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WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
Lee Honors College &
College of Arts and Sciences
Department of Geography
Honors Thesis

Surveillance of the Balto-Finnic Speakers: A Geolinguistic Inquiry

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Advisors: Dr. Dave Lemberg
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Mr. Robert Dlouhy
Date: 15 March 2004



THE CARL AND WINIFRED LEE HONORS COLLEGE

CERTIFICATE OF ORAL EXAMINATION

Lindsay E. Gwyther, having been admitted to the Carl and Winifred Lee Honors College in Fall 2000 successfully presented the Lee Honors College Thesis on March 12, 2004.

The title of the paper is:

Surveillance of the Balto-Finnic Speakers: A Geolinguistic Inquiry

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "David Lemberg", written over a horizontal line.

Dr. David Lemberg, Geography

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Eldor Quandt", written over a horizontal line.

Dr. Eldor Quandt, Geography

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Robert Dlouhy", written over a horizontal line.

Robert Dlouhy, CELSIS

Abstract

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SURVEILLANCE OF THE BALTO-FINNIC SPEAKERS: A GEOLINGUISTIC INQUIRY

The Balto-Finnic languages of northeast Europe are part of the larger Uralic language family. Today, there are seven Balto-Finnic speaking nations, two of which govern their own independent sovereignties (Finland and Estonia). The other five nations lie precariously within the territorial borders of Russia and Latvia for the most part. This paper examines the geographic expanse and status of these languages over time and through space and develops a series of maps to better illustrate these patterns. Historical research demonstrates that their distribution has decreased in area, but strengthened and centralized in certain regions, enabling their presence in a predominantly Indo-European Europe. Contact and conflict with neighboring languages have had reciprocating effects on one another over time, although the present individual linguistic conditions vary, naturally, from language to language.

Keywords: Balto-Finnic languages, geolinguistics, settlement patterns

Tiivistelmä

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KATSAUS ITÄMERENSUOMALAISISTA KIELISTÄ: GEOLINGVISTINEN TUTKIMUS

Koilliseuroopan itämerensuomalaiset kielet kuuluvat uraliseen kieliperheeseen. Nykyään maailmaassa on seitsemän itämerensuomenkielistä kansaa, joista vain kaksi, Suomi ja Viro, ovat itsenäisiä kansallisvaltioita. Loput viisi kansaa asuvat suurimmaksi osaksi Venäjän ja Ruotsin alueella. Tämä tutkimus tarkastelee itämerensuomalaisten kielten maantieteellistä levinneisyyttä eri aikoina havainnollistaen aihetta kattavalla karttasarjalla. Historiallinen tutkimus osoittaa kielten maantieteellisen levinnäisyyden yleensä pienentyneen. Toisaalta tietyillä alueilla kielten asema on jopa parantanut, vahvistaen kielten tulevaisuutta indoeurooppalaisessa kieliympäristössä. Yleisesti voidaan sanoa, että yhteydet ja konfliktit ympäröivien kielten kanssa ovat muokanneet sekä itämerensuomalaisia että ympäröiviä kieliä. Kuitenkin jokaisella itämerensuomalaisella kielellä on oma erityinen lingvistinen tilanteensa.

Avainsanat: Itämerensuomalaiset kielet, geolingvistiikka, asutustavat

Preface**Esipuhe**

At this time, I would like to express my appreciation to the Lee Honors College for fostering undergraduate research at the honors level at Western Michigan University and to their umbrella programs and scholarships, the Undergraduate Research and Creative Activities Award and the Seibert Travel Award, which helped to fund my investigative excursion to Finland and Estonia. Also, I would like to extend my warmest gratitude to the Geography department at the University for their academic support, as well as their financial backing, through the Lucia Harrison Geography grant. The aforementioned grant enabled me to plunge into the field of geolinguistics, traveling to Rīga, Latvia to attend the Fourth International Congress for Geolinguists and Dialectologists and expose myself to the most current geolinguistic research from around the world.

Special thanks are in order for my thesis advisors on the WMU campus Dr. Dave Lemberg, chair of the thesis committee, and Dr. Eldor Quandt, both of the Geography department, and Mr. Robert Dlouhy, a language specialist. I also must thank Tuomas Pöyry for his assistance with editing the Finnish language portions of this endeavor.

Kalamazoo, 15 March 2004

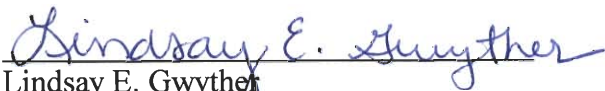

Lindsay E. Gwyther

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1. Introduction

Geolinguistics is an interdisciplinary field that uniquely bridges geography, linguistics and data from other related fields in striving to answer essential queries about which languages are spoken by whom, where they are spoken and since when, as well as how and why they are spoken (Breton 1993:47-49). Figure 1 illustrates the union of several disciplines, which, when mixed together, yield geolinguistics. The marriage of these subjects with geography “relates language to its widest possible context, including the physical and environmental influences,” (Williams and Ambrose 1993:8) and renders necessary the employment of cartography to best represent the results of studies.

The seven Balto-Finnic languages, widely considered to be members of the Uralic language family, are spoken by a relatively small number people inhabiting the northeastern corner of Europe in what is today Russia, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Estonia and Latvia. This region of the world has been considered their homeland for thousands of years and they the autochthonous inhabitants, despite never having maintained political power in this area. Throughout history, contact and conflict with neighbors speaking linguistically dissimilar tongues have helped to shape the contemporary territorial expanses held by the Balto-Finnic speakers today and to define their national character as distinct from those non-Balto-Finnic speakers.

The purpose of the following geolinguistic investigation is to demonstrate this centralizing tendency exhibited by the Balto-Finns via linguistic contact and conflict. History demonstrates that the territorial expanses of this group of people has decreased; however, the territory that remains today remains as the center of the Balto-Finnic civilizations, with spatial implications in the territorial sense, as well as in the cultural sense.

Outside factors and forces from neighboring non-Balto-Finnic speakers have aided in forming the strong Balto-Finnic identity as wholly separate from that of their neighbors'. This sense of identity, in turn, has allowed for the continuance of their cultural and linguistic existence, evading ethnic consumption of their tiny populations by larger and threatening Indo-European speaking neighbors and escaping assimilation into these bigger, dominating groups.

In order to better facilitate a demonstration of the Balto-Finnic settlement patterns over time and space, a map series shall be constructed using the ESRI ArcMap computer program. It is anticipated that a visual construction will assist the argument that these languages have undertaken a centralizing path to realize their present territorial expanses in the twenty-first century. Naturally, the linguistic situation of each language varies considerably, but it is the intention of this paper to examine the Balto-Finnic languages as a whole.

Relatively unknown outside their immediate sphere of influence, this investigation offers recognition to this often unnoticed group, written in English, a global language, while providing a unique opportunity to track the Balto-Finnic languages *as a group* temporally and spatially. Moreover, the lack of a map series for the Balto-Finnic languages presents itself as an attractive challenge to assume.

The trans-disciplinary nature of Geolinguistics
 Summary of the "scientific orientation" of geolinguistic enquiry.
(Freely adapted from the definition by Breton (1991).)

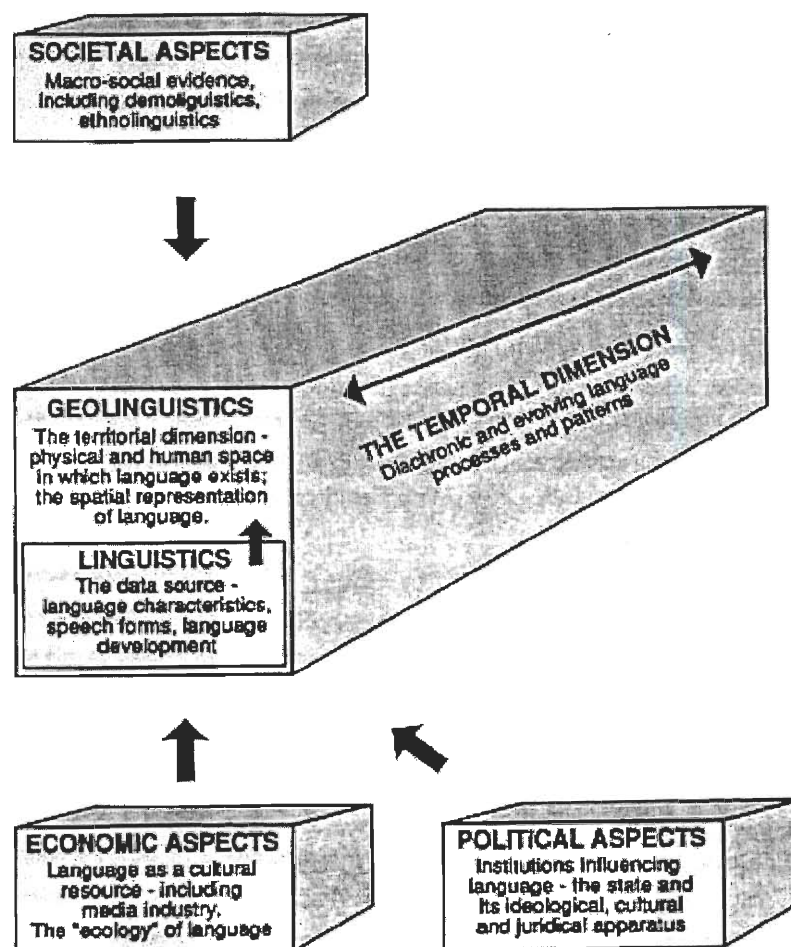


Figure 1. Geolinguistics as an interdisciplinary field (Williams and Ambrose 1993:10).

2. The Uralic Language Family

The twenty-eight Uralic languages (see Figure 1) comprise a substantial, yet complex, language family, whose membership has been the cause of uncertainty in the recent past, sparking numerous disputes among linguists. While many member languages of this family are neither widely spoken nor distinguished literary languages, the geographical territory they span is astonishingly vast. Uralic languages are spoken over Eurasia from Fennoscandia, south to the Baltic States and all across the heart of Russia and Russian Siberia (see Figure 2). A small pocket of these languages is spoken in present-day Hungary and Romania and, due to emigration, Uralic languages are spoken in other small isolated regions around the world.

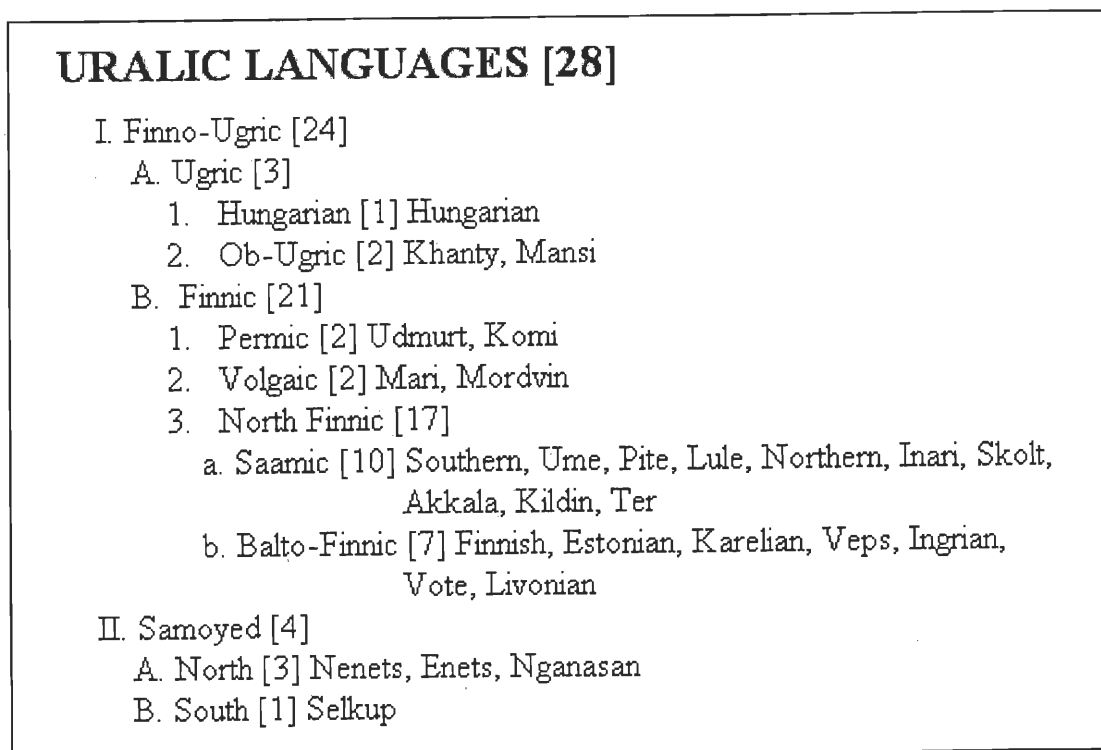


Figure 2. The Uralic Languages. Modified from Rulén 1991:328.

