

Languages and language families

Community of Practice in Uralic Studies (COPIUS)
Introduction to Uralic Studies

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What is a language?

1 Am Anfang schuf Gott Himmel und Erde.	1 Eyn n Anfang bschuef dyr Herrgot önn Himml und d Erdn.	1 I Begyndelsen skabte Gud Himmelen og Jorden.	1 I begynnelsen skapte Gud himmelen og jorden.
2 Und die Erde war wüst und leer, und es war finster auf der Tiefe; und der Geist Gottes schwebte auf dem Wasser.	2 Und d Erdn war oed und laer, finster war s über dyr Teuffn, und yn n Herrgot sein Geist gschwöbt über n Wasser.	2 Og Jorden var øde og tom, og der var Mørke over Verdensdybet. Men Guds Ånd svævede over Vandene.	2 Og jorden var øde og tom, og det var mørke over det store dyp, og Guds Ånd svevde over vannene.
3 Und Gott sprach: Es werde Licht! und es ward Licht.	3 Dyr Herrgot spraach: "Ayn Liecht sollt werdn!" Und es wird ayn Liecht.	3 Og Gud sagde: "Der blive Lys!" Og der blev Lys.	3 Da sa Gud: Det bli lys! Og det blev lys.
4 Und Gott sah, daß das Licht gut war. Da schied Gott das Licht von der Finsternis	4 Dyr Herrgot saah, däß s Liecht guet war. Daa schid yr s Liecht von dyr Finsterniss	4 Og Gud så, at Lyset var godt, og Gud satte Skel mellem Lyset og Mørket,	4 Og Gud så at lyset var godt, og Gud skilte lyset fra mørket.
5 und nannte das Licht Tag und die Finsternis Nacht. Da ward aus Abend und Morgen der erste Tag.	5 und gnennt s Liecht "Tag" und d Finsterniss "Nacht". Es wird auf Nacht, und es wird Frueh; dyr eerste Tag.	5 og Gud kaldte Lyset Dag, og Mørket kaldte han Nat. Og det blev Aften, og det blev Morgen, første Dag.	5 Og Gud kalte lyset dag, og mørket kalte han natt. Og det blev aften, og det blev morgen, første dag.

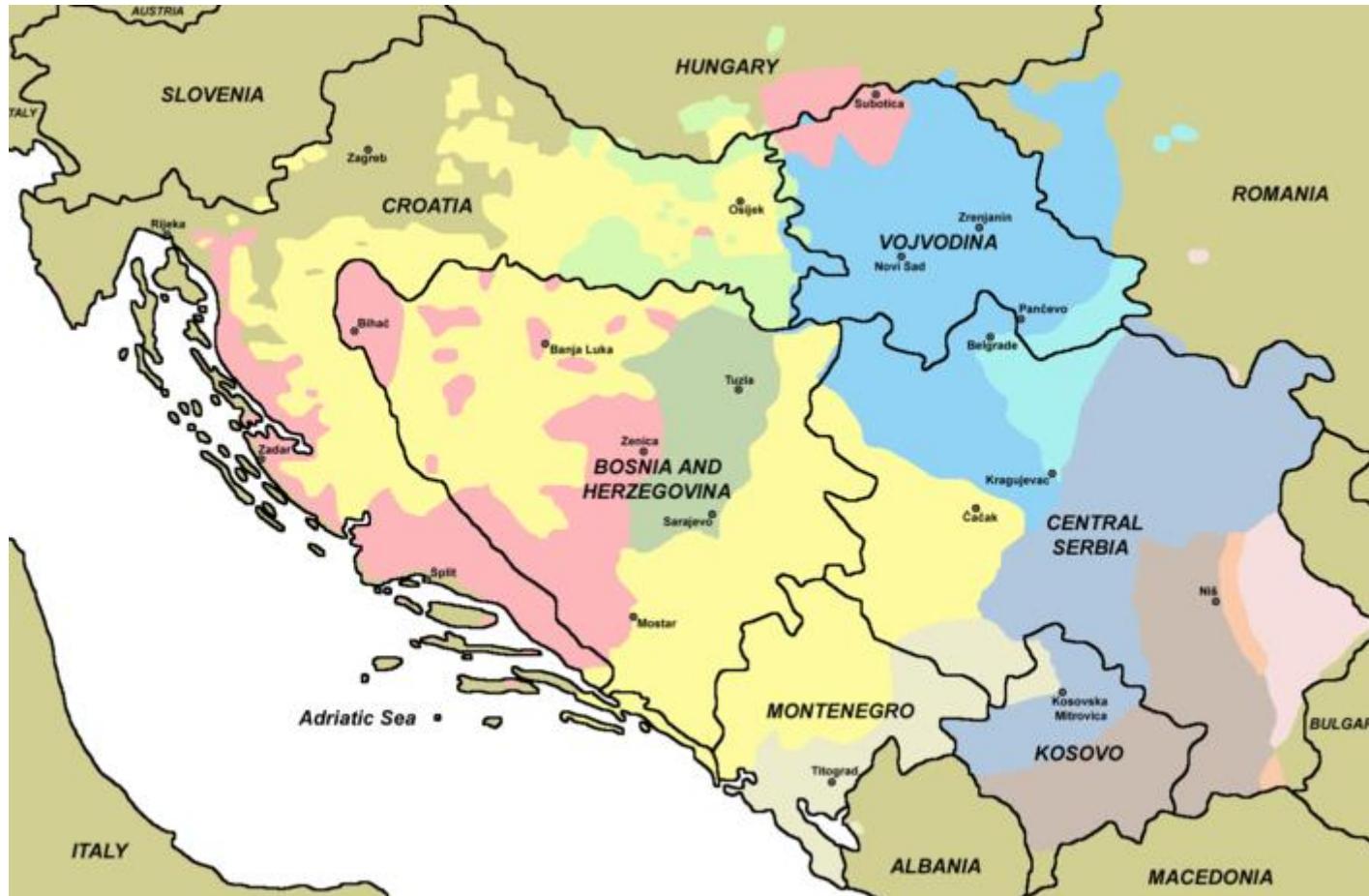
What is a language?

German	Bavarian	Danish	Norwegian
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What is a language?

- ‘A language is often defined by some combination of: having national status; being written; being the standard form of a range of speech varieties; not being intelligible to speakers of other ‘languages’; and having a relatively large number of native speakers.’ (Heine, Bernd & Nurse, Derek (eds) 2000. *African Languages. An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. S. 1)
- אַ שפִּראָך אֵיז אַ דִּיאַלְעָקֶט מִיט אַנְּ אַרְמַי אָוֹן פְּלָאָט /a shprakh iz a dialekt mit an armey un flot/ – ‘a language is a dialect with an army and a navy’ – Max Weinreich

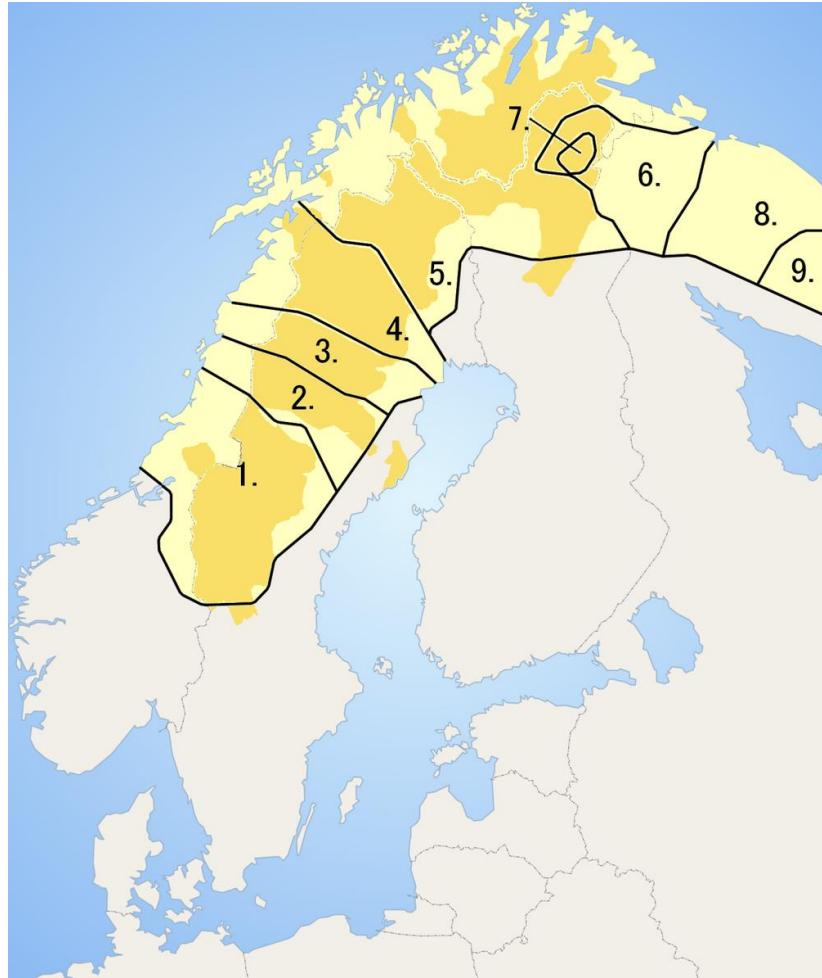
What is a language?



(Shtokavian subdialects in 1988)

South Slavic languages such as Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin exemplify how the distinction between a dialect and a language is primarily political.

What is a language?



The Saami languages:

1. South Saami
2. Ume Saami
3. Pite Saami
4. Lule Saami
5. North Saami
6. Skolt Saami
7. Inari Saami
8. Kildin Saami
9. Ter Saami

There is no mutual intelligibility between the extreme points of the Saami **dialect continuum**, but a lot of mutual intelligibility between neighbouring varieties. It is consequently difficult to determine how many Saami languages one should assume based on linguistic metrics alone.

What is a language?

The same sentence in all aforementioned Saami languages:

1. S Manne govlim, juktie aajja idtji damdh dam lädtetjem, mij bööti goejhken tjirrh.
2. U Mânne gülloov, jüktie ájja idtjjij dåbdah låddátjav, mii büüdii guaihkan tjadda.
3. P Mân kulliv, ahte aad'djaa ittjjij tåbtah tav låtaatjav, mij puutij kuojhka tjada.
4. L Mân gulliv, ahte ádjá ittjjij dåbda låttåtjav, mij bådij guijka tjadá.
5. N Mun gullen, ahte áddjá ii dovdan dan lottáža, mii bođii guoikka čađa.
6. Sk Mon ku'llem, što ä'jj ij tobddâm tõn låådda, mii puõđi kuõšk čõõđ.
7. I Mun kullim, ete äijih ij tubdam tom loddáá, mii bođij kuoška čoođa.
8. K Мун кулле, што айй эий моммтма тэнн лоанбта, мй пүдё күшк чёд.
9. T Munn kuļlim, što aje ji tomđäm tämme lomđaj, mi pjęđi kišk čad.

FIN: Minä kuulin, että isoisä ei tuntenut sitä lintusta, mikä tuli kosken läpi.

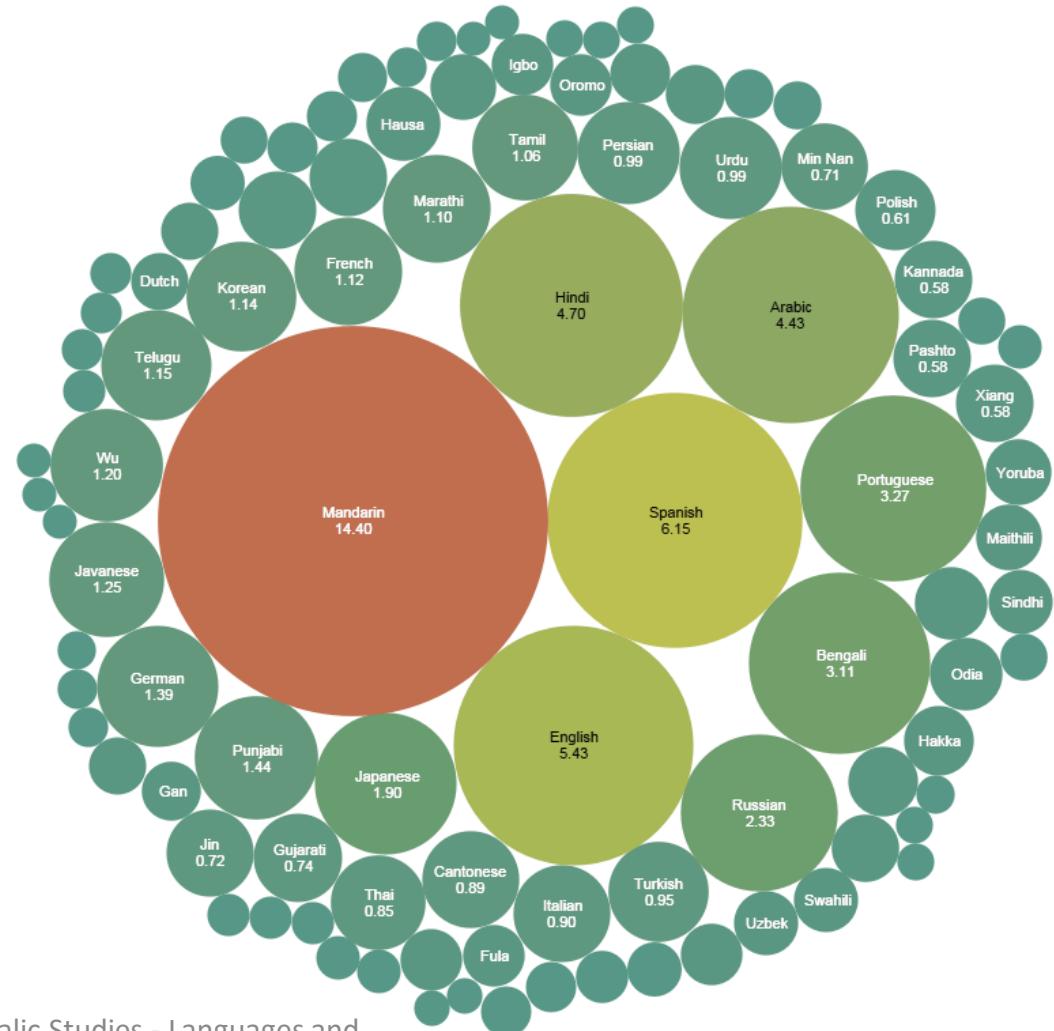
ENG: I heard that grandfather didn't know the bird that came through the waterfall.

