

# Coordination in Uralic

Brent Woo

bwoo@uw.edu • brentwoo.com

**W** UNIVERSITY of  
WASHINGTON

## Research Goals

- A broad survey of coordinating conjunctions and coordination strategies in Uralic languages, which are understudied in typology.
- Uralic languages are regionally divided between European Uralic and Non-European (inside Russia). Investigate if there are qualitative differences in coordination strategies.

## Main Findings

- There is likely no reconstructable Proto-Uralic coordination strategy. (No coordinators are found on Swadesh/Dolgopolsky/Leipzig-Jakarta lexicost. lists.)
- European Uralic languages differ qualitatively from non-European Uralic languages in their coordination strategies, confirming Mauri's (2008) generalizations.
- Several Uralic languages have borrowed coordinating conjunctions from neighboring languages, transparently supporting Mithun's (1988) borrowing hierarchy.
- Finnish *ja/tai* 'and/or' is robustly attested in a corpus study, supporting the predictions of possible 'slashed coordinators' proposed in Woo (to appear).

## Generalizations

- Mauri (2008) posited many generalizations about the "Languages of Europe". Do Uralic languages confirm these generalizations?
- All European languages have at least one overt, syndetic marker to express combination.**
  - Confirmed.** Both Finnish and Hungarian do.
  - Prereqs: Long history of writing; high degree of contact
  - F: ABC-kirja (1542), New Testament (1543); H: Letters of St. Paul (1533)
- All European languages have at least one monosyllabic marker for combination.**
  - Confirmed.** F and H confirm this with *ja*, *és*. (ex. Kamassian *ii-de*, Hausa *kuma* 'and')
- No polymorphemic marker for combination is attested in European languages.**
  - Confirmed.** All combiners are morphologically simple.
- Most European languages have one general marker for disjunction.** English *or*, Ru. *или*, Hu. *vagy*. Exceptions are on the geographical periphery.
  - Confirmed.** F has 2: *vai* (choice-aimed/exclusive or), *tai* (simple/inclusive or)
  - F (like Belorussian, Basque, Albanian, Polish) are on the periphery of Europe.

## Uralic Conjunctions

| Non-European | 2010 speakers           | AND      | OR                        | BUT |
|--------------|-------------------------|----------|---------------------------|-----|
| Selkup       | 1,000 *                 |          |                           |     |
| Nganasaan    | 130 *                   |          |                           | ta? |
| Nenets       | 22,000 *                |          |                           |     |
| Mari         | 510,000 den             |          |                           |     |
| Mansi        | 940 *, os, i            | man      | a                         |     |
| Komi         | 222,000 i, da, daj, nji |          | -a                        |     |
| European     |                         |          |                           |     |
| Saami        | 30,000 ja               | vai, -ge | muhto                     |     |
| Finnish      | 5.4 m ja                | tai, vai | mutta, vaan               |     |
| Estonian     | 1.1 m ja,ning           | ehk, või | aga, vaid, ent, kuid      |     |
| Hungarian    | 13 m és, pedig          | vagy     | de, mégis, viszont, hanem |     |

The star <\*> indicates that juxtaposition is the attested strategy. Speaker numbers from Ethnologue 2010.

## Finnish

- ja** 'and', basic, neutral connective.
  - Pentti ja Pirkko olivat naimisissa.  
'P and P are married'
- mutta** 'but' contrastive/counterexpectational
  - Teuvo on pitkä, mutta laiha.  
'T is tall but thin'
- vaan** 'but' is corrective 'but' (NPI)
  - En tule, vaan jäään kotiin.  
'I won't come, but I will stay at home'
- Correlative coordination** has an unusual form.
  - Sekä** Matti **että** Maija tulevat.  
'Both M and M come'
  - että** is not the connective **ja**, but is a homophone of a complementizer
  - Koivisto e.a. (2011): this might be a previously unattested instance of: **Complementizer > Conjunction**

- A corpus study in KORP reveals Finnish productively uses *ja/tai* 'and/or'**
- Coordinates:** Clauses, VP, NP, Adv, Adj-Pred, Adj-Attr, Sub-word

Tavallinen aine on haurasta *ja/tai* valuavaa.  
standard.NOM material.NOM be.3SG fragile.PRT and/or drippy.PRT  
'The standard material is fragile and/or drippy.'

- 3SG agreement.  
*Paasikiven ja/tai Pakaslähden tarvitsi vain viihjaista omasta Paasikivi and/or Pakaslehti need.pst.3sg* only hint.INF own sivistästatuen tarpeestaan.  
'page needs'
- Rare reversed *tai/ja*; NO other combinations [As in English; Woo (to appear)]
- Whether by borrowing or independent innovation, distribution supports a language-general constraint on slashed coordinators.

## Hungarian

- és** 'and', basic, neutral (often) subclausal connective.
- pedig** 'and', clausal, Wackernagel-like second position  
*Én a kék blúzit veszem fel, Olga pedig a fehérét.*  
'I the blue shirt put on, O and the white  
'I am putting on the blue shirt, and Olga is putting on the white'
- pedig** licenses gapping structures (Kenessei e.a. 2002)  
*Anna tegnap olvasta a könyvet, Péter pedig ma.*  
'Anna yesterday read the book, Peter and today.  
'Anna read the book yesterday, and Peter today.'
- de** 'but', general adversative, concessive  
*Tanulnom kell, de nincs kedvem.*  
'study.1SG must, but not feel like.1SG  
'I have to study, but don't feel like it'
- hanem** 'but': corrective, correlative contexts.  
*Nem mozia megyek, hanem színházba.*  
'not cinema go.1SG, but theater  
'I am not going to the cinema but to the theater'
- Hungarian (1) is a testing ground for clausal/subclausal structures, (2) like Finnish, has multiple 'but's, which can be structural diagnostics.

