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Preface to the quasiquicentennial issue

In 2008, the Finno-Ugrian Society (*Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura – Société Finno-Ougrienne*) celebrated its 125th anniversary, and a collection of papers delivered to commemorate the occasion were later published as the 258th volume of the *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* (*The Quasiquicentennial of the Finno-Ugrian Society*). As a consequence, it soon became time to also observe the quasiquicentennial of *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja – Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, launched in 1886 as the Society's first publication series.

In view of the long history of the journal, not much needs to be said about the anniversary volume. For those familiar with the journal whose field of interest comprises all aspects of research into the languages, cultures and the history and prehistory of the Uralic and so-called Altaic peoples, the contents of the present volume are business as usual. The 93rd issue of the journal covers a wide array of topics ranging from linguistic, toponymic and archaeological studies of the past and present of the Baltic Sea region and adjacent areas to the ethnography and history of Siberia and philological investigations of not only the Uralic but also Turkic and Tungusic languages and their speakers up to the Orkhon Valley of Mongolia and the Upper Amur Basin of Manchuria. This subject matter continues to reflect the intentions of Otto Donner, the initiator of the Society, who originally wished to name the journal *Altai* (*SUSA/JSFOu* XLVI, ₁ p. 59, ₂ p. 60) and investigate the past and origins of the Uralic languages and peoples within the broader context of Northern Eurasia as a whole. As usual, the scholarly papers and reviews are followed by the most recent annual reports of the Society.

In writing a special preface to commemorate the quasiquicentennial of the journal, the editor wishes to express his deep gratitude to a large and dedicated group of esteemed colleagues for their indispensable help in reviewing and often substantially improving manuscripts submitted for publication.

Guovdageaidnu
December 2011
Jussi Ylikoski

ARTICLES

José Andrés ALONSO DE LA FUENTE (Madrid/Vitoria)

Venjukov's [1858] 1862/1868 Nanai materials¹

The goal of this paper is to offer a philological analysis of the so-called “Nanai word-list” by M. I. Venjukov, published in the mid-19th century in two language versions, in French and Russian. Most descriptions (usually based on Kotwicz’s pioneering studies) agree that both lists are identical. I aim to demonstrate that (a) the two versions differ on some crucial points and, more importantly, (b) Venjukov’s lists hide the materials of both the Kilen and Kili languages (formerly the Sungari-Bikin and Kur-Urmi sub-dialects of the Upper Amur Nanai dialect), as happens to be the case with sources gathered in the Ussuri region.

I. Introduction

The goal of this paper is to offer a linguistic analysis of the Nanai word-list by M. I. Venjukov, published in the mid-19th century in two language versions (French and Russian). Most descriptions of this word-list – which are usually based on Kotwicz’s brief report – agree that both language versions are identical. I aim (a) to demonstrate that the two versions differ on some crucial points and, more importantly, (b) to establish the languages or dialects represented in Venjukov’s word-list and to integrate the results with the general picture of Nanai dialectology and Tungusic historical and comparative linguistics.

Most old sources containing valuable material for the description of Common Tungusic languages² remain insufficiently studied. There are a few notable exceptions to this general statement. We have at our disposal several critical editions of all the pre-professional linguistic descriptions known to us of Solon (Northern Tungusic): Ligeti (1959), Kałużyński (1971a, 1971b), Aalto (1976, 1977) and Lie (1978). These sources assist us in improving our knowledge of both Solon and Tungusic historical and comparative linguistics.

As far as Nanai is concerned, there are numerous sources of the 19th century and earlier which await linguistic scrutiny, some of which were analysed by Gerhard Doerfer. However, Doerfer gave attention only to those which could shed some light on the question of the independent language status of the Kur-Urmi Nanai dialect. Since Doerfer never aimed to carry out an exhaustive analysis of all the available old sources, he chose to ignore some of them, among others Venjukov’s word-list. Although Venjukov’s materials may seem to have little appeal (for example, as we shall see both language versions contain more or less the same 150 words), it is my

1 I would like to express my deep gratitude to the anonymous reviewers and the editor of the journal. Their remarks have improved the overall quality of this paper contributing many valuable suggestions and corrections. Any remaining errors are, of course, my own responsibility.

2 I use the label “Common Tungusic” to refer to those Tungusic languages which do not belong to the Jurchenic branch, i.e. Jurchen, Manchu and Sibe.

understanding that they deserve the same amount of attention, especially if we take into account that (a) Venjukov is the oldest source after Maak's 1855 glossary (published in 1859) and (b) later authors seemingly did not bother to consult it. In fact, the word-lists of Venjukov and Maak complement each other very well; Maak's materials *grosso modo* cover the Central and Lower Amur dialectal zones, while Venjukov's materials cover the Upper Amur zone. As is well known, the Upper Amur dialectal zone, the one with which Doerfer was more concerned, is defined by those Nanai varieties mainly spoken in the basins of the Kur, Urmi and Sungari rivers (here, Lower Amur and Sungari should be understood according to Smoljak 1975, *pace* Ikegami 1989: 123). Doerfer concluded that these varieties are not dialects of Nanai, but rather full-fledged languages. In that context, Kili and Kilen are the names traditionally used to designate the Kur-Urmi and Sungari dialects, respectively (however, Kilen is commonly referred as "Hezhe(n)" in Chinese and Japanese works, see for example An 1986). We must bear in mind, however, that Doerfer's proposal is not commonly accepted, and many authors still prefer to regard all these varieties as dialects of Nanai.

In §2 I shall briefly sketch Venjukov's life and main occupations. In §3 the description of both word-lists will be presented from a formal viewpoint. I will briefly mention the most distinctive features of the Nanai dialects in §4 so that they can be later compared with those detected in Venjukov's materials. The contents of both word-lists are integrally reproduced in §5 and a commentary is provided in §6. I shall identify the precedence and dialectal nature of Venjukov's materials in the discussion and conclusions offered in §7–8, respectively.

2. Venjukov's word lists: background

Mixail Ivanovič Venjukov (Михаил Иванович Венюков; Nikitinski (НИКИТИНСКИЙ), 1832–Paris, 1901) was a Russian traveller and geographer who retired from a military career with the rank of Major General, conferred upon him in 1876. Venjukov belonged to highly prestigious geographic societies, among others Paris, Geneva and London, and many of his travelogues and other descriptions of the places which he visited and studied were published and very often even translated into English (see *inter alia* Venjukov 1872 and Michell & Michell 1865: 239–291). He travelled extensively in Asia, Africa and America, and spent the last part of his life in Switzerland and France, though he never lost contact with his native Russia (for further details, see his extensive memoirs in Venjukov 1895–1901).

During an expedition to the region of the Ussuri basin in 1858, Venjukov managed to collect a brief vocabulary of the Nanai language which he would publish twice. The first version (French version or "F") was published in 1862 in *Petermann's Geographische Mittheilungen*, a journal devoted mainly to geographic as well as cartographic issues. Venjukov's contribution occupies only one page (109). The Nanai materials are presented in two columns (half left column, full right column). The paper is signed by "Stabskapitän Venukoff" (German *Stabskapitän* corresponds to Russian *штабс-капитан* or English *staff captain*, a middle rank within the military

hierarchy). There is a six-line German prologue, obviously not written by Venjukov but rather by the editor of the journal. The second version (Russian version or "R") appeared as the second appendix to the first chapter of Venjukov's expedition diaries published in 1868, the word-list occupying three pages (from 103 to 105, full right and left columns). This version has a four-line Russian prologue, this time undoubtedly from Venjukov's own pen.

Venjukov informs the reader that the contents of his word-list differ from Brylkin's. Brylkin's materials, gathered in 1859 and published two years later in Maak's second monograph, offered at the time the most extensive information on the Nanai language because the author not only gathered a vocabulary of more than 800 terms, but he also produced a brief grammatical description. The work of Brylkin gained much attention and it was widely used by other travellers, anthropologists and linguists until the publication of P. Protodjakonov's dictionary in 1901. Therefore, Venjukov's disclaimer is somewhat justified. Venjukov could have benefited only from Maak's 1855 word-list (published in 1859: i–xix), but as we shall see later, that is not the case. This fact naturally increases the value of Venjukov's word-list and the origin of its contents.

3. Formal characteristics

The differences between F and R are few in number. For starters, F contains four words which do not appear in R, namely <Gassan> 'village', <Guissouri> 'to speak', <Nouvou> 'sister', <oumoun> 'one'. There are cases of "lexical pairs", i.e. two different Nanai forms with the same meaning, in both versions. Since one of these lexical pairs in F involves <Nouvou>, R only has two of these lexical pairs ('water', 'sea'), instead of the three to be identified in F ('sister', 'water', 'sea'). It is hard to tell why those words are absent from R. Two of them are Tungusic in origin, while the other two are of unknown origin, at least to me. Secondly, Venjukov indicates the stressed syllable by means of the sign <́> only in R, e.g. F <aïa> vs. RV <а́я>, cf. LN <ая> *aya* [a'ya] 'good' (if necessary, I provide an impressionistic transliteration, following Janhunen 1996: xiii–xiv, and the IPA transcription). The position of the stress sign in Venjukov's materials seems to agree with the general rule that in Nanai the last syllable is always stressed, even when occupied by an enclitic (see Avrorin 1959: 62–63 for LN or Sem 1976: 34 for the Upper Nanai dialects). However, there are numerous instances showing that other syllables may be the locus of stress, e.g. F <Drabra> vs. <Дз́абза>, cf. LN <дяб́дьян> *jabjan* [zab'zã] 'snake'. Most old sources of Nanai do not provide information on the placement of the stress, with the notable exception of Brylkin (1961: 4 §2) and Skurlatov (1899). Unfortunately, stress is not indicated for many words in Venjukov's R word-list, even when they contain more than two syllables. Table 1 summarizes the number of accented and unaccented instances (I have counted Janhunen's diphthongoids [1985] as disyllables since Venjukov's practice is to accent those too; syllabification is based on F, since in R some orthographical devices, e.g. the use of <я> for the diphthongoid [ya], might make the count difficult).

Number of syllables	Accented	Unaccented
1	0	7
2	73	36
3 or more	25	12
Total: 153	98	55

Table 1. Accented vs. unaccented instances according to number of syllables.

Thirdly, F has 145 lexical items arranged in orthographical order according to French spelling conventions. In fact, French spelling conventions are systematically applied to the Nanai materials throughout the word-list. Thus, we have mute final unaccented <e> after consonants (as expected, <ъ> has an identical function in R), <é> for /e/, <ou> for /u/, <ï> for the glide /y/, <-ss-> for /-s-/, <gu> for /g/, etc. Every word is capitalized. Numerals, not capitalized and arranged in increasing order from one to ten as well as 50 and 100, follow the vocabulary in a separate section. R has 153 lexical items and although it seems that they are arranged in orthographical order according to Russian spelling, in reality the position of many words has been altered so that it is not easy to find them at first sight.

There is some confusion about the exact number of words contained in both versions. The first recount surely belongs to Kotwicz (1909: 211–212) who says that R contains 153 words. He does not mention, however, that there are two lexical pairs ('water', 'sea') and one question, namely *Анда, Думань-бира горó?* '(My) friend, where is the Duman' river?', which actually does not contain any new words (*anda* 'friend', *bira* 'river' and *goro* 'far (away)' are already glossed in the word-list) except for the name of the river Duman'. In a footnote, Kotwicz does mention that there is a previous version which had been published several years earlier in French (1909: 212 footnote 1). Avrorin (1959: 8–14) repeats Kotwicz's statement. Sem (1976: 14), who relies on Kotwicz, claims that the number of words is 143. Since he does not specify what version he consulted, one must assume that Sem had in mind F after subsuming the lexical pairs for 'water' and 'sister' (this could be so because each member of these lexical pairs are presented in contiguous order, but the two members of the lexical pair for 'sea' are distributed in orthographic, and therefore non-contiguous, order) and ignoring numerals altogether. We could also speculate that actually Sem was referring to R, but in this case we must assume a typo in 143 instead of 153. Regardless of these counts, it is obvious that neither Kotwicz nor Sem (or any other later researchers) took the time to compare both lists in detail.

The distribution of the features noted above are presented in the following table:

F	R
157 words (11 numerals, three pairs)	153 words (11 numerals, two pairs)
Orthographical order (numerals aside)	Disrupted orthographical order (numerals occupy no special place)
	One question (= extra material)
	Comments on the location where a given word was recorded or on semantics

Table 2. Comparison of formal features in F and R.

4. Brief survey of Nanai dialectology

Sources containing materials gathered in the Ussuri region arguably reflect a mixture of different known Nanai dialects. The status of some of these dialects has been challenged in recent decades by Gerhard Doerfer, Juha Janhunen and also by tungusologists from China and Japan. These authors consider that the Sungari and Kur-Urmi dialects should be treated as full-fledged languages, thus referred to by the terms Kilen and Kili, respectively. Janhunen even speaks of a Nanaic group within the Southern Tungusic branch which would encompass Nanai, Kili, Kilen and also Ulcha and Orok (see for example Janhunen 1996: 59–64, 2005). The use of labels such as “dialect” and “language” are commonly associated with non-linguistic issues. However, it is my understanding that those authors who endorse the language status of the Sungari and Kur-Urmi dialects are actually seeking a way to underline the differences between the variants strictly from a linguistic (historical and comparative) viewpoint: just as Solon, Negidal and Ewenki are languages, so too are Kili, Kilen and Nanai.

Be that as it may, in the following table I summarize the main correspondences between these two schools of thinking:

Nanai dialectology		Nanaic dialectology
Upper Amur	(= Sungari, Bikin)	Kilen (≈ Hezhen) language
	(= Kur-Urmi)	Kili language
Central Amur (= Najxin, Sikači-Aljan)		Nanai proper (or Najxin <Найхин> Nanai = Literary Nanai)
Lower Amur (= Gorin, Bolon)		

Table 3. Nanai vs. Nanaic dialectology.

