Similarly, in the Bauska region, the

historical area of Krevins, there is a homestead named *Nukši*, which might have Krevinian origins (Dziļļeja 1932: 31–32). This presentation will explore the potential Finnic origins of *Ņukši* / *Nukši* from the critical point of view.

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General Session: Semantics

The Many Uses of the Finnish Verb *tahtoa* and Its Development

Ilkka Posio (University of Turku / University of Greifswald)

In this presentation I explore the Finnish verb *tahtoa* and the change in its usage over time from the dawn of written Finnish in 16th century up until start of the Early Modern Finnish in late 19th century. Primary meaning given in dictionaries for the verb *tahtoa* is 'to want', but, in some contexts, the said verb can have other meanings, such as the meaning 'to tend' (e.g., *Minä tahdon unohtaa kastella kukat ennen lomalle lähtöä*, 'I tend to forget to water the flowers before going on vacation', or *Nämä kokoukset tahtovat venyä*, 'These meetings tend to go on longer than expected'. I have a special interest in usage in the context where the subject is non-human, such as *Ovi ei tahdo aueta*, 'The door won't open' or *Haava ei tahdo parantua*, 'The wound won't heal'. Prior research (Kiuru 1977: 272, 274) on Finnish dialects has shown that 'to tend' meaning is particularly prominent in spoken Finnish in the contexts where the verb *tahtoa* is either used in negation, or the utterance is describing something negative or unwanted. The etymological equivalents for the verb *tahtoa* in Karelian and Estonian have similar usage (Karjalan kielen sanakirja: *tahtuo*, Virosuomi sanakirja: *tahtma*).

Many of the earliest texts written in Finnish are translations, most often of religious texts including, but not limited to the Bible, the law and educational texts handling various topics, such as raising children and taking care of the household. Due to the translatory nature of these text, there is semantic and syntactic transfer from the languages of the original texts, most often from Swedish or German. One such influence is using the verb "tahtoa" as an auxiliary verb in

constructions describing the future, something that is not found in the Modern Finnish. Osmo Ikola (1949: 212, 217), who has studied the verb constructions in the earliest Finnish language Bible translation from the mid-17th century, has found this future construction there and deemed it to be influence of the Swedish and German Bible translations and of the usage of German and Swedish verbs *wollen* and *vilja* that are semantic counterparts of the Finnish *tahtoa* in its 'to want' meaning, too. In modern Swedish and German, unlike in modern English and Danish (*will* and *ville* respectively, see also Boye 2001: 38) no such construction stemming from that same etymological source exists, though the use of German *wollen* in future constructions, before that usage dying out in 17th century, has been documented and studied in the prior research (see Diewald & Wischer 2013: 203).

I analyze the attestations of the verb *tahtoa* as well as its collocations in annotated digital corpora of Old Written Finnish an Early Modern Finnish available online at https://www.kielipankki.fi/korp/ as well as variety of other sources available, such as the digitalized versions of the original texts from which the Finnish texts have been translated in the cases where the text at hand, in the aforementioned corpora, is a translation. In my analysis I take into account the discoveries in the research carried out on the Germanic contact languages as well as parallel development in Estonian (Habicht et al. 2010). All in all, the purpose of my research is to map the usage of the verb *tahtoa* in the Old Written Finnish and the Early Modern Finnish, track the change in the usage of that verb, and see what the external and internal factors might be driving that change.

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Metonymy and metaphor in Finnish-Estonian and Estonian-Finnish dictionaries: case study of three frequent verbs

Saarni Laitinen (University of Helsinki)

When I worked as a lexicographer, I became interested in how polysemy was dealt with in bilingual dictionaries. There were many questions that remained unanswered during the practical work: how different meanings of polysemic words are chosen and organised in the dictionary entries, what the reasons behind those decisions are, how metaphor and metonymy are taken into account (if they are taken into account at all), what kind of differences are there in "traditional" and corpus-based dictionaries in this sense, to name but a couple. That is why I decided to have a closer look on metonymy and metaphor in the newest Estonian-Finnish online

dictionary (VISU 2019) and its older and larger sibling, the Finnish-Estonian dictionary (SUVI 2003). It seems fruitful to compare two closely related Finnic languages in the context of metalexicography.

The theoretical background of this study comes from cognitive semantics (e.g. Langacker 1987; Geeraerts 2010). One of the cornerstones of research on metaphor and metonymy is written by Lakoff & Johnson (1980; see also for definitions of these terms); in the 21st century important works on the same phenomena have been written by Barcelona (2000), and Dirven & Pörings (2002), among many others. I aim to dig deeper in how these two types of polysemy – which can also be seen as a continuum rather than two different phenomena, see e.g. Wojciechowska (2012) – are presented in the above-mentioned bilingual dictionaries, and in addition I hope to find some new perspectives on metonymy and metaphor by using dictionaries as research material.

In my presentation, I will discuss results of one part of the research, a case study concerning dictionary entries of three verbs: Finnish *antaa*, *saada*, *pitää*; Estonian *andma*, *saama*, *pidama* (approximately 'give', 'get', 'keep', but since both the Finnish and the Estonian verbs have several meanings, it is impossible to give accurate equivalents). Besides being highly polysemic, these verbs are very frequently used in both languages. Many of their meanings and ways of use differ a great deal depending on the language, which makes them even more interesting to look at metalexicographically. The focus is on how metaphor and metonymy are presented in the entries, but I also look at how the different meanings are organised into main groups and subgroups in general. There will be comparisons both between the entries inside each dictionary, and between the dictionaries.

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How conceptualization motivates the case government of Finnish verbs

Tuomas Huumo (University of Turku)

Many Finnish verbs take a locative complement with semantically opaque local-case marking (consider examples 1–4, with the locative complements in boldface).

1. Rakastu-i-n **Tartto-on.**
fall.in.love-PAST.1SG Tartu-ILLAT
'I fell in love with (lit. "into") Tartu.'

2. Suutu-i-n **pilka-sta.**
get.angry-PAST-1SG mockery-ELATIVE
'I got mad at (lit. "out of") the mockery.'

3. Unohd-i-n kirja-n **kahvila-an / pöydä-lle / sängy-n alle.**
forget-PAST-1SG book-ACC café-ILLAT / table-ALLAT /bed-GEN under.GOAL
'I forgot (left) the book in (lit. "to") the café / on the table / under the bed.'

4. Löys-i-n kirja-n **kahvila-sta / pöydä-ltä / sängy-n alta.**
find-PAST-1SG book-ACC café-ELAT / table-ABLAT / bed-GEN under.SOURCE
'I found the book in (lit. "from") the café / on the table / under the bed.'

In spite of requiring directional GOAL (lative) or SOURCE (separative) cases, these verb + locative combinations (VLCs) designate no actual motion into or out of the location expressed. The verbs in (1) and (2) require a particular local case (illative and elative, respectively) to mark their oblique complement, instantiating **case government proper**. Such complements are semantically object-like, as they designate a participant in the relationship expressed by the verb. The verbs in (3) and (4) only require a certain directionality (GOAL or SOURCE) to be expressed by their oblique complements, not a particular case. I call this **directionality government**. Locative complements of the latter verbs are adverbial-like and express a concrete or abstract location of a participant.

To see how VLCs are semantically motivated, one needs to consider not only the scenario being referred to but also the way of conceptualizing that scenario. I argue that there are three main conceptualization strategies motivating Finnish VLCs: **metaphor**, **fictive motion**, and **force dynamics** (cf. Talmy 2000). In (1) and (2), force dynamics and fictivity both play a role: the illative ('into') and elative ('out of') cases express direction of a fictive force emitted by the subject referent ('I'), which is an EXPERIENCER of an emotional change. In (1), an inchoative emotional state is conceptualized as a force emitted by the EXPERIENCER and reaching all the way 'into' the STIMULUS. In (2), it is the STIMULUS that emits a fictive force that brings about the emotional change in the EXPERIENCER. These examples show that a force-dynamic relationship between an EXPERIENCER and a STIMULUS can proceed both ways ('into' or 'out of' the STIMULUS).

In (3) and (4), the subject referent is a EXPERIENCER that becomes either aware (3) or unaware (4) of a STIMULUS ('the book'). Such a change is conceptualized as fictive motion by the STIMULUS into or out of its spatial location, where it actually resides continuously. In general, a STIMULUS that enters the awareness of the EXPERIENCER fictively moves away from its spatial location (3), while a STIMULUS that exits the EXPERIENCER's awareness fictively moves into its spatial location (4); cf. Huumo (2006).

As my data I use the index of case-government verbs by Jönsson-Korhola and White (2002). I consider only VLCs in which the choice of a directional case is evidently not motivated by actual motion or another kind of actual change. I argue that **directionality government** is motivated by four schematic meanings that sometimes overlap in an individual VLC: i) 'becoming active "from" a location' vs. 'becoming passive "into" a location', ii) unrealized motion out of a location as fictive motion "into" that location, and unrealized motion into a location as fictive motion "out of" that location, iii) expressions of figurative 'giving to' vs. 'receiving from' with an abstract or fictive THEME, and iv) inception of existence in a location as motion "into" that location and cessation of existence in a location as motion "out of" that location. **Case government proper** comprises mostly verbs of cognition and perception with a locative complement that designates a STIMULUS (in a broad sense), in either the illative or the elative case. The choice of the case reflects the conceived directionality of the cognitive–perceptive relationship, which can proceed either from the EXPERIENCER into [a CONTACT with] the STIMULUS (illative) or vice versa (elative). The availability of such generalizations suggests that VLCs are not arbitrary, isolated combinations of verbs and local cases but instantiate more schematic, semantically motivated argument structure constructions in the spirit of Cognitive Grammar and Construction Grammar.

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Preliminary Remarks on Expressions of Approximative Movement and Marking of Vicinal Goal in European Uralic

Atte Huhtala (University of Turku & University of Tartu)

In this presentation, I will provide an overview on spatial grammatical units which bear the sense of approximative directionality on European Uralic, mainly Finnic and Permic. I will also discuss the semantics of approximative movement in regard to a less studied semantic role, Vicinal Goal.

Some branches of European Uralic (Finnic, Mordvin, Permic, Hungarian) exhibit a sizable inventory of local cases, which in addition to the system of spatial adverbs and adpositions (mostly postpositions, in Finnic also prepositions) allow for a wide variety of strategies to describe space and spatial movement in language.

Approximative movement can be defined as such movement, where the Theme of the expression, or, by following cognitive semantics terminology, Trajector, approaches the Landmark, but does not end up being in contact with the latter, or its location does not coincide with that of Landmark. In other words, the endpoint of the transfer of Theme is the general vicinity or proximity of the Landmark, not the Landmark itself.

From typological point of view, some of the core aspects for understanding the semantics of approximative expressions are on the one hand goal bias (as introduced by Bourdin 1997), which is understood as the tendency of languages to describe goals in greater detail than sources, on the other hand the concept of differential Goal marking and Vicinal Goal, a semantic role related to Goal. Goal and Vicinal Goal serve both as the final positions of the moving entity's path, but whereas in the case of Goal the entity often enters or partially coincides with the landmark's space, this is not true for the Vicinal Goal. The notion of Vicinal Goal is so far relatively understudied (see Kittilä & Ylikoski 2011 and Luraghi 2017).

The function of coding Vicinal Goal in many European Uralic languages is often performed by adpositions and grammatical cases, namely allative and approximative (Kittilä & Ylikoski 2011: 2). Previous studies suggest a tendency towards animacy being an important factor impacting the interpretation between Goals and Vicinal Goals, which will be further assessed in the presentation.

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What does the Udmurt ablative reveal of the spatiality of Permic *l*-cases?

