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Introduction

Background

This publication is an outcome of the project “Language change in multilingual Finnic”, or Itämerensuomalaisten kielten muutos monikielisessä ympäristössä, funded by The Language Programme of the Kone Foundation.

The aim of our project was to investigate the effects of multilingualism and language contact on language change. The focus was on minority languages, such as Livonian and Veps, as well as on the historical language contact situation in northeastern Estonia and western Ingria. Additionally, the aim of the project was to promote research data management and the availability of digitized materials in endangered Finnic languages. The project was led by Riho Grünthal, Professor of Finnic languages at the University of Helsinki. Santra Jantunen was involved throughout the project concentrating on verbal derivation in Livonian. Ulriikka Puura contributed eight months by carrying out research on contemporary Veps communities. After her departure, Sofia Björklöf joined the project focusing on the lexical traces of mutual contacts between the Finnic languages in Ingria and northeastern Estonia. We all have been working on our doctoral theses during the course of this project. In addition, Santra Jantunen transcribed old unpublished recordings in Livonian and used them in her research. In 2014, a field trip was organized to Veps villages located in Vologda and Leningrad oblasts.
Along with investigating the impact of language contacts on language change, the project paid special attention to sociolinguistic features as well as examined different manifestations of multilingualism.

One of the milestones of the project, the Twelfth International Congress for Fenno-Ugric Studies, CIFU XII, was held in Oulu, Finland, on August 17–21 in 2015. The project organized a symposium dealing with Finnic minority languages. Most of the articles in this volume are based on the presentations held at the symposium.

This publication

This volume includes articles on almost every Finnic minority language: Livonian, already extinct as a first language in the traditional speech area; Vote or Votic, nearly extinct; Ingrian, soon facing the same fate; Veps, with a couple thousand mainly elderly speakers; and Karelian, fragmented across Tver oblast and the Republic of Karelia in Russia. Dialectal varieties of Estonian and Finnish, otherwise national languages, are included as well, because dialects and dialectal features are levelling out in the modern world. Värmland Finnish, for instance, is already extinct; also the dialect materials used as data are old. Historically, however, dialects have been a natural part of the Finnic linguistic continuum.

The articles are organized according to the focused language area and speech community. Starting with Livonian we move to Veps, Ingrian, and Vote, Estonian and Finnish dialects, and finally to Karelian dialects. All structural levels of language are represented in this volume including phonology (Torbjörn Söder, Irina Novak), morphology (Santra Jantunen, Heini Karjalainen, Söder, Vesa Koivisto), morphosyntax (Jantunen), syntax (Liina Lindström – Kristel Uiboaed – Maarja-Liisa Pilvik – Mirjam Ruutma), and lexicology (Sofia Björklöf, Söder, Koivisto). A common topic connecting all articles is the effect of language contacts on Finnic minority languages. The data of individual articles originates from different sources. One article is based on materials collected by the author herself (Novak), while another part of the studies is based on earlier published materials as well as unpublished materials preserved in archives (Björklöf, Jantunen,
Lindström et al., Söder, Koivisto) with some combining both types of data (Karjalainen). In this volume, the strong Russian influence on individual Finnic languages is covered in several articles (Karjalainen, Koivisto, Novak). Parallel with it, Latvian has influenced Livonian (Jantunen), whereas Swedish has influenced the Finnish dialect in Värmland (Söder). Furthermore, the historical influence of German on Estonian dialects illustrates a different type of language contact situation. The influence of Swedish, Latvian, Russian, and other Finnic languages can also be detected on a local or regional level. (Lindström et al.) Given the diversity of language contact situations, mutual contacts among various Finnic varieties spoken in the same area are discussed as well, namely the languages of Ingria and adjacent areas including Võte, Ingrian, Estonian, and Ingrian Finnish (Björklöf), as well as so-called Border Karelian and Savo dialects and Southeastern dialects of Finnish (Koivisto).

Santra Jantunen (University of Helsinki) analyses the functions of Latvian-origin verbal prefixes in Livonian in her paper titled Syntactic and aspectual functions of Latvian verbal prefixes in Livonian. She concludes that in Livonian, verbal prefixes are used as both lexical and grammatical elements, since, to some extent, some verbal prefixes express perfectivity and, thus, form a secondary strategy for distinguishing between aspectual properties. Moreover, the use of verbal prefixes often corresponds to their Latvian parallels.

Heini Karjalainen (University of Oulu) studies Russian influence on Veps indefinite pronouns and their restructuring in her article Borrowing morphology: The influence of Russian on the Veps system of indefinite pronouns. She demonstrates that several Veps indefiniteness markers were acquired as morpheme transfer (MAT) and morphological pattern transfer (PAT) borrowings. Sociolinguistic factors, such as the minority language status of Veps and extensive bilingualism, have increased the motivation for borrowing.

Sofia Björklöf (University of Helsinki) describes the historical sociolinguistic situation and language contacts in western Ingria in her article Mutual contacts and lexical relations among the Finnic varieties of western Ingria and northeastern Estonia. This article pays special attention to lexical borrowing and the identification of loanwords originating from closely related Finnic varieties. It includes extensive
lists of known borrowings from neighboring varieties and examines eight methodologically illustrative etymologies in detail; some of the etymologies are totally new.