Languages of the World

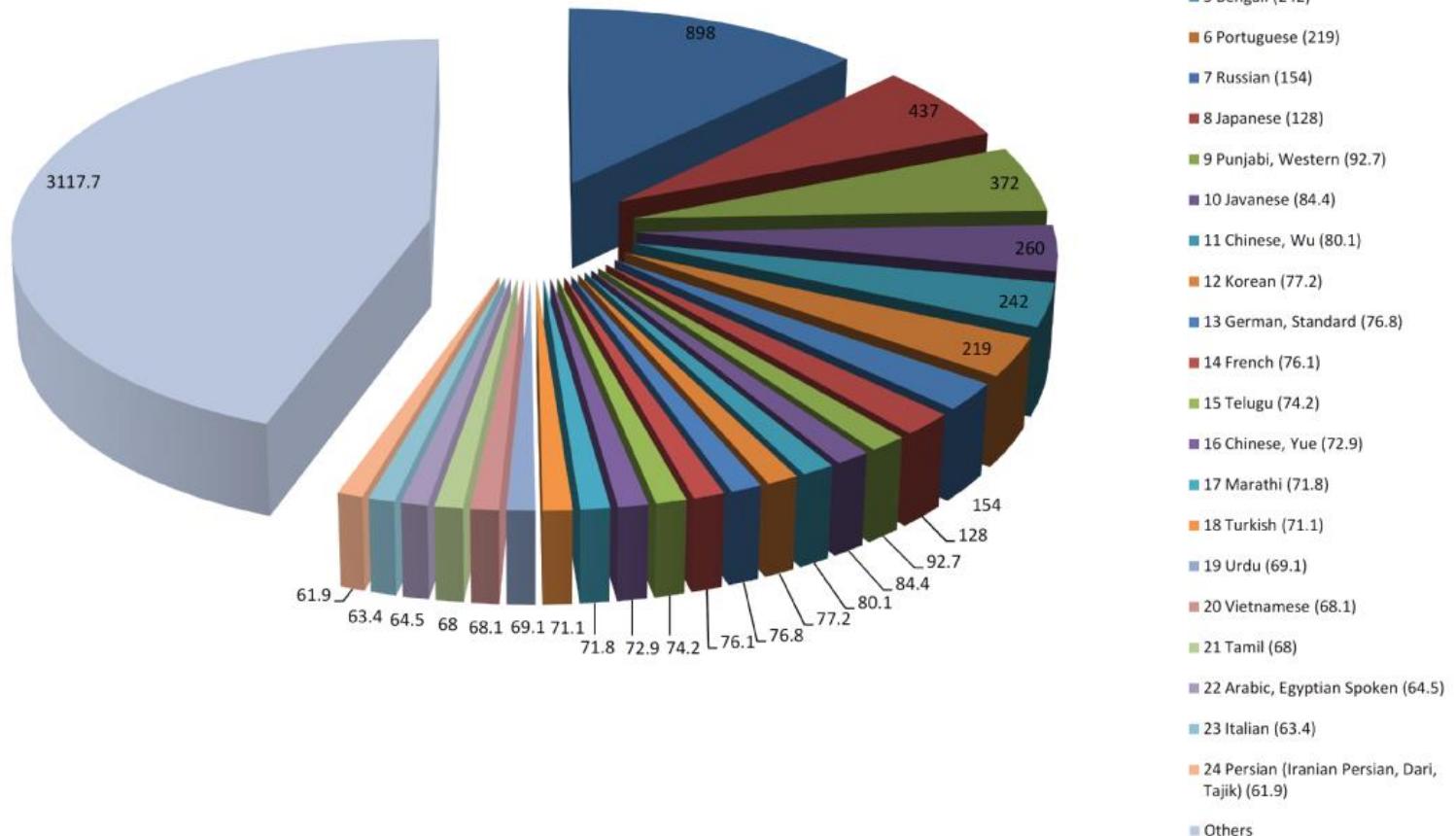
± 6000 languages (or ± 3000, ...)

390 (6%) languages spoken by
94% of the global population >
the vast majority of languages
have very few speakers
comparatively

± 125 language families



Languages of the World



What is a language family?

English	German	Lithuanian		Estonian	Mari	Hungarian	
one	eins	vienas		üks	ик [ik]	egy	
two	zwei	du		kaks	кок [kok]	kettő	
three	drei	trys		kolm	кум [kum]	három	
four	vier	keturi		neli	ныл [nâl]	négy	
five	fünf	penki		viis	вич [βič’]	öt	
six	sechs	šeši		kuus	куд [kut]	hat	

What is a language family?

* - reconstructed form

English	German	Lithuanian	Proto-Indo-European	Estonian	Mari	Hungarian	Proto-Uralic
one	eins	vienas	*Hoi(H)nos	üks	ик [ik]	egy	*ikte
two	zwei	du	*duoh ₁	kaks	кок [kok]	kettő	*kakte
three	drei	trys	*treies	kolm	кум [kum]	három	*kolme
four	vier	keturi	*kʷetwōr	neli	ныл [nəl̩]	négy	*néljä
five	fünf	penki	*penkʷe	viis	вич [βič’]	öt	*witti
six	sechs	šeši	*(s)uéks	kuus	куд [kut]	hat	*kutte

What is a language family?

- ... a group of languages that can be traced back to a common ancestor language, a proto-language. This proto-language was a natural language spoken by an actual speaker community at some point in the past.
- Undocumented proto-languages can be reconstructed using the **historical-comparative method**. The further back our reconstructions go, however, the more uncertain they become until we eventually reach a horizon beyond which we cannot look.
- Language family ≠ superficial similarity!

How do languages change?

Sound laws!

E.g. /*p/ → /pf/ in High German (part of High German Consonant Shift)

English *pepper* <> German *Pfeffer*

English *plough* <> German *Pflug*

English *plant* <> German *Pflanze*

English *pipe* <> German *Pfeife*

German *Pacht* ‘lease’?

< Low German *Pacht*

German *Peitsche* ‘whip’?

< Proto-Slavic *bičь

German *Pilz* ‘mushroom’?

< Latin *boletus* ‘porcini mushroom’

How do languages change?

Sound laws!

E.g. T-glottalization in varieties of English such as Cockney, /t/ → [?]:

- *better* ['be?ə]
- *but~~ter~~* ['bʌ?ə]

BUT:

- *table* ['teɪbəl], not ['?eɪbəl]

How do languages change?

Fæder ūre þū þe eart on heofonum,

Our Father in heaven,

Sī þīn nama gehālgod.

Hallowed be your name.

Tōbecume þīn rīce,

Your kingdom come.

gewurþe þīn willa, on eorðan swā swā on heofonum.

Your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven.

Ūre gedæghwāmlīcan hlāf syle ūs tō dæg,

Give us this day our daily bread.

and forgyf ūs ūre gyltas, swā swā wē forgyfað ūrum gyltendum.

And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors.

And ne gelād þū ūs on costnunge, ac ālȳs ūs of yfele.

And do not bring us into temptation but rescue us from evil.

Sōplīce.

Amen.

The Lord's Prayer in Old English
(spoken in the Middle Ages) and
Modern English illustrates how
language change can alter
languages beyond recognition in
surprisingly short time spans.

How do languages change?

English: <gh> is generally silent

light, night, freight, weight, fight, right, tight, might, sight, eight,
brought, daughter, thought, sought, plight, flight, knight, slight

German: <ch> pronounced as [ç] ~ [χ]

Licht, Nacht, Fracht, Gewicht, fechten, richtig, dicht, Macht, Sicht,
acht, brachte, Tochter, dachte, suchte, Pflicht, Flucht, Knecht, schlicht

- > Orthographies can carry artefacts of historical pronunciations that predate sound changes

How do languages change?

Sound laws ...

- ... happen(ed) at a particular point in time (High German Consonant Shift: 1st millennium CE, T-glottalization: right now).
- ... are dependent on the environment of sounds (e.g., *t*-glottalization not in syllable-initial position).
- ... do not generally affect words that entered a language after they were complete (cf. *Pacht*, *Peitsche*, *Pilz*)
- ... can be assumed from written records and conservative orthographies.
- ... can be reverse-engineered.
- ... form the basis of **diachronic linguistics**, the study of language over extended time periods.

Diachronic linguistics

Imagine we had no written documents of Latin and tried to reconstruct it based on modern Romance languages. Consider the following set of cognate (related) words – what was their initial consonant in Latin?

- French is clearly the odd one out in this case.
- *k > *tʃ > ʃ is a highly plausible sound development.
- We can assume Latin had initial *k here and that a consonant shift happened in French.

> Comparative reconstruction

Latin	Italian	Spanish	French	Portuguese
carus [k] 'dear'	caro [k]	caro [k]	cher [ʃεʁ]	caro [k]
campus [k] 'field'	campo [k]	campo [k]	champ [ʃã]	campo [k]
casa [k] 'house'	casa [k]	casa [k]	chez [ʃe] 'by'	casa [k]
[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]

Diachronic linguistics

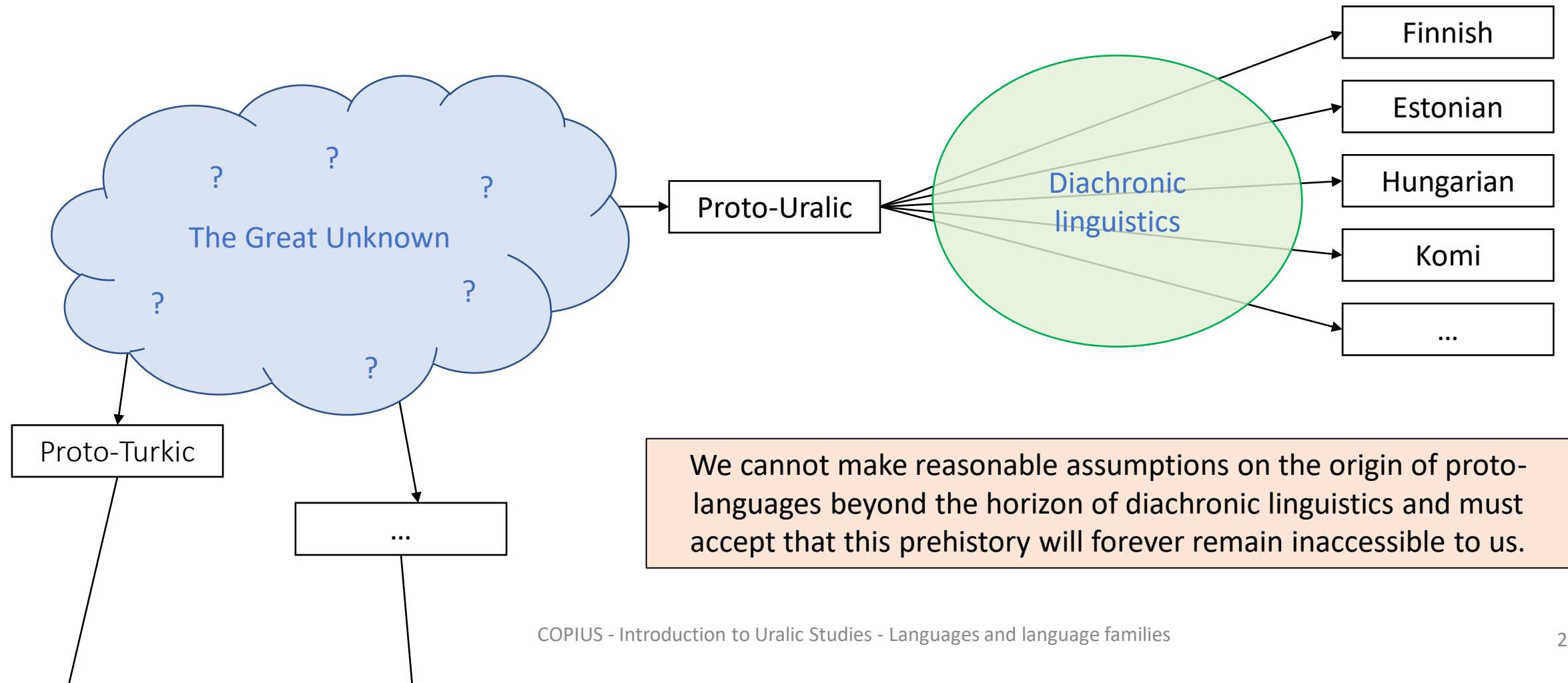
Imagine Finnish was the only Uralic language we knew. Could we say anything about its history based on irregularities found within Finnish paradigms?

- The sound combination <si> is abundant in Finnish, while <ti> can only be found in recent borrowings (e.g., *tina* ‘tin’)
- **ti* > **ći* > *si* is a highly plausible sound change
- We can assume the nominative form was historically **käti*.

> Internal reconstruction

‘hand’	Finnish	Meadow Mari
Nominative	<i>käsi</i>	<i>kit</i>
Genitive	<i>käden</i>	<i>kidâñ</i>

Diachronic linguistics



Conlangs

Estonio

Estonio aŭ **Estonujo** (estone *Eesti, Eesti Vabariik*) estas lando en la nordorienta Eŭropo apud la **Balta maro**. Ĝi estas ĉirkaŭata de **Latvio** sude, **Rusio** oriente, **Finnlando** norde (trans la **Finna golfo**) kaj **Svedio** okcidente (trans la **Balta maro**). Inter la jaroj 1940 kaj 1991 Estonia sekve de la **pakto Ribbentrop-Molotov** kaj rapida sovetiigo estis **unia respubliko** de **Sovetunio**. Kiel sekvo de la senperfonta **Kantanta Revolucio** ĝerminta ekde 1989, interalie la civitana demonstracio **Baltia Vojo** tra ĉiuj tri landoj de **Baltio**, la ŝtato la **20-an de aŭgusto 1991** formale reakiris sian sendependon.

Estonio membras en **NATO** ekde la **29-a de marto 2004** kaj en **Eŭropa Unio** ekde la **1-a de majo 2004**.

Conlangs – constructed languages – such as Esperanto, Klingon, Quenya or Sindarin are not covered by the genealogical model at the core of diachronic linguistics, even when they have native speakers (as Esperanto does).

ΔΕΡ ΕΓΓΕΙΟΓΡΑΦΕΩ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

እር ፖስታማና ማቅረብ
ይህንን የመያዥ ነገሮችን የሚያሳይ

ር ሌጭላያለ ማግበራውን.

Conlangs

Estonio (estone *Eesti, Eesti Vabariik*) estas lando en la nordorienta Eŭropo apud la Balta maro. Ĝi estas ĉirkaŭata de Latvio sude, Rusio oriente, Finnlando norde (trans la Finna golfo) kaj Svedio okcidente (trans la Balta maro). Inter la jaroj 1940 kaj 1991 Estonia sekve de la pakto Ribbentrop-Molotov kaj rapida sovetiigo estis unia respubliko de Sovetunio. Kiel sekvo de la senperforta Kantanta Revolucio ĝerminta ekde 1989, interalie la civitana demonstracio Baltia Vojo tra ĉiuj tri landoj de Baltio, la ŝtato la 20-an de aŭgusto 1991 formale reakiris sian sendependon.

Estonia (in Estonian *Eesti, Eesti Vabariik*) is a country in northeastern Europe on the Baltic sea. It is surrounded by Latvia to the south, Russia to the east, Finland to the north (across the Gulf of Finland) and Sweden to the west (across the Baltic sea). Between the years 1940 and 1991 Estonia, after the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and rapid sovietization, was a union republic of the Soviet Union. As a consequence of the nonviolent Singing Revolution, which began in 1989, and among other things the citizens' demonstration The Baltic Way through all three countries in the Baltic area, the state formally reacquired its independence on the 20th of August 1991.

Esperanto was created in the late 19th century based on different European languages. It was conceived as an international auxiliary language. Other conlangs were created for artistic purposes.

Pidgins and Creoles

Papa bilong mipela
 Yu stap long heven.
 Nem bilong yu i mas i stap holi.
 Kingdom bilong yu i mas i kam.
 Strongim mipela long bihainim laik bilong yu long graun,
 olsem ol i bihainim long heven.
 Givim mipela kaikai inap long tude.
 Pogivim rong bilong mipela,
 olsem mipela i pogivim ol arapela i mekim rong long mipela.
 Sambai long mipela long taim bilong traيم.
 Na rausim olgeta samting nogut long mipela.
 Kingdom na strong na glori, em i bilong yu tasol oltaim oltaim.
 Tru.

	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st exclusive	mi (I)	mitupela ((s)he and I)	mitripela (both of them, and I)	mipela (all of them, and I)
1st inclusive	–	yumitupela (you and I)	yumitripela (both of you, and I)	yumipela or yumi (all of you, and I)
2nd	yu (thou)	yutupela (you two)	yutripela (you three)	yupela (you four or more)
3rd	em ((s)he)	tupela (they two)	tripela (they three)	ol (they four or more)

Tok Pisin ('talk pidgin' < 'business'), an English-based creole [!] language, is the official language of Papua New Guinea, the most linguistically diverse nation on the planet. While the word stock is overwhelmingly English, grammatical structures are not. Observe how a complex pronominal system is formed from the English words "you", "me", "them", "two", "three", "all", and "fellow".