Riku Erkkilä (LMU Munich / University of Helsinki) &
Tomi Koivunen (University of Turku / University of Debrecen)

In this paper we discuss the original meaning of Permic *l*-cases through the analysis of Udmurt ablative, i.e., it acts as a surrogate for all the *l*-cases. Udmurt ablative expresses a number of meanings, for example attributive possession, abdative SOURCE, CAUSE, standard of comparison, and MATERIAL (Edygarova 2022: 511; Winkler 2011: 49–50). From a typological point of view, these are all typical meaning extensions for a spatial SOURCE marker (Kuteva et al. 2019: 34–43). The question we are addressing in this paper is, is the Udmurt ablative an ABLATIVE, i.e., (former) marker of a spatial SOURCE. Traditionally the Permic *l*-cases are considered to be old spatial cases (e.g., Baker 1985: 144–153), so some evidence of this could be present in the semantics of Udmurt ablative.

We have chosen to focus on Udmurt ablative, because it has been suggested the case retains some traces of the proposed spatial origin of the Permic *l*-cases (cf. below). However, only sporadic examples of ablatives expressing spatial meanings can be found in the literature, e.g., Csúcs (2005: 179), Перевощиков et al. (1962: 96–98). Moreover, in these examples ablative seems to express CAUSE or ASSOCIATIVE SOURCE (e.g., *so ešjosiźleś palenske* 'he distances himself from his friends'; Перевощиков et al. 1962: 96). The other *l*-cases do not have spatial meanings (e.g., Перевощиков et al. 1962: 95, 98–100). Other sources state that modern Udmurt does not use its ablative to express spatial SOURCE (Kittilä & Ylikoski 2011: 49–50). Moreover, in Komi, the ablative cannot be used to express spatial SOURCE (Baker 1985: 146–147), and Old Komi does not show any clear examples either (Лыткин 1952: 118). Therefore, it seems possible to question the spatiality of Udmurt ablative, and the Permic *l*-cases in general.

A spatial origin for the *l*-cases has been suggested (e.g., Ylikoski 2011: 259; Csúcs 2005: 177–180; Некрасова 2002: 23; Bartens 1993: 23–37), even though the descriptions of the modern languages do not fully support this claim. We explore the possibility that the source of *l*-cases was not strictly spatial even in Proto-Permic, but rather expressed ASSOCIATION of mainly animate entities (e.g., 'with someone', 'at someone's place').

We test our claim about the semantics of the Udmurt ablative with a corpus analysis that combines synchronic and diachronic perspectives. The corpora we are using contain older (e.g., Wichmann 1901, 1893) and newer (Arkhangelskiy 2018) data on Udmurt. By analyzing the semantics of examples of ablative found in the data, we can see if there have been spatial meanings expressed with the case. If no spatial meanings are attested, it lends support to our hypothesis that Udmurt ablative has originally not been a spatial case. This also would point to the direction that the Permic *l*-cases are not originally spatial cases, as none of them is used to express spatial meanings.

This study has also a more general aim in the framework of grammaticalization studies: Rice and Kabata (2007: 498) call for more cross-linguistical research on ABLATIVES, both from synchronic (semantic) and diachronic (grammaticalization) point of view. Our paper makes a contribution towards this aim by describing the semantic structure and developments possible grammaticalization of Udmurt ablative. Our analysis adds to the typological knowledge of ABLATIVES and their grammaticalization paths. By focusing on the Udmurt ablative, we hope also to advance the cross-linguistic understanding of ABLATIVES.

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Why do we choose the nominative in Finnish?

Minna Jaakola (University of Helsinki) & Krista Ojutkangas (University of Turku)

The topic of our study is the Finnish nominative as a morphological, syntactic and semantic category. Morphologically, it is usually described as a non-marked form of nouns. Syntactically, it is the case of the basic subject (1a), and in semantically appropriate circumstances, the form of the object (1b) and the nominal predicate (1c):

1a) Kissa syö.
cat.nom eat.sg3
'The cat eats / is eating.'

1b) Ruoki kissa!
feed.imp.sg2 cat.nom
'Feed the cat!'

1c) Kissa on nälkäinen.
cat.nom be.sg3 hungry.nom
'The cat is hungry.'

In the comprehensive grammar of Finnish (VISK, § 1230), the semantics of the nominative is described as follows: "In addition to expressing definiteness, the nominative does not have any special meanings. It is only possible to list different usages of expressions in the nominative: – –" (translation is ours). Existing knowledge about the nominative comes from rich literature where the nominative is contrasted with other grammatical cases (the accusative, genitive, and partitive) or is viewed through a certain syntactic function (e.g., the subject, nominal predicate; e.g. Helasvuo 2001; Huumo 2006, 2007). However, no corpus-based studies concentrating on

the Finnish nominative in particular exist so far, and for example the recent book on the Finnish cases (Jaakola & Onikki-Rantajääskö (ed.) 2023) does not have a chapter on the nominative.

We have conducted a qualitative corpus-based study on the meaning and functions of the Finnish nominative in the framework of cognitive linguistics, starting from morphology and lexical meanings, and proceeding to syntactic functions, syntactic clause types, and constructional semantics (e.g. Talmy 2000, Luraghi 2012, Langacker 2013). On the basis of corpus data from both spoken everyday conversations and written standard language, we discuss the following questions (for the sources of the data, see below; on the method, see Luodonpää-Manni & Ojutkangas 2020):

Is the nominative a truly unmarked case in Finnish? What is the distribution of the nominative across its syntactic functions? What kinds of entities are conceptualized as requiring an expression in the nominative, and in what kinds of processes do these entities participate? How does the nominative participate in building the meaning of the construction, and how does the construction build the meaning of the nominative?

The starting point for our study is that the nominative is a full member of the Finnish nominal paradigm, and an inflected form among other case forms. As such it reflects the language users' conceptualization and the choices related to it in a way parallel to any other case form. The goal of our study is to describe these choices, and along with them, the meaning of the nominative.

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On pejorative expressions in Finno-Ugric languages

Merja Salo (University of Helsinki)

The extensive dictionaries of most Finno-Ugric languages offer a fairly representative collection of idioms, proverbs, word parses, sayings, similes, metaphors, etc. taken from dialects and fiction. Such a small tradition is something that is learned in early childhood at

home in the family circle. If the transfer of the language is interrupted, this topic will remain narrow, even if the language is learned later. Negative emotional expressions and sexual vocabulary are, however, an area that is quite inadequately noted down, especially in newer dictionaries printed in Russia. This subject can be found to some extent in the folkloristic fieldwork materials of the 19th century.

For the time being, I have based my research on Komi researcher Cypanov's pioneering dictionary from 2021 presenting the pejorative lexicon of the Komi language. In it, he interestingly notes that swearwords in Komi are mostly Russian loans. The first group consists of those basic words whose primary, pejorative meaning is the most central, such as Komi *йӧй* 'crazy', *бӧб* 'stupid', *дышпоз* 'lazibones' (< *поз* 'nest'), *мӧмӧт* 'stutterer'. This group contains many words borrowed from Russia, such as *гад* 'scoundrel, worm', *плут* 'scoundrel', *сука* 'bitch', *хам* 'nerd, scruff'.

The second group consists of such expletives that were born from nouns but received an additional pejorative meaning. They can be further divided semantically into six groups. I have combined some suitable words I found in other related languages into these groups.

1. Body parts and their secretions: *сiт дук* 'the smell of shit' > 'insignificant, worthless person', *манян* 'female genitalia' > 'despicable person', *квайт чуня* 'six-fingered' > 'thief'. In Erzya, 'fool' is *чувтонь / чаво / ватракш пря* (< 'tree, empty, frog' + 'head'). In Northern Sami *baika* 'excrement, poop, shit' > 'an idle person', *rusku* 'ass', the milder word *bahta* 'bottom' is often used in various sayings.
2. Household goods, clothes: *нямӧд* 'a strip of fabric around the leg' > 'unwilling, wretched', *нӧш* 'wooden hammer' > 'fool, blockhead, mallet', *кыз бурня* 'fat large storage container' > 'fatty', *киссьӧм тюни* 'worn felt slipper' > 'useless human', *дыш парка* 'lazy coat' > 'lazybones'. In Northern Sami, *ráigereŋko* 'hole chair (for walking a small child)' > 'sloppy mouth', *gurci* 'too deep object (dish, etc.); bad ahkio / boat' > 'gosh'.
3. Animals, birds, insects: *катша* 'magpie' > 'gossiping woman', *рака* 'crow' > 'troublemaker, mischief maker', *порсь* 'pig' > 'messy, unclean human', *ош* 'bear' > 'uncivilized, rude', *синтӧм гут* 'blind fly' > 'intruder, shameless person', *кык кока пон* 'two-legged dog' > 'bad person'. Erzya *баран* 'ram' > 'stubborn person', *инегуй* 'big snake' > 'nasty person'. Northern Sámi *njir'ru* 'female reindeer that is difficult to handle' > 'nagging, spooked woman'.
4. Plants, fungi and their parts: *кын мыр* 'frozen stump' > 'fool, stupid, heartless person', *кӧчамач* 'puffball' > 'bugger, worthless person'. Northern Sámi *darfeboallu* 'turf ball' > 'idiot'.
5. Ethnonyms: *чудь* 'Chudian' > 'gloomy, silent, withdrawing person', *чуваш* 'Chuvash' > 'fearful, timid', *кизьтӧм яран* 'unbuttoned Nenets' > 'walker with open jacket', *лёзь вогыль* 'fluffy-headed Mansi' > 'fuzzy, raggedy'. Northern Sámi *rivgu* means 'non-Sámi woman' < 'stick, pole'.
6. Mythological, including many euphemisms: *мор* 'plague' > 'devil; swear word', *омӧль* 'bad, evil, unworthy' > 'devil', *кузь* 'tall' > 'forest spirit, devil', *куш-пель* 'bald-eared' > 'devil', *куль* 'water spirit'. This is an abusive word used by women for their men, which is also known from Northern Khanty in the sense of 'forest spirit'. Many words meaning 'devil' are known from Erzya: *шайтян*, *дявол*, *идемевсь*, *чопача*, the last of which also means 'ghost'. Northern Sami has at least the following 'devil' words *beargalat*, *biro*, *birovuoras*, *hiida*, *ōinnolaš*, *ruolla ~ truolla.*

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Obvious(ly) noun phrases – or are they? : Analyzing ambiguous phrases with polysemous adjectives and adverbs in North Saami

Kristiina Ojala (Lahti)

In North Saami, many adjectives have a separate, inflexible attributive form when used as attributes (Aikio & Ylikoski 2022: 163). Syntactically the attributive adjective must be placed immediately before its head. This serves as a way of marking the attributive adjective when the adjective does not have a separate attributive form formed by derivation. One might assume that the more inflexible components in a sentence, the more important the role of syntax and the structure of a sentence becomes. In North Saami this hypothesis seems to be invalid in some cases. In fact, there are several adjectives that are polysemous with an adverb, such as *dievva* 'full; completely', *sierra* 'separate; separately' and *duohta* 'true; truly' (Ojala 2024), and in some cases it is not always clear whether these words should be identified as adjectives or adverbs. In these cases, a syntactic analyser will likely identify an adverb as an attributive adjective, but not the other way around.

In this presentation I aim to cover some of these ambiguous cases, that is, sentences with a noun phrase containing an ambiguous adjective. I will discuss whether it is possible to interpret all such sentences in multiple ways, and if not, why. I also present possible methods for syntactic analysis of the ambiguous phrases and sentences as well as component identification. How could such sentences be analysed syntactically, and how semantics and context should (or could) be considered in the analysis? This presentation is based on a corpus study in which the material has been analysed using functional and constructional methods. The focus of the syntactic analysis is on the lexical disambiguation of the ambiguous adjective-adverbs.

I argue that in case of these ambiguous adjective-adverbs, ambiguity seems to be a sliding scale. Not all sentences may be interpreted in multiple ways; in some cases, a sentence undoubtedly contains a noun phrase with an attributive adjective (1), but sometimes an ambiguous adjective-adverb is clearly used as an adverb (2).

1. *Dál sus ledje guhtta dievva bohttala*. 'Now he had six full bottles.' (SIKOR, Fictive texts.)
2. *Jugistii gáris, ja stunžii dievva čázi iežas ratti ala*. 'He took a sip from the tray and spilled a lot of water on his chest.' (SIKOR, Non-fictive texts.)

