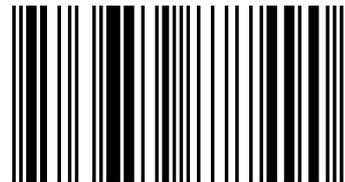


The Finno-Ugric peoples constitute the second largest language group in Europe. It has long been established that individual languages result in different ways of thinking and looking at the world, indeed, even different philosophies. It is a little unusual, that Finno-Ugric linguistics has over one hundred years of history, but few have asked whether the mentality of the Finno-Ugric peoples really does differ from that of the speakers of, for instance, the Indo-European languages, and if so, how. Following in the footsteps of Sándor Karácsony and Gábor Lükő, Kádár seeks the answer to this question in his collection of studies included in this volume. He examines the question primarily in comparison with the Indo-European peoples, so the volume contains much to interest the Indo-European language speaking reader too. With regard to their topics, the studies in the volume cover works on the subjects of linguistic philosophy, art theory and education, even extending to musicology. The foreword to the book was written by Aleksandra Seldyukova, Mari (Cheremis) born linguist of the Moscow Academy of Sciences, and the epilogue by Estonian philosopher, linguist and poet, Jaan Kaplinski.

A Potential Uralic Philosophy



György Kadar (1955) is a Hungarian music teacher, fennougrist and philologist. He obtained his doctorate in 1999 (Paratactical thinking in the music tradition of Fenno-Ugrian people). He continued his studies in Tampere and Jyväskylä. His studies have appeared in Finland, Russia, Estonia, Hungary and Korea. He has been living in Finland since 1984.



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GYÖRGY KÁDÁR

A POTENTIAL

URALIC PHILOSOPHY

“Studies from modern cultural research on the Uralic peoples”



BUDAPEST

GYÖRGY KÁDÁR

A POTENTIAL URALIC PHILOSOPHY
**“Studies from modern cultural research on the Uralic
peoples”**

Everything that exists, only exists in comparison with something else. – A sketch of a potential Uralic philosophy, based on social-psychological and linguistic-philosophical observations by Sándor Karácsony and Gábor Lükő.

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GYÖRGY KÁDÁR

**A POTENTIAL
URALIC PHILOSOPHY**

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Revised, expanded edition

Foreword: Aleksandra Seldyukova

Professional proofreader: N. K. Loskareva

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To the memory of my teacher Gábor Lükő, undeservedly neglected to the present day

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FOREWORD

In forums, congresses and conferences of the Finno-Ugric peoples, the discussion of every problem closes with the conclusion that, “The most important objective for representatives of the Finno-Ugric peoples in the future will be to promote the preservation of the language and development of the culture by means of literature and philosophy.” But what is this philosophy, this Finno-Ugric or Uralic philosophy? Before I set about writing the foreword for this publication, I asked an expert about Uralic philosophy. He was very surprised by my question, but he asserted that the existence of such a philosophy is questionable even for purely theoretical reasons, as the Uralic or Finno-Ugric peoples live in isolation from one another, they don’t even have a unified state. But I wonder whether a prerequisite for the existence of such a philosophy is the statehood of peoples having similar roots and mentality in their ideology and world view, or perhaps the size and contiguous nature of their living space. Irrespective of whether the existence of a Uralic philosophy is accepted or not, so much is certain, that there exists a mentality, a perception of the world, there are forms and means of cognition, which distinguish the Finno-Ugric peoples from other nations and ethnic groups. In any event, knowledge acquired on the basis of alien philosophy (western for eastern peoples or eastern for westerners) remains lifeless learning coming from outside which few are able to apply, and those who do so, merely act under the influence of some powerful incentive or necessity. In contrast, the life of the average person is grounded on notions and concepts inherited from his ancestors, irrespective of his intentions.

We finally need to admit that the Finno-Ugric peoples, particularly those living in the central areas of Russia, have been and are subject to powerful assimilation (formerly aggressive, at present voluntary and of free will). And whilst they call themselves Russians, in their consciousness, or still more their subconscious, where the grassroots of their world view is shaped and preserved, they remain the same as their ancestors were: Mordvins, Komis, Udmurts, Maris, etc.

We are compelled to draw the apparently bold conclusion from this that the population of the central and northern part of Russia is made up for the most part of assimilated Finno-Ugric peoples, who still feel close to the Uralic philosophy of life. It will be very interesting for these Finno-Ugric people to read this work. They may discover something in it which they can recognise and feel as their own, something in which they feel themselves to be kinfolk. Here is a pertinent example: I was talking to a (Russian) candidate involved in linguistics, about how paired body parts are referred to in the singular in the Finno-Ugric languages, to which she responded in surprise, but *пол-ноги, пол-руки* (translated literally: ‘half foot, half hand’) in Russian also means ‘one hand, one foot’. We then clarified that, for instance in the Mari language “half hand” is “one hand” and “half leg” is “one leg” (*peljolan* – ‘half-legged’, *pelkidan* – ‘hand-handed’), indeed, in Russian too there is *смотреть впологлаза* which means ‘to squint, to look with half closed eyes’, as in the Mari language

pelshincha dene onchash – ‘look with half an eye’¹, *pel shinchan* – ‘half-eyed’. We cannot consider it a coincidence that in the subconscious of our colleague there survived a morsel of the approach of her distant Finno-Ugric ancestors. (It turned out that her ancestors came from the Vladimir Oblast, and etymological research into their surname also evidences a Mordvin origin.)

The book you are holding in your hand may be regarded as the first swallow in a series of studies published in the Russian language and dealing with the Finno-Ugric mentality. This profound study of the Uralic philosophy is based on the social-psychological and linguistic-philosophical observations of Sándor Karácsony and Gábor Lükő. For Russian speaking readers, including representatives of the Finno-Ugric peoples, these names sound unfamiliar, but the appearance of books like this in the Russian language is a long awaited development: the desire for self-discovery – who and what are we really? – have long been in the air, but at least for the last two decades, since the doors have opened for every Finno-Ugric people, including those living dispersed and far from one another on the territory of Russia, to have free interaction with one another and with representatives of Finno-Ugric peoples living abroad.

The Finno-Ugric peoples, which had been living on the territory of today’s Russia for many centuries before the formation of the Russian state (Rus), came into contact with ethnic groups unrelated to them, by which their traditions and customs intermingled with one another and their languages and cultures were enriched (reciprocally) to the extent which they instinctively required. Despite the interaction of cultures and the spiritual growth, the Uralic peoples were not assimilated into the surrounding ethnicities, but they preserved and improved their own perception of the world and the spiritual roots from which their own philosophy of life was shaped and nourished.

One of the roots of the unity of the Uralic peoples which still survives today is religious beliefs. The ancient religion of all the Finno-Ugric ethnic groups was paganism, which continues to survive in all of us somewhere in the depth of our soul, even if someone considers himself Muslim or Christian. The most important thing for us is that God is present in all of us, we see the being of God in everything which the Creator has made, i.e. in everything which exists. A characteristic of Finno-Ugric people is that they lived and live in harmony with nature, with the surrounding world and with their neighbours.

The chief cause of the disintegration of the Finno-Ugric identity was Christianity being compelled and forced upon them. Despite this, forms of philosophy of such universal impact prevail in the Territory of Russia, in which the presence of the spirituality of Finno-Ugric peoples can be discovered. Evidence of this is provided by attributes typical of a significant proportion of the Russian people (i.e. specifically Russians of Russia, not Slavs), such as extreme kindness, compliance, placidity, a lack of unruly aggressiveness, the effort to get close to others emotionally, to understand

¹ Cf. Hu. “I’ve heard about the matter with half an ear too” – “fél füllel én is hallottam a dologról”

their lifestyle and mentality, the willingness to bear with the faults of other ethnic communities. If these world-view attributes were not and had not been typical of the majority of the population of multiethnic Russia, then in the times following perestroika, the number of flashpoints in the country would have been considerably higher.

Deepak Chopra, one of the greatest thinkers of our age, states, “The debate on how to end war, for example, has proved totally futile because the instant I see myself as an isolated individual, I confront “them”, the countless other individuals who want what I want. Violence is built into the opposition of us versus them. “They” never go away and “they” never give up. They will always fight to protect their stake in the world. As long as you and I have a separate stake in the world, the cycle of violence will remain permanent.” (Deepak Chopra. *The Book of Secrets*, p. 39)

One of the important lessons in this work is, “(...)”² the extensive use of the word *half* existing far and wide in the Finno-Ugric languages indicates that there is an approach and perception of the world here which pervades the whole mentality. Whilst in the approach of the Indo-European peoples the individual person is a separate unit (personality), who has his own language, his own will and his own art, which he must validate as much as possible over against other people in his social life, according to the approach of the Finno-Ugric peoples, my life can only obtain its human nature and meaning when it forms a *whole* with the life of my *other half*. Only our joint activity is meaningful. This approach finds it hard to tolerate if another person wants to coerce someone into a subordinate relationship, and wants to force the whole of his own autonomy onto him, if he wants to dictate to him from above, if he stands his ground and will not yield. For a person thinking according to the approach of the Finno-Ugric languages, a coordinating relationship between parties is natural, the most natural form of which in existence, as determined by Sándor Karácsony, is a family-like relationship between people.” Both philosophical approaches provide an explanation for why there are no flashpoints in Finno-Ugric areas. In some Finno-Ugric republics, for instance the Mari El Republic, the governing stratum of foreign origin, not being familiar with the people, their perception of the world, their lifestyle and customs, regarding their frugality manifested day to day, in everyday life as backwardness and their acute sensitivity shown in the selection of tools and means for the achievement of productive and positive results in any matter whatever as nationalism, attempted if not to eradicate, at least to ignore the feelings of this ethnic minority. For those leaders who would like to work efficiently with these peoples, this book can provide valuable help.

Actually, every chapter and every page of this work make the reader think. For instance, the part where the author writes about those historians who, “act as though distinctively Central European history, common fate and interdependence had never existed”, brings to the reader’s mind the question: where is the place of the Finno-Ugric peoples in Russian history starting from the Old Russian period, as it was on the territory of their ancestral homeland where Rus emerged, and they constituted the

²(...) Indicates that a section has been omitted from the original work.

overwhelming majority of its population, which was later gradually assimilated? There is no reference to this in any secondary school history textbook. Our historians strive for us even as children to view the history of foreign peoples with enthusiasm – rather than our own. A knowledge of ancient Greek and Roman history or the later French and Italian revolutions etc. is naturally useful and necessary for a general education, particularly for those who want to graduate from secondary school and would like to continue with their studies, but in terms of our heart, our mind and our spirituality it would be much more useful if we were aware of the real history of our own homeland, including its earlier periods.

György Kádár, the author of this book, taking the works of Hungarian philosophers as a basis, develops and deepens their concept, demonstrating the peculiarities of the culture, world view, perception of the world, mentality and lifestyle of the Finno-Ugric peoples in music and mathematics, touching on linguistic, linguistic-philosophical and neuropsychological studies, listing examples primarily from the Hungarian and Finnish cultural spheres. Following in the tracks of Gábor Lükő, who laid the foundation for Finno-Ugric comparative ethnography, mythology studies, music research and the Finno-Ugric comparative culture theory, the author presents the kinship of the Uralic peoples from a cultural and linguistic point of view and demonstrates the cultural cohesion of the Finno-Ugric peoples.

Until now, only the mentality of the Hungarians has been studied with scientific exactness, so when he speaks of Pan-Finno-Ugric cognitive-linguistic, volitional-social and emotional-artistic phenomena, the author notes that he cannot present an exhaustive discussion of the questions raised in the given work, but he expresses his hope that in the future, experts from a wide variety of scientific branches will extend the analysis to the cultures of all the Uralic peoples.

The author achieves his own objectives thoroughly, grippingly, working with specific material. He presents what he has to say in a way which arouses the reader's interest and curiosity. He cuts to the quick, transporting many into the depths of the research and prompting them to collective reflection: musicians on the language of music, which reflects the Finno-Ugric emotional realm in a distinctive form; poets, writers, theatre producers and litterateurs on the poetic devices which are peculiar to Finno-Ugric literature, where coordinating thinking is preferred, which presents observed reality broken down into parts and compared with one another; linguists on one of the peculiarities of the Finno-Ugric languages, namely the triple orientation existing in the speaker, who "says what he has to say relative to the location and time of the speech as well as to the party who is listening to him", or the syntactic characteristics of the Uralic language structure, etc. But it also holds many curiosities for substance painters, playwrights and film makers, because it offers an explanation for the peculiarities and mystique of Finno-Ugric art. The book provides ethnographers, psycholinguists, culturologists, sociologists, politicians and students of the humanities with new angles. We must admit that Russian scholars remain indebted to these significant studies in the field of Uralic philosophy. There is a need for "researchers who are familiar with the individual Finno-Ugric (speaking) cultures 'at native language level' to investigate the world view of each Finno-Ugric people

thoroughly, and to write trustworthy descriptions in order to inform researchers dealing with the other languages, and to compare the results thus obtained". The solution to the present problems of the Finno-Ugric (and any other) peoples could depend among other things on the lack of suitable analyses, professional literature and information on them. It is possible that studies taking this book as a basis can ascertain and formulate the reason why the sophocracy of the Central-European Finno-Ugric lands as well as the Finno-Ugric republics of Russia have been of foreign origin, and remain so to the present day. Without doubt, one of the most important reasons for this lies in Finno-Ugric philosophy, perhaps, as Sándor Karácsony claims, it is "the formula of freedom". Future studies may provide help with the preservation of the ethnic and civil identity of the Finno-Ugric peoples, and with support for their unique culture. It is our great hope that this extremely valuable work will be the sapling from which the spreading tree of Finno-Ugric philosophy will develop.

Aleksandra Seldyukova

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“Let yourself be your light!”

*(The sayings of Buddha)
Siddhartha Gautama Buddha*

“If a man has no qualities, he must acquire maxims.”

Albert Camus

“Thou great star!
What would be thy happiness if thou hadst not those for whom thou shinest!”

(Zarathustra) Nietzsche

“Long live our adversary!
From him we get what we all need – passion!”

Minna Canth

“I have lived, because sometimes I lived – for others.”

Endre Ady

“East and west are antitheses of each other, and neither can be without the other.”

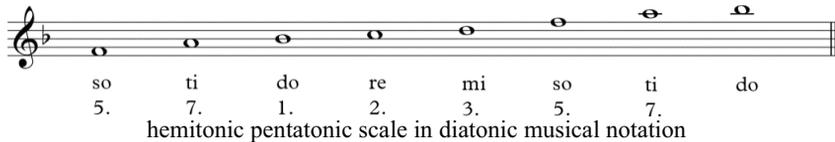
Zhuangzi

I. INTRODUCTION³

I. 1. PECULIARITIES, ODDITIES FROM THE CULTURES OF THE HUNGARIAN AND OTHER FINNO- UGRIC PEOPLES

In general. “To be is not always to be” – Frode J. Strømnes, leader of the Finnish-Swedish-Norwegian experimental research group comparing the mentalities of the Indo-European and Finno-Ugric peoples, came to this conclusion in 1974.⁴

In music. Thirty years earlier, Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967) expressed the same thing almost word for word when speaking of Hungarian musical language: C major is not the same C major everywhere.⁵ At the same time as him, but well before the birth of the cognitive sciences, Gábor Lükó (1909-2001) discovered the various musical tonalities characteristic of Asian, Slav and Finno-Ugric peoples,⁶ those interval association systems which are widely different from each other, and especially from the Western-European world of heptatonic and diatonic scales (major-minor). For instance, in one of these peculiar tonalities, the hemitonic pentatonic scale (in diatonic language: semitonal), heard with a Western-European ear there are four types of second, of which the largest, F-A, sounding like a major third to a musician playing in the diatonic system, counts as a second in just the same way as the A-B flat minor second of the tonality, the major second B flat-C, or the minor third D-F. Not equal seconds, but seconds, because they are adjacent notes. Expressed in the language of the modern cognitive sciences: a person at home in the music culture of the hemitonic pentatonic scale perceives these intervals as seconds, adjacent steps (and not as leaps), like the person familiar with the diatonic scale recognises the major or minor seconds of this scale.⁷



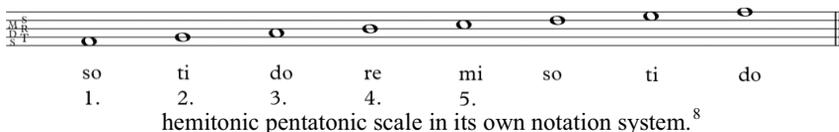
³ The studies I-IX in this volume are partially corrected variants, abridged in places, of the author's works published in 2015 in the collection of Finnish language essays entitled *Johdatus uralilaiseen filosofiaan*.

⁴ Strømnes 1974

⁵ Kodály 1964 (1945). I, p. 174

⁶ Lükó 2002

⁷ Lükó 2003 (1963). p. 157–181



1/a-b music examples

The introduction of the concept of interval associations by Gábor Lükő denotes a new, revolutionary recognition in musicology corresponding to the practice of the later cognitive sciences. Namely, in contrast to the expression of a taxonomic-type scale (actually arranging the notes in a series), this no longer just speaks nominally of musical language, but truly points to the existence of individual ways of musical thinking and interval association systems, each one possibly differing from the rest.

In “mathematics”. Gábor Lükő also noticed that “mathematical thinking”, “arithmetic” is not the same either for Uralic and Indo-European peoples. Taking once again an example from music: in the Hungarian language, for the *négykezes zongoradarab* [four-handed piano piece] you would really need four pianists, and two for the two-handed one, whilst the German *Klavier für 4 Händen* or the English *piano for 4 hands* you only need two.⁹ A Hungarian person can lift a light object with just *half* a hand, but the Indo-European can do this with *one* hand or *the other*. A Hungarian who loses *half* his eye, remains forever *half-eyed*, from then on he only sees with *half* an eye, whilst the Indo-European sees with *one* of his eyes. While the Englishman who is close to death *has one foot in the grave*, the Hungarian person *fél lábbal van a sírban* [has half a foot in the grave]. If a Hungarian gets too little food, it is *fél fogára sem elég* [not enough for half a tooth].

According to this arithmetic, a person *on his own* is just half [fél] a person, because only when “made whole” by his partner, for instance his *feleség* [wife, derived from “half”], will he be a whole human being. According to Indo-European arithmetic, a person on his own is already *one* independent person. (This will be expanded in more detail further on.)

In grammar. The German words for family relations, which rank as discrete individuals according to the Indo-European perception: *die Schwester* ‘húg’ [sister], *der Bruder* ‘öcs’ [brother], *der Vater* ‘apa’ [father] etc.¹⁰ simply do not exist in a form without a personal suffix “öcs” in the majority of the Uralic languages.

In the Hungarian language, these words are not in use by themselves either, just

⁸Strictly speaking the musical notation image cannot be regarded as notation of the tonality in its own system, as in the pentatonic musical cultures the notes are not perceived as relatively high and low, but in terms of their tone thickness, as thin or thick.

⁹This no longer occurs to today’s (Hungarian) pianists, they have got so used to literal translations from German (namely: “Piano piece for four hands”).

¹⁰In German, the individuality and singleness is particularly emphasised by the abstracting nature of the obligatory articles.

in a relationship connection, just when they belong to someone: (*az én*) *hugom* [*my sister*], (*az én*) *öcsém* [*my brother*], (*az ő*) *bátyja* [*his brother*]. There is no *mother* without (her) child, and no *sister* without (her) sibling. A *mother* is someone's *mother*, and a *sister* is someone's *sister*.

These last data and phenomena allow us to conclude from a linguistic philosophy and thinking psychology angle, that whilst the Indo-European languages like to think in abstracts, the Finno-Ugric languages do so in terms of correlations and the togetherness of things. This fact (these facts) were discovered long ago by Sándor Karácsony (1891) and Gábor Lükő (1909-2001), the greats of Hungarian and Finno-Ugric research, ignored for decades,¹¹ but official science still conceals these things today.

I. 2. CULTURAL-HISTORICAL OBSTACLES TO BROACHING THE SUBJECT SO FAR

The title of our work, “A potential Uralic philosophy”, may appear surprising, even bold to us Hungarians, “Finno-Ugrians”, “Uralics”. Uralic philosophy? How's that? What are we supposed to understand by that? But if we were capable of thinking without prejudice, then it is much more likely we should marvel at how we accept as natural that other peoples and ethnic groups have an independent world view and philosophical system, so how it is possible that we Hungarians, or a Finno-Ugric people group, should not have one. There is a library of literature on German, Chinese, French, Indian, Western-European or oriental philosophy, but besides the ignored writings and volumes of Sándor Karácsony¹² and Gábor Lükő¹³, there has been no work produced on Uralic or Hungarian philosophy. Broaching the question would be even timelier, considering that more recent modern language theories (and in part the older ones) claim that the diverse languages and the ethnic groups that speak them represent differing methods of cognition, mentalities and world views, as many as there are types. We Finno-Ugrians, on the other hand, despite all this, to this very day have not dared to ask the question: what mentality and world view is represented by the individual languages and cultures of the Finno-Ugric language family, how do these differ from the mentality of other languages and linguistic families, do they have anything in common, what is it, and what is different?

What is the explanation for why official science has not dealt with these questions up to the present day, that a study with the title Uralic-Altai philosophy was only produced after 1999¹⁴, and very few even know about it? It is common knowledge that it is very difficult for people living in (Western) European cultures to see beyond their own perception, and not only because of their prejudices resulting from a putative sense of superiority, frequently observed, based on which they can easily regard themselves as entitled to feel more advanced and wiser than others, to consider

¹¹; in detail below

¹²e.g. Karácsony 1985

¹³e.g. Lükő 1998

¹⁴ibid.

themselves as examples to be followed, and to divert others onto the path they deem to be correct, but also because the prevalence of their culture, its presence in every nook and cranny of the world, suggests to them that their culture is universal, such that those people who have not yet reached these “universal” heights need to acquire it too. When arriving in a foreign land, these Europeans, due to natural laws of psychology, first notice things that they themselves grasp and understand the most easily, generally what some other European has taken there before them, which lies the closest to their own. We needn’t go to far off continents for an example. On hearing Johannes Brahms’ (1833-1897) Hungarian dances or Franz Liszt’s (1811-1886) Hungarian rhapsodies, a listener brought up on Western European music believes that he is hearing Hungarian music, such as reflects the emotions of Hungarians. But the subjective, demure musical language of these works lies far distant from the musical language of the Hungarian, who prefers objective, reticent, coordinating forms. So much so, that however much he appreciates the fact that Brahms and Liszt make a stand for the Hungarian people, and however much he feels the genuine love manifested towards them in these works, on hearing this music he almost suffers. And he imagines he understands what an African may feel, when white people think that jazz, rap and rock are based on the music of his folk, the African peoples. Understanding other kinds of culture is so very hard, that it is extremely difficult to avoid this trap, even for those who have a genuine interest in another people. Even more so for those who may not know their language and customs, possibly even look down on them, and even have a downright hostile attitude to them, because that happens too.

A similar phenomenon may be observed by culturologists in connection with the intellectual elite of the Finno-Ugric peoples with independent statehood today (Hungarians, Finns and Estonians). These three peoples have been living for many centuries under very powerful foreign influence, indeed, under political, economic and cultural oppression. Even their independence has not always been a matter of course. By way of example, the statehood of Finland is not yet one hundred years old. A common factor in the historical fate of these three peoples is that they were trapped in a grinder between eastern and western world-powers, and they lost their national sophocracy and governing strata a number of times, either partially or totally, in the course of history, (...)

(...) In the period of modern cognitive sciences we need to say that a philosopher is not raised up to be a philosopher of a given people by which country he lives in, but by the world view of which people (group) the setting is provided, the feelings and vision of life of which people (group) he casts into philosophical forms with general validity appropriate to his age.¹⁵

¹⁵See Jaan Kaplinski “Wenn Heidegger ein Mordwinier gewesen wäre.”
Jaan.kaplinski.com/translations.

II.

OUR OBJECTIVES, THE MATERIAL STUDIED

Our work is looking for an answer to the question of whether the peoples and ethnic groups who speak the Uralic languages have a distinctive, self-contained mentality, possibly world view, philosophy, which differs from that of other peoples. In order to determine this, we have closely scrutinised three areas of general human “social-psychological” manifestations¹⁶: in terms of cognitive-linguistic (scientific), volitional-social and emotional-artistic phenomena. The occurrences of social-psychological manifestations of the Uralic peoples observed in these areas are compared against corresponding data from Indo-European peoples for the most part, in order to determine whether we are facing a distinctively Uralic phenomenon, or possibly one which generally occurs in every people. (...)

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¹⁶Karácsonyi’s expression “társaslélektan” dates from a period before the birth of modern, western social psychology, and is a technical term springing from Hungarian culture, so we will continue to use this expression in the rest of our work. See later.

III.

COHESION BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF THE FINNO-UGRIC (URALIC) LANGUAGE GROUP

Recently it has been almost fashionable to deny the cohesion between the Finno-Ugric peoples. We have therefore dedicated a separate chapter to the question, in which we list mere facts for the most part, leaving the decision up to the reader.

According to scholars of Finno-Ugric linguistics, the Finns, Estonians, Livonians, Votes, Izhorians, Karelians, Vepsians, Lapps, Erzya-Mordvins, Moksha-Mordvins, Maris (Cheremis), Udmurts (Votyak), Komis (Zyrian) and Komi-Permyaks, Khantıs (Ostyak), Mansis (Vogul) and Hungarians, as well as the Samoyedic peoples: Nenets, Enets, Nganasans and Selkups, belong to the language family of the Finno-Ugric, and in a broader sense the Uralic peoples¹⁷. The linguistic cohesion of these peoples has been worked out in great detail, based on linguistic studies involving phonetics, morphology, syntax and other findings, which make up an interrelated system. In order to demonstrate the linguistic relationship between these, first of all we present a few examples from phonetics, the branch of Finno-Ugristics to be worked out first. As with phonetic research into other language families, Finno-Ugric phonetics starts with the observation that the sounds and phonetic forms of individual words in the language do not remain the same over the history of the language, but the sounds of individual words (may) change, but these phonetic or sound changes, linguists claim, do not occur at random but regularly, i.e. identical sounds in an identical position (e.g. at the beginning of the word) change in the same way in every word in the language. As a result of this, the variation of sounds between related languages is also regular, indeed, systematic. Phonetics researchers are therefore not so interested in whether the words resemble each other in related languages or not, but rather, whether the correspondences between the sounds of the words in question are regular or not.¹⁸ The Finnish word *pata* and the Hungarian *fazék* (pot) do not sound the same at all, but linguists still consider them to be related words, because the differences between the sounds of the two words are regular, i.e. the same sound correspondences are also found in other words.

The *p*-sound at the beginning of Finnish words corresponds consistently to *f* in the Hungarian language, and this is also confirmed by appropriate examples from the

¹⁷Linguists use the expression Uralic peoples most when the Samoyedic people groups are understood to belong together with the Finno-Ugric peoples. In this work we use the two expressions as synonyms.

¹⁸We should mention that besides all this, there are also semantic criteria for why we may consider two words to be of common origin, but we will not address these here.

intermediate languages, but we will dispense with presenting the latter here for the sake of clarity¹⁹:

pata	faz(ék)	(pot)
poika	fiú	(boy)
puno-fon puoli	fél (n.)	(half)
pelkää-/pelä-	fél (vb.)	(fear)
pesä	fész(ek)	(nest)
pala	fala(t) etc.	(morsel)

As it turns out from the other Finno-Ugric languages, the word-initial *p* changed to *f* in the Hungarian language, but it was preserved in its original form in Finnish.

Examining the other consonant of the doublet *pata-fazék*, researchers have found that the internal *-t-* of a Finnish word always changes to *-z-* in Hungarian.

Finnish internal *-t-* is internal *-z-* in Hungarian:

kota	ház	(house)
käte-	kéz	(hand)
sata	száz	(hundred)
mete-	méz etc.	(honey)

The examples from more than ten intermediate languages (which we will dispense with presenting here) indicate that in this case too, the word-internal *-t-* sound may have been the original, and the Hungarian *-z-* is a development occurring over the separate history of the Hungarian language. We can be quite sure that the *-ék* ending of the word *fazék* is a later suffix, so the Finnish *pata* and the Hungarian *faz-ék* are to be regarded as related words, despite the fact that with regard to their external forms, they have only one sound in common: *-a-*.

Sound changes in the words meaning “live”, “die” and “three” in the Finno-Ugric languages:

fi. *elä-*; es. *ela-*, lp. *jielle*; md. *era-*; mar. *ile-*; ud. *ul-*; kom. *ol-*,
khan. *jel-*; man. *jält-, jalt-*; hu. *él*; yur.-sam. *jil'e-*, yen.-sam.
jire-; etc.

fi. *kuole-*; lp. *kuolati-*; es. *koole-*; md. *kulo-*; mar. *kole-*; ud. *kul*; kom. *kuv-*; khan.
kala-; man. *kal-, kol-*; hu. *hal-*; yur.-sam. *Aa-*; yen.-sam. *ka-*; etc.

fi. *kolme*; lp. *golbmâ*; es. *kolm*; md. *kolmo*; mar. *kum*; ud.- *kvinn-*; kom. *kujim*; kha.
Aol m; man. *Aur m*; hu. *három*; etc.

Whilst from our first example (“él” – live), we can see that the internal *-l-* has been preserved in the Finno-Ugric languages with one exception, in the case of the words

¹⁹The present and further examples in our work are taken from Rédei 1986-1988 for the most part, so we will not refer to these separately in the following.

meaning “die” and “three” in these languages, the initial sound of these words is *k*- in the majority of these languages, but in one or two of the Ugric languages an *h*-sound is found in the corresponding position. These and several other examples indicate that the *k*- > *h*- sound change may have occurred when the Ugric languages were perhaps living a separate life.²⁰ But this sound change is not random either. In the Hungarian language, the *k*- > *h*- sound change only occurred if the vowels in the word were of the thick class²¹, otherwise Finnish *k*- remained *k*- in Hungarian too:

		<i>k</i> - + thick vowel		<i>k</i> - + thin vowel	
fi.	hu.	fi.	hu.	fi.	hu.
kota*	ház (house)	käte-*		kéz (hand)	
katoa	hagy (leave)	keso		keszeg (bream)	
kala	hal (fish)	kehä		kegy (elet) (piety)	
kuole-	(meg)hal (die)	kepeä		kevés (few)	
kusi	húgy (urine)	kierä		kere(k) (round)	
koi	haj (nal) (dawn)	keri		kére (g)(bark)	
kolme	három (three)	kerää		kér (ask for)	
kainalo	hónalj (a) (armpit)	kyy		kí (gyó) (snake)	
kuule	hall (hear)	kivi		köve (stone)	
kumpu*	hab (foam)	kyynär		könyök (elbow)	
kuu	hó (month)	kyynel		könny (tear)	
kura	harma (t)(dew)	kitkeä		köt etc. (bind)	
kunta*	had (army)				

It is clear that the scientific reliability of the phonetic changes and sound correspondences is directly proportional to their increasing number. Besides this, as we have already indicated, the sound correspondences do not stand alone, but, and this is also convincing, they form a system, they are systemic. We have already seen a brief example of this in the case of the word *fazék* (pot), and further examples will follow now, which demonstrate that the sound correspondences marked with * in the above compilation are also regular. If there is *-mp-* in the interior of a Finnish word of Finno-Ugric origin, and the Hungarian equivalent of this has been preserved in the Hungarian language, then there will be *-b(b)-* in the corresponding position: (*kumpu* – *hab*) (foam). This example also extends to additional word-interior nasal+plosive sound combinations: the Finnish word-interior *-nk-*, *-nt-*, *-mp-* sound combinations

²⁰These kinds of sound changes enable linguists to arrange the histories of individual languages, their sound changes and phenomena in chronological order.

²¹On the phonetic terms (thick-thin) see below.

consistently become the voiced plosive (stop) consonants *-g*, *-d*, *-b* in Hungarian (see below):

fi. -mp-	hu. -b(b):
kumpua-	hab

(in the “intermediate languages”: md. *kumbo-ldo-*; kom. *gibal*; khan. *χump*; man. *hump*; yur.-sam. *types χāmpa* etc. or: khan. *amp*; man. *āmp*; hu. *eb* etc.)

-mpi	-bb (<i>kauniimpi = szebb</i>) (more beautiful)
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The Finnish word-interior *-nk-* and its Hungarian equivalent *-g-*:

fi. <i>tunke-</i> :	hu. <i>dug</i> (put away)
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(in the intermediate languages: es. *pung*; kom. *bugil*; khan. *punkl*²²; hu. *bog* (snag))

The Finnish word-interior *-nt-* and its Hungarian equivalent *-d-*:

fi. <i>jänte-</i>	hu. <i>ideg</i> (nerve)
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(in the intermediate languages: man. *jantw*; yur.-sam. *jen*; ngan. *jenti*; ene. *jeddi*; etc.)

Additional examples for the *-nt-* > *-d-* phonetic equivalence between the Finnish and Hungarian languages (once more dispensing with examples from the other Finno-Ugric languages):

fi. <i>anta-</i>	hu. <i>ad</i> (give)
<i>tunte-</i>	<i>tud</i> (know)
<i>lintu</i>	<i>lúd</i> (goose)
<i>kunta</i>	<i>had</i> (army)

Here belongs the equivalence known from the 12th century Hungarian Funeral Oration: hu. *hadlava* (*holtat*) – fi. *kuuntele-*. (On fi. *k-* hu. *h-* see above.)

The relationship between other subdivisions of the Finno-Ugric languages (morphology, syntax, etc.) will be detailed below from our point of view (1. 5.1–5.4), so they are not dealt with here.

After the relationship of the Finno-Ugric languages had been verified by linguistic studies, it goes without saying that the idea came up, that these people must have spoken a common language at one time, and if that is so, then they had an original common homeland somewhere.

²²Some words written in simplified transliteration, e.g. *punkəl*, *jantəw*.

This is how Finno-Ugric homeland research emerged as a branch of Finno-Ugric language studies. By timing the process of language change and by linking linguistic methods with the results of pollen research, representatives of this science came to the conclusion that the homeland of the Finno-Ugric peoples could have been somewhere in the southern half of the Ural Mountains around 5-6 thousand years ago, and that the individual Finno-Ugric peoples migrated from here to their later homes.²³ Accordingly, the Finno-Ugric peoples must also have been relatives by blood, although this no longer holds true. Anthropologically there is a very great difference, even between the Lapp and Finnish peoples who live next to each other. That is why linguists nowadays only speak of linguistic relationship, indicating that the Finno-Ugric kinship does not imply a blood relationship. They have, however, denied all other relationship²⁴ – with the exception of one Gábor Lükő, who, even if only for his close friends and his desk drawer, created the foundations for Finno-Ugric comparative ethnography,²⁵ mythology research²⁶ and musicology,²⁷ and the comparative Finno-Ugric culture theory.²⁸

As Lükő's works presenting the cultural cohesion and kinship of the Finno-Ugrics are little known, here we present in a little more detail a few examples of the studies from his life's work which are relevant to this subject.

²³Bereczki 2003, Hajdú 1981, who emphasise that it is not possible to go further into the past than this using the methods of linguistics.

²⁴In the Finno-Ugric Department of the Budapest ELTE Faculty of Humanities, the series of lectures on the subject of Finno-Ugric ethnography in 1982 began with, "There is no such thing as Finno-Ugric ethnography." Similar assertions could be heard in the mid 80s at the opening ceremonies of a series of exhibitions presenting the results of Finno-Ugristics entitled "Vipunen", which was otherwise of an extremely high standard and reaped great success in Finland.

²⁵Lükő 2001 (1942), 2004

²⁶Gábor Lükő 2004

²⁷Lükő 2002

²⁸Gábor Lükő 1998, 2001–2004

Gábor Lükő picked up on the fact that in their songs, the Maris refer to their loved-ones, their halves (see above) as “their wings”:

Is - ten ka-kukk-ja a - pá m va - la, ka - kukk szár - nya a - nyám va - la.

Is - ten fecs-ké - je bá - tyám va - la, fecs - ke szár - nya án - gyom va - la.

Nyá - ri lep - ke ö - csém va - la, lep - ke szár - nya hú - gom va - la.

Nyár gyü - möl - cse ma - gam va - gyok, gy - möl csöm-nek nincs vi - rá - ga.

“My father was God’s cuckoo, my mother was the cuckoo’s wing.

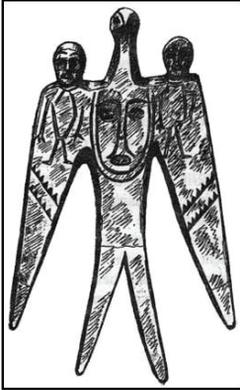
My elder brother was God’s swallow, my great-aunt was the swallow’s wing.

My younger brother was a summer butterfly, my younger sister was the butterfly’s wing.

Summer fruit I myself am, my fruit has no flower.”

Music example 2
(translated by Gábor Lükő)

The expression does not only belong to works of folk poetry. Even today, Finnish spouses address one another in every speech as *siipani* (<*siipi* ‘my wing’), and this is how they speak of their spouses to others too. And vestiges of this image can also be found in archaeological relics of “Finno-Ugric language”, for instance in the bronze artefacts from Perm dating from the period before the 10th century AD. On one of these can be seen the swallow from the Mari song, with the *siippa* clearly depicted on its wings:



Picture 1.
Depiction of a person's wing on a Perm bronze casting.
(drawing by Gábor Lükő)²⁹

A few more depictions of the *siippa* on other Perm bronze artefacts:

Picture 2
Oborin Chagin 1988. p. 61.



²⁹Lükő 1998. p. 92. The bronze casting is kept in Tobolsk museum, and was first reported by A. Heikel 1894 XIV/1, then later by Chernetsov 1971, p. 78. 52/5.



Picture 3.
Oborin-Chagin 1988. p. 63.



Picture 4.
Oborin-Chagin 1988. p. 105.



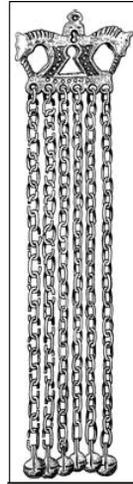
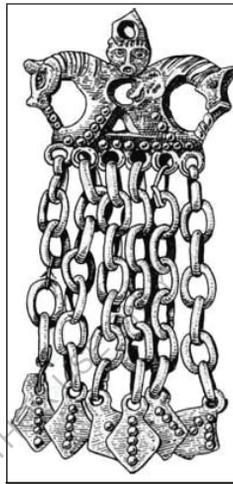
Picture 5.
Oborin-Chagin 1988. p. 138.

Other examples of ethnographic, literary and fine art data on this Finno-Ugric symbol can be found in Gábor Lükó's study entitled "My wing" (1998).

The Perm artefacts also "speak" in another way of how they are the relics of the culture of some Finno-Ugric people. On these objects, evidencing a high degree of culture, conceived with great taste, and otherwise referencing mythological scenes, depictions of heads are found on the shoulders and hands (!) of the various animal and human figures.³⁰ Examples of this include picture 5, but also see later.



Picture 6.
Oborin-Chagin 1988. p. 64



Pictures 7-8. Sedov 1987. tab. XX. p.
268 pic. 21, tab I, p.299 pic. 8

³⁰Gábor Lükó on this (1995): We can learn about tableaux 2 and 3 from the exhibition "Millennia of Hungarian art". Organisers of the 1995 Finno-Ugric congress in Jyväskylä would have like to display the exhibition, but then all of a sudden, they gave up organising the exhibition, abandoning all the preparations. Something similar happened in Vienna a few years later, where young Finno-Ugric scholars would have started translating the texts for the tableaux into German, but under threats from the tutors in the Hungarian institute there, they left off preparations and sent the tableaux back to Budapest. (See 1.2). Up till now, places the exhibition has been displayed include Pécs, Bratislava and Budapest.

In the latter images, horse's heads can be seen in place of the hands of the human figure. As can be seen in Lennart Meri's scientific educational films on the peoples of Siberia,³¹ up till the present day there are heads made of metal on the shoulders of some of the shamans of Siberia:

Pictures 9-10.

Demnime son of Dühöd (b. 1914), shaman of the Mansi Nantuszo tribe, speaks of the Way of armies³². Demnime begins to cast spells.³³

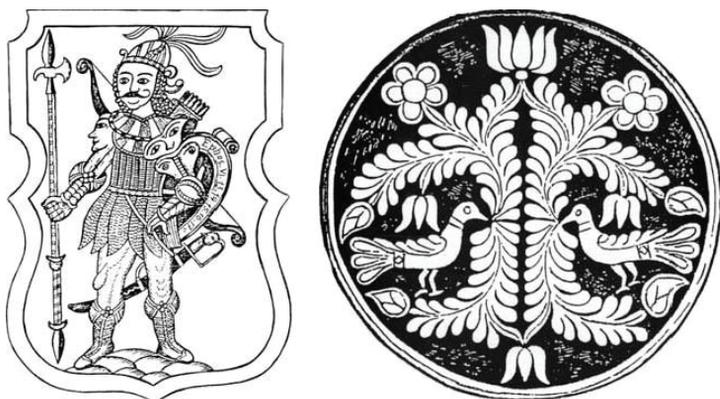


³¹Meri 1986

³²man: ngohüto

³³Meri 1981. p. 15.

Expressions of this image may also be found in Hungarian graphic art:



Pictures 11-12. A soldier on the Kiskunság coat-of-arms from the 1500s,³⁴ as well as a female figure with her two daughters, with flower heads on her shoulders (back of mirror, Hungarian peasant work) (both pictures drawn by Lükö³⁵)

So far and wide in the Finno-Ugric cultures there was a prevalent image that our members and other body parts have heads, and there are also linguistic expressions of this. (With other peoples, for example Indo-Europeans, “peak” or “point” is found in this same place.). A few examples of this are shown here just from the two extreme Finno-Ugric languages and from Mari (Cheremis)³⁶:

<i>hu.</i>	<i>mar.</i>	<i>fi.</i>
kezem feje	–	kämmen pää (ni) (arm-head)
váll fő m	–	olkap pää (ni) (shoulder-head)
könyök fő m	kynyerv uj	kyynär pää (ni) (elbow-head)
lábam feje	–	– (leg-head = foot)
–	–	kantap pää (ni) (my heel)
–	pul vuj	polven pää (ni), (kneecap)
–	parnyav uj	sormen pää (ni) etc. (finger-head)

³⁴Drawing by Lükö 1995. tableaux 2–3.

³⁵Lükö 1998. p. 55.

³⁶Mari examples according to today’s pronunciation.

In the following picture, a wall painting from a mediaeval church in central Sweden is shown, which has been somewhat worn away by time. Likewise in this are to be found the “heads” of our elbows and shoulders. The picture may remind us of Hieronymus Bosch’s paintings, who likewise painted the loathsome nature of devils and hell with great “devotion”. On those, however, we would look for “shoulder-heads” in vain, they would never have occurred to him. For this the painter would presumably have had to have met Lapp shamans with heads on their shoulders and elbows, and to have considered the paganism of these as similar to the horrors of hell.

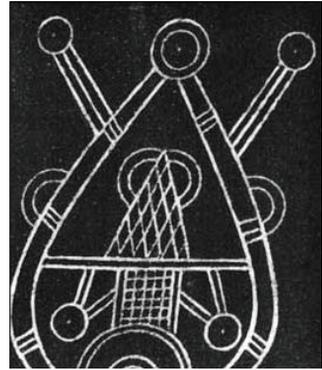


Picture 13. Devils with shoulder- and elbow heads, with heads in their knees in the portals of hell, in a wall painting in a Swedish church³⁷

³⁷Ling 1980

But evidence of Siberian connections for the Hungarians which is perhaps even more interesting than all these examples, is that on the (X-ray) “protective” pictures of mother and baby carved into their wooden chests church³⁸ by the Hungarians of the Great Plain, the ribs of the pregnant woman are depicted the same way (in 2x3x3 division) as on the Siberian shaman’s drums depicting stags, at a distance of 5-6 thousand years.

Picture 14/a.
“X-ray” picture of woman in labour on a
cupboard from Doboz. (drawing by Gábor
Lükő)³⁹



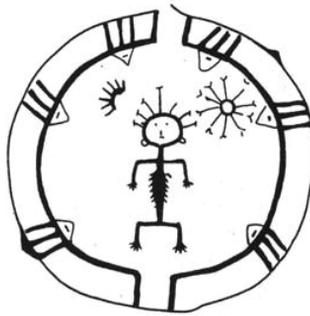
Picture 14/b.
Similar depiction on a Szentcsupboard. (drawn by Gábor Lükő)^{40 41}

³⁸Szuszek chest: a kind of cupboard, in which a lassie would collect her trousseau from early childhood onwards. These are objects preserving the relics of the most ancient period of the Hungarians as equestrian wanderers. They were made of wood, and they could be dismantled into boards and tied on the back of a horse. Up till the end of the 19th century, “protective” pictures of mother and baby were drawn on the chests, the purpose of which was to preserve the lives of mother and child. X-ray type pictures of the pregnant mother were very often depicted on them. (Based on Gábor Lükő’s studies)

³⁹Lükő 1991. p. 17.

⁴⁰Lükő 1991. p 28. (Kiskun Museum.)

⁴¹ Additional examples of Hungarian wooden chests are shown in annex no. 1.



Picture 15. Two shaman drums^{42 43}

The above examples are perhaps sufficient to prove that the speakers of the Uralic languages are not only related linguistically, but, to a certain extent, also in their cultures.⁴⁴

Finno-Ugric research in our day, including homeland research, has been revolutionised by the results of DNA studies. Following the birth of DNA research, further studies can no longer be restricted merely to **linguistics**, but must be extended, beyond **archaeology** and **comparative cultural studies**, also to the results from **genetics** which affect Finno-Ugric studies, and in such a way that the results from these professional disciplines should be compatible with one another. And even that is not enough. In order to determine the affiliation of a people, its own **awareness of identity** must be taken into consideration.

The first steps towards this new complex approach have been taken by Finnish researcher Kalevi Wiik.⁴⁵ According to Wiik, we need to shake off to a full extent that strongly ingrained view, brought over from the last century, that a people is defined by its linguistic, cultural and anthropological uniformity. (For example, the Finnish people by its Finnish language, anthropological features characteristic only of the Finnish people, and the culture typical of the Finnish people.) We now know, for instance, that the peoples living on the geographically highly extensive territory of the so-called Pit-Comb Ware Culture did not speak one type of language, and they were

⁴² Tokarev 1988 (1980–82) II, p. 575. The Siberian shamans regularly identify their drums with stags, thus we can regard the ribs here as the ribs of the mythical stag.

See Belotserkovskaya, I.– Tukhtina, H. *Drevnosti prikamya*. (The Antiquities of the Kama River Region.) Moscow. (The State History Museum, Moscow)

⁴³ Additional examples: Kosarev 2003. p. 253.

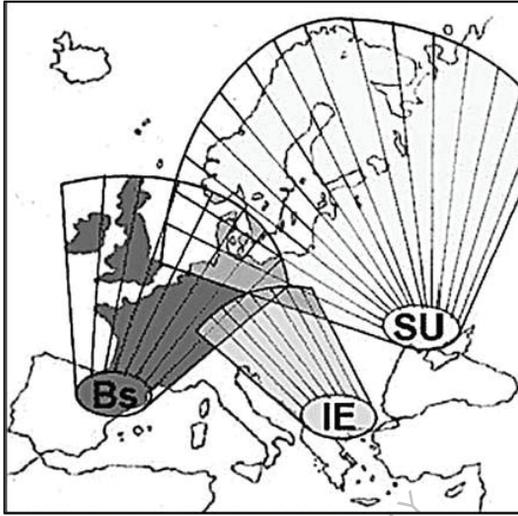
⁴⁴ On the kinship of the mythology, graphic art and musical culture of the Finno-Ugric or Uralic peoples, as well as other conformities: Lükö 1982, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1999, 2001, 2002, 2003/a–b.