Pidgins and Creoles

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Kingdom na strong na glori, em i bilong yu tasol oltaim oltaim.
Tru.

Our father,
who art in heaven,
hallowed be thy name.
Thy kingdom come,
thy will be done
on earth as it is in heaven.
Give us this day our daily bread,
and forgive us our trespasses
as we forgive those who trespass against us.
Lead us not into temptation,
but deliver us from evil,
for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, now and forever.
Amen

The Lord's Prayer in Tok Pisin and English

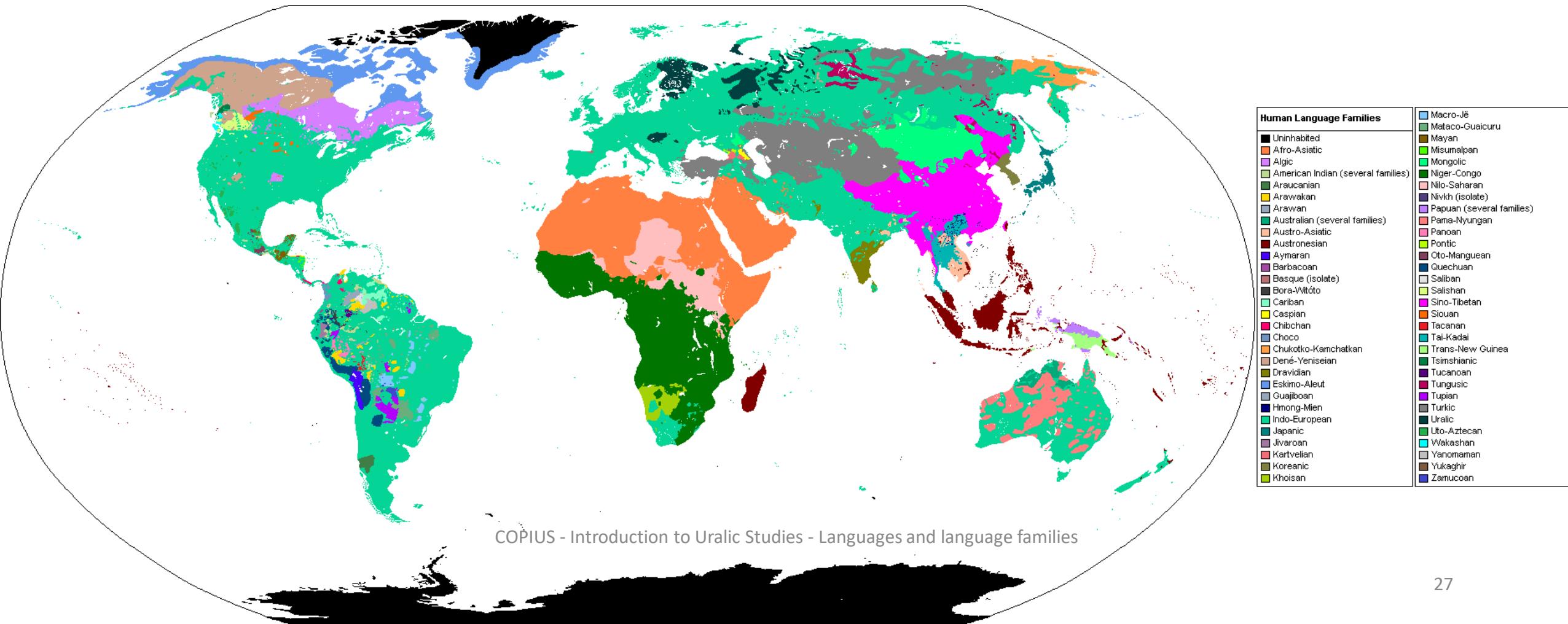
Pidgins and Creoles

“A **pidgin (language)** is a language with a simplified structure that has no or few native speakers and is primarily used by speakers of other languages for interethnic communication, often in specialized circumstances such as trade or labor migration.”

www.glottopedia.org/index.php/Pidgin

In contrast to pidgin languages, Creoles have native speakers. They can develop from pidgin languages, but also without the intermediate step of a pidgin when transmission of a language from competent native speaker to competent native speaker is interrupted.

Language families of the world

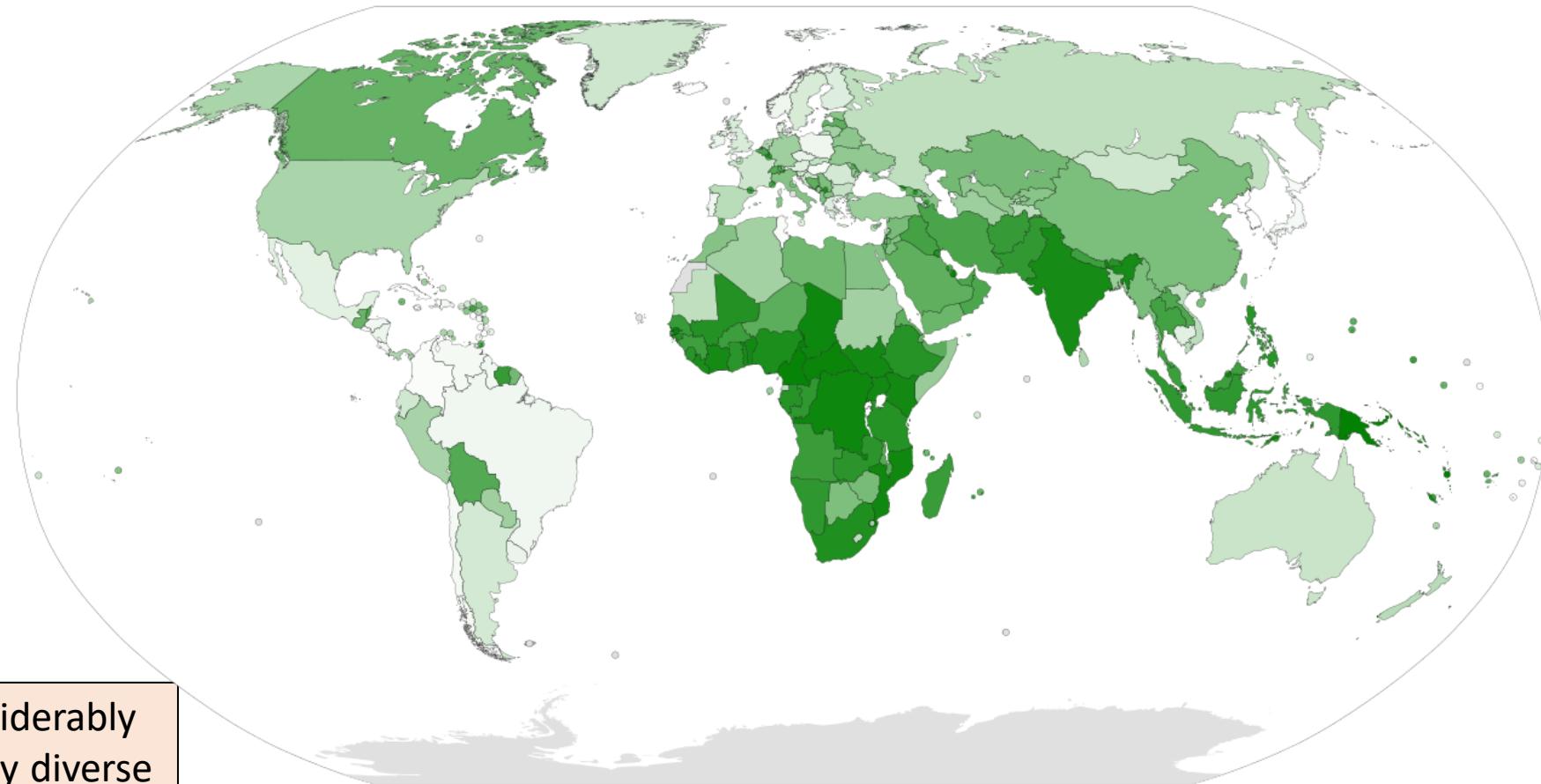


Language families of the world

	# Languages	% Languages	% Speakers
Asia	2322	33.6	60.3
Africa	2110	30.5	15.2
Pacific	1250	18.1	0.5
Americas	993	14.4	13.6
Europe	234	3.4	10.5

Europe is considerably less linguistically diverse than other inhabited continents.

Language families of the world



Europe is considerably less linguistically diverse than other inhabited continents.

(Greenberg's Linguistic diversity index)

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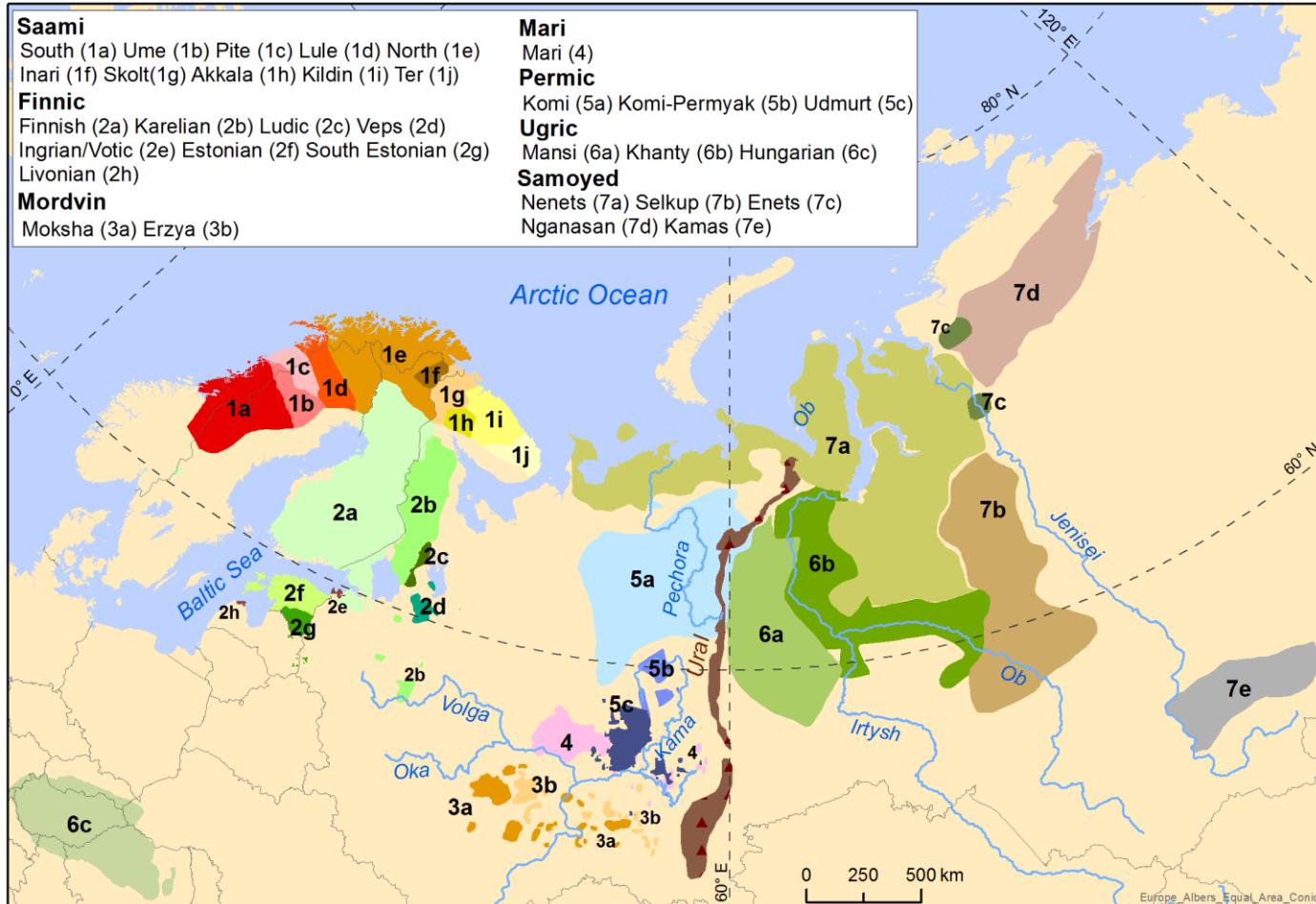
Some of the larger language families

All figures are estimates and subject to the ambiguity pertaining
to the dividing line between languages and dialects

	# of languages	% of languages	% of speakers
Afroasiatic	353	5.11	6.03
Austronesian	1231	17.82	5.93
Indo-European	426	6.17	45.67
Niger-Congo	1510	21.86	6.41
Sino-Tibetan	445	6.44	21.13
Trans-New Guinea	475	6.88	0.06
Uralic	35	0.51	0.36

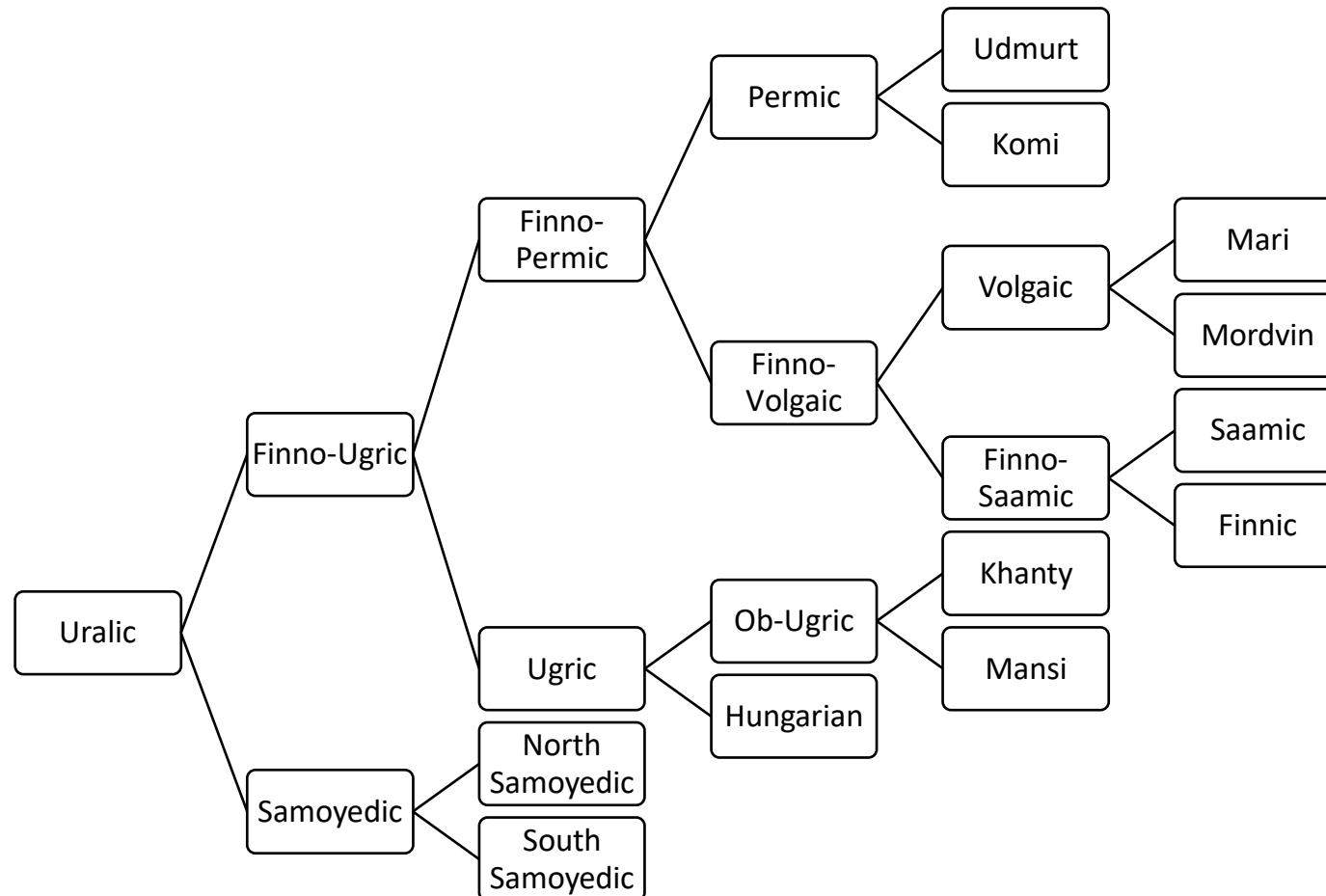
> By all conventional metrics, the Uralic language family is “small”, but it is the second-largest language family in comparatively linguistically heterogenous Europe.