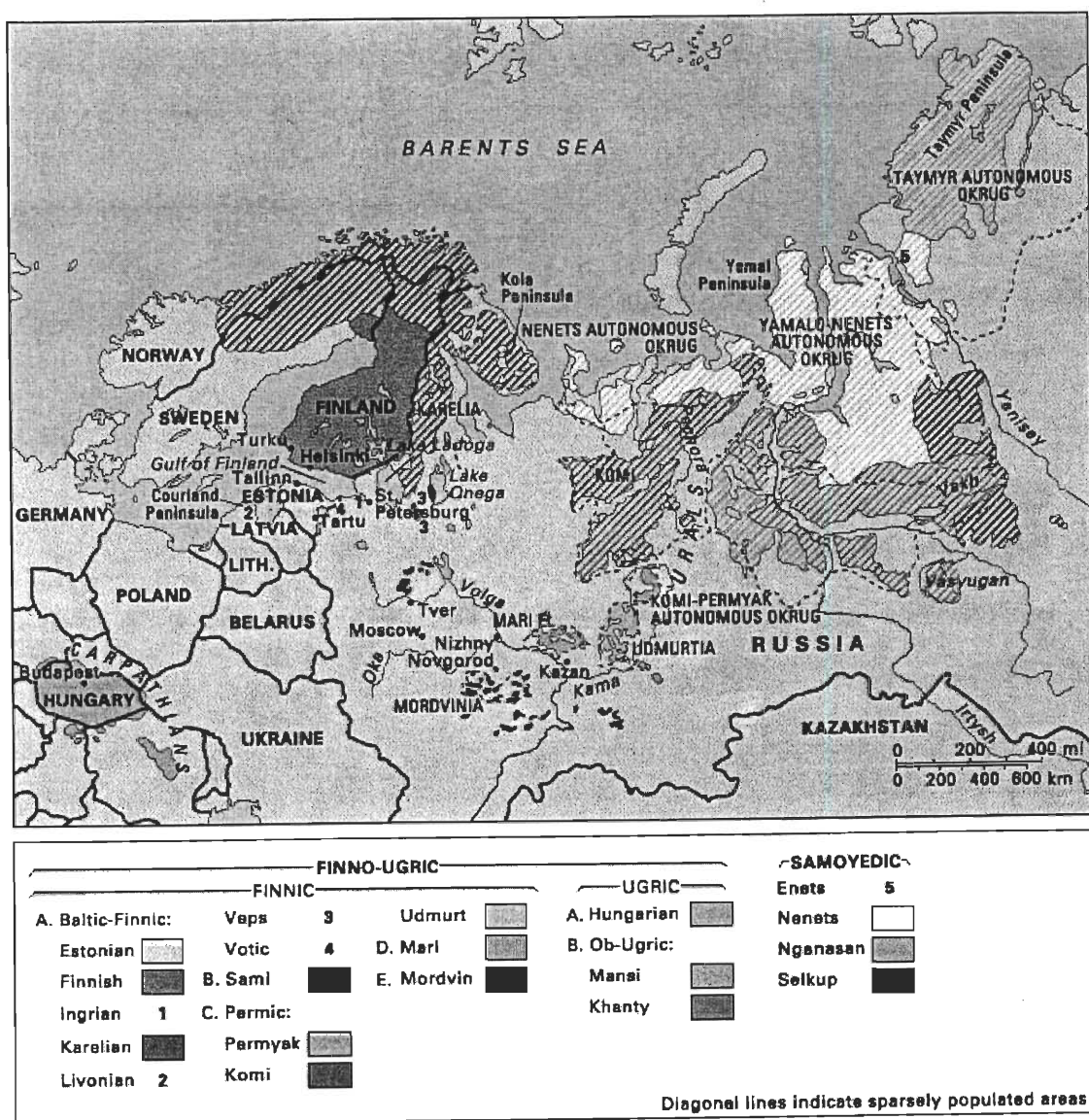


Figure 3. Present-day distribution of the Uralic languages. Modified from Encyclopædia Britannica in Wójci 2002.

Most commonly, the Uralic language family is broken down into two main sub-groupings, the Finno-Ugric languages and the Samoyed languages. The Uralic family was first identified in the early 1700s by German linguist J.G. von Eckhart; however, the family was not widely recognized until later, when Finnish linguist M.A. Castrén demonstrated the main Finno-Ugric and Samoyed split and noted some key interrelationships with lexical and

inflectional evidence between the member languages. For his work, Castrén is credited with founding Uralic linguistics in 1854 (Ruhlen 1991:66-67). At times in the past, the Uralic language family has been extended to include the Altaic languages (Thomsen 1967:1), the Yukaghir isolate language of Siberia (Ruhlen 1991:64) and even the broadened family of Uralo-Dravidian has been suggested in days gone by (Marcantonio 2002:66).

The Uralic languages are synthetic, meaning that they string together a series of symbolic elements to form lengthy words. They are also agglutinative languages, in that they utilize many particle and affix appendages to enhance the significance of the base word (Salminen 1993:29). Due to the language family's immense geographic coverage, languages in the west tend to be influenced more heavily by Indo-European languages, while Turkic languages have an effect on the eastern Uralic languages (Suihkonen 2002:165). The following provides an overview of the Uralic language family.

2.1 Finno-Ugric Languages

The linguistic genetic classification of the Finno-Ugric languages verifies the essence of the Uralic languages, owing to its strength in numbers with 23,000,000 speakers and with its speakers on the European continent constituting 3.3% of Europe's population (Huovinen 1983:50). The Finno-Ugric languages are found in central and northern Eurasia from the Arctic Ocean south to Hungary and from the Baltic Sea east to the River Ob (Crystal 1992:304). Variation in linguistic properties is considerable among the Finno-Ugric languages and it is therefore reasonable that this linguistic group is split further into the classifications of Finnic languages and Ugric languages.

The Ugric languages include Hungarian and, settled near the River Ob in Russia, the Ob-Ugric pair of the Khanty and Mansi languages. These two linguistic groups are

geographically divorced, likely due to the Hungarians' immense resettlement movements to southern Russia and Eastern Europe, which left the Ob-Ugric tribes behind in the original homelands of an area east of the Ural Mountains (Wójci 2002). Today, there are 14,000,000 Hungarian speakers. Eleven million Hungarians inhabit present-day Hungary, while 3,000,000 live as minority groups in Romania, Yugoslavia, Serbia, Slovenia, Ukraine, Austria and Croatia (Fernández 1996).

The speakers of the Ob-Ugric languages of Khanty and Mansi live predominantly in the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Area, while some Khanty live also in the Tomsk Region and the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Area (Suihkonen 2002:165). According to the 'latest' 1989 Soviet census, there were 22,521 Khantys, though only 11,900 of them lived in the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Area, corresponding to only 1.8% of the total population of the autonomous area. Of those 11,900, only 53% spoke Khanty. The Mansis numbered 8,474 in 1989, with 6,600 of them living in the autonomous territory and comprising a mere 0.6% of the total area population count. Only 37.1% are still able to converse in Mansi (Fernández 1996). Many of the newer inhabitants in the region have flocked in to reap the profits in the oil and gas industry (Wójci 2002), thus marginalizing and further russifying the native populations.

Comprising the other offshoot of the Finno-Ugric linguistic classification are the Permian, Volgaic and North Finnic sub-groups. The Permian group of Komi and Udmurt reside adjacent to the Uralic Mountains on the western side, although some of the Komi in the north reside on both sides of the mountain range. Mari and Mordvin are the representative members of the Volgaic sub-division and inhabit areas proximate to the Volga

River in Russia and the North Finnic faction occupy much of the northern Fennoscandia peninsula, the Karelian isthmus and the northeastern Baltic region.

The Permic language Komi is often separated into the units of Komi and Permyak, whose speakers each inhabit their own respective territories: the Komi reside mostly in the mineral-rich Republic of Komi in Russia, while the Permyak are in the Russian Komi-Permyak Autonomous Area (Wójci 2002). Together, the groups account for the approximately 400,000 speakers of Komi (Crystal 1992:304). The other Permic language, Udmurt, is used principally in the Russian Republic of Udmurt and surrounding regions. There are approximately 500,000 Udmurts at present (Wójci 2002).

Mordvin and Mari are the two linguistic components in the Volgaic branch of the Finnic languages. Close to 1,000,000 ethnic Mordvins live between the Russian Republic of Mordvinia and other scattered regions of the Russian Federation (Wójci 2002). The two Mordvinian tribes of Erzya and Moksha are separate ethnic entities, however, and retain their respective identities and languages (Vaba 1997). The Mari speak three diverse dialects, which are at times considered to be their own languages (Wójci 2002). The Mari have their own republic, Mari-El, in Russia, although only about half of the over 500,000 Maris live in their own republic. Despite the present minority status in their own republic, the Mari population is continuously increasing (Vaba 1997).

Dividing further into sub-groupings, the North Finnic classification contains the Saamic and Balto-Finnic groups. The indigenous Saami people of northern Europe are the speakers of the Saamic languages. Saamiland, or Sápmi, lies in the political units of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. Due to having a large geographic domain and living in the spheres of other cultural influences for thousands of years, a “linguistic continuum” (Wójci

2002) of ten Saami languages has ultimately emerged (Somby 2001). Of the Southern, Ume, Pite, Lule, Northern, Inari, Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter languages, only six boast written forms. Northern Saami is the largest contingent, encompassing seventy-five percent of all Saamic speakers. Identity uncertainty is a leading factor in the ambiguity of the Saami population counts, thus, according to different sources, all of the Saami number between 35,000 and 101,000 today (Morottaja 2002).

The Balto-Finnic languages, the last sub-grouping of the Uralic languages, are the focus of this study. Despite these seven languages' clear mutual relatedness, Estonian, Finnish, Ingrian, Karelian, Livonian, Veps and Vote each hold a unique status today due to their individual and intricate histories. Occasionally, an eighth language, Lude, is introduced as a member of the Balto-Finnic linguistic group. It is sometimes considered a russified transitional language lying geographically and linguistically between the Olonets Karelian dialect and the Veps language (Virtaranta 1983: 214) or the linguistic result of karelianized Veps (Vuorela 1964:133). Ludes identify themselves as Karelians (Viitso 1998a:96) and for the purpose of this investigation, Lude will be considered a dialect of Karelian.