However, some sentences are ambiguous as it is difficult to decide in which sense the adjective-adverb should be interpreted since both analyses are grammatically and syntactically correct (3).

3. *Bangkohkas leat dievva tempelat*. (SIKOR, News texts.)

   a. There are a lot of temples in Bangkok.

   b. There are full temples in Bangkok.

It is possible to interpret polysemous sentences in multiple ways. For example, the adjective-adverb *dievva* can be interpreted as a quantifier adverb (3a) or as an attributive adjective (3b). Word order in North Saami is quite flexible, but there are some restrictions such as the position of an attributive adjective mentioned earlier. As a quantifier adverb *dievva* can be positioned quite freely in a sentence, which creates ambiguity on many occasions. In many cases ambiguity is indeed caused by freedom and/or restrictions of word order but also borrowing of syntactic

structures may increase ambiguity. Certain adjective-adverbs seem to be more ambiguous than others depending on the range of syntactic functions of a specific adjective-adverb. Even though in many cases the correct analysis can be interpreted from the content of a sentence alone (lexical disambiguation), some sentence types would require a larger context to choose the correct analysis.

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General Session: Syntax

A new linguistic database of Uralic nominal structures

Barbara Egedi (HUN-REN Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics)

The aim of the talk is to present a new linguistic database, including the concept behind its creation, the layout as it appears now, and the ways how potential users can utilize it for their own purposes. The database has been developed to support specific comparative linguistic investigations in Uralic studies and beyond. The fundamental concept was to offer an annotated empirical basis for the study of nominal syntax, be it typological or theoretical in nature. Accordingly, rather than being a corpus of texts or text samples, the *Nominal Structures of Uralic Languages* present constructions in a structured and interpreted way. The database is open access and fully available in English including explanations, glosses and translations of the original data.

The research project behind the database closed in 2023, and had the same title, *Nominal Structures of Uralic Languages*. Both have been hosted by the Institute for Historical and Uralic Linguistics, HUN-REN Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics (former Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences). The research group working in this project aimed to integrate data analysis, descriptive tasks and theoretical discussion regarding all constructions that have the noun as their core element in a selected group of Uralic languages. The database in its present form collects original language data from Eastern and Northern Khanty, Tundra Nenets, and Udmurt, as well as from two historical stages of Hungarian.

Data have been arranged into a previously established hierarchical structure of linguistic topics, subtopics and parameters. The term *nominal structures* is used to cover two larger modules concerning phrase-level and sentence-level phenomena, respectively. One group of the topics covers all relevant properties of noun phrases, including various adnominal modification patterns, quantification and determination, while the other group of topics is dedicated to copular clauses and nonverbal predication in general. The topics concentrate on syntactic structures, which means that lexical and morphophonological peculiarities are only considered if relevant for syntactic variation. Terminology has been chosen to conform to widely accepted, common descriptive terms and concepts. The talk will explore how the individual items in the

database have been designed, and will also explain how to interpret the presentation of its data. Last but not least, the talk will also reflect on this database's relation to already existing corpora and databases with similar or overlapping functions, e.g. Typological Database of the Ugric Languages (Havas et al. 2015), Typological Database of the Volga Area Finno-Ugric Languages (Havas et al. 2023), Uralic Areal Typology Online, Norvik et al. (2022).

In its present form the *Nominal Structures of Uralic Languages* comprises 12 groups of topics with 446 parameters applied to six different languages. Future extensions are possible either horizontally, by adding further languages, or in depth, through enriching complexity within linguistic topics or adding completely new ones.

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Double case constructions in the Uralic languages

Arja Hamari (University of Turku)

The goal of my presentation is to examine the constructions of certain Uralic languages in which two case suffixes are attached to each other. In these constructions, the internal case – the case closer to the stem – refers to the internal relation of the NP (i.e. the relation between the modifier and the head), while the external case following the internal one refers to the relation of the whole NP and the rest of the clause, as illustrated by (1) from Udmurt.

(1) Udmurt (Kondrat'jeva 2011: 219)

Уй пал пужыоссы маин ке ӟучлэнлы матынэсь, лымшорын – бигеръёслэнлы.

Uj	*pal*	*pužy-os-sy*	*ma-in*	*ke*	***ӟuč-len-ly***
night	side	pattern-PL-POSS.3PL	WH-INSTR	PRT	**Russian-GEN-DAT**
matyn-eś,		*lymšor-yn*	–	***biger-jos-len-ly***.	
close.INE-PL		south-INE		**Tatar-PL-GEN-DAT**	

'The [embroidery] patterns of the northern [Udmurts] bear a close resemblance to those of Russians, and in the south – to those of Tatars.'

The constructions in bold in (1) can be regarded as instances of *Suffixaufnahme* that, in its strict sense, refers to an NP where a case-inflected modifier – most often in the genitive – acquires an additional case from its head noun, resulting in a doubly case-marked modifier preceding a head noun. *Suffixaufnahme* was first labeled so by Bopp (1848), but the volume *Double Case* (Plank 1995b) marks the starting point for the modern explorations of the phenomenon. The volume proves that *Suffixaufnahme* is rather widespread crosslinguistically but fails to consider the Uralic languages. Following Plank (1995a), (1) above can be regarded as a subcategory of *Suffixaufnahme*, namely *Hypostasis* where the head noun of the NP is omitted, and the modifier alone carries both the internal case of the modifier and the external case of the omitted head.

Most recently, the double case constructions of individual Uralic languages have been studied by e.g. Nekrasova (2000: Komi; 2018: Udmurt), Hamari (2016: the Mordvin languages), Privizentseva (2017: Moksha, Hill Mari and Buryat [Mongolic]) and Arkhangelskiy & Usacheva (2018: Beserman Udmurt). What is noteworthy in many Uralic instances is that besides the genitive other cases can serve as internal cases. The most extensive systems are found in the Mordvin branch (Bartens 2003: 46–54) and Udmurt (Kondrat'jeva 2011: 210–

224). Despite this growing attention, *Suffixaufnahme/Hypostasis* has not been studied extensively in the Uralic languages. Information about it remains scarce in grammars and, apart from the studies referred to above, it is hardly ever mentioned in special studies treating case marking in the language family. The purpose of my study is to fill in that gap and to view the phenomenon in Uralic from a typological perspective.

The focus of my study is on the Uralic languages of the Volga-Kama region (Mordvin, Mari, Udmurt and Komi) but references to other Uralic languages are made as well. My research is based on previous studies and grammars, and the result of the study is a typology of double case construction with the focus on (i) which cases can function as internal cases, (ii) which cases can function as external cases and (iii) what kinds of lexemes can generally receive a double case construction in these languages. I argue that consistently with the crosslinguistic findings, the genitive in the internal case position is central to the double case constructions. There are, however, language-specific constraints as to what other cases are available for this position. Usually, the internal cases are the ones that are found in modifiers of each language in general. I also argue that despite being a relatively wide-spread phenomenon in Uralic, the constructions are parallel innovations rather than common inheritance.

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On the Syntactic Representation of Discourse-Configurational Principles in Finnish and Estonian from a Microcomparative Perspective

Jun'ichi Sakuma (Nagoya University)

Finnish and Estonian share the same basic word order, SVO. At the same time, word order is not strictly rigid in both languages. The syntactic slots available for linear ordering, however, are not identical. For example, the following two sentences are Finnish and Estonian translations of Saint-Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince*. In the Finnish sentence (1), the negative verb *ei* 'not' comes immediately after the conjunction *jos* 'if', while in the Estonian sentence (2), the negative verb *ei* 'not' appears immediately before the verbal base *anna*.

1.	*Jos*	*ei*	*tuo*	*tappi*	*vieläkään*	*heltiä,*	*isken*	*sitä*	*vasaralla*.
	if	not	that	bolt	still	loosen	hit	it	hammer

'If this bolt still won't turn, I am going to knock it out with the hammer.'

2. *Kui see mutter nüüd järele ei anna, siis löön ta haamriga puruks*
if that bolt now (loosen) not loosen then smash it hammer (smash)

In Finnish, there are two syntactic slots before a verb, and the topic of a sentence (e.g. *tuo tappi* in (1)) is placed in the second slot. This slot is referred to as 'teemapaikka' in Hakulinen et al. (2004) and as 'T' in Vilkuna (1989). In contrast, various elements can occupy the first slot, which in sentence (1) is taken by the negative verb *ei*. Notably, the first slot can be filled not only by a complement or a modifier but also by a predicate, including a finite verb. This first slot is called 'esikenttä' in Hakulinen et al. (2004), while Vilkuna (1989) called it 'K', as elements in K are generally assumed to express some kind of contextual contrast.

Estonian, on the other hand, is basically a V2 language and is said to have only one syntactic slot before a verb. However, as seen in sentence (2), a verbal base along with a negative verb can often appear in the sentence-final position (*cf*. Lindström 2006). Moreover, in (2), two elements appear before the negative verb and the verbal base, which is also the case in sentence (3).

3. *Odav töö suurt jõukust ei loo*.
cheap labour big wealth not create
Cheap labour does not bring wealth. (Tamm 2015: 419)

In this sentence *odav töö* tend to be interpreted as a topic, but it can also function as a focus if it carries strong accentuation and a distinctive intonation pattern.

Thus, in both languages, word order is largely regulated by discourse- configurational principles (*cf*. Vilkuna 1998, Lindström 2017). However, the discourse function of word order in each language remains to be further examined. Following previous studies, one can argue that the first slot in Finnish serves to transform contextual flow, whereas the second slot serves to maintain it. But the distinction between the two preverbal slots in Finnish is not always clear-cut. Moreover, while discourse-configurational principles may be universal, their syntactic representation varies across languages.

Analyzing the discourse function of word order is further complicated by the fact that contextual contrast can be marked not only through word order but also through accentuation and intonation (*cf*. Tamm 2015, Vilkuna 2015). As a result, actual ordering of words and phrases does not always align with discourse- configurational principles when other competing factors are at play.

This paper, therefore, aims to re-examine the syntactic representation of discourse-configurational principles in both languages and to further clarify how actual word order is determined from a microcomparative perspective, using Finnish and Estonian parallel corpora.

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The prosody of independent and dependent clauses with *ha* 'if' and *mintha* 'as if' in Hungarian

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Among the various types of subordinate clauses without a main clause, independent (or insubordinated) clauses form a distinct category. These clauses have become conventionalized as independent (main) clauses in language use (Evans 2007) and carry a specific pragmatic—typically interpersonal—added meaning compared to their dependent counterparts (e.g., positive or negative attitudes and evaluations: joy, cursing, indignation, refutation). Formally, (1) they do not differ syntactically from their dependent counterparts, that is, from the subordinate clause of a complex sentence (2) with a main clause or (3) an ellipted main clause. This can be illustrated with the example of *ha te mondod* 'if you say so' (cf. Kaltenböck and Keizer 2022):

(1) *– Szinte hallom, amint rázod a fejed bánatodban és értetlenségedben. Nyugi! Minden szép folyamatosan csúszik ki a kezeim közül.*

– ***Ha te mondod,*** *Dirk.* (MTSz, Gedeon)
if you say.IND.PRS.SG2

'I can almost hear you shaking your head in sadness and confusion. Relax! Everything is slowly slipping out of my hands. – If you say so, Dirk.' – the conditional clause's added meaning: 'I am not sure I agree with you.'

(2) Lukács: *Gyere, üljünk le egy kicsit a grádicsra!* Máté: ***Ha te mondod,*** *akkor leülhetünk.* (MTSz, Tamási)

'Lukács: Come, let's sit on the steps for a while! Máté: If you say so, then we can sit down.' – subordinate clause + main clause

(3) *– De mit csináljak Rómában? – Mindegy, mit csinálsz. (…) Bízd magad a véletlenre. Add át magad teljesen, ne legyen programmod… Megteszed? – Igen, Ervin,* ***ha te mondod.*** (MTSz, Szerb)

'– But what should I do in Rome? – It doesn't matter what you do. (…) Trust in fate. Completely let go, have no plans… Will you do it? – Yes, Ervin, if you say so. – The full sentence: *Megteszem, ha te mondod.* 'I will do it if you say so.'