⁴⁵ Wiik 2002/a

also genetically diverse. Or: the Swedes and the Finns can almost be regarded as one people genetically, but their languages are very distant, as they speak languages belonging to different linguistic families. In contrast, the linguistic relationship between the Lapp and Finnish languages is easy to demonstrate, but even so, they are very-very distant from one another genetically. Latvians are closer to Finns than than Estonians are) genetically, but Finns can understand something of Estonian speech, quite a lot in fact, but practically nothing of Latvian. On the territory of the Roman Empire, the peoples who spoke one language, Latin, were likewise distant from one another as regards their cultures and genetic features.

The Székelys and the Hungarians of the Great Plain constitute one people in their language and identity, even though their genetic features differ. On the basis of these and similar examples, Wiik thinks that on theoretical grounds the ancient homeland theories are untenable: we cannot think that peoples who were uniform in their language, culture and genetics could have existed in the periods before written history. But with the homeland theories, the clear Lapp-Finn genetic differences in contrast to the likewise clear Lapp-Finn linguistic relationship cannot be explained.

Wiik, therefore, does not take the ancient homeland theories as a starting point. According to his assumptions, sometime around 20 000 years ago there were many types of ethnic groups living in Europe. Each one of these had their own language, but besides these there existed two or three languages, which the people of that time used when dealing with each other, in a similar way to Latin in the Roman Empire or English in our modern world, as a means of communication between nations, or rather between ethnic groups. According to Kalevi Wiik's idea, three such "international" languages may have existed in Europe: 1. Basque, spreading northwards from the Iberian peninsula during milder periods of the ice age, 2. the Finno-Ugric language likewise spreading in a northerly direction from the territory of modern Ukraine and 3. the Indo-European languages, which, if they were already present in Europe in this period, could have spread from the direction of the Balkans towards the interior of Europe.



BS = Basque, IE = Indo-European, SU = Finno-Ugric. Wiik, 2002

According to Wiik, therefore, the Finno-Ugric language could have been in use between nations at one time, which, after the individual ethnic groups had forgotten their own original languages, became current for these peoples. Vestiges of the languages forgotten in this way were preserved by a few peculiarities of these which passed over into the “new Finno-Ugric language”. Later on this Finno-Ugric language separated into various languages and dialects, and thus the Finno-Ugric languages known today emerged.⁴⁶ In this way it becomes explicable how it is possible that the Lapp and Finnish people, who are so distant from one another genetically, according to historical linguistic studies, at one time “spoke the same language”.

For our part, we have no desire to take a position on one or other of the various Finno-Ugric theories, because this has no particular significance as far as our work is concerned: both theories alike hold the linguistic kinship of the Finno-Ugric peoples to be a scientific fact, and neither excludes the cultural cohesion of these peoples. (...)

⁴⁶Application of Kalevi Wiik’s theory to Finno-Ugric music history: Leisiö 2002.

IV.

DIVERSE LINGUISTIC, MUSICAL THINKING AND IMAGE PERCEPTION STRATEGIES IN THE LIGHT OF COGNITIVE NEUROPSYCHOLOGY STUDIES

The most illustrious representatives of science (e.g. Wundt and Karácsony quoted above) came to realise in the period following the turn of the century that culture-dependent mentalities may exist which differ from one another. Intensive neuropsychological studies launched in the 1970s allow us to conclude that the (possible) existence of diverse thinking strategies may be confirmed by the field of brain research. According to these studies, most of which are based on the examination of patients who have suffered brain injuries or have undergone split-brain surgery, the two hemispheres of the brain process perceived materials with differing strategies. The right hemisphere specialises in synthetic tasks, perceives forms, grasps visual identities or differences, codes in images, thinks in concrete terms. The left hemisphere has analytical capabilities, perceives details, records the chronological order of events, works with abstract categories and a verbal code system, but is incapable of full-form synthesis.^{47 48} The left hemisphere stores verbal and the right non-verbal memories. Similar results were obtained by brain researchers investigating musical perception: “In the right hemisphere, the tunes made up of musical notes are perceived and identified not by way of analysis of the chronological order of the parts, but in the form of general melodic contour. The left hemisphere, registering the sequence of the notes, is also capable of subtle timing discrimination: it obtains recognition after analysis and combination of the musical elements. Musicians process the tune in a cognitive-associative way in the left hemisphere, whilst for those unschooled in music the musical experience as a unified form (Gestalt) is a perceptual-discriminative job for the right hemisphere”.⁴⁹ With respect to vision, the primary visual cortex (Brodmann area 17) is principally responsible for perceiving elemental forms and parts of images, whilst the secondary visual cortex (Brodmann 18) senses the relationship between parts and elements of images. The third, most complex field of vision (Brodmann 19) is then responsible for the emergence of the

⁴⁷Hajdú 1996. p. 188.

⁴⁸Levy 1974. Quoted by: Péter 1984. p. 159.

⁴⁹Péter 1984. p. 109.

composite picture.⁵⁰

From a culture theory point of view, the redundancy capacity of the hemispheres is extremely important, or the fact that if one of the hemispheres becomes inoperable, the other hemisphere can take over certain psychical functions.⁵¹ This enables, at least in principle, the various mentalities and thinking strategies in different cultures to differ from one other.

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⁵⁰ Szél 1999, p. 299.

⁵¹ Among others: Gazzaniga–Le Doux 1981

V.

FINNO-UGRIC “HALVES” BETWEEN EACH OTHER – THE COGNITIVE, EMOTIONAL AND VOLITIONAL ATTITUDE OF THE FINNO-UGRIC SOCIAL PSYCHE

In the following, we will examine what the attitude to each other of Finno-Ugric halves (people) is like in the cases of cognitive, emotional and volitional attunement. A person attuned to a cognitive attitude will try to make himself understood primarily by linguistic signals, in the case of emotional attitude, on the other hand, we make use of symbols, whilst attitude on the volitional plane results in social actions, it manifests itself in social actions.⁵² Following the usual order of the cognitive sciences, the order of discussion which follows first deals with the peculiarities typical of the Finno-Ugric peoples in terms of the linguistic (cognitive) (5.1), after that the volitional (5.2), then the emotional (5.3) attitude of people speaking some Finno-Ugric language. This order appears to be justified, because the expressions accumulated in the languages, the phenomena crystallised out in these over millennia, the analysis of these and the conclusions drawn from them about cognitive function may provide a reliable foundation for examining the other two levels (5.2–5.3).

Because from all the peoples who speak Finno-Ugric languages, as far as we know, so far only the mentality of the Hungarian people has been studied separately with scientific exactness, we will therefore proceed most frequently in the following by taking this first, and only then will we discuss the results and lessons of general Finno-Ugric linguistic studies.

V. 1. THE COGNITIVE (LINGUISTIC) ATTITUDE OF THE FINNO-UGRIC SOCIAL PSYCHE AND THE FORMS IN WHICH THIS IS MANIFESTED

V. 1. 1. On the peculiarities of Hungarian and Finno-Ugric linguistic thinking in general

In their studies carried out in the middle of the last century, (1) Sándor Karácsony comparing the Hungarian and German languages, (2) Hungarian, Finnish and Estonian

⁵²in more detail in the following points

scholars of Finno-Ugristics, as well as those from other countries, comparing the Finno-Ugric languages with each other and with languages from other linguistic families, reached results which were completely concurrent in very many respects, indeed, sometimes almost word for word identical. On the basis of his research work in linguistic philosophy and educational experiments lasting several decades⁵³, Karácsony determined the following on the Hungarian language, the Hungarian mindset, and the nature of these:

1. coordinating (paratactic),
2. concrete, illustrating by unfolding, therefore
3. chiefly correlating in its categories,
4. primitive in its form,
5. but objective in its content.^{54 55}

Finno-Ugric scholars see the common peculiarities of the Finno-Ugric languages which differ from other ethnic groups, in that the Finno-Ugric languages:

1. are “more coordinating” as to their nature,
2. are more synthetic than analytic, and
3. have a three directional nature.⁵⁶

Somewhat later, in the second half of the century, likewise independently of the above researchers, and furthermore from a completely different starting point, Strømnes and his research group also reach similar conclusions: the most important distinctive of the Finno-Ugric languages is correlation: “In order to explore the role played in spatial representation by the prepositions of the Swedish language and the case endings of the Finnish language, we carried out laboratory experiments with the aid of animated films demonstrating the meanings of these, the results of which were tested on experimental subjects. The case endings and the prepositions arrange the world in completely different ways. The case system of the Finnish language depicts simple topological relationships, but the preposition system of the Swedish language shows simple vector-geometric proportions. And these differ from one another (...),

⁵³Karácsony was prompted to study the Hungarian mentality primarily by educational problems. His problem, like that of Zoltán Kodály and Béla Bartók with respect to musical training, was that the children with a Hungarian (peasant) mindset could (did) in no way get ahead in the schools organised on the German pattern with textbooks teeming with literal translations from German. It almost seemed that their intellectual ability did not measure up to that of their schoolmates with a family background of German erudition, and that “Hungarian children are not fit for an engineer’s career”. But this would have contradicted modern scientific determinations dealing with human cultures.

⁵⁴Karácsony 1985 (1939), p. 242–330.

⁵⁵Cf. Wundt 37. footnote

⁵⁶In more detail: Hajdú 1989. (1966) p. 83; 1981. p. 166–169.

with regard to movement, use of space and perception of time. The preposition system stresses continuous movement, whilst in the case ending system the movement is split up into parts. (...) The differences in meaning between the prepositions result from the distinctions in movement, whilst in the case ending system, the meanings come from the various correlations existing between the forms.”⁵⁷

The findings, therefore, in some places literally, point in one direction. We can add to all this, that in his studies of folk music, surprisingly enough even Zoltán Kodály came to the conclusion that the melody structure of Hungarian folk songs is typified by parallelism of a coordinating nature.”⁵⁸

According to Sándor Karácsony, the peculiarities of the Hungarian language and mentality can all be traced back to a coordinating way of thinking. In his great work entitled “The Hungarian mindset”, speaking of the essence of the Hungarian language, he writes: “If just for the blink of an eye we could forget everything that Indo-Germanic philology has taught us, and we could unbiasedly take note of the facts of the Hungarian language, as they reveal themselves (on their own), knowing nothing of grammatical terminology, system and definitions,⁵⁹ the language itself would exhibit its own internal laws as a fruit of its productive principle. Well, the power grid which would thus reveal itself would be coordinating.” And he explains his thesis thus: “If we were to reduce every phenomenon to a common law, that law would sound thus, that the grammar of the Hungarian language does not aim at collecting conceptual features into a single concept, but it always denotes two concepts, or one concept and a relationship, or two relationships in comparison with one another.” “Subordination therefore always abstracts, coordination illustrates in a language.”⁶⁰ “Every category of Hungarian grammar denotes by comparison.”⁶¹ What does this mean? It means ... that the speech of a Hungarian person starts from the concrete, this concrete being either a visible, palpable external image or a single undivided image garnered from experience and stored in the imagination. The Hungarian person would break down this unified image into at least two parts, because the only way he could illustrate it to the other Hungarian person, was if he unfolded it in time, recounted the happening and

⁵⁷ Salminen–Johansson–Hiltunen–Strømnes 1996. p. 127.

⁵⁸ Kodály 1937. p. 37.

⁵⁹ Karácsony’s phrasing here points to the fact that the great problem for the science of hungarology, and we could add for the philosophical sciences concerned with the Finno-Ugric peoples, is how to escape from the patterns taken from the humanities of foreign peoples (primarily Indo-Germanic). The difficulties, as referred to by Karácsony and Lükő in many of their works, result from the fact that the intellectual elite of these (minority) peoples often “come from abroad” (Endre Ady), or have a foreign approach. Finnish researchers are also aware of the problem. Here it is perhaps sufficient to refer to the work of Finnish philologist Susanna Shore: “Suomessa on kauan vallinnut kieliopin traditio, jossa suomen kieltä tarkastellaan indoeurooppalaisten kielten rakennekuvausten pohjalta...” (“The tradition has long been dominant in Finland, that the Finnish language is approached on the basis of structural descriptions taken from Indo-European languages...”). Shore 1986. p. 9.

⁶⁰ Karácsony 1985 (1921–1938). p. 253.

⁶¹ Ibid. p. 256.

compared the parts for him, one relative to the other. This was good for fashioning the subject matter for the sake of the other person, but it was not suitable for having all that wordy speech come together in the end and make a single image similar to his. “Much spoken, little said.” So when speaking, the Hungarian person was driven and restricted from the beginning by these two tendencies:

comparing and unfolding – and gathering together. Breaking down the one into two, comparing the one with the other (coordinating), gathering one together compared with the other (subordinating), unifying the two into a single picture. [...] Therefore a series of sentences dissecting a single image in Hungarian is typified by a chain of thought, in which concrete idea a new element is linked to the old with the aid of some common part, and the individual sentences by the law of Hungarian word order [...], (according to which), in the case of relaxed communication [...], the sentence is begun first with an introduction, a known part, then the actual message, the new part follows, the emphasis falling on this, then the predicate of the sentence comes immediately afterwards [...] and (after this the) inevitable but inactive parts. (Psychological subject – psychological predicate – psychological adjunct.) The construction of the sentence itself took place using the fundamental procedure that I correlate and juxtapose everything which is new from the other person’s angle, but I draw it together and subordinate it immediately, as soon as I can (because it is now known to him). [...] the sentence pair, sentence form, predicate, clause are to be regarded as correlating forms, the subject, adjunct and word as subordinating.”⁶² According to Karácsony, all this is in contrast to the usual method of shaping thoughts in the Indo-Germanic,⁶³ subordinating languages. And all this does not simply mean that in the Hungarian language the coordinating type word and sentence structures have a higher statistical frequency, whilst in the Indo-Germanic languages the subordinating types do, but, and he verifies this with expressive text examples in his book, that in Indo-Germanic thinking the final goal of understanding is the unification of all the elements into one paramount concept, whilst in Hungarian “subordination is (just) one stage in understanding, but not” the terminal point. In Hungarian “I have the right to subordinate, but then it is at the same time my obligation to subordinate, if I have already made the two elements and the relationship between them known (or I may assume they are known) in juxtaposition”. “[...] the basic roots of our language feed not on abstract thinking, but on a concrete approach”⁶⁴ – writes Sándor Karácsony. And expressiveness follows from a need for comparison.

In the following, by running through the phonetics, morphology, ideation and syntax of the Hungarian and Finno-Ugric languages (of the latter, chiefly the Finnish language), we should like to examine whether Karácsony’s thoughts may be extended to the mentality of the Finno-Ugric ethnic groups.

⁶²Ibid. p. 267–268.

⁶³ In Karácsony’s day the expression Indo-Germanic was used rather than Indo-European.

⁶⁴Ibid. p. 272.

V. 1. 2. The mentality of the Finno-Ugric peoples relative to a concrete speech situation, and the reflection of this in the morphology and phonetics of their language – speaking partners and the three directional nature of the Finno-Ugric languages

According to Karácsony, in the Hungarian language, sentences are not just correlated to each other (see later), but cryptically also to a third sentence, to the concrete fact that “I am talking to you *here* and *now*”. Finno-Ugric philologists came to essentially the same conclusion when studying the Uralic languages, having determined that one of their typical peculiarities, in contrast to the languages of other ethnic groups, and they were thinking primarily of the Indo-Germanic peoples of Europe here, is a three directional nature. They claim that the speaker (first person singular) says what he has to say relative to the place and time of the speech, as well as (and this is part of Karácsony’s findings) to the partner who is listening to him. In this way, at the same time as his speech, at that moment, the speaker is SOMEWHERE, i.e. there where he is speaking to him (those) listening to him, but he arrived there prior to his speech FROM SOMEWHERE, and after the conversation he will go TO SOMEWHERE from there. This strong requirement of the linguistic thinking, thus to correlate with the speech situation and the listener, has resulted in case and verb ending systems which are highly developed in the majority of the Finno-Ugric languages, and frequently completely “seamless” , in many cases marking the place and time correlations in an analogous way for precisely these reasons.

We now demonstrate this just with examples taken from the two most distant Finno-Ugric languages:

Correlation with the place and time of speech, and the “state of development” of this in the Hungarian and Finnish languages:

(én most) és (itt) éppen (neked) beszélek

[I am talking (to you) (here) and (now)]

VALAHONNAN	VALAHOL	VALAHOVA
[FROM SOMEWHERE	SOMEWHERE	TO SOMEWHERE] ⁶⁵

jöttem

vagyok

menni fogok

[I came

I am

I will go]

én (E. 1.) itt és most

neked (E. 2.) beszélek

róla (E.3.), aki most nincs itt
(köztünk)

[I (1st S.) here and now

to you (2nd S.) I am speaking

about him (3rd S.) who is not here now
(among us)]

⁶⁵Cf. older English whence, where, whither – translator’s note.

	HELY		
hu.	Általános hely:		
	HONNAN?	HOL?	HOVA?
		PLACE	
		[General place:	
	FROM WHERE?	WHERE?	TO WHERE?]

Konkrét hely:

	MIRÓL?	MIN?	MIRE?
	vízről	vízen	vízre
	MIBŐL?	MIBEN?	MIBE?
	vízből	vízben	vízbe
	MITŐL?	MINÉL?	MIHEZ?
	víztől	víznél	vízhez
	[Concrete place:		
	FROM WHAT?	ON WHAT?	ONTO WHAT?
	from off water	on water	onto water
	OUT OF WHAT?	IN WHAT?	INTO WHAT?
	out of water	in water	into water
	FROM WHAT?	BY WHAT?	TOWARDS WHAT?
	from by water	by water	towards water]

fi.	General place:		
	MISTÄ?	MISSÄ?	MIHIN?
	Concrete place:		
	MILTÄ?	MILLÄ?	MILLE?
	vedeltä	vedellä	vedelle
	MISTÄ?	MISSÄ?	MIHIN?
	vedestä	vedessä	veteen MINKÄ
LUOTA?	MINKÄ LUONA? MINKÄ LUOKSE?		
	veden luota	veden luona	veden luokse

IDŐ:

én (E. 1.) itt és most
neked (E. 2.) beszélek

[TIME:

I (1st S.) here and now
am talking to you (2nd S.)]

hu.

METTŐL/MIKORTÓL? MIKOR? MEDDIG?
[FROM WHEN? WHEN? TILL WHEN?]

fi.

MISTÄ LÄHTIEN? MILLOIN? MIHIN ASTI/MENNESSÄ

The rest of the cases in the Finnish and Hungarian languages, as well as the postpositions, also fit into this system (which proves to be almost complete). We could also present these from the rest of the Finno-Ugric languages in similar tables, but we will dispense with that for now. We note, however, that there are also exceptions. For instance, the case system of the Mansi (Vogul) language is not so “developed”. But there, the wealthy system of postpositions performs the same duty as the case system in the other Finno-Ugric languages. For his reason, according to certain researchers the Finno-Ugric grammars should discuss the postpositions as part of the case system.⁶⁶

The Finnish and Hungarian verb tense systems also conform to the three directional nature presented above, which were elaborated by the requirement of Finno-Ugric linguistic thinking for me to relate the events in what I have to say in comparison to and correlated with whether “I am talking to you here and now”: that which happens in my message, is prior to, concurrent with or subsequent to this.

azt megelőzően, hogy én itt és most neked ezt követően beszélek

m. voltam	vagyok	leszek/majd vagyok
fi. olin	olen	tulen olemaan/ olen sitten

⁶⁶ F. Mészáros 1982

[prior to my being here and now⁶⁷ talking to you, after that
I was I am I will be]

Besides correlating the events happening in the speaker's message to the time the speech is heard, the Finnish and Hungarian verb forms also express precisely whether, in relation to the speaker, the message is about the one who is speaking, or about the one he is speaking to, or about a third person outside the speech situation. (Concurrently with the speech: I am doing it, who here and now is talking to you; You are doing it, who here and now I am speaking to; He/it is doing it, who here and now, while I am talking to you, is not amongst us.) Also showing the time of the speech in tabular form:

	hu.	
1 st S. te-tt-em	tesz-em	tenni fog-om
2 nd S. te-tt-ed	tesz-ed	tenni fog-od
3 rd S. te-tt-e	tesz-i	tenni fog-ja
1 st P. te-tt-ük	tesz-szük	tenni fog-juk
2 nd P. te-tt-étek	tesz-itek	tenni fog-játok
3 rd P. te-tt-ék	tesz-ik	tenni fog-ják
	fi. ⁶⁸	
1 st S. te-i-n (tehtiin)	tee-n (tehdään)	tule-n tekemään (tullaan tekemään)
2 nd S. te-i-t	tee-t	tule-t tekemään
3 rd S. tek-i (tehtiin)	teke-e (tehdään)	tule-e tekemään (tullaan t.)
1 st P. te-i-mme (tehtiin)	tee-mme (tehdään)	tule-mme tekemään (tullaan t.)
2 nd P. te-i-tte	tee-tte	tule-tte tekemään
3 rd P. tek-i-vät (tehtiin)	teke-vät (tehdään)	tule-vat tekemään (tullaan t.)
[I did it	I am doing it	I will do it – etc.]

⁶⁷We also note that in most Finno-Ugric languages the sign of the present tense is also found or can be demonstrated: Bereczki 2003. p. 55. See below.

⁶⁸The bracketed forms show the impersonal variants which have recently become prevalent, and which are no longer able to correlate with respect to the characters in the speech situation.

On the subject of correlation with the time of the speech, we should also note that in several Finno-Ugric languages, for instance in Finnish and Estonian, there exists a pluperfect tense,⁶⁹ which is understood as referring to a speech situation which happened/took place earlier in relation to our present speech situation. On the other hand, most of the Finno-Ugric languages, as can be seen from our present examples, express the future tense in an analytical way, using compound forms, but in most Finno-Ugric languages the sign of the future tense or a relic of it can also be found.⁷⁰

Although not closely relevant to our subject, it can provide us with interesting lessons, that the Finnish language is becoming increasingly deficient with regard to the correlation between conversing partners. In our view, there is an earlier cause of this and one which may be traced to modern times. The earlier cause can be traced to the proto-Germanic and Baltic linguistic influence on the Finnish language, which influence, incidentally, is even more powerful in the Estonian language which is quite close to Finnish, and the present cause to the generally observed phenomenon of depersonalisation and isolation in the relationships between people in modern Finnish life. In modern Finnish speech the impersonal or passive voice forms (see the bracketed forms in the above table) are occurring ever more frequently, for instance, instead of the first and third person singular and plural, as well as the first person plural in the imperative mood – “sparing” the speaker from declaring or pronouncing that something should be alleged about someone in correlation with the partners in a concrete speech situation. (The official description of the Finnish language, “based on Indo-European linguistic patterns” according to Susanna Shore, calls these passive verbal forms. In our opinion it is more correct to speak of impersonal verbal forms.⁷¹) On the other hand, in contrast to the depersonalisation of the Finnish language, and the incursion of impersonal or indefinite verb forms, there are still some Finno-Ugric languages, and this type can rightly be regarded as ancient, for which their (really) passive forms have not lost their ability to correlate with the speech situation.

The passive conjugation system of the Sosva Mansi word *toti* meaning ‘bring’ (fi. ‘*tuoda*’):^{72 73}

Present tense:

1 st S. totawe-m	1 st D. totawe-men	1 st P. totawe-w
2 nd S. totawe-n	2 nd D. totawe-n	2 nd P. totawe-n
3 rd S. totawe	3 rd D. totawe-g	3 rd P. totawe-t

⁶⁹Pusztay 2000. p. 180.

⁷⁰Pusztay 2000. p. 74.

⁷¹ According to Shore, they are not so much impersonal, but rather indefinite verb forms: Shore 1986. p. 76-79.

⁷²Kálmán 1976. p. 42.

⁷³D. = dual number

Past tense:

1 st S. totwe-s-em	1 st D. totwe-s-amen	1 st P. totwe-s-uw
2 nd S. totwe-s-en	2 nd D. totwe-s-en	2 nd P. totwe-s-en
3 rd S. totwe-s	3 rd D. totwe-s-ig	3 rd P. totwe-s-et

Today's Hungarian and Finnish languages, which do not have a passive conjugation, can also express the same thing, but with the aid of an affix: e.g. hu. (dia.) *megveretem, megverődöm, megverődsz* etc. (approx. 'I am beaten, I am beaten, you are beaten'), fi. *tuudittaaudut* ('you are cradled, comforted'), *hän laittautuu* ('s/he is getting ready, freshening up'). Studying the desire to correlate in the nature of Hungarian linguistic thinking, Gábor Lükő determined that even the verb endings/verbal conjugation referring to the object in the Hungarian verb conjugation system relate the identity of the object to the conversing partners.⁷⁴:

the object referred to by the verb

the speaker himself (1st S.)

látom magamat, magunkat

látsz engemet, bennünket⁷⁵

lát-0 engemet, bennünket

látunk engemet

láttok engemet, bennünket

látnak engemet, bennünket

[I see myself, ourselves

me, us

s/he sees me, us

me

You (P) see me, us

me, us

the object referred to by the verb

the one spoken to (2nd S.)

látlak téged, benneteket

(**látod** magadat)

lát tégedet, benneteket

látunk tégedet, benneteket

(**látjátok** magatokat)

látnak tégedet, benneteket

I see you (S., P.), you see

(you see yourself (S.))

s/he sees you (S.), we see you (P.)

we see you (S., P.)

(You (P.) see yourselves), they see

they see you (S., P.)]

⁷⁴The table is somewhat simplified. More recently: Kubinyi 2005. p. 54.

⁷⁵On the accusative formed from the inessive case ending and on Hungarian philologists who only know the Hungarian language from outside, see: János Arany: Grammatica versben.

the object referred to by the verb is a third person (3rd S.) outside the speech situation

látom őt, őket

látod őt, őket

látja őt, őket

látjuk őt, őket

látjátok őt, őket

látják őt, őket

[I see him/her, them

you (S.) see him/her, them

s/he sees him/her, them

we see him/her, them

you (P.) see him/her, them

they see him/her, them]

Namely, the speaker of Hungarian can express with a single conjugated word, who or what the action is directed to in the speech situation as related to the conversing partners; in other words, relative to the speech situation factors, who or what the subject of the action is. Whether the one who is speaking now (see above example), sees the one(s) he is speaking to (2nd S. or 2nd P.): *látalak* (*I see you*); or a person outside the speech situation: *látom* (*ő/ke/t*) (3rd per. S. or P.).

Finno-Ugric participles are compressions of abstractions of parts of the flow of speech which are reckoned as already known. As these are predicative parts of an earlier, possibly only assumed sentence, they can also express the concurrence, precedence or subsequence related to the speech situations, in the same way as the predicative parts reckoned as primary:

I am talking to you here and now

before this

at the same time

after this

hu. olvasott (ember)

olvasó (ember)

olvasandó (könyv)

[read (person)

reading (person)

to be read (book)]

fi. lukeⁿut (ihminen) lukeva (ihminen)

luettava (kirja)

These participles, and verbal nouns in general (infinitives in our example below) are also correlated to the conversing partners in the majority of Finno-Ugric languages:

hu. olvas- n-om	fi. luke- akseni
olvas- n-od	luke- akse-si
olvas- ni-a	luke- akse-en
olvas- n-unk	luke- akse-mme
olvas- n-otok	luke- akse-nne
olvas- ni-uk	luke- akse-en

[approx. my action/process of reading, you reading, etc.]

The person speaking a Finno-Ugric language also has a predilection for defining other parts of sentences in his speech by correlating these to the conversation partners involved in the concrete speech situation. And in these languages, this has resulted in the establishment of a system of personal endings for nouns, analogous to verbal conjugation:

hu. hal- am	fi. kala- ni	mari. kol- em
hal- ad	kala- si	kol- et
hal- a	(hänen) kala- nsa	kol- so
hal- unk	kala- mme	kol- na
hal- atok	kala- nne	kol- ta
hal- uk	(heidän) kala- nsa	kol- est

[my fish, your fish, etc.]

Today's Hungarian and Finnish vernacular, however, in recent decades and also in our own days is making great strides towards linguistic forms which leave correlation unexpressed. Nowadays, the forms *anya – äiti, apa – isä* [mother, father] without personal suffixes are regarded as acceptable.

(We will get back to these.) In fact, it appears that in Finnish, the correlation between speaking partners expressed with the aid of personal endings on nouns will be lost in the near future. Although the uncorrelated forms still have a slight off-taste in today's Finnish linguistic awareness, these are already in the majority in everyday language usage. *Jalka leikattiin sairaalassa*. That is: 'I had an operation on my leg in the hospital.' But literally it is: 'They operated on the leg in the hospital', or even more precisely: 'The leg was operated on' – which in modern Hungarian, which still thinks in terms of correlation, would mean that on the operating table "a leg that was nobody's" (indeed: a leg not belonging to any kind of body) was operated on. The Finn of course understands perfectly from the context what and whose leg is in question, and "who are behind the impersonal verb" (the hospital doctors, therefore

third persons outside the speech situation), but it is no longer important for his mentality to correlate these facts of his message with the speech situation. *Jalka on kipeä* – says today’s Finn, if his leg hurts: ‘The leg is painful.’ And the hearer is sure to understand from the context whose leg it is. In this situation the Hungarian still says: *Fáj a lábam* (fi. ‘Särkee minun jalkani.’) [my leg hurts]. Namely, the leg of the person who is speaking. According to the older mentality, it was not only important to express the relationship of our body parts to ourselves, but also in connection with the people and objects around us, whether we are talking about our own property or not: *Eltörött a székem lába*, [the leg of my chair broke] it is not necessarily so that the chair belongs to me, after all, we are in a restaurant. *Nincs a számlámon több pénz* [there is no more money in my account]. Nowadays, Finns express the same thing in a form without the personal suffix: *Tilillä ei ole enää rahaa*. (literally: ‘On the account is no more money.’). In Finnish the forms with personal suffixes are being increasing displaced by structures with the word *oma* (‘own’), which is a quasi “compensation” for correlation: *oma vaimo* (‘own wife’), *oma tili* (‘own account’), *oma lapsi* (‘own child’), *omalla autolla* (‘with own car’), *omassa kylässä* (‘in own village’, meaning: in my village). *Oma vika se oli, kun se sattui käymään näin*. (Literally: ‘It was own fault, that this could have happened.’) *Se on oma asia*. (Literally: ‘That is own thing.’ meaning: ‘That is my business’.) In spite of all this, for the time being the nominal suffixes correlating with the speaking partners form a complete system in both the Finnish and Hungarian languages together with the grammatical signs of the three-directional relationship to the speech location:

	MIBŐL?	MIBEN?	MIBE?
hu.	kez- em-ből	kez- em-ben	kez- em-be
	kez- ed-ből	kez- ed-ben	kez- ed-be
	kez- é-ből	kez- é-ben	kez- é-be stb.
	MISTÄ?	MISSÄ?	MIHIN?
fi.	käde- stä-ni	käde- ssä-ni	käte- e-ni
	käde- stä-si	käde- ssä-si	käte- e-si
	käde- stä-än	käde- ssä-än	käte- e-nsä stb
	[OUT OF WHAT?	IN WHAT?	INTO WHAT?
	out of my hand	in my hand	into my hand
	out of your hand	in your hand	into your hand
	out of his/her hand	in his/her hand	into his/her hand, etc.]

We note that in several Finno-Ugric languages these suffixes can also be added to adjectives and interrogative pronouns: fi. *nuoremis- tamme* ('about our younger (ones)'), hu. *mimre, midre, mijére* etc. [for my what, for your what, for his what, etc. meaning: for what thing of mine? etc.]

Besides the above, the person speaking a Finno-Ugric language also correlates the location of the events in his message to the scene of the given speech situation using the vowel harmony system of the demonstrative pronouns. If the events of the narrative happened, are happening or will happen there where the speaker is talking to his listener, then the demonstrative pronouns appear in their thin vowel form, if in a place far away from there, then in their thick form:⁷⁶

**AHONNAN jöttem én (E. 1.) itt és most AHOVA menni fogok
neked (E. 2.) beszélek**

AZ TUO EZ TÄMÄ AZ TUO

hu. ott	fi. tuolla	h. itt	fi. täällä	h. ott	fi. tuolla
arra	tuonne	erre	tänne	arra	tuonne
arról	tuolta	erről	tältä	arról	tuolta
abba	tuohon	ebbe	tähän	abban	tuohon
abban	tuossa	ebben	tässä	abban	tuossa
abból	tuosta	ebből	tästä	abból	tuosta
oda	tuonne	ide	tähän	abba	tuohon
etc.					

[WHERE FROM came I (1st S.) here and now TO WHERE I will go

I am talking **to you** (2nd S.)

THAT

THIS

THAT

there	here	there
to that	to this	to that
from that	from this	from that
into that	into this	into that
in that	in this	in that
out of that	out of this	out of that
to there	to here	into that
etc.]		

Temporal correlation of the speech events and the speech situation:

⁷⁶Those interested can read about the phonetic terminology of Finno-Ugric languages in the following papers: Döbrentei, 1832. p. 7, Tyeplov 1960. p. 80, in detail: Lükö 2002. (1970) p. 47-103, Kádár 1995. p. 40-41.

akkor tuolloin ekkor tällöin akkor tuolloin etc.
 [then now then etc.]

We also encounter traces of this kind of differentiation in other languages:

ger,	hier	dort
fr.	ici	là
rus.	здесь	там

but in such a direct and systemic way, only in the Finno-Ugric languages. A Hungarian person who is far from his family thinks of his *otthon* (home-there), if he is *odahaza* (at home) when he is talking, then he says *ittthon* (home-here): “Where is your mother?” – “She isn’t at home (*idehaza*). She’s out.” – answers the Hungarian if he is standing inside the door.

We think it would be unnecessary to multiply the number of examples any further. We have brought sufficient data from the two most distant Finno-Ugric languages in order to demonstrate that their grammatical systems have developed into what they are under the influence of a mentality, for which mentality the requirement for correlation with the speech situation and the speaking partners is extremely strong – that the mentality of these languages, as Sándor Karácsony determined in the 40s for the Hungarian language, is concretising and correlating.

V. 1. 3. The mentality founded on a concrete approach and on correlation in ideation and the use of concepts

Sándor Karácsony compared the Hungarian language, Hungarian linguistic thinking as “seen from outside”, with German, and determined that whilst in this latter language the final goal of understanding is abstraction, “the unification of all the elements into an ultimate concept”,⁷⁷ the consequence of which is a preference for subordinating forms, the Hungarian language likes to formulate by setting out from an original outlook and correlating and juxtaposing its message. As a result of this, the Hungarian language is much more pictorial than the Indo-European languages. “The German meaning ... is abstract, the Hungarian picturesque”⁷⁸ – he writes, but immediately adds that this stipulation is not to be understood as exclusive; it is always a matter of tendencies.⁷⁹

According to Karácsony, the picturesque nature of words in the Hungarian language, and also in the other Finno-Ugric languages as we shall see below, is

⁷⁷Karácsony 1985. p. 272.

⁷⁸Karácsony 1985. p. 321.

⁷⁹To which on our own part we can also add, that the Hungarian language of Budapest in comparison with the other Hungarian dialects is the least disposed to be pictorial – so much so that we would not be surprised if many readers of this book who are only familiar with Budapest lingo were to doubt Karácsony’s findings.

manifested in three ways: in pictorial forms, in the concreteness of these and in comparison.

1) A favourite method in these languages is to correlate by recounting things experienced in the concrete approach. When a Hungarian person wants to say about someone that he is too proud, then he illustrates it with the throat or snood of a turkey (found on its neck) which is sometimes inflated (gége or góg), that is with a concrete image, and says that he is *gögös*. As does the Finn too: a person is *ylpeä* ('proud') if he walks with this head held high (*pää ylpäästi pystyssä*). In other words, the speakers of these languages easily find pictorial expressions from a wide variety of life situations which may be assigned to the thing which is to be represented, and it may happen that if the words found in this way are very "appropriate", then the expression becomes permanent and eventually "ends up in the dictionary" of the language. Of course, all this is also true of longer expressions. If someone exaggerates the truth, or adds too much to it, the Hungarian says of him: *Nem úgy reszket, ahogy fázik*. [approx: He's not shivering in the way he's freezing]. One of the most important secrets of successfulness in Hungarian literature is precisely this picturesqueness. The great popularity of Kálmán Mikszáth among Hungarian readers is no coincidence.⁸⁰ He speaks almost continuously in pictures, and even a Hungarian person whose language is not such an idiomatic, living Hungarian language still feels at home in this style: *Pénzen vett szerelemnek ecet az alja* [Love bought for money has vinegar at the bottom] – Mikszáth has his character say. Or: *A kígyó is megszűnik mozogni naplemente után* – [Even a snake stops moving after sunset] – says the hero of the Mikszáth narrative, when he wants to share his observation with us, that every wife will be in a more conciliatory mood towards evening. *Májusban kell cseresznyét enni, augusztusban szilvát, októberben szőlőt* [You have to eat cherries in May, plums in August and grapes in October] – when another character in his narrative wants to have his partners understand that even in the life of an adolescent girl, there is a right time for everything. Additional examples may be found in the Mari (Cheremis) folk song texts in our paper.

2) Another favourite method of creating words and concepts in the Uralic languages is to present the phenomena seen in reality by dividing them into two parts and comparing these with one another. Karácsony's pupil Gábor Lükő illuminated this procedure in a number of his studies by the Finnish word *maailma* ('world'). If I open my eyes, then I see the world (ger. *die Welt*), and Finnish expresses this with a coordinating combined word: *maa* ('earth') + *ilma* ('sky', 'nothing'), that is by juxtaposing the tangible and the intangible world next to each other. (Namely, I cannot touch the latter with my hands, but I know of its existence. Cf. with the Ilmarinen of Finnish mythology, who is the god of the sky.⁸¹) Namely, I speak my concrete observation divided into two halves, with these juxtaposed with one another and unfolded for my listener. In the German language a daily paper can have the name *Die Welt* ('The world'), but not in Hungarian, because it is an abstraction. In

⁸⁰The Mikszáth quotations shown here are from the writer's narrative entitled *Sipsirica*.

⁸¹Furthermore, the meaning of the postposition *ilman*: 'without (something)'

Hungarian, however, there existed not so long ago a daily paper named *Ország – Világ* [Country-World].

In the vocabularies of the Finno-Ugric languages there are very many words which have arisen in this way:

hu. **hír/név** ‘news/name’ (i.e. renown), **szó/beszéd** ‘word/speech’ (i.e. rumour), **test/vér** ‘body/blood’ (i.e. sibling), **domb/ság** ‘hill/-ness’ (i.e. range of hills), **arc** (earlier: < orr+száj) ‘nose-mouth’ (i.e. face), **jött-/ment** ‘come-gone’ (i.e. riff-raff), **él/hal** ‘live-die’ for something (i.e. really love something), **fű/fa** ‘grass-tree’ (i.e.: everyone), **jár/kál** (< jár+kel) ‘walk/rise’ (i.e. stroll around), **tós/gyökeres** ‘of radix/root’ (i.e. dyed in the wool), **szántó/vető** ‘plougher/sower’ (i.e. ploughman), **hús-/vér** ‘flesh-blood’ (that is: authentic), **éjjel-/nappali** ‘of day-night’ (nonstop), **csont-/bőr** ‘bone-skin’ (i.e. skinny);

fi. **maa/ilma** ‘earth-sky’ (i.e. world), **silmänä/korvana** ‘as eye-as ear’ (i.e. with great attention), **kyy/käärme** ‘snake/slitherer’ (snake);

es. **luu/liha** ‘bone/flesh’ (i.e. body), **ud/vennad** ‘sister/brother’ (siblings);

man. **uj/hul** ‘animal/fish’ (i.e. animal), **elum/holas** ‘living/dying’ (i.e. human being), **maa/wit** ‘earth/water’ (countryside, landscape), **lunt/vas** ‘goose/duck’ (water fowl), **agi/pig** ‘girl/boy’ (child);

udm. **sudini/serekjani** ‘play-laugh’ (i.e. have fun),

sil/pel ‘eye/ear’ (witness), **sil/vir** ‘flesh/blood’ (i.e. body) etc.

3) But, as we have already said previously, a good many of the words in these languages have a correlating content in and of themselves. For these languages, therefore the abstract *die Welt* does not exist, and even less so “*apa*” [father] (cf. ge. ‘der Vater’), “*anya*” [mother] (‘die Mutter’), “*húg*”, “*öcs*” vagy „*báty*” [younger sister, younger brother, older brother]⁸². A Hungarian with an unimpaired linguistic sense can hardly even utter one or other of these. According to this mentality, there is no mother who does not have a child, and for his mindset, it is this relationship (Feri anyja – Frank’s mother) which is important. But all this is not only true for the relationship between people: there is no key either, which does not belong to some lock (Lükő). A Hungarian child asks his mother for the chicken’s gizzard [zúj**ája**] and liver [má**ja**] from the Sunday soup too, and not just the “zúza” and the “máj”. (This later is likewise practically unutterable for a Hungarian person.) “Hand” does not exist in itself either, it is someone’s hand.

1 st S.	hu. kez- em	fi. káte- ni	hu. anyá- m	fi. emo- ni
2 nd S.	kez- ed	káte- si	anyá- d	emo- si
3 rd S.	kez- e	káte- nsä	any- ja	emo- nsa

⁸²The forms of these words without the personal suffixes have only appeared in recent times, quite clearly due to the linguistic influence of urban residents of German culture in Hungary.

1 st P.	kez- ünk	käte- mme	anyá- nk	emo- mme
2 nd P.	kez- etek	käte- nne	anyá- tok	emo- nne
3 rd P.	kez- ük	käte- nsä	any- juk	emo- nsa

[my hand, your hand, etc., my mother, your mother, etc.]

The constraint to correlate is so strong, that Hungarian speakers sometimes even correlate multiple times. A Hungarian man may say of his wife, if they already have children: az *anyjukom*: *any-juk* [**their** mother]: (meaning) the mother of my children, who is mine: *anyjuk-om* [**my**-their mother]. Similarly: *apjukom* [**my**-**their** father].

Even in the recent past, both the Finnish and Hungarian languages and their dialects were very rich in relative suffixes expressing family relationships, and these words were consistently only used in their inflected forms:⁸³*velloani* ‘my brother’, *tyttäreni* ‘my daughter’, in an Ingrian Finnish runo: „*poikueni, puolue- ni*”⁸⁴ ‘my little son, my little half’, *sissoini* ‘my sister’.

Speakers of the Finno-Ugric languages, however, have not yet arrived at their goal with this correlation using personal suffixes; they feel that the differences in age between them also need to be correlated in the naming of family members. Whilst in the Indo-European languages, for instance, only two concepts are used for marking the idea of *siblings*:

rus. *brat* ‘brother’, *sestra* ‘sister’,
ger. *der Bruder*, *die Schwester*,
eng. *brother*, *sister*

those speaking Finno-Ugric languages, apart from a few Baltic Finnish languages,⁸⁵ simply do not know words like these, in their language it is obligatory to correlate siblings also according to their ages. Here we demonstrate this from just three Finno-Ugric languages: Hungarian, Udmurt and Mari:

hu. <i>húg(om)</i>	ud. <i>suzer</i>	mar. <i>shüzhar</i>
hu. <i>nővér(em)</i>	ud. <i>apaj</i>	mar. <i>aka</i>
hu. <i>öcs(ém)</i>	ud. <i>vün</i>	mar. <i>soljo</i>
hu. <i>báty(ám)</i>	ud. <i>agaj</i>	mar. <i>iza</i>

[(my) younger sister, elder sister, younger brother, elder brother]

⁸³For the Ingrian Finnish examples: Asplund 1992

⁸⁴Asplund 1992. p. 24. Cf. from the lines of the relic of the Hungarian language dating from around 1195, the Funeral Oration: *látjátok feleim* [you see, my halves] (see below).

⁸⁵Nasibullin-Maksimov 1995, Vasilyev 2004 (1989)

The words shown here do not always and necessarily indicate only relationships within the family: when a Hungarian says *Gyula bátyám* [my elder brother/uncle Gyula], then it can also mean an acquaintance who is older than him, but who is not a relative.

It is interesting, that the peoples belonging to the Turkish language family who are surrounded by Finno-Ugric peoples also know this type of correlation, for example in the Tartar and Chuvash languages, or in Bashkir which is very close to Tartar: bashk. *hengle* ‘(his) younger sister’, *apaj* ‘(his) elder sister’, *kusti* ‘(his) younger brother’, *agaj* ‘(his) elder brother’.⁸⁶

Besides all this, Hungarian speakers could and can also express the social-societal relationships between each other: *uramöcsém* (“uram” = my lord, a man who in a higher rank compared with the speaker, but *öcsém* – therefore younger than the speaker); *nénémaszszony* (“néném” = woman who is older compared with the speaker and asszony = married woman).

A good few more recent germanisms in Finnish and Hungarian infringe this illustrative, correlating nature and way of seeing typical of these languages. The verb and object in an isolating type expression in Finnish such as “*hän ottaa kuvan siitä* (‘he takes a picture of that’; in Hungarian it would be *lefényképez valakit* ‘he photographs someone’)” are also abstract, and for Finno-Ugric people this is incomprehensible, uninterpretable, foreign to the Finno-Ugric linguistic approach.

Similar examples: *laittaa valot pois päältä* ‘He puts the light away from it’ (i.e. he turns off the lamp), *ajaa autoa* ‘he drives a car’ (in hu more like: he’s motoring, he’s driving), *tuletko kyytiin?* ‘will you come into the seat’ (will you get in our car?), *mennäänkö jatkolle?* ‘shall we go to the continuation?’ (shall we go on to another place to have fun?), *otan bussin* ‘I take a bus’ (I’ll go on the bus, I’ll get on a bus) *otan osaa* ‘I take a part’ (when offering my sympathy), *laittaa sanat jollekin* ‘he prepares a word /there/ to someone’ (sends a message, writes to someone) or the Hungarian *magához veszi a folyadékot* ‘He takes the liquid to himself’ (i.e. ‘he’s drinking’, ‘he drinks the beverage’). Perhaps for this very reason, these expressions are very frequently changed into verbal, synthetic forms when they come into Finno-Ugric languages: see hu *kocsikázik, autózik, buszozik, iszik, fényképez, megüzen* etc. [go for a drive, drive a car, go by bus, have a drink, take photographs, send a message: verbal forms of the nouns car, car, bus, -, photograph, message, respectively]. And thus, in this form they are easier to correlate with the other parts of the sentence. Finno-Ugric languages, therefore, “want to get rid of” abstract expression and concepts. Illustrating all this with an example similar to the above and likewise taken from the media (see above): in German a magazine could have the name: *Die Zeit* ‘The time’, but not in Hungarian, because for this language, uncorrelated, abstract time does not exist. What is possible in Hungarian would be: *Mi időnk* (Our time), *Manapság* (Nowadays) or *Napjaink(ban)* ((In) our days), perhaps even *Modern Idők* (Modern times).⁸⁷

⁸⁶Ibid. and Khisamitdyinova-Muratova 2006, Yunaleyeva 1999

⁸⁷For example, the name of a news programme on Hungarian Radio: *Déli krónika* [Midday

V. 1. 4. Correlation in word sequences, sentence formation, between sentences and phrases

As we have seen in the above, with regard to their content, the Finno-Ugric languages like to speak in pictures, pictorially, in concrete terms and with correlation. In the following, we review the linguistic-morphological options for textual composition typical of the Finno-Ugric languages.