Individual events affecting the situations of these related languages began long ago with various political influences. The speakers of Estonian and Livonian were drawn into the Germanic influences of the Teutonic knights from approximately 1200 to well into the 1500s, while the Finnish speakers fell under the influential sphere of the Kingdom of Sweden and the Karelians, Veps, Ingrians, and Votes were pulled into the dominion of Novgorod and the Byzantine Orthodox church by the 1000s (Huovinen 1983 and Anhava 1998:42). By the 1400s many of these groups became drawn into the realm of Russian influence and today

many Estonian and Finnish speakers clearly reflect influences from the western cultural sphere (Pugh 1995:15).

The Balto-Finnic nations of Finland and Estonia govern their own independent sovereignties today; the remainder of the Balto-Finnic nations lies predominantly within Russian or Latvian terrain, although Balto-Finnic groups live also in Sweden and Norway. Thus, their languages remain as, “languages of bilingual minorities in their traditional territories” (Viitso 1998a:96). Refer to Figure 3 for complete demographic statistics of the Balto-Finnics.

Balto-Finnic Language	Size of Ethnic Group	Estimated Number of Speakers
1. FINNISH	ca. 5,518,115	5,000,000
Finland (1999)	5,100,000	4,788,497
Sweden (1992)	11,407	n/a
Estonia (1989)	16,622	5,155
Russia (1989)	67,359	23,274
2. ESTONIAN	n/a	n/a
Estonia (1989)	963,281	953,032
Russia (1989)	60,363	27,001
Finland (1999)	n/a	10,024
3. KARELIAN (1989)	130,989	62,542
Dvina	ca. 69,424 (53%)	n/a
Olonets	ca. 52,396 (40%)	n/a
Lude	ca. 9,169 (7%)	n/a
4. VEPS (1989)	12,501	6,335
5. INGRIAN (1989)	ca. 820	300
6. LIVONIAN	n/a	< 20
7. VOTE	n/a	< 20

Figure 4. Above is a demographic distribution of Balto-Finnic speakers. Dvina, Olonets and Lude are dialects of the Karelian language. Adapted from Suihkonen 2002.

The Karelians, Veps, Ingrians and Votes traditionally inhabit regions within Russia. Resulting from being the “most widespread” of the Balto-Finnic languages (Crystal

1992:304), Karelian features 4 diverse dialects (Viitso 1998a:99). The Karelians comprise approximately 11.1% of the population of the Republic of Karelia in Russia today (Fernández 1996) and Hannes Silvo estimates there to be even over twelve million ethnic Karelians or Karelian descendents worldwide (1996:11). To the east of the Karelians dwell the Veps, who occupy the easternmost territories of the Balto-Finnic speakers. (Vuorela 1964:133).

The Ingrians and Votes populate an area referred to as Ingria, which extends from the middle of the Karelian Isthmus to the city of Narva, Estonia. Today in Ingria there exists an amalgamation of different peoples, but in the St. Petersburg region, the Balto-Finnic peoples (defined as indigenous or descendants of migrants since the 1600s and 1700s) still make up a solid ten percent of the population (Fishman et al. 1996:74). Nevertheless, the Ingrian and Vote languages both claim “very few speakers” (Crystal 1992:304) and in 1989 the youngest speaker of Vote was already 59 year old (Fernández 1996). To avoid ambiguity, it must be noted that the term *Ingrian* shall, for the purpose of this investigation, refer to the native populations of Ingria and *Ingrian-Finn* shall refer to the subsequent Finnish migrants that settled in Ingria.

The seventh member of Balto-Finnic group is the Livonians, who reside in coastal region of Kurzeme in Latvia, although their numbers, too, place them in Crystal’s “very few speakers” category (Crystal 1992:304).

2.2 Samoyed Languages

The other branch of the Uralic language family is comprised of the Samoyeds who number, in total, less than 30,000 today in Siberia and mostly obtain their source of revenue via reindeer hunting and husbandry (Crystal 1992:304). The Samoyed people were first

mentioned in Nestor's Chronicles in A.D. 1113 (Ruhlen 1991:65). Genetically, however, Samoyeds are mongoloids, while their Finno-Ugric counterparts are caucasoids. According to linguist Ago Künnap, they are likely, "former Mongoloid speakers of Paleosiberian languages who have adopted the Uralic languages form," (2000:8).

Like the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic language family, the Samoyed language sub-grouping further divides itself into two additional sub-groupings. In the North Samoyed branch, there are about 25,000 Nenets speakers and a few hundred speakers of each of the Enets and Nganasan languages and in the South Samoyed branch the Selkup language has approximately 3,000 speakers (Crystal 1992:304). Other former Samoyed speaking groups have made the move to complete assimilation into the Turkic speaking populaces of Siberia over the last century (Wójci 2002).

The Samoyed peoples reside entirely within Siberian Russian territory. The Nenets live in the Nenets Autonomous Area, Yamalo Nenets Autonomous Area, Taymyr Autonomous Area and the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Area, while the Enets inhabit the Taymyr Autonomous Area exclusively. The Nganasan are found in the Taymyr Autonomous Area and the Krasnoyarsk Territory and the Selkup dwell in the Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Area and the Tomsk Region (Suihkonen 2002:165).

3. The Nature of Balto-Finnic Languages

What constitutes a Balto-Finnic language as a separate language? Judging from their relative mutual comprehension, it seems almost more sensible to treat the Balto-Finnic languages as a continuum of one single language, rather than seven separate ones. The answer, however, lies in the complexity and dynamism of a plethora of factors including history, contact, social discord, influence of dominating social groups, collectivized shared values and a unique cultural and self-identity. Each language (and therefore cultural) group equates best with its own history of accounts among its own people and traditions and its own history of interactions with other social groups. To further obscure the answer, one look at the ancestry of the present-day seven Balto-Finnic languages will reveal peculiar facts, distinguishing each as arriving to their present state in a very distinct and discrete manner.

To exemplify the individuality of each language, here are a few instances of historical happenings. The Estonian language came to be through the merging of the diverse North Estonian and South Estonian dialects, united in the mid-1800s, despite each already functioning as its own literary language for three hundred years (Virtaranta 1983:1999, Anhava 1998:42). Incidentally, there is a small uprising in southwest Estonia today, calling for the recognition of the Võrukiil language, remnants of the scrapped South Estonian, since the merge heavily favored the North Estonian language (Fernández 1996). Textbooks and fiction alike have been published recently in Võrukiil (Anhava 1998:43). The Finnish language is also a fused language, combining the main Häme, Savo and southwest Finnic dialects in the mid-1500s, when Mikael Agricola sought to make Finnish a literary language for the first time (Tarkianen 1958). Dialects, however, still prevail in spoken Finnish and recently regional dialects have been used increasingly in publications and television

broadcasts (Palander 2001:200). In the opposite manner, VOTE emerged from a northeast Estonian dialect that “broke loose” and developed in its own direction, under the auspices and influence of the Orthodox Church, rather than the Estonian Lutheran Church (Lehto 1996:13).

4. Survey of Territorial Expanses

As noted before, the sheer geographical breadth of the Uralic speakers is vast, although it must be duly said that these territories are not entirely regions of homogeneity. Speakers of other language groups lie scattered in and among the Uralic speakers, but some concentrated regions of these speakers do arise, mostly in areas where the said language holds an official status. Several factors have played key roles in the development of the spatial territory over time. Contact, conflict, language acquisition and loss, migration and bilingualism are just a few of some of the more important causes.

The Uralic branch of Balto-Finnic languages is not exempt from this tendency; it beautifully portrays how a fractured linguistic region results from the assignment of subordinate statuses to languages by dominating political units. Nonetheless, each general local region inhabited by the Balto-Finns exhibits some amount of cultural and territorial centrality in spite of domineering rulers, which will be demonstrated below.

4.1 Theory of Origins

Linguists still argue about the geographic origins of the Uralic language family and contrasting research publications suggest that the field is still plagued by linguistic, genetic and archaeological discrepancies (not to mention historical taboos regarding European-Asian relations), but several main theories still prevail. Presently, a new school of Uralic linguists is just beginning to depart from the traditional Uralist theory and its rigid family tree arrangement. A few other historical theories are also examined in the following section.

4.1.1 Uralist Theory

The Uralic Theory stems from structured genetic classification, or rather the placement of all pertinent member languages into sub-arrangements in the form of a schema illustrating the family's linguistic splits, much resembling the branches of a tree (Ruhlen 1991:4). The theory is so named as its member languages appear on both sides of the Ural Mountains (Anttila 1989:300). Once established by the early Finno-Ugric explorers, keen on expanding the classification system, this origin theory became a trend of the times. Since its establishment, the “arborealism” (Künnap 1998:9) has been continuously perpetuated by subsequent linguists in the field and has essentially been carved into stone as the factual starting point of the present day languages, leaving very little room for the acceptance of opposing theories. Marcantonio argues even that early family trees became “law” despite their “unproven hypotheses” to back the languages’ branchlike relationships (2002:43).

The meat and potatoes of the Uralic Theory lie in the hypothetical existence of proto-languages. To illustrate this justifying the Uralic Theory, for example, there calls for the need of one common Proto-Balto-Finnic language that was spoken by all prior to the linguistic separation of the seven Balto-Finnic languages. The Proto-Uralic language, the supposed original language of the ancestors of all the Uralic speakers today, probably originated between six to eight thousand years ago in the Ural Mountains (Crystal 1992:304, Marcantonio 2002:3), although Künnap claims an arbitrary “no sooner than 8,000 and not later than 4,000 years ago” (2000:8). For the Finns, especially, this is a tolerable theory, as their roots are placed in the Urals, denying any relations with neighboring Scandinavians or Slavs (Marcantonio 2002:54).

Following the Proto-Uralic language, a chain of successive proto-languages would have emerged at the divergence of the varying branches of the Uralic language family. Still, there is much speculation about dates and the content of the resulting proto-languages. Discrepancies among linguists can be observed in Alo Raun's *Essays in Finno-Ugric and Finnic Linguistics* (1971). In time, the Balto-Finns' common proto language emerged, as Pugh contends that the Balto-Finns arrived to the Baltic region already in the third millennium BC or even earlier (Pugh 1999:15) and Häkkinen indicates that the oldest Proto-Germanic loan words entered the Proto-Balto-Finnic language during the Bronze Age, so this was the latest timeframe that the Proto-Balto-Finnic tribes may have arrived to the Baltic region (1996:90). Figure 4 shows a diagram of the diverging Proto Balto-Finnic according to the Uralist Theory.

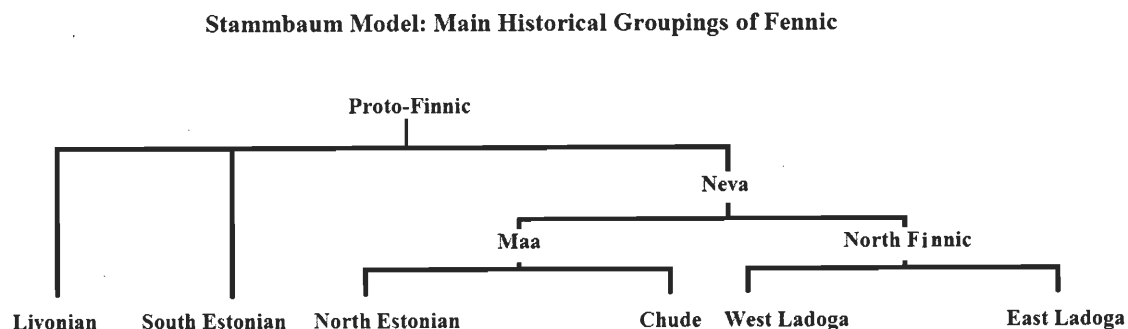


Figure 5. In this figure, “Proto-Finnic” refers to “Proto-Balto-Finnic”. Adapted from Viitso (1998:101)

4.1.2 Challenging the Uralist Theory

Considering the vast territorial coverage of the Uralic languages, one must ponder the logic in assuming one proto-language for all of the resulting languages. To counteract the aged Uralist Theory, linguists such as Rein Taagepera and Kalevi Wiik advocate their

budding sprachbund or lingua franca type theories that address these issues in the world of Uralistics.