Recently, a few studies have investigated the intonation of insubordinated clauses, examining the phenomenon from both perceptual and production perspectives, e.g., in Spanish (Elvira-García et al. 2017; Elvira-García 2019; Sánchez López 2019; Royo Viñuales 2023); French (Royo Viñuales 2023); Czech (Fried and Machač 2022); Italian (Lombardi Vallauri 2016). In the present study, we analyse the prosodic patterns of Hungarian conditional (*ha*-conjunction) and conditional comparative (*mintha*-conjunction) clauses for the first time, focusing on three variants of the same syntactic structure: insubordinate, subordinate clause with an ellipted main clause, and subordinate clause preceding/following a main clause (see examples above). Within conditional clauses, we differentiate evaluative, deontic, and assertive types (Dér 2024), while in the case of conditional comparatives, we investigate the most conventionalized evaluative variants (expressing doubt, refutation, irony), e.g., *Mintha tudnád!* 'You don't know (it) [ironic]'; *Mintha válaszoltam volna* 'I answered indeed'. Context-embedded target sentences from read speech are planned to be analysed with respect to prosodic patterns of each semantic-pragmatic type.

Our aim is twofold: to compare both the syntactically dependent and independent patterns in *ha* and *mintha* clauses, as well as the prosodic characteristics of the different types of

insubordinated clauses with each other, and to contrast these findings with the results of previous literature. We hypothesize that Hungarian independent conditional clauses also have a particular intonation pattern, differing from their dependent counterparts.

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Beyond Minimal Reference: The Role of Long Noun Phrases in Spoken Estonian

Helen Hint & Renate Pajusalu (University of Tartu)

Background: In the study of reference, noun phrases (NPs) as means for referring to the various entities in the discourse world carry a central role. By definition, an NP is understood as a construction with a noun as its central component (Thompson & Ono 2005: 1). However, the categorial status of NPs has been questioned by many researchers who focus on natural conversational language data (see Thompson & Ono 2005).

Studies of referential devices have often set their focus on minimal reference, such as demonstratives and pronouns (e.g., Laury 2005; Kibrik 2011). Longer NP constructions, which can incorporate various attributes, determiners, and/or subordinate clauses, have gained less research attention.

In the context of Estonian reference studies, the overall system of referential devices has been rather thoroughly described (Pajusalu 2009; Hint 2021), but the focus has always been on the more common NPs, especially on minimal referential devices. The 'maximum' length of NPs in Estonian and the internal structure of longer NPs, such as *ilus suvine päev* 'beautiful summer day', *see rõõmsa näoga mees* 'this man with a happy face', and *koer, kes aias haugub* 'the dog who is barking in the garden', has not been discussed in previous research.

This study aims to fill this gap by focusing on the structure and referential patterns of long NPs in Estonian. First, the study gives a quantitative overview of the use of long NPs in spoken Estonian. The internal structure of long NPs will be described. Second, the study seeks to detect the pragmatic functions of such long NPs in spoken Estonian.

Method: The data comes from two spoken narrative elicitation tasks: i) narratives based on the Pear Film (Chafe 1980) (16 participants) and ii) narratives based on Picture Sequences (20 participants) (see Hint 2021 for more detail). Altogether, 1293 NPs from Pear Stories dataset and 1330 NPs from Picture Sequence dataset were annotated and included in the analysis. As the category of NP is not binary, but rather a continuum with fuzzy boundaries (Suomalainen, Vatanen & Laury 2020: 11), the annotation process was built on the functional properties of the unit, rather than on structural constraints of the unit.

Results and discussion: In both datasets, most NPs consist of one or two words. NPs containing 3 or more words are considerably less frequent. In Pear Stories 16% and in Picture Narratives 12.8% of NPs consist of 3 words. NPs with the length of 4 words and more are used much less. However, the longest NP reaches 13 words in Picture narratives and 15 words in Pear Stories data. While the results enforce the general trend toward shorter NPs, it is clear that longer NPs do have a certain function in spoken data. In the presentation, the functions of such NPs are discussed more thoroughly.

It is discussed that the complexity of NPs is restricted by the speaker's need to be explicit on one hand, and the listener's ability to process detailed information, on the other. The study raises questions about the upper limits of NP length and the linguistic mechanisms that allow for such elaboration. It also discusses the implications for understanding the syntactic and pragmatic aspects of reference in spoken language.

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On transitivity, case frames and grammaticalisation in Estonian

Katrin Hiietam (UCL)

This paper examines the case frames of a set of Estonian verbs comparable to the ValPaL list (Haspelmath 2015), studies the morphological encoding of transitivity across various verb classes and meanings, and sets the results against the background of grammaticalisation theory. Traditionally, transitivity in a clause is defined as a phenomenon, where the verb takes, as a minimum, a volitionally acting Agent argument (A) and a more passive Patient/Undergoer

(P) as their core arguments (e.g., Hopper and Thompson 1980, Hopper and Traugott 1993, Haspelmath 2011). We investigate the semantic verb types that occur in the transitive case frames, i.e. with arguments encoded like the *hitter* (A) and the *hittee* (P) in the case of the verb *hit*, without ranking them on a scale of affectedness (cf. Tamm 2012, Vaiss 2021). However, we connect the encoding of the P argument of a transitive verb to the degree of

grammaticalisation (as described in Hopper and Traugott 1993) of transitivity with that particular semantic verb type. We consider fully grammaticalised transitivity marking to be expressed with the least morpho-syntactic material. In the case of subjects that would be no marking, i.e. nominative case, and in the case of objects that would be the kind of marking that indicates an entity in a perfective and/or telic clause that is fully affected by the activity expressed by the verb. In Estonian that would be morphological genitive (see Metslang et al. 2023: 607-628), as accusative case is not listed in the case inventory.

The Estonian dataset consists of 83 verbs (75 verb meanings) that corresponds to the VALPaL set, and showed that the A argument was unmarked in 96.4% of the cases. The remaining 3.6% of the A -like arguments of the verb surfaced in the oblique cases and occurred with the verbs of liking and in clauses expressing experiences. In regard to the P arguments, the results show that there were no verbs that would take only a genitive case marked P to mark the completely affected object of the transitive verb. The majority of the verbs encoded in the transitive case frame – 63.8% take the genitive marked P in the singular and an obligatory adposition/adjunct, as illustrated in Example (1a). P marked with genitive case on its own would not signal an identifiable referent that is fully affected by the activity marked by the verb, as shown in (1b):

(1) a. Tüdruk luges raamat**u** lõpuni.
girl.**NOM** read.PAST.3.SG book.**GEN** end.**TERM**
'The girl read the book till the end.Æ

b. Tüdruk luges raamat**u**.
girl.**NOM** read.PAST.3.SG book.**GEN**
'The girl read a/the book (as opposed to e.g. the journal).'

To conclude, the fact that gentive case on its own is not capable of signalling a fully affected P is taken as evidence that the object case marking is still not a completely grammaticalised category in Estonian, as opposed to the marking of the A argument which we consider fully grammaticalised.

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Adpositions in Finnish

Nathaniel Jacob Torres (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem)

Aims: Finnish utilizes both pre- and postpositions. Both are analyzed as appearing with one of two cases: the partitive and the genitive. The choice is not a matter of lexical case assignment, i.e., there are not certain pre- or postpositions that must appear with either the partitive or the genitive case. Rather, the choice of case is directly tied to the boundedness of the PP. The

purpose of this presentation is twofold: 1) to discuss how the use of either case conditions the spatial/temporal boundedness of the phrase, and 2) to reanalyze the partitive case in adpositional phrases as an instance of caselessness.

Previous work: Lestrade (2010) analyzes the alternation of case in the Finnish PP. Bipositions may appear with either the genitive or the partitive case and as pre- or postpositions.

(1) a. *Lelut ovat lattian keskellä.*
toy.NOM.PL be.PRS.3SG floor.GEN middle.of
'The toys are in the middle of the floor.'

b. *Lelut ovat keskellä lattiaa.*
toy.NOM.PL be.PRS.3SG middle.of floor.PART
'The toys are (scattered around) the middle of the floor.'

In (1), the change in case and the position of the adposition has an effect on the interpretation of the clause. With the genitive, the toys occupy a finite area on the floor. In contrast, in (1b) the toys are spread out all over the floor randomly, and occupy a non-finite area. This talk argues that the syntactic structure of the PP conditions where these nouns appear and exclude the possibility that the position of the adposition has any effect on meaning.

Caselessness and the Finnish adpositional phrase: Much like the adpositional phrases, verb phrases also show a case alternation in order to mark a change in telicity.

(2) *Ammuin karhua.*
shoot.PST.1SG bear.PART
'I shot at (but did not kill) the bear.

(3) *Ammuin karhun.*
shoot.PST.1SG bear.GEN
'I shot (and killed) the bear.'

I adapt Pesetsky (2013), who analyzes Russian. Pesetsky aruges that a caseless form of the noun appears in quantified expressions. He calls this noun a 'primeval genitive.'

(4) *šest' čelovek*
six person.M.PL.GEN
'six people'

(5) *kuusi henkilöä*
six people.PART
'five good days'

The examples (4) and (5) demonstrate the primeval genitive, and its counterpart in Finnish. In order to avoid a case-assigning numeral, Pesetsky argues that the complements of numerals are caseless positions and therefore appear with the 'primeval genitive'. I make a similar argument for Finnish in that the caseless noun is syncretic with the partitive case. I propose that it is this form of the noun that encodes the unbounded meaning in PPs. So, in the following example, the noun is caseless in (a).

(6) a. *Johanna juoksi keskellä kaupunkia.*
Johanna.NOM run.PST.3SG middle.of city.(PART)
'Johanna was running (around) in the middle of the city.'

b. *Johanna juoksi kaupungin keskellä*
Johanna.NOM run.PST.3SG city.GEN middle.of
'Johanna ran in the middle of the city.'

I propose that Finnish adpositions and verbs do not assign case; thus, the appearance of the genitive case must be conditioned by something else in the grammar. Following Caha's (2009) framework, I propose that when the PP is bounded, a GenP is generated in the complement of Place/PathP, and it is within this phrase that the noun gets genitive.

Word order: Caha (2007) posits that when the genitive marked noun is moved into the specifier of a DegP, then the phrase receives a bounded interpretation. I refute this idea because it does not capture the word order of PPs that have an overt Deg head.

(7) *todella talon ylhäällä*
really house.GEN above
'far above the house'

(8) *aivan puun ylhäällä*
right/just tree.GEN above
'right/just above the tree'

Caha's (2007) proposal for the structures in (7) and (8) would predict **talon todella ylhäällä and aivan puun ylhäällä*. This is not possible, therefore, there is no movement into spec, DegP. Caha (2007) argued that caseless NPs never occur with DegP. I argue that DegP can appear in the caseless cases because degree words like right can appear with caseless PPs as well. The caseless noun triggers an unbounded interpretation in the adpositional phrase. The position of the adposition before or after the noun is not tied to the meaning of the phrase; the meaning is tied exclusively to case. I therefore argue two points: 1) that the adposition appearing before or after the noun depends on whether a movement into the specifiers of PlaceP or PathP has taken place, and 2) that DegP is unrelated to boundedness, and is optional in the Finnish PP.

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On the order of case and possessive agreement in Udmurt

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Aims: As is typical of the Uralic languages, Udmurt marks the person of the possessor with a person marker (Px) on the possessum (e.g., *minam gurt-e* 'my village-Px.1Sg', *tinad gurt-ed* 'your village-Px.2Sg'). What is special about Udmurt is that the order of Px with respect to case markers (Cx) depends on the particular case involved: roughly half of the cases observe PxCx order, while the remaining cases feature Px to the right of Cx (Winkler 2011). This paper follows Kubínyi (2015) in treating CxPx order as Px climbing (a case of clitic climbing), and seeks to shed explanatory light on the distribution of PxCx vs CxPx order from the perspective of a set of non-language-specific hypotheses regarding the syntax of possessive DPs and PPs.