According to researchers in the Uralic languages, these languages are distinguished from other linguistic families by the following syntactic peculiarities:

- 1) the nominal predicates, which are found in practically all Finno-Ugric languages,⁸⁸
- 2) in these languages the rectum comes before the regens,⁸⁹
- 3) the richness of correlation tools in these languages,⁹⁰
- 4) the coordinating compound sentences, which were recognised very early in these languages, in contrast to conjunctive subordination,⁹¹
- 5) the general preference for structures with verbal nouns, and in contrast to these the conjunctive subordinate clauses in these languages are without exception later developments,⁹²
- 6) the Finno-Ugric type lative and ablative case usage, which considers the origin and endpoint of a movement to be important.⁹³

According to Erdődi-Sz. Kispál, the nominal predicative sentence which occurs in almost every Uralic language is an ancient feature, which was original. For example: *Zsuzsika szép kislány* [Sue pretty girl]. In other words, according to the authors we cannot assume that sentences of this type contained the verb 'to be' at one time, but it has worn away by now. On the contrary, we must consider it a recent development in the western Finno-Ugric languages, due to Indo-European influence, if the verb 'to be' does appear in these structures. For example: fi. *Susanna on kaunis tyttö* 'Susanna is a pretty girl'. In the Hungarian language, only nominal predicates referring to the third person still stand without an auxiliary verb: *Ő az én barátom* [He my friend]. Or: *A kismadár éhes* [The little bird hungry]. In these cases, even today the language cannot tolerate the verb "is". In nominal predicates of the first and second person, however, the verb "to be" is almost always obligatory: *Te az én barátom vagy*. [You are my friend]. At the same time, certain fossilised structures and a series of literary examples indicate that this latter phenomenon is just a recent development in the Hungarian language; at one time the first and second person forms could also have been lacking

chronicle].

⁸⁸Erdődi-Sz. Kispál 1973. p. 47.

⁸⁹Erdődi-Sz. Kispál 1973. p. 55, Hajdú 1989. p. 81.

⁹⁰Hajdú 1989. p. 81.

⁹¹Hajdú 1981. p. 168, 1989. p. 82.

⁹²Hajdú 1989. p. 82, Bereczki 1977. p. 77, Erdődi-Sz. Kispál 1973. p. 58.

⁹³Bereczki 1977. p. 78, Hajdú 1981. p. 169.

the verb ‘to be’: e.g. the closing formula of Hungarian fairy tales: *Te az enyém, én a tied* [You mine, I yours]. Fossilised forms like this are also known from the Finnish language: *merellä silmät, metsällä korvat* ‘sea eyes, forest ears’. Evidence from the related languages also confirms that nominal predicates without the verb ‘to be’ existed in every person.⁹⁴

man. *man s`kha o`rinst* ‘we all of us relatives’ (understood: are)

kom. *te teeka* ‘you clever’

mar. *tiste wozduh jazo* ‘here the air good’

md. *ton loman* ‘you man’, *tin lomant* ‘you men’, *mon paro*

‘I good’, *mon kolmoce* ‘I third’, *sin kit?* ‘they who?’

In the Mordvin and Samoyedic languages, if the subject is missing, then the predicate can take personal suffixes: md. *loman-at* (‘man you’, i.e.: ‘you are a man’).

In the Indo-European languages (apart from a few examples in Russian which emerged due to the influence of the Finno-Ugric substratum), the verb ‘to be’ is obligatory without exception in these cases. The difference between Indo-European and Finno-Ugric thinking is presumably that for Indo-European thinking the expression of existence in the world and in time is of high priority: ger. *Du bist Soldat*, eng. *She is my friend*, whereas for Finno-Ugric thinking, in the example above that *A kis madár éhes* [the little bird hungry], all this is not essential. He is not interested in whether “the little bird” or “the hunger” exist as independent abstracts, but if it is a matter of a sentence, then he is only interested in, as Karácsony says, relative to others in the world who may be hungry, the hunger is not someone else’s, but the little bird’s; the hunger is not the schoolchild’s, but the little bird’s, and if it is a matter of a word sequence: *az éhes kismadár* [the hungry little bird] then relative to the many little birds we are talking about the hungry little bird, not the mottled one.⁹⁵ In the Finno-Ugric languages, in both cases this means that what we are talking about has ceased to exist in itself, that it only exists in correlation with something else or with other things. Whatever is tangible for Indo-Europeans because it exists (the verb ‘to be’ is needed for this), in these languages becomes intangible, or it only exists (with a germanism: has existence) in comparison with other existing things.

According to the majority of Finno-Ugristics scholars, the peculiarity typical of the Uralic languages by which in these languages the attributive is not made to agree with the noun it qualifies (only the Baltic Finnish languages are an exception to this, which can certainly be considered as due to Germanic influence), may be explained by the fixed word order (first the attributive, immediately followed by the qualified noun): hu. “a kifelé tipegő öregúrnak”, “fanyar mosolyt” (Mikszáth) (and not: “kifelé tipegőnek öregúrnak”, “fanyart mosolyt”). According to Karácsony, this is because the words, due to the correlating nature of their meanings, are capable of correlating in

⁹⁴We have quoted the examples in simplified transcription, for the originals: Erdődi – Sz. Kispál 1973. p. 4-51.

⁹⁵Karácsony 1985. p. 254.

their own strength.⁹⁶

The fact that the Uralic languages are very rich in morphological correlating tools has been presented above. However, the development of words for correlating between clauses is quite a late, new development in all of these languages. Evidence for this is that there are no conjunctions which can be regarded as common between these languages. It is typical of today's Finnish and Hungarian languages, that the conjugations between coordinating clauses are very frequently optional. According to Karácsony, this too, as well as the above case, can be explained by the fact that, "in the juxtaposed clauses, it is not the nature of the composition which has indicative power, but the meaning is provided by the contents of the phrases in comparison with one another."⁹⁷

Even today, some Finno-Ugric languages do not use subordinating complex sentences at all, whilst in others they occur, but only to a slight extent.

The most extensive usage is in the western Finno-Ugric languages, but in these cases we can be quite certain that the surrounding Indo-European languages have played a great role in their development. But even for these latter, what we determined in the above for the coordinating word combinations and the preference for them is still true (see what was said above about Hungarian *test+yér* or Finnish *maa+ilma*): if he can, the speaker illustrates what he has to say by unfolding it into sentence pairs:

*„Druzsba úr lábai a földbe gyökereztek – szeretett volna továbbmenni//
de nem lehetett, – mintha bémulás érte volna.//*

*Minden táncolt és – forgott vele/
nemcsak az egész udvar, – a künn álló népség, // de még a
szomszéd házak is (...)//*

*De azért mindent látott – mindent hallott,//
mintha meghatározóztak volna halló és látó érzékei// látta
sipsiricát is (...).*

*Zsuzsa beszaladt a lügért – Matusek Vince tekintete pedig végre mégis a
kapuját kezdte keresni. //*

*«Pukkadj meg, sárkány – hörgé –, elmegyek, // de
megkeserülöd.»*

*Kár, hogy éppen ebben a pillanatban ért a Pávához az ökörcsorda és – a
publikum //*

anélkül, hogy a végjelenetet látta volna.” (Mikszáth)

⁹⁶Karácsony 1985. p. 255.

⁹⁷Karácsony 1985. p. 255.

[Approximate meaning - “Mr. Druzsba’s feet were rooted to the ground – he would have like to go further// but it was impossible,- as if he had been paralysed.//

Everything was dancing – and spinning with him /
not only the whole courtyard – the crowd standing
outside,// but even the neighbouring houses too (...)//

But even so he heard everything – he saw everything,//
as if his senses of hearing and sight had been greatly multiplied // he
also saw a slip of a girl (...).

Zsuzsa ran inside for the lyc⁹⁸ – and Vince Matussek’s gaze finally began to seek for
the gate after all.⁹⁹//

«Much good may it do you, dragon – he croaked –, I’m
leaving,// but you will pay dearly.»

It’s a pity that just at that moment the herd of oxen and – the audience arrived at the
Peacock//
without having watched the final scene.”] (Mikszáth)¹⁰⁰

At the same time, the above quotation is a good example for illustrating that the
meaning content between the clauses in itself determines their relationship with one
another, so the conjunctions can be put in, but they can also be left out. Several of
today’s Finno-Ugric languages, such as Khanti and Udmurt, are almost completely
unaware of a subordinating relationship between clauses. (For this, two short sample
texts are shown in annex 2/a-b.) We can see even more primitive, more clarified forms
of unfolded-correlated illustration between complex clauses in the Finnish Kalevala
poetry or in Mansi folk poetry:

fi. *Surma hiihti suota myöten*, ‘Death slid over the fen,
Tauti talvitiellä myöten. Sickness in the snowy borderland’¹⁰¹

man. *elum-holes varne nyal kwonel mugultäln*,
elum-holes varne ulä kwonel mugultäln!

‘Give the trap prepared by man a wide berth,
give the elk fence prepared by man a wide berth!’¹⁰²

⁹⁸as she would have poured it on her master’s neck in anger (Gy. K.)

⁹⁹in order to escape (Gy. K.)

¹⁰⁰We note that the manner of speech presented here survives today more among provincial
Hungarians, but townspeople also feel this idiom is flavoursome and enjoyable.

¹⁰¹Kádár–Kellosalo–Kukkurainen 2000. p. 80.

¹⁰²Munkácsi 1893. p. 121.

Finno-Ugric professional circles consider the above examples to be parallelism, in the Finnish professional literature it is called “toisto” i.e. repetition, and it is held to be a mere poetic device. Based on the above, however, we can hardly be satisfied with that any more. This is not just a matter of simple repetition or parallelism, or a poetic procedure. In the light of the above findings, this phenomenon should most definitely be considered a consequence and operating principle of the Finno-Ugric mentality. And what Karácsony determined for the Hungarian language, also appears to be valid for the syntactical procedures used by the Finnish and Mansi languages: these languages love to illustrate observed reality by dividing it into parts and comparing these with one another, and even if we wanted to fight for the idea that this really is just a poetic trick, it still must be considered as resulting from this mentality:

*Pääskyläinen, päivän lintu,
päivän lintu yön lipakko,
lenteli kesäisen päivän,*

‘Swallow bird, bird of day,
bird of day, bird of night,
flew by day in the sky,

kevätpäivän keikutteli;

in springtime up in the sky;’¹⁰³

– as related by a Finnish runo singer of a bird which could not find a place to nest.

–

*Kuuntelin kunervikossa,
Katselin kanervikossa.*

‘There I listened in the bush,
I watched in the heather.’¹⁰⁴

Finnish children sing these words in a game called “Orosilla” when talking about how they are watching a horse. Before letting down from the sky a bear who desires to go to the lower world, the Numi-Törem of the Mansi myths forbids him from touching the stores of the “living-dying ones” (man. *elum-holes*, i.e. humans). Instead, he must eat berries in order to put on weight:

*Tal hujne sis-voj tul varen,
tuw haltne mail-voj tul varen!*

(‘Get fat on your back from those for lying down through
the winter, get fat on your breast from those for spending
the summer!’)¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³Kanteletar I, 200

¹⁰⁴Rausmaa 1984. p. 51.

¹⁰⁵Munkácsi 1893. p. 121.

And the Csango waiting for his lover sings thus:

*Zúgadoz ez erdő sok szép ének szótól,
Tündöklök e mező sok búzavetéstől.
Mondd meg nekem, rózsám, mondd meg nyilván,
Tudjam ki igazán, várjalak-e vaj nem?*¹⁰⁶

[The woodland rings with the sound of many fair songs,
This meadow sparkles from much sowing of wheat.
Tell me, my rose, tell me clearly,
Let me know truly, should I wait for you or not?]

In the above examples, the day is matched with the night, summer with spring, winter with summer, watching with listening, the audible phenomenon with the visible, so it is not a matter of simple repetition. To put it another way, neither half of the combination stands alone by itself.

Another favourite method of textual composition for these peoples is that they continue their story by repeating one part of the message which has been divided into two halves, thus forming a kind of string (see above for Karácsony's finding):

*Rákosnak mezője // tőszomszédos/ **Pest**tel,
Pest alatt/ **ért** össze / utasunk az **est**tel.
Találtakak pedig / egy **temető** mellett,
Temetőben / az új **sír dombja** / sötétellett.
De **miféle** / **sírnak** // sötélik ott **dombja**,
Arra Miklósnak most van is nincs is gondja.¹⁰⁷*

[Rákos-mező // is adjacent / **to Pest**,
Close to Pest / **came together** / our traveller **with the evening**
And **they met** / beside a **cemetery**,
In the cemetery / the **hill** of the new **tomb** / appeared dark.
But of **what kind** / **of tomb** // appears dark there the **hill**,
With that Miklós now has and has not a care.]

In these lines of János Arany's (1817–1882) Toldi, the narrative always continues by rolling on a part which is already known, which is then made into a complete whole in the following line. (We note that in the last line of the quotation, “van is nincs is” is likewise a correlating compound of the *maailma* type.)

In the following Finnish ballad, Laari is trying to express his gratitude for his mother's milk:

¹⁰⁶Kallós 1973. 64 (63)

¹⁰⁷Arany's narrative poem “Toldi” is quoted by Karácsony. The fragmentation and emphasis is also from Karácsony. 1985. p. 269.

Laari poika laatu poika,
jo teki **tuvan** emolle
teki **tuvan** tuutijalle
porstuvan tuvan etehen

kammarit tuvan sivulle
kota kammarin sivulle
uuet ukset kammarihin.

‘Laari, woodland lad
builds a **house** for his dear,
started to ask his mother:
obtained lodging for his
parent;
a **porch** in front of the **house**,
a nice room **inside it**,
a summer kitchen at the
side,
doors and gates all round.’¹⁰⁸

(translated by Imre Szente)

Here too, the half lines are matched by another half, and thus the story continues. The two procedures together are used in another Finnish folk ballad:

Lauri poika, laatu poika,
Meni tallihin mäelle,
Siell’ oil seitsemen kenkästii.
Otti sen ison oroista,
Sen valitsi varsoistansa,
Sen Paatin isohen ruunan.
Hyppäis hyväsen selälle
Sit men suurehen sotahan.
Meni yötä kaksi, kolme,
Viipyi viikkon, sai netälä.

‘Lauri, lad of seven villages
went up the stud farm hill,
where the good horses graze;
picked out one of them,
as he learnt from his father:
took Paatti as a steed,
threw himself on its back,
thus went to the army, to war.
Days went by, nights passed,
perhaps even weeks since
then.’¹⁰⁹

(translated by Imre Szente)

(We note that in the Finnish original there is no subordination, and no conjunctions either). We do not deem it necessary to multiply the number of examples, we just state that loads of similar examples can be found from almost any Finno-Ugric language¹¹⁰. We should just note in closing that preference for coordinating, correlating thinking, especially in the western Finno-Ugric languages, is “a tendency, and a tendency” which does not exclude subordinating forms.

¹⁰⁸ Kádár–Kellosalo–Kukkurainen 2000. p. 102.

¹⁰⁹ Kádár–Kellosalo–Kukkurainen 2000. p. 121.

¹¹⁰ For example on Morvin parallelism and its types: Bojarkin 1984. p. 315-316.

Another peculiarity of the Uralic languages is that “the main action of the sentence is expressed with a finite verbal form, and incidental actions by verbal noun structures. In those (Finno-Ugric) languages in which these structures are usual, clauses with conjunctions or relative pronouns occur in smaller numbers, in fact, they are almost totally lacking in certain related languages.”¹¹¹

hu. “*hadlava choltat*”,¹¹² *jártomban-keltemben, szem nem látott, fül nem hallott, jövetelük után elbeszéltek a látottjaikat,*

„*várhatja Piroska Toldi megérkeztét*” (Arany) stb.

[“having heard his death”, in my coming-in my rising, not seen by eye, not heard by ear, after their arrival they related what they had seen, “Piroska can expect Toldi’s arrival” (Arany), etc.]

mar. *toste ulmatöm sindzhen omöl* ‘of your being here I did not know’, *maska kochmo uskal* ‘the cow eaten by the bear’

fi. *päivän laskettua tulee kylmä* ‘on the going down of the sun it will be cold’, *hän sytyttää taloa palamaan* ‘he kindled the house for burning’, i.e. ‘he set fire to the house’, *hän puhuttelee tuulen tuomia* ‘he is conversing with /things/ brought by the wind’, i.e. ‘he is speaking idle things’, *isäni antama kirja* ‘the book given by my father’

man. *nany as, ujukwe, sipä jäktim tariny ulum hotä mos huje’in, punkä jäktim tariny ulum hotä mos huje’in?* ‘And you little animal,/ how long will you be rooted in sleep that may have its neck cut off, how long will you be rooted in sleep that may have its head cut off?’, etc.

The structures formed with verbal nouns, on the one hand, as already referred to, wrap up those parts of our story about which the speaking partner can assume that his hearer already knows from before, on the other they preserve the concrete, pictorial way of seeing, as they express the movement and the action in concentrated (synthetic) form, holding the meaning in a single image. In this way, these structures make it easier to create additional correlating structures between the clauses. To illustrate this with examples: instead of the subordinating structure: *Kiment, hogy beparancsolja a gyerekeket, akik az utcán játszódtak* ‘He went out, so he could call in the children who were playing on the street’, the same thing with a coordinating structure: *Kiment, s beparancsolta az utcán játszóó gyermekeket.* ‘He went out, and called in the on-the-street-playing children (literally). Or: *Várhatja Piroska Toldi megérkeztét* ‘Piroska can expect Toldi’s arrival’ in subordinating form: *Várhatja Piroska, hogy Toldi megérkezzen végre* ‘Piroska can expect that Toldi will arrive at last.’

Under the title of syntax, traditional Finno-Ugric grammar usually discusses the verbs governing the lative and ablative cases which are typical of the Finno-Ugric languages. Comparing these with the Indo-Germanic languages, we observe that there

¹¹¹Bereczki 1977. p. 77.

¹¹²Funeral Oration, Hungarian linguistic relic from 1195

are many verbs in the Finno-Ugric languages which govern not the locative case, but the lative or the ablative:

hu. *odahaza van, oda van, vízbe fulladt, behalt a bánatába, odaég, messziről egy kis világosságot látott;*

[literally: he is to home, he is gone there (i.e. keen on something), he drowned into water, he died into sorrow (i.e. of sorrow), burn onto there, he saw a little light from afar]

fi. *jäi auton alle* ‘he remained to under the car’ (i.e. he was hit by a car), *palaa siihen* ‘burn onto’, *poika kuoli veteen* ‘the boy died into the water’ (the boy drowned into the water and not “in water”), *näki marjan mäeltä* ‘he saw a berry from the hill’ (i.e. turning red);

mar. *saresh kolen* ‘he died into the war’ (cf. hu. ‘odaveszett’ [lost] etc.)

“If we study the common approach manifested in these verbal expressions, we see that whilst in the Indo-European languages the location of the action, or an action occurring somewhere, is seen in these combinations, in the Finno-Ugric languages, even in cases when the verb does not express movement, the movement process, the beginning of the action, or its accomplishment, direction or goal are perceived and marked” – states Gábor Bereczki (born 1928) of this phenomenon.¹¹³

V. 1. 5. Correlation in Finno-Ugric text composition

According to the evidence of the Finnish and Hungarian languages¹¹⁴, textual composition in the Finno-Ugric languages is also built on the coordination principles observed so far. The sentences and text sections which follow one another, and most frequently the paragraphs too, stand in a coordinating relationship to one another, either supplementary or antithetical. One external proof and form in which this manifests and which is easily observable, is that the paragraphs of Finnish and Hungarian writers very frequently begin with coordinating conjunctions, or other words which refer back to the preceding section of text. To put it another way, the individual paragraphs do not remain abstract in themselves, but they are correlated with each other with conjunctions and allusions or by their internal pictorial power.(...)

The presence of the coordinating mentality in Finno-Ugric texts of epic scale¹¹⁵ was detected and demonstrated by László Vajda in his work entitled “The world of Kalevala”.¹¹⁶ In this brief but all the more significant study, Vajda explains that whilst the Indo-Germanic epics, the Iliad and the Odyssey, are subordinating in their textual construction, i.e. the individual episodes “like gushing streams break into the huge

¹¹³Bereczki 1977. p. 78.

¹¹⁴We have been unable to take the syntax of other Finno-Ugric languages into consideration here.

¹¹⁵On textual composition in general see point 4.

¹¹⁶Vajda 1968

river of the main action”, which alone proceeds straight ahead in the direction of the denouement, the Kalevala is an epic of a coordinating nature, with a loose structure, “because the story of Lemminkejnen, and that of Kullervo, are «episodes» which have scarcely any connection with the «main action », the story of Vejnemöjnen and Ilmarinen. “If we want to be consistent”, continues Vajda, “then taking another step forward we also need to say that we really cannot speak of main action either, because that breaks down into two main threads which are scarcely interwoven with one another: into the story of Vejnemöjnen and Ilmarinen”.¹¹⁷ And whilst according to Vajda the stories of Lemminkäinen, Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen may be regarded as supplementary (parallel) coordination compared with each other, as the stories of all three are variants of the quest for happiness in the realm of the North, the story of Kullervo is an antithetical (contrasting) coordination with these, or if you like, complementary. Vajda demonstrates similar correlations between other episodes in the epic too, such as (to use his expression) “contrast-coordination” in the story of Tuoni and Marjatta, where the “the parallel has disintegrated into antithesis”. Vajda considers this option to be analogous to the coordinating forms found at the sentence level, and states, “Coordination is therefore by no means equivalent to lack of structure, but it is one possible means of construction. But straightaway we can add that it is a primitive solution, in contrast to subordination, the other type of construction which is a much more complicated invention.

But to condemn the primitive due to lack of complication, or the complicated due to lack of primitiveness: this is as much as complaining that a fig tree produces figs and an apple tree apples.”¹¹⁸

At this point I should like to remind our readers that in this work we are only comparing the Finno-Ugric approach with the Indo-European, but this in no way means that types of mentalities for arranging texts other than those of the Finno-Ugric and Indo-German peoples do not exist. For instance, Anna-Leena Siikala in her work entitled “Tarina ja tulkinta” relates that the interweaving of actions in the texts of the Chukchi myths is incomprehensible for Europeans: “In my own experience, a European researcher studying the stories of the Paleo-Asiatic Chukchi people for the first time is shocked on seeing these tales: out of the chaos of disjointed, apparently inconsistent happenstances, there emerges no clearly traceable plot or meaningful series of events. (...)

Besides not having the ability to grasp knowledge related to the world which is typical of the Chukchi people, in this case the reader is lacking the awareness of how the Chukchis systematise this knowledge into the form of a narrative, and how the information contained in the narrative may be communicated.”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷The author avoided the terms paratactic–hypotactic and instead used the expressions coordinating and subordinating as the “profession” would have realised at once that Vajda accepted Sándor Karácsony.

¹¹⁸Vajda 1968. p. 1474.

¹¹⁹Siikala 1984. p. 19.; Also cf. Hamvas 2006. p. 77. “An ancient book is not untranslatable into a modern European language because of grammatical hindrances, but because the words of the

**V. 2. THE VOLITIONAL (SOCIAL) ATTITUDE OF THE FINNO-
UGRIC “SOCIAL PSYCHE” –
“MY HALVES”**

In the introduction, we have already referred to how the “arithmetic” of the Finno-Ugric peoples, as set forth in detail by Gábor Lükő in his study entitled “My halves, my sect”,¹²⁰ does not agree in every way with that of the Turkic and Indo-European peoples. In these latter, one person alone is a complete, whole being, i.e. an abstract entity which stands and is interpreted by itself, which the German mindset even emphasises with an article: *ger. der Vater, die Mutter, der Mensch* etc. We Finno-Ugric peoples, on the other hand, are *halves* of one another; indeed, what for the Indo-Europeans is *one of their hands*, for us and certain Turkic peoples is *half of our hand*.^{121 122}

fi. käsipuoli	silmä puoli	jalka puoli féllábú
hu. félkezű	félszemű	
man. samp al	kat pal	lagül pal
kom. sin pela	kip ela	kok pela
mar. pelshnchan chuv.	pelkidan herah	peljolan herah uralle
herah kusle	alalle	
yakut. angar harahtah	angar ilileh	angar atahtah
mong. örösön nüdtej	örösön gartaj	örösön hölgüj

[half-handed half-eyed half-legged]

That is, both of my half eyes together are “my eye(s)” – is the conclusion drawn by Lükő from the evidence of the Finno-Ugric languages. And this is the explanation for why our paired body parts, as well as analogous objects (such as olló ‘scissors’, nadrág ‘trousers’,¹²³ etc), are referred to in the singular in the Finno-Ugric languages.

In contrast, speakers of the Indo-European languages perceive that “they have two separate, complete eyes”, and so they refer to these in the plural form. In this concept of the Finno-Ugric peoples, the word *half* is not used in contrast with *one*, but with *the whole*.

ancient book are totally lacking in the European language. And they are lacking because the ancient languages were universal symbol systems, but the European languages are the means of expression for individual Egos.”

¹²⁰ Lükő 1999 (1990). p. 21–104.

¹²¹ In Lükő’s transliteration

¹²² Linguists also consider the designation of one of the paired body parts with the word *half* to be a Finno-Ugric peculiarity. E.g. Berczki 1977. p. 76.

¹²³ In contrast to the rest of the Finno-Ugric languages, due to Germanic influence these are used in the plural in the Baltic Finnish languages of today.

And a Finno-Ugric person alone does not constitute a whole either: only with his half is he a whole man. In Szentgerice (a village on the River Niraj/Nyárád in Transylvania), there is a common, half-joking saying, that *One person is not a person, two persons are a person* – i.e. only with his partner is a man worth anything. And the linguistic expression of this approach can be demonstrated in almost every Finno-Ugric language:

fi. *puoliso* ‘married-**half**’ (spouse), *osapuoli*, *asiapuoli* ‘business-**half**’ (client), *vastapuoli* ‘against-**half**’ (opponent) *hyökkäävä puoli* ‘attacking **half**’ (attacker) *puolustautuva puoli* ‘defending **half**’ (defender) etc.

kom. *pel* ‘half-ness’ (wife)

mar. *pelashem* ‘my wife’, *shümbel* ‘half of my heart’ (my darling) md. *pola* ‘wife’
khan. *pil* ‘wife’ selk. *päl*, *pälle* ‘friend’

hu. *feleség(e)* ((his) wife),¹²⁴ *ügyfele* ((his) client), *támadó fél* (attacker),
felekez(et) ((his) sect/denomination), *szívemnek fele* ‘my darling’^{125 126}

Mihály Fazekas (1766-1828)

To Viola

Viola! tavasz első jele,	[Viola! first sign of spring,
Menj el a szépek szépéhez,	Go to the most beautiful of all,
Mondd, hogy az ő szívének fele	Tell her, that the half of her heart
Küld, hogy függessen szívéhez	Sends you to hang it on her heart
És addig tartson magánál,	And to keep it in her possession,
Míg kelleimről el nem száll	Until from my charms
Minden virág és minden zöld,	Every flower and every green thing flies away
S vissza nem int az anyaföld.	And mother earth waves back.]

¹²⁴ According to Czako’s (?2006) information, for the Csangos, the word *felesége* can refer to either member of a married couple, as also in Finnish.

¹²⁵ In regular Hungarian equivalents of word-initial *p*-sounds in the Finnish and Finno-Ugric languages, we always find an *f*-sound: (*pää-fej*, *puu-fa*, *puoli/pieli-fél*, *pu- noo-fon*, *pata-fazék*, *pala-fala(t)*, *pelkää-fél*, *pii-fog* etc.).

¹²⁶ Móricz 1978. p. 300.

In one of the earliest relics of the Hungarian language, the priest addresses his listeners as *my halves*:¹²⁷ *Látjátok feleim szüntükkel, mik vogymuk: isa, por és homu vogymuk* (Behold, **brethren** (lit.: my halves), with your own eyes, what we are. Behold, 'tis but dust and ashes that we are), as also does the woman wishing to comfort her little one in the Ingrian Finnish ballad quoted above: "*Mitäs itket, poikueni, poikueni, puolueni?*" 'Why are you crying, why the tears, my dear son, my dear son, my little **half**?' And interestingly enough, Finnish neologists also created the word for 'party' from this stem (*puole-*), which has gained complete acceptance in today's Finnish political vocabulary: *puolue*, which may remind us of our word *felekezet* (sect, denomination).¹²⁸

So two persons constitute a whole, in the same way as the Hungarian word examined above: *testvér*-ek 'test' + 'vér' ('body' + 'blood' = *sibling*-s) or the Finnish word meaning 'world': *maailma* ('earth' + 'sky'). The love poem "Merellä" by the Finnish poet J. H. Erkkö (1849-1906) is also based on this approach, so its 'halves' are each other's lovers, as are the sea and the sky spread out above it, with two separate worlds becoming one:

Syvästi meri huokaa, sen rinta kuohuaa.	The sea sighs deeply, seething in the depths of its soul.
Mut rauhallisna taivas valoa vuodattaa.	But with serenity the sky above pours forth its light.
Min' olen meri, minä levoton aaltainen.	I am the sea, I – restless waves.
Sin' olet taivahani, valoisa, rauhainen.	And you are to me the sky, unclouded, yearning.

(Translated by Gy. K.)

Other derivatives of the word *fél* (half) in Hungarian are *feled*, *feledkezik* (forget), indeed, the obsolete *felekezik* (associate, cooperate, copulate) and also the word *felekezet* (association) formed from that by further development. This sense and usage of the word *fél* and its Finno-Ugric equivalents clearly indicate that the system of relationships between people in the cultures of the Finno-Ugric peoples is coordinating, and has not been formed in accordance with the principles of subordinating thinking.

¹²⁷Funeral Oration (around 1192-95)

¹²⁸On this same subject a little differently: Czákó 2006. 6.

Lükő is of the opinion that the Hungarian word *fél* could have originally been a nomenverbum, and the form which became a verb, *fél* (*valakitől*) ‘to fear someone’ (cf. fi. *pelko-pelkää*) is also derived from here. The “fél ember” (half a person = partnerless, i.e. not a whole person) *fél* (is afraid).

And “half people” like this are known from Finno-Ugric myths and folklore too.¹²⁹ The heroes of these are often, if not always, evil, men to be feared.¹³⁰

If something has not succeeded *completely* it has *félresikerült* (succeeded to half = failed), as also in the Finnish language: *meni pieleen*¹³¹ (literary: ‘gone to half’).

But with the aid of this strange word of ours, what was said in point 5.1.5. about textual composition and Finno-Ugric discourse becomes comprehensible: those who are *felei* (halves) of one another, they *megfelezik* (halve = share)^{132 133} what they have to say with each other: they *felelnek* (respond) to other another. The memory of this has also been preserved in the Finnish language: for the distinctive means of recitation of the Kalevala poetry, known as *vuorolaulu* (= approx. singing by halves, alternately), two halves (parties) were needed (and here we should remember what was said in point 5.1.4. about the Finno-Ugric coordinating clauses and parallel verse lines): the first half of the line pair in the runo, according to H. G. Porthan’s account (1739–1804)¹³⁴, is sung by the *päämies*, the ‘principal’, and the second by the *puoltaja*(-t)161, the ‘sharer’-s. (This last Finnish word today means: ‘supporters’, patrons’). On the basis of this, as likely as not we should regard the meaning of the Finnish word *puoltaa- puoltaja* as the 5-6 thousand year old relative of the Hungarian word *felel*.¹³⁵ To put it another way, the Finnish runo singer also held the lines of the Kalevala poetry to be half lines, which only constitute a whole together with the other half (with its *puolta*), (examples in point 5.1.4.).

So once again Karácsony’s lines quoted above become understandable, which he only claimed for the Hungarian speaker: “So the speaker (...) was driven and restricted from the beginning by these two tendencies:

comparing and unfolding – and gathering together. Breaking down the one into two, comparing the one with the other (coordinating), gathering one together compared with the other (subordinating), unifying the two into a single picture”.

Summarising the lessons from our above examples we can state, that the word *fél* in the Finno-Ugric languages has a distinctive, truly profound meaning.

Its extensive usage indicates that we are dealing with an approach and a view of the

¹²⁹For example the celestial half-woman half-(female)-deer from Nganasan folklore: Belotserkovskaya, I. – Tukhtina, H. *Drevnosti prikamya*. (The Antiquities of the Kama River Region.) Moscow. (The State History Museum, Moscow)

¹³⁰Lükő 1999. p. 33-34.

¹³¹The regular thin-vowel pair of the words *pieli* and *puoli*: *kiehuu-kuohuu*.

¹³²For the modern meaning of the Hungarian word: “he shares everything with him”.

¹³³Porthan 1983 (1766-78). p. 79.

¹³⁴The root of the Finnish word *puoltaa* means ‘favour, support’ today.

¹³⁵What is rarely talked about in Finno-Ugric linguistics is that not only the sounds of individual words may be preserved, but also the meanings.

world which pervades an entire mentality. The fact that whilst in the approach of the Indo-European peoples, the individual person signifies a detached *personality*, who has his own wife, his own language, his own will, his own art, and which unit (personality) he must validate as much as possible over against the other person in his social life in order to become a complete, valuable person, according to the approach of the Finno-Ugric peoples, my life can only obtain its human nature and meaning when it forms a whole with the life of my other half. According to the worldview of the speakers of a Finno-Ugric language, only our **joint** activity is meaningful. In this approach it is difficult to tolerate if another person wants to compel someone into a subordinating relationship, and wants to force the whole of his own autonomy onto him, if he wants to dictate to him from above, if he stands his ground and will not yield. As a result of all this, for a person thinking according to the approach of the Finno-Ugric languages, a *coordinating relationship* between parties is natural, “the most natural form of which in existence”, as determined by Sándor Karácsony¹³⁶, is a “family-like relationship” between people.

An interesting example of this was written by Väinö Linna (1920-1992) in his novel “Tuntematon sotilas” (The unknown soldier – 1954)¹³⁷, where Finn officers who had received German military training would have liked to create the spirit of a subordinating, hierarchic attitude based on blind obedience as learnt in Germany in the (Finnish) military units assigned to them, but this encountered opposition at every turn. The autonomy of the Finnish soldier did not tolerate the relationship based on impersonal subordination, and it is now worthwhile quoting this at length:

*Sinkkonen well remembered Rokka's spooning tempo, and what he had said then:
– Be quiet over there! Shut your mouth! You'll go where I order you, understood?*

Rokka broke into a smile. But behind his calm, always cheerful voice, the threat could be heard in his answer:

– Leave it, man, don't play the big guy with me! You know what will happen if you try it on. You don't think that I'm going to jump for you, a good for nothing driver, do you? ...

Without a word, Sinkkonen went into the commander's office, from where he returned together with Lammiö. Lammiö first allowed the dead silence to have its effect, and only then did he say in an icy, official voice:

– Corporal Rokka!

¹³⁶Karácsony 1985. p. 362.

¹³⁷Compared with other, Indo-European works (primarily American and Soviet-Russian) idealising “great heroes, extraordinary individuals” (often destroying many all on their own), the novel departs from these completely, even in its theme and title: It is about unknown, nameless, real, non-heroic soldiers, none of whom may be emphasised or named, because, as it turns out in the novel, they were soldiers and human beings together and in relationship with each other, as were the Kalevala heroes analysed in the Vajda study.

– Well, what's the matter?

The answer came in such a meek and innocent voice, that the whole outfit burst out laughing. Lammio looked angrily at the men, and continued emphatically:

– You will be billeted in the petty officer's room, just like the others. Is that clear?

– We'll see by evening how that will be. I don't want to argue about things like that, but tell me lieutenant, sir, when do we get some leave? Because, as a family man myself, I've been here for several months. If I apply, will you sign it for me?

Lammio was once again in doubt, he didn't know whether Rokka was not quite right in the head that he was speaking to him like that, or whether he was just pulling his leg. In any case, he was angry about the familiarity, so he responded:

– Corporal Rokka! As far as I know we have not been on familiar terms!?

– No we haven't, but we can be now! My Christian name is Antero. But I can use the familiar form with you anyway, after all, you are younger than me."¹³⁸

(Translated by Gy. K.)

Two different attitudes, and the one with the subordinating thinking is not sure if the other is in his right mind. (Cf. with the criticisms levelled at Bartók, later 5.3.3.)

In another episode of the novel, which every Finn is familiar with, this same Corporal Rokka, following yet another bust-up, in order to protect his own autonomy, served the sentence imposed on him, even under the Soviet bombers. The symbol is understood by every Finn.

And in reality, in the Finnish-Russian winter war (1939), as is generally known among elderly Finnish men who experienced it, for the German army officers collaborating with the Finns it was totally incomprehensible how a Finnish army in small units made up of "Rokkas" like this (with a coordinating approach), thinking in terms of family-like human relationships, could be so effective, that in the end America had intervene in defence of the Soviets with the Finnish military command, and in general too, how they could repulse the Soviet army, attacking with such huge numerical superiority.¹³⁹

The phenomenon also aroused the interest of Finnish sociologists. It also struck them, that the relationships between the soldiers and between the military units in the Finnish army was of a different nature than, for instance, in the German case.

In his work entitled "Komppania pienoisyhteiskuntana",¹⁴⁰ (= The company as a mini-society), which first appeared in Swedish, Knut Pipping puts this under the microscope. According to sociological observations made during the Finnish-Soviet war, in the Finnish army both the soldiers and the military units were made up of small independent autonomies, and these were typified by family-like relationships.

¹³⁸Väinö Linna: *Tuntematon sotilas* chapter 8, part V

¹³⁹It is well known that the Soviets were incapable of defending the Murmansk-Leningrad railway line, which provided reinforcements, against the Finnish units, and because of this the United States intervened with the Finnish military command on behalf of the Soviets. (Kallervo Airanne, a Finnish military officer's verbal communication 1999-2002.)

¹⁴⁰Pipping 1978 (first Swedish edition 1947)

On arrival at a new post, the first thing the Finnish soldiers did, if they had time, was to make their quarters (also equipped with a sauna) as cosy as was possible under the circumstances.¹⁴¹ Particularly on the frontline, “the leaders of the military units lived in the same military barracks where their subordinates did, they slept in the same bunks, they ate out of the same kind of mess-tins as the privates, and they were tormented by the same lice and threatened by the same dangers as their soldiers were. ... in spite of all this, the difference between the officers, the warrant officers and the privates was clearly perceptible, particularly as they did not perform guard duty at night and did not engage in physical work ...” Otherwise, “they conversed with the others in the same way as with those similar to themselves and not as vassals: they played cards with the men, joked around, talked about personal matters, they drank and took saunas together...”, and they allowed the soldiers in their charge to perform the duties assigned to them as independently as possible.¹⁴² “Everyone considered his own duty to be his own affair, to a certain extent, and performed it at his own discretion.”¹⁴³ “If a soldier was given a Bren gun, then he treated it as his own property, but it was to be used by the whole troop.”¹⁴⁴ Everyone was assigned night patrol duty, but this could be redeemed; so the fate of night duty was very often decided by bets on card battles.¹⁴⁵ Several officers of the company under investigation “endeavoured to reduce the distance between themselves and their men as much as possible, ...” and if an officer managed to do this, then (the privates) also accepted him as one of their team”.¹⁴⁶

Summarising in the last part of his work, Pipping stresses that from the viewpoint of a sociologist, the leaders of the military units “regarded themselves primarily as members of their military troops (units), and only secondly or thirdly did they feel that their membership of the troop involved their rank.”¹⁴⁷ “The behaviour patterns of the soldiers followed the patterns of their civilian lives, even on the front.”¹⁴⁸ They considered impersonal rules and formalities to be unnecessary obstacles. This conduct of the Finnish soldiers “did not lead to a weakening of the organisation’s operation, in fact, I tend to think that, on the contrary, it only increased the efficiency of the organisation” – writes Pipping in the closing lines of his work.

Independently of Pipping’s work quoted here, studying Hungarian culture, Gábor Lükő in his work “Crowds and individuality” (see the Annex) arrived at very similar results, as did Sándor Karácsony analysing Hungarian society and Hungarian country life, as well as János Háy by Kodály-Paulini/Harsányi and through this Hungarian society.¹⁴⁹ This latter is interesting, because János Háy, the main character in

¹⁴¹ Ibid. p. 253.

¹⁴² Ibid. p. 129.

¹⁴³ Ibid. p. 128.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 133.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 129.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 119.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 252.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 254.

¹⁴⁹ Lükő: Crowds and individuality, annex number 1. 3.

Kodály's work, was also a footsoldier, so here too the analyst approaches an understanding of the phenomena of social life using examples taken from military life. According to Karácsony's analysis, a Hungarian officer, if has a good attitude to his soldiers, then he considers the footsoldier to be his half, and although they have different duties, the two of them make a whole". And this is what the footsoldier thinks too. Their relationship is coordinating, family-like – says Karácsony. Examining the texts of the new style Hungarian peasant songs, we observe that all this is fitting even for the emperor himself, who the Hungarian treats almost as a member of the family and likewise "coordinates with him, no matter how much he otherwise respects him."¹⁵⁰

"Beh szeretnék a császárral beszélni, De még jobban a szobájába bemenni, Megmondanám a császárnak magának ..."

[How I'd like to talk to the emperor, Or even better go into his room, I'd say to the emperor himself] – sang the Hungarian peasant before the turn of the century.

The method for resolving conflicts, when someone tries to process an offense committed against him by attempting to share it with as many of his "halves" as possible is still alive and well in Hungarian villages today. We observed this several times ourselves on our collecting trips to Transylvania. This type of adaptive conflict resolution strategy is classified by psychology among the support seeking skills.

"Hungarian territory is the classical homeland of small autonomies" (i.e. not an edifice founded on a dependency order or hierarchy, Gy. K.) – states Sándor Karácsony of the Hungarians by way of summary,¹⁵¹ and László Vajda supposes the same of the structure of ancient Finnish society on the basis of the Kalevala. The author proceeds from the Aristotelian claim that man always creates his own gods and their attitudes to life in his own image, and if this is true, then we can draw conclusions about ancient Finnish society from the Kalevala poetry and the depictions of their deities. According to Vajda, the Väinämöinen of the Kalevala would definitely occupy the upmost position in a hierarchy of the gods in a Greek or other Indo-European mythology. In the Finnish epic, however, there is no god who is raised to the highest rank. The only character in the Kalevala who can perhaps be regarded as a true deity, is Ukko, who is an outsider. The other heroes, such as Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen, Lemminkäinen and other heroes, "are scattered in total disarray" in the work and in their social environment. They would rank as chiefs, but we look for their people in vain. They only meet occasionally, even with each other, and even their enemy, Louhi, "does not even have a decent mansion" from which to govern his people. "Thus the combat between great hosts becomes a peculiar Kalevala dream, because the reality is bust-ups between individual families" – writes László Vajda in his study quoted above.

The Hungarian settlement pattern also comprises small autonomies or particles like this, which legislators need to take into consideration, if they do not wish to cause damage, says Sándor Karácsony, speaking of the reforms in Hungarian public

¹⁵⁰Karácsony 1985. p. 362.

¹⁵¹Ibid p. 335.

education.¹⁵² We could come to a similar conclusion with respect to the Mordvin¹⁵³ settlement pattern, and most certainly that of other Finno-Ugric peoples, which we have no opportunity for discussing in greater detail here.

Knowing nothing of the works of their Hungarian colleagues, the latest comparative study on Finnish and Swedish workplace communities likewise concluded that the Finns rather than the Swedes prefer small autonomous communities. In the organisation of a work process, with the Finns, more emphasis is placed on the efficient operation of individual divisions rather than on the work process as a whole. For the Swedes the starting point is the latter, the whole of the work process, compared with which the operation of the divisions plays a subordinate role.¹⁵⁴

As to how important his half is to the Finno-Ugrian, we can see this from the mottoes of our work. In contrast to Camus, the Finnish Minna Canth (1844-1897) rejoices that she has an adversary, the Hungarian poet-philosopher Endre Ady (1877-1919), holds that he lived when he lived for others.

According to Hungarian philosophy, however, not only people and smallish human communities need their halves, but whole peoples and nations do too, otherwise they too, like individual people, will remain *halves*, “little half nations”, and so, according to the poet – “the evenings are funereal”:

S halk mormolással kezdte a mesét
A vén Duna. Igaz az átok,
Mít már sokan sejtünk, óh, mind igaz. Mióta ő
zúgva kivágott,
Boldog népet itt sohse látott.

A Duna-táj bús villámhárító,
Fél-emberek, fél-nemzetecskék Számára
készült szégyen-kaloda. Ahol a szárnyakat
lenyesték
S ahol halottasak az esték.

„Sohse lesz másként, így rendeltetett”, Mormolta a
vén Duna habja.
S boldogtalan kis országok között
Kinyújtózott a vén mihaszna
És elrohant tőlem kacagva.

Ady Endre: A Duna vallomása

¹⁵²Ibid. 117–119. o

¹⁵³Maticsák 1995

¹⁵⁴Salminen–Johansson–Hiltunen–Strømnes 1996. p. 127.

[Approx.: And with a quiet murmur The old Danube began its tale. The curse is true, which many have suspected, oh, all true, since droning she cut through, She has never seen a happy people here.

The Danube country, a cheerless lightning rod. Stocks of shame prepared for **half-people, little half-nations**. Where the wings are lopped off and where the evenings are funereal.

“It will never be otherwise, it is ordained”,
Murmured the foam on the old Danube.
And through hapless little countries stretched out the old good-for-nothing And dashed away from me chuckling. Endre Ady: The Danube’s confession.

And here we may recall once again the text of the Mari song shown in music example 2, in which the singer calls his halves his *wing*. (...)

V. 3. THE EMOTIONAL (ARTISTIC) ATTITUDE OF THE FINNO-UGRIC “SOCIAL PSYCHE”

V. 3. 1. The foundations of a general Finno-Ugric art theory, the art theory of halves – based on Ady’s life-work, as well as Karácsony’s and Lükó’s endeavours

According to Indo-European thinking (of Europe), art is based on the aspiration of an individual, the artist (ger. *der Künstler*), which is independent, i.e. his own, indeed, self-oriented, and therefore based primarily on personal achievement, for which genius is required. According to Plato (427-347 BC), if we search for the reason for the emergence of art, we will conclude that it arises from the longing of mortal man for immortality.¹⁵⁵ He thinks that the purpose of art, “it to recognise beauty in its own reality”. But we can only reach this goal, if during our lives we get to know many objects which are considered to be beautiful, and thus, from the many kinds of “beautiful” recognised in individual objects and phenomena, the concept and image of beauty itself is abstracted for us.

Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) goes still further with regard to abstraction and abstract thinking, and in the chapter on aesthetic judgement in his work “Critique of Judgement”, he says that something is beautiful if we like it without having an interest in it. “Beauty is the form of the purpose of an object, if we perceive this in it without an image of this purpose”. That is, as Kant himself details, we do not know what purpose was served by the object perceived as beautiful. In this same work, Kant also comes pretty close to recognising the importance of Karácsony’s “other person”, though only as compelled by the requirement for scientific objectivity: the perception

¹⁵⁵Plato I, 986–1000

of beauty is a subjective experience; in order for this to be affirmed with scientific objectivity, it is required that others too, i.e. several people “intersubjectively (sensus communis) be in agreement”.¹⁵⁶

According to Søren Kierkegaard (1813-1855), for a great work of art, the fortunate concurrence of two things is needed: the meeting of a great subject and a great artist.¹⁵⁷ For Kierkegaard, therefore, the artist’s audience does not appear at all. In contrast to him, Nikolai Hartmann (1882-1950), in his *Aesthetics based on Husserl’s phenomenology*, clearly separates the two kinds of aesthetic “act”: the originator-creative and the viewer-receptive acts.¹⁵⁸ However, he discusses the two, as does Roman Ingarden (1893-1970), as phenomena and relationships which are separate from one another and not belonging together: one relationship is between the artwork and its “creator” (originator), the other, separate from this, is between the artwork and its “receiver”, who concretise the experience.¹⁵⁹ According to Gadamer, following in the footsteps of the previous authors, it is the receiver who makes the final decision on the problem raised by Kant, “the validity of the work”.¹⁶⁰ He thinks, “Aesthetic experience is one means of self-understanding”. Perhaps due to the influence of the powerful Finno-Ugric cultural substratum found in the Russian culture, the great Russian author Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910) came the closest to discovering the other person in his work entitled “What is art?” (1898). He had already observed the psychical happenings between the one who creates and the one who enjoys a work of art, but he did not pick up on the activity of the receiving party which is necessary for the artwork to come into being: “The most important feature of the feeling” (caused by art), writes Tolstoy, “is that the receiver identifies with the artist to such an extent, that it appears to him that the artwork he has received is no different than if he had created it himself, and everything that is dealt with in it is precisely the same as what he himself had wanted to say for so long. A true work of art results in the disappearance of the difference in the receiver’s world between himself and the artist, and not only between him and the artist, but between him and anyone who has accepted the work of art in question. The most important appeal and peculiarity of art is condensed in the fact that when one individual dissolves in another in this way, then that individual is liberated from his isolation from other people, he is freed from his own loneliness.