The Uralic languages



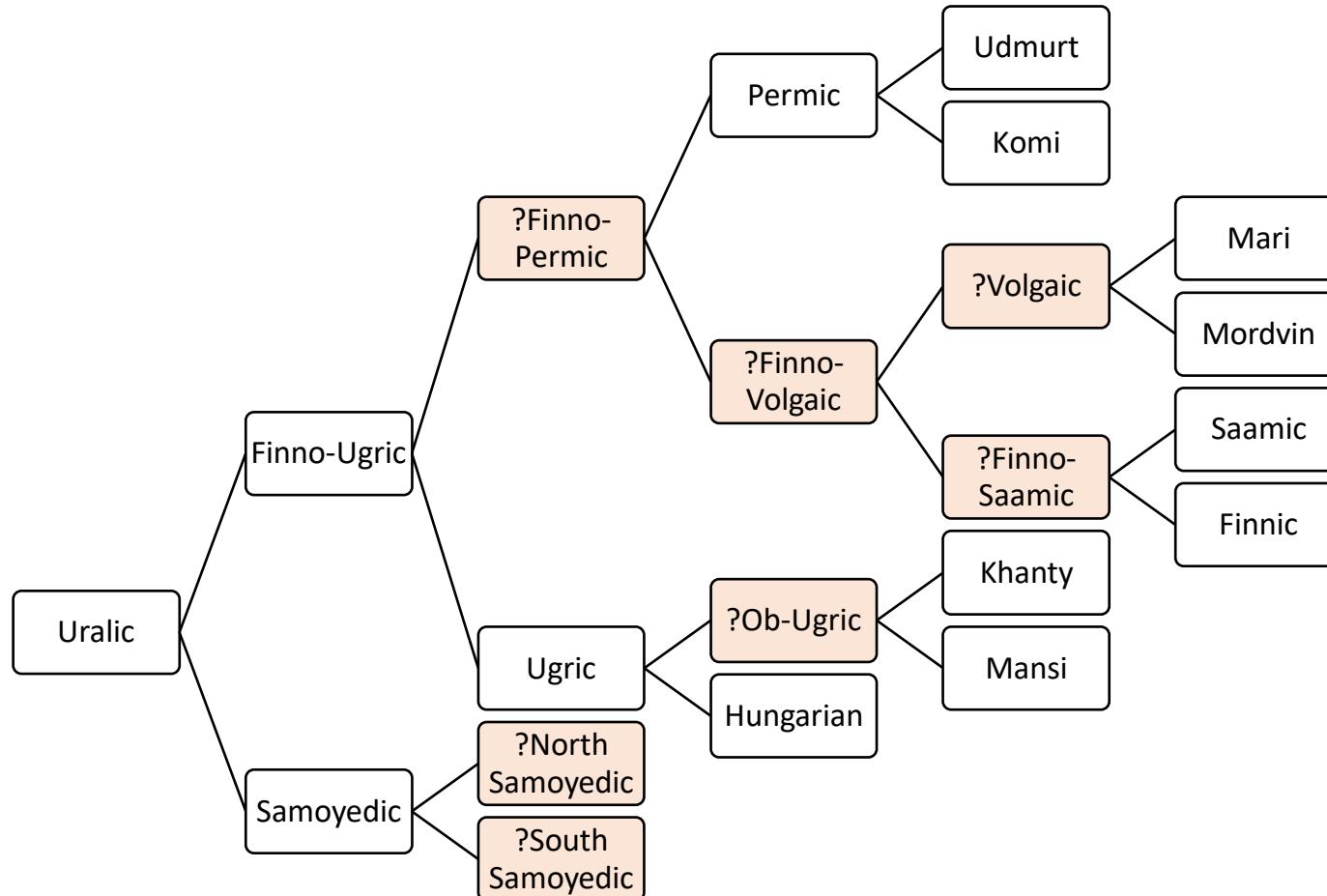
Map created by Timo Rantanen for the [BEDLAN](#) project

Language trees



The tree of the Uralic language family, showing its historic development, as it has been traditionally assumed. While there is universal consensus among linguists that all these languages belong to one language family, the exact structuring of the language tree remains up to debate.

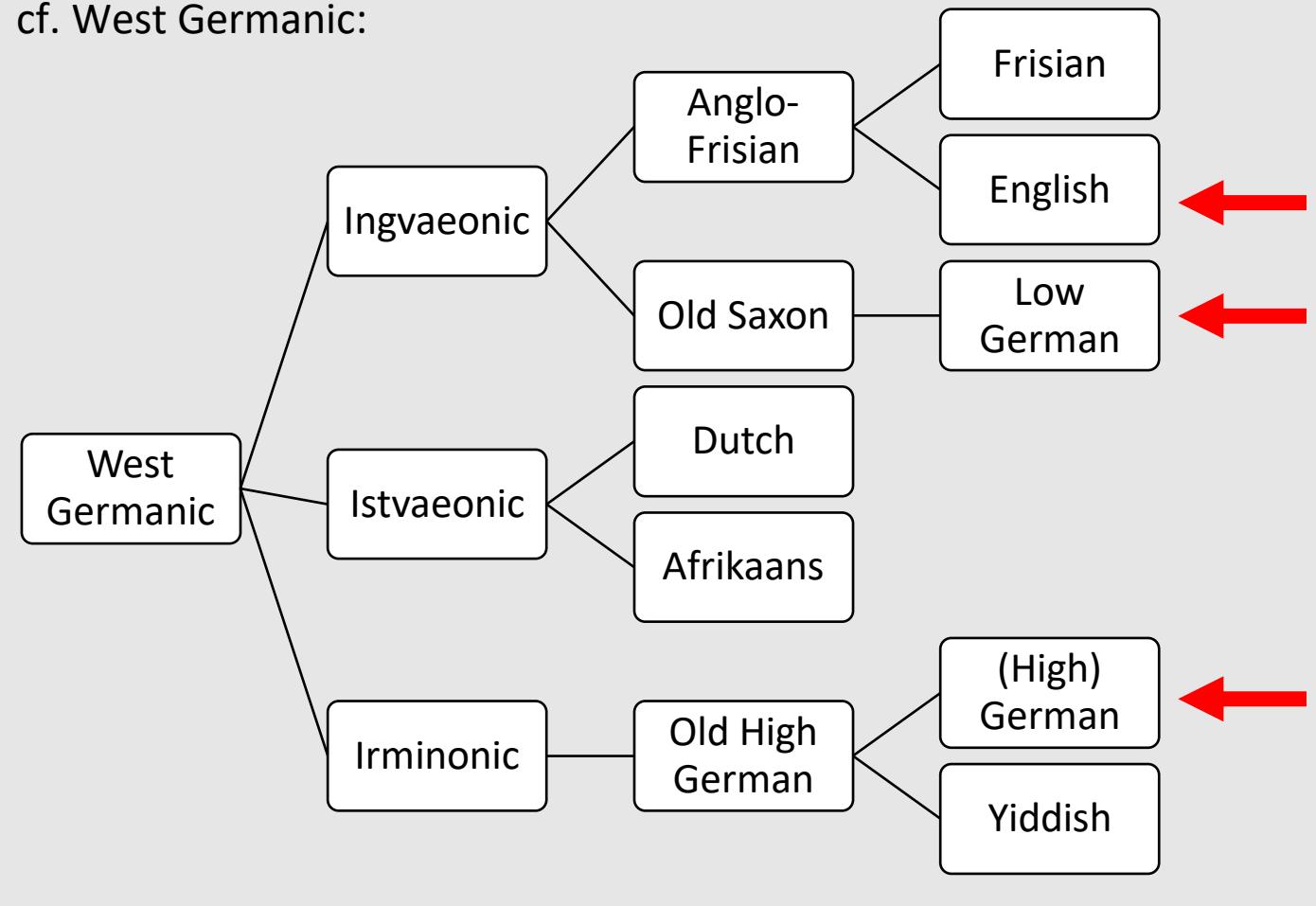
Language trees



The indicated nodes in particular are subject to intense scholarly debate – do these represent actual protolanguages spoken at some point in time?

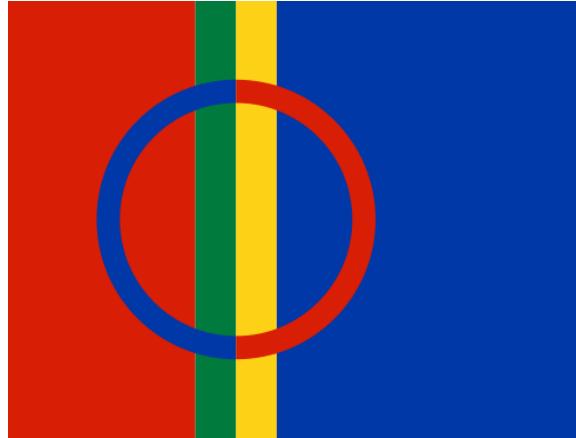
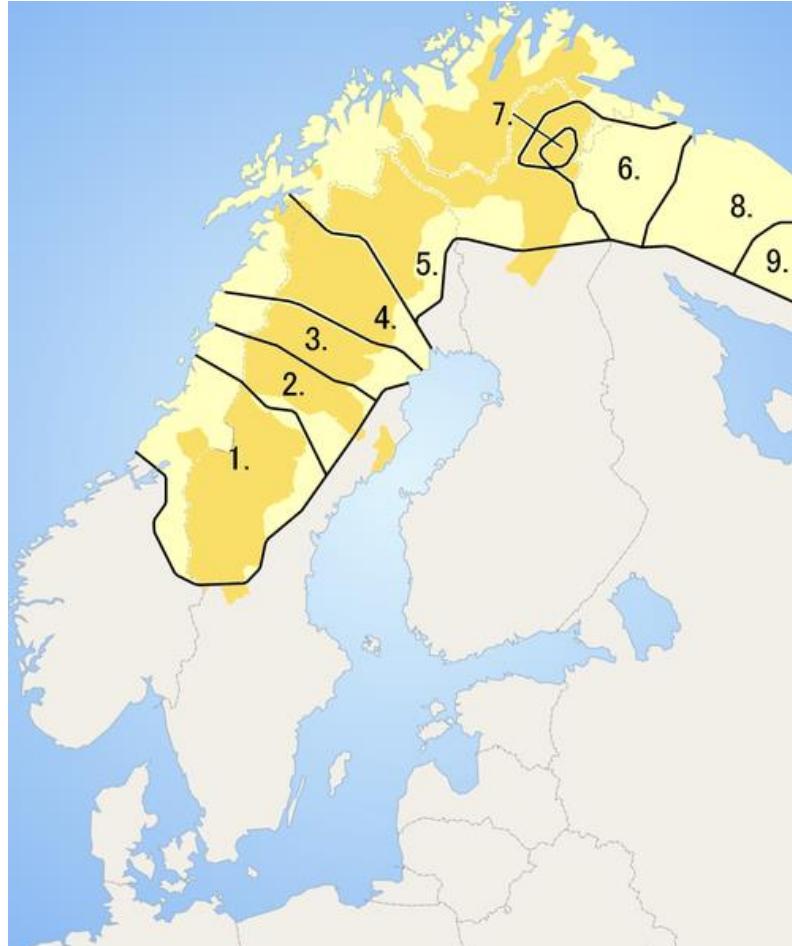
Language trees

cf. West Germanic:



Language trees only show the genealogical relationship of languages, not their superficial similarity. This can be illustrated by West Germanic: Low German is genealogically closer to English than it is to High German. Modern Low German and High German still show more convergence to one another than either does to English, having both remained in contact with one another over the centuries

The Uralic languages: Saamic



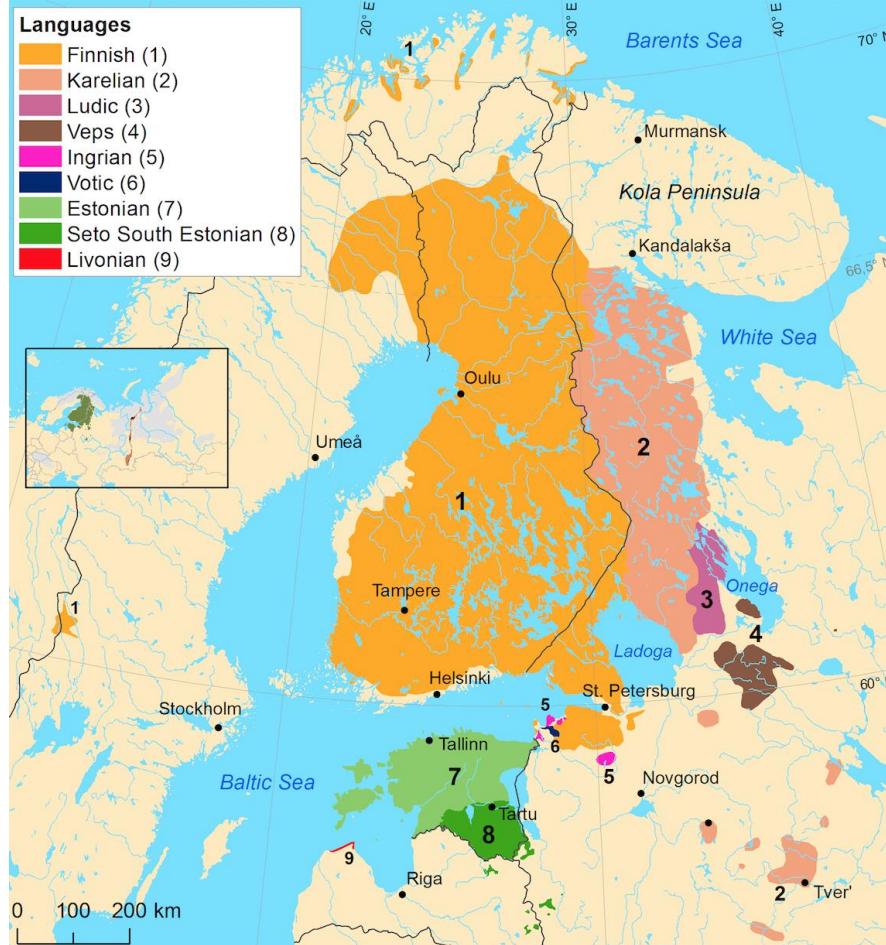
The Uralic languages: Saamic

Approximate number of speakers:

South Saami	500
Ume Saami	10
Pite Saami	25
Lule Saami	2 000
North Saami	20 000
Inari Saami	350
Skolt Saami	400
Akkala Saami	†
Kildin Saami	100
Ter Saami	2

The Uralic languages: Finnic

(Tartu, Estonia)



(Shuyeretskoye / Šuiku, Karelia, 1916)



(Helsinki, Finland)

The Uralic languages: Finnic

Approximate number of speakers:

Finnish	5 500 000
Meänkieli	30 000 – 100 000
Kven	2 000 – 8 000
Karelian	45 000
Olonets	14 000
Lude	3 000
Veps	6 000
Ingrian	360
Vote	15
Estonian	1 000 000
South Estonian	100 000
Livonian	† (2013)

The Uralic languages: Mordvin



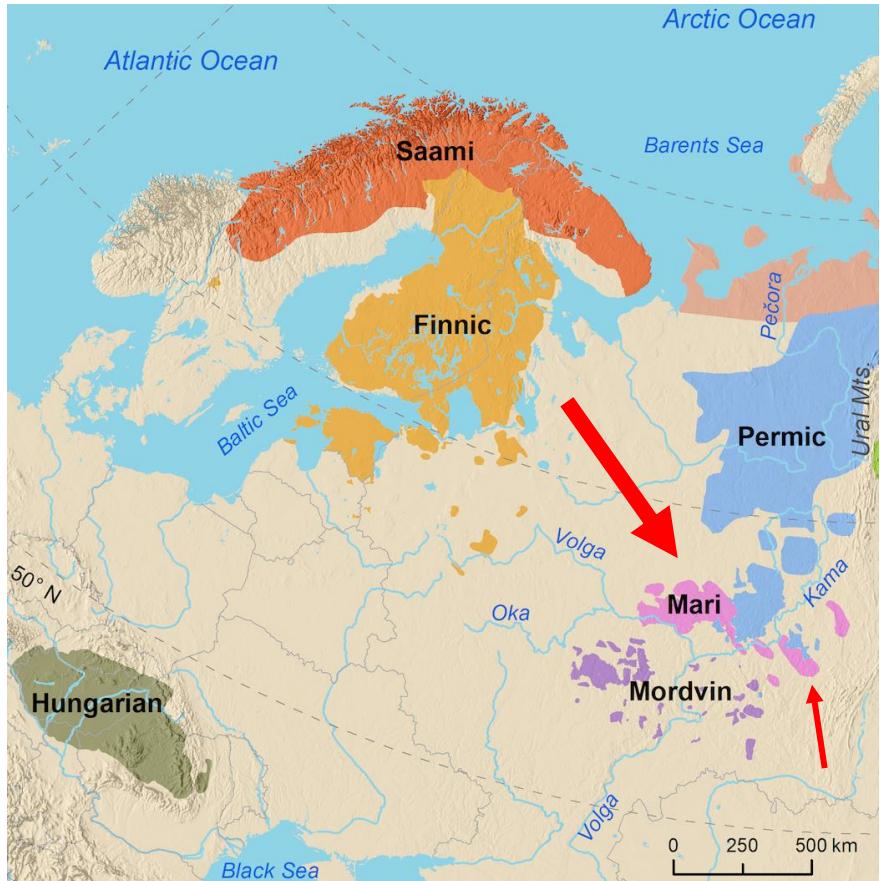
Erzya: ~ 450 000



Moksha: ~ 200 000

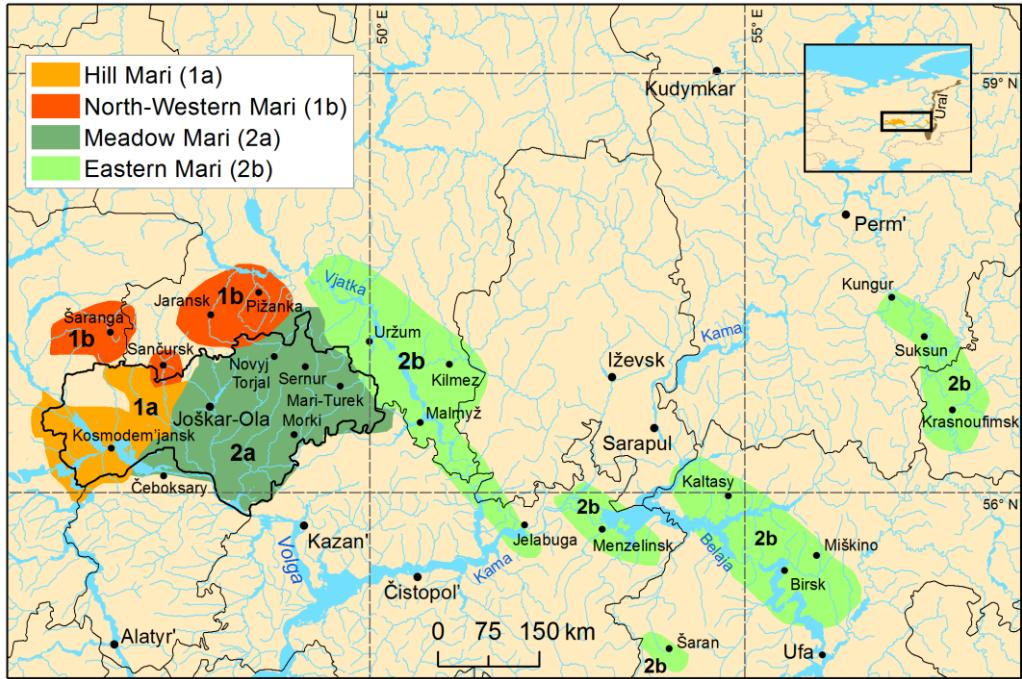


The Uralic languages: Mari



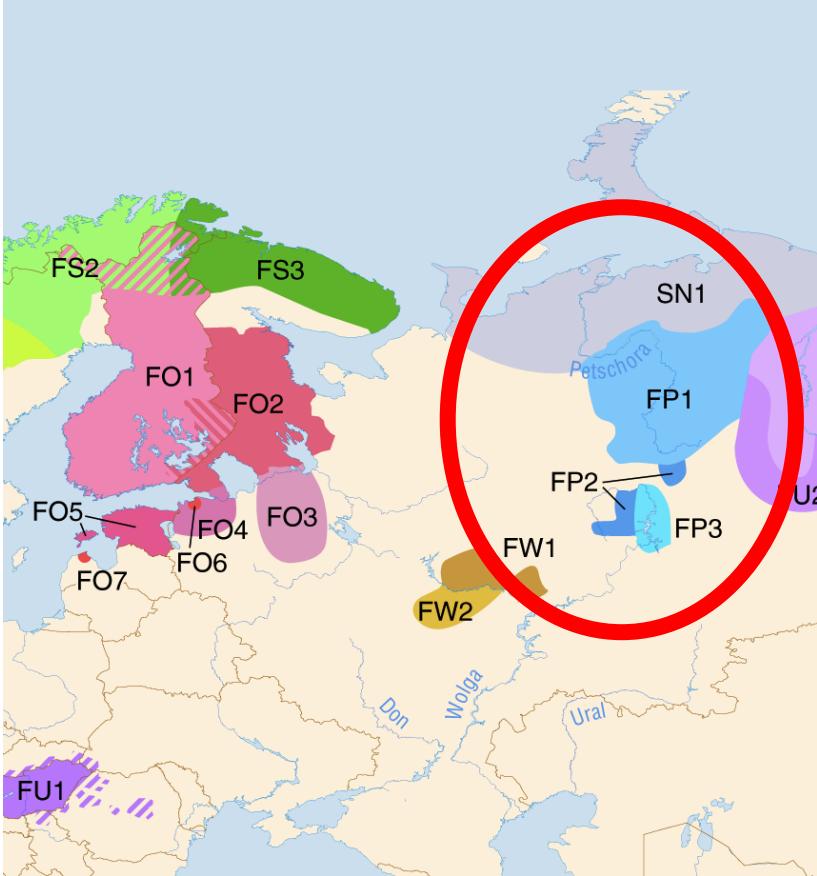
(The Mari Traditional Religion)

The Uralic languages: Mari



Literary Standard	Dialect	Speakers
Meadow-Eastern Mari	Meadow Mari	365 000
	Eastern Mari	
	Northwestern Mari	
Hill Mari	Hill Mari	23 000

The Uralic languages: Permic



Speakers

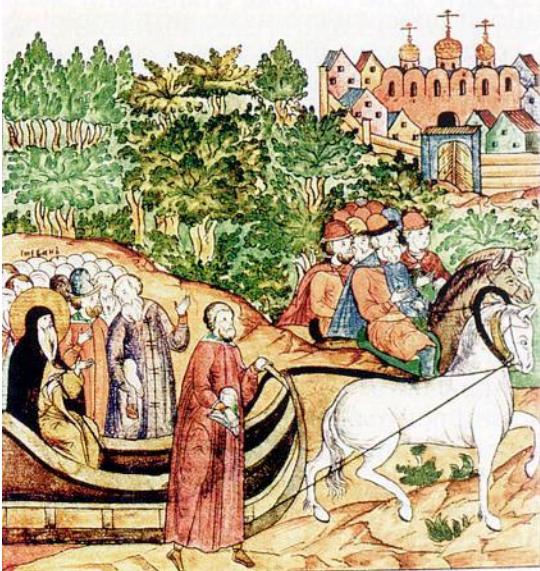
Komi

Komi-Zyrian	160 000
Komi-Permyak	63 000

Udmurt

325 000

The Uralic languages: Permic



(Stephen of Perm, 1340–1396)

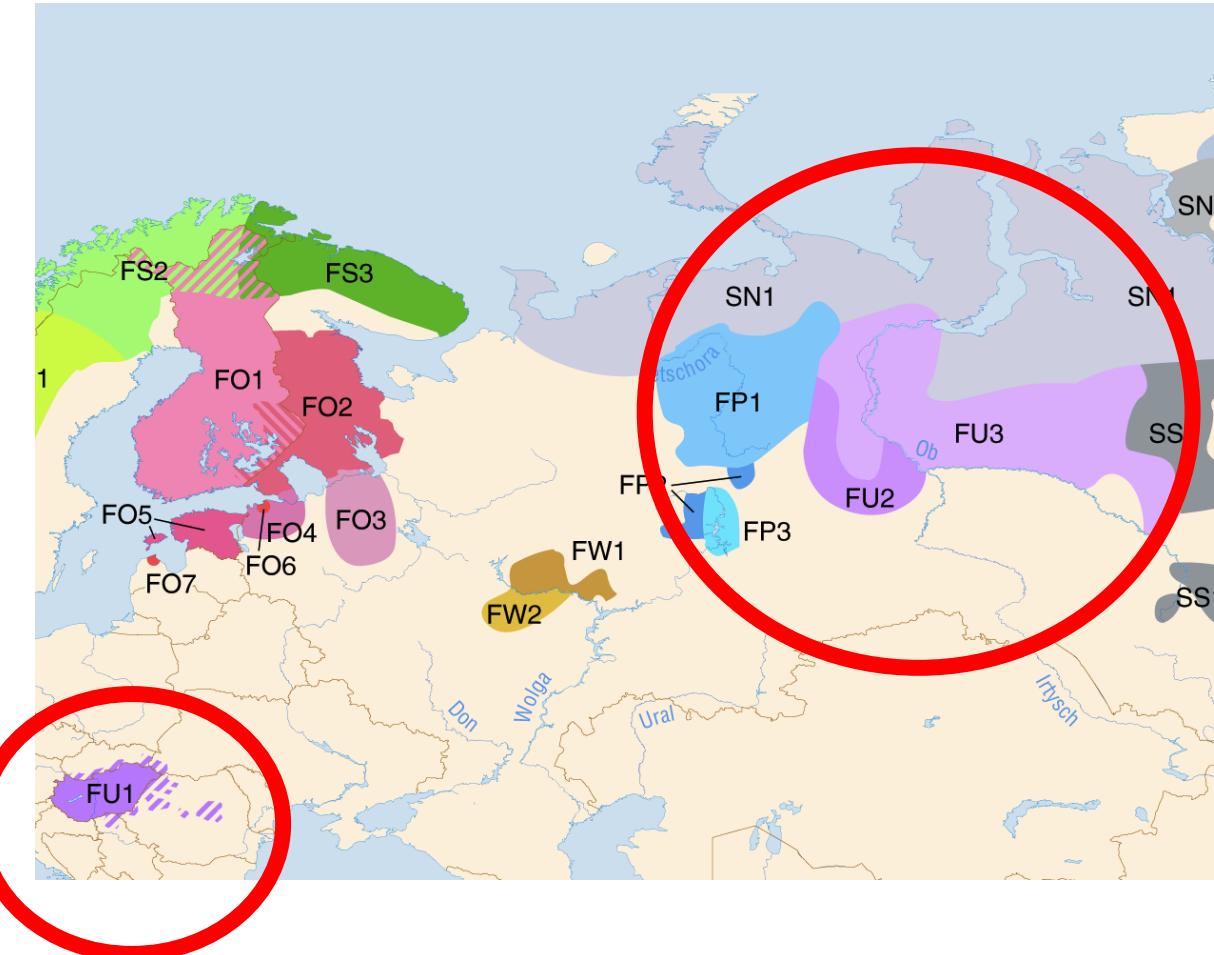


(Buranovskiye Babushki)



(Old Permic script / Abur)

The Uralic languages: Ugric



Speakers

Ob-Ugric	9 000
Khanty	900
Mansi	
Hungarian	15 000 000

The Uralic languages: Ugric



(Mansi)



(Khanty)



(Budapest, Hungary)

The Uralic languages: Samoyedic



Speakers

Enets	40
Nenets	22 000
Selkup	1000
Kamassian	† (1989)
Mator	† (~1840)

The Uralic languages: Samoyedic



(Nenets)



(Klavdiya Plotnikova, ~1895 –1989,
the last known speaker of Kamas)

Other language families: Indo-European



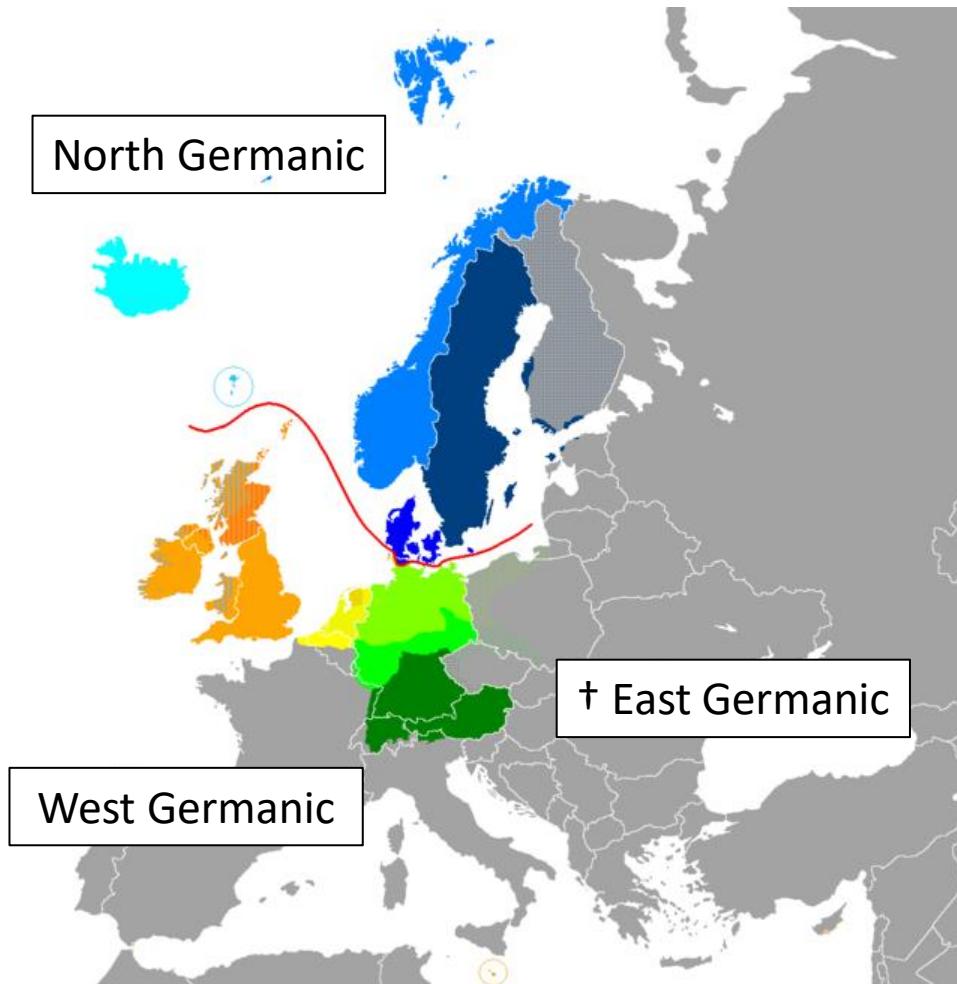
A large majority of European languages belong to this family. Uralic languages have been influenced by diverse Indo-European languages.