The German word *Sprachbund* refers to a “language union” (Künnap 2002:23), or a linguistic association or convergence, where two overlapping or adjacent languages meet, influencing each other reciprocally to develop mutual “phonetics, phonological systems, similar grammars...” (Anttila 1989:172). Accordingly, the sprachbund would represent a connection of congruently developing neighbor languages and, thus, negate the existence of one Proto-Uralic language altogether. Instead, this phenomenon would produce a “chain” of original homelands across Eurasia rather than one ‘cradle of civilization’. After a period of harmonious development, the sprachbunds would have “dispersed” to form individual languages, suggesting relatively few major migrations in northern Europe (Künnap 2002:23). Theoretical sprachbund diagrams may be viewed in Figures 5 and 6.

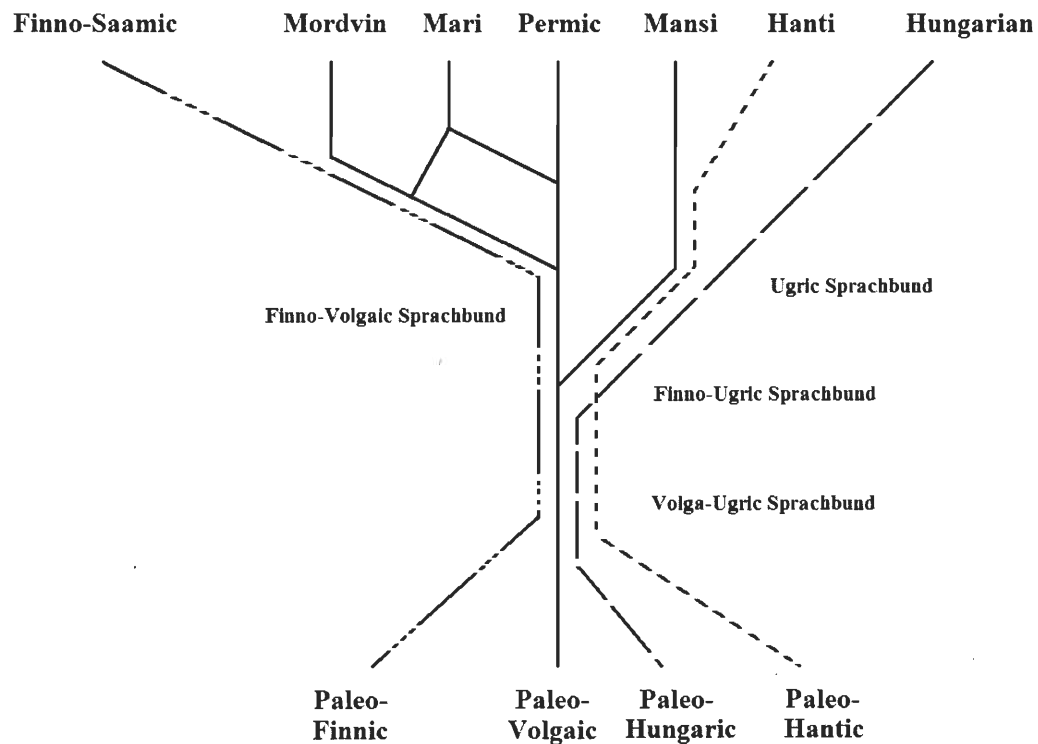


Figure 6. Development of the modern Uralic languages via sprachbunds. From Taagepera in Künnap (2002:19).

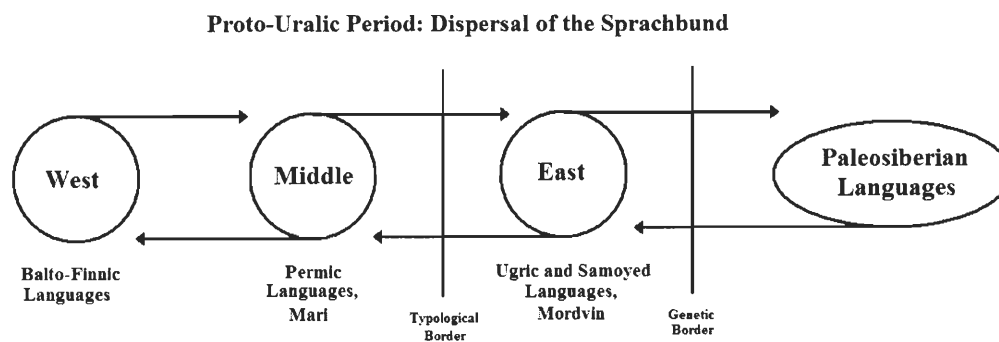


Figure 7. Dispersal of the Eurasian sprachbunds. Adapted from Puszty in Künnap (2002:19).

Similarly, as maintained by Uralic linguists in this school of thought, this sprachbund sequence would have stretched far into Europe, providing as the lingua franca across some 4,000 kilometers for the sparse yet “geographically contiguous” populations of northern

Europe (Marcantonio 2002:66) some several millennia ago. Hence, this sprachbund-type Proto-Uralic system and its speakers would have, “populated the land that was laid bare along the periglacial line after the Ice Age, from the Rhine and eastward (eventually also Scandinavia),” (Elert 2002:57). Kalevi Wiik connects the historical situation to the contemporary one, assuming there to be three linguistic areas in Europe at that time: Basque in western Europe, Finno-Ugric in the north and Indo-European in the southeast. As the Indo-European speakers moved northwards and the former non-Indo-European hunters and gatherers abandoned their original languages for a new Indo-European one, an impression of their original language (Finno-Ugric or Basque) remained in the resulting dialect as a substratum. The consequential “Finno-Ugric contaminated language” developed into the Proto-Balto-Slavic language (Wiik 2002:285-288, Künnap 2002:53). More accurately, linguists of this school of thought would argue that the Balto-Finnic speakers have always been located where they presently reside.

4.1.3 Other Theories

Other subordinate theories of origin exist and cannot be denied, but they are not upheld today in the scientific world. Some of the following theories fit the mold of these inferior origins. In 1679, Olof Rudbeck the Elder published “evidence” that the Swedish empire (then including much of the Balto-Finnic speakers’ homeland territories) belonged to the old Atlantis culture and Daniel Juslenius, in 1700, proclaimed Finland to be the “cradle of education and science” as Finns supposedly swarmed to Finland after the Biblical floods (Oinas 1985:10). An additional array of explicative thoughts on the origins of Finns, compiled by Milton Núñez, can be found in Figure 7.

Source of the Origin	Dates	Key Thought
1. Bible (Noah's Model)	1500 - 1800	Magog's Decendents
2. Bible (Linguists'/Moses' Model)	1800 - 1970	Wandering Westwards (chosen people, promised land)
3. Native People	1970 - 1990	Always been there
4. EU - Brussels	1990s	They are Europeans from central Europe

Figure 8. Theories on the origin of Finns popular throughout history. Adapted from Núñez 1998:151.

4.2 Formation of Political Boundaries and Policy

Throughout time, politics have had the upper hand in determining the geographic extents to which the Balto-Finnic peoples were permitted to inhabit. Governments have not historically made the efforts to accommodate the interests of all the residents over whom they preside and have, therefore, created significant adjustments to the Balto-Finnic settlement patterns, which most likely would not have occurred in their natural course of existence without the influence of political actions. Powerful assimilation tactics, peace treaties and the conquests of geopolitically significant lands have left lasting marks on the welfare and spatial arrangements of the Balto-Finns.

Political campaigns, carried out chiefly under Soviet reigns, have led to enormous spatial shifts in the settlement patterns of the Balto-Finns. Relocation policies under the Soviet regime expelled many Livonians to the USSR, which severely decreased the number of Livonians in their traditional territory (Viitso 1998a:96). Furthermore, many Estonians dispersed from their native homelands to seek refuge in Russia, Sweden, Canada, the United States and Australia in effort to escape the Nazi and/or Soviet forces during World War II (Viitso 1998: 115). Displaced Balto-Finns, now outside their traditional territories, were subjected to accelerated assimilation processes into the dominant culture. Those not

deported and remained in the homeland were the subjects of incorporation into the parent Russian culture.

Apart from direct political campaigns causing direct adverse effects on the Balto-Finnic speakers, several of the Balto-Finnic groups today are positioned haphazardously between two political units, most notably the Karelians and the Setukaiset. These disparate positions hinder unity and make it difficult for these groups to maintain harmony between their divisions, while endeavoring to continually promote their language under the thwarting external governmental administrations.

The Karelians have a long history of political partitioning by outside forces powers. From its position in the early Novogorodian sphere, ancient Karelia was first split into Swedish and Russian realms, isolating the eastern Karelians from neighboring Finns with the Treaty of Pähkinäsaari in 1323. These portions were later reunited under Swedish rule in 1617 with the Treaty of Stolbova (Silvo 1996:11). Afterwards, ancient Karelia was torn apart, governed partially by Finland and partially by Russia and the aftermath of World War II further carved up the original homelands of the Karelians. Today, only the westernmost section of Karelia lies in Finland and the rest in the Russian Federation, mostly in the Republic of Karelia. Aalto best sums up the Karelian discord and its resonating effects with the following quote: “Karjalaa on kaulittu edestakaisin, edestakaisin kuin Karjalanpiirakka,” (2003:6) [tr. Karelia has been rolled back and forth, back and forth like in the making of the traditional Karelian rice pie].

The Setukaiset of southeast Estonia have been sliced into two groups under the authority of the Russian government. After Estonia gained independence again in 1991, Russia ceased to recognize old Estonian boundaries, accepting only the Soviet quasi-

boundary, which permitted the Russian state to acquire additional territory than it previously had under the original border. Estonia today fails to acknowledge the Russian occupation of Petserimaa in the Seto region in southern Estonia. The Setukaiset, native to this region, feel the repercussions in tedious border-crossings, difficulties experienced in visiting relatives and friends and the accelerated assimilation processes in Russian Seto (Saarinen and Suhonen 1995:168, Hagu 1995:169-181, Fernández 1996).

The position of the Veps is a separate story. The Veps are not divided between political units, but rather they are geographically disconnected, residing in two separate regions. In 1989 the Veps strove to unite the regions in advocacy for self-administration, but opposition in the St. Petersburg region annulled any inclinations toward autonomy (Viitso 1998a:100).

4.3 Contemporary Balto-Finnic Society

In the following segment, the present-day Balto-Finnic groups' site and situation shall be thoroughly examined in a linguistic sense.

4.3.1 Present Expanse

Figure 8 reflects a fairly general depiction of today's distribution of the Balto-Finns. Gathering from the map, these groups have clearly remained close to the ancestral homelands in a relatively small geographic area, proximate to the northeast Baltic Sea.