When someone encounters this feeling, i.e. that he is ‘infected’ by the mood in which the artist found himself during the creative process, and when he feels that he has dissolved in other people, then the phenomenon which evoked this mood was art; if ‘infection’ did not occur, if the receiver was not dissolved in the artist’s personality, or in his work, then art was not present there either.”¹⁶¹

Assertions by researchers into the Indo-European peoples are not always

¹⁵⁶Gadamer 1977. p. 10-15, Kant 1966. p. 182–185.

¹⁵⁷Kierkegaard 1843

¹⁵⁸Hartmann 1977. p. 24–30.

¹⁵⁹Ingarden 1931

¹⁶⁰Gadamer 1986-87 (1966). p. 219–231.

¹⁶¹Tolstoy 1898. XV.

contradicted and not in everything by the approach of (thinkers of) the Finno-Ugric peoples, but this considers the other party, the audience to be much more important, and puts the emphasis elsewhere, at least in part, when investigating the emergence of art.

The Finno-Ugric artist, whatever kind of human relationship is in mind, first and foremost strives towards the other person, “*his half*”, because only with him can he create a whole which is worthy of life (in contrast to Plato’s thought mentioned above), only with him can he take to wing – as says the singer of the Mari song quoted in our introduction (see music example 2).

The singers of the Kalevala also come from two separate (autonomous) worlds, and only when singing as a couple do they create one whole, thus giving meaning to the song:

“Golden friend and dearest brother,
Brother dear of mine in childhood! Come
and sing with me the stories, Two of us
shall chant the legends, Since we now are
here together, Come here now from two
directions.
Hand in hand, let’s link together,
With our fingers interwoven ...”

Kalevala (translated by Béla Vikár)

The aim of the Finno-Ugric artist is therefore not to become a single individual, possibly a genius who has achieved a position above society¹⁶², but to find a “half” for himself. The work of art is only so that the artist can display himself, so that he may find a “*half*”, as it is impossible for him to remain alone, “he would like to be somebody’s”:

Sem utódja, sem boldog őse, Sem
rokona, sem ismerőse Nem vagyok
senkinek, Nem vagyok senkinek.

Vagyok, mint minden ember: fenség, Észak-
fok, titok, idegenség, Lidérces, messzi fény,
Lidérces, messzi fény.

De, jaj, nem tudok így maradni,
Szeretném magam megmutatni, Hogy
látva lássanak,
Hogy látva lássanak.

¹⁶²Sartre 1964, as well as Nagy 1980. p. 69-110.

Ezért minden: önkínzás, ének:
Szeretném, hogyha szeretnének S lennék
valakié,
Lennék valakié.

Ady Endre: Szeretném, ha szeretnének

[Approx.: I am neither successor, not
happy ancestor, Nor relative, nor
acquaintance to anyone. I am
nobody's.

I am, like every person: majesty, Northern
Cape, mystery, otherness, Nightmarish, distant
light, Nightmarish, distant light.

But, woe, I cannot remain like this, I
should like to show myself, So that
seeing I am seen, So that seeing I am
seen.

For this reason, everything: self-torture,
song: I should like to be loved, And to
be somebody's, And to be somebody's.

Endre Ady: I should like to be loved]

So Ady does not write verse in order for his genius to show, as he does not even think that only his mind would be some lone “majesty” (“I am, like *every person*”), but in order to be “*somebody's*”. Writing verse for him is “self-torture” for this purpose. It is torture being “*half a person*”.¹⁶³ And as we find out from another verse of Ady's, likewise dealing with questions of the philosophy of art, this is not the only reason that he does not want to remain by himself, but also because a poet in his lone state is “*shapeless*”, uninterpretable (see the motto taken from Camus in our work). He has to relate to every person on every single occasion differently if he wants to find a *half* for himself, if he wants to know who-what lives inside him, and (“like every person”) who he is:

Alakos játék, százszor-zárt titok Hős, futó
bölcs újból és megint Állok süppedten
szókimondó bajban. Cselek, barlangok,
vermek, kárpitok, Bozótok, lárvák, segítsetek
rajtam.

¹⁶³See his verse quoted above about the “half-nations”

Ki száz alakban százszor volt szabad, S minden
arcához öltött más mezet, Éljen és csaljon
titokba-veszetten, Mert bárki másnál több és
gazdagabb, Mert csak a koldus egy és
leplezetlen.

Ragyogjatok meg, tévesztő szemek, Édes, hazug
méz, pergő, szép szavak Csorogjatok tarkán,
számítva, bátran, Mindenki másnak minden más
legyek, Változón szabad, gyűrűtlen, arátlan.

Énszavaimmal csaljam meg magam,
Melyvoltom gondján törjem víg fejem És száz
alakkal száz vitába törjön Lelkem, valóm, e dús
alaktalan,

Száz hűségű s egyetlen hű a földön.

Ady Endre: Száz hűségű hűség

[Dissembling game¹⁶⁴, one hundred times
closed secret Hero, running wise man ever and
again I stand sagging in outspoken misfortune.
Ruses, caves, pitfalls, tapestries, Thickets,
larvae, help me.

Who has been free one hundred times in one
hundred forms, And has put on a different strip
with every face, let him live and cheat
desperately in secret, Because he is more
different and richer than anyone, Because only a
beggar is alone and undisguised.

Twinkle, misleading eyes, Sweet, lying honey,
whirling fine words Jingle gaudily, counting,
courageously, Let me be all different to everyone
else, Changingly free, ringless, brideless.

¹⁶⁴Or game of shapes, or masks, which change depending on who the dialogue partner(s) is (are).

Should I deceive myself with my own words,
worry my merry head with the cares of my deep
being, And should my Soul, my essence break in
one hundred debates with one hundred shapes, this
opulent shapeless,
One hundred fidelities, and the only faithful one on
the earth.

Endre Ady: Faithfulness of one hundred fidelities]

He is set free by the ability of his soul to “put on” one hundred different shapes. According to this way of thinking, the poor man (the “beggar”) is the one who can only react to everything in a pre-programmed way, with linguistic and behavioural stereotypes, only in one way, who is always and everywhere one and the same. It can only become clear who a person is, what is changeable in him and what is permanent, if he is able to relate to life, to his halves and his environment in hundreds and hundreds of shapes, and yet in a single way. We relate to the other person in hundreds and hundreds of ways, until it becomes clear who we actually are.

From this approach of wishing to relate as a half to the other, the listening half, perhaps comes that peculiarity typical of the art of Uralic peoples, that it is objective. Although the artist puts on a hundred types of shape in order to present his own being if necessary, he does not wish to scare off his listeners with his own subjectivity, by overemphasising his personality. A well-known example of this is the objectively succinct style of the Finnish tunes in the Kalevala: “I have a narrow-mouthed, icy-sounding bell. I could say this too, in the words of Géza Barta, former cowherd from Nagyar, because I can’t find a better word for these old Finnish songs, my favourite songs” – writes Gábor Lükő in his work ‘The musical world of the Kalevala’. “Because these songs, the tunes of the Kalevala, are short, ‘narrow-mouthed’, even shorter than our old (Hungarian) songs, and their tone is unbiased, objective, ‘their sound is icy’, just like that of our lyric songs. This laconic phrasing, the amorous thought expressed in few words but with penetrating power was also valued in our old songs by Bartók and Kodály.”¹⁶⁵ Dezső Szabó, the great Hungarian writer (now silent, it’s true) who knew his people well, also noticed this: “The Hungarian does not like to talk, sing or sentimentalise about his emotions. With a movement, a twitch, with the mute speech flitting across his eyes and his mouth, he expresses what joy or grief, love or anger he has inside, or whatever else moves the soul cast out from the world. This inward character then explains one of the peculiar artistic features of our folk poetry and our literature.

Lyricism of any content is never expressed in the direct narration or singing of emotions, but in pictures, visions and most often in gestures and actions.”¹⁶⁶

Therefore, whilst the Indo-European artist longs for his own (sole) immortality, the

¹⁶⁵Lükő 2002 (1984-87). p. 227.

¹⁶⁶Szabó 1934. p. 26.

Finno-Ugrian artist, in order to have life, for him to be living, and human, wants to escape from his own shapelessness, namely in such a way that he wants to find his halves, who he can relate to, who he can be a “whole” with (on each occasion), because that means for him that he is alive. Not individual greatness, or prosperity.

Finno-Ugric art, therefore, is first and foremost the (result of the) relationship between the artist and his audience, which relationship is only possible via the artworks and with their help. The apparently irrefutable scheme known in the western professional literature, from Saussure through generative linguistics to the most modern cognitive sciences, therefore does not hold true in Finno-Ugric language and art theory, according to which “in the beginning” is the speaker, or the artist, who creates the sign, the symbol or the artwork, and this sign, symbol or work then has an effect on the “receiver”:

subjektum 1 > merkki > subjektum 2¹⁶⁷

This is also seen in musical terms. The Indo-European musician plays, alone, as it were, on his own instrument, as expounded at length by Gadamer in his study of several hundred pages entitled “Play as a guideline to ontological explanation”¹⁶⁸, but the Finno-Ugric people’s instrument “speaks” i.e. to someone: hu. *szépen szól a muzsika, szól a hegedű, hegedűszó* [The music is *speaking* beautifully – i.e. sounding, playing, the violin is speaking – i.e. playing, violin-word, - i.e. the sound of the violin]. The national anthem of the Finns and the Estonians (“Maamme laulu”) was translated into Finnish by Finnish poet Paavo Cajander (1849-1913) from a Swedish poem by J. L. Runeberg (1804-1877) in the following way: *Oi, maamme, Suomi, synnyinmaa, soi, sana kultainen!*¹⁶⁹ ‘Oh our land, Finland, land of our birth, may your golden word **speak!**’.

But for these peoples, the
instrument itself is not
lifeless:
Bolond hangszer: sír, nyerit és
búg.
Fusson, akinek nincs bora, Ez a
fekete zongora.
Vak mestere tépi, cibálja, Ez az
Élet melódiája.
Ez a fekete zongora.

¹⁶⁷ Tarasti 2004, p. 31.

¹⁶⁸ Gadamer 2003 (1975). p. 133-164. (The ontology of artwork and the hermeneutical significance of this.)

¹⁶⁹ The Swedish original: *Vårt land, vårt land, vårt fosterland, ljud högt, o dyra ord!*

Fejem zúgása, szemem könnye, Tornázó
vágyaím tora,
Ez mind, mind: ez a zongora. Boros,
bolond szívemnek vére Kiömlik az ő
ütemére.
Ez a fekete zongora.

Ady Endre: A fekete zongora

[Crazy instrument: it weeps, whinnies and drones.
Let him run, who has no wine, It's the black piano.
Its blind master plucks and pulls it, It's the melody of life,
It's the black piano.

The booming in my head, the tear in my eye, the snare for
my wrestling desires,
It's everything, everything: this piano. The blood of my
winey, crazy heart Spills out at its rhythm.
It's the black piano.

Endre Ady: The black piano]

According to Finno-Ugric thinking, therefore, linguistic and artistic works are always the result of joint¹⁷⁰ spiritual labour by two parties, the speaker and his listener, or the artist and his audience. Neither party is imaginable without the other. “Art is an utterance of man similar to speech: it always speaks to one or more people. The active party, the speaker and the artist, always has regard for his audience or public, striving to arouse and satisfy their interest. The passive party, the listener, the one who enjoys art, on the other hand, requires that the active party speak or create a work of art, and with his interest brings him to speak, prompts him to create”.¹⁷¹ Without him the artist, no matter how he is enraptured by his passions, is incapable of dismantling the cultural image, living inside him but still in a “wound up”¹⁷² state, from the thing which is occupying him right now. “The sign will become a symbol if the active party, the speaker who sends the signal, cannot relate coldly, indifferently to his companions, if he is greatly moved by what he has to communicate, he rejoices or

¹⁷⁰ The expression “joint labour” is still valid, even if at the moment of creation the presence of the audience is only imaginary, as it most frequently is in reality.

¹⁷¹ Lükő 1983. p. 15, as well as 1992. p. 3, based on Karácsony 1941 (1993)

¹⁷² The existence of a shred of consciousness, in a curled up state in the soul but still shapeless (in the Finnish literature: “miellemöykky”) was already known to the ancients (in a reverse direction, therefore not unfolded, on the contrary, curled up): *Kerin virteni kerälle, suorittelen sommelolle, panen aitan parven pädhän, luisten lukkojen ta'aksi, ettei pääse päivinähän, selviä sinä ikänä.* (Kanteletar I, 11) (“I wind my verse into a ball, knot it well into a knot, cast it away, throw it up, lock it up behind a padlock, so it never sees the light of day, and never unravels. Translated by Gy. K.) Cf. the well-known closing formula of Hungarian folktales, in which the narrator encloses the whole of the tale in a nutshell, and floats it off down some river.

grieves greatly over it. Ordinary signs, the words of speech cannot get this feeling across to the passive party, who, like most people, is indifferent to other people's affairs. (...) But the man is seething with passion! (...) The artist's work is hard and bitter, no matter how delightful too. The wall which separates men must be demolished, which from here, from the artist's side has been toughened by pride and despondency, and from there, from the audience's direction has been fattened up by indifference and a hunger for gossip. The only one who can open a gap in this wall is someone who dares to believe that men similar to him are standing on the far side. That "every person is majesty". That the other would speak too, but he dare not speak up, or he cannot find an appropriate word. That I would give just as great pleasure to him, if I break the silence, as to myself. But I almost have to hide myself away, lest the other at once turns indifferent. After all, the formula is ready and waiting: "everyone has their own problems. Why should I be interested in others' cares and sorrows?!" So the artist puts on a mask: he hides behind symbols. But even so, he always gives of himself, always speaks sincerely, and this is felt in his voice and is seen in his work. Because the love which beams forth from him towards the other person, towards his audience, is only that with which the man is able to love himself' – writes Lükő, building on the art concept of Ady and Karácsony. He then continues: "I am the true meaning of all these images, but this I is no longer only the artist, but every man, the Man.

And primarily you, who takes delight in them. You feel that I made them for you, because I love you, but not without interest, but "I should like to be loved". I am not lurking behind a mask of symbols in order to deceive you, but I am seeking my truest essence, my humanity, in order to be worthy of your friendship. But you also feel that in this multitude of shapes I am not merely trying to express myself, but you as well. Because I assume that the same spirit lives in you too, and because I know that it has been shapeless until now, it has sought for its own form in vain. Now in this work of mine, your truest self takes on a shape too, that is why it gives you pleasure. And this reassures me that my work has been successful, I have managed to show myself."¹⁷³ With regard to success, therefore, the two concepts come together, the Finno-Ugric and the western Indo-European: as far as the success of a work of art is concerned, in the end, the artistic experience of individual people is decisive.¹⁷⁴ However, in the matter of genius and the priority of this which occupies western philosophers so much, as we have seen, these concepts are somewhat more distant from one another. Whilst in the west, many believe that for the birth of art, first and foremost genius is needed, for representatives of the Finno-Ugric culture, in this matter greater emphasis is placed on the role of the spiritually active, living community/audience which shows interest in the other person, which has need of a poet, and in which a poet may be born.

The Finno-Ugric poet also lives in a coordinating relationship with his audience. He wants to relate to them, because he cannot be a poet alone.

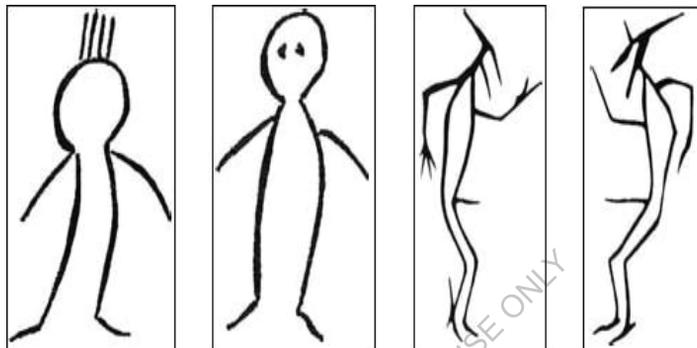
¹⁷³Lükő 1983 (1992). p. 1–29.

¹⁷⁴Gadamer 1986-87. (1966) p. 219-231.

V. 3.2. *The Finno-Ugric mentality in graphic, cinematic and theatrical art*

The principle of “dividing the one into two and comparing these with each other” also appears in the graphic art of the Finno-Ugric peoples, and this can presumably be considered as much a Finno-Ugric peculiarity as the oddness of our word *half*. Here we will deal with just two ways in which this appears: 1) the depiction of a figure portrayed from two sides, 2) the comparison of two separate figures with one another.

Examples of the depiction of a figure portrayed from two sides:

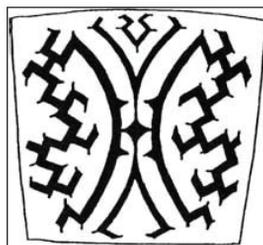
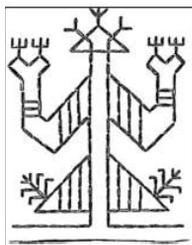
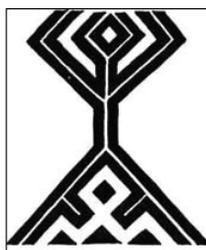


Pictures 16 a–d. Marks of Mansi princes, *Lükö* 1988. p. 48. – Siberian pictographs, *Okladnyikov-Martinov* 1983. p. 81.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵Other similar depictions: Belotserkovskaya-Tukhtina



Picture 17. Female figure from a Hungarian shepherd's cloak, Lükö 1988. p. 54.



Pictures 18–21. Dancing female figures (assembled from two sides) from sleeve of Khanti chemise, from corner of Karelian Finnish headscarf, from Khanti birch-bark hods, Lükö 1999. p. 51–55. (cf. picture 10!)



Picture 22-24.
Bronze artefacts from Perm.
Oborin-Chagin 1988. p. 146.

Examples of expressing a message by comparing two separate figures with one another from the art of Akseli Gallen-Kallela:



Picture 25.
Akseli Gallen-Kallela:
Poika ja varis (The boy and the crow)(1884)



Picture 26.
Akseli Gallen-Kallela:
Ensi opetus (The first instruction)(1887)

Picture 27. Akseli Gallen-Kallela: *Akka ja kissa (The old woman and the cat)* (1884)¹⁷⁶



These pictures by Gallen-Kallela speak to us in the same way as the lines of the Finnish runos made up of two halves, as quoted above: *Kuuntelin kunervikossa, katselin kanervikossa* ‘I eavesdropped in the heather, I watched on the heathland’, or *Päivän lintu, yön lipakko* ‘Bird of day, bat of night’, or like the

verse by the Finnish poet Erkkö, analysed above. The artist speaks to us by relating the two figures in the picture to one another, and not by means of the two figures separately. It is not about the boy and the crow separately, but (for example) that there exists a child, a boy, who knows about the world and his own existence even at this age, and who will become a man, a person responsible for the destiny of himself and others, and in contrast to him is the crow who knows nothing of itself or the world as a whole (cf. fi. *maa/ilma*, man. *agi-pig* ‘girl-boy’ i.e. child, as discussed previously). Picture 26 is similar to this: it is not about the little girl and the grown man, but about the relationship between the two of them, which relationship may awaken us to human wholeness, to our quality, our nature in this present world. If we detached one or other of the figures from the picture, then this meaning of the work would be lost: then we would just see a little girl or an elderly man.

In the first half of the eighties, Strømnes’s team of Swedish and Finnish researchers studied whether there are differences between the various language groups in the way they produce motion pictures. Strømnes summarises the findings of the research team, “The Indo-European works emphasis constant movement in three-dimensional space, as well as the continuity of time and space. Finno-Ugrian producers concentrate on more static relationships between people in their works, at the same time paying less attention to temporal and spatial matters”.¹⁷⁷

In cinematic art, the film productions by the Hungarian Miklós Jancsó (e.g. *Szegénylegények*, 1965), the Finnish Aki Kaurismäki (e.g. *Tulitikkutehtaan tyttö*, 1990) and Tapio Pirainen (e.g. *Siivoton juttu*, 1997; *Raid*, 2003) are interesting from a Finno-Ugrian point of view, due to their coolly primitive and objective means of

¹⁷⁶Other works of his which could be listed here: *Saunatyttö*, *Lemminkäinen tulisella virralla*, *Syksy*, *Rakennus*, *Lemminkäisen äiti*, *Palokärki*, *Ystävyys*, etc.

¹⁷⁷Strømnes–Johansson–Hiltunen 1982

expression, as well as the characteristic, almost Kalevalan coordinating nature of their sequences and cutting methods.

The plot of what is perhaps the most outstanding work of Hungarian theatre, The tragedy of man by Imre Madách (1823-1864), which reviews the history and prospective future of humanity, is based from beginning to end on the antithetical-coordinating dialogue, contentions (attitude, world view) of Lucifer and Adam.

In Finnish theatre it can even happen that the director divides the stage into two parts from beginning to end. This is what Tapio Parkkinen did in his documentary style play on the Finnish composer Toivo Kuula (1883-1918) (Toivo Kuula – Keskenräinen sinfonia): the left hand side of the stage features the composer’s home in Vaasa and his first wife, the other side his new home in Helsinki and his second love and later wife:

“Vaasa. Cityscape, (...) chairs, a long table, to the left the home of Matti Kuula and Sanna Kuula (the composer’s parents, Gy. K.) In Vaasa. (...)”¹⁷⁸

– “On the other half of the stage we see a pretty girl, the 17 year old Alma Silventoinen (from Helsinki, Gy. K.)...”¹⁷⁹

From here on, whatever happens in front of the onlooker in the parental home in Vaasa, happens relative to the world of Helsinki musicians, and what happens in Helsinki, does so relative to the world of the Vaasa parental home. During the play, the characters on the two sides of the stage, as if talking to themselves, “talk across to one another” from one city to the other. That is, the characters interpret the happenings and their own thoughts, also in terms of the thinking of their other halves in the distance (e.g. Kuula’s second wife talking in thought to the composer’s first wife). In the play entitled Niskavuoren nuori emäntä (= young hostess of Niskavuori), likewise put on in Vaasa by Juha Luukkonen in 2006, the life story of a woman who has come to a new house is so played out on the stage, that the young and old selves of the hostess are present on the stage at the same time, with the happenings and the events of the woman’s life being considered with an old head and a young head.

Phenomena comparable to this are also occasionally found in Indo-European drama. In Greek tragedies, the chorus declares the possible opinion of the onlookers, the audience, but without the characters trying to relate to them. William Shakespeare’s (1564–1616) Hamlet asks for advice from the ghost of his dead father with regard his duty, and Macbeth, daunted by his future, has his fortune told by witches. In these last two cases, the ghost and the knowledge of fate have an influence on the characters, but not as a coordinating relationship between the two characters, but in such a way that these (the ghost and the foretold fate) seem to direct the character from above.

¹⁷⁸Parkkinen 2006. p. 1.

¹⁷⁹Parkkinen *ibid.* p. 2.

V. 3. 3. *The mentality of Finno-Ugric peoples in music*

According to Erkki Pekkila's doctoral dissertation entitled "Musiikki tekstinä" (= Music as text), sequential segments of musical text are in a subordinating relationship with one another if they cannot be interchanged with one another, and in a coordinating relationship if they can be.¹⁸⁰ In this regard, let us look at a well-known folk tune from the British Isles, conceived in a natural minor without a leading note:



Music example 3

If any segment of this tune were interchanged with another, then the melody would be "textually" wrong.

Let's see a Finno-Ugric example! At the time it was collected, the following Estonian folk song was sung as a lullaby with a text about the creation myth:



Music example 4. Tedre-Tormis 1975. 2

Almost any bar could be interchanged with another: the tune changes, but it remains "textually meaningful". Even the cadence bars with repeating notes¹⁸¹ (considered general with the Finno-Ugrians) are not exceptions to this, though perhaps they are in this example. A Lapp yoik, as simple as the previous example:

Nuottiesimerkki:



Launis 1908 303

Music example 5.

¹⁸⁰Pekkila 1988, p. 157.

¹⁸¹Lükö calls a cadence like this monotonic.

We could confidently interchange the first bar of the tune with the third, or the fourth: the tune changes, but its “textual” integrity is not impaired. And just so we don’t think that this is the case because these two tunes are “so simple” that they can even cope with this swapping about, let’s look at a Mari tune with a greater range:



Music example 6. Vikár–Berezki 1971. 251

Before we talk about this, however, let’s look once again at music example 3 put forward as an Indo-European example. On hearing this melody, after the first bar the listener is waiting for how the singer or the tune will advance or progress towards the tonic, and how high a point of tension the singer will reach and for how long, and how he will then finally arrive back at the fermata. “(...) the essence of tune”, writes Schopenhauer (1788-1860) in his work entitled *The Aesthetics of music* (1819), “is constant departure or straying from the tonic, approaching on a thousand paths not only the harmonic steps, the third and the dominant, but every note, the dissonant seventh and the extra large leaps, but always finally returning to the tonic. On all those paths the tune expresses the multifaceted aspiration of will, satisfaction, but always by a harmonic step and even more by finding the tonic.”¹⁸² We cannot consider it to be a coincidence, therefore, that the tonic-subdominant-dominant-tonic¹⁸³ triads have been developed to perfection in the Indo-European musical cultures of Western Europe. In contrast, an (appreciative) listener to the Mari tune, on hearing the first bar, does not wait to hear how the tune will rise to an every higher level of tension in the second, all the more because Mari tunes, like most Finno-Ugric ones, tend to be descending by nature, but will want to find out from it (the second bar), how the previously heard first bar is to be understood, how the first bar is to be interpreted by means of the second one which follows it: what will be the “sense” of the first bar. And when this has become clear, when the whole of the first line has been heard, then how this first line is interpreted by the whole of the second line which follows it; how the first and

¹⁸²Schopenhauer 1913. p. 14. We note that the author here is actually making statements, which we consider correct, about the Indo-European musical language, which although left unsaid, he also holds to be of general validity for every other type of musical language, but we do not. (Furthermore, Schopenhauer considers music to be a manifestation of human volition rather than emotion, in contrast to the concept professed in this work. This, however, has no significance here from our point of view.

¹⁸³ Without digressing here, but just mentioning it as a point of interest, the Indo-European musical term “dominant” also points to a subordinating relationship.

second halves of the tune form a meaningful whole. How the first two lines, the first half of the tune is interpreted by its second half, the third and fourth lines. This construction principle is all the easier in the tunes of the Finno-Ugric peoples, because Finno-Ugric musical notes are primitive, in contrast to the notes of the Indo-European musical languages of Western Europe with their developed diatonic tonality. Which means that these notes have no properties in and of themselves. According to the singers of Finno-Ugric peoples, the sound of each bell, or each note of a singer or violin, is *thicker* or *thinner* than the other¹⁸⁴, but these notes, to use linguistic terminology, do not govern anything, as does, by way of example, the leading note of the seventh step, bearing the feeling of tension inherent in the dominant chord of Western European music. In the musical cultures of the Indo-Germanic peoples (for example in Viennese music), every single note is a personality, which has its own characteristics. In the Finno-Ugric musical world the notes are of equal value, they only have meaning in relation to another note. In contrast to the diatonic world, therefore in this musical realm, the four-note chords, the sevenths, do not necessarily require resolution, as Bartók also mentioned in his writings.¹⁸⁵ The method of musical construction preferred by the Finno-Ugric peoples (NB! not exclusively) is therefore paratactic. Based on the above examples, this means that the musical segments, from the smallest particles to the largest, from the musical notes all the way to the musical phrases, arise in correlation with one another. The notes are arranged into note pairs, and these note pairs together with a following note pair form a whole paratactic relationship. This is how a bar comes into being, which once again forms a pair with the following bar, and thus comes about the pair of bars making up the whole line. Then once again the line pairs are juxtaposed in supplementary (e.g. aav) or antithetical (aat)¹⁸⁶ paratactic relationship, and thus we arrive at musical lines, pairs of phrases which are very similar to the Finno-Ugric halving (not parallel) verse lines. Finally, very frequently, even the cadences of the musical lines form paratactic pairs. This type of musical mentality, therefore, does not create musical thoughts in the same way as subordinating Western-European music, which in one of its heydays, that of Viennese music, starting out from a tonic, directed by its own subjective feelings, roams though the dominant superordinate to the tonic, possibly the subdominant too, in order finally to reach the goal (see László Vajda's analysis of the Kalevala), or in order to return to the fermata, but it involves the objective, (theoretically) infinite juxtaposition of longer or shorter musical particles and segments. All this of course is

¹⁸⁴For instance, the Székelys of Szentgerice (on the Nyárád), know if the bell being rung is in the village's Unitarian or Reformed church, that the sound of the bell in one church is *thinner* and the other *thicker* (Kádár 1978- 1984). As demonstrated by Gábor Lükő in his comprehensive and thorough study entitled "The symbols of music" (1970-1980) covering more than fifty Eurasian peoples, this perception and distinction of musical notes ("thin" = high frequency and "thick" = low frequency sound) is widespread, not only in the music of Finno-Ugric peoples, but also that of Mongolian, Turkic and other linguistic groups. See the literature listed in footnote 103.

¹⁸⁵Bartók 1989 (1931). p. 143.

¹⁸⁶v = variation, r = reflection/inversion

not only true of folk music styles, but also of the works of composers who have developed one or other of these into their mother tongue.

In the following, we present examples from the works of Western European and Finno-Ugric composers in order to illustrate the two types of musical thinking. Here are an Italian and a German example of subjective, subordinating musical thinking.

The first bar of the work depicts the composer's emotions with a sigh built on a G minor triad, which almost grows quiet by the end of the first bar, but it is swung forward by a second, similarly

Largo

The musical score is written in G minor (one flat) and common time (C). It consists of three systems of staves. The first system has three staves: the top two are for a melodic instrument (likely violin or flute) and the bottom is for the bass. The first bar of the top staff begins with a [Solo] marking and a trill (tr) on the G note. The second bar continues with another trill and a [segue] marking. The first bar of the bottom staff is marked with a dynamic of [p] and a first velocity (1 Vel) marking. The second system also has three staves, with a circled number 5 above the first bar of the top staff. The third system has three staves, with trills (tr) marked above the first bars of the top and middle staves. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

2 (10)

Music example 7. Vivaldi: *Concerto for two cellos in G minor, 2nd movement (RV 531)*

brooding, melancholy sigh (the second cello), so that the two sighs can now swing forward together to a new fermata, the first note of the third bar. Rhythmically this really could be a fermata, but the tune has just arrived at the 2nd note of the minor scale, which note has the property, in contrast to the possibility of rest provided by the rhythm, of prompting the composer to a new take-off, to further consideration of what has gone before, and thus we reach the leading notes of G minor, and from there the high flying tonic (G), and when the listener would think we can go no further, then it turns out that we really cannot, only meanwhile the composer's emotions have transported him into the key of D minor, the dominant of G minor, from where we only return to the tonic key of G minor at the end of the movement. In spite of a great many fluctuations in the melody, depicting adventures of the soul, it moves straight forward towards the denouement. We find similar happenings in W. A. Mozart's well-known piece, *A Little Night Music*, conceived in a similar way:

Menuetto
Allegretto

Musical score for the first system (measures 1-7) of the Minuet in G major, K. 525. The score is in 3/4 time and features a treble and bass clef. The first system includes dynamics such as *f* and trills (*tr*) in the upper staves.

Musical score for the second system (measures 8-13). This system includes dynamics such as *p* and *cresc.* (crescendo). It features a repeat sign at the beginning of the system and trills (*tr*) in the upper staves.

Musical score for the third system (measures 14-17). This system includes dynamics such as *f* and trills (*tr*). The system concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots.

stb.

Music example 8
W. A. Mozart: Eine kleine Nachtmusik, 2nd movement (KV 525) (excerpt)

The musical thinking of modern Finno-Ugric composers based on juxtaposition is fundamentally different from this. Here the tune does not arch to anywhere, it does not strive towards any dominant key, not even to a final tonic or fermata, but, heard with a Western-European ear, it repeats the same musical segments of various lengths with offensive, humdrum monotony. Monotonous and disturbing of course only for those who do not hear the interplay of these segments as they supplement, explain or even contrast with one another, and the musical thoughts resulting from this and conceived in this way. Essentially, it is a matter of the same arrangement principle spoken of by Vajda when contrasting the textual construction of the Kalevala and the Odyssey, and which we have detailed in 5.1.5. This is illustrated by the following two examples:

Andante pesante ♩ = 72

f *mercando* 8x

I
II

1. Mä - ni mii - si kün-tä - mä - hä, maan ra-joil - le raa - ta - maa.
2. Kün-si küm-me - nä vak - ko - a, ja vak - koi sa - ta vak - koo.

III

1. Mä - ni mii - si kün-tä - mä-hä, maan ra-joil - le raa-ta-maa.
2. Kün - si küm - me - nä vak - ko - a, ja vak - koi sa - ta vak-koo.

The man set out to plough, out to the boundary to sweat/work
he ploughed ten furrows, even ploughed a hundred.

Music example 9. Veljo Tormis: Prologue to the epic (from the suite "Finno-Ugric Landscapes")

The opening bars of Bartók's *Allegro barbaro* (see the notes marked with accents):

Tempo giusto ♩ = 76 - 84

Piano

sff *mf* *ff*

Music example 10. Bartók: Allegro barbaro (extract)

As Bartók's critics noted in a somewhat hostile tone at the time: "Chaotic mixture of sounds, on the surface of which not a single theme is floating".¹⁸⁷ And there really isn't. Instead, however, the musical sections marked with stars are interchangeable, and according to Pekkilä this points to coordinating thinking.

We can consider that "trick" beloved of Bartók, Kodály and also Pekka Kostainen and Veljo Tormis, by which the musical message has a first and second half which is divided up between two performers, to be an unusual composition procedure resulting from the distinctively Finno-Ugric nature of musical thinking. Our first example for demonstrating this phenomenon is from a publication entitled "Koolimuusika" produced by Veljo Tormis for schoolchildren:

¹⁸⁷Budapesti Hirlap, 27 February 1913.

1. solist *mf*

2. solist *mf*

1. Lõi - ka, lõi - ka, lei - vu li - ne, (Lõi - ka, lõi - ka, lei - vu li - ne,
 2. lõ - pe, ot - sa, ee - - ke - ne, (lõ - pe, ot - sa, ee - - ke - ne,)
 3. no - pi, päi - da, päe - vi li - ne! (no - pi, päi - da, päe - vi li - ne!)

S
 Blockflöte *p*

A
 Blockflöte *p*

Xilofon
 (pizz.) *p*

Bass *p*

Music example 11. Tormis 1981. p. 28.

In Bartók's "Mikrokosmos" series there are dozens of pieces in which the first part of the tune is to be played with the right hand and the second with the left:

Andante ♩ = 76

p, legato

Music example 12. Bartók: Triplets. Mikrokosmos III.

We see the same phenomenon in the composer’s series “Violin duets”, but it also applies to Zoltán Kodály’s *bicinia*:

Music example 13. Kodály: Selected *bicinia*. 6.

The first bar of the tune is to be sung in the upper voice, the second in the lower. This procedure, which is reminiscent of Finnish and Estonian *runo* singing (*päämiespuoltaja*), was developed to perfection by Bartók in his work “Music for strings, percussion and celesta” in that the composer divided the full orchestra itself into two parts:

Vivacissimo, ♩ kb. 176

Presto strepitoso, $\text{♩} = 210$

1. VI. *ff*

2. VI. *ff* stb.

1. Vla. *ff*

1. Vlc. *ff*

1. Cb. *ff*

3. VI.

4. VI. stb.

2. Vla.

2. Vlc.

2. Cb.

Music example 14. Bartók: Music for strings, percussion and celesta (1936)

The melody sections are antithetical supplements of one another, in musical terminology: inversions. Of course there are reflections and inversions in Western-European music too, but these are considered only secondary phenomena there, because if they do occur, their task, like that of other musical phenomena, is to move the tune on in their own way to some tonal function (tonic, dominant or subdominant), then from there on to the denouement. In Bartók's music, these only rarely have this purpose.

In his music, it is important that the individual segments, inversions, reflections and variations of the melody should become meaningful in comparison with one another. This is how a musical composition written in the Finno-Ugric musical language progresses, and for this reason, in contrast to finite Indo-European tunes¹⁸⁸, it never actually ends, as an Estonian folksinger declared to Lennart Meri.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸Cf. Schopenhauer's statement quoted above: "But it always finally returns to the tonic".

¹⁸⁹Meri 1986: A singer who was asked by a collector to sing said that the song of a learned person can always be recognised, because it has an end.

VI.

THE WORLD OF A FINNO-UGRIC LANGUAGE SPEAKER – THE PHILOSOPHY OF OBJECTIVE AND PRIMITIVE COORDINATING THINKING

The time has not yet come for us to be able to speak on the subject given in the title in a way which covers all Finno-Ugric languages. For this, it would be necessary for researchers who are familiar with each Finno-Ugric (linguistic) culture practically at “native speaker level” to become thoroughly engrossed in the world view of the individual Finno-Ugric peoples, to inform the researchers dealing the other languages of their findings in official descriptions, and to compare the results thus obtained. As this is not possible for the time being, in the following we are restricted to the comparative findings discussed so far in our work, and to Sándor Karácsony’s propositions on the Hungarian mindset.

VI. 1. THE LOGISMS OF FINNO-UGRIC LANGUAGE SPEAKERS AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS – BASES FOR THEIR PHILOSOPHICAL THINKING

VI. 1. 1. The logisms of Finno-Ugric language speakers

Every proposition of the philosophy of coordinating thinking is coordinating – says Sándor Karácsony, and he summarises these when speaking of the (1) legal, (2) linguistic (cognitive), (3) artistic (emotional), (4) volitional (social) and (5) creedal (religious) attuned relationships of a man thinking in terms coordination or juxtaposition:

“Every proposition is coordinating, built on the principle of one compared with the other, the relationship between them is asserted, not the one or the other.”¹⁹⁰

1) The legal proposition can only stand (we /you and I/ are independent), if I am the guarantee of your independence, and you are the guarantee of my independence.”¹⁹¹

“According to the logic of the western world, the security of my independence is if the other depends on me, and is not capable or does not dare to act against me. For

¹⁹⁰Here we can think, by way of a simple example, of Gallen-Kallela’s pictures presented above.

¹⁹¹Karácsony 2002 (1942). p. 30–31.

coordinating (...) behaviour, the security of my independence is if the other party also feels dependent on me, therefore he does not need to fight against me, he had nothing to avenge.”¹⁹²

What Sándor Karácsony is thinking of when he speaks of the logic of the western world, we can easily understand from these lines by the Spanish philosopher Gasset: “Life is a constant battle against the objective world, in which battle we have to be able to stay on our barricades. Ideas signify a battle plan, which we make in order to be able to repel the attacks of the objective world. (...) According to this approach, every single idea in terms of its content is in constant contact with life, and bears the opportunity for active action or passive endurance. To my knowledge, in the history of thought this concept has not yet been worded in this form, but I think that the development of philosophy which started with Kant will definitely lead to this result. (...) Europe has dominated the world for three millennia, but at this moment no-one knows for sure whether she still dominates it, or whether this domination with continue.”¹⁹³

This attitude is therefore contrary to the Uralic. Much closer to the latter is the following maxim from a parable written down by Chinese philosopher Zhuangzi: Confucius does not want to believe his eyes, when he sees that a man is capable of swimming in a river full of rapids, and he asks him about his knowledge:

“May I ask: you must be familiar with the law of eternal return, that you go about like this in the water?”

The man replied thus:

– I have no kind of secret knowledge. (...) Where the whirlpool takes me, I submerge, and I **come to the surface** as the current throws me. I am just following the law of the water, **I am not thinking about myself**, and thus I can swim in it. (...) I grew up in the water, and I find **a home** in it. (...)” (emphasis Gy. K.)¹⁹⁴

In the Chinese example, therefore, the man does not want to overwhelm the world around him, but he is looking for a coordinating relationship with it. He accepts its autonomy and lives with it. In fact. He even yields completely: if necessary “he does not think of himself”, and even “disappears”. The Hungarian is not in a fight with ideas either: if he is thinking he says: *eltűnődik* [‘he ponders’, but cf. *eltűnik*, ‘he disappears’], i.e. he is not thinking of himself, his whole personality, his individual nature disappears.¹⁹⁵ And thus he finds a home in the world. Because, as one of the Hungarian classical writers, Áron Tamási, has the hero of his novel say, “The reason we are in the world, is to be at home somewhere in it.”¹⁹⁶ The intention of oppressing the world and the other person lies far from this mentality.

2) The linguistic proposition: I give a signal, so that you understand it, and once again, it is only valid, if in the depths of the subject-predicate relationship, I always

¹⁹²Kövendi 2002. p. 403.

¹⁹³Gasset 2003 XIV/2

¹⁹⁴Csuang-Cë 2000 p. 29-30.

¹⁹⁵Lükő's lectures 2000–2005

¹⁹⁶Áron Tamási: Ábel (novel trilogy), and here it is worth remembering what was said about the family-like feeling of life (5.2).

act relative to you. So I break up an undivided idea relative to my own knowledge, but always measured by the degree of how well you are informed. I will use juxtaposition, sentence form, predicate, verb, relationship, image, as long as my message is new for you, and I will express the signals of spatial and temporal inherence for as long as possible. As soon as you can understand what I want to say, however, I will rush to your aid linguistically too, so that the content unfolded in time for your imagination may amalgamate as the imagery of a single concept as quickly as possible, and become a valid ‘truth’ in the world of your mind. Because only thus can I validly make the proposition: you understand me.”¹⁹⁷

“In speech, what is actually undividedly one, splits into two for the sake of understanding. Therefore the one person correlates for the sake of the other. Yes indeed, but the other person only understands what is said to him, if he manages to restore the undivided unit once again from the two split parts. During speech, therefore, there is a constant tension between the two tendencies: the wishes to divide up and to unify”¹⁹⁸ There are therefore two forces affecting the formation of the speech: one on the speaker’s side, and he wants to unfold the blob of thought¹⁹⁹ within him, the one whole image, the idea which can be portrayed with a single word; the other is on the listening party’s side, and this latter wants to recompress the speech components he has just heard split up into phrases, words and phonemes, into one image, one idea, because this is the only way he can store it away. Illustrated using Lükő’s diagram:

I	HERE – NOW	YOU
my wrapped up cultural image	I unfold it	you wrap up your changed cultural image
spatiality	temporality	spatiality
unity	duality	unity
reality	happening	reality
subject	predicate	object (obj.) ²⁰⁰

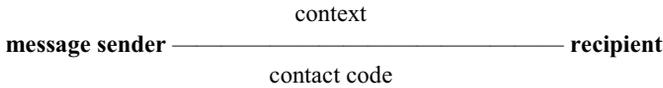
Western linguistics, including the modern linguistic sciences (for instance generative grammar, and even cognitive linguistics) to this very day has not dealt in any methodical way with the language-shaping role of the “other party”. In these communication theories, the sender is active and the listener just passive, “recipient” or “addressee”:

¹⁹⁷Karácsony 2002 (1942). p. 30–31.

¹⁹⁸Karácsony 1947. p. 58-59. In: Mrs. Erzsébet Nagy Heltai 1985. p. 42.

¹⁹⁹Finnish: , “miellemöyky”

²⁰⁰Lükő 1947

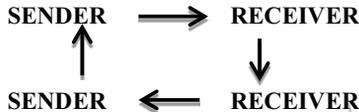


Jakobson 1960

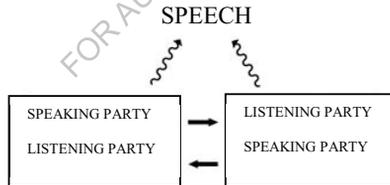
Simplified:

TRANSMITTER → RECEIVER

The Karácsony language theory is the first which has tried to design a grammar for which the theoretical starting point, as emerges from the above, is that it consistently considers the “other party” to a language-shaping force. Accordingly, concentrating on the “sender – addressee” relationship, Roman Jakobson’s (1896–1983) scheme is thus modified by Karácsony’s pupil Ferenc K. Fabricius (1919-1977):²⁰¹



Despite his intention, Fabricius can only demonstrate that both parties are active during natural conversation, and the exchange of roles is constant. In Karácsony’s theory, however, the emphasis is not placed on this, but on the fact that speech arises from the tension (conscious, in the state of consciousness) between the two parties, from the way they relate, so the roles really do change constantly. Fabricius’ diagram can thus be further refined:



In western philosophy, it was Husserl (1859–1938) and M. Merleau–Ponty (1908–1961)²⁰², who, although only in a rudimentary way, recognised the significance of the “Other” person in their works on linguistic philosophy. Gadamer goes somewhat further: “... speaking is a phenomenon not belonging to my sphere of action, but to ours ... the spiritual reality of language is the reality of the pneuma or the spirit, and the spirit unites the I and the you.”²⁰³ However, for the time being western philosophy

²⁰¹ Fabricius 1972

²⁰² Merleau–Ponty 1945. (Introduction)

²⁰³ Gadamer refers to Ferdinand Ebner’s work “Das Wort und die geistigen Realitäten. Pneumatologische Fragmente”. In: Gadamer 1966. p. 148-152.

still owes us the conclusions to be drawn from these statements and a method for thinking them through systematically.

3) As for the artistic proposition of coordinating thinking: its affirmation is also relative: I have solidarity with you, because you can only recognise yourself compared to the sincerity of my solidarity, the revelation of myself can only succeed relative to this".²⁰⁴ In contrast to this, according to Western-European thinkers, art and its products are individual achievements: "... the inner content of classic art is individuality which is free in itself, ..." – writes Hegel (1770– 1831).²⁰⁵ In another place: "Classic art, inasmuch as its content and form are that which is free, can only spring from the freedom of a spirit which is aware of itself."²⁰⁶ The modern Russian philosopher Vladimir Solovyov (1853-1900) does not move beyond the notion of beauty standing alone either: "In beauty, with the direct and inseparable unification of spiritual content and empirical expression, in that they mutually permeate one another completely, the material phenomena, which have truly become beauty, and therefore truly incorporated in themselves their own idea, must be existent and immortal in the same way as is the idea itself."²⁰⁷ The philosophy of coordination does not contradict all this in every way, but the emphasis is once again elsewhere: the artistic achievement cannot come into being without the other party, and its destination, success, also depends on the other party: the deciding factor in the determination of artistic success is not "the idea itself", but the fact that through my work, "you have recognised yourself in me".²⁰⁸ If we accept this as a starting point, then the long disputed issue is solved, as to whether an incantation, the verse-charm of a *táltos* (shaman), is art, as it has a fixed verse form just like a poem. The answer is clearly "no", for although it may be true that what he mutters is a "text" with a fixed verse form, it is not the case that he is muttering his verse-charm or incantation in the interest of artistic success, or in order to demonstrate the other's (his *half's*) and his own innermost being. Western art theories (Gadamer) have only come so far in the most recent times: "For the creation of true art, there is always an associated audience, and this audience is more than mere intellectuals ...".²⁰⁹ Their recognition, however, has not yet led to the creation of a new art theory starting from this basis.

4) "The social proposition: I too, you too, it takes two to tango, is also a relative affirmation, as the pledge of freedom is mutual. My action is tolerable, if you can truly endure (it), on the other hand, you can only endure it, if I have performed a tolerable action. We can be free relative to one another."²¹⁰ And this can only be imagined "if the 'one compared with the other' principle, albeit transcendently, is given, indeed, guaranteed. This is only possible in one case: on a family basis." (See our Finnish and Hungarian literary examples taken from Vainö Linna's novel and from János Háry,

²⁰⁴Karácsony 2002. (1942) p. 30-31.