I have tabulated the main phonological features of Literary Nanai, Sungari Nanai and Kur-Urmi Nanai in the following chart (based on Sem 1976: 26–34, Sunik 1958: 52–54 and Doerfer 1973, especially 572–578; 1977: 56; 1978: 8–18; 1984):

	Literary Nanai (= Central Amur)	Sungari Nanai (= Kilen)	Kur-Urmi Nanai (= Kili)
I	/-w-/ <i>cowo</i> ‘thief’	Ø <i>coo</i>	Ø <i>coo</i>
II	/aCi/ <i>aysi(n)</i> ‘gold’	/aCa/ <i>aysa(n)</i>	/aCi/ <i>aysiⁿ</i>
III	PT */ü/ > /u/ <i>tugdä</i> ‘rain’	PT */ü/ > /u/ <i>tugdä</i>	PT */ü/ > /i/ <i>tigdä</i>
IV	/-V ₁ r#/ <i>kamor</i> ‘together’	/-V ₁ rV ₁ #/ <i>kamürü</i>	/-V ₁ r#/ <i>kamür</i>
V	NO <i>ama</i> ‘father’	apocope <i>ama</i> ~ <i>am</i>	NO <i>ama</i>
VI	NO <i>nämdäkän</i> ‘thin’	syncope <i>nämtkääkä</i>	syncope <i>nämkuⁿ</i>
VII	NO <i>boa</i> ‘place’	monophthongization <i>baa</i>	monophthongization <i>baa</i>
VIII	PT */p(-)/ > /p(-)/ <i>palan</i> ‘floor’ <i>mapa</i> ‘old man’	PT */p(-)/ > /f(-)/ <i>fala</i> <i>mafa</i>	PT */p(-)/ > /f(-)/ <i>falaⁿ</i> <i>mafa</i>
IX	/ŋ-/ <i>ŋala</i> ‘hand’	/n-/ <i>nana</i>	/ŋ-/ <i>ŋala</i>
X	/wä-/ <i>wäcän</i> ‘dog (female)’	/ (w) u-/ <i>(w)ucä</i>	/wä-/ <i>wäcä</i>
XI	/-ŋm-/ , /-gb-/ , /-kp-/ <i>aŋma</i> ‘mouth’ <i>sogbo</i> ‘fish skin’ <i>tukpä</i> ‘nail’	/-mŋ-/ , /-bg-/ , /-fk-/ <i>amŋa</i> <i>sogbo</i> <i>tufkä</i>	/-mŋ-/ , /-bg-/ , /-pk-/ <i>amŋa</i> <i>sogbo</i> <i>tipkä</i>
XII	PT */p-/ > /p-/ <i>paa</i> ‘liver’	PT */p-/ > /x-/ <i>xaki</i>	PT */p-/ > /x-/ <i>xakiⁿ</i>
XIII	/n’/ <i>n’oani</i> ‘he’	/j/ ~ /n’/ <i>jan’i</i> ~ <i>n’anī</i>	/n’/ <i>n’aani</i>
XIV	Ø <i>muä</i> ‘water’	/-k-/ <i>mukä</i>	/-k-/ <i>mukä</i>
XV	PT */-ti-/ , /-di-/ > /-ci-/ , /-ji-/ <i>gocisii</i> ‘bitter’ <i>agji</i> ‘thunderbolt’	PT */-ti-/ , /-di-/ > /-ci-/ , /-d’i-/ <i>gocisī</i> <i>agd’i</i>	PT */-ti-/ , /-di-/ > /-ti-/ , /-d ^(’) i-/ <i>gotisi</i> <i>agdi</i>
XVI	PT */rC/ > /yC/ <i>xuygu</i> ‘tail’	PT */rC/ > /yC/ <i>xuygu</i>	PT */-rC-/ > /-d’C-/ <i>id’gi</i>
XVII	/-ar#/ <i>saŋar</i> ‘hole’	/-aa#/ <i>saŋaa</i>	/-a#/ <i>saŋa</i>

Table 4. Main dialectal features of the Nanai dialects.

In Kazama's contribution on the genealogical position of Hezhen ($\approx$ Kilen), Features III ($> /i/$), VIII ($> /x-/$), XIV ($> \emptyset$) and XVI ($> /-rC-/$) are also highlighted with additional instances (1996: 120–125; English translation in Kazama 1998). They show that the variety described by Kazama seems to occupy an intermediate position between Sunik's Kur-Urmi Nanai (= Kili) and Sem's Sungari (Bikin) Nanai.

I have selected those features which will be of some relevance for the later discussion. Among other things, this means that only phonological features shall be taken into account, since we cannot directly observe any morphological particularities in Venjukov's word-list (see Tsumagari 1997: 179–180 for some morphosyntactic differences between Literary Nanai and Sungari Nanai with further bibliography). Needless to say, Lower Amur Nanai dialects (Gorin, Bolon, etc.) do not play any role in this discussion.

5. Venjukov's word-list

The content of both R and F word-lists are reproduced in Table 5 with the corresponding comparative materials from Najxin Nanai or Literary Nanai (after Onenko 1980), Sungari Nanai or Kilen (after Sem 1976) and Kur-Urmi Nanai or Kili (after Sunik 1958). Phonological transcriptions of the Cyrillic-based orthographies are merely impressionistic (again, see Janhunen 1996: xiii–xiv). The French and Russian original translations will be mentioned only if necessary, otherwise I provide only the English translation. In case a word in R does not occupy the place that it apparently would have to according to the Russian alphabetical order, I indicate the page and column (lower case, square brackets) so that it can be easily found.

Table 5. Venjukov's materials from F and R, with Najxin, Kilen, Kili and Brylkin's corresponding forms:

Venjukov			English meaning	Literary Nanai (= Najxin Nanai)
Nr	F	R		
1	Aba	Аба́	not	<i>aba</i> _[22b]
2	Adime	Ади́мъ	big sturgeon	<i>ajin</i> _[29b]
3	Agaĩ	Агай	brother	<i>aga</i> _[25a]
4	Aĩa	Ая́	good	<i>aya</i> _[52b]
5	Aĩasa	Айса́	golden	<i>aysin</i> _[31a]
6	Ama	Ама́	father	<i>amaa</i> _[35b]
7	Amira	Амиро́	grandfather	—
8	Anda	Анда́	friend	<i>anda</i> _[42b]
9	Apou	Апу́	hat	<i>aapon</i> _[46a]
10	Balana	Балана́	long time ago	<i>balana</i> _[58b]
11	Balapti	Балапти	ancient	<i>balapci</i> _[58b]
12	Baran	Баранъ	much	—
13	Bi	Би	to be (locative, copulative)	<i>bi-</i> _[64b]
14	Bia	Бя́	moon	<i>bia</i> _[65a]
15	Bira	Бира́	river	<i>biraan</i> _[67b]
16	Bitza	Бица́	branch of a river	—
17	Botzin	Боце́нь	island	<i>boacaan</i> _[69b]
18	Bouda	Буда́	millet	—
19	Bougdy	Быгды́	leg, foot	<i>bäggi</i> _[84a]
20	Bouié	Бы́э	man	<i>bäyä</i> _[84b]
21	Boussou	Бусу́	a k. of fabric	<i>busui</i> _[83b]
22	Boutcha	Быча́	roe	<i>bocan</i> _[77b]
23	Chia	Шя́ _[105b]	ear	<i>sian</i> _[357b]
24	Chiro	Широ́ _[105b]	sand	<i>siyaan</i> _[370a]
25	Daé	Даэ́	big	<i>daay</i> _[133a]
26	Daĩ	Дай́	pipe	<i>day</i> _[133a]
27	Daouri	Даури́	to cross	<i>daaori</i> _[138a]
28	Dérin	Дэре́нь	river's source	<i>därään</i> _[84a]
29	diguine	Дигинъ	four	<i>duin</i> _[162a]
30	Dilé	Дилэ́	head	<i>jili</i> _[154a]
31	dja	Джа́	ten	<i>joan</i> _[146a]
32	djapcou	Джабкы́	eight	<i>jiakpon</i> _[177b]
33	Djangué	Чжангэ́ _[105b]	pole	—
34	Djanguine	Чжангинъ́ _[105b]	master	—
35	Djantchi	Чжанчи́ _[105b]	sheet	<i>jansa</i> _[542b]
36	Djikda	Джикда́ _[103b]	bread (flour)	<i>caagjan</i> _[496b]
37	djour	Джуръ́	two	<i>juär</i> _[175a]
38	Dolbo	Долбо́	night	<i>dolbo</i> _[158b]
39	Drabra	Дза́бза	snake	<i>jabjan</i> _[176a]
40	Dyré	Дыре́	face	<i>däräl</i> _[172a]
41	Eleki	Элэ́кй	to drink	<i>älä-</i> _[527b]
42	Eryn	Эпы́нь	bread	<i>äpän</i> _[283b]
43	Er-inin	Эръ-иненъ́	today	<i>äyniä</i> _[524b]
44	Esso	Эсо́	eyes	<i>nasal</i> _[284a]
45	Foulgué	Фульгэ́	sheet	—
46	Foulou	Фулу́	aspen	<i>polo</i> _[334b]
47	Fouro	Фуро́ _[104b]	mountain	<i>xurään</i> _[483b]
48	Foutatcha	Футача́	bag	<i>pootacaan</i> _[338a]
49	Gakhara	Гахара́	shirt	—
50	Gao	Гао́	pole	—
51	Gassan	—	village	—

Sungari Nanai (= Kilen)	Kur-Urmi Nanai (= Kili)	Brylkin
<i>aab(a)</i> _[135a]	<i>aba</i> _[163a]	<i>[a]bà</i> _[11a]
<i>ad'i(n)</i> _[136b]	<i>ajin</i> _[163b]	<i>адзинъ ~ адзи</i> _[11a]
<i>aaga</i> _[136a]	<i>aga</i> _[163a]	<i>agà</i> _[11a]
<i>ay(aa)</i> _[136b]	<i>aya</i> _[164b]	—
<i>ays'an ~ ays'in</i> _[136b]	<i>aysin</i> _[163b]	<i>айсэнъ</i> _[11a]
<i>ama</i> _[137b]	<i>ama</i> _[164a]	<i>амà</i> _[11a]
—	—	—
<i>anda</i> _[138b]	—	<i>андà</i> _[11b]
<i>aafo(n) ~ aafu(n)</i> _[139b]	<i>afun</i> _[165b]	<i>афонъ</i> _[11a]
<i>baalan(a)</i> _[141a]	<i>balana</i> _[166a]	—
<i>balafcee ~ balafci</i> _[141a]	<i>balapti</i> _[166a]	—
—	—	—
<i>bi-</i> _[142a]	—	<i>би-мэ</i> _[12a]
<i>b'ëë</i> _[142a]	<i>bia</i> _[166b]	<i>бjà</i> _[12a]
<i>b'ira</i> _[142a]	<i>bira</i> _[166b]	<i>бипа</i> _[12a]
—	—	—
<i>booca(n)</i> _[143b]	—	<i>бачà ~ бацà</i> _[11b]
—	—	—
<i>bägd'i</i> _[144a]	<i>bugd'i</i> _[167a]	<i>бэкдыль</i> _[11b]
<i>bäyä</i> _[144b]	<i>bäyä</i> _[167b]	—
<i>busu</i> _[144a]	—	<i>босò</i> _[12a]
<i>boca(n)</i> _[143b]	—	—
<i>s'ëë(n)</i> _[181a]	<i>s'an ~ sean</i> _[188a]	<i>сjàнъ</i> _[17a]
<i>s'iro(n)</i> _[182b]	<i>seron</i> _[189a]	—
<i>daay</i> _[150a]	—	<i>дàй ~ дajè</i> _[12b]
—	<i>day</i> _[170a]	<i>daju</i> _[13a]
<i>dao-</i> _[151b]	<i>dao-u-ri</i> _[171a]	—
<i>därä(n)</i> _[155b]	<i>därän</i> _[172b]	<i>дырэ-ни</i> _[13b]
<i>duuy(n)</i> _[153b]	<i>duin</i> _[24]	<i>дуинъ</i> _[13b]
<i>d'il'i</i> _[152b]	<i>d'ili</i> _[171b]	<i>джели ~ дэли</i> _[13a]
<i>joan</i> _[174b]	<i>juan</i> _[24]	<i>джуàнъ ~ джуàнъ</i> _[13b]
<i>jafko(n) ~ jafku(n)</i> _[156b]	<i>jakun</i> _[173b]	<i>джапкòнъ</i> _[13a]
—	—	—
<i>janëë(n)</i> _[156a]	<i>janğ'an</i> _[173b]	<i>джан'гинъ</i> _[13a]
<i>jansa</i> _[156a]	<i>janci</i> _[173b]	—
<i>caagjaa(n)</i> _[206a]	<i>cagjan</i> _[202b]	<i>чакджанъ</i> _[20b]
<i>juu ~ juuärä</i> _[157a]	<i>juu(r) ~ juru</i> _[175a]	<i>джуръ</i> _[13b]
<i>dolbo</i> _[153a]	<i>dolbo</i> _[171b]	<i>дольбò</i> _[13b]
<i>jabja(n)</i> _[155a]	<i>jabjan</i> _[173a]	—
<i>därä</i> _[155a]	—	<i>дыри</i> _[13b]
<i>älä-</i> _[210a]	<i>älä-u-ri</i> _[205b]	—
<i>äfu(n)</i> _[211b]	<i>äfan</i> _[206b]	—
<i>äyn'a ~ äyin'i</i> _[210a]	<i>äynäni</i> _[205a]	<i>эйни</i> _[13b]
<i>(n')isala</i> _[159b]	<i>nasal ~ esal</i> _[184b]	—
—	—	—
<i>folo</i> _[196b]	—	—
<i>xurä(n)</i> _[204b]	<i>furän</i> _[198b]	—
<i>footacaa(n)</i> _[197b]	<i>focatkan</i> _[198b]	—
<i>gaxara</i> _[146b]	<i>gaxara</i> _[168b]	<i>гахарà</i> _[12a]
<i>gao</i> _[146a]	—	—
<i>gas'a(n)</i> _[146b]	<i>gas'an</i> _[168b]	—