Branches:

- Hellenic
- Celtic
- Germanic
- Romance
- Balto-Slavic
- Indo-Iranian
- Armenian
- Albanian
- † Tocharian
- † Hittite

Significant direct contact
with Uralic languages

Indo-European > Germanic



Major languages:

North Germanic

- Icelandic
- Faroese
- Norwegian
- Danish
- Swedish

West Germanic

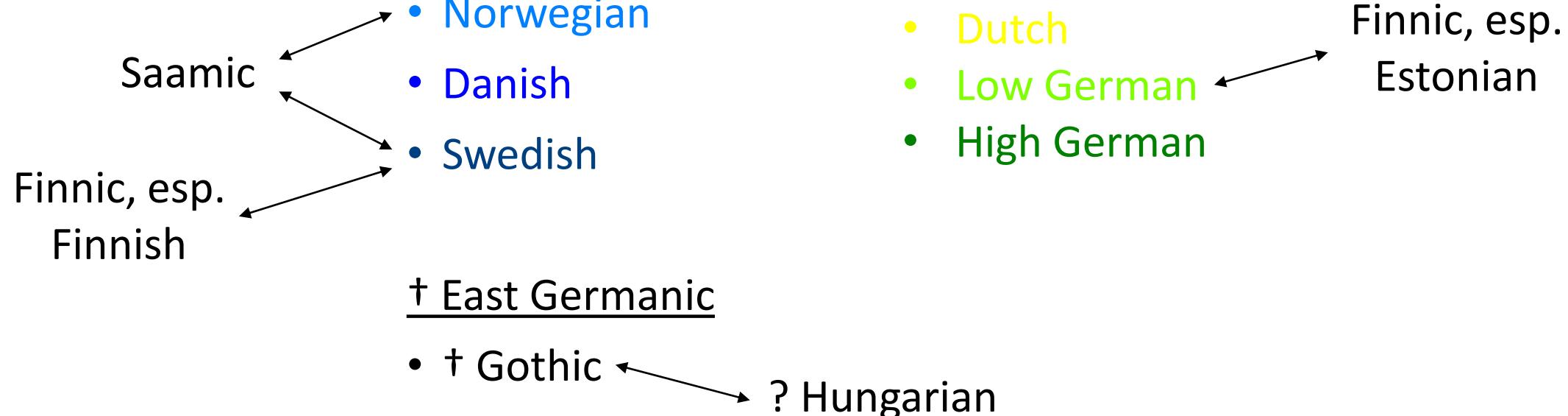
- Scots
- English
- Frisian
- Dutch
- Low German
- High German

† East Germanic

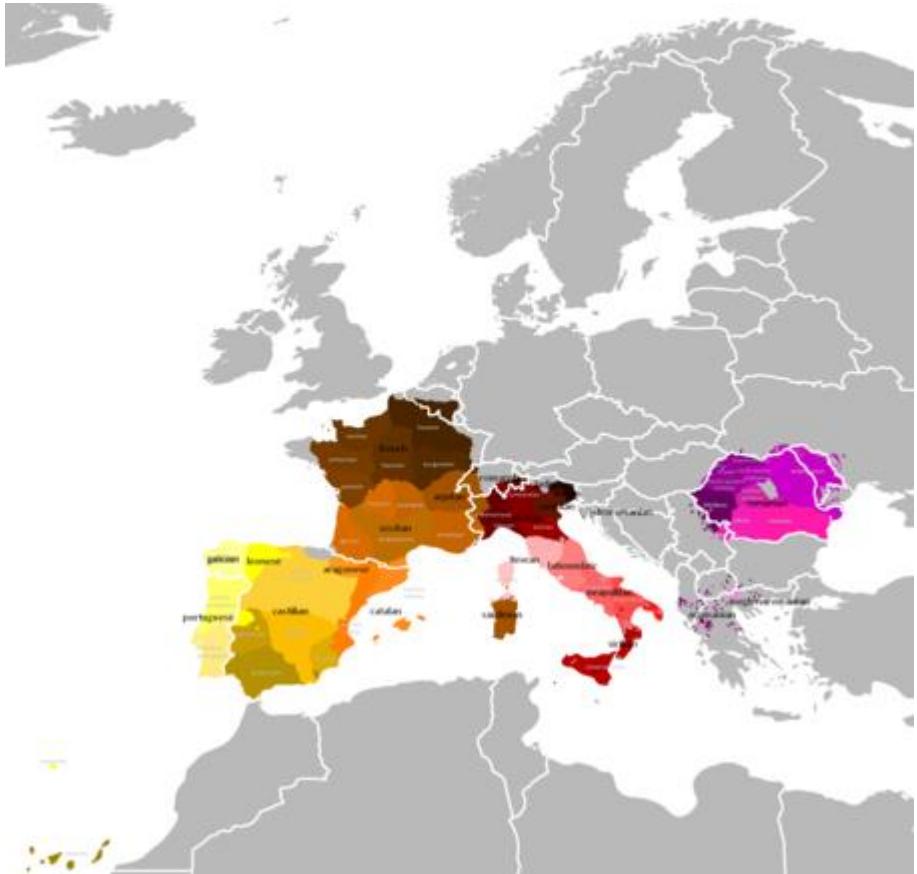
- † Gothic

Indo-European > Germanic

Older Germanic contacts with Finnic predate the formation of modern languages



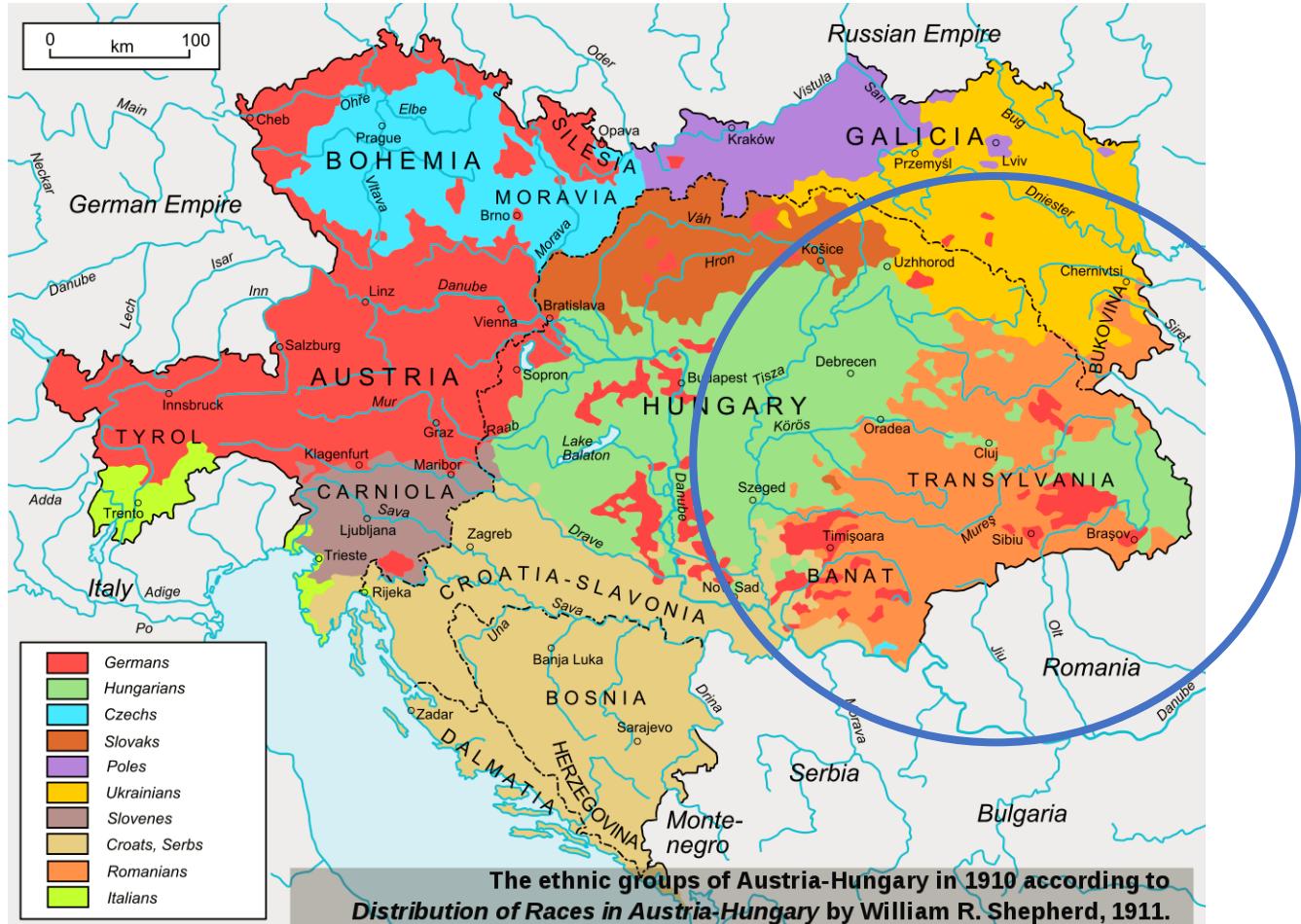
Indo-European > Romance



Major European national languages:

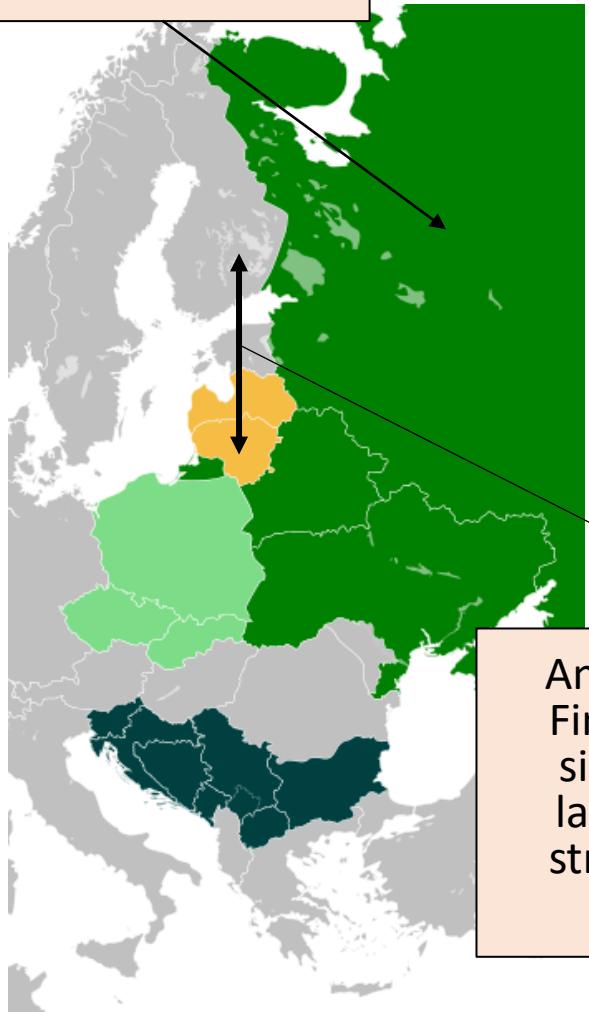
- Portuguese
- Spanish
- French
- Italian
- Romanian

Indo-European > Romance



The influence of the historically prestigious Romance languages on Uralic languages is mostly indirect, With the exception of language contacts between Hungarian and Romanian.

Russian is the dominant contact language for the majority of Uralic languages today



Indo-European > Balto-Slavic

Baltic:

- Latvian
- Lithuanian
- † Old Prussian

East Slavic:

- Russian
- Belarusian
- Ukrainian

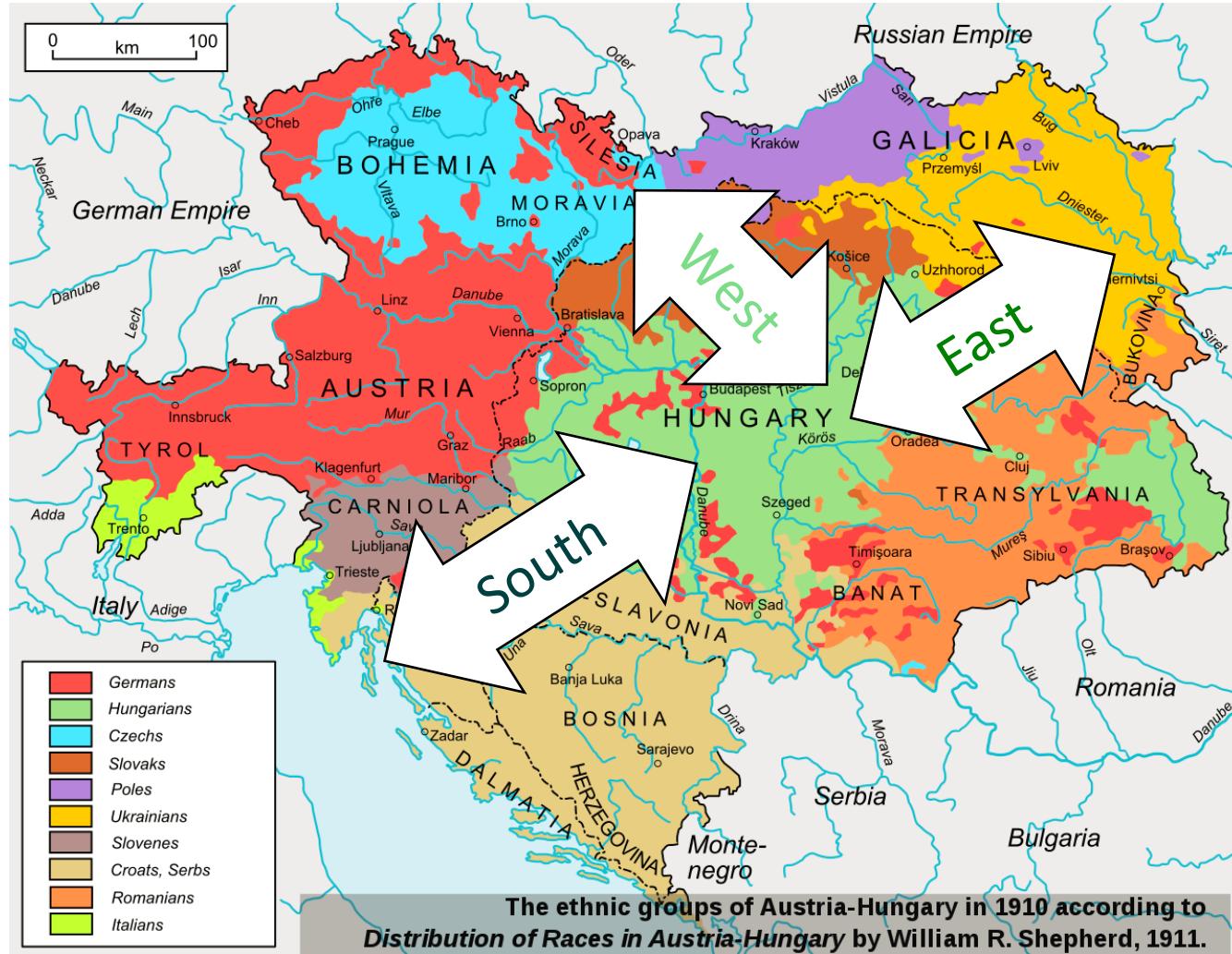
West Slavic:

- Polish
- Czech
- Slovak

South Slavic:

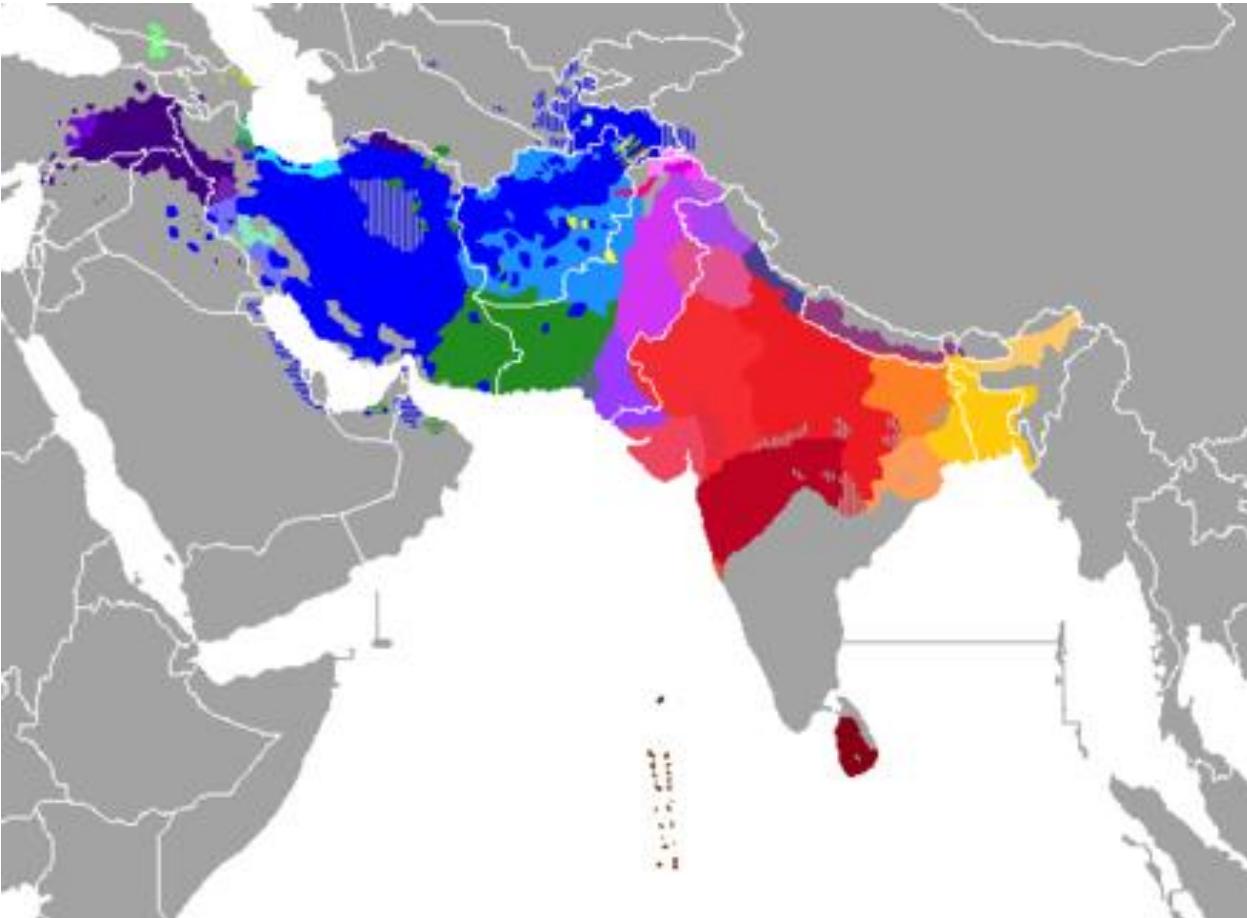
- Bulgarian
- Macedonian
- Serbian
- Croatian
- Bosnian
- Montenegrin
- Slovenian

Indo-European > Balto-Slavic



The Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin in the 9th century CE broke Slavic continuity. Hungarian has historically been in contact with all three major branches and Slavic; the Hungarian diaspora remains so today.

Indo-European > (Indo-)Iranian



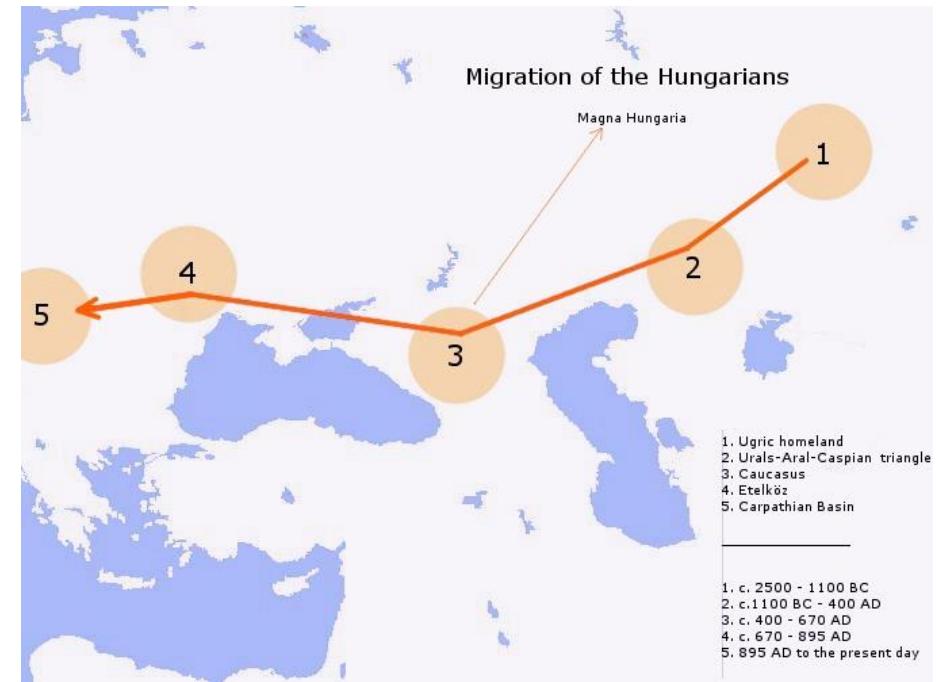
While modern Indo-Iranian languages such as Persian, Pashto, Ossetian, Kurdish, Hindi or Bengali are not spoken in proximity to Uralic languages, the historical northern spread of Iranian languages previously put Iranian and Uralic speakers into direct contact.

Indo-European > (Indo-)Iranian



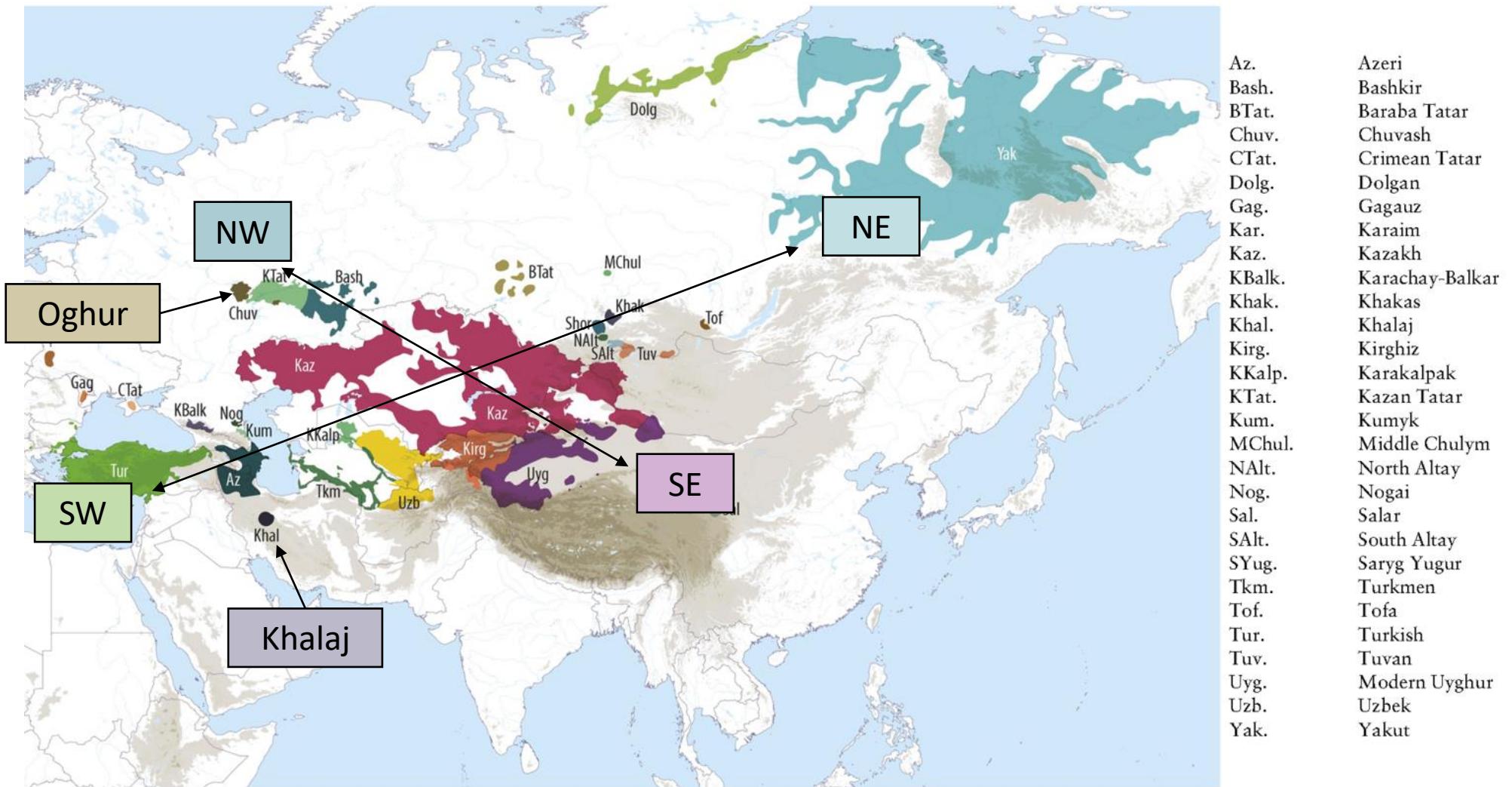
Scythian art

Iranian-speaking Scythia
in the 2nd century CE



Hungarian migration taking speakers of Hungarian through Iranian-speaking (esp. Alanic) and Turkic-speaking territories

Other language families: Turkic

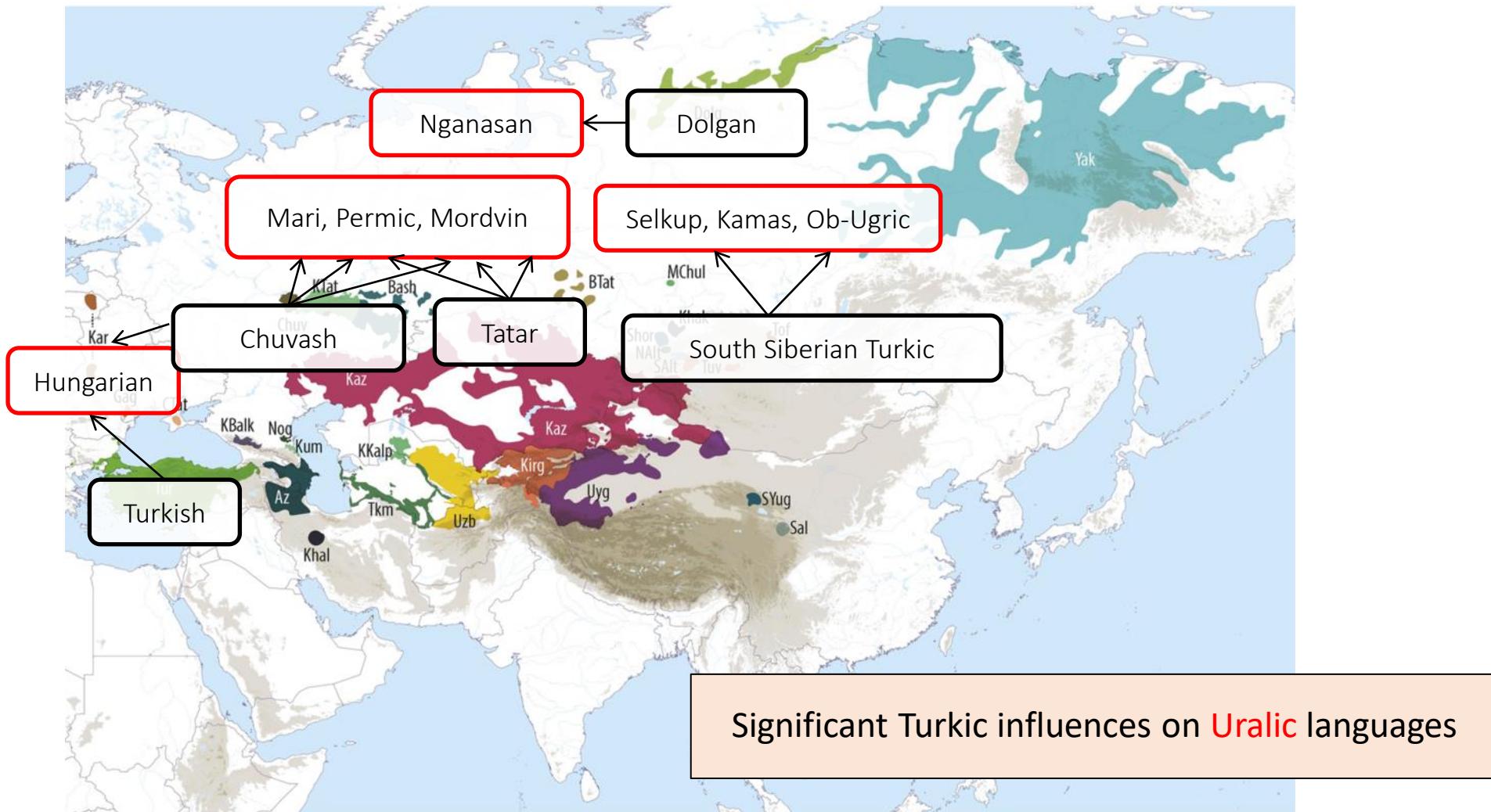


Other language families: Turkic

- Turkic
 - Common Turkic
 - Northwestern (Kipchak)
 > Tatar, Bashkir, Kazakh, Kirghiz, ...
 - Southwestern (Oghuz)
 > Turkish, Turkmen, Azeri, ...
 - Northeastern (Siberian)
 > Yakut, Dolgan, ...
 - Southeastern (Karluk)
 > Uzbek, Uyghur, ...
 - Oghur
 > Chuvash, †Bolgar
 - Khalaj