²⁰⁵Hegel 1974. p. 205.

²⁰⁶Hegel 1974. p. 205-206.

²⁰⁷Quoted by: Smirnov 2000. p. 190-191.

²⁰⁸Karácsony 1993. (1941) p. 85.

²⁰⁹Gadamer 1966. p. 220-231.

²¹⁰Karácsony 2002. (1942) p. 30-31.

5.2.) The family is the place where the other person's actions can be endured. According to this thinking, the other person is not an individual, but the one with whom I form a community (symbiosis), who whom I am in fellowship. This is why a Hungarian person will use family-like forms of address even with perfect strangers (in folk songs, see above, even for His Majesty the Emperor). And the grammatical expression of all this is that in the Finno-Ugric languages, the persons involved in the speech occur in their forms with personal suffixes for the most part. "Because" – writes Gábor Lükő – "we people are an ASSOCIATION ... even our sons who are forced to bear arms know this, because" they would sing this folksong while marching through each village which was unfamiliar to them:

"I accept each village as my home, Every old
woman as my mother."²¹¹

For a man living in accordance with such maxims, what Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) says in his work "Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse" (1921) is unacceptable, where he contends, "a community only comes into being, when its members see an Ego-Ideal in the leader, who is uniformly acceptable for all of them

... . A people definitely needs a chief, because the people is incapable of leading. The chief is necessary, in order for a member of the people to identify himself in an adequate way as a person who does not belong to the leadership group, who has dissolved into the crowd, handing over his ego-ideal, the absolute nature of his ego, to another."²¹²

5) "In the religious proposition" – writes Sándor Karácsony – the transcendental feature is that the priest's testimony can only be accepted by the layman if he too becomes a priest himself, and the pledge of this is that his layman likewise successfully passes on his testimony"²¹³

VI. 1.2. Characteristics of the logisms of Finno-Ugric language speakers

As is apparent all the way through the above, the other fundamental characteristic of this mentality is concreteness; the fact that it thinks in concrete terms rather than abstracts. It does not view things from an individual's point of view, it does not categorise, does not abstract, but it correlates what it observes, leaving it in its observed, unchanged, primitive form. Another reason it is primitive, is because it only allows and utilises the simplest relations of just a small number of very large concepts in sign and symbol".²¹⁴ The goal of recognition here is therefore not the Schelling Absolute known in Western-European philosophy, or even the Hegelian Spirit. For the coordinative thinking system these, as well as such types of abstract concepts as

²¹¹Lükő 1999. p. 43.

²¹²Smirnov 2000. p. 118-119.

²¹³Karácsony 2002. (1942) p. 30-31.

²¹⁴Karácsony 1993. (1941) p. 87.

Kantian “Pure Reason” and Bergson’s “intuition in itself”, are uninterpretable. Whilst western philosophy “is seeking for the point which leads to ultimate truth”,²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ paratactic philosophy regards the exploration of relationships between phenomena to be its task.²¹⁷

VI. 2. PHILOSOPHICAL PROPOSITIONS OF FINNO-UGRIC LANGUAGE SPEAKERS IN THE LIGHT OF WESTERN-EUROPEAN PHILOSOPHY – CONTOURS OF A THEORY OF FINNO-UGRIC CULTURE

The basic laws of Western-European thinking as formulated by Bertrand Russell (1872–1970) are as follows:

- I. The law of identity: “Whatever is, is.”
- II. The law of non-contradiction: “Nothing can both be and not be.”
- III. The law of excluded middle: “Everything must either be or not be.”²¹⁸

These same propositions, “translated” into coordinating, objective and primitive Finno-Ugric thinking are modified in the following way:

- I. Everything that is, only is in comparison with something else.
- II. Nothing can be, which is both comparable to other things, and comparable to nothing.
- III. Everything must either be, and therefore be comparable to (an)other thing(s), or not be, and then be comparable to nothing.

One of the basic questions which has so intrigued Western-European philosophy since ancient times has been in connection with the primal unit²¹⁹ (otherwise: the divine unit of origin). According to this idea, individual things acquire their independent (imperfect, or sinful) existence by breaking away from a primal unit. For a Finno-Ugric language speaker, however, an undivided unit as such, and things or phenomena breaking away from it being condemned to independent existence are abstract (non-existent, unusable) concepts: Anaximander (611-546 BC) also thought that when a thing is born, it breaks away from the original divine unit, thus seeking its “independent, unique existence”.²²⁰ „... whatever claims to exist, has already stepped out of Existence” – says Heidegger millennia later.²²¹ According to Nietzsche: “Every emergence is a sinful independence from eternal existence; a profanity, for which the

²¹⁵Jaspers 1977. Second lecture

²¹⁶Cf. what was said about western music.

²¹⁷Cf. for instance, what was said about Finno-Ugric graphic art.

²¹⁸Russell 1991. (1910) p. 78.

²¹⁹Arisztotle 1936. 1054b, 1057-1059

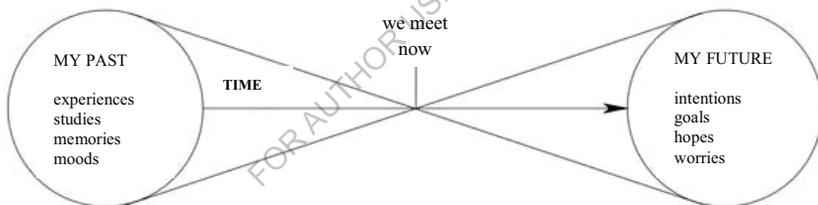
²²⁰Molnár 2001. p. 44.

²²¹Ibid.

only worthy punishment is death.”²²² In contrast to all these affirmations, according to the art concept of those living in coordination (also see Ady’s verse quoted above: I should like to be loved): “I am everyone everywhere, and everything always happens to me. You too are everyone everywhere, and everything always happens to you. Everyone is everyone everywhere, and everything always happens to everyone. Everyone is Me and I am Everyone. Everyone lives my life and I live everyone’s life. ... This Life constantly is, it is in continuity and this Man is everywhere, and therefore universal.”²²³

One of the most fundamental philosophical handholds which has emerged from the Indo-European approach is therefore meaningless for coordinating thinking, because it latently treats the ego as an independent unit:

“I think, therefore I am”; or the earlier and later variants of this: for example, Saint Augustine (354–430 AD): “For if I am deceived, I am. For he who is not, cannot be deceived; and if I am deceived, by this same token, I am”,²²⁴ or: Jacques Derrida (born 1930): “I think, therefore I am not”²²⁵ etc. As well as the scientific approach resting on this basis. The Finno-Ugrian does not form a unit (a whole) in himself; he is not alone, not by himself. As he would phrase it, therefore, at best it can only be a matter of you and I together, we exist, we are what we are, we think (about something) relative to one another. According to the Finno-Ugrian approach, therefore, at best I can assert that “I relate, therefore I am,”²²⁶ The most obvious case of this, the easiest to observe, is when two people meet:



Lükő 1994

At such a time: “The location of the conversation, the HERE, is therefore at the point of contact of MY personality and YOURS. My past has dissolved in my personality, and my future, for me, has dissolved in yours:

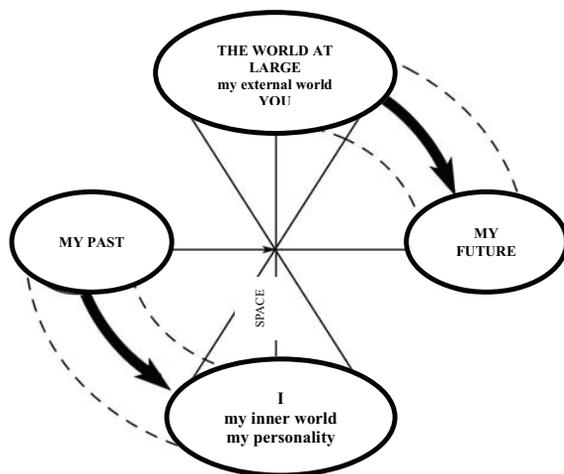
²²²Quoted by: Molnár 2001. p. 42-44.

²²³Karácsony 2002. (1942) 31, p. 36.

²²⁴Szent Ágoston 1942. Az Isten városáról. XI. 26. [St Augustine. City of God]

²²⁵Earliest occurrence: St Augustine. Further examples: Smirnov 2000. p. 73.

²²⁶Deme 2002. p. 9.



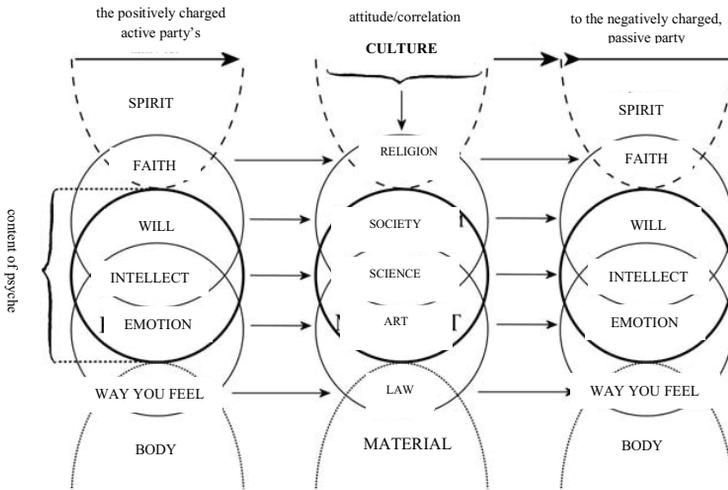
Lükő 1994

In their latest results, brain researchers who are still working almost totally independently of culturologists have come to the same, if not even more radical conclusions. Riitta Hari, professor of the Brain Research Department in Helsinki College of Technology, in her lecture entitled 'Are our thoughts in our brains?' expressed herself in a way which seems somewhat cautious when she said: "In many relationships between couples, and naturally in lasting working relationships, thinking is clearly distributed between the individuals (participating in them)."²²⁷ (In her works, Hari frequently refers to research by Surowiecki, but as far as we know, this is only partially connected with what is expressed here.²²⁸).

A culture theory in accordance with the coordinating mentality has been drawn up by Sándor Karácsony and Gábor Lükő. According to this, people by themselves, half people, will have no legal system, no art, no science, no society and no religion. Lükő depicted all this on the following diagram:

²²⁷Hari 2006

²²⁸for instance Surowiecki 2004



Lükő 1994

(It is clear from what has been presented so far, that the diagram is simplified and theoretical, as the correlation between the two parties is not evident, and the relationship between people is shown as restricted to just two persons.)

Lükő's diagram distinguishes five kinds of mental state, although two of these, "faith" and "the way you feel", rather just fringe upon our mind/psyche. In each of these five kinds of mental state, the **attitude/correlation** of people to one another is different. The correlation of two parties can have a result: if their correlation is emotionally charged, then it is an artistic symbol; if their correlation is objective, i.e. without emotional charge, then a linguistic sign; or, if their correlation is expressed in actions, then social customs. These correlations are presented in the central column of the diagram. The stable forms (legal, scientific, artistic, social, religious) of these correlations between people is we call culture.

The Finno-Ugrian is therefore a person as a member (or rather half) of a community, a "felekezeti" [sect, denomination, association]. His thoughts, his emotions, his will are part of the collective consciousness of that community of which he is also a "half" (= constituent part).

His thoughts, his emotions, his will are (an) individual crystallisation(s) of this community consciousness, dependent on his (physical-spiritual) personality, its aptitudes, its past, the way it feels at present, and its future longings, which therefore exists and has being as part of the culture of his community. We may add to all this that even the nature of the way he feels is not completely independent of this community, as also expressed by Lükő's diagram.

VII.

THE FINNO-UGRIC LANGUAGE SPEAKER AND HIS LIFE IN SPACE AND TIME

– POSSIBLE CONTOURS OF A FINNO- UGRIC PHILOSOPHY

We think that the results of our above investigations allow us to assume that Sándor Karácsony's findings on the philosophy of the Hungarian man may possibly be extended to the philosophies of peoples speaking other Finno-Ugric languages.

And here we return to the assertion by the Norwegian researcher Frode J. Strømnes, mentioned at the beginning of our book: "To be is not always to be". It appears that it really isn't. On researching the Hungarian world view, Sándor Karácsony conceived the ontology of the coordinating mentality in this way: "This existence is our existence, it belongs to people. My existence and yours. I and you are in existence. We are: just like the predicate in a language phrase: it is itself in relation, My relation and Yours. Only I and You can be in existence, because existence is also a relation, the correlation of one person with another. Everyone in existence, is so is relation to another. Existence is therefore transcendent too (as a relationship is not tangible, Gy. K.). Man in the universe is limitless, and existence sub specie aeternitatis is timeless, therefore it is an inexplicable, wonderful freedom that we are alive, I and you, who are in existence sub specie aeternitatis. We are deprived of our freedom by the one who sets *limits to the limitless*, measures the *timeless*, and explains that the *incomprehensible* may be grasped."²²⁹

Ortega y Gasset (1883–1955), a Spanish philosopher of our age, sees this in a different, Indo-European, way: "If we say that we are alive, that is equivalent to saying that we are in the space of *limited* possibilities. (...) Life for everyone means that he is *under 'circumstances'* or in the world (i.e. on his own, alone, Gy. K.). (...) The world is the totality of our life opportunities (...), that which we may become (i.e. on our own, alone, Gy. K.). Even in the worst case, or if only a single way out from the whole world remains, even then there are two possibilities: the one which is given, and leaving the world" – says Gasset.²³⁰ The western man, therefore, exists as limited by the world, and alone when facing it.²³¹

The Indian Buddhist world view – which seeks enlightenment and peace in solitude

²²⁹Karácsony 2002. (1941) p. 31.

²³⁰Gasset 2003. (1926) p. 69.

²³¹Cf. with existentialist philosophy, for instance the works of Sartre on the individual being "thrown into life", Sartre 1964

– is even (much) more radical than this. It may recognise the self-surrender of the personality, but not like the Finno-Ugric language speaker, who is ready to renounce his personality for his “half” (*eltúnődik* – see above), but for himself, so that he himself may find his complete self, his own unity:

“Happy are the father and mother, whose child he is, and the woman is also happy, whose consort he is.

On hearing this, the Bodhisattva thought thus:

– This woman says that on seeing this beautiful exterior the mother’s heart is stilled, the father’s heart is stilled, the consort’s heart is stilled. But I wonder what needs to be stilled for my own heart to be stilled too.

Then in his soul, jaded with desires, this thought arose:

– With the quiescence of the fire of passions, peace ensues, with the quiescence of the fire of sins and the fire of foolishness, peace ensues, with the quiescence of conceit and delusions, with the quiescence of every desire and torment, peace ensues. I learnt a wise teaching from this woman. I am wandering in search of peace. I will now give up living in a house; I will go away, I will depart into solitude, in order to find peace”

*The sayings of Buddha*²³²

Buddhism holds that the best antidote to war and animosity is if we renounce all our physical-spiritual desires, and in this way we find peace (in ourselves):

“Oh Ananda, let yourself be your light and your refuge, seek no other refuge.”²³³

The Chinese Buddhist philosopher Zhuangzi (4th century BC), who lived more than two thousand years ago, thinks in a similar way:

“It is best if you depart from the world (...). Secluded from the world there is no fussy duty, and without fussy duties you can be straightforward and calm. And whoever is straightforward and calm, he is reborn with it (i.e. with the Tao, Gy, K.)”²³⁴

In contrast to this, the Hungarian shepherd knows that his soul can never be stilled, and he seeks and awaits his companion:²³⁵

²³²The sayings of Buddha (= enlightened) (his original Sanskrit name: Siddhartha). According to the Hungarian version: Vekerdi 1989. p. 10.

²³³Vekerdi 1989 p. 34.

²³⁴Zhuangzi book XIX

²³⁵Rajeczky 1969

Parlando, rubato



1. Ki - szá - radt a tag - búl mind a sár, mind a víz,
A sze - gén bar - mok is csak a gu - jást neé - zik
U - ram, eén Is - te - nem, ad - jár egy szeép e - seöt,
A sze - gén bar - mok - nak jao le - ge - leö me - zeöt!

4. Istenem, országom, hol lesz meghalásom,
Erdeőn vagy mezőn, vagy a pusztaságon?
Ha erdeőn meghalok, megesznek a vadak,
Majd élénekelnek az eégi madarak.

5. A Bakonba lakom, keress fel galambom,
Csendes fojaovíznek csak zuggását hallom.
A csendes fojaovíz télbe megaluszik,
De az eén bus szívem soha meg nem nyugszik.

[1. Both mud and water have dried up from the pond,
The poor cows are just looking at the cowherd.
Lord, my God, give us some nice rain.
Good pasture land for the poor cows.

4. My God, my land, where shall I die,
In the forest or in the field, or in the wilderness?
If I die in the forest, the wild beasts will eat me,
Then the birds of the sky will sing.

5. I live in the Bakony, seek me out, my dove.
I just hear the sound of the quiet river water.
The quiet river water goes to sleep in winter,
But my sorrowful heart will never be stilled.]

According to Finno-Ugric thinking, therefore, a man's life is not something standing alone, limited in space and time (by possibilities), but it is in relation too, one cannot withdraw from life into solitude. My life is life in relation to yours and completed by it ("Seek me out, my dove"). Life in comparison to death is the same

type of relation, as the I and You. “Ego is defined by the other person, the fact that I am alive is given meaning and ultimate interpretation by the fact that we must die. It does not matter how, but it is interesting that: in so many diverse ways. The Indo-Germanic person lives before our eyes until he has indisputably hewn out a path for himself, so until he has completely documented the Ego (or until he has failed, but on the cover he usually pulls a surprised, indeed a somewhat resentful face if he is not transfigured, which in the long run makes no difference.)

Our people live until they die,²³⁶ but always until it is verified that: I live in you, through you and for you, and I no longer live, so I do not have to, and even must not die, but I die, because life is my life even in death, through death and with regard to death, therefore I no longer live as I have understood it. ... The Hungarian’s face on the cover has always been reconciled to self-evident death. Life in death. ... The Indo-German, if he is a tragic hero, falls in such a way that he dies (or is transfigured). The Hungarian with a tragic fate, as punishment – stays alive” – writes Sándor Karácsony on the Hungarian person’s world view.²³⁷ Almost by way of punishment: he can continue to “pass the time”. “He cannot die, like other honest people, but he must continue to live”, like Mistress Ágnes:

Ágnes asszony a patakban Fehér
lepedőjét mossa; Fehér leplét, véres
leplét A futó hab elkapdossa.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

Odagyúl az utcagyermek:
Ágnes asszony, mit mos kelmed?
„Csitt te, csitt te! csibém vére Keveré el
a gyolcs leplet.” Oh! irgalom atyja, ne
hagyj el.

Összefutnak a szomszédnők: Ágnes
asszony, hol a férjed?
„Csillagom, hisz ott benn alszik! Ne
menjünk be, mert fölébred.” Oh! irgalom
atyja, ne hagyj el.

Jön a hajdu: Ágnes asszony, A tömlöcbe
gyere mostan.
„Jaj, galambom, hogy’ mehetnék, Míg e
foltot ki nem mostam!” Oh! irgalom
atyja, ne hagyj el.

²³⁶Reference to the closing formula of Hungarian folktales: “... és boldogan éltek, míg még nem haltak” [And they lived happily until they died]. (K. Gy.)

²³⁷Karácsony 1941 (1993). p. 76–77.

Mély a börtön: egy sugár-szál Odaférni
alig képes;
Egy sugár a börtön napja, Éje pedig
rémtül népes.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

Szegény Ágnes naphosszanta Néz e kis
világgal szembe, Néz merően, – a
sugárka Mind beléfér egy fél szembe.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

Mert, alighogy félre fordul, Rémek tánca
van körülé; Ha ez a kis fény nem volna,
Úgy gondolja: *megőrülne*.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

Ím azonban, idótelve, Börtönének zárja
nyílik: Ágnes a törvény előtt Megáll
szépen, ahogy illik.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

Öltözetjét rendbe hozza, Kendőjére
fordít gondot, Szöghaját is megsimítja
Nehogy azt higgyék: *megbomlott*.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

Hogy belép, a zöld asztalnál Tisztes
öszek ülnek sorra; Szánalommal néznek
ő rá, Egy se mérges, vagy mogorva. Oh!
irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

„Fiam, Ágnes, mit miveltél? Szörnyü a
bűn, terhes a vád; Ki a tettet végrehajtá
Szeretőd ím maga vall rád.” Oh! irgalom
atyja, ne hagyj el.

„Ő bitón fog veszni holnap, Ő, ki
férjedet megölte; Holtig vízen és
kenyéren Raboskodva bűnhődöl te.”
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

Körültekint Ágnes asszony,
Meggyőződni ép eszérül; Hallja a
hangot, érti a szót,
S míg azt érti: „meg nem örül.” Oh!
irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

De amit férjéről mondtak A szó oly
visszásan tetszik; Az világos csak, hogy
őt Haza többé nem eresztik.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

Nosza sírni, kezd zokogni, Sűrű
záporkönnye folyván: Liliomról pergő
harmat, Hulló vizgyöngy hatyu tollán.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

„Méltóságos nagy uraim! Nézzen Istent
kegyelmetek: Sürgetős munkám van
otthon, Fogva én itt nem ülhetek.” Oh!
irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

„Mocsok esett lepedőmön, Ki kell a
vérfoltot vennem! Jaj, ha e szenny ott
maradna, Hová kéne akkor lennem!” Oh!
irgalom atyja ne hagyj el.

Összenéz a bölcs törvényszék Hallatára
ily panasznak.
Csendesség van. Hallgat a száj, Csupán a
szemek szavaznak.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

„Eredj haza, szegény asszony! Mosd
fehérre mocskos leped; Eredj haza, Isten
adjon
Erőt ahhoz és kegyelmet.” Oh! irgalom
atyja, ne hagyj el.

S Ágnes asszony a patakban Lepedőjét
újra mossa; Fehér leplét, tiszta leplét
A futó hab elkapdossa.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el

Mert hiában tiszta a gyolcs, Benne többé

semmi vérjel: Ágnes azt még egyre látja
S épen úgy, mint *akkor éjjel*.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

Virradattól késő estig
Áll a vízben, széke mellett: Hab zilálja
rezgő árnyát, Haja fürtét kósza szellet.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

Holdvilágos éjjelenkint, Mikor a víz
fodra csillog, Maradozó csattanással,
Fehér sulyka messze villog.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

És ez így megy évről-évre, Télen-
nyáron, szünet nélkül; Harmat-arca hó
napon ég, Gyöngye térde fagyban kékül.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

Őszbe fordul a zilált haj, Már nem holló,
nem is ében; Torz-alakú ránc verődik
Szanaszét a síma képen.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

S Ágnes asszony a patakban Régi
rongyát mossa, mossa – Fehér leple
foszlányait
A szilaj hab elkapdossa.
Oh! irgalom atyja, ne hagyj el.

Arany János: Ágnes asszony (ballada) (1853)

[Mistress Ágnes in the stream
washing her white sheet;
Her white shroud, her bloody shroud
The running foam catches at it.
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

The street children gather there:
Mistress Ágnes, what are you washing?
“Hush, hush! chick's blood
got mixed with the linen shroud.”
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

The neighbours run over:
Mistress Ágnes, where's your
husband?
"My star, he's asleep inside!
Let's not go in, he'll wake up."
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

The herdsman arrives, Mistress Ágnes,
Come to the gaol now.
"My dove, how could I go
Before I've washed out this stain?"
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

The prison is deep: a thread of a ray is
hardly able to reach there;
A ray is the prison's day and night,
But it is grimly crowded.
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

Poor Ágnes all day long
Faces this little world
Stares at it, - the little ray
All fits into half an eye.
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

Because, scarcely does she turn aside,
There's a dance of horrors around her;
But for this little light, she thinks: *she*
would go crazy.
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

However, as time passes,
The prison lock opens:
Ágnes stands before the law, as it is
fitting
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

She puts her dress in order,
Looks to her shawl, Smooths her crimped
hair
So they won't think: *she's gone to pieces.*
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

As she enters, by the green table
Respectable grey-haired men sitting in a
row;
They look on her with pity,
Not one is angry, or grumpy.
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

“Ágnes, my child, what have you done?
Dreadful the crime, heavy the charge;
The one who committed the deed,
Your lover himself, has accused you.”
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

“He will die on the gallows tomorrow,
He, who killed your husband;
You will pay as captive on water and
bread until death.”
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.
Mistress Ágnes looks around, Checking
her sound mind;
She hears the voice, understands the
word,
Until she understands: “until you go
crazy.”
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

But what they said about her husband,
The word seems so perverse; One thing is
clear,
They'll never send her Home again.
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

She starts to cry, to sob,
Her heavy shower of tears flowing:
Dew rolling off lilies,
Water pearls falling off swan's feathers
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

“Honourable sirs!
May your graces look to God:
I have urgent work at home,
I can't sit here a captive.”

Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

“Grime fell on my sheet,
I have to get the blood stain out!
Oh, if the dirt stays there,
Where should I go then!”
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

The wise court members look at each
other,
On hearing this complaint,
There is silence. The mouth is quiet.
Merely the eyes vote.
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

“Go home, poor woman!
Wash your dirty shroud white;
Go home, may God give you
strength and grace for the task.”
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

And Mistress Ágnes in the stream
washing her white sheet again;
Her white shroud, her clean shroud
The running foam catches at it.
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

Because to no avail is the linen clean,
With no more signs of blood in it:
Ágnes sees it all the more
Just like *in that night*.
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

From dawn till late evening
She stands in the water, by her chair:
Foam ruffling her quivering shadow,
The wandering breeze a strand of her hair.
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

Every moonlit night,
When the swell of water gleams,
With lagging splash, her white washboard
glints.
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

And this goes on from year to year,
Winter-summer without ceasing;
Her dewy face burns in the hot sun,
Her weak knees go blue with frost.
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

Her tousled hair turns grey,
No longer raven, not even ebony;
Crooked wrinkles run all over her smooth
face.
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

And Mistress Ágnes in the stream
washing, washing her old rag –
The tatters of her white shroud
The turbulent foam catches at it.
Oh, Father of mercy, don't leave me.

János Arany: Mistress Ágnes (ballad) (1853)

This kind of “punishment for the Indo-Germanic mindset is nonsense, bereft of reason ...” – writes Sándor Karácsony.²³⁸

²³⁸Karácsony1995 (1938) (Introduction)

VIII.

BROACHING PHILOSOPHICAL AND EDUCATIONAL QUESTIONS WITH FINNO-UGRIC AND INDO-EUROPEAN VIEWPOINTS

The starting point of Indo-European pedagogic thinking is most frequently the individual, as a being in itself, and its inherent talents. According to the famous first sentence of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*: "All men by nature desire to know."²³⁹ So self wants to "know" about self. The German philosopher-educationalist J. F. Herbart (1776-1841) on the other hand, sees the opportunity for education in general in that inborn nature of a child, that he is an unshaped, but shapable personality (*Bildsamkeit*).²⁴⁰ In the thinking of Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), the founder of modern psychology, the existence of the other person is brought up too: "Children's games are directed by the desire, more precisely the only desire, which aids the child in his growth, that he wants to get big and become an adult."²⁴¹ Reworded from our point of view, that he wants to become like the other person, the adult. But the problem of Kant's well-know educational paradox²⁴² is, how can a sense of freedom be developed in spite of restraint. After all, he believes that education is a process in which the child is of necessity subjected to training, to the will of the educator.²⁴³ "It appears that for this (question), at least in the practical form conceived by Kant, no solution presents itself, and thus this (paradox) will still remain a starting point for modern education in the future."²⁴⁴

The starting point for the philosophy of coordinating thinking is the person who cannot live a full life without *his half*. This mentality does not deny the propositions of Aristotle or Freud, according to which a person is born with a desire for knowledge, and an ambition to become an adult, but it tends to conceive all this in that the most important reason for this desire and ambition is not because a person is "unshaped", but rather solitary. My ambition is to be a half to other people, and to become a man together with him/them. In order for me to be a half to (an)other(s), I have to learn their language, their customs, legal system, culture and accomplishments. And this is made possible by man's typical, inborn empathic (linguistic and other) capabilities, with which he can identify with other people. The likewise inborn tendency to play is

²³⁹ Arisztotelész 1936

²⁴⁰ Värri 2001 12-13

²⁴¹ Freud 1966 p. 213-214.

²⁴² Kant 1923 443, 445

²⁴³ Siljander 2000a 8

²⁴⁴ Pikkariainen 2001

distinguished from that of animals by this empathic skill, among other factors. What the Karácsony philosophy must disagree with, however, is that man must be subject to the educator, or to education. According to Karácsony, the man, the child is an autonomous being. For this reason, this type of education, from the very beginning, is doomed to failure.²⁴⁵ If we try something like this anyway, it can easily cause psychological damage, as can be observed in education under dictatorial systems. After all, a person must protect his own autonomy, his own psychological-spiritual wholeness (identity, integration) at all costs, even unwittingly. (An interesting example of this from a social-psychological point of view can be seen in present-day Hungary, when people, within a short time following the so-called political changes, had access to new information of such force and in such quantity that had previously been denied them. Processing this while maintaining psychological wholeness was extremely difficult, and this could only be done slowly, or by many, not at all.) We can only and exclusively influence our halves (children or adults), through their social-psychological functions, and only slowly, gradually. To express it more practically, only if we do something for something together (with our halves, children or adults).

As a result of the above, pedagogy with a westernised (subordinating) approach, holds that the teacher (ger. *der Lehrer*) is authority itself, and the one to be trained is a child with defective knowledge, so knowledge has to be communicated to and planted into the child, in order for him not to be lacking in necessary learning in his future life. With regard to taking the child into consideration, this pedagogy could only go so far as emphasising once again: the child must be motivated with respect to the material to be learnt. This does not resolve Kant's paradox, however. In contrast, a pedagogue with a coordinating approach is the child's (paratactic) half in recognising the world anew. All this does not in any way mean that the child is our half of an equal rank. The educator is always in front of the child on the scale of developmental steps in the social-psychological relationship. To concretise what has been said here with an example taken from linguistic and musical training. For a grammar teacher with a westernised, subordinating approach, the most important goal is for the child to learn the definition of what a verb is as soon as possible. This abstract definition is the goal of the instruction. If he is a good teacher, then he is even able to motivate the students in some way to do all this. The pedagogue with a coordinating approach is less interested in the final definition, which in any case can never be perfect. Thinking of the verb and becoming the child's half, he discovers (once again) together with the children that certain phenomena and happenings in the world (for instance, things which happen in time) will always be expressed with the part of speech known as the verb, and these words will always have some feature in common (for example, they can be declined in the same way). And if they are getting to know a new, foreign language (the teacher and the children together becoming reacquainted with it), then there will be a group of words there too, which tackle things from the phenomena of the world in a similar way to the verbs of my native language, but these verbs of the

²⁴⁵Karácsony1995(1938) (Introduction)

foreign language will have different features from the verbs of my mother tongue. In the music lesson with a westernised approach, we often hear expressions like this from the teacher: “This piece is so lovely, isn’t it?”, “Listen to how wonderful this violin concerto is!” In such cases, the teacher is trying to force the truths and views of his own autonomy into the student, against which the autonomy of the child will defend itself on some level. (If the pupil loves his teacher, or schoolmistress, then it may happen that he will, subconsciously, forgive her/him for this, and will himself try to enjoy the work, but this is education which has succeeded in an indirect way, which was not consciously intended.) A music teacher with a coordinating approach, listening to music with a child’s ear, will seek out appropriate works from the musical literature, and listening to or performing these together, will rediscover them for himself as well as for the child. Both of them marvel at the musical thoughts of some composer.

The German philosopher Karl Jaspers (1883-1969) seeks the answer to what we are as people in the following way:

“Let us look for examples of how man expresses his own ego; we can feel free to call our discoveries the activity of our consciousness. We ourselves, however, are more than our act of discovery, and also more than what we have ever been able to discover about ourselves. As to what we are in reality, science has never been able to give an answer to that and it still cannot; as always throughout history, this question is still enigmatic in the present.”²⁴⁶ Finno-Ugric epistemology holds that raising this type of question which concentrates on “one’s own ego” is problematic in itself. As to the question of who I am, what we people are, it seeks the answer by researching into the relationship with the other person, and with other animate and inanimate things.

With the aid of a literary example taken from Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821-1881), Igor Smirnov (born 1941) seeks a solution to the problem of the alienation of an individual from himself in the following way: “I was always ridiculous, and I know it, maybe right from birth. Maybe from the age of seven I already knew I was ridiculous. Then I went to school, then to the university, and what - the more I studied, the more I learned that I was ridiculous. So that for me, all my university education existed ultimately as if only to prove and explain to me, the deeper I went into it, that I was ridiculous. And as with learning, so with life. Every passing year the same consciousness grew and strengthened in me that my appearance was in all respects ridiculous. I was ridiculed by everyone and always. But none of them knew or suspected that if there was one man on earth who was more aware than anyone else of my ridiculousness, it was I myself, and this was the most vexing thing for me ...” (Dostoevsky: *The dream of a ridiculous man*) – quoted by Smirnov, who continues thus: “As is clear from the quotation, consciousness, which constantly grows as knowledge is acquired, alienates the individual from himself and makes him the object of self-ridicule. According to Dostoevsky, this situation can be resolved in one of two ways: by suicide, i.e. by murdering the ego alienated by consciousness, or by humanity returning to the Golden Age, into the world which lives in harmony with

²⁴⁶Jaspers 1977. p. 8-12.

nature, and not striving to discover life, i.e. by renouncing consciousness.”²⁴⁷

The Finno-Ugric option is to find a solution to the phobia of ridiculousness, the phenomenon of the alienation of the individual, by forming a community with the other half. This solution does not renounce individual consciousness, but preserving its autonomy, seeks itself in a relationship with others (see Ady’s verse “Faithfulness of one hundred fidelities” quoted above), and thus the problem does not even arise in this form. A person like this does not ask, “what is the goal and meaning of my life?”, but “what and how can I and could I be party to, what can I, could I add to the life of my broader and narrower community?” In Ady’s words: “*I have lived, because sometimes I lived – for others*”.

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²⁴⁷Smirnov 2000. p. 178-179. Cf. suggestions for a solution by Buddhist Zhuagzi, just quoted.

IX.

SUMMARY IN THE LIGHT OF STUDIES DEALING WITH THE COGNITIVE ACTIVITY OF THE HUMAN BRAIN (COGNITIVE BRAIN RESEARCH)

Research into the human brain has been revolutionised by three “events” in chronological order: firstly by increasingly intensive studies on people who have suffered brain injuries (1), secondly by studies on brain operations carried out in recent decades, in particular in connection with the so-called “split brain” procedure which separates the two hemispheres of the human brain from one another by cutting through the corpus callosum (2), then following this, by the discovery that the cerebral hemispheres can be anaesthetised separately (3).

1) In connection with patients who have suffered brain injury, even in ancient times it was observed that injuries to different parts of the brain involve losses of differing intellectual capabilities. The most recent studies, however, have also managed to map out which areas of our brains are responsible for which mental function (for instance, speech sound recognition, spatial perception, mood, etc.). In the meantime it has also become clear, that the human brain is not symmetrical, in contrast to those of animals, including apes. A significant number of researchers believe that in the history of humanity, it was the development of asymmetry in the brain, and of right-handedness, together with the associated ability to speak, which was the change that signified the beginning of becoming human.²⁴⁸

2) Studies on patients who have undergone corpus callostomy²⁴⁹ have clarified that for the overwhelming majority of people, the speech centre is in the left hemisphere, whilst our right hemisphere is “mute”²⁵⁰, although it does influence hearing comprehension, and can even take it over.

3) Whilst with some animals, chiefly aquatic mammals (for instance, dolphins), which live a 24 hour life, the hemispheres sleep alternately, in men, both hemispheres sleep at the same time. Artificially, however, it can be achieved that just one hemisphere is put to sleep at one time, and so it is easy to research what the one or other of our hemispheres “can do”.

The results obtained with the methods outlined here are summarised very roughly in the following table:²⁵¹

²⁴⁸Hámori 2005. p. 29-38, as well as p. 85-89.

²⁴⁹The corpus callosum ensures exchange of information between the two hemispheres of our brain. (Gy. K.)

²⁵⁰Ibid. p. 41.

²⁵¹The table has been produced based on the works of Kopp-Berhammer 2003 p. 88, Hámori

LEFT HEMISPHERE

comprehends speech, uses language
performs intellectual tasks
not a good “musician”
realistic
intellectual
no sense of humour
thinks in abstract concepts
logical
rational
deductive
concentrates on parts
analytic
convergent
sequential processing
algebraic
plentiful connections with nearby areas
(i.e. vertical organisation)
focused attention tasks
-
sense of time

RIGHT HEMISPHERE

“mute”, grasps imagery and space
recognises and defines emotions
good “musician”
impulsive
instinctive
has sense of humour
thinks concretely (objectively)
pictorial, metaphorical
“irrational”
intuitive, creative
sees the whole (holistic, analogous)
synthetic
divergent
synchronous processing
geometric
many connections with distant areas
(horizontal organisation)
persistent attention tasks
comparison of forms
timeless

“The emotional reactions of the right hemisphere are (therefore) generally more powerful than those of the left hemisphere. The latter prefers drier, more pragmatic, logical approach methods – the right hemisphere is more subjective, more altruistic, but more honest at the same time. It is interesting that the sense of humour is only in the right hemisphere.

The right hemisphere prefers to deal with new hypotheses never heard before – the left hemisphere, on the other hand, is more interested in problems and hypotheses which have been encountered before, or at least, similar ones. This also explains why the right hemisphere is generally more creative than the left” – writes József Hámori in his outline summary, then somewhat later he adds,²⁵² that whilst the left hemisphere creates abstract concepts²⁵³, thinks logically, the right is incapable of this, although it does have a way of thinking, if not in abstract concepts, but rather pictorially. Whilst the left hemisphere is able to identify both nouns and verbs, the right hemisphere can only grasp pictorial phenomena, i.e. just nouns. Whilst abstract-logical thinking which concentrates on tiny details is characteristic of our left hemisphere, the right side is typified by holism, concentration on large entities and creativity.

When examining split-brain patients, it also turned out that the two types of consciousness can also imply two kinds of will, and the corpus callosum between the two hemispheres plays a great role in determining which is dominant at a given moment in life, or which is dominant in a given culture: “That is, the corpus callosum connecting the two hemispheres has a decisive role in the creation of human culture” – states Hámori in his work “The asymmetries of the human brain”.²⁵⁴

Our findings on the mentality of the Uralic languages, for which the starting point was almost exclusively the observation of the cultures of these peoples, as well as the comparisons of these phenomena with the Indo-European languages, appear to be verified almost word for word and also unwittingly by the results of cognitive brain research in our age.²⁵⁵ Of the Uralic mentality, we have determined that it prefers imagery, unfolding and correlating these images with one another and with the whole in time and space, timeless, divergent in its coordination, whilst the Indo-Germanic mentality contrasted with it is abstracting, aspiring to abstract concepts, logical, concentrating on parts, convergent, finite in time. We can therefore see that the left hemisphere of the brain is more dominant in Indo-European thinking, whereas in the mentality of Uralic language speakers it is the operation of the right hemisphere.

Very similar results were obtained by Ornstein, who compared Asian cultures of the Far East, likewise with the Indo-Europeans. According to him, the dominance of the left hemisphere is overly powerful in western culture, which results in it easily

²⁵²Hámori 2005. p. 61 and 123.

²⁵³The expression named “symbols” by Hámori is equivalent to the “abstract concept” in our work.

²⁵⁴Ibid. p. 119, as well as Péter 1984. p. 159. (See footnote 77)

²⁵⁵We can only regret that science in Hungary has concealed and kept secret from others the life's work of its own greatest philosopher, Karácsony, and his pupils, who have been saying all this of the Hungarian culture for more or less 70 years. (See the historical introduction to our work.)

losing itself in the details, and then it only rarely comes (back) to an understanding of the whole. In contrast to this, in Asian cultures, for instance Japanese, a greater role is played by intuition, aiming at the whole, meditative and mystic thinking (in contrast to rationality and technological thinking).²⁵⁶

Based on this brief, sketchy comparison of the cultures of Uralic and Indo-European language speakers, we consider it highly probable that in reality there may exist differences between the various human cultures in the world which may also be demonstrated by the dominance of our cerebral hemispheres. Presumably we can consider that how dominant which hemisphere of the brain is in individual cultures is a function of the given culture. We can definitely be certain, however, that the differing operation of the two hemispheres has fundamental significance in our becoming human, and in that the cultures of humanity can be diverse.

* * *

In the last and 9th chapter of his work entitled “The asymmetries of the human brain” quoted above, József Hámori asks the question: “The two hemispheres $1 + 1 = 3$?” In the knowledge of Uralic culture, we can answer that the sum of two (identical) qualities which supplement one another: half + half = one whole. We think that with this we have also given an answer as to if a question about the hemispheres can even be asked, whether from the point of view of our human nature or the cultures of humanity the greater or lesser domination of one or other of the hemispheres is better, more important, or perhaps even of a higher order.

* * *

Coming to the end of our work, seeing the despondency of western Indo-European philosophy of the modern and postmodern age, the question is bound to arise: will the same thing happen in the history of European philosophy as already happened once in music at the beginning of the 20th century, when the discovery of Central and Eastern European musical languages and musical thinking, in the works of Béla Bartók and other Central-Eastern European composers, saved the European music which at that time had lost its way?

²⁵⁶Ornstein 1977 and 1997

X. EPILOGUE

We are fully aware of the fact that, mainly for Finnish, Estonian, and especially for urban Hungarian readers, the above argumentation may seem remote. The Finnish and Estonian peoples have been touched by very powerful Baltic and Germanic influences in the course of their history, and so it is natural, as I have mentioned in my paper, that even if these did not completely change the development of their linguistic thinking, approach to life and philosophy, they certainly had an effect on them. The residents of Hungarian cities have also been in a similar situation, having been subject to powerful germanisation, even deliberately imposed over the centuries. In order for these latter to gain understanding of the reality of our work, therefore, greater patience, appreciation and even love for our culture and its historical past is required.

We could also add to all this, that in the age of the omnipotence of today's Anglo-Saxon cultural imperialism, the whole issue, just as it is, can appear obsolete. After all, we live in a time when capital requires (featureless) people, and their performance, and not the assets of the members of a human community with a definite image. In this cultural environment we could easily think that the significance of the research by Strømnes and his colleagues is dispensable in this age, in this time of huge mass migrations. But we can take the risk that it may be the case, that a role may be played in the Finnish-Hungarian suicide statistics, in the "vanguard" in Europe, and in the drastic shrinkage of the Hungarian nation today, by such reasons as may be traced to the mentality, life-customs and mindset of the Finno-Ugric peoples. To the fact that it may be a problem for us to live in accordance with the Indo-German abstract, subjective and subordinating legal system, mentality, lifestyle and ethos of today's Europe which is forced upon these peoples.²⁵⁷ If this could be clarified by further research results, then far-reaching conclusions should be drawn, not only by the politicians wishing to extend western (European) law, culture and science to the whole world, but also by Hungarian politics and sophocracy who feel responsibility for the Hungarian people.

From the point of view of brain research, on the other hand, perhaps it is just a matter of whether the symmetry of the cerebral hemispheres can be restored in the biological history of mankind. Hardly.

Vaasa-Gödöllő, 2004-2007

²⁵⁷Of many, many literary expressions of this, just two Finnish examples: Arto Paasilinna's novel: *Jäniksen vuosi* (= The year of the Hare) (1975), Tapio Piirainen's film: *Siivoton juttu* (= Unclarified affair) (1997).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for musical notes:

d = do
r = re
m = mi
f = fa
s = sol
l = la
t = ti

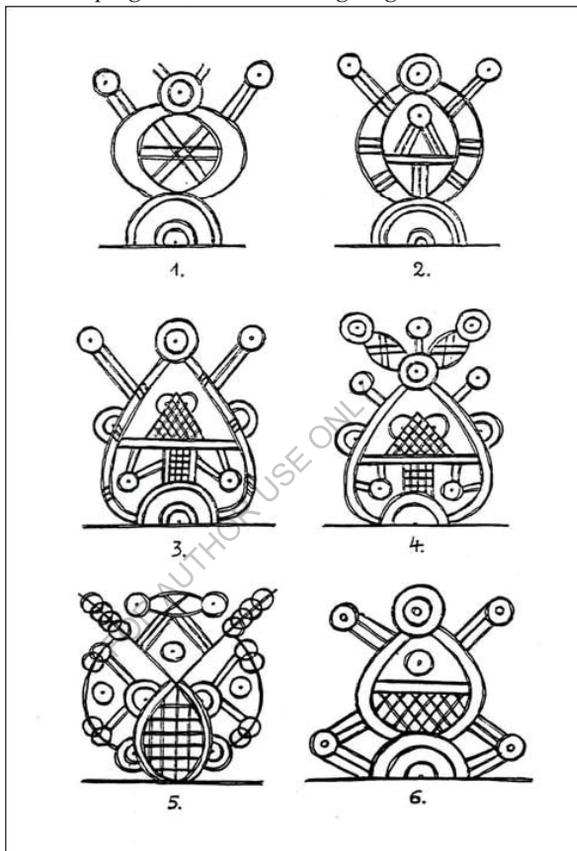
Abbreviations for individual languages and the names of linguistic terms:

1.1. = first person
2.2. = second person
3.3. = third person
eng. = English
mar. = Mari (Cheremis)
chuv. = Chuvash
S. = singular
es. = Estonian
ene. = Enets
fi. = Finnish
fr. = French
yak. = Yakut
yur. = Yurak
D. = dual number
lp. = Lapp (Sami)
hu. = Hungarian
md. = Mordvin
mong. = Mongol
ger. = German
ngan. = Nganasan
dia. = dialect
rus. = Russian
khan. = Khanti (Ostyak)
selk. = Selkup
P = Plural
man. = Mansi (Vogul)
ud. = Udmurt (Votyak)
kom. = Komi (Zyrian)

FOR AUTHOR USE ONLY

LIST OF FIGURES AND ANNEXES

Annex 1: Pictures on Hungarian cupboards depicting women who are pregnant, in labour and giving birth.



*Gábor Lükő 1991. (1974) p. 18.
Annex 2/a*

(Khanti text)

jëγ-äñkisañən jëγ-päχsañən

(1) *jëγ-äñkisañən jëγ-päχsañən, tin χōw utmetən χōjñə uaj, tin wän utmetən χōjñə uaj.* (2) *jëγ-päχət këčəttə pítot.* (3) *ätiwə äta këčəttət, χättiwə χättə këčəttət.* (4) *wet jëtəryaj tätməñ juχ täjtəñən, χut jëtəryaj tätməñ juχ täjtəñən.* (5) *jëγ-äñkít pätərtət:* (6) *„jēčək jëγ-päχəm jēm utmetnə tunt wetot -pa, tunt-pūlat täptajəm, wäsə pūlat-pa täptajəm”.*

(7) *jëγ-päχət joχət wējət, ñot wējət jewəttə.* (8) *čänča pänmen tättət, tättət, jewtət.* (9) *joχət χutəm čupa mörimot.*

(10) *jëγ-päχət pəñətə täñot, tēlt.* (11) *„jëγ-päχ, tētüt-pa, tētüt säχət këčəttan, tōñət-pa, tōñət säχət këčəttan.* (12) *teia sot pojməñə wējajməñ, jāñtə sot pojməñə wējajməñ.* (13) *jëγ-päχ, jästətəm, ēj čok, ēñ jästətəm, ēj čok.* (14) *joχten χutəm čupa män mörimem.”* (15) *„jëγ-äñkə, tēγ töwe joχət-čuptan!”*

A lánytestvér és a fiútestvér

(1) (Volt egyszer) egy lánytestvér és egy fiútestvér, sokáig éltek(-e), ki tudja, rövid ideig éltek(-e), ki tudja. (2) A fiútestvér megbetegedett. (3) Éjszakáról éjszakára betegeskedik, napról napra betegeskedik. (4) Őt nyírfajdnak való üldölcük van, hat nyírfajdnak való üldölcük van. (5) A lánytestvér mondja: (6) „Amikor kedves fivérem (még) jól volt, ludat is ejtett, liba(hús)falattal etetett, kacsát is ejtett, kacsá(hús) falattal is etetett”.