Venjukov			English meaning	Literary Nanai (= Najxin Nanai)
Nr	F	R		
52	Gorbini	Горбѣни	to call	<i>gärbu</i> _[128b]
53	Goro	Горó	far away	<i>goro</i> _[115a]
54	Gouchi	Гушѣ	uncle	<i>gusin</i> _[122a]
55	Gouissé	Гуйсэ	crate	<i>guysä</i> _[119b]
56	Guiou	Гѣу	copper	<i>gion</i> _[106b]
57	Guissoiri	—	to speak	<i>gisurä-</i> _[108a]
58	Guivou	Гуву	goat	<i>giu</i> _[108b]
59	Hadar	Хадаръ	rock, escarpée	<i>kadar</i> _[202b]
60	Haï	Хай	what? which?	<i>xay</i> _[443a]
61	Haïla	Хайла	turtle	<i>kaylan</i> _[203a]
62	Halta	Халта	side	<i>kaltaa</i> _[205b]
63	Hamela	Хамелá	behind	<i>xamila</i> _[450b]
64	Harmakté	Гармактé	midge	<i>garmaika</i> _[99b]
65	Hatza	Хацá	scissors	<i>xaja</i> _[439b]
66	Hédou	Хэдó	wind	<i>xädün</i> _[486b]
67	Honi	Хóни	how	<i>xoni</i> _[468b]
68	Hotchou	Хочó	walnut	<i>kocoa</i> _[230b]
69	Hotone	Хóтонъ	town	<i>xoton</i> _[474b]
70	Houi-manga	Хы́н-мангá	very quick(ly)	—
71	Hounia	Хуня	spoon	<i>xon'aan</i> _[470b]
72	houioun	Хуюнъ	nine	<i>xuyun</i> _[485b]
73	Houunké	Хынкэ	cucumber	<i>xoan'goan</i> _[461b]
74	Ikha	Ихá	cow	<i>ixan</i> _[200a]
75	ilan	Илáнь	three	<i>ilaan</i> _[190a]
76	Imakha	Имакá	fish	<i>imaxa</i> _[193a]
77	Ini	Инь	mother	<i>än'ä ~ änin</i> _[531b]
78	Inin	Иненъ	day	<i>ini</i> _[195a]
79	Ityrké	Итыркэ	lighter, burner (Fr. le briquet, R. огниво)	—
80	Jafou	Жафó	felt	—
81	Jaï	Жай	a k. of boat made of birch	<i>jay</i> _[176b]
82	Jolo	Жолó	stone	<i>jolo</i> _[148b]
83	Kaltchi	Кальчѣ	near	<i>kalci</i> _[206a]
84	Karto	Картó	carp	—
85	Kira	Кирá	edge	<i>kira</i> _[219a]
86	Kirpou	Кирпó	sturgeon	<i>kirpu</i> _[219b]
87	Kokto	Коктó	cork	<i>kookton</i> _[223a]
88	Kouldou	Кулдó	cedar	<i>koldon</i> _[223a]
89	Koulou	Кулó	squirrel	<i>xulu</i> _[478b]
90	Kourmé	Курмэ	needle	<i>xurma</i> _[483a]
91	Kourmikté	Курминтэ	midge	<i>purmiktä</i> _[344a]
92	Kouta	Кутá	cup	—
93	Koutré	Куцэ	knife	<i>kucään</i> _[236a]
94	La	Ла	candle	<i>laa</i> _[243b]
95	Lamou	Ламó	sea	—
96	Lamouka	Ламукá	navy	—
97	Ma	Ма	come on!	<i>maa</i> _[254a]
98	Mafa	Мáfá	old man	<i>mapa</i> _[118b]
99	Manga	Мангá	wrong, awkward	<i>manä</i> _[256b]
100	Mapa	Мáпá	bear	= 98
101	Méoutchan	Мéучáнь	rifle	<i>miocaan</i> _[263a]
102	Mindou	Мендó	hello	—
103	Mo	Мо	wood	<i>moo</i> _[263b]

Sungari Nanai (= Kilen)	Kur-Urmi Nanai (= Kili)	Brylkin
<i>gärb'i</i> _[146a]	—	<i>гербѣ</i> ~ <i>гербѣ</i> _[12a]
<i>goro</i> _[148b]	<i>goro</i> _[169b]	<i>горѣ</i> _[12b]
<i>gus'i(n)</i> _[149b]	—	—
—	—	<i>гуйсă</i> _[12b]
—	—	—
<i>g'isurä-</i> _[147b]	—	<i>гисурэ-мэ</i> _[12b]
<i>g'iu</i> _[147b]	—	<i>гѣун'ѣ</i> _[12b]
<i>kadaa</i> _[161a]	—	—
<i>xay</i> _[200a]	—	<i>хай</i> _[19a]
<i>kayla(n)</i> _[161b]	<i>kayla</i> _[177a]	<i>кайла</i> _[14b]
<i>kalta</i> _[162a]	<i>kalta</i> _[177a]	<i>кальта</i> _[14b]
<i>xam'ila</i> _[200b]	—	—
<i>garmatka</i> ~	<i>garmatka</i> _[168b]	<i>гармакта</i> _[12a]
<i>garmaxka</i> _[146b]	—	—
<i>xaja</i> _[199b]	<i>xaja</i> _[199a]	<i>хадзă</i> _[19a]
<i>xädu(n)</i> _[205a]	<i>ädin</i> _[205a]	<i>хыду</i> _[19b]
<i>xon('i)</i> _[203b]	<i>oon</i> ~ <i>ooni</i> _[186b]	<i>хонѣ</i> _[19b]
<i>koco(a)</i> _[166a]	<i>koceka</i> _[179b]	<i>коцѣ</i> _[15a]
<i>xoto(n)</i> _[203a]	<i>xoton</i> _[201b]	<i>хотон'ѣ</i> _[20a]
—	—	—
<i>xon'a(n)</i> _[203a]	—	<i>хун'гэ</i> _[20a]
<i>xuyu(n)</i> _[204a]	<i>(x)uyun</i> _[24, 82]	<i>хуюн'ѣ</i> _[20a]
—	—	<i>хын'ка</i> _[19b]
<i>ixa(n) ~ jaxa(n)</i> _[159b]	<i>exan</i> _[173b]	<i>эха</i> _[14a]
<i>ila(n)</i> _[158a]	<i>elan</i> _[173a]	<i>илан'ѣ</i> _[14a]
<i>im(a)xa</i> _[159a]	—	<i>эмахă</i> _[14a]
—	<i>än'ä</i> _[206a]	<i>энэ</i> _[14a]
<i>in('i)</i> _[160a]	<i>inäni</i> _[175b]	<i>ини</i> _[14a]
<i>yatar'ko</i> ~ <i>yatarku</i> _[161b]	—	<i>ятарко</i> _[13a]
‘кресало’	—	—
<i>jafö</i> _[156b]	—	—
<i>jay</i> _[155a]	<i>jay</i> _[173a]	<i>джăи</i> _[13a]
—	—	—
<i>jolo</i> _[156b]	<i>jolo</i> _[174b]	<i>джолѣ</i> _[13a]
<i>kalci</i> _[162a]	<i>kalci</i> _[177b]	<i>кальци</i> ~ <i>кальчѣ</i> _[14b]
—	—	<i>хартхѣ</i> _[19a]
<i>k'ira</i> ~ <i>k'ara</i> _[164a]	—	<i>кирă</i> _[14b]
<i>kirfo</i> ~ <i>kirfu</i> _[164b]	<i>kirfu</i> _[178b]	<i>кирфу</i> _[14b]
<i>koxto</i> _[166a]	<i>kokton</i> _[178bb]	<i>кохтон'ѣ</i> _[15a]
<i>kol'do</i> _[165a]	<i>koldo</i> _[178b]	<i>кольдон'ѣ</i> _[14b]
<i>xulu</i> _[204b]	—	<i>хулү</i> _[20a]
<i>xurmä</i> _[204b]	—	<i>хурма</i> _[20a]
<i>xurm'iktä</i> ~ <i>xurm'ixtä</i> _[204b]	<i>xurmäktä</i> _[201b]	<i>хурмикта</i> _[20a]
—	—	—
<i>kucä(n)</i> _[167a]	—	<i>куцэн'ѣ</i> _[15a]
<i>la</i> _[168a]	<i>la</i> _[180a]	—
<i>lamo</i> ~ <i>lamu</i> _[169a]	<i>lamu</i> _[180b]	<i>ламу</i> _[15a]
—	—	—
<i>ma</i> _[171a]	<i>ma</i> _[181a]	—
<i>maja</i> _[172a]	<i>maja</i> _[182a]	<i>мафă</i> _[15a]
<i>maŋga</i> _[171a]	<i>maŋa</i> _[182a]	—
= 98	= 98	—
<i>m'ööcaa(n)</i> _[173a]	<i>meocan</i> _[182a]	<i>мјаочă</i> _[15a]
—	—	—
<i>moo</i> ~ <i>muu</i> _[172a]	—	<i>мо</i> _[15b]

Venjukov			English meaning	Literary Nanai (= Najxin Nanai)
Nr	F	R		
104	Mou	Му	water	<i>muä</i> _[274a]
105	Mouca	мўка	= 104	—
106	Moudou	Мудў	otter	—
107	Moungou	Мынгў	silver	<i>mängun</i> _[277b]
108	Mouni	Мўни	our	—
109	Mouré	Мурэ	horse	<i>morin</i> _[269a]
110	Mourin-pocto	Мурень-поктó	horse-path	—
111	Nadan	Наданъ	seven	<i>nadaan</i> _[279b]
112	Nakchi	Накшй	to beat	—
113	Nala	Нáла	hand	<i>ḡaala</i> _[284b]
114	N'amou	Наму	sea	<i>namo</i> _[281b]
115	ningou	Нингў	six	<i>n'uḡun</i> _[296a]
116	Noucté	Нуктэ	hair	<i>nuktä</i> _[296a]
117	Noutchi	Ню́чи	small	<i>nuuci</i> _[296b]
118	Nouvou	—	sister	—
119	Nyvou	Ныву	= 118	—
120	Orké	Оркэ	horrible, lame	<i>orki</i> _[314a]
121	Ouchicta	Ушикта	star	<i>xosikta</i> ~ <i>xosakta</i> _[474a]
122	Oufourou	Уфуру	nose	<i>oporo</i> _[313b]
123	Oukda	Укда́	boat	<i>ogda</i> _[306a]
124	Ouktou	Уктў	powder	<i>okto</i> _[308b]
125	Oulé	Улэ́	good	<i>uläa</i> _[429a]
126	Oulicsé	Уликсэ́	meat	<i>uliksä</i> _[429a]
127	oumoun	—	one	<i>ämun</i> _[529b]
128	Ouni	Уни	cup, dish	—
129	Pocto	Поктó	track, path	<i>pokto</i> _[334b]
130	Pouli	Пули́	to walk	<i>pulsi</i> _[342a]
131	Salia	Саля	smoke	—
132	Séfa	Сэ́фа	sable	<i>sääpā</i> _[385b]
133	Si	Си	thou	<i>sii</i> _[356b]
134	Singui	Синги	he	—
135	Siou	Сиу	sun	<i>siun</i> _[369a]
136	Sou	Су	you	<i>suä</i> _[381b]
137	Soukda	Сукда́	a k. of fish	<i>sogdata</i> _[371b]
138	Sounta	Сунта	deep	<i>sonṭa</i> _[374b]
139	soussaï	Сусай	fifty	<i>sosii</i> _[377b]
140	tangou	Тангў	hundred	<i>taṅo</i> _[392b]
141	Taoussou	Таусў	salt	<i>daoson</i> _[139a]
142	Tava	Тáва	fire	<i>tawa</i> _[388b]
143	Tchektchuri	Чекчюри	(it's) cold	—
144	Tchicou	Чикў	chicken	<i>ciko</i> _[503b]
145	Tchikymé	Чикымá	velvet	—
146	Tchoulou	Чулу	glass	—
147	Timana	Тиманá	tomorrow	<i>cimana</i> _[505b]
148	Toudosa	Тудóза	potato	<i>duduusa</i> _[485b]
149	Tougdé	Тугдá	rain	<i>tugdä</i> _[408a]
150	Tougoulgou	Тугулгу	lead	<i>tuugu</i> _[408b]
151	tounga	Тунгá	five	<i>toṅṇa</i> _[401a]
152	Tourgué	Тургэ́	quickly	<i>turgän</i> _[412a]
153	Tourguendji	Тургенъчжи	very fast	<i>turgändi</i> _[412a]
154	Tzahara	Цахарá _[105b]	pebble	<i>jaxar</i> _[182b]
155	Vaksa	Ваксá _[103a]	nose	<i>waaksa</i> _[89b]
156	Vassou	Васў _[103a]	stockings	—
157	Zoulouli	Зулули	in front of	<i>julilä</i> _[173b]

Sungari Nanai (= Kilen)	Kur-Urmi Nanai (= Kili)	Brylkin
—	—	—
<i>mukä</i> _[173b]	<i>mukä</i> _[183a]	<i>мукä</i> _[15b]
—	—	—
<i>mänu(n)</i> _[174a]	<i>mäjün</i> _[183b]	<i>мун'зунъ</i> _[15b]
—	—	—
<i>mor'i(n)</i> _[173a]	<i>morin</i> _[182b]	<i>моринъ</i> _[15a]
—	—	—
<i>nada(n)</i> _[174a]	<i>nadan</i> _[184a]	<i>наданъ</i> _[15b]
—	—	—
<i>nana</i> _[175a]	<i>ḡala</i> _[185a]	<i>нанä</i> _[15b]
= 95 _[175a]	= 95 _[185a]	—
<i>n'iḡgu</i> _[176b]	<i>n'uḡgun</i> _[185a]	<i>нин'зунъ</i> _[16b]
<i>niktä ~ nixtä</i> _[175a]	<i>niruktä</i> _[184b]	<i>нукта</i> _[16a]
<i>nuuci</i> _[175b]	—	<i>нучи</i> _[16a]
—	—	—
—	—	—
<i>orki(n)</i> _[178b]	—	<i>орки</i> _[16b]
<i>os'ikta ~ os'ixta</i> _[179a]	<i>osiakta</i> _[187b]	—
—	—	—
<i>ofo</i> _[179b]	<i>ofo</i> _[187b]	<i>офорö</i> _[16b]
<i>ogda</i> _[177a]	<i>ogda</i> _[186a]	<i>o[ɣ]dä</i> _[16a]
<i>okto ~ oxto</i> _[177a]	<i>okto</i> _[186a]	<i>октö</i> _[16b]
<i>ulä(n)</i> _[193b]	<i>ulä</i> _[196a]	<i>уленъ</i> _[18a]
<i>uläksä</i> _[193b]	—	<i>уликсä</i> _[18a]
<i>äm ~ ämu(n)</i> _[210a]	<i>äm ~ ämu(n)</i> _[205b]	<i>омунъ ~ омунъ</i> _[16b]
<i>un'i</i> _[193b]	—	—
<i>fokto ~ foxto</i> _[196b]	<i>fokto</i> _[197b]	—
<i>ful'i-</i> _[198a]	<i>fuli-u-ri</i> _[198b]	<i>фули-мэ</i> _[19a]
—	—	—
<i>sääfä</i> _[187b]	—	<i>сефä</i> _[17a]
<i>s'i</i> _[182b]	<i>si</i> _[189a]	<i>си</i> _[17a]
—	—	—
<i>s'iu(n)</i> _[183b]	<i>siun</i> _[189b]	<i>сјун'ъ</i> _[17a]
<i>suu</i> _[185b]	<i>suu</i> _[191b]	<i>су</i> _[17b]
—	<i>sogjana</i> _[189b]	<i>сүгдäтä</i> _[17b]
<i>soṅta</i> _[185a]	<i>soṅta</i> _[190a]	<i>сунктä</i> _[17b]
<i>soosay</i> _[185a]	<i>sosay</i> _[190b]	<i>сюсäй</i> _[17b]
<i>taṅgu ~ taṅgo</i> _[192b]	<i>taṅgu</i> _[192b]	<i>тан'зу</i> _[17b]
<i>daosu(n) ~ daoso(n)</i> _[152b]	<i>daosun</i> _[171a]	<i>даусун'ъ</i> _[13a]
<i>tao</i> _[188b]	<i>too</i> _[194b]	<i>тавä</i> _[17b]
—	—	—
<i>ciko</i> _[208b]	—	—
—	—	—
—	—	—
<i>cim(a)na</i> _[209a]	<i>temaki</i> _[193a]	<i>тсимаксä</i> _[18a]
—	—	<i>тудуза</i> _[18a]
<i>tugdä</i> _[190b]	—	<i>түгдä</i> _[18a]
<i>tugu-</i> _[190b]	—	—
<i>toṅḡga</i> _[189b]	<i>toṅḡa ~ ton'ḡa</i> _[189b]	<i>тён'гä</i> _[17b]
<i>turgä(n)</i> _[191a]	<i>turgän</i> _[194b]	<i>турганъ</i> _[18a]
—	—	—
<i>jaxara</i> _[156b]	<i>jaxar</i> _[174a]	—
—	—	—
—	—	—
<i>jul'ilä</i> _[157b]	—	—

6. Comments

Since the main goal of the etymological comments below is to establish the degree of closeness or remoteness between Venjukov's materials and the other Nanai dialects (as we shall see later, this sometimes requires quoting additional forms for example from Ewenki or Udihe), they will not be exhaustive. The interested reader is referred to auxiliary tools such as SSTMJ_a, Benzing 1956, Rozycki 1994 or Doerfer 1985, 2004 for full quotations and deeper insights on etymology. For the sake of abbreviation, LN refers to both Literary Nanai (i.e. the Najxin dialect) and Central Amur Nanai by extension.