Basic syntax: Oblique cases spell out P heads in syntax (Asbury et al 2007, Georgieva 2023). Possessors also correspond to PPs; they are located in the Spec,DP of the possessum.

(1) [DP [PP POSS'OR PPOSS] [D′ Dø [POSS'UM]]]

We propose that Px is a clitic originating in the complement of the PP in Spec,DP. The clitic finds a host as far up as possible within the structure in which it is contained. When DP in (1) is the direct complement of P, the person clitic docks onto P, resulting in an output in which P (the case marker) is sandwiched between the possessum and the possessive person clitic: CxPx.

Licensing clitic climbing: Px-climbing 'piggy-backs' on, i.e., is licensed by, incorporation of the P that introduces the possessor: PPOSS in (1) must incorporate into a higher P to facilitate Px-climbing, for locality reasons that will be laid out in detail in the paper. Whenever its conditions are met, Px climbing is obligatory. For all cases which occur with CxPx order, the case expones a P which takes the DP in (1) as its direct complement, and this P hosts the Px clitic; see (2).

(2) [PP [DP [PP POSS'OR PPOSS] [D′ Dø [POSS'UM]]] **P**(=case)+climbed.Px]

But in **[A]–[C]**, below, (1) is either not embedded under a P or too deeply embedded within the complement of P, and hence prevented from climbing up to P. In these cases, the clitic attaches to the D-head and is exponed within the possessive nominal, which delivers PxCx order.

[A] No Px-climbing in the absence of P: When the DP in (1) is a subject or object, (1) is in a structural case environment. Structural cases do not involve a P in syntax, so PPOSS incorporation into a higher P is not possible, and the pre-condition for Px-climbing is not met: PxCx order.

[B] No Px-climbing in double-PP structures with spell-out of P_2: The ablative (*-leś*) and the approximative (*-lań*) are semantically complex cases. We propose that this complexity is reflected in their syntax: these cases syntactically involve a double PP-layer, as shown in (3).

(3) [$_{PP2}$ [$_{PP1}$ [$_{DP}$ [$_{PP}$ POSS'OR P_{POSS}] [$_{D'}$ $D_{\emptyset}$ [POSS'UM]]] $\mathbf{P_1}$+climbed.Px] P_2]

The ablative corresponds to 'away from', where 'away'=P_2 and 'from'=P_1. The approximative corresponds to 'towards', where 'to'=P_2 and 'wards (i.e., direction)'=P_1. The case suffix spells out the higher P-layer, i.e., P_2; the lower P_1 is silent. P_{POSS} incorporates into P_1, and Px-climbing to P_1 takes place, taking the clitic to a position below that of the case suffix in P_2, hence, PxCx. (The terminative (*-oź*), corresponding to English *up to*, is also semantically and syntactically complex, as in (3); but unlike in the case of the ablative and the approximative, the terminative case suffix expones the lower P-head (P_1), which Px climbs up to, delivering CxPx order here.)

[C] No Px-climbing with small-clause complementation: Den Dikken and Dékány (2018) propose that the Estonian cartitive corresponds to a P that takes a small clause (SC) complement with a silent predicate (THERE) and with the noun that bears the caritive on the surface as the subject of SC. Extending this analysis to Udmurt caritives, we advance (4) as their syntax. The Px clitic cannot leave the left branch containing it, surfacing to the left of the caritive P: PxCx.

(4) [$_{PP}$ [$_{SC}$ [$_{DP}$ N-Px] THERE]] P(=case)]

Inessive/illative syncretism: The otherwise strict inessive/illative (*-ɨn*/*-e*) distinction (*gurt-ɨn* 'in village', *gurt-e* 'to village') collapses when the ground-DP is possessive, resulting in the syncretic form *-a* (*gurt-a-m* 'village-INE/ILL-Px.1Sg). We treat these spatial cases in terms of a syntax in which one single P combines with either PLACE (to form the inessive) or DIR (to form the illative): the surface distinction between inessive and illative is a function of the exponence of PLACE/DIR. When Px climbs up to P out of the possessive ground-DP, exponence of the PLACE/ DIR head distinguishing between inessive and illative is blocked. As a result, P spells out the same for both cases when Px-climbing obtains, yielding syncretism.

The elative/egressive distinction: The Udmurt egressive (*-ɨś-en*) is transparently the combination of the elative (*-ɨś*) and instrumental (*-en*). We represent the Udmurt egressive as a complex expression similar to English *out of*: *out* corresponds to elative *-ɨś*; like English *of*, Udmurt instrumental *-en* is a functional P. The Px-marker of a possessive ground-DP attaches to the right of the egressive P-complex, as a result of Px-climbing. With the elative, Px-climbing takes place as well, but its application requires augmentation of the case suffix: *-ɨś-ti*-Px. This is reminiscent of the fact that while English *out* can in principle mark 'movement out of' by itself without the help of a functional P (*out (of) the window*), the use of functional *of* becomes obligatory when the ground is a weak pronoun (*out *(of) it*). Thus, the augment *-ti-* in elatives can be viewed as a functional P whose exponence is required in the presence of Px-climbing.

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How to identify pseudo-incorporation in a language without accusative marking: a Kazym Khanty case

Varvara Tiutiunnikova (Moscow)

Puzzle. Kazym Khanty (KK; <Uralic) lacks accusative marking, and direct objects can have different interpretations, reminiscent of contrasts associated with pseudo noun incorporation (PNI). Sentence (1) is ambiguous and can be translated as (a) with a singular reading of the object and as (b) with a number-neutral interpretation of it ('Petya was catching a hare / hares').

(1) pet´aj-en **šowr** weλ-əs
P.-poss.2sg hare catch-pst[3sg]

a. 'Petya caught a hare.'
b. 'Petya was hare-hunting.'

My aim here is to prove that this is indeed an example of PNI, since we can find semantic features that can only be associated with it.

Background on PNI. According to Massam (2001), noun incorporation is a construction where an internal argument forms a single V^0 morphological unit with its verb, rather than being expressed as its independent argument. Pseudo-incorporation differs from 'regular' incorporation in that the pseudo-incorporated nominal is an NP. Dayal (2011) considers PNI in Hindi and proposes that PNI-ed arguments are NumP, since they can exhibit plural morphology, when they attach to collective predicates. Dayal also argues that number-neutral interpretation arises in PNI only when the predicate has an iterative reading. To explain this fact, she suggests that in an iterative construction there is a covert pluractional operator (Lasersohn 1995), which creates different sub-events with a singular object in each. Therefore, possible plural interpretation of a singular object comes from the pluractional interpretation of the predicate itself. Moreover, PNI-ed arguments are type <e, t>. A pseudo-incorporating predicate selects for a property as its argument, rather than an individual, thus forming a complex event. This results in an obligatory narrow scope reading of the nominal with respect to clause-mate operators such as negation.

Data. To prove that KK exhibits PNI, we have to show that the number-neutral interpretation, already observed in (1b), is compatible with a narrow-scope reading. Indeed, a noun *šowr* 'hare' scopes below a durational adverb like *tăλ măr* 'all winter' in (2). Another possible interpretation of this sentence with a singular noun outscoping an adverb is implausible, since it would lead to a reading that Petya was catching only one rabbit all winter. Note that in this example the verb has an iterative interpretation, which is the source of the number-neutrality, according to Dayal (2011).

(2) pet´aj-en tăλ măr **šowr** weλ-əs
P.-poss.2sg winter time hare catch-pst[3sg]
'Petya was catching hares all winter.' adv > ∃

This scopal effect can only be observed with internal arguments. Example (3a) illustrates that an argument of an unergative verb cannot scope below the adverb. In (3b), narrow-scope reading is unavailable for the indirect object.

(3) a. #tăλ măr **păsti_woj** urtət´λ´ə-s
winter time wolf howl-pst[3sg]
'A wolf was howling all winter.'
Expected reading: '#Wolves were howling all winter.' only ∃ > adv

b. #mašaj-en tălaŋ olʲ măr **ńawrɛm-a** akań mojλ-əs
M.-poss.2sg whole year time child-dat doll give-pst[3sg] only ∃ > adv
Expected reading: '#Masha was giving dolls to children for the whole year.'

Discussion. At this point it seems natural to explain that nominals that take narrow-scope and have number-neutral interpretation are pseudo-incorporated, since this process is constrained to internal arguments. The behavior of PNI-ed arguments is predicted by Dayal's (2011) theory. Despite the fact that we cannot find any morpho-syntactic arguments in favor of PNI in KK, we clearly see its existence from the semantic point of view.

In my talk, I will also consider pseudo-incorporation of the plurals, name-worthiness effects, and discuss the methodology that can be used while collecting data for complex semantic phenomena such as PNI.

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General Session: Variation

A qualitative analysis of variation in Meänkieli

Riitta-Liisa Valijärvi (Uppsala University, University College London) & Rogier Blokland (Uppsala University)

Meänkieli is a minoritised Finno-Ugric language traditionally spoken in Northern Sweden. It is closely related to northern Finnish dialects and Kven in Norway. Meänkieli has been one of the official national minority languages of Sweden alongside Finnish, the Sámi languages, Romani Chib, and Yiddish since 2000, and is currently being reclaimed and revitalised. Sometimes Meänkieli is grouped together with the Finnish dialect spoken on the other side of the Torne River in Finland, while at other times its status as a national language of Sweden is emphasised (e.g. meanmaa.net vs Valijärvi et al. 2022). Whilst in Sweden the status of the language is undisputed, in Finland such recognition does not appear to be widely accepted yet. Paunonen (2018) does, however, acknowledge the fact that the variety has started to diverge from Finnish dialects.

This study focuses on variation in contemporary Meänkieli. Our research questions are: What linguistic variation is there in both written and spoken Meänkieli today? Can we (or do we need to) draw a clear line between the language Meänkieli in Sweden and the western Torne subgroup of northern Finnish which is sometimes subsumed under Meänkieli? And if we do so, on the basis of what linguistic (and/or non-linguistic) features? What is typical of the language spoken and written in Sweden vs the variety used in Finland? Could the dialect spoken in Finland and Kven be brought closer together?

Our data comes from recent fieldwork data, radio/TV programmes, websites, published literature, and social media. The variables include, Swedish loanwords, phonology (e.g. aspiration in Swedish names), morphology (e.g. dialectal features), syntax (e.g. non-finite constructions), and code-switching. The results of our qualitative analysis show a continuum from literary fiction on both sides of the border and administrative Meänkieli in Sweden to new speakers' nonstandard use of morpho-syntax as well as the symbolic use of phrases on social media. In some cases, what we call Meänkieli may contain features from standard or colloquial

Finnish. We will also reflect on older recordings, discuss factors behind the variation (e.g. bilingualism, age, new speakers, Finnish family members or background, situation/context), and highlight the significance of a detailed description of the variation for ongoing revitalisation efforts.

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Linguistic variation in written standard Finnish: a corpus-driven approach

Elisa Reunanen & Ilmari Ivaska (University of Turku)

Different kinds of texts differ in their context of use, layout, and communicative purposes. This study investigates the variation of standard Finnish language across four genres (research articles, fiction, political programs, and news) by combining two computational methods. Linguistic analysis of a genre is grounded in the typical features of the language register used in that genre (Biber & Conrad 2019). The concepts of genre and register are employed as follows: genre refers to a category defined by criteria external to language, while register describes the variation in linguistic features within a text or its sections, in relation to the meanings they convey. The categorization of texts into genres and registers is based on shared and distinguishing features and their functional interpretations, with a feature considered typical of one genre only when compared to others. Hence, linguistic features that characterize a given genre in relation to other genres, can be expected to reflect the communicative goals of the text. Earlier research on English (Biber et al. 2021) and on some other languages (e.g. Biber 2014) has identified five register dimensions, i.e. discourse functions. They explain the vast majority of language variation. Each dimension is a continuum, and each dimension has linguistic and functional content: linguistic content means, for example, morphological and syntactic features, while functional content refers to the communicative goals of the respective text.