(7) Fivérének íját fogta, nyílát fogta, hogy lőjön. (8) Térdére helyezve kifeszíti, kifeszítette, lőtt. (9) A nyíl három darabra tört.

(10) Bement a fivéréhez, sír. (11) „Fivérem, a télen is, a tél folyamán (is) betegeskedsz, a nyáron is, a nyár folyamán (is) betegeskedsz. (12) Százszoros ételszükséget látunk, százszoros italszükséget látunk. (13) Fivérem, (ha) beszélek, (az) szerencsétlenség, (ha) nem beszélek, (az is) szerencsétlenség. (14) Az íjadat három darabra törttem.” (15) „Nővérem, hozd ide azokat az íjdarabokat!”

[The sister and the brother

(1) (One upon a time there was) a sister and a brother, they lived a long time (?), who knows, they lived a short time (?), who knows. (2) The brother fell ill. (3) He is unwell from night to night, he is unwell from day to day. (4) They have a slat to seat five grouse; they have a slat to seat six grouse. (5) The sister says: (6) "When my dear brother was (still) well, he would shoot goose, he would shoot goose, he fed me with goose (meat) morsels, he would shoot duck, he fed me with duck (meat) morsels ". (7) She took her brother's bow, she took his arrow, to shoot. (8) Placing it on her knee, she draws it, she shoots. (9) The arrow broke into three pieces. (10) She went in to her brother, weeping. (11) "My brother, in winter too, during winter (too), you are unwell, in summer too, during summer (too) you are unwell. (12) We see a hundredfold need for food; we see a hundredfold need for drink. (13) My brother, (if) I speak, (it's) misfortune, (if) I don't speak, (it's still) misfortune. (14) I've broken your bow into three pieces." (15) "My sister, bring those bow pieces here!"

Honti, 1984 p. 170 and 199.

Annex 2/b (Udmurt text)

vumurten gozi-puniš adami

odig adami ti durin gozi punem. punikiz so dore vumurt potem. potsa, taži juam: „adami, ton mali puniškod ta gozide?” „ta tišes pidesse vallañ puktini” – šuem adami. „ton tuž-ama batir, ukir ušjaškiškod; en ušjaški, lučče ačmeos niriš nurjaškom, sokij todomj kudmij kužmo!” „tenid kitin monen nurjaškiñi, miñam pereš dadeeniñ nurjaški niriš!” – šuem adami. taži šusa, vumurtez tele gondir dore išem. gondir vumurtez adžiša: „mali ton tatči liktid?!” – keškem šetem kwareeniž. teje kišla, vumurt tuž kwalektini kutkem no pid jiljštiz ezit giñe pogiramte. sobere jirze no pid karsa tje pegšem. tatjn ti duriš adamiž adžiša, taži šuem: „tabere oskiško: ton tuž batir; pereš ajid giñe tinađ keče keškemij, ačid ukata tuž kužmo lo. soin tabere ačmeos bižsa utčalom, kin-ke azlo potiz, so ik vörmoz. ti kotirti kiwiñ-pol bižsa tupatkil’am.

A Vu-murt és a kötélverő ember

Egy ember a tóparton kötelet font. Fonása közben kijött (i. e. a tóból) hozzá a Vu-murt. Kijövén így kérdezte: ember, minek fonod te ezt a köteled? Ennek a tónak fenekét felfelé fordítani (tkp. helyezni) – mondta az ember. Te talán igen erős [vagy], szerfölött dicsekedel; ne dicsekedjél, inkább birkózzunk meg (mimagunk) előbb, akkor megtudjuk ki közülünk (tkp. kink) erősebb! Hogy lehetne (tkp. hol van) én velem birkóznod, előbb birkózzál az én öreg apómmal! – mondta az ember. Így szólván az erdőbe küldte a Vu-murtot a medvéhez. A medve meglátván a Vu-murtot: minek jöttél ide?! – kiáltotta durva hangjával. Ezt hallván a Vu-murt nagyon elkezdett remegni és kevés hija (tkp. kevés csak), hogy lé nem esett lábáról. Azután fejét is lábbá téve a tóba futott. Itten a tópartbeli embert meglátván így szólott: ezután hiszem, [hogy] te igen erős [vagy]; milyen rettenetes [már]-csak öreg apád is, pedig magad még erősebb lehetsz. Azért ezután mi (magunk) futva próbálkozzunk (tkp. keressük, próbáljuk meg); a ki előbbre halad, az fog győzni.

The Vu-murt and the rope maker

A man was twisting a rope on the shore of a lake. While he was twisting it, the Vu-murt came out (i.e. of the lake) towards him. On the way out, he asked him: man, why are you twisting this rope? To turn (lit. place) the bottom of this lake upwards – said the man. You [are] perhaps very strong, you boast overmuch; do not boast, rather first let us wrestle (we ourselves), then we will find out which one of us (lit. who of us) is stronger! How is it (lit. where is it) you would wrestle with me, wrestle first with my granddad! – said the man. Having said this, he sent the Vu-murt to a bear in the forest. When the bear saw the Vu-murt: why have you come here?! – he cried with his rough voice. On hearing this, the Vu-murt began to tremble greatly and all but (lit. little only) fell down from his feet. Then making his head a foot too, he ran into the lake. From here, catching sight of the man on the lakeshore, he said thus: from now on I believe [that] you [are] very strong; how terrible [even] your grandfather is, you yourself must be even stronger. So from now on let us (ourselves) have a try at running (lit. let us seek, let us try); whoever moves forward, he will win.]

(Translated by Bernát Munkácsi) Csúcs, 1990 p. 83 and 162.

Annex 3
Gábor Lükő: Masses and individuality

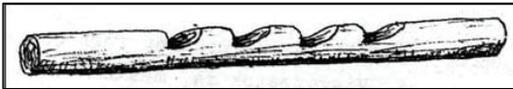
The masses – a fashionable word, a fashionable concept. Mass production, quantity production. The concepts of human masses and a man of the masses were perhaps introduced by the socialists. Up till then it was just used for material, and such in greater quantities. Continental mass, a mass of rock, a mass of water. And today it doesn't really occur to us that the name for mass (hu. *tömeg*), the name of this abstract concept comes from the verb to stuff (hu. *tömni*). But we shouldn't think of a poor goose right now, who is stuffed till he chokes by a farmer's wife, but of the old type of leather sac (*tömlő*), which was stuffed full of curds by a shepherd. The amount that he could stuff inside, that was the mass of the curds.

Other things were also kept in such a sac, but only curds, or other similar soft, homogenous substances were “stuffed” into it. They stuffed it well, so that not a spark of air should be left inside, because if they did not take care, the curds would go sour.

Human masses are also stuffed like this into some organisation: party, state, church, trade union, share company, a gang of adventurers or other highwaymen. The aim of these organisations is the same as that of the sac: to hold together parts which easily fall apart and to protect them from the infecting influence of the external air. For this purpose there is party discipline, church discipline, the secret police and mafia vendetta.

The organiser of the masses imagines “human material” to be like curds: soft, shapeless, mouldable, and consisting of homogenous parts. A thief, if he removes stolen curds from the owner's sac and presses them into his own, he can rest assured: no-one will recognise them. This is how Hitler organised the German communists into his own party.

So what becomes (hu: *lessz*) curds? (Like this, with double *sz* my halves! [Usually written *lessz* – translator's note] Long live the HAS, but they should leave our language alone!). I'm not asking about cow's curd cheese, that is incorrectly called curds (hu: *túró*), because it is not squeezed (*túrt*), just strained off from curdled milk. Real curds are squeezed from sheep's cheese. The mature cheese is squeezed through the notched teeth of a rod as thick as your arm, like a rough grater. It has this shape:



The curds are slightly salted, then stuffed into a small cask.
Formerly, the curds were stuffed and squeezed into a sac made of leather.

This is how the mass-organisers squeeze apart the natural forms of human society, the family, the clan, the nation, in order then to cram the morsels of these into their own sac. Only man is not a morsel of curds, until the organisers bring him down. But every single (hu: *mindegyike* – again with double *gy*, my highly respected academic young sir! (hu: *öcsémuram*)) man, every single man is a personality, he cannot always be treated like curds. But the mass-organiser regards the personality as a subversive, infectious, rotten morsel, and from his point of view he is right too. So then, as Ady says -

Kereszttel őket szent pap űzi,
S görcsös bottal háj-hasú polgár.

[They are pursued with a cross by a holy priest,
And with a gnarled stick by a fat-bellied citizen.]

Beginning with Socrates, this has been the fate of every great personality, so how could it not have been the case with the Son of God?!

Even at a young age, a child is a little personality. This is broken first of all by school, the first mass-organisation in the life of a hapless “man of culture”. – The second is the military, the institute of blind obedience. In 1934, for instance, a drill corporal taught the boys entrusted to him that their lives were worth a mere sixpence. That is now much a revolver bullet costs. And the corporal has a loaded revolver in his bag, and he has the right to shoot anyone who resists his sadistic cruelty.

But according to some, a soldier will better deal with an emergency at a critical turning point in war, if he can and dares to be a personality. (Emphasis Gy. K.)

Man is not cannon fodder. Neither is his physical strength his most valuable quality. His personality is. – Bandit chiefs are very well aware of this, and this is how they select their gangs. In Civilian society, unfortunately, few personalities are to be found. And in scientific life too, personalities are rare, very rare. Though one or two turn up each century. Perhaps there would be more, but the corporal of the sciences manages to get rid of them in time. After all, they only cost sixpence. And the flock is now clean. It follows the sound of the bell without thinking.

Hey, but a broken spine does not heal easily. It cannot be bound between splints. Take care of it masters, teachers and other corporals!

3 December 1994

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XI. PENTATONIC PATTERNS OF CONSTRUCTION

– a Study based on work by Gábor Lükö

György Kádár²⁵⁸

A task assigned to musicology – which also can be deduced from the term in question – is to make or at least try to make us conscious of the emotional mental processes related to music. In other words: What are musical events like? What kind of effect do they have on our emotions? Very few researchers have been able to fill this gap between these two different areas of the human mind, that is to say knowing and feeling. Generally the first stage in this task is to study larger musical segments, and even this is a task which most Finno-Ugric researchers in the realm of comparative musicology are unable to cope with. In my view these difficulties are related to the way the task is approached. Although in the humanities and cultural anthropology the emphasis accorded to the study of phenomena in their cultural contexts has found general acceptance, Finno-Ugrian music has continued to be studied from the viewpoint of traditional (German) musicology, using a traditional terminology. Once having internalised this kind of musical thinking, a person is unable for example to detect any relationship between the highest and lowest voice in Kodály's bicinium (Kodály 1992. 4.):

EXAMPLE 1

Lépést, ♩ = 116

FOR AUTHORITY

In the majority of cases when this music is analysed there is a tendency to assume that in the highest voice there is a segment "a" which corresponds to a segment "b" in the lowest voice. But researchers should hear this music in the same way as folk singers accustomed to the typical features of pentatonism:

highest voice: "a";

lowest voice: inversion²⁵⁹ of "a" transposed up a whole tone: "a2p".

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From the viewpoint of pentatonism in the above musical examples there are adjacent tones (that is to say, there is an interval of a second, sometimes a "lesser"²⁶⁰, sometimes a "greater"²⁶¹, second among the various kinds of seconds included in the pentatonic system). However, persons brought up in the diatonic tradition are unable to recognize this similarity of structure because at certain points they tend to hear a third instead of a second. They are hearing the pentatonic system inadequately. A "greater" second in the pentatonic tone system is heard not as a second but as a (minor) third because there is, according to Chinese terminology, an additional *pien*-tone. Yet nobody would question the similarity between a passage and its inversion in a fugue by J. S. Bach (Die Kunst der Fuge) on the grounds that one of the adjacent seconds is greater or smaller than the other (Example 4). This goes back to the fact that the above-mentioned music is heard and comprehended within its own tone system. In this system a second is treated as a second, although chromatically, also here, a second can actually be a third.

Similarly, we are not able to recognize transpositions in the pentatonic tone system. We misinterpret cadences and identify them using the wrong system (whether the analysis is done by reading or by ear).

EXAMPLE 4

²⁶⁰Here a term "lesser" second denotes an interval consisting of two semitones (editorial comment).
²⁶¹Here a term "greater" second denotes an interval consisting of three semitones (editorial comment).

The following example (Vikár 1971. 160.) will illustrate this kind of musical mishearing:

EXAMPLE 5

♩. = 64 - 66

1. wol, ku - nam(ə) wese - la wol, ku - nam(ə) wese - la?
a - lə kədlo pele dəs pele - dalme yo - dəm
wol, ku - nam(ə) wese - la wol, ku - nam wese - la?
jol - ta iem de - ne ik - te yo - dəm.

Musicologists have analysed the construction of cadences in this melody as follows: 4, b3, 2, VII. They have produced this kind of analysis in spite of the fact that the mode of this melody (at least in Finno-Ugrian melodies) does not include the seventh degree. The compass of the melodic line never extends under "soh" in melodies of this type.²⁶² The scale in this tone system does not include flattened tones either. Analysed from the point of view of its tone system, the pattern of the cadence will be: 4, 3, 2, 1, employing a second-shifting downwards. This cadential formula based on the hemitonic pentatonic scale is typical of Finno-Ugrian folk music. If we obtained this result (4, 3, 2, 1 instead of 4, b3, 2, VII) after analysing this scale, we would immediately see that this type of cadence is also typical of anhemitonic pentatonism. Unfortunately the last-mentioned type of pentatonic scale also has been analysed from the point of view of traditional (German) musicology. Therefore, besides being misunderstood, it becomes also more difficult to make a comparative study in the realm of pentatonic music.

In the next chapters I will consider the patterns of construction produced by musical thinking within the pentatonic tone system.

²⁶²As far as I know the only exception is found in Lappish music. For the sake of comparison, see Launis 1908. 710. or Travina 1987. 13. Further information may be obtained from Kádár 1990, 34.

Scales used in Finno-Ugrians music

Various modes or scales are used in Finno-Ugrian folk songs. Which of them date from the Finno-Ugric era? It is possible to apply a linguistic method here. The task is to seek out from among the most distant Finno-Ugrian peoples several (!) reliable variant forms of melodies using the same scale. That is to say, the melody can be assumed to date from the Finno-Ugric era if variant forms of a certain melody not of foreign origin (e.g. containing Slavic loans) can be found from among the Finns, Lapps, Votyaks, Voguls, etc. Correspondingly, if we are able to find several melodies of the same type with variants which use the same scale, it can be assumed that this scale (mode) dates from the Finno-Ugric era, about 5000 years back.

Merely to draw a parallel between melodies and finding reliable variants is a more difficult task than the correspondences done in linguistics. Musicologists also have to take into consideration the present layers of Finno-Ugrian folk songs to find out which of these layers turn out to be of early and which of later origin. A search is then made through all the songs of supposedly early origin in order to determine the mode being used. After that the task is to find out whether this mode is used among the other Finno-Ugrian peoples.

By using this kind of method musicologists have concluded that at least a part of Finno-Ugrian pentatonism and certain pentachords that are included in it date from the Finno-Ugric era. In later times most of the Finno-Ugrian peoples were influenced by early Slavonic culture. The result is that in almost all Finno-Ugrian music there are early Slavic loan scales which are based either on *ray-*, *me-* or *soh-*tetrachords²⁶³. In addition, in the music of the Baltic-Finnish peoples there also exists a Baltic type of pentachord totally unknown to other Finno-Ugrians.

Specifying the two kinds of pentatonic system among Finno-Ugrians

However, I will next focus only on pentatonism. Among Finno-Ugrians there exist the two kinds of pentatonic system: anhemitonic (in which, according to traditional musicological terminology, semitones are omitted and according to Chinese terminology *pien*-tones are omitted) and hemitonic (in which, according to traditional musicological terminology, as well as a third one minor second is also included).

In respect of origin, on the basis of the comparative study of variants we can say that anhemitonic pentatonism is peculiar to the earliest Finno-Ugric era. Apart from this we only know that, originating in China, anhemitonic pentatonism has spread very widely throughout the world. (Chinese loans in Finno-Ugric languages do not exist. Therefore, being non-pentatonic in origin, the only possibility is that pentatonism is a Turkish loan in Finno-Ugrian music, a theory that is not confirmed by the information we have about the oldest layers of Anyway, the information we do have about the oldest layers of Finno-Ugrian folk songs. The assumption that pentatonism is some

²⁶³Most comprehensive summary, see Lükö 1964.

kind of universal, a developmental stage which every people has gone through in its early history, is not provable. We can only state that pentatonism was at least very common among various peoples who never came into contact with each other. Even if it was a universal phenomenon, pentatonism would have manifestations of its own among each people and culture. The construction of the anhemitonic pentatonic scale is the following:

EXAMPLE 6

In addition to anhemitonic pentatonism all Finno-Ugrian peoples are familiar with hemitonic pentatonism:

EXAMPLE 7

This scale features in different modes²⁶⁴, but on the following pages I will concentrate solely on the mode illustrated in Example 7. In all probability this scale is an ancient Indo-European loan in Finno-Ugrian music. Several ancient Indo-European loans in the Finno-Ugrian languages are evidence for this statement. Common words in proto-Uralic and proto-Indo-European are for instance: *nimi* (Finnish), *näm* (Vogul), *név* (Hungarian), etc., *namo* (Gothic), *nomen* (Latin), etc.; *vesi* (Finnish) *wüt* (Cheremiss), *víz* (Hungarian), etc., *watar* (Hittite), *wato* (Gothic), etc. Probably the following words are also Indo-Uralic loans in Finnish: *asea*, *ken*, *kuras*, *lapa*, *muru*, *pata*, *suoni*, *tuoda*, *mesi*, *jyvä*, *porsas*, etc.²⁶⁵

There are different kinds of anhemitonic pentatonic scales according to the set of pitches constituting the segment in question and the pitch functioning as the final in the melodic contour. We can distinguish between a wide and narrow range in anhemitonic pentatonism. Statistically, in most pentatonic scales either *lah*, *soh* or *doh* functions as the final.

The following Hungarian folk ballad represents the *lah*-pentatonic scale (Kallós 1974, 542.):

²⁶⁴Information about the other modes is available in Lükö 1965.

²⁶⁵Examples taken from Häkkinen 1990.

EXAMPLE 8

Tempo giusto = 132

„A - nyám, é - des - a - nyám,
 Le - fe - küd - tem va - la,
 Le - fe - küd - tem va - la
 Csip - ke - bo - kor a - lá,

The *soh*-pentatonic melody is exemplified in the following Estonian runic tune (Launis 1930/a. 750.):

EXAMPLE 9

Läh - me poi - sid, Poot - si - le, Lu - kes La - kes Lau - ri - le.

The *doh*-pentatonic melody is shown in the following Finnish runic tune (Launis 1930/b. 680.):

EXAMPLE 10

E: Mit - kä nuo me - rel - lä ui - vat, hoi, hoi, hoi,
 Al - lit nuo me - rel - lä ui - vat, hoi, hoi, hoi,

(K:) Mit - kä nuo me - ren se - läl - lä hoi, hoi, hoi,
 Al - lit nuo me - rel - lä ui - vat, hoi, hoi, hoi.

Although *using* several different modes, Finno-Ugrian hemitonic pentatonism is not as manifold a phenomenon as anhemitonic pentatonism. The former mainly consists of four or five (sometimes six) adjacent tones, with a monotonous ending on *soh* at a cadence. Examples of this case are the following three melodies. The first is a Mordvinian wedding song (Väisänen 1948. 13.), the second a Mari folk-song (Vikar 1971. 117) and third a Finnish runic tune (Launis 1930/b. 157.):

EXAMPLE 11a

$\text{♩} = 60 > 92 \text{ (e}^1\text{)}$

Svayinem, bo - yar a - vinem, vasolon bo - jar avinem!

pilden kelmesl, kensl kayasl, mon keden kelmesit, kel kajasl

vasoloni tar - ka mon(i) sin, vasolon tar - ka mon molin.

EXAMPLE 11b

$\text{♩} = 96$

*E*nda - zat kädol - la a - yõ - taniel mu - ral - ta
 wa - ra - lõ - žon čõivä - lan ku - ze tu - čes?
 jõnga walem õh - zäl - nem, po - sa - namže šen - gel - nem,
 po - sa - na - mæn čõn - žõ - lan ku - ze tu - čes?

EXAMPLE 11c

E: It - se, on van - ha Vä - nä - moi ne.
 Te - kip' se tii - jol - la ve - neh - tä,
 (F:) It - se on van - ha Väi - nä - moi - ne,
 Te - kip se tii - jol - la ve - neh - tä

Pentatonic patterns of construction

Pentatonic tone systems are not defective systems. As a major scale is not considered to be defective because it has only two minor seconds, likewise the pentatonic scale is not imperfect because it has few semitones (or other kinds of small intervals). The diatonic and pentatonic tone systems are independent. Most musicologists are of one mind about this statement, but what does this mean in practice? The easiest way to clarify this is to study the transpositions in each system.

Within a system such as the diatonic consisting of seven scale degrees, Vivaldi consistently makes transpositions in the following way: in a sequence of a type with a second-shift, the seconds remain as (adjacent) seconds irrespective of their quality (whether they are minor or major seconds) and similarly in a type with quint-shifting, fifths remain as fifths irrespective of their quality (either perfect or augmented). The next extract by A. Vivaldi is from his Concerto Grosso d-minor Op. 3, No. 11:

EXAMPLE 12

VI. I
Solo

f (Tutti) 1/2 = minor 2nd
1 = major 2nd

As a musical experience these two sequences are considered to be identical irrespective of their different patterns of construction. This is also visible from the five-line staff. On the other hand the quality differences in the intervals resulting from the transpositions will fade out. The consequence is that a listener does not experience the difference between the original and the transposed version.

The next case to view is that of a Mordvinian folk ballad (Väisänen 1948. 113.):

EXAMPLE 13a

1)
pi - zine luga, mazi - ne luga,
mazi - ne luga, (vai ni) pi - zil - gav - - - ta - zo
1)
pi - zilgav - - - ta - zo

In this example the musical information received on the basis of the notation is not the same as that which listeners who are accustomed to the musical features typical of

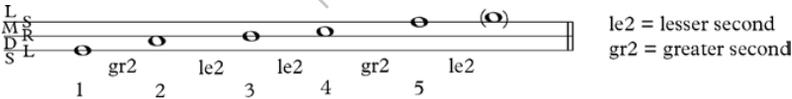
pentatonism will receive by ear. In the notation in the beginning of the first phrase the melody ascends by a leap to the (minor) third above and it seems to have a parallel beginning in measure five where the melody ascends by a leap to the (major) second above. However, folk-singers accustomed to pentatonism hear the melody ascending by a leap to the second above at the beginning of both phrases. If we alter a staff by omitting the lines indicating the places of the *pien*-tones, the way folk-singers experience this music also becomes visible from the staff (Example 13b). By this kind of notation it is easy to observe where in this melody the transpositions made down a second are exact. (Actually, except for cadences in inverted versions the transpositions are exact throughout.)

EXAMPLE 13b



Comparing these two modes of notation it becomes evident that similar to the five-line staff generally used with music based on seven scale degrees, also in the case of three-line staff an interval of two adjacent notes can be either minor (lesser) or major (greater):

EXAMPLE 14



In the above example the indications of intervallic differentiation between minor and major seconds according to its tone system are made by the *sol-fa* syllables. (The clef sign indicates the occurrences of minor and major seconds in a notational system based on the five-line staff generally used in diatonic music.)

In the following melody (Vikár 1971. 269) used in examples 15a and 15b, the transposition is made exactly, note by note. I have also here used two different notational systems for this melody, a system based on a five-line staff and a system based on a three-line staff. As can be seen from the above example, using a notational system based on a five-line staff gives us musical information which again is misleading. Listeners adapted to the typical features of diatonic music will never judge an interval of a sixth and a fifth as the same, either on the ground of notation or by ear. Using a notational system based on a three-line staff (example 15b) the manner in

which a Mari folk-singer structures intervallic relations in melody becomes apparent at first sight. It will be revealed from this type of notation that Mari folk-singers never make mistakes in comprehending music based on a tone system they have thoroughly and profoundly internalized. The precision shown by Mari folk-singers in their treatment of the intervallic relations in the melody is astonishing, as can be

EXAMPLE 15a

EXAMPLE 15a shows a melody on a five-line staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The melody consists of eight phrases, each four bars long. The notation includes various rhythmic values and a fermata over the final note of the eighth phrase.

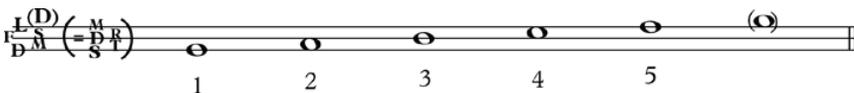
EXAMPLE 15b

EXAMPLE 15b shows the same melody as Example 15a, but with each phrase on its own line. This illustrates the transpositional structure of the melody, showing that the third and fourth lines are exact transpositions of the first and second lines.

seen from the preceding example. The tune in question consists of four phrases so that every phrase begins with an exact transposition of the two opening bars of the first phrase. When this melody is written on a five-line staff it looks as if at the beginning of every phrase the melody is ascending once by a leap to the sixth and once to the fifth above. In reality it turns out regularly to be the interval of a fourth (though different in quality; likewise the quint-shifting structures generally used by Vivaldi!).

If the tune shown in Example 15b is rewritten so that every phrase (consisting of four bars) is placed on its own line, it becomes obvious that the third and fourth line are exact transpositions of the first and second line. This is done consistently with respect to the tone system in use:

EXAMPLE 17



In the following I have notated a Mari folk song (shown earlier in Example 11b) on the basis of its tone system by omitting all the *pien*-tones that are included in it. Notated in this way the musical thinking of a folk singer concerning the construction of melody becomes obvious: the third phrase is an exact equivalent of the first phrase transposed down a third. (Naturally the quality of this third must be in accordance with the tone system in question). Other transpositions are also to be found, subject to

EXAMPLE 18



certain qualifications. Here I am referring to another basic rule of Mari folk song. According to this rule the final tone of a melody is *soh* and the melodic line never lies below this final tone. (This rule also holds true for most cases of other Finno-Ugrian songs). This rule is based on a fact that the seventh scale degree is not included in the anhemitonic pentatonic tone system of the Maris. (In addition to the stylistic device of repeating the final tone, the tone upon which melodies end.)

Finally I would like to bring Example 11c up for discussion once more. I have rewritten this Finnish runic tune in a simplified version in Example 19a. For the sake of comparison I have placed next to this Finnish runic tune an Estonian runic tune (Lauhis 1930/a. 988.) with a version written on a three-line staff (Examples 19b and 19c):

EXAMPLE 19a



EXAMPLE 19b



Musical notation for Example 19b, showing a melody in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The melody consists of four measures: G4-A4-B4, G4-A4-B4, C5-B4-A4, and G4-A4-B4. The lyrics are: Ló - pe, ló - pe, pól - lu - ke - ne, sa - a ot - sa, saa - re - ke - ne.

EXAMPLE 19c



Musical notation for Example 19c, showing two staves in D minor (two flats) and 2/4 time. The top staff is in soprano clef (C4) and the bottom staff is in bass clef (C3). Both staves show a sequence of notes: D4-E4-F4, D4-E4-F4, G4-A4-B4, G4-A4-B4.

It is the latter mode of notation that self-evidently gives rise to the correct analysis of melodic structure. That is to say the beginning of the second phrase is identical with the latter part of first phrase, repeated a second lower. This way of beginning a phrase is also very typical of other Finno-Ugrian peoples.

Melodic patterning in pentatonic music by folk singers and Finno-Ugrian composers

During their collecting tours some researchers have spent a longer time with folk singers accustomed to a pentatonic system. In this way these researchers were able to become aware of melodic patterning peculiar to folk singers. When these folk singers were wanted to learn other songs collected by the researchers in other regions, it was interesting to discover that the variants they produced were based on their own tone system.

For instance, if a collector presented a foreign melody having *pien*-tones unknown to the listeners, during the learning-process these *pien*-tones were replaced by other tones that featured in their own pentatonic tone system. That is to say, they "revised" the melody according to their own musical language.²⁶⁷

In the early sixties in Budapest the Gabor Lükö's thesis on pentatonic patterns of construction was presented to a special colloquium in the presence, among others, of Zoltan Kodály²⁶⁸. Until this date Kodály and Bartók had not of Lükö's theory. However, on the basis of their previous composition it is obvious that after having learned a large number of pentatonic tunes from folk singers, the patterns of construction peculiar to this musical system became a conscious part of their musical thinking and practice of composing. It is this phenomenon that I will finally illustrate. (Those transpositions, for instance many of the fourth-shifting structures in

²⁶⁷For instance, see Lükö 1962.

²⁶⁸For instance, see Lükö 1962.

pentatonism, which are exact, although notated on a five-line staff, are intentionally excluded. The fact is that they have been identifiable up to now.)

Composing a melody is one of the instances in which the patterns of construction in pentatonic tone system are manifested. The following example is taken from the bicinium by Kodály (Kodály 1992. 14.). It can be clearly seen from Example 20b that this melody is based on transpositions of a pentatonic melodic figure consisting of the first two bars. According to the pentatonic tone system the antecedent phrase comprising

EXAMPLE 20a

Lassan, ♩ = 60

dó
Kör-té-fa, kör-té-fa, Gyön-gyö-si kör-té-fa, Sok gya-log ka-to-na meg-pi-hen a-lat ta.

dó
Kör-té-fa, kör-té-fa, kör-té-fa.

Kard-já-val föl-szánt-ja, vér-rel bo-ro-nál-ja, Még-is a ki-rá-lyát szol-gál-ja.

Kard-já-val föl-szánt-ja, vér-rel bo-ro-nál-ja, Még is ő Föl-sé-gét i-ga-zán szol-gál-ja

EXAMPLE 20b

the first eight bars is exactly transposed down a fourth in the consequent phrase.

The next example originates in studies by Lükö. This music by Bartók, named "Hungarian sketches", was originally written for piano. What we see here is an arrangement for symphony orchestra made by Bartók himself:

EXAMPLE 21

Fl. 1.2.

A melodic figure in the flute part is transposed up a third, and is also here an exact transposition from a pentatonic point of view.

Parallel motion peculiar to pentatonism can be found in many works by Finno-Ugrian composers. A composition by Veljo Tormis entitled "Käku kukub" (Tormis 1986) will serve as an example of this:

EXAMPLE 22

Flute

Bartók has written a methodologically very well-considered introduction to piano playing entitled "Mikrokosmos". This work is intended for children and careful attention has been paid to the genre in choosing the musical materials for it. The next example is tune number 82 from Mikrokosmos which has a parallel motion by thirds (according to the pentatonic tone system):

EXAMPLE 23

Allegretto scherzando

The same kind of parallel motion is found also in the following example (Bartók 1946 IV/38):

EXAMPLE 24

Lento, ♩ = ca. 60-66

mp, dolce (sempre *mp ed egualmente*)
f, molto. espr., sonoro, poco rubato

Next, the Chanti song arranged by Veljo Tormis (Tormis 1994) is also an example of parallel motion by thirds peculiar to pentatonism:

EXAMPLE 25

öz (le) pa - ti kâr - si kor - ti - jew
 Kuk - ku - lal - la se on kor - ke - al - la.

In the following Manysi song arranged by Tormis (Tormis 1994/b) there is a parallel motion by thirds between the highest and lowest voices throughout the melodic line:

EXAMPLE 26

Giusto, ♩ = 120

1. sow saj sa - paj	jö - lej - läm,	sow när so - paj	(o)mo - näm.
2. sujt uj ken-zem,	jö - lej - läm	sujt ho-zes kä - jam	zaj - täm,
1. Met - sä - mai - ta	va - el - tan	met - sän - riis - taa	saa - tis - tan.
2. Jär - ven ran - taan	sei - sah - dan	ja - en peik - ki	laik - kaan.

Next I will exemplify the use of contrary motion in pentatonic music. The first example is from Mikrokosmos by Bartók (Bartók 1985, 110.):

EXAMPLE 27

The following piece of piano music is also from Mikrokosmos (Bartók 1985, 70.). Here, we find two simultaneous melodic lines based on the pentatonic scale at a different pitch. Contrary motion is used in the left hand part:

EXAMPLE 28

Adagio, ♩ = 66
f, espr.
 1
sopra
p 2 4 *sotto*

A. O. Väisänen, a Finnish musicologist who specialised in folk song research, has also arranged folk songs²⁶⁹. The next example is a Mordvinian folk song from a series of folk songs arranged for mixed choir by Väisänen (Väisänen 1929. 1.). According to the rules of the pentatonic system a contrary motion exists between soprano and alto at a cadence:

EXAMPLE 29

kar - ma - kaj, vi - di - tsat...

e - mo kul - ta, e - hoi - tit?

The very same device is to be found between the tenor and the two upper voices at a cadence in the following Votyak folk song taken from the series of folk songs mentioned above:

²⁶⁹ It would be interesting to know whether there exist any other compositions by Väisänen.

EXAMPLE 30

pi - len mil - kid nil vi - lin

mf

mf

mp *mf*

mp *mf*

nuk - ku - vat, nuk - ku - vat.

In the following piece from Mikrokosmos (Bartók 1985. 44.) a contrary motion is used throughout the first four bars of its opening phrase:

EXAMPLE 31

Vivace, ♩ = 112

f

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In his lectures Kodály repeatedly offered a suggestion that teaching children the piano should be based on a method according to which the playing starts on the black keys only. The following example by Bartók (Bartók 1985. 51.) is meant to be played on the black keys. The lowest voice of this piece is a repetition of the highest voice transposed to the fourth below, according to the rules of the pentatonic system. In fact it is a pentatonic canon at the lower fourth in miniature.

EXAMPLE 32

Andante, ♩ = 69

The musical score is for a piano piece in 6/8 time, marked 'Andante' with a tempo of 69 beats per minute. The key signature has three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The piece is marked 'p, dolce'. The score consists of two staves: a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The treble staff begins with a five-fingered chord (5) and contains a melodic line with a first ending bracket over the final two measures. The bass staff contains a rhythmic accompaniment with a first finger (1) marking under the first measure of the accompaniment.

Conclusions

Carrying out a study on layers of Finno-Ugrian folk music in accordance with the methodological principles suggested by Lükö gives us a possibility to understand in all its beauty and completeness a musical phenomenon fully different from western music. However, to attain this goal is no easy task. We need to re-evaluate the education we have reached in music and remodel our ability to enjoy this kind of music in character with the original essence of these tunes. We should learn to listen to these tunes like the folk singers from among whom these tunes have been collected. If we listen to and analyse them according to rules of a foreign tone system the musical world of these tunes will evade our reach.

During a process of listening it is very difficult, especially for adults, to eliminate the rules dominating the pattern of construction of a melodic line, that is to say, the rules originating in the diatonic tone system. Sequences occurring frequently in the music by Bach and Vivaldi are typical of this kind of patterning. An adult is slow to learn a new musical language. However nobody has the right to misinterpret music foreign to their experience under the pretext of slowness. Children are much quicker at learning new things. Therefore these songs, since they are of Finno-Ugrian origin, should be included in teaching materials at school – provided that the music teacher is receptive to this new musical language. Thus we could enable children to receive a Finnish and Finno-Ugrian alternative to the commonly taught musical heritage, especially in the very beginning of music instruction. Aksel Törnudd, one of the Finnish pioneers in the domain of music education, has in 1920 in his songbook for schools expressed basically the very same idea.

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XII.

MUSICAL CULTURE OF THE FINNIC NATIONS

(The lecture was given in the Musicology Institute of the University of Pavia in the spring of 2014, before a concert with a Finno-Ugric theme by the Vassa University Choir.)

**One has to by himself create his own life **

Ortega y Gasset

**I live in you, through you and compared to you – after that I would not live anymore **

S. Karácsony

A preface to the concert of Vaasan ylioppilaskuoro and Pavia university held in spring 2015, where the choirs performed, among the pieces of Veljo Tormis, Pekka Kostiainen and other composers, Urmas Sisask's "*Eesti missa*"

The humanity is facing times when nations and cultures have become endangered. Estonian composer Veljo Tormis has composed his trilogy "*The forgotten nations*" in order to warn us all of the disappearance of nations and their musical culture. In his piece he introduced small Finnic nations. When he had a lecture in Vaasa, Finland, the spring of 1998, he pointed out that we must, however, realize that also the bigger and more powerful cultures and nations are facing the same dangers. His trilogy is a cry for help for preserving the differences between nations and cultures.

Nowadays the so called "mass culture" is covering everything. The same phenomenon was present in a smaller scale even in later times, when Europeans took their own culture to their overseas colonies. This is called cultural imperialism. Without belittling the destructivity this early cultural imperialism had on the native nations, one can constitute that the difference to today is that at least the culture taken to the colonized dependencies was the European nations' own art culture. Also, at those times the conquerors could not even understand the culture of the colonized countries as being culture. The overtaking of another art culture, the one of a conqueror, happened to for example to many Finnic nations' (for example in Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian) culture. From example Franz Liszt did not know the musical culture of his country and nation in the least. (He did plan to familiarize himself with it, but never had the time) The industrialized mass culture, however, is far more efficient destructor of the differences in cultures. This is because even though it is mostly based to the Anglo-Saxon tones, it is, as Nicolaus Harnoncourt put it, made simpler for the public.

Understanding the differences in musical cultures did, however, started to lift its head already at the times of the above mentioned cultural imperialism. Exploratory expeditions among the Eastern European nations were made during the times of Mussorgsky, the in late 1800 and early 1900's. Through them one discovered that the music of Russian and other Eastern European nations does not always follow the rules (asymmetric rhythm, Bartok's quarter chords and the diversity of keys) of Western European music, but has its own rules. This finding inspired "The Russian Five" as well as Hungarian Bartok and Kodaly, Estonian Veljo Tormis and Urmas Sisak and Finnish Pekka Kostainen and other modern Finnish composers to compose their most known pieces. To understand the pieces of these composers one should get familiarize with the common characters of these nations and cultures.

About the Finnic nations' culture in general

Let us go for a little exploratory expedition into the poetry of Finnic nations and compare it to Western European poetry. Here we have two classical poems, one from Finland and another from Italy. If we concentrate on the style of the narrative, can we notice a difference between the two poems?

Kalevala

Ensimmäinen runo

Mieleni minun tekevi, aivoni ajattelevi
lähteäni laulamahan, saa'ani sanelemahan,
sukuvirttä suoltamahan, lajivirttä laulamahan.
Sanat suussani sulavat, puhe'et putoelevat,
kielelleni kerkiävät, hampahilleni hajoovat.

Veli kulta, veikkoseni, kaunis kasvinkumppalini!
Lähe nyt kanssa laulamahan, saa kera sanelemahan
yhtehen yhyttyämme, kahta'alta käytyämme!
Harvoin yhtehen yhyimme, saamme toinen toisihimme
näillä raukoilla rajoilla, poloisilla Pohjan mailla.

Kalevala (Italian)

Il Primo Runo

Nella mente il desiderio mi si sveglia, e nel cervello
l'intenzione di cantare, di parole pronunziare,
co' miei versi celebrare la mia patria, la mia gente.
mi si struggon nella bocca, mi si fondon le parole,
mi si affollan sulla lingua, si sminuzzano fra i denti.

Caro mio fratello d'oro, mio compagno dai prim'anni!
Ora vieni a cantar meco, a dir meco le parole!
Da diverso luogo, insieme ora qui ci siamo trovati!
Raro avvien che c'incontriamo, che possiamo stare insieme
quassù in queste terre tristi, nelle povere contrade.

(trans. Paolo E. Pavolini)

English translation:

MASTERED by desire impulsive,
By a mighty inward urging,

I am ready now for singing,
Ready to begin the chanting
Of our nation's ancient folk-song
Handed down from by-gone ages.
In my mouth the words are melting,
From my lips the tones are gliding,
From my tongue they wish to hasten;
When my willing teeth are parted,
When my ready mouth is opened,
Songs of ancient wit and wisdom
Hasten from me not unwilling.

Golden friend, and dearest brother,
Brother dear of mine in childhood,
Come and sing with me the stories,
Come and chant with me the legends,
Legends of the times forgotten,
Since we now are here together,
Come together from our roamings.
Seldom do we come for singing,

Seldom to the one, the other,
O'er this cold and cruel country,
O'er the poor soil of the Northland.
(transl. John Martin Crawford)

2) Dante: La divina commedia

« Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita
mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,
ché la diritta via era smarrita.

Ahi quanto a dir qual era è cosa dura,
esta selva selvaggia e aspra e forte,
che nel pensier rinnova la paura!

Tant'è amara che poco è più morte;
ma per trattar del ben ch'i' vi trovai,
dirò de l'altre cose ch'i' v'ho scorte.

(Alighieri Dante, Inferno I, 1-)

»Elomme keskimatkaan ehtineenä
samoilin synkkää metsää, koska olin
pois harhautunut tieltä oikealta.

Ah, vaikea on sanoin ilmi tuoda
tuon metsän sankkuus, kolkkaus ja jylhyys,
sen pelkkä muistokin taas nostaa pelon!

Se karmea kuin kuolema on miltei;
vaan kun myös hyvää sieltä löysin, tahdon
kuvaillla muunkin siellä kokemani.»

(suom. Elina Vaara)

English translation:
When half way through the journey of our life
I found that I was in a gloomy wood,
because the path which led aright was lost.
And ah, how hard it is to say just what

this wild and rough and stubborn woodland was,
 the very thought of which renews my fear!
 So bitter t is, that death is little worse;
 but of the good to treat which there I found,
 I ll speak of what I else discovered there.
 trans Courtney Langdon

It looks like the Finnish poet likes to say things twice. In poetics this is called parallelism, repetition. But it is actually repetition? When studying the poem more closely, one will notice that in the poem things are not repeated. Instead they create a half for the other thought just said. It is like two things that are coordinated to each other, just like these Finnish combined words:

- n. minuuteni/olemukseni as in „me” is expressed: mieleni (my mind) – aivoni (my brain)
- n. sanottavani (=things I got to say) sanat – puheet (words – talks)
- n. puhuva suuni, joiden avulla äänteitäkin muodostan, jne. kieleni – hampaani (my tongue – my teeth)

So, it is not just about a poetic style but a way of thinking and expressing. This proves that the Finnic languages prefer structures that parallel things, even in everyday language. Also, the most Western Finnic nations (the Sami people, Hungarians, Finns), whose languages are already familiar with subordinating structures, still prefer parallel ones. Here are some example of combined words:

it. mondo, eng world fin. maailma (= maa (earth) + ilma (air))

Where Italian and English use one abstract concept, Finnish divides the concept into two and creates a new word by paralleling two things: the concrete earth plus the abstract air make the world. To put it more philosophically, the visible world is made complete in a natural way with the invisible.

it. uomo, eng. human mans (Mansi language) elumholum (= living-dying ergo human)

it. fratello, sorella, eng. brother, sister. hung. testvér (=body- blood ergo a sibling)

The phenomenon is extremely wide in Finnic languages:
 Hungarian

hír/név “message/name” ergo reputations
 szó/beszéd “word/talk” ergo gossip, rumour
 test/vér “body-blood” ergo sibling

domb/ság “hill-mountain” ergo a hilly region
arc (orr+száj) „nose-mouth” ergo face
jött/ment „gone-come” ergo poor or suspicious-looking person*
él-/hal valamiért live-die for something’ ergo want something badly
fü-/fa „grass-tree” ergo everything
jár/kál (<jár+kel) „wonders-rises” ergo wonders around
tős/gyökerez ’kantanen-juurinen’ (eli hyvin vanhahtava),
szántó/vető ’kyntäjä-kylväjä’ (eli talonpoika),
hús-/vér „meat-blood” ergo real
éjjeli-/nappali „nigth-day” ergo nonstop
csont-/bőr „bone-skin” ergo skinny

Finnish

maa/ilma , „earth-air” ergo world
yötäpäivää „night-day” nonstop
silmänä/korvana, „an eye-an ear” to keep an eye on something

Estonian

luu/liha ’luunahka’ „bone-skin” ergo body
õud/vennad „girlhalf-boyhalf” ergo sibling

Mansi language

uj/hul ’eläin-kala’ (eläin), „animal-fish” ergo animal
elum/holas ’kuoleva-elävä’ (eli ihminen), „living-dying” ergo human
maa/wit ’maa-vesi’ (eli seutu), „earth-water” ergo region
lunt/vas ’hanhi-ankka’ (eli yleisesti vesilintu), „goose-duck” ergo water bird
agi/pig ’tyttöpoika’ (eli lapsi); „girl-boy” ergo child

udmurt language

sudini/serekjani ’leikkiä-nauraa’ (eli viihtyä, huvitella), „play-laugh” ergo enjoy,
have a good time
sin/pel ’silmäkorva’ (todistaja), „eye-ear” ergo witness
sil/vir ’liha-veri’ (eli keho) jne. „meat-blood” ergo body

These examples show that alone the two parts of a combined word would have a completely different meaning than what the words mean together: Hungarian “test” is body and “vér” is blood. It is only when put to together that they mean “a sibling”

As we could see from the examples, the concepts can also be defined in different ways in different cultures. Firstly, in Western thinking the Aristotelian definition (definitio) makes a line between A and not A ergo finds out the ways A is different from everything else. For example “a table” is different from all other furniture in a way that it was for legs, wooden surface and can be eaten on. One cannot eat on a closet.

So, a table is furniture with four legs usually used when eating. This definition approaches the concept from below (per genus proximus ergo furniture), after which it makes a difference between it and all other concept in the same level (per differentiam specificam ergo “four legs” and “used when eating”) The problem, however, with this kind of definition is that it can never be perfect: there are three-legged tables and even legless tables for example in trains.

Secondly, Finnic nations do not approach the concept from below, but choose two concepts that are already in the reality and set them side by side, as can be seen from these examples of combined words in Finnic languages:

it. bambino/bambina	mans. agipig (“girlboy” ergo “a child)
it. bruto, eng. animal	mans. ujhul (“any animal-fish” ergo “an animal”)

These kinds of definitions are not restrictive but open. These kinds of word pairs give out a minimal list ergo nominate two prototypes. Indo-European languages are mainly subordinate whereas Finnic languages are more coordinating (Jan Kaplinski, Sándor Karácsony, Gábor Lükö, Kari E. Turunen, Zoltán Kodaly) The fact that the phenomenon is present in Finnic languages in the verbal level, or in language philology, proves that this is not just a theory presented by scientists. In most Finnic languages a person alone is an “unfinished half” and needs its another half to make a whole:

Finnish:

puoliso “a spouse” (derived from the word for “half”)

osapuoli (“part-half” ergo a party”

Mari language

pelasem “my spouse” (derived from the word for “half”)

sümbel “my heart’s half” ergo “my love”

Mordva language

pola “spouse” (derived from the word for “half”)

Hungarian

feleség(e) “a spouse” (derived from the word for “half”)

szívemnek fele “my heart’s half” ergo “my love”

This kind of thinking means that “I” exist only with my other half. The same phenomenon is seen in the Hungarian words for to answer is “felel” which means “to give one’s side”

The Kalevala above was originally presented with two parties, a main singer and “the person who agrees”, and originally the verses were sung by these two in turns, like in the example below:

1. Sii-ta-pa ar-oil - la a - je - li, a - je - li ri - su - kois - sa rip-sut-te-li, rip-sut-te
ke - sat hei -lui het-te-his-sa, het-te - hi suu-rim - mil-la suon se-lil-la, se -lil -la, §

2. tal - vet mais -ki man-ni-kois-sa, man-ni-koi, pel - mu - si pe -ta - ji -kois-sa, pe -ta -ji,
kol - ka - e - li koi -vi-kois-sa, koi-vi-koi, le - pi - kois -sa leyh-ka -e - li, leyh-ka-e, §

3. Kyl-mi-pa pui-ta ja -pe -hu -ja, pe-hu-ja, ta - soit - te li tan -te -ri - a, tan -te -ri,
pu - ri puut le -het-to-mak-si, le-het-to ka - ner - val ku - kit -to -mak-si, ku-kit -to,
pil - vat hon-gis-ta pi -ris -ti, pi -ris -ti las - ki-pa las-tut man-ty-lois-ta, man-ty-loi. §

Example: Pekka Kostiainen: Pakkasen luku, part 6

Like poetry and language, also the musical message is divided into two, just like in the example above. The first musical half makes sense only when combined with the other half, after which they combine a whole. In Western music this is just a stylistic phenomenon occurring rarely, (for example in Bach’s pieces) whereas within Finnic nations it is a way of musical thinking. The vast spectrum of keys presented in the music of these nations is also due to this kind of co-ordinate way of thinking and crafting. These keys and their notes are not in subordinate relations with each other but are coordinated with each other endlessly, for example in Bartok’s *Allegro Barbaro* or *Cipósütés* or Pekka Kostiainen’s *Pakkasen luku* and Urmas Sisak’s *Eesti missa*.