- [2] Brylkin adds '(Acipenser orientalis)' (from Maak 1859: ii-a, s.v. <азѣ>, Central Amur). The notation <m> for /-m#/ instead of /-n#/ is well known in older and more recent sources. The alternation is due to the ambiguous realization of certain phonemes in absolute *Auslaut* position, the so-called "archiphonemes". Since Venjukov devised other spelling conventions to represent /j/ (see discussion in [93]), I assume that by writing F <di> vs. R <ди> he intended to render a different phoneme. Sem (1976: 31) discusses the opposition between LN /ji/ <ди> and SN /d'i/ (= Brylkin's <дз>; note that Brylkin's grapheme <ù> is his personal typographical solution for <ÿ>, i.e. stressed /i/). Here Feature XV does not apply because both forms go back to PT */ajin/ id., cf. SSTMJ_a I: 16b.
- [3] LN, SN, KUN, and Brylkin's vocabulary have 'older brother'. Venjukov's form reads *aga-ĩ* with the final <-ĩ> corresponding to the 1SG.POSS marker (Avrorin 1959: 131–133). This form literally means 'my/the (older) brother'.
- [5] A typical SN form, reflecting Feature II (vowel assimilation). Brylkin's form is closer to SN (diagnostic feature: <-э>, see Feature II).
- [7] F <-a> vs. R <-ó> is a very suspicious correspondence. Venjukov may have pronounced this word with "Russian accent", i.e. not stressing the last syllable, despite the fact that the Nanai accent falls on the last syllable as a rule of thumb. If this is the case, then one should assume *akanye* (/a/ for unstressed /o/ in Russian pronunciation), cf. [142] and Brylkin's form in [17]. This hypothesis implies that the original form could be †*amiro*, but this cannot be demonstrated since the word is attested nowhere else. Of course, we can also assume a typo originally in F which Venjukov noticed and corrected later in R.
- [9] Lack of the class marker /-n/ is a diagnostic feature of SN, but the presence of /p/ instead of /f/ is characteristic only of LN. It has been claimed that KUN shows a heavy influence from Ewenic (the group formed by Ewenki, Ewen, Negidal, Arman, Oroqen and Solon according to Janhunen's terminology). In this context, it may be pertinent to bring into the discussion forms like Ewenki (Ayan = Eastern dialect) *apsa* 'hunter's bag', (Ilimpi, Erbogachen = Northern dialects & Upper Lena = Southern dialects) *aptu*ⁿ 'cotton (жилъная) thread' (Vasilevič 1958: 33b), cf. Maak's Central Amur <awsa, auwsa> 'birch-box' and Lower Amur <afun> 'birch-hat' (1859: ii-a). This is an excellent instance illustrating the differences between Venjukov and Brylkin's materials in the sense that Venjukov definitely

did not copy from Brylkin. Cf. Skurlatov's Sungari <ауһъ> id. (1899: 253b), where the chain /f/ > /w/ > Ø seems to result from the combination of Features I and VIII.

- [11] No accent in R. A typical KUN form.
- [12] Cf. SSTMJJa I: 73, see inter alia Literary Ewen *baran* 'capacious', Literary Manchu *baran* 'many', Oroch *bara* 'many'.
- [13] Brylkin's form contains the infinitive marker (<-мэ>), cf. [57].
- [14] Unless we are open to accepting the presence of Central Amur forms in Venjukov's word-list, something which is highly unlikely, we have no choice but to assume that this is a KUN form.
- [17] A typical SN form. Brylkin's form may reflect *akanye* (/a/ for unstressed /o/ in Russian pronunciation) or a sort of "Ulchism", for only in Ulcha do we find /a/, i.e. *baaca(n)* id., see SSTMJJa I: 104a.
- [18] Cf. Yakut region Ewenki *budan* 'measles, rubella' (Romanova & Myreeva 1968: 29a). Cross-linguistically, 'grain' and 'spot, pimple' are sometimes expressed by the same word, e.g. Spanish *grano* 'grain; spot, pimple'.
- [19] On phonological grounds (vocalism and preservation of */-di/), this form should be considered KUN. See Northern Tungusic words such as Literary Ewenki *bägdī* id. etc., cf. SSTMJJa I: 118b–119a.
- [22] Venjukov renders /ä/ by <ы> when surrounded by vowels other than /a/ & /ä/ (otherwise they commonly use <э>), see inter alia [36?, 40, 73, 107], as some other authors did, cf. Brylkin's forms in [28, 66], although they are not always consistent.
- [23] Cf. [14].
- [24] No accent in R.
- [25] Also in KUN according to SSMTJJa I: 190a.
- [26] No accent in R. Since we already have instances like [25, 60, 81], the lack of accent here may be due to a clerical error.
- [27] A typical KUN form, this must be analysed as *dao-u-ri*, with the passive/causative marker *-u-* and the aorist tense marker *-ri* (Sunik 1958: 91–92). It is impossible to decide to which Venjukov's form corresponds, since the suffix *-u-* is also used in SN.
- [28] Brylkin's form contains most likely the 3SG.POSS ending *-ni* (otherwise we would have to assume a misprint of <һ'ъ> = /-n#/).
- [29] No accent in R. This is a pure Northern Tungusic form, cf. Literary Ewenki, Ewen, Negidal *digin* id. (SSTMJJa I: 204a–205a), cf. [12].
- [30] No accent in R. It is worth noting Brylkin's use of the digraph <дж> vs. <дз> as happens in [2] among others.
- [31] Behind Venjukov's form may be hiding [aa], that is, a long vowel resulting from the monophthongization of an original [oa]. Monophthongization is a very typical feature of SN (see under VII), e.g. *baa* vs. LN *boa* 'land' (Sem 1976: 27). However, the existence of Northern Tungusic forms like Literary Ewenki *jaan* id. (cf. SSTMJJa I: 248a–b) leaves some room to claim KUN pedigree.

- [32] This is a typical Northern Tungusic form, cf. Literary Ewenki *japkun* id. etc., see SSTMJJa I: 251a–252a, so it can be tentatively ascribed to KUN.
- [33] No accent in R. Cf. Yakut region Ewenki *cäängäy* ‘a k. of stick attached to the reindeer’s neck to avoid that he moves far away’ (Romanova & Myreeve 1968: 205a).
- [34] No accent in R. In all languages ‘leader, manager, head’.
- [35] No accent in R. In all languages ‘cloth’.
- [36] No accent in R. In F ‘wheat, flour’, in R ‘bread (flour)’. In LN *caagian* is used in the expression *saxarin / caagian xleb (äpän)* ‘black / white bread’ (Onenko 1986: 283b). Venjukov mistakenly interpreted the word *caagian* as ‘flour’ instead of ‘white’, cf. *caagian opa* ‘white flour’ (Onenko 1980: 496a). Could this word be a Para-Mongolism (cf. Monguor & Dagur *cigaan* < **cagagan* ‘white’)? See also [79] on *ikanye*.
- [38] No accent in R.
- [39] No accent in R.
- [40] SN ‘front side, outward (of materials, clothes)’.
- [41] SN ‘to be thirsty’. The element *-ki* might correspond to the past participle marker of the III class verb stems (for verb stems ending in consonant, e.g. LN *un-* & SN *uN-* ‘to say’ → *un-ki* & *uŋ-k’i* ‘said, saying’, see Avrorin 1961: 13–15, 67–70, Sem 1976: 63, 78–79), though *älä-* ‘to drink’ does not belong to this class.
- [42] No accent in R. In R Venjukov added ‘baked bread’.
- [43] It seems that Venjukov is the only researcher who has recorded the pre-contraction form of the word for ‘today’ in the Tungusic languages, only self-evident in Kilen *äyin’i*. I wonder whether Venjukov did not work it out after Russian *сегодня* ‘today’, in origin the fusion of the genitive forms of the ancient demonstrative */съ/ ‘this’ and the word for ‘day’ (cf. Polish *tego roku* ‘in this year’ etc.). Be that as it may, LN, SN and KUN *äy* is the expected outcome of PT */är/ ‘this’ (SSTMJa II: 460a–462a s.v. *är*). Thus, in theory Venjukov’s form cannot belong to any Nanai dialect. Cf. Literary Ewenki *ärääw inäŋu* ‘today’, lit. ‘this day’, already in Maak (1859: i-a) s.v. <ar inäŋi> ‘today’ (Manegir). Cf. [24] (= Feature XVI) for another instance with /y/ instead of /r/. This sound change is common, especially when /r/ is surrounded by palatal vowels, e.g. PT */xürgü/ ‘tail’ > LN *xuygu* id., SN *xuygu* (204a), KUN *id’gi* id. (175a), but Literary Ewenki *irgi* id. (SSTMJa I: 325a s.v. *irgi*) and it has been extensively used in the discussion about the language status of KUN and SN, see inter alia Doerfer (1973: 591).
- [44] No accent in R. Venjukov’s form is curious because it has no plural marker /-l/ (see the extensive cognate list quoted in SSTMJJa I: 291–292, from which one can deduce that PL /-l/ is almost fossilized). Venjukov’s /o/ instead of /a/ may be due to some kind of *okanye* (/o/ for unstressed /o/ in Russian pronunciation), perhaps due to hypercorrection? See Doerfer (1973: 573) for a discussion of this item taking into account other forms mentioned in old sources.

- [47] KUN 'taiga, thick forest'. This interesting instance reflects the sound change /p-/ > /x-/ > /f-/ (realization [β-]), the latter stage especially frequent after back vowels. Doerfer (1973: 573–574) devotes a few lines to this important diagnostic feature, see under XII above.
- [48] KUN 'bag made of fish skin', after metathesis.
- [50] Cf. Poniatowski (1923: 5a) ss.vv. <gao> and <geol> 'paddle', see also Brylkin's <геоль> id. [12b].
- [51] Not in R, which would have had something like *<Гасан> (with or without accent). Folkloric term in KUN. Cf. SSTMJ a I: 143a–b, e.g. Negidal *gasin*, Oroch *gasa*, Ulcha *gasa(n)*, Orok *gas(s)a*, Manchu *gašan* id.
- [52] Venjukov's *gorbi-ni* contains †*gorbi* 'name' and the 3SG.POSS ending *-ni*, hence 'his/the name'. SSTMJ a I: 180b–181b mixes two different words under 'name': on one side, LN *gärbu* id., on the other LN *gäbu* 'authority' (123b), SN *gäbää* id. (150a) and KUN *gäbu* id. (170b), doubtlessly a Manchu loanword.
- [54] Cf. KUN *guskä* id. (149b).
- [55] Cf. SN *g'ëësa* 'hedge' (147a).
- [56] Cf. SN *giwan* id. (169a), but the preservation of /-w-/ is irregular.
- [57] Not in R, which would have had something like *<Гисури> (with or without accent).
- [58] LN 'roe deer', see KUN *giakso* 'skin of seal' (169b), plus SSTMJ a I: 148b, vid. i.a. Negidal *giwu* '(skin of) seal', Orok *geoksa* id. The correspondence F /i/ vs. R /u/ is unique, but it may hide a real isogloss (see under III).
- [59] Preservation of final /-r#/ is a typical feature of Northern Tungusic, hence Literary Ewenki *kadar*, Ewen *kadaar* id. However, Negidal as well as SN and sometimes KUN lose it, producing Negidal and SN *kadaa* id. (see SSTMJ a I: 360a–b, Benzing 1956: 49 §59[d]). The use of <x> instead of <к> for Nanai /k-/ is a common device in old sources (not restricted to the Tungusic domain!) in order to try to grasp the particularities of the uvular(ized) allophone [q-] of /k-/ after the back vowels /a o i/, see among others Avrorin (1959: 36). Cf. inter alia [61–62, 68]
- [62] No accent in R. Cf. additionally [61] for /x-/.
- [64] Could it be that Venjukov corrected the F version (/g-/ instead of /h-/) after having had access to Brylkin's materials?
- [66] Cf. Skurlatov's Sungari <едунь> id. (252a).
- [67] Brylkin 'how many'.
- [68] No accent in R.
- [69] KUN is most likely a loanword, since /x-/ should be Ø. Given the meaning of the word, it is easy to assume here a *Kulturwort*.
- [70] R adds 'about the current of the river'. The first segment is most likely related to onomatopoeic forms like LN *kuäx-kuäx* (236b), SN *kuil-kuil* ~ *kujäl-kujäl* (166b), KUN *kuän-kuän* (179b), it is usually uttered to express quick, repetitive actions or about the bigness, deepness or toughness of an object or situation. As for the second, see LN *maŋga* 'high, hard, strong' (256b; also KUN 182a, SN 171b).