**Liina Lindström, Kristel Uiboaed, Maarja-Liisa Pilvik, and Mirjam Ruutma** (University of Tartu) analyse the use and frequency of perfect and pluperfect, the two compound past tenses in Estonian dialects on the basis of language contacts in their article *On the use of perfect and pluperfect in Estonian dialects: Frequency and language contacts*. The authors claim that the frequency of perfect and pluperfect in Estonian dialects varies considerably between dialect areas due to local language contacts and functional differences between compound tenses. The two main regions where compound tenses are used the most often are the Insular and Mulgi dialect regions.

**Torbjörn Söder** (Uppsala University) compares the Finnish dialects of the old great-parish of Rautalampi in Savo, Finland with those in Värmland in Sweden in his article *The Finnish of Rautalampi and Värmland – A comparison*. Söder notes that these two varieties of the Savo dialect of Finnish share a common historical background, but different language contact situations have resulted in phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic differences.

**Irina Novak** (Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences), a native speaker of Tver Karelian discusses Russian influence in the phonology of Tver Karelian in her article *Veänäjän kielen vaikutus tverinkarjalan murteiden äännejärjestelmään* (‘Russian influence on the phonetics of the Tver dialects of Karelian’). The influence on both vowel and consonant systems is evident. She points out that the age of borrowed features varies because some of them likely originate from Late Old Karelian, while others are more recent and have arisen in Tver dialects. The phonology of Dyorzha was influenced by Russian more strongly in comparison with other Tver dialects.

**Vesa Koivisto** (University of Eastern Finland) contributes a detailed study on reflexive verbs in Karelian dialects in the vicinity of the Finnish border – the so-called Border Karelian dialects – in his article *Rajakarjalaismurteiden refleksiiviverbeistä* (‘On reflexive verbs in Border Karelian dialects’). He concludes that, on the one hand,
reflexive derivatives originally represent the primary type of reflexives in Border Karelian and they exhibit secondary Finnish influence since some morphological derivative types are borrowed from Finnish, while on the other hand, the reflexive conjugation resembles the reflexive conjugation in Karelian dialects in Russia. However, due to Finnish influence, it is less widely applied. Finnish influence can also be seen in numerous lexical borrowings, which are used as reflexive verbs in Border Karelian. In comparison with this, Russian influence is considerably weaker than in other Karelian dialects.

The second part of the book consists of non-peer-reviewed reports which, however, are invaluable for spreading information on available data and collections. Papers in this section compile information on the archive materials on Finnic minority languages. We hope that they will function as a resource for the future study of Finnic and that these reports will guide scholars to already existing materials. Fedor Rozhanskiy (University of Tartu & Institute for Linguistic Studies RAS, St. Petersburg) and Elena Markus (University of Tartu & Institute of Linguistics RAS, Moscow) report on the outcomes of their Ingrian documentation project. In the general section of the congress CIFU XII, Pärtel Lippus, Liina Lindström, and Tuuli Tuisk presented the materials archived at the University of Tartu. This volume includes a report on the online database of the University of Tartu Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages and the Corpus of Estonian Dialects by Liina Lindström, Pärtel Lippus, and Tuuli Tuisk (University of Tartu).

The rest of the reports have been written exclusively for this publication and, originally, were not presented at the symposium. Liis Ermus, Mari-Liis Kalvik, and Tiina Laansalu (Institute of the Estonian Language) give an overview on the Archive of Estonian Dialects and Finno-Ugric Languages at the Institute of the Estonian Language in Tallinn. Nina Zaiceva (Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences) writes about the Veps materials at the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Anneli Sarhimaa (University of Mainz) introduces the relatively recent language sociological interview materials on minority Finnic languages collected during the ELDIA project, European Language Diversity for All (2010–2013). Toni Suutari and Ulriikka Puura
(Institute for the Languages of Finland) present the Finnic materials archived at the Institute for the Languages of Finland in Helsinki. **Marjatta Palander, Helka Rilonheimo, Hannu Kemppanen,** and **Jukka Mäkisalo** (University of Eastern Finland) present the corpora of Border Karelia, Ingrian Finnish, and Karelian Finnish newspapers at the University of Eastern Finland in Joensuu.

The last two reports are accounts of field trips carried out recently in Finnic-speaking or formerly Finnic-speaking areas. **Uldis Balodis** (University of Latvia Livonian Institute) writes about his Kone-funded field trips to the Lutsi Estonians in Latvia as well as the design of language learning materials for Lutsi descendants. **Sofia Björklöf** (University of Helsinki) looks back on a field trip to the Veps villages located in Vologda and Leningrad oblasts as a part of the project “Language change in multilingual Finnic” in the summer of 2014.

**Acknowledgements**

We are very grateful to all of our contributors for their participation in creating this volume and also for their patience as well as to all the wonderful people who agreed to review individual articles for us. We thank the Kone Foundation for making it possible to organize the symposium and, most of all, for funding this project and our research for four years. As editors we are grateful for the opportunity to edit this collection. We owe a heartfelt thanks to Professor Riho Grünthal, the leader of our project, for all his kind help.