This study is corpus-driven, which means that the studied features are selected from the bottom up by using computational methods. The research data stem from five different corpora (Corpus of Academic Finnish, Finnish News Agency Archive, Corpus of Translated Finnish, InterCorp, POHTIVA), and they comprise research articles, fictional texts, political programs, and news texts. Key structure analysis (Ivaska 2015) was employed to identify linguistic features significant in distinguishing between the subsets of data – features, typical to the different types of texts. These features were then grouped into sets according to their patterns of co-occurrence in the data, using multi-dimensional analysis (Egbert & Staples 2019). By combining key structure analysis and multi-dimensional analysis it is possible to identify linguistic features characteristic of each genre.

Research questions are:
1) Which linguistic features are characteristic of register used in each genre?
2) Which communicative goals are reflected by clusters of linguistic features?

Based on linguistic variation, three discourse dimensions are identified, reflecting the communicative goals of each genre. Research articles are characterized by the accumulation of modifiers at the beginning and end of sentences. In multi-dimensional analysis, the strongest positive association of research articles is at the dimension ‘abstract vs. non-abstract style’ and the strongest negative association is at the dimension ‘interactivity vs. accuracy’. Fiction is characterized by the versatile inflection of finite verb. In multi-dimensional analysis, the

strongest positive association of fiction is at the dimension ‘interactivity vs. accuracy’ and the strongest negative association is at the dimension ‘influence vs. narrative’. Political programs are characterized by the use of noun modifiers and the abundance of both coordinating and subordinating clauses. In multi-dimensional analysis, the strongest association of political programs is at the dimension ‘influence vs. narrative’. News texts are characterized by the use of preterit, and the strongest association in multi-dimensional analysis is negative association at the dimensions ‘influence vs. narrative’ and ‘abstract vs. non-abstract style’.

All in all, the results indicate that there is considerable variation in standard Finnish language, and each studied genre employs a different linguistic register to achieve the communicative goals and to accommodate the particular circumstances of the respective genre.

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Kasse ja koere: Use of nonstandard inflectional forms among adults speaking Estonian

Mari Aigro & Annika Kängsepp (University of Tartu)

Morphological overgeneralizations entail situations in which a nonstandard form is produced due to the speaker applying a rule to an instance with which it is not conventionally used. Children are among the most widely discussed overgeneralizers, often producing forms such as **toosin sulle mõmmi* (~ *tõin sulle mõmmi* ‘I brought you a teddy bear’). This phenomenon of using nonstandard stems or morphological formatives is widely assumed to recede from speech production during childhood, with uniform use of standard forms being expected by adulthood (Clark 2009, Blything et al 2014).

However, this does not seem to be the case. Adults seem to incorporate overgeneralizations of similar types in their speech, with corpora showcasing instances such as *näen tänaval kasse ja *koere* (~ *koeri*/*koerasid*, ‘I see cats and dogs in the street’). While very little existing research investigates this phenomenon, speakers’ occasional divergence from language norms is evident from the fact that in Estonian a wide range of resources exist for adult speakers with the aim of preventing such use instances (implicating the existence of non-standard production as grounds for these resources), which even include a phone hotline *(Keelenõuanne, Eesti keele instituut*).

From the perspective of analogy-based (Eddington 2000, Blevins 2016) and schema-based (Langacker 2000) usage accounts, such nonstandard use instances are not only easily explained but also expected. This further emphasizes the gap in terms of how little is known about the extent and internal motivators behind adult non-standard language use. We know that semantic compatibility facilitates the degree to which speakers are tolerant towards non-standard uses, meaning they do not perceive everything deemed incorrect by the language standard as equally incorrect (Ambridge et al 2008). We also know that when asked to produce forms for nonce words, speakers are affected by related frequency values, as well as formative productivity and

phonological neighbourhood sizes (the number of similar lexemes in their inventory, Dąbrowska 2008).

Present research is based on a dataset of almost 1,000 nonstandard nominal and pronominal inflection forms in the Estonian National Corpus 2021 (2.4 billion tokens, Koppel & Kallas 2022). We focus on the proportion with which a nonstandard instance is used compared to its standard counterpart (e.g., the percentage which **koere* makes up of all uses in that nominal cell, also including *koeri* and *koerasid* in 'dogs.PAR.PL'). We investigate which morphological, distributional, and lexical factors affect this proportion, essentially leading to more frequent nonstandard inflectional uses.

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Variation in the Case Forms of the Indefinite Pronoun *keegi* 'someone' in Written and Spoken Estonian

Annika Kängsepp (University of Tartu)

Variation in the case forms of the indefinite pronouns *keegi* 'someone', *miski* 'something', *kumbki* 'either', and *ükski* 'none' has been observed in both written language (Rull 1917) and dialects (Saareste 1955: 16) in Estonian for over a hundred years. In these pronouns, *-gi/-ki* can be placed after the case ending (e.g., *kelle-le-gi* 'to someone'), before the case ending (e.g., *kelle-gi-le*), between two case endings (e.g., *kelle-le-gi-le*), or both before and after the case ending (e.g., *kelle-gi-le-gi*) (Saareste 1923, 1936). The variation has a strong dialectal background: forms where *-gi/-ki* appears after the case ending have historically been common only in Southern Estonia and Northeast Estonia (Saareste 1955: 16; Alvre 1980: 542). Nevertheless, in standard Estonian, placement that follows the language norm occurs only after the case ending.

Since this variation has been systematically studied very little in contemporary language (see Pant 2018; Pant 2020), the aim of this presentation is to provide an overview of the extent of variation in the case forms of the pronoun *keegi* and to describe the factors influencing this variation in both written and spoken Estonian. For the analysis of written language, I used data from the Estonian National Corpus 2021 (2.4 billion words; Koppel, Kallas 2022), and for the analysis of spoken language, I used data from Estonian Public Broadcasting's Radio Corpus

(109 million words; Lippus *et al.* 2023a) and Estonian Podcast Corpus (85 million words; Lippus *et al.* 2023b).

The results indicate that in written Estonian, *-gi/-ki* is most commonly placed after the case ending, accounting for 78.6% of all occurrences, while forms where *-gi/-ki* precedes the case ending occur in 20.6% of cases. Instances where *-gi/-ki* appears between two case endings or both before and after the case ending represent the remaining 0.8%. In contrast, in spoken Estonian, *-gi/-ki* occurs at almost equal frequency after and before the case ending, at 54.2% and 43.3%, respectively, and between two case endings at 2.5%. A univariate statistical analysis of the written language data showed that genre, the occurrence of the pronoun as an attribute and the function of the pronoun in a clause significantly influenced the variation in the case forms. In spoken language, the variation was significantly influenced by the corpus, the position of the pronoun in the clause, the gender of the speaker, case and speech rate. A multivariate analysis of the written language data indicated that genre, and consequently, whether the language had been edited, was the strongest factor associated with variation. In spoken language, speech rate had the strongest association with case form variation: speakers tend to place *-gi/-ki* before or between two case endings when speaking at a faster rate. Men were also more likely to produce case forms where *-gi/-ki* is placed before the case ending or between two case endings.

In the presentation, I argue why this variation has persisted and explore the implications of my findings regarding this phenomenon.

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The order of the converb and the negation verb in the Mari converb construction: A corpus-based study

Yuto Hishiyama (Niigata University)

Mari (Finno-Ugric, Uralic), along with its neighboring language **Chuvash** (Oghur branch, Turkic), is distributed in the Middle Volga region, Russia. Both languages are core members of the Volga-Kama sprachbund (Helimski 2003). The contact between them has been extremely close, leading to a profound symbiosis (Johanson 2000). Both languages have the negative element which precedes a verb: Mari has the negation verb, which precedes the connegative form of a verb (e.g., ***it*** *tol* [NEG.IMP.2SG come] "Don't come"). Chuvash has the negative particle *an*, which precedes the imperative form of a verb (e.g., ***an*** *kil* [NEG come.IMP.2SG] "Don't

come"). In the converb construction, the converb normally occurs before the negative element ("the CVB-NEG type" hereinafter) (e.g., Mari *kalas-en* ***ot*** *kert* [speak-CVB NEG.PRS.2SG be.able.to] "You can't say that"; Chuvash *il-se* ***an*** *kay* [take-CVB NEG go] "Don't take it with you"). However, it can also occur after the negative element ("the NEG-CVB type" hereinafter) (e.g., Mari ***ot*** *kalas-en kert*; Chuvash ***an*** *il-se kay*). How often and in what condition does the NEG-CVB type occur? If there are differences between the two languages, what are the factors?

On Mari, Riese et al. (2022) describe that very rarely, one can also encounter converbs between the negation verb and the connegative form, when the converb and the connegative form are an aspectual auxiliary construction. However, no quantitative data is provided. On Chuvash, Hishiyama (2022) found that 1) the frequency of the NEG-CVB type is about 1/6 of the frequency of the CVB-NEG type, and 2) the NEG-GER type can occur regardless of whether the imperative form of a verb is an auxiliary verb or not.

This study aims to answer the research questions by conducting a quantitative survey on Mari and comparing the results with the data of Chuvash. The corpus used is the main corpus of Meadow Mari Corpora (size: 5.5 million words). It is mainly composed of internet articles. The survey revealed that the NEG-CVB type is less common and more restricted in Mari than in Chuvash: 1) the frequency of the NEG-CVB type is 6/4420 of the frequency of the GER-NEG type, and 2) five of the six examples of the NEG-CVB type contains a connegative form of an auxiliary verb. These results suggest that the negation verb and the connegative verb form are tied to one another more tightly in Mari than the negative particle and the imperative verb form in Chuvash.

The low frequency suggests that the NEG-CVB type is a newly emerged uncanonical construction in both languages. This construction must have emerged because of the speaker's recognition of the converb construction as "a single verb". Mari primarily allows this construction when it includes an auxiliary verb because, as Johanson (1995) demonstrates, it is tied to the converb more tightly than the lexical verb.

The NEG-CVB type is not found in other Uralic languages in the Volga-Kama area. Mari allows this construction because it has the highly developed auxiliary verb construction due to the contact with neighbouring Turkic languages including Chuvash.

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Voices of Livonians:
How to evaluate the pronunciation of the Livonian language spoken today?

Tuuli Tuisk & Valts Ernštreits (University of Latvia, University of Tartu)

The Livonians are currently considered the most endangered culture within the European Union, and their language is among the most endangered in the world. As of today, only about 20–30 people are still able to speak Livonian (Druviete & Kļava, 2018), and approximately 250 individuals identified as "Livonian" in the most recent Latvian national census (Census 2011). However, the actual number of Livonians is likely much higher. Although Livonian is no longer used as an everyday language, the community remains actively involved in heritage preservation, language revitalization efforts, and language learning initiatives (Druviete & Kļava, 2018), including the creation of a digital language environment (Ernštreits & Kļava, 2021).

Our presentation introduces the part of the Livonian digital sphere which focuses on the voice of Livonians. Different initiatives to create digital resources for the Livonian language have culminated in a cluster of databases which is currently being expanded by the Livonian Institute of the University of Latvia (see the *livonian.tech* website). In 2022, a project was initiated to create audio recordings for the lexicographic database, with the sound files then being incorporated into the system. The audio files were processed, their quality and pronunciation evaluated, and finally, the recordings were added to the database. In 2024, a new project started, focusing on AI-based methods for generating and acquiring Livonian language content. The goal of the project is to explore the feasibility of developing speech synthesis and recognition technologies for critically under-resourced languages with limited data and very few contemporary speakers. The project primarily aims to create speech synthesis (text-to-speech) systems and conduct initial experiments in speech recognition (speech-to-text).

All this work has involved analyzing and evaluating the Livonian pronunciation, by which we mean the pronunciation of contemporary Livonian speakers. Livonian is strongly influenced by Latvian at different levels due to the close contact between the speakers of the two languages. Speakers of Livonian have been bilingual for a long time, and today, the influence is unavoidable and stronger than it was decades ago. Due to the lack of a Livonian speaking area, all speakers, without regard to proficiency, are completely exposed to the Latvian language environment, and therefore, their natural ability to maintain a traditional Livonian pronunciation is inevitably affected. This means that there have been changes in pronunciation, especially in areas where Livonian and Latvian pronunciation details differ significantly.