- [72] No accent in R.
- [73] No accent in R. Clearly a Chinese loanword, cf. 黃瓜 *huángguā* id. Monophthongization points to a SN source.
- [74] Brylkin's form contrasts notably with [75]. Number 'five' is closer to SN, while number 'four' is closer to KUN.
- [76] Venjukov mentions it originally as an instance of the lexical pairs one may notice while researching in the Amur and Upper Ussuri regions (1868: 87). In this case, Venjukov labelled it "Upper Ussuri". It can be safely identified as a typical SN form. See also Doerfer (1973: 572) or Sem (1976: 16). Curiously enough, Venjukov's word-list includes also the "pair" *sukda* (cf. [137]) and it is labelled "Lower Ussuri".
- [78] No accent in R.
- [79] No accent in R. Cf. LN *yaxarako* 'stove-lid' (544b). It is likely that reduction of /ja/ (= Russian Cyrillic orthography <я>) to /i/ is a typical case of *ikanye* (/i/ for unstressed /je/, /jo/ and /ja/, i.e. <е>, <ё> and <я>, respectively, in Russian pronunciation).
- [80] SN only in the expression *jafo afu(n)*, cf. *jaf(a) säftäxu(n)* 'mattress' (156a). Cf. Brylkin's <джафади> 'glove' [13a].
- [86] Cf. Literary Manchu *kirfu* id. (Norman 1978: 176b), plus SSTMJJa I: 399a.
- [87] KUN 'pipe (to smoke)'.
- [88] Confusion of /o/ with /u/ is a typical feature of SN. See [9] or the example under Feature IV.
- [90] No accent in R.
- [91] There is a typo in R, with <-n-> instead of F <-k->.
- [92] Cf. SSTMJJa I: 439b, s.v. *kuta* 'clay'.
- [93] No accent in R. R <ц> vs. F <tz>, *pace* [65] where R <ц> vs. F <tr>.
- [94] A Chinese loanword, cf. SSTMJJa I: 485a.
- [95] No accent in R.
- [96] LN *namokaan* 'the Udihe' (281b), SN *lamka nayn'i* id. (169a), KUN *lamukan* id. (180b), Brylkin's <ламукà, намука> 'the Oroch' (15a, 16a). Note that the element *-ka* is segmentable (see *-ka(n)* in Avrorin 1959: 108–109). In the case of the lexical pair *mu* ~ *mukä*, the segment /kä/ belongs to the root (Venjukov had to gather *mu* and *mukä* from two speakers of different dialects).
- [98] Onenko (1986: 256a) contains both meanings: *mapa* 'bear; old man'. This is a well-known instance of religious usage. It is my understanding that Brylkin's translation 'медвѣдь старый' actually contains a misprint for †'медвѣдь; старый', i.e. with a semicolon between one and another meaning, so he also provides both meanings, otherwise we would have to assume a case of anomalous syntax. Cf. Brylkin's <мафа-най> 'старикъ' (15a), lit. 'old man'.
- [99] LN, SN, and KUN 'difficulty, hard, tough'.
- [102] F 'bon jour' and R 'здравствуй'. Cf. SSTMJJa I: 568a, s.v. *mändu* id. (Ewenki).
- [104] As happened in [14], it is highly dubious that we have here a LN word. Rather, we can assume a KUN form which has been heavily influenced by the Northern

- Tungusic languages, e.g. Literary Ewenki *muu* id. (cf. SSTMJJa I: 548a–549a). See the discussion in §7 for the assessment of this influence by some scholars.
- [105] Not capitalized in R (contrary to the case of “Lamu, Namu”).
- [106] Cf. SSTMJJa II: 550b, s.v. *mudur* ‘dragon’ < PT */mudu.ri/ (from a root meaning ‘to bite’, perhaps created after a Chinese model).
- [108] This is the common form for the possessive of the inclusive 1PL: LN *bu.ä* ‘we’ → *bu.n-i* ‘our(s)’, SN *buu* → *muu.n-i*, (54, 56), KUN *muu* → *mu.n-i* (84), cf. Brylkin’s <муни> id. (15b).
- [109] No accent in R. The difference between this word and [110] may be better understood as one between dialectological forms, since the lack of the noun class /-n/ is typical of SN, but not of LN or KUN.
- [111] No accent in R.
- [112] Most likely unrelated to forms like Literary Ewenki *n’äcuu-* ‘to hit’, Orok *nätu-* id. or Literary Manchu *neci-* ‘to annoy’ (Norman 1978: 210a, cf. SSTMJJa I: 655b).
- [114] No accent in R. No corresponding form in Brylkin’s materials. The origin of this word can be only ascribed to SN, cf. Udihe *namu* vs. Pan-Ewenki *laamu* id.
- [116] R and F translations seem to try to reflect the collective marker *-ktä*. The existence of such forms as Udihe *n’uuktä* id. (Kormušin 1998: 270b) leaves this form closer to SN.
- [118] Not in R, which would have had something like *[Hyby] (with or without accent). There is a strange resemblance between Venjukov’s form and a pair of well-known kinship terms attested in almost every Nanai dialect, on one side LN *näku* ‘youngest brother or sister’ (298a), KUN *näkun* (185b) or SN *näku* (175b) ‘younger brother or sister’, on the other LN *näu-* ‘youngest brother or sister’ (510b), KUN *näu-fangu* ‘the youngest child’ (185b) or SN *näu* ‘son of brothers and sisters and their younger children’ (176a), cf. Brylkin’s <нэу> ‘youngest brother’ (16a). Note that */-k-/ and */-w-/ are phonemes which tend to disappear in the history of LN and KUN. However, it is not easy to formulate a scenario without falling into the trap of endless speculation.
- [119] No accent in R.
- [121] No accent in R. This is a good parallel of /x-/ > Ø for [67].
- [122] No accent in R.
- [123] Brylkin’s form <оддà> must be amended to <огдà>. Brylkin also includes in his vocabulary <огда чоони> ‘днище лодки’.
- [124] LN, SN, and KUN ‘medicine’. We can assume that Venjukov’s translation derives from the fact that he observed a sort of medicament in powder form. As happened in [36], Venjukov just assigned an incorrect meaning.
- [126] KUN has no trace of the suffix *-ksä*.
- [127] Not in R, which would have had something like *[Ymyh] (with or without accent). This form seems to reflect a sort of vowel assimilation, very similar to the one attested in SN, e.g. SN *buyu* vs. LN *bäyun* ‘wild animal’. However, SN has *äm* ~ *ämu* id. This form may tentatively be identified as KUN, since

- Northern Tungusic languages present very similar, if not identical shapes, e.g. Literary Ewenki *umuun* id., see SSTMJ_a II: 270a–272a.
- [128] No accent in R. SN ‘big cast-iron container’. Cf. Maak’s Central Amur <una> ‘big container’ (1859: v-a).
- [129] From LN? The result /p-/ for PT */p-/ is restricted to LN (see Feature VIII), Ulcha and Oroch (see further in Benzing 1956: 33 §66), cf. [17].
- [130] From LN? See [129].
- [131] No accent in R. LN *saŋn’an* ‘smoke’ [354a], SN *saŋn’a(n)* (180b), KUN *saŋn’an* (188a), Brylkin <сoмнґja> (17a). All of these words are probably unrelated to Venjukov’s form, for it is very hard to understand how someone could have misheard /-lya-/ (*vel sim.*) instead of /-ŋn’-/.
- [132] KUN *sefan* ‘catfish’ (189a).
- [134] No accent in R. Venjukov translates ‘he’ in both R and F, but this is obviously wrong, see for instance SN *n’aani* ~ *jaan’i* ‘he’, *n’aaci* ~ *jaaci* ‘they’ (54), or KUN *n’oani* ‘he’, *n’oati* ‘they’ (64). Venjukov’s form suspiciously resembles LN *siŋgi* (365a), SN *s’iŋg’i* (56), KUN *siŋi* ‘your(s)’ (64), etc., where -ŋi- corresponds to the alienable possession marker. This must be Venjukov’s personal interpretation, for Brylkin clearly stated in his grammatical sketch that there is no third person pronoun (6 §7), and therefore Venjukov could not have taken it from Brylkin’s materials.
- [135] No accent in R.
- [137] This form is neither KUN nor SN. Venjukov notes that it was gathered in the Lower Ussuri area. Haplology may explain Venjukov’s testimony. As is well known, one of the most salient features of SN is the syncope of medial vowels in three-syllable words, e.g. SN *gätku* ‘instrument to rumpling skin (Russian *кожемялка*)’ vs. LN *gäjiku* < */gädiku/ (vid. i.a. Sem 1976: 28), thus one can assume */sugdäta/ > */sugd(t)a/. See a very extensive quotation of materials in SSTMJ_a II: 118, vid. i.a. Ewenki *sugjanna*, Negidal *sogjana*, Ulcha *sugdata* id.
- [138] No accent in R.
- [139] No accent in R.
- [142] With *akanye* (/a/ for unstressed /o/ in Russian pronunciation). From LN or perhaps a Manchurism (see Norman 1978: 287a s.v. *tuwa* id.)? Northern Tungusic forms reflect /-g-/ as expected, e.g. Literary Ewenki *togo* id., cf. SSTMJ_a II: 190a–b.
- [143] Cf. LN *cäktäri-* ‘to throw vodka around’. This word also refers to other actions belonging to the folkloric sphere, especially those related to the fire (517b). Could Venjukov have misunderstood this tradition and consequently provided a misguided translation?
- [144] Cf. KUN *tikimä* ‘swift (a k. of bird; Russian *стриж*)’ (193a). It cannot be ruled out that these words are of onomatopoeic (and then not necessarily common) origin.
- [145] F and R do not match, for the last vowel is different, cf. [137].
- [146] No accent in R.

- [147] KUN 'morning, tomorrow' (193a).
- [148] Already Brylkin notes the Chinese origin of this word, cf. Chinese 土豆 *tǔdòu* 'potato'.
- [150] No accent in R. LN and SN 'to go away; to set (the sun)'.
- [152] No accent in R.
- [153] No accent in R.
- [155] Onenko (1980) mentions two different words, namely *woaksa* (92a) and *ŋaaksa* (285a), seemingly dialectal variants. Unfortunately, Onenko does not elaborate further.
- [157] No accent in R. Cf. KUN *juläski* (175a).

7. Discussion

Venjukov's materials seem to agree with what we know about linguistic sources coming from the Ussuri region. They are complicated, if not confusing, but they basically bear witness to the Upper Amur Nanai dialects. The most telling instances are:

- (I) Kur-Urmi Nanai = Kili pedigree: [14, 23] (see under VII), [47] (see under VIII), [11, 147] (see under XV);
- (II) Sungari Nanai = Kilen pedigree: [5] (see under II), [17] (see under VII), [46, 48] (see under VIII), [59] (see under XVII), [154] (see under IV). A very characteristic feature of Venjukov's materials is the absence of final /-n/ (see Vietze 1969 for a general description of this element in the Tungusic and other surrounding languages), with some possible exceptions, e.g. [12, 17, 28, 43, 51?]. This element is very unstable, especially in Kilen, where it appears only in flexional, derivational processes (that's why in Table 5 it always appears between brackets). It is almost certain that the speaker from which Venjukov elicited the numerals is not the one who helped him with the rest of the vocabulary.

I summarize the results of my analysis in the following table (all forms which speculatively might be assigned to LN have been listed in the "Ambiguous and/or unclear" column):

Sungari Nanai (= Kilen)	Kur-Urmi Nanai (= Kili)	Ewenic (≈ Kili)	Ambiguous and/ or unclear	Unidentified
5, 15, 17, 24, 34, 42, 46, 48, 50, 52?, 54, 59, 67, 71, 72, 73, 74–76, 78–79, 80?, 91, 115, 116?, 128, 132, 135?, 137?, 157?	11, 14, 19, 23, 30, 35, 37, 44, 47–48, 51, 87, 101, 107, 113?, 126?, 140, 147	9?, 12, 18?, 29, 31, 32?, 33, 43, 58?, 102, 104, 110?, 114, 127	1–4, 6, 8, 10, 15, 17, 20–21, 22?, 24–28, 30, 36, 38–39, 40?, 41, 49, 53, 55, 56?, 57, 60–66, 68–70, 77, 81–86, 88–90, 93–99, 100?, 105, 108–109, 111, 117–125, 129, 130, 133, 136, 138–139, 141– 142, 144, 148?, 149–155	7, 16, 45, 56?, 61, 84, 92?, 106?, 112, 131, 134, 143, 145– 146, 156

Table 6. Statistical report of Venjukov's materials according to their dialectal origin.

Instances like [12, 29, 33, 102] point out that Venjukov may have interviewed non-Nanai speakers or that latter researchers working with Nanai failed to record those words. The latter option seems to me highly unlikely. The former, however, actually does not require the presence of other “extra” ethnic groups, since, as many authors have already remarked, the Kur-Urmi and Sungari Nanai dialects present many features in common with the Ewenic (= Ewenki, Ewen, Negidal, Solon, Oroqen, Arman) and Udihe phonologies, on one hand, and with the Nanaic grammar, on the other (vid. i.a. Janhunen 1996: 61–62, 2005: 42, Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001: 24, or Doerfer 1975: 57, 60 §2, and his groups “A = Manchu, Ulcha, Nanai” and “B = Udihe, Ewenki, Kili”). For those like Janhunen or Doerfer, who prefer to talk about languages instead of dialects, Kili and Kilen are mixed languages, a very reasonable conclusion from a historical and comparative viewpoint. According to this hypothesis, the existence of “lexical anomalies”, e.g. [114], seems to make sense, since parallels for those cases above can easily be found in the Ewenic and Udihe languages. In some cases it must be admitted that the degree of intrusion is very surprising, e.g. [12] */dügiⁿ/ ‘four’ (vid. i.a. Janhunen 1993: 174, Doerfer 2004: 29[2592], *pace* Benzing 1956: 101 §114). In this context, it is important to underline the presence of the sound changes */ü/ > /i/ and */-g-/ > Ø, because they are diagnostic of the Southern vs. Northern Tungusic pedigree of a given item (for the relevancy of these sound changes, see Georg 2007).

8. Conclusion

In summary, taking into account the linguistic criteria presented in §4, we can conclude that the language in Venjukov's materials can be identified with the Sungari and Kur-Urmi Nanai dialects (or the Kilen and Kili languages, respectively). Many of the unclear and ambiguous instances detected in Venjukov's word-list seem to reflect typical Ewenic features, which in the context of Nanai dialectology means that they are closer to the Kur-Urmi varieties (= Kili).