## Estonian

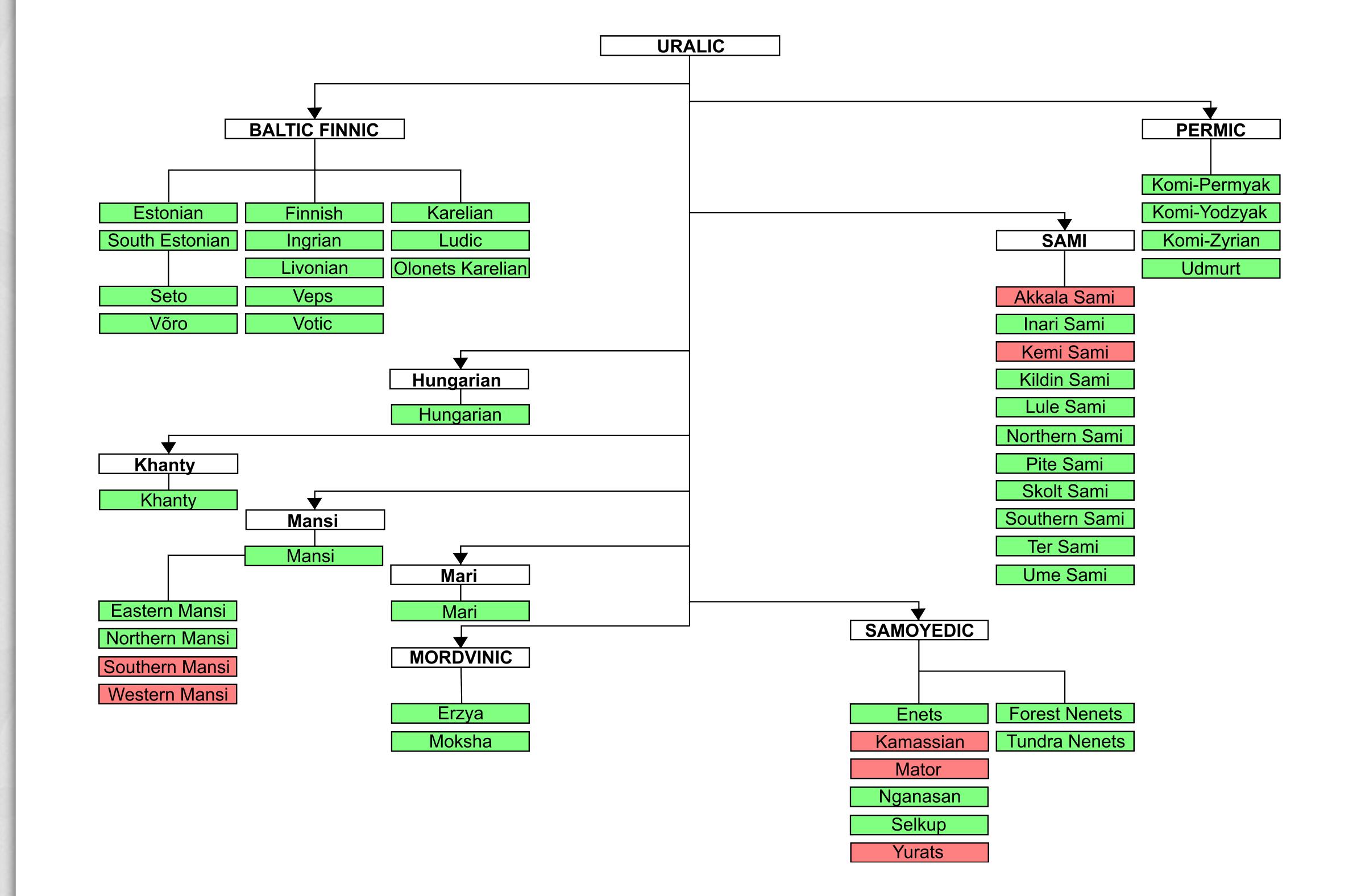
- Like the others, E has an elaborate paradigm, with multiple 'and' and 'but' words.
- Like F, unusual correlative forms

|                 |               |
|-----------------|---------------|
| ja, ning        | and           |
| ehk, või        | or            |
| aga, vaid, ent, | but           |
| kuid            |               |
| ainult          | only          |
| ega             | nor           |
| kui...ka        | both...and    |
| kas... või      | either...or   |
| ei... ega       | neither...nor |

## Language Distribution



## Uralic Family



## Mansi — Vogul

In a contact situation, the substrate will borrow from the superstrate in this order. (Mithun 1988)

BUT → OR → AND

| Russian | Mansi | (Eng) |
|---------|-------|-------|
| a, no   | a, no | but   |
| ili     | ?     | or    |
| i       | i     | and   |

The Mansi conjunctions — **i**, **a**, **no** — are all borrowed from Russian, and productively used (Riese 2001)

xotol xosat nox-neyles, a kon in ásírmay oles  
sun.NOM long appear.PAST3SG but outside still cold.TRANSI be.PAST3SG  
'The sun had been up for a long time, but outside it was still cold.'

akw etpos mot etpos juji-palt mini, i tan akwan nem-xuít xont xateylexetone  
one month.NOM second month.NOM after go.PRES3SG and they together never NEG meet.PRES.REFL.3PL  
'One month passes after the other and they never meet each other.'

usxuli wiyer pos pelamias i avtomobilj jol-poijset  
street.NOM red light.NOM lightup.PAST3SG and car.PL stop.PAST3PL  
'On the street the red light went on and the cars stopped.'

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