In Western Europe the musical cultures use mainly major and minor keys, where the notes are in dependant, subordinating and hypotactic relations with each other. Every note has its own character in the tonic-subdominant-dominant- trinity. The piece starts with emotions and always arrives after many dominant and subdominant turning points to the tonic. For this reason a musical piece always has an ending, where as a Finnic musical piece does not necessarily have an ending, but its ending is unfinished. The waving of feelings is impossible to show with aim for the dominant and then sometimes reaching the tonic. The individual “Finnic notes” get their meaning when they relate to another note and so forth. Music of the Finnic nations expresses feelings only through change the singing range or volume or through key changes. From a cognitive point of view it might be interesting to mention that the uneducated Finnic nations never talk about notes with terms like “high” and “low” but use instead the words “thin” and “thick.” One should bare this in mind when listening to tonight’s

pieces by Kostianen and Sisak. In them the feelings are presented by coordinating two segments with each other.

The waves of feelings in European music, which is subordinate, subjective music, is very typical. The music also always looks for the basic note (tonic), like in Robert Jones' Sweet Kate:

Edited by Andreas Stenberg

Robert Jones

Cantvs

Sweete Kate of late ran a way and left me
A bide I cride or I die with thy dis

Altns

Sweete Kate of late ran a way and left
A bide I cride or I die with thy

Bassvs

Sweet Kate

[Lute in g]

C c

a

d c d f h

d c d a c e f

a

b f f

d c d

The first system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is for the Cantor, the second for the Altus, the third for the Bassus, and the fourth for the Lute in G. The Cantor and Altus parts have lyrics underneath. The Bassus part has a few notes with letters 'a' and 'd' below them. The Lute part is a six-line staff with letters 'c', 'a', 'd', 'c', 'd', 'f', 'h' in the first measure, 'd', 'c', 'd', 'a', 'c', 'e', 'f' in the second, 'a' in the third, and 'b', 'f', 'f', 'd', 'c', 'd' in the fourth. A large diagonal watermark 'FOR AUTHOR USE ONLY' is overlaid on the score.

2

4

playn - ing Te hee hee quotheshee gladly would I
day - ning

me playn ing Te hee hee quoth shee gladly would I see
dis - day-ning

d b d d

a

a a a d b d c

a c a d a a

d a a

The second system of the musical score starts at measure 4. It follows the same four-staff layout as the first system. The lyrics are: 'playn - ing Te hee hee quotheshee gladly would I' on the top staff, and 'day - ning' on the second staff. The bottom two staves (Bassus and Lute) have notes with letters 'd', 'b', 'd', 'd', 'a', 'a', 'a', 'a', 'd', 'b', 'd', 'c', 'a', 'c', 'a', 'd', 'a', 'a' written below them. A large diagonal watermark 'FOR AUTHOR USE ONLY' is overlaid on the score.

7

see a-ny man to die with lo - ving Ne wer an-ny
 a-ny man to die with lo - ving Ne wer an-ny yet

a a c a a a a
 a b d b a a c e a c c c a c
 c c a c c a a

4

10

yet died of such a fitte Nei ther have I Feare of pro - ving
 died of such a fitte Nei ther have I Feare of pro - ving

a a a a c a a
 b d a a b d b c a c e a a a
 c d a a c b c a c c c c a a

Sweete Kate of late ran away and left me From "a Musical Dreame" or The Fourth booke of Ayres... 1609

Then again coordinating, objective music, which knows no waving or is not subordinate, like Fenno-Ugric music, know no idea of tonic – subtonic – dominant-structure.

This is seen also in Sisask's Eesti missa (example of Credo below)

Tempo giusto (♩ = 76 - 84)

Piano

Example: Bartók: Allegro Barbaro

For someone used to the Western European music of the time, this kind of Finnic music might sound brutal or even barbaric. But it does not sound brutal for people who live in the musical culture in question.

And then there is Finnish music. Finnish musical culture was found only by scientists. Before that the musical of Finland did not differ from other countries' (like Sweden's) music. The scientists' discoveries in the change of 1800 and 1900s had two levels:

- a) Songs and tones with Kalevala measure
- b) folk song with rime and verses

I have already mentioned the songs with Kalevala-measure. Kalevala is assembled of Finnish singing tradition, hence the song with "Kalevala-measure." They are usually quite narrow by their key (tri-, tetra- or pentatonic) and rhythm (2/4 +3/4, 5/8, 5/8 + 4/8, 3/8 + 6/8 and so on), but otherwise very rich tunes with two verses.

Songs with rhyme have four verses that rime, but only two verses, 7-level tunes. They are a bit closer to the music and tunes known in Western Europe. The two levels in all of these are usually different in their topic as well. There are a lot of epic story of the heroes presented in Kalevala (Väinämöinen, Joukahainen, Louhi etc.) among the Kalevala-measured songs. The heathen-like “Pakkasen luku” and Christian-spiritual “Eesti missa” of tonight’s concert belong to this kind of stylistic level. The other level of Finnish musical culture include the songs with rime, which are mostly love stories, like Kostiainen’s “*Mull’ on heila*” or Jouka Törmälä’s “*Sinisiä punasia ruusunkukkia*”, which are also performed in today’s concert.

FOR AUTHOR USE ONLY

Credo

♩ = 88

Rubato

in tempo

S T
A B

Orgo-
na

solo
(Preester): Mi-na u-sun ain-sas-se Ju-ma-las-se
basso

mf dimin.

Detailed description: This block contains the vocal and organ parts for the first section. The vocal parts (Soprano and Alto) are in a 2+2+2 time signature. The organ part is in 6/2 time. The organ part features a melodic line with a dynamic marking of *mf* and a *dimin.* (diminuendo) instruction. There are fermatas over the organ part.

**

Šamaanitrumm:

Detailed description: A drum part for Šamaanitrumm, consisting of a series of eighth notes.

solo
A. *pp*

(Rahvalaulik): Mi-na u-sun ain - sas - se Ju-ma-las - se

bass *

kong *

Detailed description: This block contains the organ and bass parts for the second section. The organ part is in 6/2 time and features a melodic line with a dynamic marking of *pp* (pianissimo). The bass part is in 6/2 time and features a melodic line with a dynamic marking of *pp* and a *kong ** (konga) instruction. There are fermatas over the organ part.

coro
A. B.

solo
S.

Mi - na u - sun ain - sas - se Ju - ma - las - se; kõi - ge - väe - lis - se I - sas - se,

Detailed description: This block contains the organ and bass parts for the third section. The organ part is in 6/2 time and features a melodic line with a dynamic marking of *pp* and a *bass ** instruction. The bass part is in 6/2 time and features a melodic line with a dynamic marking of *pp* and a *bass ** instruction. There are fermatas over the organ part.

Conclusion

The music of the Fenno-Ugric nations is based on the nations own way of thinking and seeing the world. They differ from Western ways of thinking quite a lot. The difference are maybe best seen in our two mottos from Gasset and Karácsony

**One has to by himself create his own life **

**I live in you, through you and compared to you – after that I would not live anymore **

One is his own person, who builds himself from himself, as an individual, whereas the other lives, thinks and acts, even goes to wars and sings as half of another half, only then forming a whole.

The older music of Finns and Fenno-Ugric nations' ways of thinking are objective, primitive and coordinated. Should somebody wait beautiful melodies with clear start and ending from our choir in tonight's performance, he or she shall most like be disappointed. One has to be open towards Fenno-Ugric music and it's characteristics in order to understand tonight's music. In our performance melodies add to each other (for example second soprano and first alto in the example provided from Kostiainen) and are in coordinate relations with each other. They do not end up in the basic tone, but might go on and on without an ending.

We hope the concert will give you an interesting experience of the difference of our musical cultures.

XIII.

IS THERE A REASON FOR THE EXISTENCE OF AN INDEPENDENT FINNO-UGRIC MUSICOLOGY?

A COGNITIVE APPROACH TO THE COMPOUND NATURE OF FINNO-UGRIC
MUSIC CULTURES

György Kádár

The “task” of a musician, a composer or a performer is to create the composition. Then, the audience may, or may not be able to feel, or identify with the piece. Should the audience be able to feel with it, the piece is successful: a musical, artistic experience is born. The musician on the other hand, does not only want to feel, but rather understand how music, art is born. Of course, this, does not free him / her of getting to know the pieces on the level of enjoyment. (I must point this out, for unfortunately there are many musicians, who research music only based on sense.)

Nowadays in science, it is a generally accepted requirement that every researcher shall inspect the phenomena in their own system. For a Finno-Ugrian musician researching the music of Finno-Ugrians should, first of all, think over whether there are such specialities of musical culture of this ethnic group that differ from other ethnical groups; does the nature of the researched musical piece differ from the musical culture of other European groups’ musical culture. If so, is it necessary to develop a new conceptual system, a new methodology – differing from the musical research system, method of other European nations’ – or perhaps not? For, should the researcher not ask these questions, then he or she may address these musical pieces with other measures, and will never understand their essence or depth.

Reviewing the history of musical research, we may say that considering the essence of these questions, they are – ever since romanticism still out in the open.

Yet, the new approach, the new ways of questioning of the cognitive sciences demand answers for these questions: how does a person speaking one of the Finno-Ugrian languages conceive musical phenomena: how does he or she approaches them, how does he or she understand them, and create musical “texts”, does he or she approach music differently than representatives of other linguistic groups, what is his or her conceptual system of his or her own group’s music, musical experiences, does his or her musical thinking differ from that of other ethnic groups, is there a relationship

between music and linguistics, musical-relationship exists, that may help us to understand the unique features of the musical culture of different nations?

The new approaches, the new methods and ways of questioning and answering questions of cognitive musical science may open up new perspectives to researchers, and may establish the basis of a stand-alone Finno-Ugrian musicology in the line of the newly created comparative Finno-Ugrian musicology.

In the following I will touch upon the above topics.

1. CONFRONTATION OF DIFFERENT EAST-EUROPEAN MUSICAL CULTURES – A SHORT HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

During Romanticism the idea of an international musical culture was common all over Europe. This theory held true until the East-European peoples slowly started to awake from the cultural colonisation and introduce their unique musical pieces that differed from the other nations often quite considerably (like the Russian composers Glinka and Mussorskij, the Finnish Sibelius, the Romanian Enescu, and last but not least Bartók and Kodály, etc). At first, these musical pieces seemed nothing more than “a sweet cluster of grapes squeezed into new wine” (ADY, Endre), but gradually it was learned that although their language structure may not always be the same, these music pieces are able to express the fluctuation of similar human emotions (Langer 1953, 1957).

M. A. Castren, for example, who grew up in German musical culture, and can thus hardly be accused of hostile feelings towards our kindred nations, wrote of the tunes of the Samoyeds in 1848:

At weddings, girls are singing. Looking at their meaning, they are beautiful, but their tunes are like frog-croak. (Castrén 1853: 219)

Those who can not understand the language structure of the music of East-Europe, can not understand Bartók’s music either (and neither his way of thinking, we may presume).

Menuetto
Allegretto

Musical score for the first system (measures 1-7) of the Minuet in G major. The score is in 3/4 time and G major. It features a piano (p) dynamic. The right hand has a melodic line with trills (tr) in measures 1, 3, and 7. The left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with a steady eighth-note bass line. A forte (f) dynamic is indicated at the beginning of the first and third staves.

Musical score for the second system (measures 8-13) of the Minuet in G major. The score continues in 3/4 time and G major. It features a piano (p) dynamic. The right hand has a melodic line with trills (tr) in measures 8 and 10, and a crescendo (cresc.) in measure 13. The left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with a steady eighth-note bass line. A piano (p) dynamic is indicated at the beginning of the first and third staves.

Musical score for the third system (measures 14-17) of the Minuet in G major. The score continues in 3/4 time and G major. It features a forte (f) dynamic. The right hand has a melodic line with trills (tr) in measures 14 and 15, and a repeat sign at the end of measure 17. The left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with a steady eighth-note bass line. A forte (f) dynamic is indicated at the beginning of the first and third staves.

Notes 1: Mozart: Night Music

And then Bartók became the prisoner of foreign spirit. [...] Deux images [Two pictures]. A chaotic mixture of sounds, on top of which, no theme is floating. [...] Brutally raw colours, crackling rhythm, a fussy dynamics, resembling that of Strauss can be heard. The adoption is way behind that of the paraphrases of the slaves and the Scandinavians. (Budapesti Hírlap, 27.02.1913)

The critic may have evaluated Bartók’s music somewhat negative, but has pointed out the essence of it. The most important thing is, that Bartók “became the prisoner of foreign spirit”. And has pointed out one of the important features of Finno-Ugrian music: “on top of which, no theme is floating”. Should we compare, with German music,¹ the pieces of Bartók with Mozart or from Palestrin, through Monteverdi, to the above-mentioned Strauss, the critic is still right.

Bartók’s Allegro Barbaro is of course full of “brutally raw colours” with, ”crackling rhythm”, and “on top of which, no theme is float- ing.”

Tempo giusto $\text{♩} = 76 - 84$

Piano

7

14

sf

Notes 2: Bartók: Allegro Barbaro

I could give many examples on how someone growing up on West-European music, expects something from the Samoyed songs, or from Bartók's music, that is not present in there. This is nothing else than ("spirits foreign to each other") the encounter of two different musical cultures.

2. ON WHAT SUB-AREAS DO FINNO-UGRIAN AND WEST-EUROPEAN MUSICAL CULTURES DIFFER?

The basis for Finno-Ugrian comparative musical science, and also the cognitive inspection of Finno-Ugrian musical cultures, was established by Gábor Lükö, who was able to separate the ancient layers and characteristics of these and other (ancient Slavic, ancient Indo-European) cultures (Lükö 1962, 1964, 1965). As it turned out, the musical language of these cultures differs not only because of the difference in their scale, but the association structure of the sounds within the scales differs as well (Kádár 1994: 49–70). (This has been used to explain the intervals – like septims –, that are considered dissonance by the West-Europeans, and as consonance in these musical cultures, not requiring a dissolution, as explained by Bartók in his own method of composing. At this point Bartók and Lükö have become the precursors of cognitive musical science.)

Later on, it became evident that these cultures may have a different understanding of different musical concepts. The most important may be that defining musical sounds in the scale of "high-low" is totally unknown among the uneducated parts of Finno-Ugrians. They define the quality of sounds for themselves as "thick-thin" (Nykysuomen sanakirja IV: 18, 178). Even Döbrentei speaks of thick and thin vowels in his grammar book (Döbrentei 1832). And this is not all. If they were able to associate the "thick-thin" concept of the Hungarians with the "high" and "low" concepts, then "thick" will be above, while "thin" will be below. That is the other way around as in their accustomed musical writing structure (Luby 1942). At the same time, the Finnish psaltery (*kantele*) player holds his instrument the same way in his lap: that is, the longer thick chords are on the bottom, while the shorter thinner ones are on the top. If we took the cognitive sciences serious, then these observations would have "serious" consequences in our writing structure.

The most important difference of Finno-Ugrian musical cultures, compared to other music cultures, is their compound structure.

3. COMPOUND THINKING – THE MOST IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTIC OF FINNO-UGRIAN MUSICAL CULTURES

3.1. *Defining compound thinking*

The importance of compound sentences and words, as well as the unique speciality of these languages has been emphasised in Finno-Ugrian researches for a long time. The

fact, that this imbibes a whole way of thinking was first pointed out by Sándor Karácsony, speaking about the Hungarian language.

Should we be able to forget, if only for a moment, what we have thought about Indo-German language sciences, and be able to accept without bias the facts of the Hungarian language as they appear – not knowing anything about Grammatik terminologies, systems, categories and definitions –, the language itself would show its inner laws as the fruits of its productive theory. Well, this power network, that should appear this way, would be the compound. Should we reduce every phenomenon to a common law, that law would sound that the grammar of the Hungarian language is not oriented towards combining all the conceptual signs in one concept, but rather indicating by comparison two concepts, or a concept and a relation, or two relations. So in the sign-structure, subordination always abstracts, while compound-ing demonstrates. This difference exists even in the meaning of the word. An Indo-Germanic word always marks with some sort of generality, or difference, while the sign of the Hungarian word is what it is compared to something. (Karácsony 1985: 253)

3.2. The subordinating way of thinking in the conceptual structure of the Finno-Ugrian languages

How subordination appears in the conceptual structure of people, speaking a Finno-Ugrian language? Can Karácsony's observations be proved or applied to others speaking Finno-Ugrian languages, too?

The Finno-Ugrian people, in their verbal thinking have only one thing in common; the approach toward another person. Finno-Ugrians are not pronouns defined abstract entities (die Mutter, der Vater, das M, etc.), rather a part of their fellow-being. Only compared to another fellow-being is a Finno-Ugrian a human. This abstract is completely different from that of Indo-German cultures.

Here, I would like to only demonstrate this with examples from the Finnish and Hungarian languages:

puolisonsa – feleség – his wife (in Finnish, 'a spouse') házas – felek – married partners²
puolisko(nsa) – fele – half of / partner to
osapuol(ensa) – ügyfele – client to (partner in business) riitapuolet – peres fele – contestant to (partners in a law-suit) hyökkäävä puoli – támadó fele – aggressor (one of two fighters) äitipuoli – féltestvére – half-brother to / half-sister to
puoltaa – megvédelmez – protects
puoltaja – felelo – responder, replier
vastata – felel (< Hung. felel 'to give half') – to respond (In case of nouns, the personal suffix is a must.)

(Based on historical phonetics, the Finnish *puoli* is an exact match to the Hungarian *fél* ‘part of, partner, half’. The Hungarian equivalent of the Finnish initial letter *p-* is always the letter *f-*; while the middle *-l-* stayed the same in both languages. So, based on the above, linguists assume that the word, noting a lingual philosophy that without a pair speaks of a person as a “semi-person”, is at least 5,000 years old.)

That is, a Finno-Ugrian – talking with his / her partner – is not forcing his / her autonomy to his / her partner, rather – at least based on their language – giving up his / her own “part of” autonomy accepts the other person as a partner in the conversation. This might be a reason for the Finno-Ugrians answer to a question with a single *yes* or *no* only on a special occasion. Finnish translators, translating TV-programs correctly avoid the abstracting “Yes” of English.

Megértette, amit mondtam? – Megértettem. [And not: *igen*] Did you understand what I said? – I understood. [And not: “yes”]

Kävitkö eilen kahvilassa? – Kävin, mutta vasta illemmalla. [And not: *Kyllä.*] Were you at the Café yesterday? – I was, but only in the evening. [And not “Yes”.]

Knowing this, it can not be a coincidence that Gabriel Porthan, in his work “On Finnish Poetry” (*Suomalaisesta runoudesta*), reports that Finnish people call the odd-lines ‘leader’ (*päämies*) and the even lines ‘replier, advocate’ (*puoltaja; puoltaa* ‘to give half’) of their songs sang in rotation, called Kalevalan songs (*vuorolaulu*)³ (Porthan 1983: 79).

3.3. The compound thinking in the Finno-Ugrian language and poetry

Below, I will introduce some characteristic examples for the compound thinking that should be familiar to any Finno-Ugrian specialist.

On the word level:

(Vogul) *elum-holum* – ‘living-dying’, ‘person’ (Finnish) *maailma* – ‘ground-sky’, ‘world’ (Hungarian) *testvér* – ‘brother/sister’, ‘sibling’ (Vogul) *ujhul* – ‘animal-fish’, ‘animal’ (Hungarian) *arc* – ‘nose-mouth’ (Vogul) *agipig* – ‘girl-boy’, ‘child’ In verbal structure:

(Finnish) *silmänä korvana* – ‘as eyes and ears’, ‘observing /watch-ful’ (Hungarian) *fut-fát* – ‘grass-and-trees’, also ‘promises wonders’ (Finnish) *puutaheinää* – ‘grass-and-trees’ (Hungarian) *árkon-bokron* – ‘trench-and-bush’, also ‘head over heels’

In clauses:

Finnish

*lapsi on tuotu laulajaksi,
kunnan kukkujaksi.* The child was brought for singer, *poika*
To cook the cuckoo-boy. (Kalevala 20, 541-
542)

*Jo täällä tämänki talven,
jopa mennehen kesosen* [---] Here is the winter,
Here is the last summer [---] (Kalevala 25, 179-
180)

*Tulit pääni polkemahan,
alentamahan!* You've come to smash my head, *Aivoni*
to decry my knowledge. (Kalevala 27, 75-
76)

Vogul

Rightful for the animal girl low voice
noise
they whoop my three whoops, thin voice
noise
they whoop my four whoops. (Munkácsi
1893: 316)

The lord of the town, took a five stringed wood to his hands. Plonks the
bottom chord:
Calls the winged Gods over, Plonks the
top chord:
Calls the legged Gods over. (Munkácsi
1893: 537)

I must emphasise that the examples above are only the surface. People speaking Finno-Ugrian languages, in general and on every level of the language, like to express things in relation to some- thing else. It is not our task here to introduce this structure – I just simply point out that the rich personal – and correlating conjuga- tion structure of the Finno-Ugrian languages is probably the result of this strong “will” of correlating. I also add as a remark that con- trastive researchers should research on the extinction of the rich personal conjugation structure of modern Finnish language, which is most likely the result of the abstracting of personal relationship. (This is partly the reason why Finnish grammar is strongly being revised nowadays.)

4. The compound way of thinking in the Finno-Ugrian music

The musical compound structure – as far as I know – was first men- tioned by Kodály (Kodály 1969: 37). His understanding was that parallelism can be discovered in the lines of Hungarian folk-songs. László Vikár observes the same phenomenon, when noting that Finno-Ugrian folk songs are single seeded. Erkki Pekkilä in his

musicological research, independent of Kodályt and Karácsony discovered two musical building structures (Pekkilä 1988: 157–158). The paratactic (= compound) and the hypotactic (=subordinate). According to him, paratactic structures can be identified by the fact that their segments are reversible, while these of the hypotactic are not. Just like in language:

When in Kalevala the Heroes are afraid or in danger, they formulate the question, using the below structure:

Miten olla, kuin eleä How shall we be, how do we live This can

be reversed, like this:

Kuin eleä, miten olla I will be so long as I live.

Or with an example from Kanteleta:

Pääskyläinen, päivänlintu, päivänlintu yönlipakko Swallow of all,
bird of sun, bird of sun, fowl of night can be reversed:

päivänlintu, pääskyläinen, päivänlintu yönlipakko
Bird of sun, Swallow of all, bird of sun, fowl of night

The same applies for music. (To keep it simple, I will only introduce eight syllable examples). Our third note example is a lullaby from Uhtua:



Notes 3. *Krasnopolskaia* 1977: 12.

The notes are arranged to pairs and move combined. These note-pairs are reversible, and it follows the same musical structure.

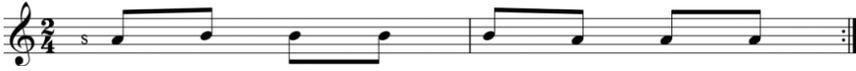
The next tune was recorded from Setu (a small Estonian ethnic group):



Notes 4. *Salve* 1987.

Reversing the note pairs here would not make the musical structure uninterpretable either.

The same applies for the next two examples:



Notes 5. SKSÄV IV/1 50.



Notes 6. Väisänen 1937: 146.

We may change the order of the lines within the line pairs: la-la-la-so, la-so-la-so – so-la-la-la, la-la-la-so.

Not all Finno-Ugrian musical examples are this simple, but it is also true for the more complex ones, that there is no subordination. Therefore, if we were to create a computer program that would generate Finno-Ugrian music, it would have a pretty simple algorithm. The example given here is limited to sounds that are of two seconds' distance from each other, where *a* is the initial sound, while *b* is the possible next, at one second distance (using standard logical symbols):

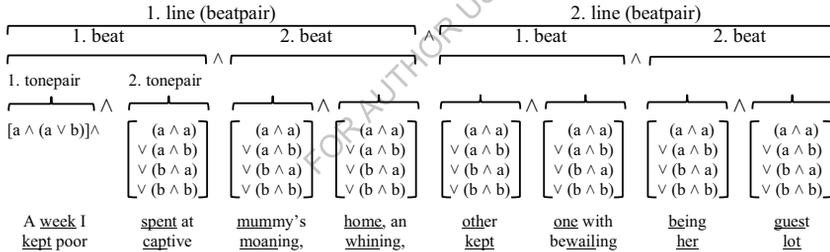


Figure 1. Kuusi 1980: 107, 79.

This formula can only be extended with a few Finno-Ugrian musical rules (some popular reflecting methods, for example).

Another algorithm should create rhythm, which results (following a few statistical check-ups) could be applied without any extra rules on the results of the previous algorithm. For creating rhythm we should only define what rhythmical values *a* and *b* possess. Should *a* and *b* have the same or different values, and should these be quavers or crotchets (or 1:1/2s).

The below examples are from different Finno-Ugrian cultures:



Sot - ka - lin - tu suo - ra lin - tu sot - ka - lin - tu suo - ra lin - tu
 “Pochard bird, nice little bird, pochard bird, nice little bird”
 Notes 7. *Tedre* 1975: 2.



Notes 8. *Lázár* 1996: 39.



Notes 9. *SKSÄV IV/2*: 138.

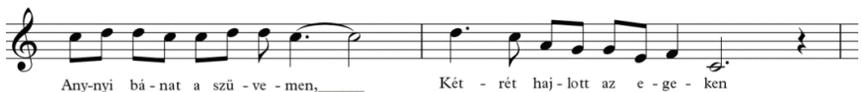


Notes 10. *SKSÄV IV/1*: 109.

In the three examples, collected at Soikkola (on the territory of Finland), built on three notes, mirroring takes place in the forth tune of the line.

From the examples it can be concluded that in compound music, the essence is in how the notes, note-pairs and lines relate to each other. Whether they are the same (aa), or the same with small changes (aa), or the same with reflecting (aa).

The following Hungarian examples show the same characteristics, but with a bigger ambit:



Any-nyi bá - nat a szü - ve - men, Két - rét haj - lott az e - ge - ken

3



Ha még e - gyet haj - lott vó - na, Szü-vem ket-té ha-sadt vó - na.

So much sorrow in my heart,
 If it had bent once again

It's bent double in the skies
 My heart would have split in two.

Notes 11. *Bartók Eight Hungarian Folk Songs. (song-piano).*

Ez a kis - lány mind azt mond - ja: ve - gyem el,

De nem kér - di, hogy én mi - vel tar - tom el.

El - tar - ta - nám tiszt - ta bú - za ke - nyér - rel,

Ha - vas - al - ji szép tiszt - ta fo - lyó víz - zel.

This little girl always tells me to take her away,
 But she doesn't ask how I'll keep her.
 I'd keep her on pure wheat bread,
 On fine pure stream water from the foothills.

Notes 12. Bartók 1921: 100.

In the following Cheremis tune, following the first beat – *au contraire* to Wiener music – we do not anticipate where the tune proceeds, but rather how the next beat interprets the first one. In other words, how the processing beat, not yet heard, will interpret the first one. And once we hear the first line, then the audience, familiar with Cheremis musical language, expects from this second line how it will interpret the first one. How the two parts will make a whole. The tunes of the first and the second line are the same, except in the second part: there is transpositional reflection:

Notes 13. Vikár 1971: 251.

In the next example, we find reflection between the rhythm of the beats:



Notes 14. Kodály 1946: 21.

Same phenomenon, even neater, is displayed in Notes 15–16.

These phenomena or ways of thinking are present in the art of all composers (like Bartók, Kodály, Kostianinen, Tormis, etc), who acquired the thinking of the Finno-Ugrians. Bartók himself liked quart-sound, of which he noted (as mentioned before), that it does not require dissolution (see Notes 17):



Notes 15 (Kodály 1946: 15) and 16 (Kodály 1946: 98).

Allegro non troppo ♩ = kb. 124



Notes 17. Bartók: Mikrokosmos 131.

We may even change the musical segments (Pekkilä) and still leave the musical text will still sound logical. (We may change the first and second beat.)

In a Bartók’s chorus piece, Loaf-baking, a very popular song among children, the quarts do not require a dissolving either, and can be interchanged. (Here, I would like to point out that the two crotch-ets at the end of the line are signs of the presence of a subordinate thinking.) (See Notes 18.)

It may appear that musical pieces composed this way would be too simple. At the same time, it is important to point out that compound thinking is hardly purely represented in them. As for me, I was trying to introduce pure examples here for easier understanding. In my previous studies, I noticed that these two conceptual ways of thinking (compound and subordinate) are present in a mix, rather than by themselves in these musical cultures. All we can state, is that in Finno-Ugrian cultures – like in the languages – compound structure is preferred, and that these musical languages are rather compound-structured. Subordinate structures are well - known in the Finnish language, too, but compound structure seems to be more “natural”. And just to rule out the thought that compound-structured musical cultures are simple:



Notes 19. Bartók Mikrokosmos 140.

Interestingly, it was not foreign to Bartók and Kodály to make both parties sound. The ancient forms of these can be most clearly seen in the Finnish bisecting, or Kalevala songs (*vuorolaulu*) where the

Allegro ♩ = 138

f
Ker - tem a - latt, ker - tem a - latt a - rat há - rom var - nyú,

f
Tü - csök gyűj - ti, tü - csök gyűj - ti,
a - rat há - rom var - nyú; Tü - csök gyűj - ti, tü - csök gyűj - ti,

p ♩ = 126 *Un poco meno mosso*
szű-nyog kö-ti ké-vét, szű-nyog kö-ti ké-vét. Bol - ha i - zog,
szű-nyog kö-ti ké-vét, szű-nyog kö-ti ké-vét. Bol - ha i - zog,

Piú mosso ♩ = 152

dim.
sze - di, e - szi, sze - di, e - szi, sze - di, e - szi,
dim.
e - szi, sze - di, e - szi, sze - di, e - szi, sze - di,

pp *mf* **Tempo I.**
sze - di, e - szi, e - szi, sze - di, e - szi, e - szi,
pp *mf*
e - szi, sze - di, e - szi, sze - di, e - szi,

Down my garden, down my garden, three crows are reaping, three crows are reaping;
A cricket is gathering it, a cricket is gathering it, a gnat is binding sheaves, a gnat is binding sheaves.
A flea is squirming, gleaning, eating.

Notes 18. Bartók: *Cipósütés*.

line-pairs are sung separately by the *päämies* and the *puoltaja*. In Kodály’s *Biciniums* – perhaps in more than half of them – the first part of the tune is sung by the first chanter, while the second is sung by the second chanter. Just like in Bartók’s *Microcosmoses*. Here, one part of the tune is played by the right hand, while the left hand plays the other. Even more interesting is that Bartók in his orchestra *Music for the strings and the percussions* divides the orchestra into two, and they perform the parts of the piece referring to each other as semi-sentences, in rotation:

Notes 20.

Presto strepitoso, ♩ = 210

The musical score consists of ten staves. The first four staves (1. Vl., 2. Vl., 1. Vla., 1. Vlc.) are for the string section and feature a melodic line starting with a forte (ff) dynamic. The remaining six staves (3. Vl., 4. Vl., 2. Vla., 2. Vlc., 2. Cb.) are for the woodwind and contrabass sections and feature a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. The tempo is marked 'Presto strepitoso' with a quarter note equal to 210 beats per minute.

We may agree that the Bartók’s critic was right, stating that “on top of which, no theme is floating.” The problem is that in such musical thinking it doesn’t even want to. In this musical thinking, the troubadour, or the composer is not interested in how the waves of the soul can be transferred into “more beautiful arcs” from the tonic to the sub-dominant, from there to the dominant and finally to the soothing tonic, rather how the sounds without almost any properties form pairs with each other (for a sound will only make sense through another sound – but I will not address this topic here due to lack of time), how the newly formed sound-pairs relate to each other, how the beat is formed from the relations of these sound-pairs, from that, the beat pairs, and from those, the lines interpreting each other. How the compound sections for a whole. The person whose thinking is based on one of the Finno-Ugrian musical languages, expects this from the “text” of the music.

This is the “foreign spirit”, or the “foreign” way of thinking and composing, that inspires Bartók’s music. Like Allegro Barbaro, presented above. Those expecting a West-European subordinating music from this, will unfortunately be disappointed.

Vaasa, 5.10.2002

Comments

This article is the text of the lecture that was given at the Congress of Uralistic Faculty of Berzsenyi Dániel Teacher-training College, Szombathely, 2002.

1 Since the Wien play of Kodály's János Háry, we know how the music of Wien sounds for a Hungarian (or Easter) ear..

2 Literally, Fi. *puoli* and Hung. *fele* mean 'half'.

3 Traditionally, Finnish mythical songs, heroic songs and other songs were sung as *vuoro*-songs, sung by changing singers. The main singer started with a line to which the other singers (Finnish: *puoltaja*) replied (the word *reply* must be emphasized here), then came the main singer again with another line, which, once again, was replied. And they proceeded this way throughout the song.

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XIV.
ON THE INTERVALLIC
ASSOCIATIONS OF
THE CHEREMIS MUSICAL CULTURE
-
CHEREMIS MUSICAL CULTURE AND
WESTERN MUSICAL THINKING

György Kádár

(Finland)

The Finno-Ugrian (or Uralian) comparative research in music can be considered as an independent discipline since the publishing of Gábor Lükő's studies on musicology²⁷⁰. In this study, the author could clearly separate the music cultures of the Eurasian phylum, their ancient layers: the musical languages of the Indoeuropean, the Slavic, the Finno-Ugrian and other ethnical groups. The research took a more definite direction, and thus developed Uralian comparative musicology, not simply keeping to the study of folk music, but also covering the modern works of the composers of these nations (e.g. Veljo Tormis, P. Kostianen, Bartók, Kodály)²⁷¹. Uralian comparative musicology — similarly to comparative philology, or even to the study of Turkish-Hungarian musical relations²⁷² — is divided into different fields:

- (1) the study of different melodies and groups of melodies, which can be considered as common heritage²⁷³,
- (2) musical components (e.g. equal functions of tones²⁷⁴, qualities of sounds having

²⁷⁰ Lükő 2002. Out of these the most important studies include: 1942 (in more detail: 1936), 1964 and 1965.

²⁷¹ Kádár 2003

²⁷² Sipos 1994. p. 28-52

²⁷³ For example, Lükő 2002. p. 252-265 presents forty groups of melodies

²⁷⁴ For example, the functions of pien-tunes, Lükő 2002 p. 271-296

the same function, beat kinds, scales and intervallic associations²⁷⁵ considered as common heritage),

(3) musical segments (e.g. melodic cadences²⁷⁶ commonly-associated with Finno-Ugrian nations),

(4) correspondence of types of melodic structures²⁷⁷,

(5) the recently raised possibility of there being similarities in the musical thinking of these nations²⁷⁸.

Somewhat different compared to Finno-Ugrian comparative philology, which started by discovering similarities between words of the languages belonging to this phylum, and, based on these, tracked laws in phonological development, and later other linguistic principles, an important part of comparative musical research - apart from the study of melodic correspondence - was the observation and possible congruency of scales. This is understandable for two reasons: on one hand, thanks to linguistic research, the lingual togetherness of nations was known even before musical research had begun, and, on the other hand, the different musical scales, together with other musical characteristics, are to some extent determining parameters of a musical culture. In this regard, as well as in Gábor Lükó's studies, the musical culture of the Cheremis nation proved to be of capital importance. Namely, in this culture the musical languages based on hemiton and anhemiton pentatone scales were the best preserved, and, respectively, the most strongly detached from each other. Furthermore, Cheremis music culture favours various transposing constructions, resulting in the salient nature of the intervallic associations inherent in scales of Cheremis melodies.

However far-gone the Finno-Ugrian comparative musical research may seem though, the researchers' musical prejudice is still in many ways retarding. The problem is caused by routines and a love of comfort and ease. Most of the researchers are Western European, or have been raised on musical cultures imported from there, and though they declare, based on a modern scientific (e.g. cognitive) approach, that individual musical cultures have their own musical idioms, or symbolical systems, they still try to work the Finno-Ugrian musical languages they study into their personal musical forms, brought from their own environment and studies (usually German, accustomed in Western Europe). They define the Finno-Ugrian musical idioms for instance by 'high' and 'low' dichotomics, when the folk-singer knows only 'thin' and 'thick' tunes, they talk of a 'question-answer' construction (see the Western European dominant-tonic /dominans-tonika/ relationship of cadences of phrases),

²⁷⁵ Lükó 1970. The symbols of music: 2002

²⁷⁶ See the sound-repetition closures of the examples below

²⁷⁷ Bartók 1924 Appendix

²⁷⁸ In more detail: Kádár 1999

which does not even exist in these musical environments, while they are also stuck with the nuisance of seven-stagedness as well. For instance, an excellent musical researcher, in his answer to a suggestion made by the writer of these lines, according to which the Cheremis folksongs should be researched in their own system, said, shockingly, that "we cannot construct a system of musical notation just for Cheremis music, which is then difficult to use for researchers (differently: for researchers raised on Western music)". (NB: In the answer lies the fact that for him it is evident that the used for the seven-tone scales system should be remodelled.) Today, in view of modern studies and of Gábor Lükö's works, we cannot deal with the question so offhandedly. The modern cognitive studies ask how the singer himself interprets and comprehends the melodies they sing. This is what the researcher has to explore and faithfully return, instead of how the listener, raised on Western European music and used to seven-tone system²⁷⁹, hears a Cheremis melody — even if this means that the researcher has to break away from his own routines.

Hereinafter we would like to assert that if we do not want to misunderstand the Cheremis five-tone (pentatonic) musical culture, if we want to be sure that we interpret its musical tongue and symbols correctly, we have to break with other musical languages, the approach of seven-staged music and the ways of presentation based on it; we have to be able to identify with the Cheremis singer and their audience, and write down their songs, interpret their intervallic associations, leading of melody and its regularities, as well as irregularities, musical art, as they themselves hear it.

As it was mentioned earlier, the Cheremis songculture uses, almost exclusively, only one hemiton and one anhemiton type of pentatony:

so ti do re mi so ti do
5. 7. 1. 2. 3. 5. 7.

Hemiton pentatony

mi so la do re mi so la do re mi
1. 2. 3. 5. 6. 8.

Anhemiton pentatony

²⁷⁹ An exquisite counterexample to this, or how a person raised on pentatonic music hears the music of Vienna: The Carillon of Vienna from Kodály's work János Hány

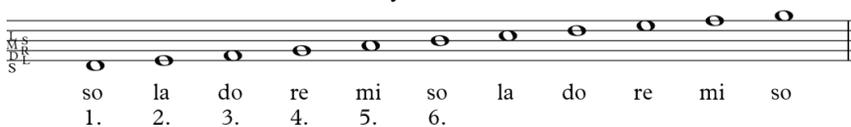
The latter tone system means five-tone system without half steps, which was probably already known in the Finno-Ugrian prehistoric era, and which is (with China as a midpoint) widely spread today as well. Its Western terminal points are the joigos-culture of Lapland in the North, the ancient music of the Hungarians in Middle Europe, and — only in traces — the folk music of the Baltian Finns in the Baltic area. Such a melody is the Cheremis folksong below, written down by Vasiliev:

1/a music example²⁸⁰



Vasiliev 1991 p.176²⁸¹

It seems as if we had a four-line, major (duros) melody. This is supported by the 'major six-four triadic' start in the first bar, and respectively, the do-so tonic fifth leap 'answering' to this at the beginning of the third phrase. Our example differs from major Western melodies only in that it is 'lacking' a leading note (the VIIth degree), the 'ti', for which there is no dominant turn in the melody, and, respectively, the IVth degree, the 'fa', whose 'lack' weakens the 'la-re' subdominant turns (e.g. the 3rd and 5th bars). The construction of the melody is ABCD. But, if we re-write this melody in its own system, that is, its self-writing system, which does not represent pentatony as an incomplete scale, and in which there is no place for VIIth and IVth degrees, it turns out that not one word of the above analysis is true:



Anhemiton pentatony as an independent tone system

²⁸⁰ Because, in this work, we will only consider the Cheremis melodies' formal language (formanyelv), I present the melodies without decorations.

²⁸¹ I have, according to Bartók's and Kodály's examples, and similar to other cheremis melodies, transposed one octave lower.

The above melody interpreted in its own tone system:

1/b music example

Vasiliev 1991 p.176

At once we see that the first and second lines are consistent (in this tone system) in a sound thicker by a pentatonic second AA2. Actually, now we can also note that the first bars of the first two melodic lines give a (pentatonic) triadic structure²⁸², which does not emerge from the seven-note description either. Following this it is easy to observe that, with a small difference, the third line - again with a tone thicker by a second - is identical with the first two as well (AA2A3), the only difference being the first note of the first row, but not for some tonica-dominant question-answer - construction, but because - as we know from other melodies²⁸³ - in this case another rule proves to be stronger than the exact being of transposition: the last tone of the fourth line, the note ending the melody (k = cadence), and the first sound of the third line (i = initial) are often the same. In the fourth line we do not even have this problem - that is, the fourth line is, though again with a thicker tone, exactly the same as the ones before. Thus the song construction is not ABCD, but is indeed one of the typical²⁸⁴ Cheremis structures: AA2A3A5. And there is no mention of tonic or subdominant. Instead, the melody builds on the comparison of different segments of the melody and a paratactical mentality typical for Finno-Ugrian nations²⁸⁵.

Before we consider this a coincidence, let us see another example:

2/a music example

²⁸² of which some are (in seven-stagedness) quart triple sounds, very much liked by Bartók

²⁸³ See Vikár 1971 8, 12, 112, 113

²⁸⁴ See Vikár 1971 168, 227, 237

²⁸⁵ More in Kádár 1999, 2003

re

Vasiliev 1991 p.179

The second example given above, also written down using a seven-tone system, might seem as if the foreign system of notation is absent this time: the construction of the melody is recognisable: AA4A4B. But again, writing down the melody in its own system tells us something different about what the singer hears:

2/b music example

re

Vasiliev 1991 p.179

By taking notice of the Cheremis intervallic associations, the construction of the melody is altered as follows: AA3A3A5m. (László Vikár did not say in vain, that the Finno-Ugrian melodies are one-cored /"egymagvúak"/). The only deviation is in the fourth row, but again this is only due to a rule stronger than transposition, namely that the fourth line could end with a tone-repeating cadence (according to Lükő's definition: monotone clausula²⁸⁶). Based on this we can modify our formula as follows: AA3A3A5.

In our examples of melodies so far it was relatively easy to trace the transpositions, since they were transpositions between whole lines. The following example is different:

3/a music example

The image shows a musical score for a four-line melody. It is written in 4/4 time and starts on a G-clef with a B-flat key signature. The melody is written on four staves. The first staff starts with a treble clef and a 'mi' label below the first note. The melody consists of eighth and quarter notes with various phrasings and a final cadence on the fourth staff.

Vikár 1971 p.88

This is again a four-line melody, which indeed seems to have a construction of ABCD. But let us look at it in its own system:

²⁸⁶ The sound-repeating closure of melodies can be observed in almost all of the finno-ugrian nations: Kádár 1999. Some cheremis examples: Vikár 1971 123, 129, 163, 188, 213

3/b music example



Vikár 1971 p.88

The construction now appears to be ABA3mBm, but, being still a little more observant we may also notice that we are dealing with an even more complex play of forms. In fact the construction is ABA3mBm, but from this latter system of notation we can easily see that the second half (b) of the first A(ab) — melodic line is identical to the first half of the second B(b-) — line, only with a sound thicker by a pentatonic third (b3), actually exactly identical, and that this same motive repeats garland-likely in the second half of the third line, as well as the first half of the fourth line. This method of a coordinating mentality, reminiscent of a chain of thoughts, is somewhat favoured by the agrarian Cheremis people, as well as other Finno-Ugrian nations²⁸⁷.

In anhemiton Cheremis melodies — especially the ones having a wide soundrange (ambitudo) — a popular method of expression is mutating modulation. This caused significant trouble for those researchers used to seven-degree system, for if we add together the tones of the two systems, we find a foreign (pien, using the Chinese term which means "visiting") note, which seems to be known from seven-tone system (the 'a' note in the example below). The same also applies to our next melody, which the researchers call fifth-changing, since, sticking to the seven-tone system, the third and fourth lines do repeat the first and second ones a fifth lower. The first and second halves of the melody, as themselves, are 'perfect' pentatonic melodies, but when we combine their set of tones, the first 'a' sound of the melody becomes a foreign 'ti' (seventh degree) tone in the pentatonic system of the third and fourth lines:

²⁸⁷ Vikár 1971 76, 77, 80, 81, 84

4/a music example

Musical score for example 4/a, showing a melody in 6/8 time with various rhythmic changes and accidentals. The score consists of four staves. The first staff has a 'mi' label under the first note. The second staff has a 'mi' label under the first note. The third staff has 'la = mi' above the first note and 'mi' below the first note. The fourth staff has a double bar line at the end.

Vikár 1971 p.213

Though the construction of the melody appears to be AAmA5A5m, a Cheremisian, as we will see later, does not hear this as a fifth-change either. And, when we write the melody down using its own system, marking the modulation, as it is also marked in seven-staged music, the issue of the 'ti' sound ceases to be a problem.

4/b music example

Musical score for example 4/b, showing a melody in 6/8 time with various rhythmic changes and accidentals. The score consists of four staves. The first staff has a 'mi' label under the first note. The second staff has a 'mi' label under the first note. The third staff has a 'mi' label under the first note. The fourth staff has a double bar line at the end.

Vikár 1971 p.213

We can see that the 'ti' note (pien) does not even occur in the melody. Furthermore, we can hear that the construction of the melody, as the Cheremisian singer hears it is: AAmA4A4m — thus being not fifth but fourth-changing. Rarely, but for expressing strong emotions, a double modulation can occur in Cheremisian melodies. This we show below, first in a seven-tone system, then in a pentatonic one, making also a suggestion for marking the modulation:

5/a music example

Vikár 1971 p.211

(We note, that there are further intricacies in the melody: the first bars of the second and fourth lines of the melody are namely open: since one of their system's sound is — this time really — missing, they can be interpreted in two different pentatonic modes. Such a type of melody, creating a feeling of insecurity with its open segments, is also a popular form of expression in Cheremisian melodies.)

According to the studies of Daniélou²⁸⁸ and Lükö²⁸⁹, in prehistorical times hemiton pentatony was probably characteristic of the Indo-European phylum, and perhaps the Finno-Ugrians also took it from here. Today we only find traces of this in the West²⁹⁰, however in the East different versions of the style are widely spread, reaching as far as Japan. The Cheremisians know only one kind of hemiton five-note scale, whose two

²⁸⁸ Daniélou 1959

²⁸⁹ Lükö 2002 p.157-180

²⁹⁰ Leisiö 1999

6/b music example

The musical notation consists of four staves. The first staff is labeled '(mi)'. The notation shows a sequence of notes and rests across four staves, with time signatures changing from 5/4 to 6/4 and back to 5/4.