Our work focuses on the evaluation and analysis of materials required for speech synthesis and recognition, ensuring the authenticity of pronunciation. This is particularly important so as to plan speech-to-text systems that can accurately interpret the pronunciation of informants recorded decades ago. The important part is working with the speakers and finding the best solutions. We analyze changes that have taken place or are currently changing in contemporary pronunciation, but also take into account individual and dialectal differences.

One of the challenges that we are currently facing is finding the balance between contemporary pronunciation and the pronunciation of informants recorded decades ago. The situation is even more complex, as Courland Livonian is not and never has been completely homogeneous and differences occur even between the pronunciations of the speakers recorded long ago (see, e.g., Tuisk & Teras 2009, Tuisk & Pharao 2024). An interesting example of changes in contemporary Livonian pronunciation is the shift in palatalization. In Livonian, palatalized consonants are represented by *ţ ḑ ņ ļ ŗ* [tʲ, dʲ, nʲ, lʲ, rʲ]. Standard Livonian orthography indicates palatalized consonants with a cedilla, e.g., *kaţki* [kɑtʲːki] 'broken', *kēļ* [keːlʲ] 'language'. In contrast, fricatives such as š [ʃ] and ž [ʒ] remain unmarked for palatalization. However, palatalization of the fricatives [ʃ] and [ʒ] is disappearing from contemporary pronunciation.

Words such as *ve'ž* [ve^{ʔ}ʒ] 'water' and *tuo'ž* [tuo^{ʔ}ʒ] 'truth' are now pronounced without palatalization. In our presentation, we will discuss such issues and provide solutions that would support further work in order to ensure the authenticity of materials involving Livonian pronunciation.

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General Session: Worldview

Finno-Ugric Worldviews in the Changing World of Technology

Andrus Tins & Reet Hiiemäe (Estonian Literary Museum)

In an era characterized by rapid technological advancement, the intersection of tradition and technology within Finno-Ugric communities presents a unique landscape for ethnological and folkloristic inquiry. This symposium presentation aims to explore the dynamic role of technology in shaping contemporary folk culture, particularly how Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) impact the outputs of ethnic identity, traditional storytelling, religious expressions and ritual performances among Finno-Ugric peoples.

The infusion of digital technologies into everyday life has clearly transformed traditional practices, enabling communities to navigate the complexities of modern existence while reinforcing their cultural heritage but facing also yet other complexities brought along by technology. Scholars such as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) have emphasized the importance of "cultural performance" in the digital age, suggesting that technology serves as both a medium and a message, allowing for the recontextualization of folklore. Similarly, the work of John Postill (2010, 2024) highlights the role of social media in fostering community ties and facilitating intercultural dialogue, vital for the preservation of ethnic identity among dispersed populations. Some case studies, such as those by Coppélie Cocq (2013), further elucidate how digital storytelling practices empower marginalized and displaced communities to assert their place-making practices in the global digital space, highlighting the interplay between technology and cultural resilience.

This presentation calls for paying more attention to the use of digital platforms as well as physical technological gadgets specifically by Finno-Ugric groups to sustain their cultural narratives and religious practices, such as virtual gatherings, online community folklore archives, and social media storytelling but also the use of screens or loudspeakers in a church or on a ceremony. A pertinent example is a case study of Nikolai Anisimov and Galina Glukhova (2021) who bring examples of how Udmurt communities performed certain rituals using digital platforms during Covid-19 lockdowns. By examining such interactions, we aim to

unpack the complexities of cultural adaptation and identity reconstruction in the context of globalization and technological change. Our preliminary results reveal a rich tapestry of creativity, resilience and innovation, challenging conventional notions of tradition and modernity.

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The Concept of Soul in the Traditional Worldview of the Mordva

Tatiana Devyatkina & Serafima Panfilova (Saransk)

According to the traditional worldview of the Mordvinian people, the soul (*vaime* – Mokshan Mordvinian, *oime* – Erzian Mordvinian) is the initial cause of life. Originally, it was understood as breath given to the first human created by the Erzian Supreme God "Chipaz" (*chi* – sun, *paz* – god). Another version is that the Erzian deuce "Shaitan" created the body of the first human but he couldn't give life to it. So Chipaz agreed to give a soul to Shaitan's creation but on condition that the soul would be returned to Chipaz after human's death. According the traditional views of the Erzian Mordva of Simbirsk and Penza provinces, the son of the Supreme God, "Nishkepaz", has many houses where the souls of good people live. The texts of prayers describe Nishkepaz as the seventh god, standing above the other six gods. He makes stars out of the souls of happy people after their deaths. Similarly, the Erzian Mordva of Nizhny Novgorod province believed that the souls of people to be born were stored behind clouds in the house of the goddess "Ange Patyay". The goddess sent her helpers to Earth to give souls to newborn babies, and she was invisibly present at the birth of children.

According to later views, human beings receive their souls either from their mother or from God when they are born. The Mordva believed that the soul lives in the human heart. It was assumed that the soul could leave the body of a sleeping person and return to its place when the person woke up. If the sleeping person was a sorcerer or witch, their soul left their body to do harm and evil deeds. According to a traditional folk belief of the Mordva, the souls of witches and sorcerers obey to deuce.

The Mordva people thought that the soul left the human body after death and transformed into a light-blue cloud. In funeral and remembrance laments, the soul is represented as a green butterfly which symbolizes the light and immaterial nature of the soul. When a person dies, the Mordva people usually say "*Vaimots liss*" (Mokshan Mordvinian) or "*Oimenze noldyze*" (Erzian Mordvinian) which means "one let their soul go".

By custom, a glass of water used to be placed next to a dying person, "*vaime ved*" (Mokshan Mordvinian) or "*oime ved*" (Erzian Mordvinian) which means "the water for a soul". The Mordva believed that the soul would wash itself in this water. Over the glass, a wooden chip was placed as a symbol of a bridge to the next world. A coin was put in the glass of water to propitiate the soul. A loaf of bread or a scone was placed near the glass with the same purpose.

In Erzian lamentations, the third saint who was sent by God to Earth in a cradle took the soul after human's death and brought it to the river to wash. It was considered that after human's death their soul could enter into a child to be born or into a woman's womb (after that she got pregnant). Another version had it that the souls of dead people went to the next world which was located somewhere in the east underground. The Erzian Mordva of Nizhny Novgorod province used to believe that the souls of all dead people were taken by the third son of the goddess Angye Patyay, "Nazarompaz". Then he sent the souls of all good and kind people to the kingdom of his elder brother, the Supreme God "Nishkepaz". In turn, the souls of all bad and evil people were sent to deuce.

According to a traditional folk belief, if a dead person's body became hairy in the coffin, this fact was interpreted as the God hadn't accepted their soul; so it roamed the village and couldn't find any place to rest. If a person lived a right, pious life on Earth, their soul was transferred to Heaven on a piece of stretched thread or on a lock of hair. The Mordva believed that after a person's death, their soul could see and hear everything that was going on Earth, i.e. how the body was mourned and buried, what was said of the dead person. Therefore, it was tabooed to give bad characteristics to a dead person.

According to later views, after conversion to Christianity, the Mordva started to believe that the soul of a dead person stayed in the house for 40 days. After that, the soul was seen off to the next world. People organized remembrance parties and went to the cemetery to leave some food on the grave. Nowadays it is widely believed that on Easter the souls of dead people come home to visit their family.

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The motif of rebirth in Mansi folk tales

Aado Lintrop (Estonian Literary Museum)

For some reason, in recent years, the idea has been spreading outside academic circles that the concept of reincarnation has no place in the religions of Finno-Ugric peoples. It is true that we do not find the motif of reincarnation in the religions and folklore of many kindred peoples, but in some cases, it is quite clearly traceable. For example, the Mansi and Khanty believed that a person has multiple souls: one remains with the corpse after death and eventually turns into a beetle, one departs downstream along the river to the land of the dead, and one soul flies with the help of birds to a mythical southern land. These souls are associated with a person's body and shadow. The soul connected to breathing has the ability to be reborn. In Mansi birth customs, a ritual was practiced in which people tried to guess which recently deceased person's soul would give its soul to the newborn. In this context, I have heard the expression, "towards whom the child turns its head."

I have not found such a motif in the folklore of the Ob-Ugric peoples. However, Mansi legends contain a motif in which Siberian hogweed (*Heracleum sibiricum*) grows from the blood of a murdered Mos woman, and when a she-bear eats it, she gives birth not only to bear cubs but also to a human girl, who becomes the ancestor of the Por people. Mos and Por are exogamous clans or phratries among the Mansi. This motif is usually accompanied by a theme of incest between a brother and sister or suspicions of it. In some cases, the girl born from the bear

remembers her previous life; for example, in one legend, she recognizes her son, whom she had left onto the river before the spring ice breakup out of fear of incestuous suspicions.

In the religions of the Mansi and Khanty, blood is indeed significant, carrying a person's life force, but there is no concept of reincarnation occurring through blood. Instead, it is the soul component associated with breathing that is reborn.

Poster Session

Presenting 20th century Khanty and Mansi songs collected by Éva Schmidt in the 1980s

Márta Csepregi, Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián, Vitalii Sigiletov, & Mária Sipos
(ELTE, HUNREN)

The legacy of Éva Schmidt, Hungarian ethnographer and linguist, can be processed and published from 2022 on. Her earliest collections, which focus on the Ob-Ugric song culture, are a part of the legacy that was processed by Schmidt herself, and they have been processed in a complex way. It was largely this material that served as the basis for the articles and studies in which she elaborated the system of Ob-Ugrian folklore genres (Csepregi 2023).

Our poster introduces this methodology of processing Khanty as well as Mansi private and cult songs, and it will also highlight the values of this unique collection, which represents the 20th century song culture of the two Ob-Ugrian peoples.

The results of the two successful expeditions in 1980 and 1982 reveal the characteristic features of the Western Siberian song culture in its motion and change, exhibiting both archaic features and the way in which this song tradition responds to the everchanging social and cultural environment. The songs amount to a total of 5,771 lines. They range in length from 6 to 370 lines, the shortest pieces of which are obviously fragments. The vast majority are in Khanty, namely in Kazym or Šerkaly Khanty, and the Northern Mansi language is also represented by a few songs. It was largely this collection that served as the basis for Schmidt's articles, in which she explored the system of Ob-Ugrian folklore genres.

The sound recordings were processed by Éva Schmidt in the following moduls:

(a) Transcription of the Khanty/Mansi language text, which also exhibits the various filler elements (sounds, syllables, suffixes, words).

(b) Hungarian translation, which accurately follows the syntactic and morphological structure of the original sentences.

(c) Background information (the origin of the song, circumstances of collection, where and from whom the performer learned the song, to what extent the characteristics of the genre are represented; typical and atypical features, etc.) This shows that, during her fieldwork, she was already very consciously focused on exploring the relationship between culture and songs.

(d) Linguistic comments on the problematic points of the Khanty text (mispronunciation, misinterpretation, loanwords, dialect features etc.) (footnotes)

(e) Commentaries concerning linguistic, cultural, family or local history etc. accompanying the Hungarian translation (footnotes)

(f) Tabulated metrics analysis

(g) Music notation and analysis (Katalin Lázár). Thanks to the collaboration of the two researchers, the transcriptions of the recordings were supplemented in the 1980s by Katalin Lázár's notations, so these can also be classified as belonging to the original arrangements of songs.

The result of the two scholars' work is an exceptional, complex analysis, covering melody, text, the relationship between the two, the details of the process of song creation, the origin of the songs, linguistic and cultural commentaries etc.

The text of the songs with background information and footnotes have been published by Kacskovics-Reményi and Sipos (2024), or will be published in Hungarian in the form of traditional volumes. Evidently, the website allows us to make this folklore material available in a more flexible way to meet the needs of the users, i.e. the audio material, the original text or its translations, various pieces of information etc. are easily accessible. Furthermore, the website also gives the opportunity to get to know the villages where the collection was made, as well as the singers, both through a database and through original photographs by Éva Schmidt.