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 = 1st, 2nd, 3rd person	PT = Proto-Tungusic
F = French version of Venjukov's word-list	R = Russian version of Venjukov's word-list
KUN = Kur-Urmi Nanai	SG = singular
LT = Literary Nanai (Najxin)	SN = Sungari Nanai
POSS = possessive	

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The abessive in the Permic languages

In the Permic languages, the forms of the abessive suffix are *-teg* in Komi and *-tek* in Udmurt. In this study the formal and functional characteristics of the abessive suffixes are treated both in the nominal categories (nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals and adverbs) and in verbs. The focus of this investigation is on the similarities and differences that can be detected, firstly, between the two closely related languages and, secondly, between the nominal and verbal categories. The study is mainly based on the Komi and Udmurt standard languages; the study material has been collected from two newspapers, *Komi mu* and *Udmurt duññe*.

I. Introduction

I.1. The object of the study

This study investigates the forms and functions of the abessive suffix in the Permic languages Komi and Udmurt. In modern standard Komi, the suffix is *-teg* and in Udmurt *-tek*. These suffixes are usually employed to express the absence of a referent (Komi *kerka-teg* ~ Udmurt *korka-tek* ‘without a house’) or an action (Komi *vetlj-teg* ~ Udmurt *vetlj-tek* ‘without going’) in a given situation. In the first instance, where the ending is attached to a word representing one of the nominal categories (nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals or adverbs), it is regarded as one of the case suffixes, that is, the abessive¹ case. In the latter instance, the suffix is attached to a verb stem and is considered the marker of negative converbs.² In this study, the term *abessive* will be used when referring to the suffix, regardless of the word-class of the stem.

Although it is generally acknowledged that the abessive endings used in the nominal and verbal paradigms are identical both diachronically and synchronically (see Chapter 2), they are usually treated separately in the grammars of Komi and Udmurt. Such treatments examine the functions of the abessive case in relation to the rest of the case paradigm, while the functions of the negative converbs are examined in the context of other converbs (see e.g. SKJa 1955: 143, 245–246 and ÖKK 2000: 79, 387–392 on Komi and GSUJa 1962: 100, 278–283 on Udmurt). The use of words belonging to the nominal categories on one hand and to the verbal categories on the other undeniably differ from each other in many respects, but the abessive forms of the Permic languages also have certain features in common regardless of the part of

1 In some sources, this case is called *caritive* (*Karitiv* in German, *karitiivi* in Finnish; see e.g. Bartens 2000: 84, 102–103; Csúcs 2005: 181–182). In this study, the term *caritive* will be reserved for the derivational ending in *-tem* (Komi) ~ *-tem* (Udmurt) that is used to form denominal adjectives as well as participial verb forms.

2 In this study, the term *converb* will be used instead of the more traditional term *gerund* when referring to the Permic non-finite verb forms that are mainly employed as adverbials (see Section 4.1).

speech of the word in question. One of the goals of this study is to clarify the similarities and the differences of the abessive forms of the nominal and verbal categories in these two sister languages. For example, it will be shown that the conditions of the use of the forms as adverbials, attributes and complements are the same for the nominal and verbal abessives. Differences, on the other hand, appear in for example the person marking in the nominal and verbal forms, especially in Udmurt.

As will be argued in Chapter 2, the abessive of both nominal and verbal forms can be regarded as a rather conservative category in that the forms and functions are similar in several Uralic languages to a large extent. However, there are certain features typical of the Permic languages that point to the fact that this category has not remained totally unchanged throughout history. Moreover, even in such closely related languages as Komi and Udmurt, there are several language-specific characteristics that have developed in the abessive since the break-up of the Permic proto-language approximately 1500 years ago. For example, in Udmurt the use of the abessive suffix is more extensive both formally and functionally than in Komi. Differences even occur within the dialects of Komi and Udmurt, but these dialectal differences will not be treated in detail in this study except for some brief remarks.

The study consists of three major parts. First, in Chapter 2, I will consider the assumptions of the origin of the abessive suffix and its further development in the Permic languages in light of the existing literature. Chapters 3 and 4, on the other hand, are devoted to the functions of the suffixes in both languages; the former deals with the characteristics of the abessive case in the nominal categories of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals and adverbs, while in the latter chapter, the verbal abessive (i.e. the negative converb) will be treated. The features of person marking will also be studied in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 from both a formal and functional viewpoint. The conclusions of the study will be presented in Chapter 5.

1.2. The study material

The study material was collected from two leading newspapers that appear in Komi and Udmurt. Both the Komi newspaper *Komi mu* and the Udmurt newspaper *Udmurt duńne* appear three times a week and include several types of texts ranging from news, interviews and columns to reviews, short stories and poems. Most of the articles are written by the newspapers' journalists, but in practically every issue there are also texts from other writers such as authors, poets and the general public.

Both *Komi mu* and *Udmurt duńne* are published both in a paper format and on the internet. The study corpus was assembled by using the electronic versions, which is why the references in the examples presented in this article refer to the internet. The issues of an entire yearly cycle were utilized in both languages; in the case of Komi, the material was collected from the issues of *Komi mu* that appeared between October 1, 2008 and September 30, 2009, while the Udmurt material covers the issues of *Udmurt duńne* between January 1 and December 31, 2007.

The distribution of the abessive case suffix in different word classes in the study material is given in Table 1. All in all, the Komi data consists of 1148 expressions that include a word form in the abessive case, while the size of the Udmurt data is 2078 expressions. The difference in the sizes of the data can be considered rather surprising, since the sizes of the corpora are by and large the same (approximately 700,000 words in both languages) and there is no other grammatical item or lexeme meaning ‘without’ in either of the languages. Therefore, the difference indicates that some other constructions may be used to express the lack of a referent or an action in Komi, whereas an abessive construction is preferred in similar contexts in Udmurt. No exhaustive explanation will be given for the difference in this study, although I will consider this theme when dealing with the functions of the case in Chapter 3 and 4.

	Komi	Udmurt
Nouns ³	371	691
Pronouns	42	163
Adjectives	1	2
Numerals	1	2
Adverbs	–	15
Verbs	733	1205
Total	1148	2078

Table 1. The distribution of the abessive suffix in the corpus.

As can be seen in Table 1, more than half of the data comes from verb forms in the abessive case in both languages, while nouns and pronouns form the second and third largest groups respectively. Occurrences of the abessive case in other parts of speech are relatively scarce. This distribution will be discussed in greater detail in the course of the study.

In addition to the newspaper material, earlier descriptions and grammars of the Permic languages will, of course, also be considered. As for the tripartite division of Komi into three main varieties – Komi (earlier Zyryan), Permyak and Yazva Komi – only the first of these will be dealt with in this study. The main focus will be on the standardized languages of Komi and Udmurt, but descriptions of the grammatical categories in dialects will also be taken into account when available. However, the dialects will be considered only as additional material – that is, no data was systematically gathered from dialectal sources. The study of the Permic abessive forms would certainly benefit from an examination of the modern spoken languages and their varieties as well as from older dialectal text collections, as these would most likely shed light on the changes of the grammatical category, and this will have to be taken into account in further study.

3 Including proper nouns and deverbal nouns.

2. The development of the abessive ending

2.1. The origin

Within the Uralic language family, the abessive case endings are both formally and functionally relatively uniform, especially in the Finnic, Saami, Mari and Permic languages. The Komi ending *-teg* and the Udmurt *-tek* are cognates with, for example, the Finnish *-tta/-ttä*, the Northern Saami *-haga* (< *-taga*)⁴ and Mari *-de* ~ *-te*⁵ that also serve as case endings (e.g. Itkonen 1992: 221; Csepregi 2000: 183–184, 187). Moreover, there is also a caritive derivational ending that is etymologically related to the abessive case suffix and that is likewise relatively well-preserved especially in the language groups mentioned above; for example, Komi *-tem*, Udmurt *-tem*, Finnish *-ton/-tön* (: *-ttoma/-ttömä-*) and Eastern Mari *-dâme* ~ *-tâme* are all cognates. The Erzya Mordvin *-vtomo* and Moksha Mordvin *-ftâma* (and their variants) are also related to the latter, but function both as case endings and as derivational suffixes (see e.g. Itkonen 1992: 221; Bartens 1999: 79–80).

It is assumed that both the case endings and the derivational suffixes are based on two parts, the first of which is common to both suffixes. This is an element that has been reconstructed as either **-ptV* (Korhonen 1981: 226–227) or **-ktV* (Janhunen 1982: 29, 31) and that can be traced back to the Uralic proto-language, as it has equivalents throughout the language family. However, it is not clear whether it was originally a case ending or a derivational suffix (Janhunen, id.). In the light of the Finnic, Saami, Mari, Mordvin and Permic languages, this suffix **-CtV* was supplemented by a nominal ending in **-mV* to produce an adnominal suffix or by a directional case ending in **-k⁶* to produce an adverbial suffix; the successors of the former are usually derivational caritive endings (e.g. K[omi] *-tem* and U[dmurt] *-tem*), while the successors of the latter are most often inflectional abessive case endings (e.g. K *-teg* and U *-tek*) (Nevis 1986: 5–6; Itkonen 1992: 223; Csepregi 2000: 182).

When it comes to the verbal abessive and caritive forms, the picture is not as uniform. Janhunen (1982: 37) states that the Proto-Uralic derivational caritive ending was used to form the negation of the verbal noun in **-mâ* / **-mä* (resulting in a form in **-mâktâmâ* / **-mäktämä* in his reconstruction). However, no mention is made of the possible functions of this form. As pointed out by, for example, Csepregi (2000: 186) the derivational caritive ending requires a nominalizing suffix in *-mA* when attached to verbs in the Finnic and Saami languages, but in Komi as well as in Mari the caritive ending is attached directly to the verb stem. In Udmurt, on the other hand, the derivational ending in *-tem* is attached to one of the affirmative participial endings *-is*

4 The Northern Saami abessive ending is nowadays used as a postposition (Nevis 1986, Norde 2009: 207–208) and even as a preposition (Jussi Ylikoski, p.c.; see also Norde 2009: 208).

5 The abessive is a productive case only in the North-Western and Western dialects of Mari (Alhoniemi 1985: 221).

6 A. Kövesi (1965: 379) reconstructed this suffix either as **k* or **ŋ* and regarded it as an original derivational suffix.

or *-on*; in the past participle, a separate ending in *-mte* is used that probably consists of a nominalizing suffix in *-m* and an irregular caritive element in *-te* (Bartens 2000: 246–247).

The actual abessive ending can be attached to a verb stem in Saami, Mari and the Permic languages (e.g. K *vetli-teg* ~ U *vetli-tek* ‘without going’; K, U *vetli-* ‘go’), while in the Finnic languages, the verb must first be nominalized (e.g. Estonian *hari-ma-ta* ‘without farming / unfarmed’). Ylikoski (2009: 196 [footnote 78]) speculates that the former pattern might even represent the original way of forming negative converbs in the Uralic languages. Whatever the original form of the negative converb, it should be noted that at least within the Permic languages, it is not usual to form converbs by simply adding a case suffix into a verb stem; in addition to the negative converb, only the suffixes of the temporal converb K *-ig* ~ U *-ku* / *-ki* have hesitantly been reconstructed as representatives of an original case suffix in **-k* that was attached to a verb stem (Bartens 2000: 251). However, the temporal converb has other reconstructions as well (see Bartens 2000: 250–251 and Csúcs 2005: 284 for details).

2.2. The abessive in the Permic languages

The form of the abessive case suffix in the present-day Permic languages is exceptional in that both the Komi ending *-teg* and Udmurt *-tek* have a suffix-final stop which, according to the cognates of related languages, seems to represent the original directional case ending in **-k*. As pointed out by, for example, Uotila (1933: 132), Bartens (2000: 84) and most recently Csúcs (2005: 182), stops in final positions have usually been lost in the Permic languages. Such a loss has happened for instance in the illative case suffix: it now consists of a single vowel in both languages (K *-e*, U *-e*), but was probably originally formed by the same **-k* that has been reconstructed as a part of the abessive case suffix. The single vowels of the present-day illative most likely represent the original stem-final sounds of nouns that were left to carry the function of the case, when the original **-k* was lost in Proto-Permic (Bartens, id.). Another exceptional feature mentioned by Bartens (2000: 38) is the fact that the suffix-final stop has become voiced in Permyak (*-teg*) and in Yazva Komi (*-təg*), although in these two Komi variants word-final stops have usually remained voiceless.

Several explanations for the survival of the suffix-final consonant have been offered. According to Uotila (1933: 132), the stop may have been preserved because it might not have occurred in absolute word-final position (see also Baker 1985: 137). In modern Komi, the possessive ending, if present, often follows the case marker and in Uotila’s opinion this could have been the original order of the two suffixes. The presence of the possessive suffix would have protected the last consonant of the abessive case suffix from erosion. (In modern Udmurt, on the other hand, the abessive ending is preceded by the possessive suffix; see Section 3.1.3.2 for the discussion of the suffix order in the two languages.)

Another explanation for the preservation of the suffix-final consonant is given by Cypanov (1997: 161–162), who considers the Komi forms of the abessive *-teg* and the caritive *-tem*. According to him, the similarity of these two suffixes could have led to the final consonants in both being retained; the loss of both *-g* and *-m* would have caused the two suffixes, which are functionally close, to merge. As stated in Hamari (2001: 135), this explanation might not suffice on its own, since in some related languages (especially in Mordvin) the abessive and the caritive have in fact merged both formally and functionally. Moreover, in the Udora dialect of Komi the endings of the abessive and the caritive can be used in free variation in exactly the same contexts, although the dialect still has two formally different suffixes (Sorvačeva & Beznosikova 1990: 33, 47; see also Section 3.1.2 below). However, the abessive and the caritive are not the only suffixes that were based on the consonant *t* and a subsequent vowel in Proto-Permic and, according to Csúcs (2005: 182), this suffixal similarity could have played a role in the preservation of the suffix-final consonant in the abessive case. Csúcs claims that there were only three vowels (**i*, **e*, **a*) that could appear in a suffix in early Proto-Permic and, as these three vowels were in free variation with each other, the last consonant of the abessive case was preserved to prevent confusion with other suffixes with an element in **tV*.

Finally, Bartens (2000: 84) has tentatively suggested that the abessive ending of the Permic languages might originally have been longer than today, which would mean that the present-day final consonants were not final in Proto-Permic. According to Bartens, the Permic abessive could in this case be paralleled with that of the Saami languages: in Korhonen's (1981: 226–227) reconstruction of the Proto-Saami abessive suffix (**-ptā-g-e-k* or **-ptā-g-e-n*) the lative **-g* (< **-k*) is followed by another directional case suffix, either **-k* or **-n*. Considering the sound changes of the Permic languages, a similar reconstruction of the Permic abessive would make the present-day forms totally regular. This suggestion is, however, difficult to verify in the light of the modern languages.