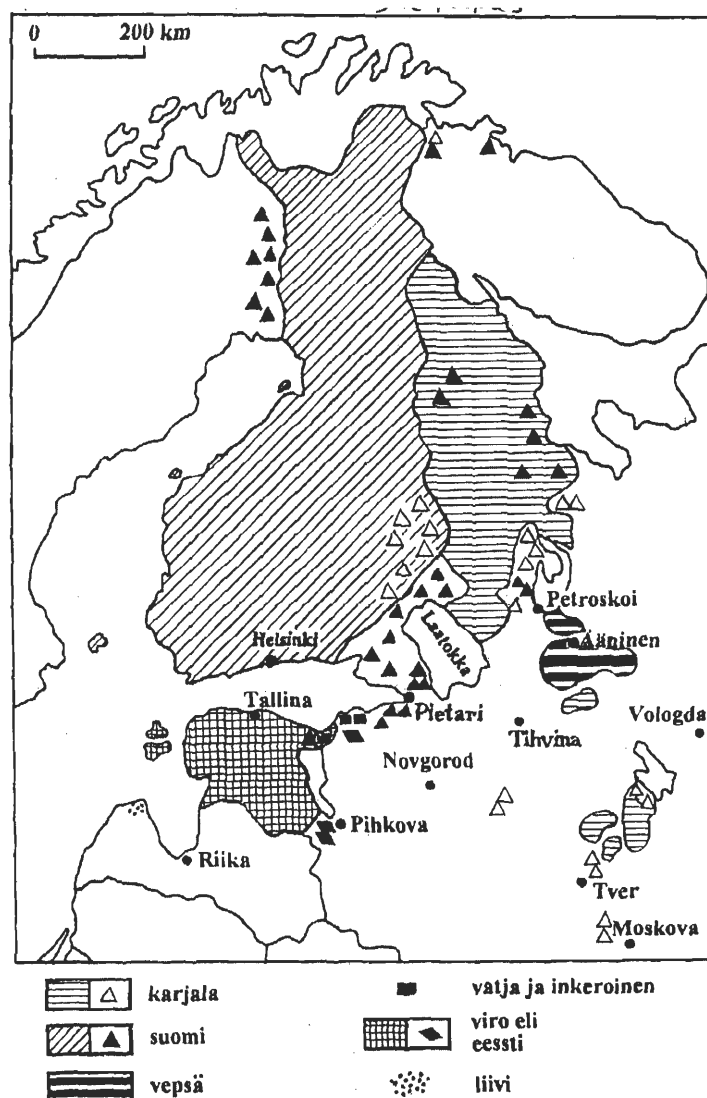


Figure 9. Map of Balto-Finnic territories today (Chyeriyavskaya 1997:12)

4.3.2 Past and Present Languages and Dialects

Today, the Estonian, Finnish, Ingrian, Karelian, Livonian, Veps and Vote languages are survivors of the enduring rigors of outside oppression by greater political units. Unsurprisingly, each language has its own story to tell and that is echoed in the numbers of speakers left today. Finnish, the most prevalent Balto-Finnic tongue boasts over five million speakers, while the native Livonian and Vote speakers have been reduced practically to relics of the past, each having less than twenty native speakers remaining.

Despite the relatively small number of speakers of Balto-Finnic languages on a whole, dialectal differences within the languages abound. Finnish possesses a multitude of dialects reflecting its compound composition. Most curiously, Finnish may be broken down into eastern and western dialects; the eastern dialects most closely resemble Karelian, while the western dialects have more of an affinity to the Estonian language (Anhava 1998:43).

Outside of Finland, Finnish is natively spoken in Sweden, Norway, Russia and Estonia. In the Tornio River Valley of the Norbotten province in Sweden, *Meänkielilaiset* speak a derivative of Finnish. *Meänkielilaiset* have recently won recognition in Sweden as the “original native population as opposed to being a national minority” (Eurolang 2003). The Kvens are a Finnish-speaking group living in northern Norway today. Heavy migrations in the seventeenth century led the Kvens to their present territory in the Finnmark and Tromsø provinces (Saressalo 2002:4). Viitanen asserts that the Kven predecessors inhabited the regions in by the Gulf of Bothnia already in the ninth century before migrating north (1917:19). Ingrian-Finnish is spoken in the Ingrian region of Russia and other small pockets of Finnish are spoken today in Estonia and in the Republic of Karelia in Russia (Lehto 1996:15, Palander 2001:292).

Karelian, a widely spread Balto-Finnic language exhibits four diverse dialects, as mentioned before. Due to its enormous territorial span, the northern dialect, present mostly in the Republic of Karelia, the southern dialect (observed mostly in the outlying language oasis regions such as Tver, Tihvinä, Vessi, Valdai, Tolmačč), the Olonets dialect and the Lude dialects have developed in separate directions (Virtaranta 1983:217-222). Such dialectal disparity has led to extreme difficulty in attempts to unify the language under one written alphabet (Pugh 1999:20).

The Veps are separated into three separate dialectal groups as well. The northernmost Onega Veps situated on the shores of Lake Onega, the Oyat (or Middle) Veps located upon the Oyat tributary to the Svir River and the Southern Veps, south of the Oyat Veps. The three groups are separated geographically, thus facilitating differences in their parlance. Another group of Veps, the Isayev Veps were completely Russified already in the late 1800s (Vuorela 1964:133).

The Ingrians, rather linguistically closely related to the Karelians (Palander 2001:291), possess five dialects (Viitso 1998a:99) and the Votes live today mainly in the village of Vaipooli and retain east and west dialects in northwest Ingria (Viitso 1993:64, Viitso 1998a:98). Estonian, as previously mentioned, is comprised of two dissimilar dialects, whose southern dialect is pressing for linguistic rights as its own distinct language. The Setukaiset folklore of southeast Estonia is said to be closer to that of the Ingrians and Votes (Oinas 1985:25) and Saarinen and Suhonen go as far to question whether the Setukaiset are the descendents of a different Balto-Finnic tribe (1995:168). Estonians also live in Russia, a grand part of whom live in the disputed territory of Seto. Seto is traditionally home to Estonians and part of Estonia, but since Estonia's occupation by the Soviet Union, Russia now claims itself proprietor of Seto, imposing Russian law on the Estonian-speaking residents of Seto (Fernández 1996).

The customary homeland of the Livonians, with their three dialects, has been reduced to the occupation of twelve fishing hamlets on the Baltic coast of Latvia (Viitso 1998a:98, Virtaranta 1983:181). Centuries ago, Livonians occupied both the eastern side of the Kolka Horn, as well as the northeastern coast of present-day Latvia and southern Estonia. This is noticed in the toponymy that yields Livonian names in most of Kurzeme (Vuorela 1964:206).

The downfall of the Livonians began with the establishment of Rīga in 1202 by the Germans (Viitso 1993:61), expediting the extinction of the eastern Livonians, who vanished sometime during the last century (Anhava 1998:43).

Apart from the dialects spoken today, recent events have led to the demise of other Balto-Finnic derivatives spoken respectably for centuries. Krevine, a dialect of Vot was spoken for some four hundred years near the city of Bauska in southern Latvia as a result of the Teutonic Knights' taking of Vot prisoners in the years 1444 to 1447 (Vuorela 1964:145, Viitso 1998a:98). Enclaves of Estonian-speakers were found well into the twentieth century in the Latvian towns of Ludza, Ilzene, Zeltiņi and Lejasciems and in Russian Kraasna due to resettlement movements in the 1600s (Viitso 1998:115, Kallas 1894:3, Kallas 1903:3, Virtaranta 1983:203-207). Disconcerted Finns from the Savo region of Finland migrated in droves to the Vermländ region of Sweden on the Norwegian border in the latter half of the 1500s. These Vermlanti Finns, or Forest Finns, lived, preserving their own language and culture into the twentieth century (Lähteenmäki 2002:98-99, Westling 1954:7-8). Some of these Forest Finns later journeyed to the New World, settling in one of the earliest European colonies in America, New Sweden, on the Delaware River in the 1600s (Kero 1990). A more recent Balto-Finnic group to transfer outside the homeland was the Setukaiset, a group of southern Estonians from the Seto region. Various assemblages of Setukaiset left the Seto region between the years of 1890 and 1914 to found an Estonian settlement in an area of Siberia east of Krasnojarsk (Piho 1995:200).

4.3.3 Language Statutes

At present, Estonian and Finnish are the only two Balto-Finnic languages that serve as official languages of a country. Both of these nations, however, happen to also govern

themselves in an independent sovereign republic, Estonia and Finland, respectively. Accordingly, this elevated linguistic position promotes a solid and secure future for these two languages and their speakers.

On the other hand, the remaining Balto-Finnic languages are reduced to minority statuses under the dominions of alien governments. Long periods of harsh assimilation policies have russified and latvianized those groups whose indigenous lands are occupied by “foreign” governments (Suihkonen 2002:167). Similar procedures have been practiced in Sweden and Norway upon the Meänkielilaiset and the Kvens (Savolainen 2001). A push to uphold Karelian as a co-official language next to Russian in the Republic of Karelia has not resulted in triumph yet (Kleerova 2001, Zlobin 2001).

5. Spatial Diffusion and Consolidation

As other groups of people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds began to appear in the indigenous homelands of the Balto-Finns, it became inevitable that contact and conflict would arise between the various adjacent social groups. In general, contact is perceived as a positive occurrence, the harbinger of new ideas that provides an environment conducive for mutual exchanges of knowledge and ideologies. Conversely, conflict generally signifies bellicose force exerted over the weaker tribe, resulting in such consequences as obligatory land cessions, forced assimilations and the marginalization of minorities.

5.1 Contact with Indo-European Languages

On nearly all sides, speakers of Indo-European languages surround the Balto-Finnic speakers: Slavs to the east, Germanics to the west and Balts to the south. Only the Saami, the northern neighbors, share a similar linguistic background. Such a spatial situation alludes to a nearly predestined series of contact and conflict with the neighbors.

One form of linguistic contact occurs in regions of peaceful plurality. This incidence is observed in the region of Ingria, southwest of St. Petersburg and to the east of Estonia. It is in this region—originally inhabited by Ingrians and Votes—that Ingrians, Votes, Russians, Ingrian-Finns and other ethnicities have lived side-by-side for centuries (Lehto 1996:13). In this manner, the loaning of words from one language to another is quite evident in the number of Russian-originating words found in the lexicon of the Ingrian and Vote languages today and its possible influence in case endings in Ingrian-Finnish (Palander 2001:296). Also, the close proximity of the Ingrians and Votes has played a reciprocal role of borrowing and lending terminology with each other throughout time. Votes have adapted the term *ižora*

to refer to themselves, whereas the word has roots in the Ingrian word for ‘Ingrian’ (Palander 2001:291).

Great migrations on behalf of the Balto-Finns have led also to contact situations with new social groups. This is true in the case of the Meänkielilaiset and Kvens, whereas their Finnish language is greatly influenced by Saami languages as well as by Swedish and Norwegian, respectively (Savolainen 2001). The southern Karelians that settled in isolated areas that produce linguistic oases of Balto-Finnic language among the sea of Indo-European speakers have experienced greater effects from their surrounding Russian atmosphere, detached from the rest of the Balto-Finnic community, than have the Karelians who have stayed on their customary home soils (Virtaranta 1983:218-222).