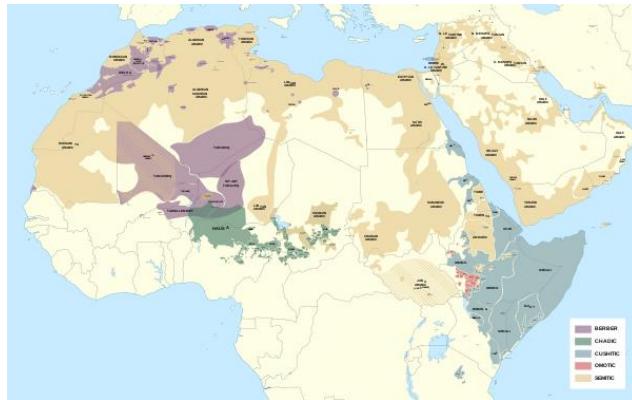
Chuvash is genealogically and structurally further from all Common Turkic languages than they are from each other

Other language families: Turkic

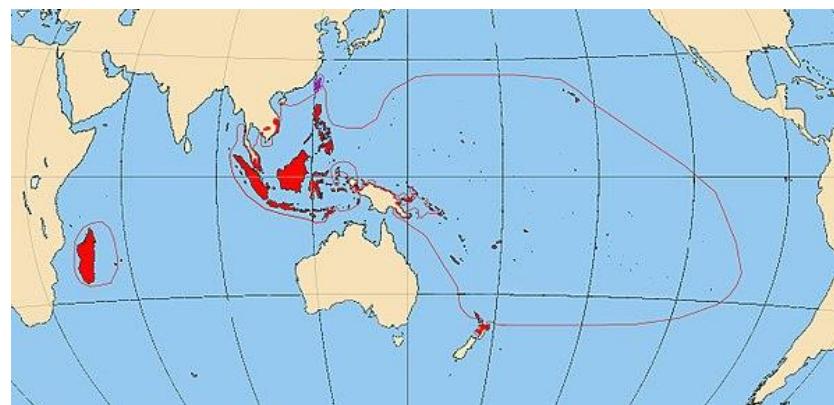


Other language families

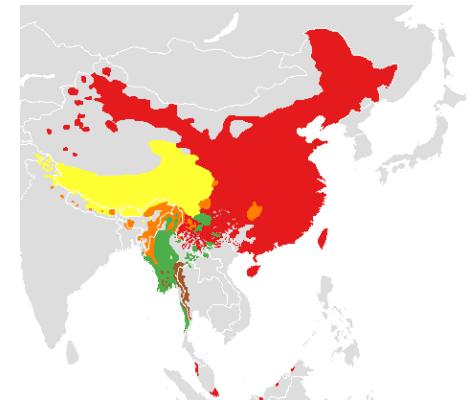
Major language families that have not been in direct contact with Uralic:



Afro-Asiatic (Arabic, Hebrew, Maltese, Amharic, Aramaic, Hausa, ...)



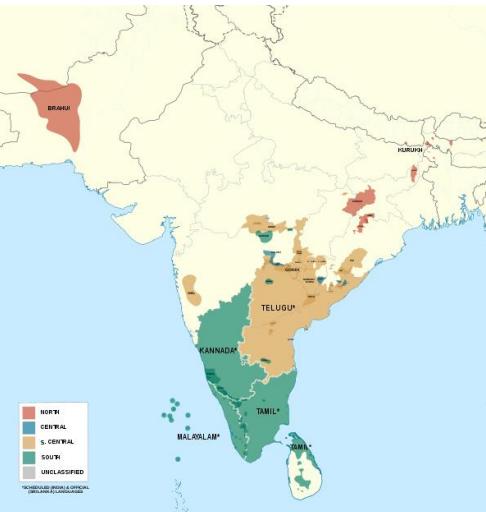
Austronesian (Indonesian, Tagalog, Hawaiian, Māori, Malagasy, ...)



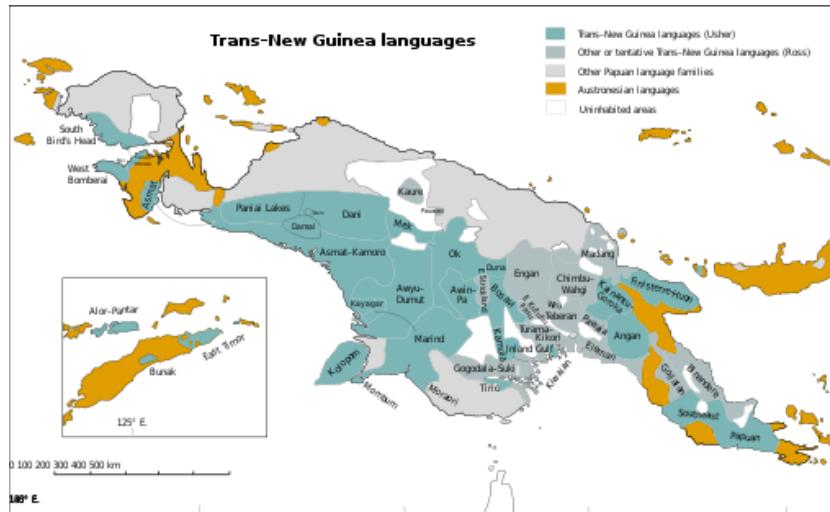
Sino-Tibetan (Mandarin, Cantonese, Tibetan, Burmese, ...)

Other language families

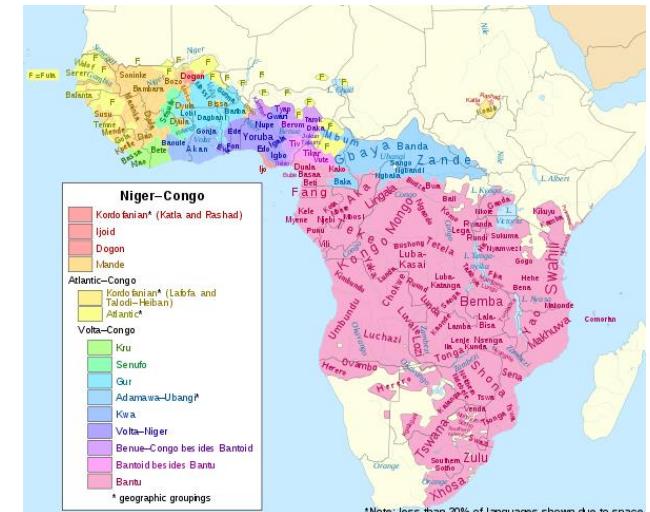
Major language families that have not been in direct contact with Uralic:



Dravidian (Telugu, Tamil,
Kannada, Malayalam, ...)



Trans-New Guinea



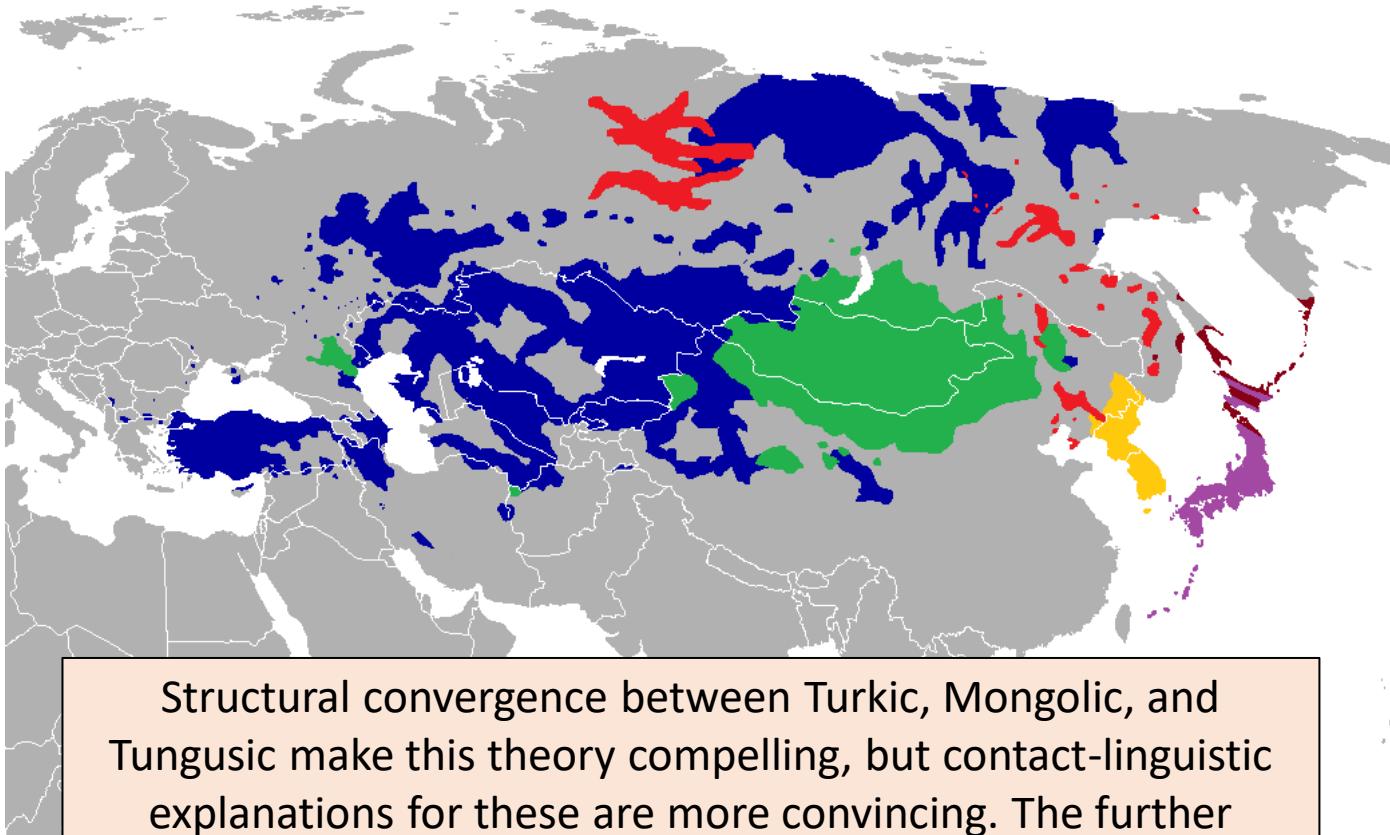
Austronasian (Swahili, Yoruba,
Zulu, Kinyarwanda, ...)

... and 100+ more

Macro-families

- Attempts to join established language families into larger ones in an attempt to look further back in time than is generally considered plausible in diachronic linguistics.
- Many proposals are plausible in theory, but impossible to convincingly prove or disprove.

Macro-families: Altaic

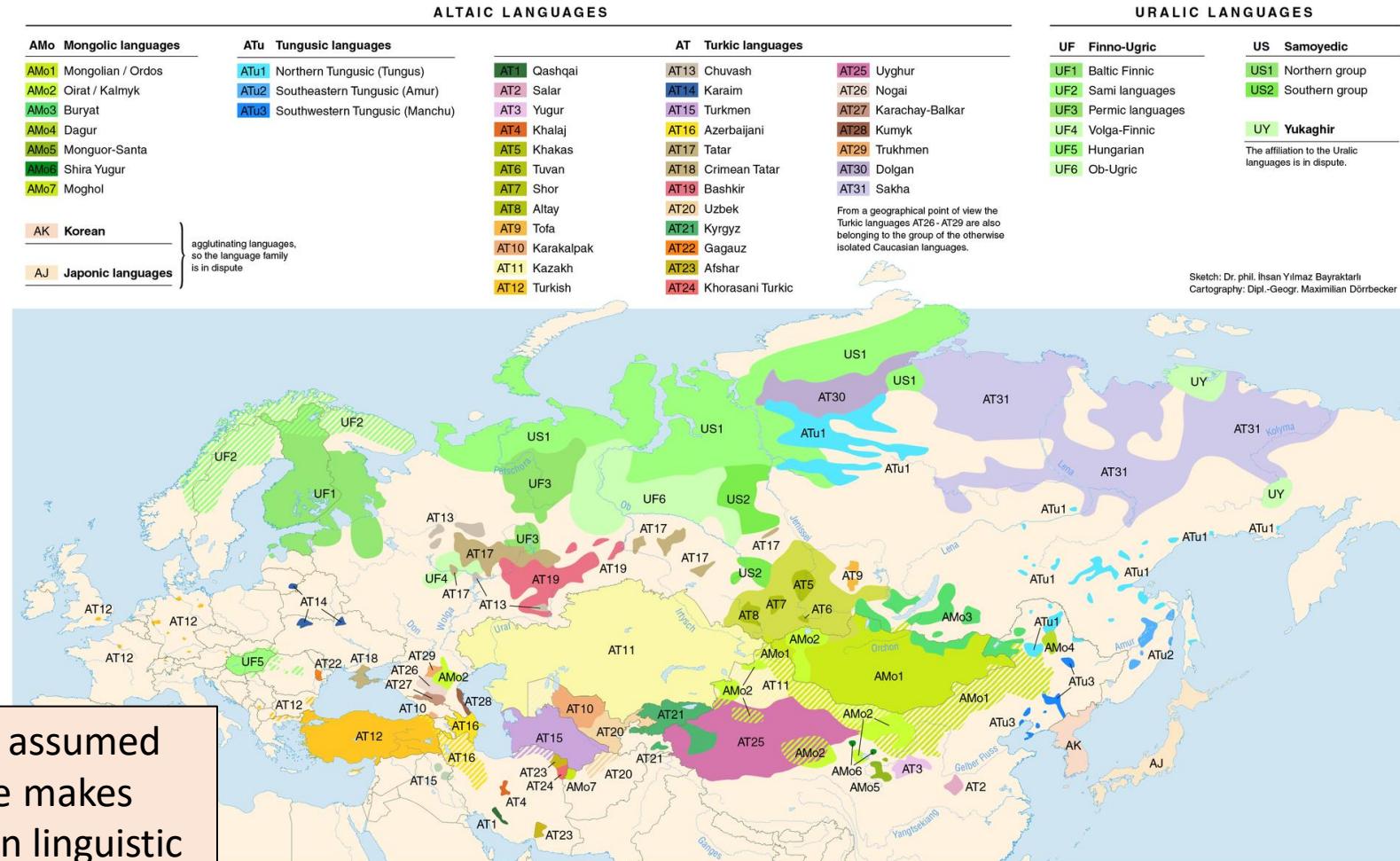


- Turkic
- Mongolic (Mongolian, Buryat, Kalmyk, ...)
- Tungusic (Manchu, Evenki, ...)

Macro-Altaic sometimes also includes:

- Koreanic
- Japonic

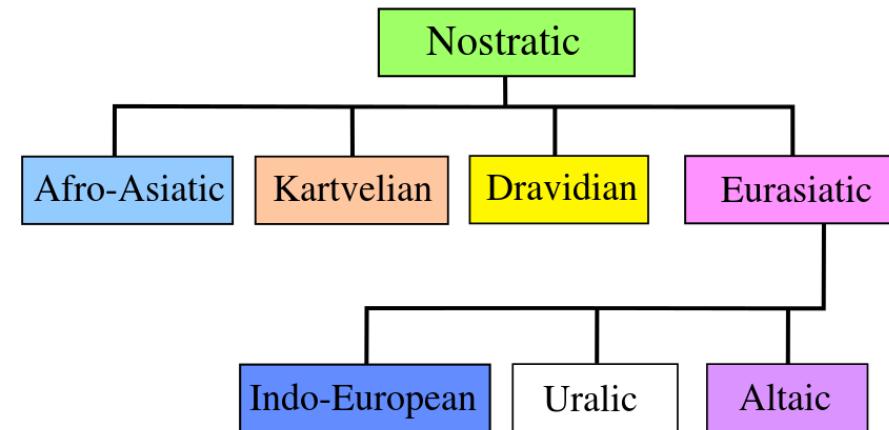
Macro-families: Uralo-Altaic



Every additional assumed proto-language makes contemplations on linguistic prehistory more speculative.

Macro-families: Nostratic

- < Latin *noster* ‘our’
- Different proposals exist, differing in their scope and their assumed structuring



Nostratic as proposed by Allan R. Bomhard

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