3. The abessive of the nominal categories

The Permic languages have a relatively rich case system: the number of cases ranges from 12 in certain southern dialects of Udmurt (Kel'makov & Saarinen 1994: 98) to over 20 in Permyak (e.g. Baker 1985: 66). If we exclude the most recent language-specific changes, where new cases have developed from earlier postpositions, the case inventory of the Permic languages shows obvious affinity. However, comparisons to the case systems of other Uralic languages indicate that this affinity does not go back beyond Proto-Permic, and therefore extensive changes must have taken place during the Proto-Permic period (see e.g. Tepljašina & Lytkin 1976: 145; Lytkin 1977: 20; Baker 1985: 137–153; Bartens 2000: 77–90). As summarized by Baker (1985: 137–153), these changes include, for example, phonological processes such as the deletion of word-final consonants that led to the loss of earlier suffixes consisting of a single

consonant, secretion when certain stem-final vowels were reanalysed as case endings, semantic shifts through which some old case suffixes gained new meanings and functions, adaptation of formerly nonfleclional elements into the system as case endings and compounding of older case suffixes into new endings. The changes led to a wide-ranging reorganization of the earlier case system and this development has, to some extent, continued independently in different parts of the Permic branch (Baker, id.).

If we look from the opposite perspective – what has changed the least of all in reconstructed case suffixes – we encounter the abessive. As mentioned above, the abessive endings have clear etymological equivalents in Finnic, Saami and Mari and probable cognates in the Ugric and the Samoyed branches and, consequently, the suffix most likely goes back to the Uralic proto-language. Furthermore, the functions of the abessive cases are very similar in Finnic, Saami, Mari and Permic, pointing to a relative stability of the case category (Csepregi 2000). Finally, the abessive case suffix has been maintained in all Permic languages and their dialects – a fact that further emphasizes the constancy of this case. In this chapter, this constancy will be evaluated in the light of the modern Komi and Udmurt standard languages.

Within the nominal categories, the abessive case suffix is most typically attached to nouns in the Permic languages, but attachment to pronouns, adjectives and numerals is likewise possible. Furthermore, in Udmurt some adverbs can carry the abessive suffix. I will treat the nominal categories in this order.

3.1. Nouns

3.1.1. The semantics of the abessive case forms

One of the prototypical uses of the abessive case are expressions in which the abessive is employed to denote the absence of an instrument or a companion in a certain situation or action (see e.g. SKJa 1955: 143 and ÖKK 2000: 79). In the affirmative, instrumentality is usually expressed by using the instrumental case in both Permic languages, but in the expressions of companion, the affirmative counterparts differ in the two languages so that, while the instrumental case is used in Udmurt, there is a separate comitative case in Komi for this function. The abessive can be used in both languages as the negative counterpart for these expressions:

(1) Komi (SKJa 1955: 143)

a. instrument:

the instrumental case	><	the abessive case
<i>ger-am</i> <i>traktor-en</i>		<i>ger-am</i> <i>traktor-teg</i>
plough-PRS.1PL tractor-INS		plough-PRS.1PL tractor-ABE
‘we plough / are ploughing with a tractor’		‘we plough / are ploughing without a tractor’

b. companion:

the comitative case

><

the abessive case

užal-a *Vanja-keđ**užal-a* *Vanja-teg*

work-PRS.1SG Vanja-COM

work-PRS.1SG Vanja-ABE

‘I work / am working with Vanja’

‘I work / am working without Vanja’

(2) Udmurt (Kondrat’eva & Fedorova 2004: 56–57)

a. instrument:

the instrumental case

><

the abessive case

ručka-en *gožjaškj-nj**ručka-tek* *gožjaškj-nj*

pencil-INS write-INF

pencil-ABE write-INF

‘to write with a pen’

‘to write without a pen’

b. companion:

the instrumental case

><

the abessive case

njl-en ~ *njl-in**njl-tek*

girl-INS girl-INS

girl-ABE

‘with a girl / a daughter’

‘without a girl / a daughter’

However, instruments and companions are by far not the only functions for either the instrumental/comitative cases or the abessive case in the Permic languages (for the different functions see e.g. ÖKK 2000: 74–79 on Komi and GSUJa 1962: 100–105 on Udmurt). This is not unique to the Permic languages only. Stolz, Stroh and Urdze (2006) have studied comitativity and instrumentality from a typological viewpoint and present a categorization of 14 different core functions of the expressions of ‘with’ across languages. They claim that these functions can be used as a basis to study the manifestation of comitativity and instrumentality as well as their negation across languages (although the list of functions is not exhaustive). In German for example, all of these functions are expressed by using the preposition *mit* ‘with’, but not all languages are this straightforward. As can be seen in the comparison of the German examples given in Example (3) and their English translations, these two languages differ from each other in their expressions of the functions in question:

(3) German (Stolz & Stroh & Urdze 2006: 41–42)

a. Co-operative

Agnes trinkt mit Werner Kaffee.‘Agnes is drinking coffee **together with** Werner.’

b. Reciprocal

Agnes unterhält sich mit Werner.‘Agnes is chatting **with** Werner.’

c. Active comitative / human companion

Agnes geht mit ihrer Tochter spazieren.‘Agnes is going for a walk **with** her daughter.’

- d. Passive comitative / animate companion
*Agnes geht **mit** ihrem Hund spazieren.*
 ‘Agnes is walking her dog.’
- e. Confective / inanimate companion
*Agnes geht **mit** dem Regenschirm nach draußen.*
 ‘Agnes goes out **with** her umbrella.’
- f. Ornative / temporary property
*Agnes kommt **mit** roten Augen vom Friedhof zurück.*
 ‘Agnes returns from the cemetery, red-eyed.’
- g. Combination
*Agnes trinkt immer Kaffee **mit** Milch.*
 ‘Agnes always drinks coffee **with** milk.’
- h. Part-whole / permanent property
*Die Agnes **mit** den braunen Augen wohnt woanders.*
 ‘The brown-eyed Agnes is living somewhere else.’
- i. Possession
*Die Agnes **mit** dem Porsche hat keinen Führerschein.*
 ‘The Agnes **with** the Porsche has no driving licence.’
- j. Human instrument
*Agnes terrorisiert **mit** ihren Kindern die Nachbarschaft.*
 ‘Agnes terrorises the neighbourhood **with** her children.’
- k. Body part instrument
*Agnes schreibt den Brief **mit** der linken Hand.*
 ‘Agnes is writing the letter **with** her left hand.’
- l. Means of transportation
*Agnes kommt **mit** dem Bus vom Friedhof zurück.*
 ‘Agnes returns from the cemetery **by** bus.’
- m. Material
*Agnes baut ein Haus **mit** Legosteinen.*
 ‘Agnes is building a house **using** Lego bricks.’
- n. Tool
*Agnes schlägt das Fenster **mit** dem Hammer ein.*
 ‘Agnes smashes the window **with** the hammer.’

When it comes to the negative counterparts of comitative and instrumental expressions, Stolz, Stroh and Urdze (2006: 167–170) claim that, cross-linguistically, the inventory of grammatical markers is usually smaller than in the affirmative expressions. This trait is not surprising in the light of what is known about negation in general; as argued by Miestamo (1998: 189, 198; 2005: 7–8), negation is a marked category as opposed to affirmation and, as a consequence, it is not unusual in languages that some grammatical categories that are marked in affirmation either lose that marking or the distinctions between categories are neutralized under negation. Within the comitative/instrumental expressions of the Permic languages, this is most clearly visible in Komi in which the abessive case can be regarded as a negative counterpart of two affirmative cases.

As for the typological classification by Stolz, Stroh and Urdze (2006) presented in Example (3) above, a detailed study would be required to determine what exactly the possible means are to express the core functions of comitativity and instrumentality in the Permic languages, but it can be said that many of them would involve the use of the instrumental or, in Komi, the comitative case. In the negative counterparts, the abessive forms would be used instead. For example, the following pairs of instrumental and abessive cases illustrate the expressions of combination (Example 4) and confective/inanimate companion (Example 5) in Komi:

(4) Komi (Cypanov 2007: 199)

- a. *Šid šoj-eŋi sol-eŋ.*
 soup eat-PRS.3PL salt-INS
 ‘Soup is eaten with salt.’
- b. *Šid o-z šoj-ni sov-teg.*
 soup NEG.PRS-3 eat-CNG.3PL salt-ABE
 ‘Soup is not eaten without salt.’

(5) Komi (Cypanov 2007: 199)

- a. *Enje geŋti mun-e žoriž-jas-eŋ.*
 Enje visit go-PRS.3SG flower-PL-INS
 ‘Enje goes for a visit with flowers.’
- b. *Enje geŋti mun-e žoriž-jas-teg.*
 Enje visit go-PRS.3SG flower-PL-ABE
 ‘Enje goes for a visit without flowers.’

Other expressions, however, would be formed by using other grammatical means. For example, adjectivization would most likely be used to form expressions such as part-whole/permanent property:

(6) Komi (ÖKK 2000: 110)

Sešša śikt-in ŋe-kod nin e-z aʒʒiv
 then village-INE NEG-who any.more NEG.1PST-3 see.CNG.SG
paškır tošk-a starik-es.
 curly beard-ADJ old.man-ACC

‘Then no one in the village saw the old man with the curly beard any more.’

(7) Udmurt (Kel’makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 116)

tuš-o piosmurt
 beard-ADJ man
 ‘a man with a beard’

The negation of the part-whole/permanent property would require a negative derivational suffix, the caritive ending of adjectives in the Permic languages (K *toš-tem* ~ U *tuš-tem* ‘beardless’).

In the study material, there were only a few examples of the abessive case that could be described in terms of prototypical instrumentality or companion. The following examples illustrate these – although it could be argued that the referents mentioned in Example (8) (‘microphone’ and ‘glasses’) are not typical instruments but, rather, devices of aid or the like:

(8) Instrument:

a. Komi <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=351543>>

Važ strejba-as zev bur vėl-i, vešig
 old building-INE.POSS.3SG very good be-1PST.3SG even
mikrofon-teg šorhit-i-m.
 microphone-ABE talk-1PST-1PL

‘It was very good in the old building, we even talked without a microphone.’

b. Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art29.html>>

Očki-tek lįdžiškį-nį bįgat-iško na.
 glasses-ABE read-INF be.able-PRS.1SG still
 ‘I can still read without glasses.’

(9) Companion:

a. Komi <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=301762>>

[--] *kodi mam-teg-is voškov o-z vermį već-nį, [--]*
 who mother-ABE-POSS.3SG step NEG.PRS-3 be.able.CNG.SG make-INF
 ‘[--] who cannot take a step without his/her mother, [--]’

b. Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art961.html>>

Mon nıl-i-tek no-kıtćį ej mįnį-sal.
 1SG daughter-POSS.1SG-ABE NEG-where.ILL NEG.COND go-COND
 ‘I wouldn’t go anywhere without my daughter.’

In the study corpus, most occurrences of the abessive cannot be defined through the classification of Stolz, Stroh and Urdze (2006). The following sentences are examples of instances that do not fit into any of the categories they present:

(10) Komi

- a. <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=286376>>
No sport-teg-id mort-id edje labm-e.
 but sport-ABE-DET person-DET quickly get.weak-PRS.3SG
 ‘But without (doing) sports a person quickly becomes weak.’
- b. <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=262588>>
Bat-mam-teg bjd-m-ig-ad Maše e-z
 father-mother-ABE grow.up-CONV-2SG Maše NEG.1PST-3
tedli šań olem-se.
 know.CNG.SG gentle life-ACC
 ‘Growing up without parents Maše didn’t experience an easy life.’

(11) Udmurt

- a. <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art132.html>>
Sport-tek ul-em-e u-g lui
 sport-ABE live-NMLZ-POSS.1SG NEG.PRS-3 be.CNG.3SG
ni, šu-e so.
 any.more say-PRS.3SG 3SG
 ‘I cannot live life without sports any more, he says.’
- b. <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art755.html>>
Odig gažet bam no pot-em-ın
 one newspaper page even come.out-PTC.PST-PRED
evel Vladimir Belomorskix-len tuspuktem-jos-iz-tek.
 NEG Vladimir Belomorskix-GEN photograph-PL-POSS.3SG-ABE
 ‘Not a single page of the newspaper has been published without pictures by Vladimir Belomorskix.’

In examples (10a) and (11a), an inanimate (and in fact, abstract) referent is involved, but it does not represent a companion or a property but, rather, an activity. In Example (10b), the noun in the abessive case refers to a human referent, but there is no cooperative, reciprocal or active feature involved in its role, nor does it represent a case of a human instrument, but rather possession or the like. In Example (11b), on the other hand, the abessive form refers to the absence of an inanimate referent, but since the subject of the clause (*gažet bam* ‘newspaper page’) is also inanimate, the function of the noun in the abessive cannot be defined according to the list provided by Stolz, Stroh & Urdze either.

As can be concluded from the Permic examples in this section (as well as from the following sections of this chapter) the functional domain of the abessive case is vast. Consequently, it is understandable that the domain is usually simply described as that of expressing the absence of a referent in a given situation or action, without an exhaustive categorization of the functions (see e.g. ÖKK 2000: 79 for Komi and GSUJa 1962: 100 for Udmurt).

3.1.2. The syntactic characteristics of the abessive case forms

Syntactically, the abessive forms of the Permic languages most often function as adverbials in the sentences; all examples given so far are instances of abessive forms as adverbials. However, there are examples of the abessive case in attributive position as well in both languages although, according to ÖKK (2000: 79), these are not frequent in Komi. The following examples illustrate these expressions as found in the study corpus:

- (12) Komi <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=331746>>

Taje festival'-jas-se jez-is jon-a
 this festival-PL-ACC people-DET strong-ADV
viččjś-əni, əd fonogramma-teg šil-əm-te
 wait-PRS.3PL as phonogram-ABE sing-NMLZ-ACC
talun gežeda nin kɣvl-an.
 today rarely any.more hear-PRS.2SG
 'People really look forward to these festivals, as today you rarely hear live music any more.'

- (13) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art482.html>>

Soku duńne vɣl-in lu-o-z odig
 then world on-INE be-FUT-3SG one
kun, odig kultura, odig kɣl odig
 country one culture one language one
kivaltiś, Inmar-tek ul-on.
 leader God-ABE live-NMLZ
 'Then, there will be one country, one culture, one language,
 one leader, life without God on earth.'