The Baltic region has been the crux of Germanic, Baltic, Slavic and Balto-Finnic contact for centuries. Linguistic patterns from all the languages in contact have contributed to a mass exchange of forms, ideas and structures to enrich the original language. The Balto-Finnic languages have adopted the use of perfect and pluperfect tenses from the Germanic-speakers (Salminen 1993:30) and Finnish adapted the Swedish alphabet to fit its own sounds (Tarkianen 1958). This exchange, though, may be best seen in the Balto-Finnic lexicon. The following loans, given in their Finnish form, have been adapted to many of the Balto-Finnic languages (Raun 1971:74-82, Häkkinen 1996:153-163):

- From Germanic languages: *hame* (skirt), *kiusata* (to torment), *tauti* (sickness)
- From Slavic languages: *liina* (flax), *vapaa* (free), *ies* (yoke)
- From Baltic languages: *harmaa* (gray), *vuohi* (goat), *silta* (bridge)

Many of the foreign borrowings likely passed from one Balto-Finnic language or dialect to the next after one group took on the original loan (Raun 1971:73). In the opposite context,

the Balto-Finnic languages have served as the source for linguistic phenomena occurring in Indo-European languages, such as the following:

- *Igaunija* means ‘Estonia’ in Latvian; the Latvians borrowed this term from the Balto-Finns, as *ugandi* and *ugala* referred to an ancient administrative region in southern Estonia. Lithuanian, Latvian’s closest linguistic relative, unaffected by Balto-Finnic contact, refers to Estonia as *Estija* (Grünthal 1997:205). Latvian, in general, tends to differ from its Baltic counterpart, Lithuanian, due to its intense contact with the Balto-Finns (Anhava 1998:43).
- Russian preserves the Balto-Finnic hydrologic toponymy of the rivers Neva, Svir and Vuoksi, as well as Lake Ladoga (Saksa 1996:33)
- Also, Russians refer to Peipsi Järv, the lake partially serving as the international border of Estonia and Russia, as *Чудское Озеро* (Chudskoe Ozero), reflecting a name given to an arbitrary group of Balto-Finns, the Chudes (Vuorela 1964:146). It is possible that the nomenclature implies the Varsinaistšudit, or the ‘proper Chudes’, a group of russified Balto-Finns that lived east of Chudskoe Ozero (Hagu 1995:169).

Another piece of contact evidence comes to light with the impressions of substrata in modern languages. It is said that northern Russian dialects possess an undeniable Balto-Finnic substratum in its contemporary structure (Pugh 1999:23).

Contact acts as one of the main vehicles of language distribution via dissemination and fusion of ideas. The Balto-Finns have experienced contact from all sides and similar experiences, as a group, have assisted them to strengthen their position as languages distinct from those of their neighbors’. While each language has experienced its own set of contacts and effects from these contacts-- Veps has felt greater influences from Russian, while

Estonian has felt more Germanic effects, Latvian Baltic effects and Finnish Scandinavian influences-- these individual circumstances help to build the character of each separate and distinct language. As a group of languages, however, it must be noted, that outside contacts have helped to strengthen and emphasize the value and utility of these languages within each Balto-Finnic culture, for they have not become extinct in the shadows of these larger giants of languages.

Incidentally, a specimen of Finnish in contact with English in the United States has evolved into 'Finglish' where Finns have migrated out of their lingual heartland. Beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, Finnish immigrants found themselves in unfamiliar environs amidst an equally exotic haze of the English language (Sahlman 1949:14). Cohesive Finnish enclaves formed and adapted the English words for new objects and concepts, tweaking their pronunciations to fit their mouths and applying the rules of Finnish grammar to their neologisms (Hellstrom 1976:85-86, Hellstrom 1979:65).

5.2 Conflict

Just as the Balto-Finns have engaged in peaceful and advantageous exchanges with their neighbors, conflict has also erupted from time to time. In spite of the Balto-Finns taking a usually neutral stance against the invaders of their conventional native soils, they have felt the brunt the hardest from times of controversy with their neighbors. Conflict may be seen in the forms of territorial disputes, forced assimilations and minority statuses. Nevertheless, conflict acts as a medium of cohesion for all the survivors of unfavorable governmental policies.

Territorial conflict at its greatest may be re-examined in the cases of the Karelians and Setukaiset, whereas their indigenous territories are the objects of dispute between several

outside states. But, this phenomenon occurs everyday outside the borders of Finland and Estonia where the Balto-Finns' indigenous territories are occupied by a single foreign government. In such instances, the politically superior groups have tendencies to marginalize the Balto-Finns.

In territorial conquests by external groups, Balto-Finns have been deported under common Soviet policy to forcefully expel national minorities. In other situations, rulers have encouraged migrants from the non-indigenous population to saturate minorities' territories in order to neutralize the area and help to diffuse and weaken the pre-existing nation's cohesion (Suihkonen 2002:167). Such is the case in Karelia, where the influx of Russians to the Republic of Karelia to work in the forestry industry has made it so that many Karelians have "disappeared into the foreign population" (Marianova 1993:53). Other foreign strategies have been implemented that have greatly inhibited the daily lifestyle of the Balto-Finns, as in the case of the Livonians, whose suffering under Soviet-style collectivized farming accelerated the impoverishing of the Livonians after a prolonged period of subordination beneath German knights (Anhava 1998:43).

Peace treaties carry an ambiguous name. In the course of history, treaties signed with the intention of peace have not only created political divides, such as the case in Karelia and Seto, but they have also served as the channel to relocate the Balto-Finns from their original territories. The signing of the Treaty of Stolbova in 1617 ceded Ingria to the Swedes and forced many of the Votes and Ingrians in this region to leave or flee on their own accord on account of religious discord between the Lutheran and Orthodox Churches (Palander 2001:292, Lehto 1996:15). Later, Peter the Great's campaigns against the Swedish Empire saw many Karelians escape from their homeland and head to regions further south to evade

the perils of confrontation. These movements created the isolated ethno-linguistic islands seen today in Tver, Valdai and Djorža (Pugh 1999:16).

Once again, it becomes evident that the survivors of such instances of conflict come out with a reinforced sense of identity, continuing to live the traditions of their forefathers and resisting full assimilation into the majority populations. Conflict, over time, has also evoked in the Balto-Finns a greater trend of evacuation from the motherland.

6. Mapping of Balto-Finnic Languages

To better exemplify the aforementioned events, a visual presentation consisting of a series of Balto-Finnic settlement maps from the past to the present has been prepared. The importance of mapping this language group's settlement patterns is twofold; not only does it enhance the visualization of the consequences of contact and conflict, but it also provides the opportunity to examine configurations of the Balto-Finnic peoples as a single linguistic group, rather than smaller segregated nations. Studying the group in its entirety allows for the tracing of the evolution of their regional territory with the development of the language group through space and over time.

6.1 Techniques

From a compilation of published maps that generally specialize in one Balto-Finnic group (see Figure 9), necessary locational information was extracted to assemble the settlement maps. The computer program ESRI ArcMap then served to create a base map of the general region inhabited by the Balto-Finns. Once the base map task was accomplished, complete with hydrological features to better accustom the audience with geographic phenomena, data accumulated from a blend of published maps textual resources was utilized to integrate settlement information for the formulation of a succession of eight maps featuring the following approximate dates: 1100s, 1500s, 1700s, 1800, 1850, 1900, 1950 and 1990 to the present. These dates have been separated as such due to the data offered by the various maps in the collection.

As already noted in Section 4, it is extremely difficult, if not utterly impossible, to pinpoint a genesis of the Balto-Finnic languages. To begin the map series in the "beginning" would be imprudent, therefore the series commences in the twelfth century, as there is at this

point enough adequate existing data to assume an outline of the dwelling patterns. Figure 10 shows one interpretation of the assumed territorial expanse of the proto-Balto Finns. (The map created for the twelfth century in the map series make use of the following sources: Kirkinen, Lehto, Niilo, Palander, Ryypö, Viitso, Vuorela.)

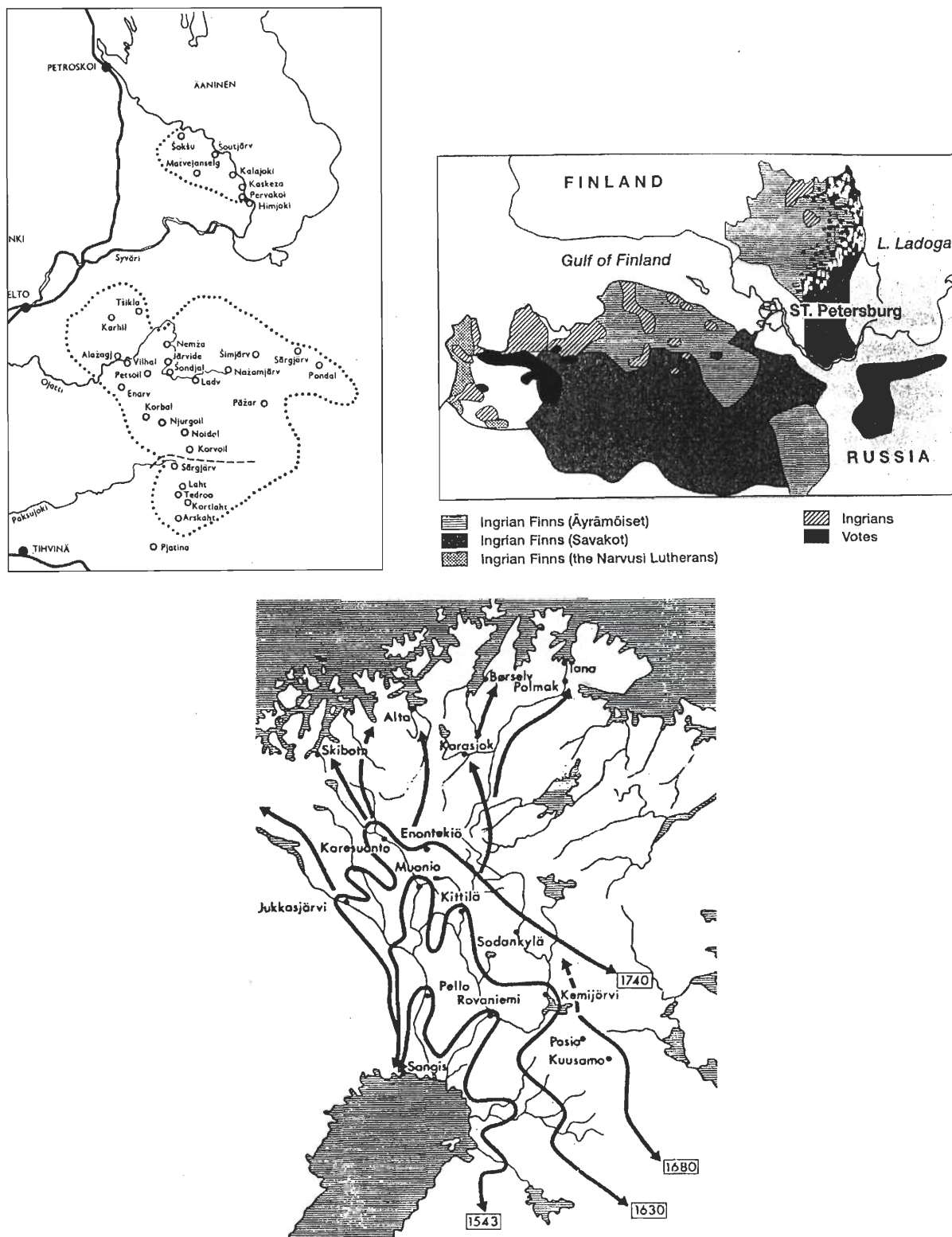


Figure 10. Examples of maps utilized to create the Balto-Finnic settlement map series. From left to right: (Top) Veps homelands in 1967; Ingria and its inhabitants of Ingrians, Votes and Ingrian Finns the mid 1800s; (Bottom) Migrations to northern Finland, 1543-1740 (Virtaranta 1967:110, Palander 2001:293, Niemi 1978:25).