Vikár 1971 p.161

Now it is easy to observe what exactly happens in the melody: the first line is repeated with almost no change (AAm), while the third and fourth lines repeat the first and second, as often happens in anhemitonic melodies as well, with a tone thicker by a second (3rd line) and two seconds (4th line): AA \bar{m} A2A3 \bar{m} .

It sounds strange for the Western European music researcher that a minor second, and a minor and a major third can all be equivalent in transpositions. Moreover, this is incomprehensible to them, since this — additionally prehistorical — tone system is pretty hard to explain using the overtone-theories. However, for the human psyche the physical reality is not always significant: a Japanese person cannot tell the difference between the tremulant 'r' and the lateral 'l' sound.

7/a music example

Musical notation for example 7/a, consisting of four staves in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a flat key signature, and includes the note label '(mi)' under the first note. The melody consists of quarter and eighth notes, ending with a double bar line.

Vikár 1971 p.150

The same using the five-tone system:

7/b music example

Musical notation for example 7/b, consisting of four staves in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a flat key signature, and includes the note label '(mi)' under the first note. The melody is identical to example 7/a, ending with a double bar line.

Vikár 1971 p.150

If we disregard the fact that at the end of the fourth line the demand of a sound-repeating clausura (introduced earlier) proves to be stronger than the regularity of the transposition, we can conclude that the melody's construction is: AA3mA3A3.

These hemitonic melodies are not unusual cases in Cheremis folk music; looking at any Cheremis minstrelsy will turn up a number of them. The following melody may be instructive for those researchers who wonder how this scale, considered to be ancient Indo-European, could possibly be the platform for the evolution of the dominant-tonic turn:

8/a music example



Vikár 1971 p.122

The intervallic associations of anhemiton pentatony prevail again 'perfectly':

8/b music example

Musical score for example 8/b. The score is written in 5/4 time. The first staff is a vocal line starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It begins with a whole note 'do' (C4) on a ledger line below the staff, followed by a series of eighth and quarter notes. The second and third staves are piano accompaniment, with the second staff starting with a treble clef and the third with a bass clef. The piano part consists of eighth and quarter notes, often beamed together, providing a rhythmic and harmonic accompaniment to the vocal line. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Vikár 1971 p.122

The construction of the melody heard by the singer is, without doubt: ABA3B.

Finally — this time given in the pentatone system only — one more hemitonic melody:

9. music example

Musical score for example 9. The score is written in 12/8 time. The first staff is a vocal line starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It begins with a whole note 'so' (C4) on a ledger line below the staff, followed by a series of eighth and quarter notes. The second and third staves are piano accompaniment, with the second staff starting with a treble clef and the third with a bass clef. The piano part consists of eighth and quarter notes, often beamed together, providing a rhythmic and harmonic accompaniment to the vocal line. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

Vikár 1971 p.126

The line strophic structure of the melody is again clear: AA3mA3A3m. We can also observe the often used chain of musical thoughts of the Cheremis — hemitonic as well as anhemitonic — melodies, analysed in music example 3/b: the first half of the fourth line repeats the second half of the third one, linking the musical ideas together as a chain of thoughts.

Thus, if we are willing to consider the Cheremis music culture as separate, self-interpretable and independent musical languages, then (1) its tone system will not appear deficient, (2) we can identify its system of intervallic associations, (3) its genuine forms, and (4) hereby we can get closer to understanding the form-language of the Cheremis musical art.

Among many other curiosities (see $i = k$, or the musical chains of thought of the Cheremis melodies) this is the only way to find out that the most popular construction types of the anhemiton melodies of Cheremis folk music are: AAA3A3, ABA3B3m, AAmA3mA5m, AA2A4m, AAmA2mA3m²⁹¹, A(ab)B(cb6)C(bc)B(cb6)²⁹², A(ab)B(cd)C(bc)B(cd)²⁹³; and of the hemiton ones: AA3A3A3, AA2A2A3, and the varied forms of these, as well as: ABA3B²⁹⁴.

In conclusion, I would like to make two more comments: Most of the Finno-Ugrian nations do not know high-low sounds. Instead, these nations in all areas that have not yet been reached by the terms of German theory of music, speak of 'thick' and 'thin' sounds. In addition, thin sounds are considered close, while thick sounds are far, and thin sounds are heard to be below thick ones²⁹⁵. Should this be supported by future studies, we have to consider illustrating this, however unaccustomed this may seem compared to our musical studies so far. I demonstrate this now only in music example 7:

10. music example (see 7. music example)



Thus even the usability of the pentatonic line system, introduced in music examples 1/b-8/b and 9, should be reconsidered.

We could think that the notation used in the far east could be the solution. The first example score of our work according to today's Chinese notation:

5 1 3 2 / 13 2 65 6 - /

3 6 2 1 / 62 1 53 5 - /

11 5 61 6 / 51 66 32 3 - /

66 2 35 3 / 25 33 16 1 - /

Vasziljev 1991 p.176.

As we can see, the numbers used in the notation, just like the western line system, are based on the heptatonic system and the point system also shows a thin sound as high and a thick sound as low. The Chinese notation is therefore just as inappropriate to represent the tone interval associations of the Cheremiss melody culture as the western European system.

Another possible solution may be the solmization system developed by Kodály, although it was developed for a different purpose. I will show this using the fifth tone example:

11. music example (see 7. music example)

The image shows two staves of musical notation in 4/4 time. The first staff contains a sequence of notes with rhythmic values (quarter notes) and phonetic labels below them: m r d d d d d d m r r r m r d t s s s s s s d t. The second staff continues the sequence with labels: d t s s s s s s s s d t, followed by a measure with a fermata over a note and a '7' below it, and then d t s s s s t t s s s s.

Vikár 1971 p.150

Vaasa-Gödöllő, in the spring of 2005

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EPILOGUE / EPILOG

Jaan Kaplinski

Wenn Heidegger ein Mordwinier gewesen wäre ...

In der Philosophie der Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert und des 20. Jahrhunderts war die Sprachphilosophie eines der wichtigsten Themen. Im Verhältnis zur Sprache kann man zwei Schulen unterscheiden. Als Schriftsteller nehme ich mir die Freiheit, diese Schulen als Schule der Sadisten und als Schule der Masochisten zu bezeichnen.

Die Sadisten waren überzeugt davon, dass unsere alltägliche Sprache (bzw. unsere Sprachen) nicht als Sprache(n) der Wissenschaft und der Philosophie taugen würde(n). Ihrer Ansicht nach verbirgt die Sprache mit ihren komplizierten, unlogischen Strukturen die Wahrheit eher, als dass sie uns helfen würde, die Wahrheit zu finden. Aus diesem Grunde forderten die Radikalen dazu auf, von der gegenwärtigen Sprache abzugehen. Sie schlugen die Entwicklung einer neuen, genauen Sprache vor, die frei wäre von den verworrenen und verwirrenden Zügen der gewöhnlichen Sprache. Ich denke hier an die Wiener Analytiker wie z.B. Carnap.

Die weniger radikalen Sprachphilosophen haben die Untersuchung der Sprache für wichtig gehalten. Sie glaubten, dass wir die Sprache erneuern können, wenn wir ihre verborgenen Wirkungen verstehen. Ihrer Ansicht nach sollte es möglich sein, die Sprache zu präzisieren und umzuarbeiten zu einem passenderen Mittel für die Philosophie.

Die radikalen Sprachsadisten, wie Carnap oder den jungen Wittgenstein, kann man mit den Revolutionären der Jahrhundertwende vergleichen, den Bolschewisten oder Anarchisten, die die alten fesselnden gewalttätigen Gesellschaftsstrukturen niederreißen, beseitigen wollten, um eine neue Gesellschaft aufzubauen. Diese Bestrebungen, sich von den Fesseln der alltäglichen Sprache loszureißen, hat auch einige Parallelen mit ähnlichen „futuristischen“ Bestrebungen, die alte Sprache, die alte Kunst, die alten Städte wegzuschaffen und etwas ganz Neues an ihre Stelle zu konstruieren.

Die gemäßigeren Sprachsadisten kann man mit den Sozialdemokraten vergleichen, die die Gesellschaft erneuern wollten, ohne sie erst dem Erdboden gleich zu machen.

2. Die Sprachsadisten wollten das Denken des Menschen also aus den Fesseln der Sprache befreien. Die Sprachmasochisten ihrerseits glaubten, dass die Sprache weiser ist als der Mensch, der Denker. Auch sie haben die Sprache untersucht, aber zu

entgegengesetztem Zweck: ihrer Ansicht nach liegt die Wahrheit in der Sprache selbst versteckt, in ihren Strukturen und Begriffen. Wenn wir die Sprache untersuchen, kommen wir mit der Welt zurecht, in der Sprache liegt der Schlüssel zum Welträtsel. Die Sprachadisten wollen das Denken von der Sprache lösen, abtrennen, die Sprachmasochisten wiederum bringen es näher an die Sprache heran.

3. Die Sprache ist in relativ großem Umfang Gegenstand der Philosophie gewesen. Aber die Philosophen haben in den meisten Fällen die Sprache an sich behandelt, nicht konkrete Sprachen wie Griechisch, Englisch, Finnisch, Hopi oder Ersjardwinisch.

Gewöhnlich hält man die Differenzen zwischen den Sprachen und ihren Strukturen nicht für wichtig, so dass ihr Einfluss auf das philosophische Denken sehr wenig erforscht ist. Es hat jedoch Philosophen und Denker gegeben, die schon vor langer Zeit bemerkt haben, dass die Strukturen verschiedener Sprachen Einfluss auf die in diesen Sprachen entwickelte(n) Philosophie(n) haben können.

So unterscheidet sich z.B. die griechische von der chinesischen Philosophie schon allein aus dem Grunde, dass beide verschiedene Sprachen gebrauchen. Soweit ich weiß, war Friedrich Nietzsche der erste Philosoph, der 1886 eine solche Behauptung aufgestellt hat. Nietzsche schreibt:

"Philosophen des ural-altaischen Sprachbereichs (in dem der Subjekt-Begriff am schlechtesten entwickelt ist) werden mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit anders „in die Welt“ blicken und auf andern Pfaden zu finden sein, als Indogermanen oder Muselmänner(: der Bann bestimmter grammatischer Funktionen ist im letzten Grunde der Bann physiologischer Werthurtheile und Rasse-Bedingungen.)”¹

4. Nietzsches Verhältnis zur Philosophie ist ambivalent. Er hinterfragt alle Grundbegriffe der bisherigen Philosophie: Denken, Ethik, Sprache, sogar die Wahrheit selbst. Ist die Philosophie nur ein Machtsspiel und die Wahrheit nur eine Maske für unsere Machtbestrebungen? Wenn es so ist, strebt Nietzsche selbst nach Macht oder - dennoch nach Wahrheit? Will er das philosophische Establishment zersetzen (zerschmettern) oder ein neues gründen? Wie kann man nach Nietzsche philosophieren, kann man das Philosophieren noch ernsthaft fortsetzen?

5. Nietzsches Zeitgenosse, der Böhme Fritz Mauthner, war wie Nietzsche ein begabter Schriftsteller und kritischer Denker. Mauthner hat wahrscheinlich den Ausdruck "Kritik der Sprache" erfunden. In vielen seiner Werke versucht er auch selbst, den Sprachgebrauch der Menschen, insbesondere der Philosophen zu kritisieren. Mauthner ist ebenso wie Nietzsche der Ansicht, dass unser Denken Gefangener der Sprache ist, die wir verwenden.

Die westliche Philosophie ist seiner Ansicht nach eigentlich eine Grammatik des Griechischen gewesen. Kategorien wie Substanz und Akzidenz beschreiben nicht die äußere Welt, sondern Strukturen der Sprache. Die einzige sinnvolle Aufgabe der Philosophie wäre die Entzifferung, Analyse der Sprachgebundenheit des menschlichen

Denkens, die Kritik der Sprache. Eine Analyse, die uns endlich zu einer inneren Ruhe führen kann.

In Nietzsche und Mauthner können wir zwei extreme Vertreter der vertieften Selbstkritik der westlichen Philosophie sehen. Beide Haltungen zur bisherigen Philosophie sind negativ, und skeptisch betrachten sie auch die Möglichkeiten der Philosophie. Das positive Ziel ihrer Kritik ist es, den Menschen aus der Einengung durch die Philosophie zu befreien und nicht, eine neue und bessere Philosophie zu entwickeln. Sie wollen ihm bessere Möglichkeiten eröffnen, mit der Welt und dem eigenen Leben zurecht zu kommen. Beide sind gewissermaßen auf ihre Art Mystiker. Nietzsches Mystik ist aktiv: sein Ideal ist das Heldenleben. Mauthner, der sich selbst zum Mystiker erklärt, ist eher quietistisch orientiert. Seiner Ansicht nach gelangen wir zu einem kontemplativen Frieden des Geistes, wenn wir die Torheiten der Philosophie verstehen.

6. Mauthners Ideen beeinflussten den jungen Wittgenstein. Er nahm den Gedanken von der Philosophie als Kritik der Sprache auf. Aber Wittgenstein verstand diese Kritik nicht wie Nietzsche oder Mauthner in einer dekonstruktiven, sondern in einer konstruktiven Bedeutung. Später löste er sich freilich teilweise von seinem eigenen Konstruktivismus und näherte sich sogar Mauthners kontemplativer Mystik an. Zum Ziel der Philosophie erklärte er nicht das Lösen der Probleme, sondern den "Frieden in den Gedanken". Diese Formulierung erinnert sehr an ähnliche orthodox-hesychnastische Formulierungen.

7. Der Deutsche Martin Heidegger ist unzweifelhaft der berühmteste Vertreter des Sprachmasochismus im 20. Jahrhundert. Er stützt sich in seiner eigenen Metaphysik bewusst auf die Strukturen der griechischen und der deutschen Sprache und lässt die Sprache selbst denken. Heidegger begann als Theologe und gelegentlich erinnert sein Philosophieren an Exegetik: er sucht die Wahrheit in den Ausdrücken der Sprache, in der Ethymologie der Worte, so als glaubte er, dass die wichtigsten Geheimnisse des Seins in der Sprache erscheinen oder sich dem Menschen in der Sprache offenbaren.

Für die Kabbalisten oder die Anhänger der mystischen Theologie des Islam, der batiniya, ist die Wahrheit in den heiligen Texten gegeben - und dort muss man sie finden. Für Heidegger hingegen ist nicht irgendein heiliger Text Ausdruck der Wahrheit, sondern die Sprache selbst, nicht parole, sondern langue - um mit Saussures Begriffen zu sprechen.

8. Durch sein Verhältnis zur Sprache setzt Heidegger die Tradition der westlichen, realistisch orientierten Philosophie fort und fördert sie. Die Nähe seiner Interpretation der Sprache zur theologischen Interpretation der Bibel oder des Korans hat vielleicht dazu beigetragen, dass aus ihm ein Kultphilosoph geworden ist; der Heideggerianismus hat oft gewisse Züge von Sektierertum.

Die Anhänger scheinen an die Sprache zu glauben - vor allem an die vom Meiser verehrte und gebrauchte deutsche Sprache - als an eine verbale Offenbarung. "Die

Sprache spricht" - für sie wie Gott selbst; das Wort der Sprache ist das Wort Gottes, darin sind keine Fehler. Ich wage zu behaupten, dass im Heideggerianismus klarer als irgendwann früher einer der traditionellen Züge der westlichen Kultur zum Ausdruck kommt: der Glaube an die besondere Beziehung zwischen Sprache und Wahrheit, die wahrscheinlich dazu beigetragen hat, dass die westliche Philosophie überwältigend realistisch orientiert ist.

9. Ich selbst bin kein Heideggerianer und auch kein Sprachmasochist, eher ein zur Mystik neigender Sprachsadist. Dennoch interessiert mich Heidegger als ein extremes Beispiel sprachgebundenen Philosophierens. Wenn man Heideggers Texte liest, entstehen viele Fragen. Zum Beispiel: Wäre irgendeine Art von Synthese denkbar zwischen Sprachsadismus und Sprachmasochismus - vielleicht könnten wir sie Sprachsadosochismus nennen?

Davor soll jedoch eine konkretere Frage gestellt werden. Diese Frage habe ich als Überschrift meines Vortrages formuliert. Sie lautet: **Wie hätte ein Heidegger philosophiert, der nicht Deutscher gewesen wäre, sondern zum Beispiel Mordwinier - ersjamoksha - und nur seine Muttersprache benutzt hätte?**

10. Aus den Werken eines mordwinischen Heideggers bekämen wir vielleicht eine Antwort auf die von Nietzsche inspirierte Frage, wie eine ural-altaiische Philosophie beschaffen wäre. Wäre sie anders als die indoeuropäische oder nicht? Tatsächlich ist von den drei ursprünglichen Traditionen der Philosophie nur eine nicht-indoeuropäisch, nämlich die chinesische (die ursprüngliche Sprache auch der indischen Philosophie war das indoeuropäische Sanskrit). Einige Wissenschaftler sowohl in China als auch außerhalb Chinas haben gezeigt, dass das chinesische Denken wegen der Besonderheit der chinesischen Sprache anders als das europäische ist. Zu diesen Wissenschaftlern gehören z.B. der Franzose Jacques Gernet oder der chinesische Philosoph Chang Dongsun.

11. Die Finno-Ugrier haben keine eigene ursprüngliche Philosophie erfunden. Ich bin sicher, dass ich nicht irre, wenn ich behaupte, dass ungefähr 90% der philosophischen Texte, die in finno-ugrischen Sprachen erscheinen, Übersetzungen sind. Die Ursprungssprachen sind Englisch, Deutsch, Französisch und andere indoeuropäische Sprachen. Die restlichen 10 % sind originalsprachliche Texte, aber ihre Verfasser bleiben in den Fahrwassern der westlichen Philosophie.

Unterscheiden sich nun die finno-ugrischen Sprachen in einem solchen Maße von den indoeuropäischen, dass z.B. der Finne, der Ungar oder der Mordwinier - wenn sie es denn wagen würden - eine andersartige Philosophie als die deutsche oder die französische entwickeln könnten? Ich bin nicht sicher, ob es z.B. in der Analytischen Philosophie so wäre, aber ich bin sicher, dass eine Philosophie, die die Heideggersche Orientierung vertritt, auf finno-ugrisch (als finnisch-ugrische) eine ganz andere als die Heideggers selbst wäre.

Heideggers Philosophie ist Exegetik seiner Muttersprache. Ihre Übersetzung ruft viele Probleme hervor, weil sie in einer anderen Sprache nicht mehr so einheitlich und natürlich wirkt wie auf deutsch. Wie übersetzt man z.B. "Die Sprache spricht" ins Finnische? Wie stellt man den Unterschied zwischen Sein und Dasein dar? Ich glaube, wenn ein Finne oder ein Este über das Sein spekulieren würden, würden sie solche Ausdrücke in Betracht ziehen wie die estnischen Ausdrücke:

-on olemas: existiert, I. e. „ist seiend“

-on olemata: existiert nicht „ist nicht-seiend“

-olemasolu: Existenz „Seiendsein“

-olemasolemine: existieren/Dasein „Seiendsein“

-olemata olemine: nicht existieren, Nicht-Sein. „Nicht-seiend-sein“

Die ethymologische Nähe z.B. solcher finnischen Wörter wie

-ilman: ohne

-ilma: Luft, Wetter, Wind

-ilmestyä: erscheinen, sich zeigen, vorkommen

-ilmoittaa: mitteilen

und ähnlicher könnte unsere Gedanken sehr anregen. Was nicht uns gehört, sahen unsere Voreltern möglicherweise als dem offenen, hellen Luftraum gehörend.

12. Was sind die gemeinsamen Züge der finno-ugrischen Sprachen, die aus der Perspektive der Philosophie wesentlich sein könnten? Gibt es solche Züge überhaupt?

Meiner Ansicht nach gibt es sie. Natürlich können wir diese Züge nicht als exklusiv finno-ugrisch sehen. Es gibt vieles, das die finno-ugrische Sprachen mit anderen eurasischen Sprachen verbindet. Alle finno-ugrischen Sprachen sind reich an Ideophonie. Ideophonisch sind nicht nur die typischen Onomatopöa, Wörter, die Stimmen und Geräusche beschreiben wie z.B. im Finnischen

-hupsis: hoppla

-sihinä: Zischen

-rapina: Gerassel, Geprassel, Gekritzel,

sondern auch viele andere. Es ist nicht schwer, Beispiele zu finden. Sowohl das finnische puhua als auch das estnische rääkida (beide bedeuten sprechen) sind ursprünglich ideophonisch. Rääkida bezeichnete ursprünglich die Stimme eines Vogels: die des Wiesenschnarrers, sein rääkäisy - Geschrei, Krächzen. Das finnische puhuminen (Sprechen) bedeutete ursprünglich puhallus (blasen, pusten), wie jetzt noch in der estnischen Sprache. (Die estnische Entsprechung für Heideggers Satz die

Sprache spricht dürfte vielleicht auch den Wiesenschnarrer berücksichtigen ...). Oder, wenn wir das heutige estnische Wort für „Sprache“ philosophisch exegieren wollen, dann möchten wir vielleicht sagen, dass die Sprache uns zuredet, auf uns aufwirkt (keelitab meid) oder umgekehrt, uns verbietet (keelab meid).

Ideophonische Wörter sind oft verwendet als Paare wie das finnische *sikin sokin* - durcheinander, kunterbunt oder das estnische *pillapalla* - mit ähnlicher Bedeutung. Das betont die Ungenauigkeit, „fuzziness“ solcher Wörter. Das ideophonische Wort ist ein unvollständiger Versuch, Dinge oder Erscheinungen zu beschreiben. Oft geben zwei solche ungenaue Wörter ein besseres Bild als eins. Außerdem zeigt das Wortpaar, dass es nicht einen einzigen genauen Namen oder Begriff gibt; man muss mit den ungenauen zurecht kommen. Zwischen den Wörtern und den Dingen kann es keine Eins-zu-Eins-Entsprechung geben. Die Dinge haben oft nicht einen richtigen Namen. Sprechen ist immer ein Versuch, passende Wörter und Ausdrücke zu suchen und zu versuchen. In einer Sprache, die reich ist an Ideophonie, findet sich wahrscheinlich eine Neigung zum Nominalismus. Das kann man jedenfalls meiner Ansicht nach in den finno-ugrischen Sprachen beobachten. Die indoeuropäischen Sprachen, zumindest die in der Philosophiegeschichte wichtigen Sprachen wie Griechisch, Sanskrit, Latein und Deutsch, in denen die Ideophonie sehr begrenzt ist, neigen meiner Ansicht nach eher zum Realismus.

Ähnliche ideophonische Wörter und Wortpaare sind sehr verbreitet in vielen Sprachen in Ost-Eurasien, z.B. in Dravidischen Sprachen, in koreanischen und japanischen Sprache. Im Westen ist nur die baskische Sprache reich an Ideophonie, es gibt hier auch eine Menge ideophonische Wortpaare.

13. In den finno-ugrischen Sprachen treten nicht nur die ideophonischen Wörter als Paare auf, sondern auch andere: mit Hilfe von Wortpaaren werden Allgemeinbegriffe gebildet. Besonders viele dieser Wortpaare gibt es in den mordwinischen Sprachen - im ersja und im moksha. Zum Beispiel:

-ojt'-vel'kst: Butter - Sahne = Milchprodukte

-kar't-prakstat: Bastschuhe - Fellschuhe² = Schuhe, Schuhwerk

-leit'-latk: Schlucht (Tal) - Öffnung = holperiger Ort

-sel'me-tshama: Augen - Gesicht (Gesicht)

-sedeit'-maksot: Herzen - Leber (innere Organe, Eingeweide).

Auch in den anderen finno-ugrischen Sprachen wie im Ungarischen, Finnischen oder Estnischen finden sich Allgemeinbegriffe, die mit Hilfe gleichartiger Wortpaare gebildet werden. Beispiele im Estnischen sind

-käed-jalad: Hände - Füße = Grenzen

-suud-silmad: Gesicht und Teile des Gesichts wie Mund, Augen, Nase usw.

- kopsud-maksad: Lunge - Leber = innere Organe, Eingeweide

- luud-liikmed: Knochen - die stärkeren Teile des Körpers = das Skelett, Gerippe.

Die Entsprechung zum ojt'-vel'kst im ersja ist in der finnischen Sprache maitotuoteet, im Estnischen piimatooted, im Russischen molochnyie izdelia - Milchprodukte. Kart'-prakstat sind auf Finnisch jalkineet, auf Estnisch jalatsid oder jalanoud - Schuhe, Schuhwerk. sukst-unzhat, finnisch madot - kovakuoriaiset, im Estnischen sitikad-satikad - Würmer-Käfer sind widerliche Insekten und andere Kleintiere. Auf diese Weise werden im ersja - Sprache) Allgemeinbegriffe oft auf eine andere Art gebildet als in den bekannten europäischen Sprachen.

Analogien kann man in der Logik finden. Eine Menge kann man auf zweierlei Weise bezeichnen. Man kann entweder von der Menge A sprechen und sie mit einem speziellen Namen bezeichnen oder von der Menge {a, b, ... i} und alle ihre Elemente aufzählen. Die westeuropäischen Sprachen, und unter ihrem Einfluss auch das Finnische und das Estnische, verwenden in der Hauptsache das erste Verfahren, ersja sehr oft das zweite. In der Sprache der Logik gibt es keinen Unterschied zwischen diesen beiden Verfahren, aber anders in der alltäglichen Sprache. Weil die Philosophie mehr die Alltagssprache verwendet, ist es sicher, dass der fragliche Bezeichnungsunterschied auch die Philosophie beeinflussen würde, insbesondere eine sprachgebundene heideggeriansiche Philosophie, wenn man eine solche z.B. in ersja entwickeln würde.

14. Wenn wir an Stelle des Wortes "Schuhe" das Wortpaar "Schuhe - Stiefel" verwenden, anstatt von "inneren Organen" von "Lunge-Leber" und anstatt von "Milchprodukten" von "Butter-Sahne" zu sprechen, betonen wir eine Ebene der Wirklichkeit mehr als die anderen. Bestimmte konkrete Dinge haben ihren Namen. Namen von Dingen, die auf einem höheren, allgemeineren Niveau angesiedelt sind als die konkreten Dinge, werden mit Hilfe von Wortpaaren gebildet - diese "allgemeineren Dinge" haben keine eigenen Namen. Das bedeutet, dass Allgemeinbegriffe, Universalien, nicht auf dieselbe Weise wirklich, real sind wie die einzelnen Dinge, die Partikularitäten. Finno-ugrischen Philosophen wäre noch dazu wohl kaum in den Sinn gekommen, Universalien und Partikularitäten zu unterscheiden, eher hätten sie vielleicht den Unterschied zwischen bezeichneten, mit einem Namen versehenen und namenlosen "Dingen - Erscheinungen" hervorgehoben. Eine eigene Ideenlehre wie die von Platon hätte im finno-ugrischen Sprachgebiet daher wohl auch kaum entstehen können. Wir können vielleicht annehmen, dass es für Schuhe, Stiefel, Bastschuhe und Fellschuhe jeweils eigene Ideen gibt, aber es wäre sehr fremd, zu glauben, dass "Schuhe-Stiefel" als Wortpaar eine gemeinsame Idee hätte(n). Der Allgemeinbegriff ist im Ersja unbestimmter, verschwommener, er würde sich mit der deutlichen, klar umrissenen platonischen Idee wohl kaum vertragen.

15. Man kann einen Begriff auf verschiedene Weise bestimmen. Im westlichen Denken ist seit Aristoteles hauptsächlich die Bestimmung durch die Definition verwendet worden. Ich habe versucht, darzustellen, dass die Begriffe der

Alltagssprache nicht aristotelisch bestimmt werden, sondern meistens mit Hilfe von "Prototypen". Die aristotelische Definition zieht einen Grenzstrich zwischen A und Nicht-A und erklärt, auf welche Weise sich A von allem anderen unterscheidet. Zum Beispiel unterscheidet der Verstand/die Vernunft den Menschen von anderen lebenden Wesen, wie man auch jetzt noch glaubt. Eine solche Definition nähert sich dem Begriff von oben (per genus proximum) und vom selben Niveau (per differentiam specificam) her, aber nicht von unten: bei der Bestimmung des Menschen ist keine Rede von den verschiedenen Rassen oder konkreten Menschen.

Wenn man den Begriff mit Hilfe von Prototypen bestimmt, gibt man eine Aufzählung seiner typischsten, gewöhnlichsten und wichtigsten Vertreter, mit anderen Worten eine Reihe der wichtigsten Elemente bzw. man bestimmt den Begriff von unten. Viele Begriffe unserer Alltagssprache haben keine gut aristotelische Bestimmung (Definition). Zum Beispiel das Wort "Blume". Es ist unmöglich, die Blume von anderen Pflanzen zu unterscheiden, insbesondere, wenn man die Pflanzen und ihre Teile in Betracht zieht, die in der japanischen Blumenbindekunst Ikebana, die gegenwärtig auch in den westlichen Ländern sehr beliebt ist, verwendet werden. Aber diese Unbestimmtheit stört die Blumenhändler oder die Käufer der Blumen überhaupt nicht. Gerade das Wort "Blume" wird mit Hilfe von Prototypen bestimmt. Blumen sind Rosen, Mohnblumen, Lilien, Margeriten, Körnblumen usw. Sie erinnern an andere Pflanzen wie Nadelbäume, Kakteen oder Farne. Die Bestimmung des Wortes Blume ist offen. Der mit einer Flechte bewachsene abgestorbene Zweig, die Distel oder ein großer Zapfen - all das kann gegenwärtig die Rolle einer Blume spielen und in der Zukunft vielleicht noch etwas anderes.

16. Die aristotelische Bestimmung ist begrenzend. Sie bestimmt eine klar umrissene Menge, d.h. von allen Dingen (Gegenständen) kann man sagen, ob sie Elemente der fraglichen Menge sind oder nicht.

Die prototypische Bestimmung ergibt keine klar umrissene Menge und deshalb sind ihre Grenzen unklar, verschwommen, wenn wir dieses Wort benutzen wollen. Es gibt Dinge, von denen wir nicht wissen, ob sie Elemente der Menge sind oder nicht. Von allen am deutlichsten bestimmt sind die Begriffe der schon erwähnten "konkreten Ebene": Stiefel, Schuhe, Rosen und Lilien. Die Begriffe höherer Ebenen, die Allgemeinbegriffe sind verschwommener. Vielleicht verwendet man aus diesem Grund für ihre Bezeichnung oft Wortpaare.

Das Wortpaar gibt eine minimale Aufzählung, d.h. es bezeichnet zwei Prototypen aus einer Menge typischer Elemente. Schuhe sind im Ersja vor allem Bastschuhe und Fellschuhe, die wichtigsten inneren Organe sind, neben dem Herzen, die Lungen und die Leber. Aber Elemente der Menge "Bastschuhe-Fellschuhe" sind auch Schuhe und Stiefel, Elemente der Menge "Lunge-Leber" sind auch der Magen, die Nieren und die Därme.

Die aristotelische Definition bestimmt die Menge durch ihre "Grenzen", die prototypische Bestimmung verdeutlicht sie durch das "Zentrum". Die aristotelische

Definition schafft die Grundlage für die Klassifikation, die prototypische für die Ordination. Die indoeuropäischen Sprachen sind in der Hauptsache klassifizierend, die finno-ugrischen mehr ordnierend.

17. Der allgemeinen Ansicht nach fordert genaues Denken Definitionen, das Ziehen klarer Grenzlinien zwischen den Begriffen. Aber nicht immer ist es notwendig so. Norbert Wiener stellt zu Beginn seines bekannten Buches Kybernetik dar, dass es einen klaren Unterschied zwischen Sternen und Wolken gibt. Sterne kann man zählen, Wolken nicht, weil die Wolke ihrer Natur nach eine unzusammenhängende, zerstreute, verschwommene Erscheinung ist und man ihre Grenzen daher oft nicht ziehen kann. Wenn man wirklich versucht, die Grenzen der Wolken zu bestimmen oder sie zu zählen, ist man in der Tat ungenau.

Ebenso wie in der Natur gibt es in der Semantik viel Unbestimmtheit und Verschwommenheit. Wenn wir die Sprache präzisieren und gut definierte Begriffe anstatt der prototypischen in Gebrauch nehmen wollen, müssen wir alle Begriffe neu bestimmen. Das wäre der Gipfel des Sprachsadismus, der aber bisher unerreicht blieb. Es ist auch nicht sicher, ob eine solche, auf Definitionen gegründete Sprache überhaupt brauchbar wäre.

In den Wissenschaften, von der Philosophie, Geschichte oder Philologie ganz zu schweigen, wird ständig die Alltagssprache verwendet, in der nur einige Begriffe eine definierte Bedeutung haben. Man hat versucht, sie zu definieren, obwohl es nicht immer gelingt. Wir müssen inmitten von Erscheinungen leben, die zum größten Teil unzusammenhängend und verschwommen sind. Aus diesem Grund haben unsere Sprachen auch Mittel zur Darstellung dieser Verschwommenheit entwickelt. Ich glaube, dass in den finno-ugrischen Sprachen diese Mittel ursprünglich sehr kompliziert gewesen sind. Die Untersuchung unserer Sprachen könnte demjenigen Anregungen geben, der z.B. eine Logik und Philosophie des Verschwommenen – fuzzy philosophy, fuzzy logic – entwickeln wollte. **Auf alle Fälle hätte ein mordwinischer Heidegger eine ganz andere Philosophie geschaffen als der deutsche.**

Wahrscheinlich wäre es sinnvoll, sich zu erinnern, dass die finno-ugrischen Sprachen von Menschen gesprochen werden, die über Jahrtausende in Gegenden gelebt haben, in deren Klima und Landschaft es weniger klare Grenzlinien gibt als zum Beispiel im Gebiet des Mittelmeeres.

18. Unter dem Einfluss ihrer indoeuropäischen Nachbarsprachen haben die finno-ugrischen Sprachen einen Teil ihrer ursprünglichen Züge verloren. Dennoch sind auch viele solcher Züge erhalten, obgleich man sie oft nicht verwendet und nicht gut kennt. Möglichkeiten einer alternativen, sprachmasochistischen Philosophie, die von den westlichen Sprachen abweicht, gibt es daher weiterhin in den finno-ugrischen Sprachen. Die Frage ist, ob man es wagt, sie zu verwenden und ob es sich lohnen würde. Gäbe die finnisch-ugrische Philosophie uns etwas, das die indoeuropäische und chinesische Philosophie nicht kann? Die Antwort hängt von unseren Werten und

von unseren Sympathien ab. Heideggers gewaltige Beliebtheit zeigt wohl jedoch, dass man eine derartige Philosophie braucht: Heidegger wird gelesen und interpretiert. Gut möglich ist auch, dass eine heideggerianische oder andere sprachgebundene Philosophie auch die andere Philosophie beeinflussen könnte, vielleicht sogar die analytische Philosophie.

19. Wie könnte eine finno-ugrische oder vielleicht nord-eurasische Philosophie beschaffen sein, die in unseren Sprachen als Möglichkeit versteckt, aber bis zum heutigen Tage unverwirklicht, unrealisiert ist? Ich glaube, dass sie bestimmte eigene Grundzüge hätte:

1. Konkretheit und phänomenologischer Nominalismus

In der Wirklichkeit gibt es "gegebene" Dinge-Erscheinungen, die wir ohne Probleme bezeichnen können. Die ihnen entsprechenden Wörter sind Namen für konkrete Dinge und Tätigkeiten. Zum Beispiel: Mari kaufte im Laden ein Kilo Wurst. Juri legte den Schlüssel unter die Matte. Andere Dinge-Erscheinungen haben nicht ohne weiteres einen eigenen klaren Namen. Man kann sie auf viele verschiedene Weisen benennen. Sie sind Allgemeinbegriffe, Gefühle und andere psychische Erscheinungen, aber auch Namen selbst. Auch der Metadiskurs oder die Erklärung dessen, was "Mari", "kaufen", "Laden" und ähnliches eigentlich bedeuten, ist kein genauer Diskurs. So gibt es in unseren Diskursen ein klares Zentrum und unklare (unscharfe) Ränder.

Zwischen dem Bewussten und dem Unbewussten gibt es keine klare Grenzlinie, d.h. wir sprechen oft über unklare Sachen. Dafür braucht man eine andere Sprache, als wenn wir von konkreten Dingen sprechen. Wenn das Ding nicht deutlich ist, hat sie keinen eigenen echten Namen, so dass man sie auf viele Weisen bezeichnen kann. Passend ist es, mehrere Namen gleichzeitig zu gebrauchen, wie z.B. "Ding-Erscheinung", "Prosadichtung", "finnisch-ugrisch", "Schriftsteller-Philosoph". Von fernen, halb namenlosen Dingen kann man auf viele verschiedene Weisen sprechen, man kann sie auf viele verschiedene Weisen erklären. Philosophien gibt es viele, und auch die Philosophie selbst ist keine klar umrissene Erscheinung. Zwischen ihr und der Literatur ebenso wie der Mythologie gibt es ebenso wenig einen klaren Grenzstrich wie zwischen der Logik und der Sprachforschung andererseits.

2. Induktivität

Die Elemente bestimmen die Menge, nicht umgekehrt. Obgleich die Welt für den Physiker aus Teilchen und Feldern besteht, ist ihre Grundlage in der alltäglichen Sprache die konkrete Ebene der Dinge-Erscheinungen. Ausgehend von ihnen muss das andere nach bestimmten Regeln der Induktion bestimmt werden, nach den Regeln einer "Anfangs-Logik (Vor-Logik)", die ihrerseits etwas uns gegebenes ist, so wie Ding-Erscheinung. Die Aufgabe der Philosophie ist auch die Analyse dieser Anfangs-Logik (Vor-Logik).

3. Alternativer Sprachgebrauch

Wir versuchen, die Grenzen des Konkreten zu erweitern, d.h. das vom konkreten Niveau, der Ebene des Konkreten weit Entfernte (Fernliegende), Namenlose und Halb-Namenlose zu erkennen, zu bezeichnen und zu erklären. Aber wir irren uns, wenn wir von diesem Fernen ebenso sprechen wie vom Nahen, vom Nicht-Konkreten auf dieselbe Weise wie vom Konkreten. Unsere Vorväter waren vorsichtiger. Sie verwendeten zur Beschreibung ungenauer Dinge-Erscheinungen eine andersartige Sprache.

Ein gutes Beispiel bietet die Onomatopoetik oder Ideophonie. Mit ihr spricht man von unbestimmten Dingen-Erscheinungen. Deshalb spricht man von ihnen "ikonisch", Stimmen und Bewegungen nachahmend. Der ikonische, nachahmende Sprachgebrauch gestattet es, zwischen z. B. die finnischen Wörter

-sihinä und suhina: Zischen - Rauschen, Sausen, Rasseln

-ripinä und rapina: Rieseln, Bröckeln, Rascheln - Geprassel, Gerassel, Gekritzel

- kihinä, kahina und kohina: Zischen (Gewühl) - Rascheln, Rauschen (Streit, Krach) - Sausen, Brausen (Trubel)

zu unterscheiden, ohne dazwischen genaue Grenzen zu ziehen.

Ein besonders wichtiges, aber auch schwer zu beschreibendes und zu bezeichnendes Feld ist der zwischenmenschliche Umgang und der Umgang des Menschen mit der Natur. Denken wir z.B. an unsere Gefühle und Verhaltensweisen zur Umwelt, "Gefühle-Gedanken" in der Beziehung zu Anderen und Gefühlen-Gedanken Anderer. Eine deskriptive Sprache erweist sich hier als ungeeignet, aber die Sprache der Dichtung kann auf diesem Feld sehr hilfreich sein.

In der finno-ugrischen Dichtung gibt es spezielle Züge, deren philosophisch-logische Analyse sich sicherlich lohnen würde. Im Parallelismus der ostseefinnischen, ersjämoksha und obugrischen Volksdichtung finden wir Wortpaare oder Wortlisten, die klar zum selben Paradigma gehören wie die oben erwähnten Wortpaare. Unsere alte Poetik ist eine Poetik der Konkretheit und der Unbestimmtheit zugleich. In einem estnischen Lied (in einer Variante des von Bertolt Brecht geschätzten und übersetzten Kriegsliedes) heißt es:

Harak toi sõa sõnumid, vares kandis vaenu keele,

Der Elster brachte Kriegsnachrichten, die Krähe trug Wörter der Feindschaft.

Man könnte fragen, ob beide Vögel die Kriegsnachricht bringen oder nicht. Der Vogel ist einfach nicht klar bestimmt. Ein Vogel, den man mit dem Namen (Wortpaar) "vares-harakas (deutsch: Krähe - Elster) bezeichnen könnte, hat die Botschaft gebracht.

Beispiele dieser Art finden sich zu tausenden. Es klingt vielversprechend, dass wir ein fast vollständiges Bild der Semantik von den finno-ugrischen Sprachen, ihres Weltbildes bekommen können. Sowohl in den Wortpaaren als auch im Parallelismus der Volkslieder kommen die semantischen Strukturen der Sprache zum Vorschein. In beiden Fällen geht es um die geordneten Mengen der Begriffe. Es würde sich also lohnen, genauer zu untersuchen, ob diese Ordnung in den finno-ugrischen Sprachen wirklich eine andere ist als in den indoeuropäischen Sprachen und sie mit anderen Sprachen zu vergleichen.

20. Die Finno-Ugrier bewohnen die Welt nicht allein. Wir und unsere Sprachen haben Verbindungen zu anderen Sprachen und Philosophien. Typologisch scheinen die finno-ugrischen Sprachen meiner Ansicht nach in vielerlei Hinsicht den ost- und südasiatischen Sprachen näher zu sein als den westeuropäischen, vor allem dem Japanischen und dem Koreanischen sowie den Drawida-Sprachen in Indien. In der Tamilen-Sprache wird z.B. die Negation verbförmig ausgedrückt wie im Finnischen. Alle diese Sprachen sind besonders reich an Onomatopöetik, aber es gibt auch andere gemeinsame Züge.

In den erwähnten asiatischen Sprachen gibt es neben der Onomatopöetik andere interessante Möglichkeiten, Unbestimmtheit auszudrücken. Oft werden uns bekannte Wortpaare verwendet, in der Drawida-Sprache mit eigenen besonderen Zügen. Die interessantesten von ihnen sind die sogenannten Echowörter (echo words). Baum heißt auf tamilisch maram, aber wenn man von Bäumen und baumartigen Pflanzen sprechen will, sagt man maram-kiram. Kaffee und kaffeeartige Getränke sind kaappi-kiippi. In der Kannada-Sprache bedeutet pitil Geige, Geigen und geigenartige Instrumente sind pitil-gitil.

Die einzige Sprache des Fernen Ostens, die eine eigene ursprüngliche Philosophie entwickelt hat, ist das Chinesische. In der chinesischen Sprache sind Wortpaare sehr beliebt, und einige von ihnen sind auch als Begriffe im Gebrauch, wie z.B. shan-shui - Landschaft, wörtlich Berg - Wasser. Feng-yu, Wind - Regen bedeutet Wetter, bing-xü, Eis - Schnee strenger Frost.

Als Übersetzer klassischer Texte des Chinesischen habe ich die Erfahrung gemacht, dass die chinesischen Texte leichter ins Estnische oder Finnische zu übersetzen sind als zum Beispiel ins Französische oder Italienische. Französisch, Italienisch und Spanisch sind möglicherweise typologisch weiter entfernt von den finno-ugrischen Sprachen als das Deutsche und insbesondere das Englische. Die zuletzt erwähnten sind näher; zwischen unseren Sprachen kann man Wechselwirkungen beobachten. Dennoch hat sich die Tiefenstruktur des Finnischen, Estnischen und auch des Ungarischen ungeachtet dessen, dass die westeuropäischen Sprachen sie massiv beeinflusst haben, als sehr eigenständige erhalten. Dasselbe kann man von den mordwinischen Sprachen sagen, in deren Lexik es von russischen Lehnwörtern wimmelt.

Von den exotischsten Entsprechungen zu einer möglichen finno-ugrischen Philosophie möchte ich die Nahua-Philosophie erwähnen. Der mexikanische Wissenschaftler Miguel León-Portilla hat ein Buch mit diesem Namen geschrieben: Nahua - Philosophie. Eine der Besonderheiten der Nahua - Philosophie, die er betont, ist der Gebrauch von sogenannten Diphrasismen, Wortpaaren, zum Ausdruck abstrakter Begriffe. Einige Proben sind zum Beispiel:

-in cueitl in huipilli: Rock - Hemd = Frau als sexuelles Wesen

-tilli tlapalli: schwarze Tinte - rote Tinte = Farbe, Farblichkeit

-yohualli eecatl: Nacht - Wind = das Unsichtbare, Unerreichbare.

Last not least: hier muss man auch die möglichen Einflüsse der finno-ugrischen Sprachen auf das Sprache (das finno-ugrische Substrat im Russischen) erwähnen. Als ein solches Substratphenomän kann man sehr wahrscheinlich die Wortpaare mit allgemeiner Bedeutung zu beobachten wie z.B. злата-серебра) (Gold-Silber – (Plural!)) – i.e. Edelmetalle, реки-озера (Flüsse-Seen) – Gewässer, die den finnisch-ugrischen Ausdrücken sehr ähnlich sind.

21. Zur Zusammenfassung: Ich glaube, dass die finno-ugrischen Sprachen die Möglichkeit bieten könnten, eine andersartige Philosophie zu entwickeln als die indoeuropäischen Sprachen. Eine solche Philosophie hätte wahrscheinlich einige gemeinsame Züge mit der chinesischen und anderen asiatischen Philosophien, aber auch mit gegenwärtigen Denken, das von der Logik des Verschwommenen (fuzzy logic) ausgeht . Was eine solche Philosophie uns an Neuem und Wertvollem geben könnte, lässt sich schwer sagen, weil sie noch nicht entwickelt wurde. Eine Möglichkeit besteht darin, dass eine finnisch-ugrische Philosophie zur indoeuropäischen auf irgendeine Art "komplementär" wäre.

Wir könnten sagen, dass, wenn die Sachen nicht einen einzigen "richtigen" Namen oder eine einzige "richtige" Definition haben, dann gibt es auch nicht eine einzige "richtige" Philosophie oder philosophische Tradition. Verschiedene Philosophien sind notwendig, um die Welt, die uns oft kompliziert und unklar erscheint, zu verstehen, aber auch, um unser Verstehen zu verstehen. Die Existenz vieler verschiedener Philosophien schafft die Voraussetzungen für etwas, was man Metaphilosophie nennen könnte. Es ist schwer zu bezweifeln, dass unsere Sprache unser Denken, besonders das mehr abstrakte Denken beeinflusst, so ist es wichtig, diese Einflüsse klar zu sehen, um sie loszuwerden.

Wir könnten fragen, ob eine finnisch-ugrische Philosophie, wie ich sie hier anzudeuten versucht habe, überhaupt eine Philosophie wäre. Könnte man sie Philosophie nennen, oder ginge es im besten Fall um irgendein philosophisches Bestreben, das durch die Besonderheiten der finno-ugrischen Sprachen inspiriert wurde? Das ist jedoch eine sehr indoeuropäische Frage. Als Antwort könnten wir gut die tamilische Sprache benutzen und sagen, dass der Gegenstand, von dem ich zu sprechen versuche, nicht genau eine Philosophie ist, sondern vielleicht eine

Philosophie-Kilosophie, etwas philosophieartiges, das jedoch ein Recht hat, zu sein. Es hat ein Recht, zu sein - ein Recht, das die Europäer anderen, andere Sprachen sprechenden, oft bestritten haben.

Übersetzung von Carola Haentsch

Lektoriert von Laszlo Kovacs

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