The collection thus has multiple values. On the one hand, it presents the song culture of the two Ob-Ugrian peoples, its diversity as well as its changes over time, on the other hand, the complexity of the processing that is required by this folklore material, and finally, the thoroughness and precision that always characterise Éva Schmidt's work.

In our poster, the above is supported by a number of illustrations, and the digitisation process is also shown with a number of photos.

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Artificial intelligence as a text corrector for language learners

Maria Frick, Sisko Brunni, Reeta Östberg and Tiia Poikela (University of Oulu)

In recent years, the use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) as a teacher's tool has become the subject of research, and it has been examined, for example, as an Automated Writing Evaluation (AWE) tool for assessing foreign language students' texts (Shin & Lee 2024; Bucol & Sangkawong 2024) or as a writing assistant (Dong 2024; Innaci & Jona 2024).

This presentation will explore the use of AI as a tool to help adult language learners revise their texts. The focus is on how AI corrects learners' texts as opposed to how a teacher would correct them. We study the writings of Finnish students of Estonian and Estonian students of Finnish, assessed at the A2–B1 language proficiency level, which were first written without assistance, or with the help of a traditional dictionary, and then submitted for correction by an AI program (ChatGPT-4). The data are compared with the corrections made by a teacher and classified according to the error categories used in the ICLFI corpus (Jantunen, Brunni & Oulun yliopisto, suomen kielen oppiaine 2013; Brunni, Jantunen & Skantsi 2020). The study reveals the types of errors in learner language that are corrected (or not corrected) by the AI. The presentation will further discuss and provide new insights into the potential of AI in foreign language teaching.

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The *Reguly Archívum* – an online resource on the life and work of Antal Reguly

Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián (Institute of Ethnology, HUN-REN Res. Center for the Humanities)

At the beginning of 2025, a new online resource dealing with the legacy of Antal Reguly was officially launched. The aim of our research was to explore and publish the manuscript legacy, cartographic research and collection of objects of Antal Reguly (1819–1858), linguist, ethnographer and cartographer. Our primary aim was to create a multilingual, indexed website where the content, metadata and interrelationship of the sources can be consulted. A bibliography, an index of places and personal names have been compiled as tools, and data visualisations have been created to aid further research. The textual sources are in German and Hungarian; in addition to their digitised copies, they are accompanied by their transliterations, Hungarian translations or revised texts, related notes and Russian translations, depending on the extent of the processing. The manuscript maps are available with their digital processing, and the collection of objects is presented with photographs and metadata. The poster shows the most important information about the website and the research behind it. Web address: https://regulyarchivum.hu/

Society for the Study of Finnish 1876–2026: 150 years of language policy, language development and scientific research of Finnish language

Ville Eerola, Tiia Winther-Jensen, & Mari Siiroinen (University of Helsinki)

This poster presents an ongoing research project on the history of Kotikielen Seura (Society for the Study of Finnish). The project was started to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Society that takes place in 2026.

One of the ideologies that grew in many places in Europe in the 19th century was nationalism. This led to the birth of many societies, such as the Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura) (founded in 1835), and the Finno-Ugrian Society (Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura) (founded in 1883). Also in newly independent Estonia, the Mother-Tongue Society (Emakeele Selts) was founded in 1920. The society this project focuses on is the Society for the Study of Finnish (Kotikielen Seura), which was founded in 1876.

The Society for the Study of Finnish was founded in Helsinki, as a club for Finnish-speaking university students interested in developing and researching the Finnish language. At first the club operated under the auspices of the Savo-Karelia student nation, led by its inspector, professor August Ahlqvist.

The Society for the Study of Finnish is still an active society. It has about 460 members at the moment. Its meetings and seminars feature topical lectures on the research of Finnish. At the annual general meeting the Society presents awards to young scholars for excellent scientific

articles, made possible by the various funds the Society operates. One of the most important functions of the Society is the publishing of the linguistic journal *Virittäjä*. *Virittäjä* is the oldest and most significant Finnish-language journal that focuses on research into Finnish language. (See also Juusela 2006.)

The poster presents an overview of the history and milestones of the Society. The examination is done from a multidisciplinary perspective, using historical research methods, but always including a linguistic approach.

The Society was particularly active in during its first decades in the 19th century and early 20th century. In the absence of institutions such as the present Institute for the Languages of Finland (Kotimaisten kielten keskus), the Society assumed many of the tasks that are now the responsibility of the Institute, but it also shared functions with universities and other actors. In the early 20th century the Society was considered the authority on many language issues. For example, it drew up guidelines for the (then popular) adoption of Finnish surnames to replace previous Swedish or other non-Finnish ones. It also proposed Finnish names for streets in Helsinki (which were originally only in Swedish). The Society also coined a number of new words, for example, *elokuvat* 'movies' (to replace *elävät kuvat* 'living pictures'), *jäätelö* 'ice cream' and *haarukka* 'fork'. *Haarukka* originates from one of the Society's early major projects, Kodin Sanasto 'household glossary' (1896), compiled by Lilli Lilius and Ilmi Bergroth, although, as women, they were not initially allowed to be members the Society. The glossary was created to reduce the use of Swedish-based loanwords in household terminology.

There has been remarkably little historical research on the Society. A noteworthy exception is the history of the Society that Heikki Paunonen's drafted in 1976 for *Virittäjä* to celebrate the Society's centenary. Paunonen focuses on the early days of the Society and the period before the 1930s. The new history project takes a fresh approach to the early years of the Society, based on the latest research, and even more importantly, it also covers periods on which there is little (1930s to 1970s) or practically no (1970s to 2020s) research.

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Links

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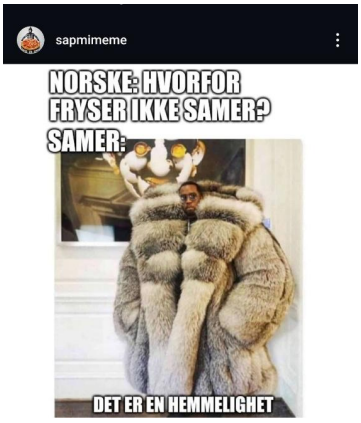
Minority identity in a global context. The topic of relationship to the freezing Arctic winter on two Sámi Instagram profiles

Ildikó Tamás (HUN-REN Research Centre for the Humanities)

I analyse an emblematic element of Sámi identity that is transformed from offline discourses into online folklore and how younger generations use the traditional cultural elements to represent their identity besides the textual multilingualism in social media. The study focuses on the content of two Instagram profiles (@sapmimeme and @saamiresilinecememes) and provides an ethnographic insight into the ethnic-based online discourse that they represent. The repetitive topic of the Instagram posts is the relationship to the freezing Arctic winter, which–

–as a biological and a cultural phenomenon—is convenient to articulate ethnic differences between the indigenous Sámi and the 'outsider' people. This opposition indicates several humorous contents that sometimes cross the boundary between the politically correct and incorrect rhetoric. I also demonstrate how easily the oral folklore can enter the contemporary online registers and how they are converted into the modern forms of online communication.



https://www.instagram.com/sapmimeme/?igsh=dDk2ZGJ0bGQ0NGJv#

Fashion and Activism: Ethno-fashion in the light of Nation-Building and the Representation of Interethnic Conflicts

Ildikó Tamás (HUN-REN Research Centre for the Humanities) &
Petra Egri, (Hungarian Academy of Arts)

The poster project looks at the changing trends in the Sámi nation building through dress, which is one of the most common forms of visual culture. The clothing culture is a sensitive indicator of significant historical and social processes, events, and slow, less noticeable changes. Among these, one of the most obvious tools is the dress that mediates both ethnic identity and a sense of homeland. Exploring the intersection of dress and identity, fashion theorist Joanne Entwistle argues that fashion and dress have a complex relationship to identity: "on the one hand, the clothes we choose to wear can be expressive of identity, telling others something about gender, class, status" (2015: 112). Later she adds that how "we perform our identity has something to do with our location in the social world as members of particular groups, classes, cultural communities".

The first change of attitude in the revitalisation process occurred when community members began to take pride in attributes that had been hidden out of shame or fear, such as their own dress. There was a desire to draw inspiration from a more beautiful, intact, and fully functional era (i.e., before the politics of assimilation). On the other hand, it was recognised that any tradition can survive if it meets the needs of the times. *Sámi* fashion is increasingly trying to translate traditional wear patterns, colours and motifs into modern designs that meet the needs of young people. The *gákti* is currently undergoing changes, mainly in the use of raw materials, and the designers' creations have also introduced several formal innovations and are becoming part of the discourse of foreign fashion houses. We are now witnessing a growing trend towards the replacement of traditional colours of *gáktis* and the emergence of decorative motifs (for clothes) in the form of jewellery and accessories. The presentation will also look at how the new fashion fits into the revitalisation processes that are still going strong today.

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Verbs in reflexive-anticausative constructions: Testing implicational hierarchies on South-Eastern Finnic languages

Alma Tuokko (University of Helsinki)

The topic of this paper is reflexive constructions in South-Eastern area of Finnic languages, with the focus on the verbs that can appear in reflexive or anticausative alternation. Here I will test if these verbs in these languages correspond to two implicational hierarchies from language typological research. What is considered ”reflexive” here is based on form and function: phrases including derived or conjugated reflexive verbs that include (agent-patient) coreference (see Haspelmath 2023). The studied languages are Ingrian, Votic, South Estonian and also Eastern dialects of Estonian. This paper is also a preliminary study in my upcoming doctoral thesis about reflexive constructions in South-Eastern Finnic languages.

The implicational hierarchies used here are based on the study of valency alternations in language typology (Wichmann 2015). The hierarchies show how likely certain verb meanings appear in certain valency alternations: for example the most likely verbs cross-linguistically to appear in reflexive alternation are ’wash’, ’cover’, ’shave’, and ’show’, and in anticausative alternation ’cut’, ’break’, ’tear’, and ’pour’. This paper explores if these implicational hierarchies apply to South-Eastern Finnic, or what kinds of verbal meanings appear in reflexive constructions and do they follow the implicational hierarchy in their frequency.

Earlier research on reflexive constructions in Finnic languages has focused on morphological, semantic or diachronic aspects of reflexive forms, and has focused on more northern Finnic languages (e.g. Koivisto 1995). This paper takes a novel approach into reflexives through the typological hierarchies, which has not been done in earlier study of these languages.

The areal selection of the studied languages is based on their strong (historical) language contacts. Furthermore, South-Eastern Finnic includes both ”Eastern Finnic” and ”Western Finnic” ways of expressing reflexive voice: reflexive conjugation as an Eastern feature in Ingrian and Votic (e.g. Votic *pezen* ‘I wash’ ; *pessiin* ‘I wash (myself)’) and verbal derivation as a Western feature in all of the studied languages (e.g. Võro South Estonian *käändmä* ‘to turn’ > *käändümä* ‘to turn (itself)’) (see Laakso 2001.) In addition to these strategies, it is also possible in all these languages to express reflexivity with a construction that includes a reflexive pronoun (e.g. Eastern Estonian *tõivad `en'did* ’they brought themselves’).

Even though the derived or conjugated verbs are often named as ”reflexive verbs”, the use of these verbs seems to be also very much anticausative, which is called ”automative” among Finnish scholars, where the difference is with the animacy of the agent: a reflexive construction needs an animate agent, whereas anticausative has an non-animate agent. Within the typological implicational hierarchies, there are different hierarchies for reflexive alternation and for anticausative, which is a part of the so-called ”subject demoting-deleting” alternation. Because of the reflexive-anticausative use of formally ”reflexive” domain in South-Eastern Finnic, I will be using both of these hierarchies in my presentation and look into which one of the hierarchies the languages primarily obey. The aim of this study is to show with the help of data analysis to what extent the implicational hierarchies apply to the South-Eastern Finnic languages. The data used is collected from different corpora (e.g. TÜ Eesti murrete korpus) and from various dictionaries.

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