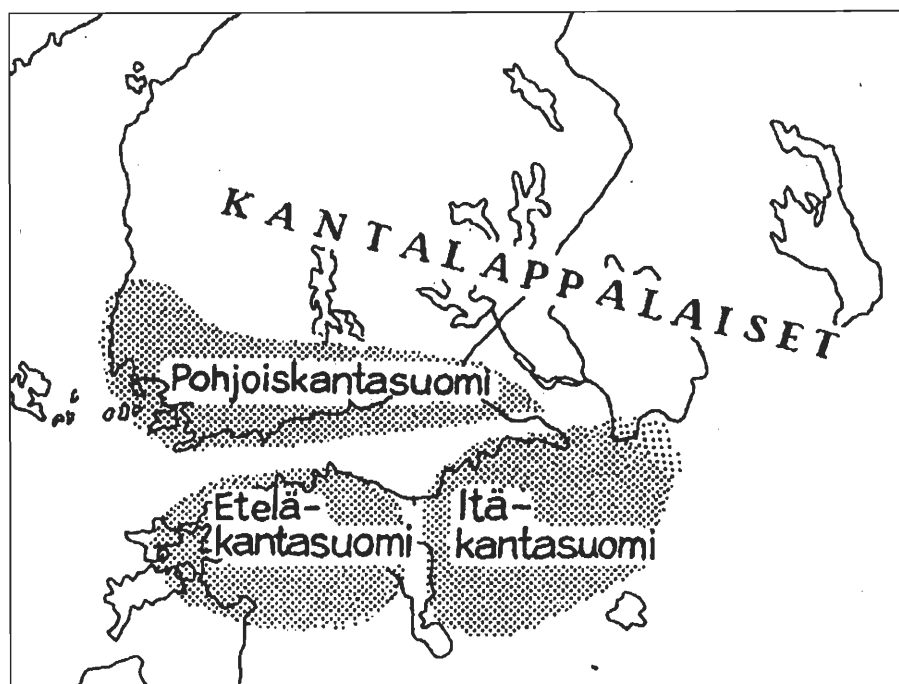


Figure 11. Theoretic expanse of proto-Balto-Finnic tribes, date unknown (Pohjoiskantasuomi – North proto-Balto-Finnish, Eteläkantasuomi – South proto-Balto-Finnish, Itäkantasuomi – East proto-Balto-Finnish, Kantalappalaiset refer to the Saami) (Itkonen 1984).

A pure lack of written records, especially from earlier time periods before the Balto-Finns acquired written languages and especially for the smaller groups, proves to be problematic in creating accurate representations of the actual settlement arrangements. Such is not uncommon when studying the geography of language. Another serious flaw afflicting the map series is its inability to reflect population densities. From this map series, one cannot conclude that Karelians only make up 11.1% of the demographic composition of the area occupied by the Republic of Karelia in Russia. Indeed, given the technology of modern-day life, creating maps to replicate population densities is not terribly challenging, however, it is the deficiency of appropriate data that impedes the capability to illustrate it here. Many of the smaller tribes, particularly, lack such data. These maps also do not account for other non-Balto-Finnic inhabitants dwelling within Balto-Finnic territory, nor do they account for recent migrations outside traditional territories to the northern United States, Canada and

Australia or the more recent migrations to retirement communities in southern Spain and Florida.

One further difficulty encountered while siphoning data to produce the maps was the inconsistency in toponymy. Extended periods of close contact in the Baltic region has led to the spawning of a superfluity of place names for the same geographical feature in several languages. The varying names are simultaneously in use by different groups and it is a bit of a test to match a feature to all of its names, which may occur in any number of its Finnic, Slavic, Germanic or Baltic forms.

6.2 Analysis of Spatial Patterns

Acknowledging that the series of maps depicting Balto-Finnic settlements over time and through space is faulty does not mean that it is entirely useless! Imperfection aside, the maps may still brilliantly serve as a guide to the historical settlement patterns, albeit approximate, of the Balto-Finns. From the maps, one can clearly note a marked dispersal from the homelands originating in the twelfth century through about 1850 and then a retreat back to more centralized homelands by the accounts of the most contemporary map. Territorially speaking, the consolidation of the Balto-Finnic speakers becomes visually apparent.

Coupled with knowledge of specific instances of contact and conflict, the maps help to envisage and express the distribution of the Balto-Finns in a less mundane manner. The maps provide the visual imagery, while the events offer answers to the question *why* the re-centralization occurs. Analyzing the maps, it is now understandable why a southern island of Balto-Finnic speakers suddenly crops up in the 1700s map. It is, of course, due to the fleeing Karelians after the signing of the Treaty of Stolbova. Also, in the same manner, it becomes

evident how the Kven dialect evolved to be distinct from those of Finland's Finnish dialects, isolated on the northern Norwegian fjords for hundreds of years with little daily contact to the parent language.

Between the periods of the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, the maps reveal an expanding pattern particularly in the northwest, as the Karelians arrive at the coast of the White Sea, and in the west, as Forest Finns from the Savo region of Finland are beginning to enter what is now the eastern side of Sweden's Värmland province and adjacent areas. An enclave of Vote speakers, called Krevines, arrive to a southern locale due to imprisonment by Teutonic Knights also between the epochs depicted on the two maps. (Abondolo, Lähteenmäki, Niemi, Niilo, Raag)

The eighteenth century map illustrates expansion northward, southward and westward. It is during this century that many of the Kvens migrated north to the Arctic Ocean, while immigration continued into the Swedish part of Fennoscandia. At this time, the area known today as Finland fell under the power of the Swedish Empire and discord in Savo, perhaps due to taxation or homelessness, propelled many young, unmarried men to continue to migrate to Sweden. This group of migrants came to be known as the Forest Finns and along the trip from Savo, many settled along the route of the final destination of Vermland. Moreover, this map recognizes the repercussions of the signing of the Treaty of Stolbova, which led to the fleeing of many Karelians to form southern oases of Balto-Finns. (Christensen, Eles, Hagu, Lehto, Lähteenmäki, Niemi, Viitso, Virtaranta, Westling)

The years proximate to 1800 begin to show marked decline in the overall spatial expanses of the Balto-Finnic speakers. A slight recession is noticeable, which separates the Kvens and the Finns, offering the Kvens an isolated environment, in which their dialect may

deviate from the parent northern Finnish dialect. Pockets of Swedish become defined in the Estonians' territory, a sign of influence of Swedish power in the region and the Estonian language oasis of Lutsi becomes apparent in present-day Latvian territory. (Russwurm and Sohlman, Vilkuna, Virtaranta)

King Oskar II of Sweden's swedification policies throughout much of the nineteenth century caused many of the Forest Finns and their descendents assimilate into Swedish society. The exceptions to this rule are the Forest Finns of western Värmland province and the Meänkielilaiset of northwest Sweden. Loss of territory in the St. Petersburg region becomes evident in the 1850 map and more Estonian-speaking enclaves in Latvia (Ilzene, Zeltiņu and Lejasciems) come into view. The last of the Eastern Livonians, on the eastern coast of the Gulf of are Rīga, are still visible in the 1850 map before they are entirely assimilated to Latvians. (Anhava, Palander, Viitanen, Vuorela)

By 1900, continued adverse effects of King Oskar II's assimilation policies may be seen. The Veps' terrain recedes from its easternmost points, as territories once held by Balto-Finnic speakers east of Lake Onega disappear, as does more area around St. Petersburg. Several Balto-Finn enclaves still exist in Latvia, but the Eastern Livonians have entirely disappeared from Latvian territory. The Forest Finns' territory shrinks to the west. (Abondolo, Virtaranta, Kallas, Leskinen, Hagu, Østberg)

The 1950 map yields the complete diminishment of all Estonian and Veps language oases in Latvia and further recession of the Livonians is witnessed, largely due to stress brought about by Soviet collectivized farming. The Veps community is now territorially divided; the Onega Veps remain geographically divorced from the Oyat and Southern Veps, bridged only by Russian-speaking peoples. Furthermore, Meänkielilaiset lands ebb back

from their southern reaches and the Forest Finns continue to reduce their territories in size. (Anhava, Johansson, Haarman, Leskinen, Niskanen, Ränk, Utvik, Virtaranta, Vuorela)

Contemporary territories lack the presence of Forest Finns entirely and the Livonians, who inhabit twelve fishing villages on the Kolka Horn, scarcely show on the map. Veps territories continue to recede and the area of Ingria appears to be more and more fractured by Balto-Finnic speakers and speakers of other languages. Karelian language oases in the south minimize, as do Kven settlements in the north. Only the Finns and the Estonians, relatively central in all Balto-Finnic territory over time, retain solid grounds on their traditional lands over the years. (Fishman et al., Kenttä and Pohjanen, Lehtimäki, Lehto, Lindgren, Pugh, Tikka, Viitso, Virtaranta, Zajkov)

Reading into the maps permits the ability to extrapolate the future trends with data on the past and present with a clear visual sense of the Balto-Finns inhabitation tendencies. It is likely that the Balto-Finns' territories will continue to consolidate, judging from the map series alone. However, movements, such as those discussed in the following section may suggest that the centralization process, which has unified land and culture, will subside and perhaps begin a reverse trend as culture flourishes and spills over from the autochthonous soils.

Settlement of the Balto-Finns in the 1100s



* The color pink denotes Balto-Finn settlement.

Settlement of the Balto-Finns in the 1500s



* The color pink denotes Balto-Finn settlement.

Settlement of the Balto-Finns in 1700



* The color pink denotes Balto-Finn settlement.

Settlement of the Balto-Finns in 1800



* The color pink denotes Balto-Finn settlement.

Settlement of the Balto-Finns in 1850



* The color pink denotes Balto-Finn settlement.

Settlement of the Balto-Finns in 1900



* The color pink denotes Balto-Finn settlement.

Settlement of the Balto-Finns in 1950



* The color pink denotes Balto-Finn settlement.

Settlement of the Balto-Finns in 1990



* The color pink denotes Balto-Finn settlement.

7. Legacy

Recent developments have arisen, which are likely to promote the continued existence of several of these Balto-Finnic languages. Unfortunately, it may not be the case for some of the moribund languages that now possess very few speakers. For instance, the process is particularly accelerated in the case of Vot, which possesses no written language (Viitso 1993: 64). Should there come a time where there are no native speakers left for some of these languages, especially in the case of Livonian and Vot, their legacy will at any rate survive, as it would be impossible to erase all of their linguistic influences exerted upon their neighbors! The Latvian language certainly will not revert back to resembling a form closer to Lithuanian because Livonian has disappeared. After centuries of contact, whose consequences now lie deeply embedded in the hearts of the neighboring languages, linguistically, the Balto-Finnic languages will assuredly live on in the forms of substrata.

On a less grim note, several happenings in the linguistic communities of the flourishing Balto-Finnic languages have started to put their statuses on the upswing. On 14 September 2003, the Estonian citizens voted on a referendum to join the European Union. Membership will allow for the Estonian language to become an official language of the European Union, joining the ranks of Finnish. Prior to the vote, the Estonian president, Arnold Rüütel, the chairwoman of the parliament, Ene Ergma, and the prime minister, Juhan Parts, made a joint statement on behalf of European Union membership on 25 June 2003, citing that, “Remaining outside the European Union means narrowing the prospects of the Estonian-language culture,” and they urged that the Estonian public vote in favor of European Union membership to “secure the future of our mother tongue,” (Rüütel et al. 2003). Similarly, a comment was made on the Finnish television show *Päivärinta* several

months before the Estonian vote, “Virolle ei ole enää ‘Suomi’ *tai* ‘Eurooppa’” [tr. For Estonia, it is no longer either ‘Finland’ *or* ‘Europe’], demonstrating a future of broadened options for Estonia and its people as a member of the European Union (Lappi 2003).

Additionally, in Estonia, approximately one thousand citizens exchanged their surnames for an ethnic Estonian one in 2002. Many of those who adopted an Estonian surname chose to relinquish a Russian – the trespassing language – family name (Eurolang 2003).

The education of youth in their native tongues is becoming more of a fashion in the Karelian and Veps communities. Petrozavodsk State University, located in the capital of the Republic of Karelia, offers the opportunity to graduate with a degree in Finnish, Karelian or Veps. There has been a Finnish chair since 1890, but a Karelian and Veps chair was not established until 1990, the same year that degrees started to be offered in these languages. The importance of the Faculty of Baltic and Finnish Philology and Culture at the university becomes evident as it provides young Karelians and Veps with a background in “theoretical issues of grammar in Karelian and Veps”, considering the languages’ youth as academic languages. Upon graduation, students will be fully prepared for work in education, research or mass media (Petrozavodsk State University 2003).

Similarly, there has been an influx of publications of children’s books in Karelian and Veps. Figure 10, a map of Vepsän Ma, or the ‘land of the Veps’, comes from *Ičemoi lugemišt*, a Veps children’s reader by Maria Mullonen and Nina Zaiceva (1994). The rest of the book is filled with traditional songs, poems, stories and illustrations depicting nature and individuals wearing national costumes.

Recent surges of nationalism are not limited to the Estonians, Karelians and Veps, however. The Meänkielilaiset and the Kvens are taking joint action to apply for a position of membership in the next Finno-Ugric World Congress to be held in Estonia in 2004 (Koivulehto 2003). The 1987 established Kveeniliitto, or Kven Association, developed a Kven national costume and a flag in 1997 to encourage Kven nationalism (Saressalo 2002:13,94).

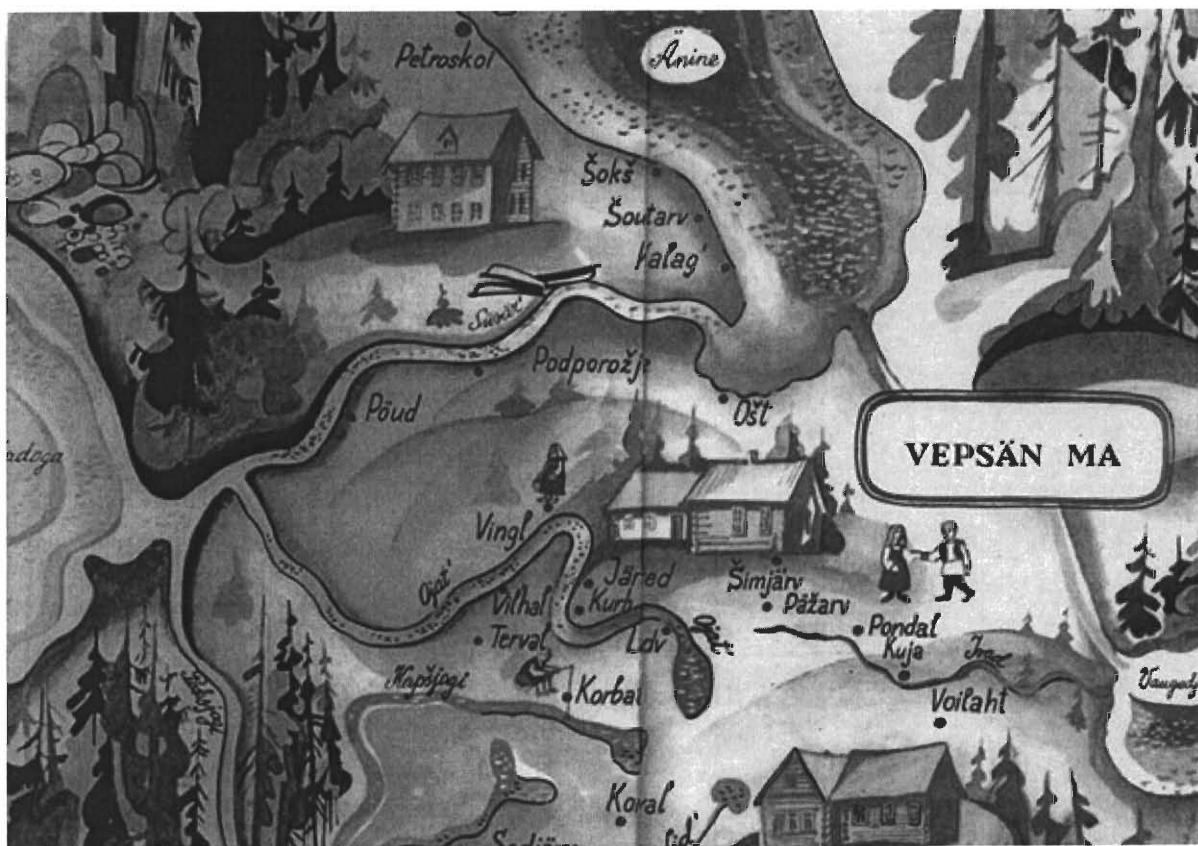


Figure 12. Vepsän Ma. From Mullonen.

8. Conclusion

In summation, the Balto-Finnic languages and their conditions are dynamic and always evolving, fueled by the agents of contact and conflict. This dynamism, in turn, heralds the variability of the territorial expanses of the Balto-Finnic speakers. With the assistance of the series of maps depicting Balto-Finnic settlement patterns through space and over time, contemporary centralization in the region may be justified and a familiarity with key events influencing the history of the Balto-Finnic speakers reveals that there is an overwhelming cultural strengthening process occurring concurrently.

Such an example may be seen in the recent elevation of the Estonian language in Estonia's admittance to the European Union. Despite a loss of traditional territory, occupied Seto, the Estonian linguistic culture continues to thrive and at a more superior level with the nation's entrance into the European Union. The promotion of the Veps and Karelian languages as literary languages also suggests a more unified culture, despite territorial dissonance and continued russification policies in the Russian Federation. Heightened cultural awareness is also seen today in the Finnish offshoots of the Meänkielilaiset and the Kvens.

As expected, it must be stressed that the case of each language is relative to its own unique course of historical contact, conflict and perceived self-identity. Regrettably, the injuries have already been committed against some of the smaller Balto-Finnic groups and under the present political and social circumstances it would prove to be extremely difficult to reverse the trends of vanishing languages. In spite of the relatively small percentage of Balto-Finnic speakers in comparison to the world's population, these languages are not as insignificant as they might at once seem. Considering yet again the Estonian and Finnish

languages in a different light, it may be observed that the presence of these languages is undeniably noteworthy. A glance at the numbers and ratios of world languages shows that of the five to six thousand human languages that exist today, only a few hundred possess over one million speakers. This detail vaults Estonian and Finnish, both possessing at least one million speakers, to a status of majority within the realms of the world of linguistics (Palander 2001:196).

Overall, the Balto-Finnic languages, considered as an entire group, may be classified on the grounds of numbers and the situation of the larger Balto-Finnic languages to have a healthy presence or, at least, a growing cultural and linguistic awareness. Even the Livonian language, whose native speaker count numbers somewhat less than fifty, is experiencing greater cultural recognition with aims of cultural and linguistic preservation with the support of the Latvian government with the founding of Līvõd Rānda to promote the Livonians (Fernández 1996, Viitso 1998a:96). Considering also the longevity of adverse Soviet influences, such as deportations and forced assimilations, that occurred over many of the Balto-Finnic speakers for extensive periods of time, the present upsurge in cultural and linguistic awareness may be the beginning of greater global recognition of the Balto-Finns that the future holds. However, their sheer survival into the world of today shows that the centralization of culture, matched with spatial centralization, on account of the outside forces of contact and conflict, have helped to create their unique identities as ethno-linguistic groups, separate from their neighbors, and has thus allowed them to avoid entire assimilation into the dominant groups.

Synonymous Names

Multiple names for the same ethnic group often result from the various ethnonyms given to adjacent peoples and, in many cases, they are derogatory terms for neighboring peoples (Crystal 1992: 304). In order to rectify this problem, newer, preferred names have been established to replace the misnomers. Additionally, sometimes the name for an ethnic group in one language extends to many languages, while sometimes it does not, creating a plethora of names for one group of people. Below, for the sake of clarification, is a list of additional names and misnomers, in no particular order, in reference to the same group of people, following the bolded term that is utilized in this thesis.

Finn *finnish*suomalainen*finsk*finskoi*finnisch*финский*finska*suomalaižed*some*soomlane*finlandiera*finlandés*finés*

Estonian *eestiläinen*virolainen*esthnisch*эстонский*estniska*estiläižed*īgauņi*estoniera*eesti*eestlane*

Karelian *carelian*karjalainen*karelisch*kyrjalar*карельский*karelsk*karelianne*kareliera*kariela*karjalaižed*kareelska*karjala*

Veps *vepsian*vepsäläinen*wepsäläinen*kajvan*vepsisch*wepsisch*vepse*vepsiska*čud*čudar*венский*vepsläižed*vepsä*vepsläiñe*vepslāñe*bepslāiñe*bepslaiñe*bebs*bepslāñe*nord-tschudiska*chude*chudic*

Lude *lyydiläine*lyydikkö*lüdisch*ljudik*ludic*lydisch*lüdi*liügiläne*tšuudi*людиский*lüdičkoi*liüdikoi*lüdiñik*liüdilaine*lyytiska*livviköi*

Ingrian† *inkeriläinen*inkerinsuomalainen*ijor-ingriarrak*inkeroine*izoralain*ingerlane*izorskij*ingrisch*izorad*izorec*izorian*izhorian*isuri*inkeröinen*inkerikko*inkerska*izhori*inkeroinen*ingermanländare*ужорский*

Vote *votian*votisch*vatja*wotisch*vad'd'alain*vad'dadaine*vad'd'alaine*vadja*водский*votic*votiska*vod*vadjalaižed*vodian*vuutiska*vodskij*voteak*woten*vadilano*vadjalain*vadjalaižot*vatländer*

Livonian *liiviläinen*livisch*ливский*lybis*livli*liiviläižed*liiviska*livoniera*libi*lib*livis*livietis*livy*libis*libietis*libiētis*liivlane*rāndali*kalāmīez*liivli*

Meänkieliläinen (pl. **Meänkielilaiset**) *Tornio River Valley Finn*Finn-Swede*tornedalsfinska*tornedalian*Torndalen Finnish*

Kven *ruijansuomalainen*ruijafinsk*Ruija Finn*kvensk*kveen*kvaen*kvääni*kveeni*

Saami *lapp*sámi*samerna*samiska*саамский*same*sami*sabme*sabmēlâš*samen*
lappi*samisch*sapmi*saamilaižed*sápmelaš*lappalainen*lappalaine*vuojoalainen*
vuowjoš*saam'*saam'lja*fenn*lop'*

Olonets *olonetsian*olónets*aunus*livvikovskij*livvik*liggi*livvi*ливвиский*

Forest Finns *metsäsuomalaiset*vermalanninsuomalaiset*Vermlanti Finns*skogfinnar*

Hungarian *unkarilainen*magyar*

Khanty *xanty*ostyak*hanti*ostjakki*ханыйский*

Mansi *vogul*voguli*мансийский*

Udmurt *votyak*votjakki*udmurti*удмуртский*vudmurt*odmori*udmort*ukmort*

Komi *zyryan*syrjänisch*syrääni*syryan*кому*ziryene*siriane*zyryane*

Mari *cheremis*tšeremis*tšeremissi*марийский*

Mordvin *mordva*мордовский*

Nenets *yurak*nenetsi*jurakki*

Selkup *selkuppi*ostyak-samoyed*

Enets *yenisey*yenisei*enetsi*jeniseinsamojed*

Nganasan *nganasani*taugi*aram*tavgy*tavgi*avam*

† “Ingrian” is an ambiguous term, as it denotes both the population native to Ingria, as well as the Finnish immigrant population that settled in Ingria after the signing of the Treaty of Stolbova in 1617 (Ingrian-Finns). In many languages, the term *Ingrian* is indistinct and is often used to represent the both populations.

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