When treating the negative gerunds of the Permic languages, Bartens (2000: 257) points out that these can be used as attributes at least in Udmurt (but see Chapter 4 for Komi examples as well). She further notes that in her example of the Udmurt attributive verb form, the head of the construction is a deverbal noun. In the case of abessive noun forms, this seems to be the tendency as well, as in most cases of this type found in the study material, the head is, in fact, a deverbal noun as in examples (12) and (13) above. Also, when dealing with the attributive abessive case forms in Komi, ÖKK only provides this kind of examples:

(14) Komi (ÖKK 2000: 79)

- a. *bat-mam-teg ol-əm*
 father-mother-ABE live-NMLZ
 ‘life without parents’
- b. *nan-teg soj-əm*
 bread-ABE eat-NMLZ
 ‘meal without bread’

We could therefore argue that the use of the abessive forms in such contexts is in fact a feature characteristic of the deverbal noun, rather than that of the noun in the abessive form. After all, deverbal nouns are originally verb forms that may have maintained some of the features of verbs – in this case the ability to take an originally adverbial modifier in the abessive case. This ability is connected to a grammatical process that Haspelmath (1996) calls transpositional or word-class-changing inflection. I will come back to this type of inflection in Section 4.2.2, when dealing with negative converbs in the Permic languages.

It should be noted, however, that according to GSUJa (1962: 100), the Udmurt abessive also appears in attributive positions with lexical nouns:

(15) Udmurt (GSUJa 1962: 100)

- žek vjl-in vu-tek grafin sıl-e.*
 table on-INE water-ABE carafe stand-PRS.3SG
 ‘A carafe without water stands on the table.’

In these instances, the abessive forms must be regarded as true attributes. However, no data for this type of construction was found in the Udmurt corpus of the present study, which means that they are not very frequent in the standard language at least. Example (16), on the other hand, is a rare occurrence of this type in Komi. Here the abessive case form appears to modify a lexical noun. However, this expression is most likely a literal translation of the Russian expression *beskonečno žal* ‘(it is) an endless pity’ (*bes-koneč-no* ‘without-end-ADV’, *žal* ‘pity’) that is used as a predicate.⁷

(16) Komi <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=251853>>

- Pom-teg žal, mij ni veledjš-is, ni*
 end-ABE pity that NEG teacher-DET NEG
veledjš-is mijan pevst-in abu-eš nin.
 student-DET 1PL.GEN among-INE NEG-PL any.more
 ‘It is an endless pity that there is neither the teacher nor the student among us any more.’

7 I would like to thank my anonymous referee as well as Jussi Ylikoski for this observation.

Although the attributive use of the abessive case is not a frequent feature of the standard languages, it is more common in the Udora dialect of Komi. According to Sorvačeva & Beznosikova (1990: 47), nouns in the abessive case can be used interchangeably with adjectives derived from nouns by adding the caritive ending *-tem*. Consequently, the phrases in examples (17a) and (17b) carry exactly the same meaning. Sorvačeva and Beznosikova do not make any reference to the characteristics of the head of the constructions, but as seen in the examples they give, the head can be a lexical noun.

(17) Komi: Udora dialect (Sorvačeva & Beznosikova 1990: 47)

- a. *jur-tem* *uļes*
 backrest-ADJ.CAR chair
 ‘a chair without a backrest’
- b. *jur-teg* *uļes*
 backrest-ABE chair
 ‘a chair without a backrest’

Finally, it should be noted that within the Uralic language family, the use of abessives as attributes is not limited to the Permic languages. For example in Estonian, both nouns carrying the abessive suffix in *-ta* (Example 18a) and the verbal abessives in *-mata* (Example 18b) can be employed in an attributive position:

(18) Estonian (Itkonen 1992: 226)

- a. *kõrva-ta* *kohvi-tass*
 handle-ABE coffee-cup
 ‘a coffee cup without a handle’
- b. *hari-ma-ta* *põld*
 farm-NMLZ-ABE field
 ‘an unfarmed field’

According to Itkonen (1992: 226), the Estonian nominal abessive *-ta* and verbal abessive *-mata* are evolving into derivational endings that are used partly interchangeably with the original derivational caritive suffixes *-tu* and *-matu*; a similar phenomenon has been detected in North Saami and it has been reconstructed in Hungarian as well.

In addition to the uses of the abessive case as adverbials and attributes, this case also appears as an obligatory constituent in constructions that are formed with verbs meaning ‘stay, be left’ and ‘leave’ in both languages:

(19) Komi

- a. <
- <http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=316128>
- >

Čelad' kol'-i-snj bat-mam-teg.

children be.left-1PST-3PL father-mother-ABE

'The children were left without parents.'

- b. <
- <http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=346180>
- >

No Aleksandra Alekseeva už-teg e-z kol'.

but Aleksandra Alekseeva work-ABE NEG.1PST-3 stay.CNG.SG

'But Aleksandra Alekseeva was not left without work.'

(20) Udmurt

- a. <
- <http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art1224.html>
- >

Šižim ares dırja-z ataj-tek kıl'-i-z.

seven years.old during-POSS.3SG father-ABE stay-1PST-3SG

'She was left without a father, when she was seven years old.'

- b. <
- <http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art923.html>
- >

Voštišk-on-jos-in seren no-kin no už-tek

change-NMLZ-PL-INS because.of NEG-who NEG work-ABE

u-z kıl', šu-i-z R. Kasimov.

NEG.FUT-3 stay.CNG.FUT.SG say-1PST-3SG R. Kasimov

'No one is going to be left without work because of the changes, said R. Kasimov.'

As will be seen in Chapter 4, the negative converbs are also found in these types of constructions, especially in Udmurt. The use of the nominal and verbal abessives as complements of verbs meaning 'stay, be left' or 'leave' is typical of some other Uralic languages as well (see e.g. Huumo 2005: 506 on Finnish and Alhoniemi 1985: 146 on Mari). According to Korhonen (1981: 226), this may even have been the original environment in which the abessive forms were used in the proto-language. Korhonen justifies this idea by referring to the original form of the abessive as a directional case form (i.e. a lative case in Korhonen's work) of a caritive derivation and claims that as the verbs in question usually require the adverbial noun in a case with a directional (or lative) meaning in the modern languages, this may have been their original feature.

However, when considering the uses of the Permic abessive verbs forms, Bartens (2000: 257–258) shows that there are also other verbs that can take a verbal abessive as a complement; these are verbs meaning 'be, live' and (in Komi) 'be able to' (see Section 4.2.3). As can be seen in the examples below, these constructions are also possible with nominal abessives. This means that the use of the Permic abessive forms is not restricted to contexts in which the verb requires a directional complement.

- (21) Komi <
- <http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=246448>
- >

Už-teg e-z ov-l-i i Jakov
 work-ABE NEG.1PST-3 be-FREQ-CNG.SG too Jakov
Mitrofanovič Ročev, a šur-i-s taj silj
 Mitrofanovič Ročev but occur-1PST-3SG after.all 3SG.DAT
kad giž-nj “Kijk drug”, “Ižva giž-e”
 time write-INF two friend Ižva be.restless-PRS.3SG
da “Mu vež-an-djr” trilogija-se.
 and land change-NMLZ-time trilogy-ACC.POSS.3SG

‘Jakov Mitrofanovič Ročev wasn’t without work either, as after all he got time to write his trilogy of “Two friends”, “Ižva is restless” and “The end of the world”.

- (22) Komi <
- <http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=356797>
- >

A taje už-teg-is enij-a kad-e ěe-kjži
 but this work-ABE-DET now-ADJ time-ILL NEG-how
o-z pož.
 NEG.PRS-3 be.able.CNG.SG

‘But nowadays it is impossible to do without this kind of work.’

- (23) Udmurt <
- <http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art126.html>
- >

Respublika-ıştımj odig-ez meji-ez no bažım-ez
 republic-ELA.POSS.1PL one-DET old-DET and big-DET
vjli dišet-on učreždenije – Udmurt kun univěrsitet –
 high study-NMLZ institution Udmurt state university
tolež mındaze ul-i-z rektor-tek.
 month about be-1PST-3SG rector-ABE

‘One of the oldest and biggest institutions of higher education of our republic – Udmurt State University – was without a rector for about a month.’

3.1.3. The abessive case and other grammatical markers

The abessive case forms can be accompanied by certain other grammatical markers in both Komi and Udmurt. These markers are the plural marker, possessive suffixes and the comparative marker. In comparison with other case suffixes, there is nothing particular about the plural marking of nouns in the abessive case: the plural ending precedes the abessive case suffix (e.g. K *kerka-jas-teg* ~ U *korka-os-tek* ‘without houses’), as it does in other cases as well. The person marking (i.e. the possessive suffixes) and the use of the comparative, however, deserve a somewhat more profound treatment, as there are certain features in their development and modern functions that are of interest for the present study.

3.1.3.1. Person marking

In the possessive declension of nouns, the case suffixes are accompanied by possessive suffixes. In the Permian languages, the order of the suffixes is not consistent throughout the case paradigms, but different cases show different patterns. In the abessive, the morpheme order is different in the two languages. In Udmurt, the abessive case suffix (Cx) always follows the possessive suffix (Px):

1SG <i>gurt-e-tek</i>	1PL <i>gurt-mj-tek</i>
2SG <i>gurt-ed-tek</i>	2PL <i>gurt-tj-tek</i>
3SG <i>gurt-ez-tek</i>	3PL <i>gurt-sj-tek</i>

Table 2. The possessive declension of U *gurt* ‘village’ in the abessive case (Bartens 2000: 110).

The plural suffix appears next to the word stem also in the possessive declension (e.g. *gurt-jos-mj-tek* ‘without our villages’).

In Komi, the morpheme order of the abessive case and the possessive suffix shows more variation. What is nowadays most commonly given as the possessive paradigm of the abessive in the standard language is that where the morpheme order is CxPx in all persons except the 1st person singular, which has the order PxCx (e.g. ÖKK 2000: 61; Bartens 2000: 111):

1SG <i>gort-ej-teg</i>	1PL <i>gort-teg-njm</i>
2SG <i>gort-teg-id</i>	2PL <i>gort-teg-njd</i>
3SG <i>gort-teg-is</i>	3PL <i>gort-teg-njs</i>

Table 3. The possessive declension of K *gort* ‘home’ in the abessive case (Bartens 2000: 111).

However, the picture that arises from earlier descriptions of Komi and especially grammars that deal with dialects is much more varied. According to, for example, Rédei (1978: 78–79), the morpheme order is PxCx in the singular persons (1sg *-ej-teg*, 2sg *-id-teg*, 3sg *-is-teg*) but CxPx in the plural (1pl *-teg-njm*, 2pl *-teg-njd*, 3pl *-teg-njs*). Bubrix (1949: 34), on the other hand, gives an exceptional presentation of the paradigm in that the possessive suffix of the 1st person singular is different from the forms given in other sources (*-jm* instead of *-ej*) and it follows the case suffix. Within the Komi dialects, this variant of the possessive suffix is only found in the Letka dialect (Žilina 1985: 40–41). The morpheme order in Bubrix’s presentation is consistently CxPx:

1SG <i>mort-teg-jm</i>	1PL <i>mort-teg-njm</i>
2SG <i>mort-teg-id</i>	2PL <i>mort-teg-njd</i>
3SG <i>mort-teg-is</i>	3PL <i>mort-teg-njs</i>

Table 4. The possessive declension of K *mort* ‘a person’ in the abessive case (Bubrix 1949: 34).

In the Komi dialects, there is extensive areal variation with regard to the morpheme order and, even within one dialect, the order can vary especially in the plural persons (see e.g. Sorvačeva & Saxarova & Guljaev 1966: 78 for the Upper Vyčegda dialect and Saxarova & Sel'kov 1976: 50–52 for the Ižma dialect). The diversity of these different paradigm patterns in Komi suggests that the morpheme order in the abessive case has been in a state of change for quite a while. The only feature common to all these morpheme order variants in Komi is that the plural suffix always appears next to the stem (e.g. *kerka-jas-ej-teg* ‘without my houses’, *kerka-jas-teg-nim* ‘without our houses’).

The morpheme order of the possessive declension and its development in the Permic languages has been dealt with by several scholars, most recently by Bartens (2000: 109–123) and Csúcs (2005: 201–206). What is striking in the possessive declension is that the morpheme order is different in different cases in both languages. As suggested by Bartens (1993: 29–30) and Honti (1995: 76–77), in Proto-Uralic the order of the case suffix and the possessive suffix most likely depended on the grammatical function of the case; in the grammatical cases (i.e. the accusative and genitive), the order was PxCx, while in the non-grammatical cases it was CxPx. In the Permic languages as well as in Mari, this duality was more or less preserved, although further developments in the case systems have produced some variation in both branches.⁸ In modern Komi and Udmurt, the morpheme order is usually CxPx in local cases,⁹ while in the rest of the case system it is PxCx (Bartens 2000: 117). However, in certain local cases, the order does not follow the general pattern: the exceptional cases are the terminative, the approximative and the egressive – all of which developed during the Proto-Permic period – and the instrumental case that developed from an earlier local case in Proto-Permic (see Bartens 1993: 29–30; Honti 1995: 70–78; Bartens 2000: 84, 87–89 and Csúcs 2005: 183–184 for details).

The abessive, however, is exceptional in the case paradigm system in that only in this case, the whole personal paradigm is different in the two sister languages. In Udmurt, the order is PxCx, whereas in Komi, CxPx prevails (although with extensive variation). This may be considered unusual since the two languages are generally in line with each other. The reason for this duality may be found in the two different kinds of bases of the morpheme order that were typical of the Uralic proto-language on one hand and of the Permic proto-language on the other. Since the abessive is not a grammatical case, the Komi order CxPx would be expected when following the Proto-Uralic principle. On the other hand, since the abessive is not a local case either, one would expect to encounter the Udmurt order PxCx on the grounds of the Proto-Permic

⁸ See Luutonen (1997) for a detailed study of the Mari variation.

⁹ In the inessive-illative, the case is represented by a peculiar *a* and the elative case ending is also irregular (Bartens 2000: 85, 115; see also discussion on the vowel *a* in Section 4.3.1).

principles. The variation attested in the Komi dialects can be seen as a reflection of these two concurring tendencies that were present during the Proto-Permic period.¹⁰

In the study material, possessive suffixes were used more often in Komi than in Udmurt, but the distribution of the suffixes between different persons was more extensive in Udmurt. Table 5 presents the occurrences of the suffixes in the material:

	Komi	Udmurt
1SG	–	6
2SG	36	2
3SG	29	13
1PL	–	1
2PL	–	1
3PL	1	3
Total	66	26

Table 5. The distribution of the possessive suffixes in the study material.

However, this distribution illustrates the use of possessive suffixes in general more than their relationship with the abessive case; the possessive suffixes are often employed to refer to the possessor of the referent in question as in Examples (9a), (9b) and (11b) seen above, but especially the 2nd and 3rd person singular possessive endings are usually used in a pragmatic function in both languages. They mark topicalization, emphasis, or focus or they mark the referent as determined (Bartens 2000: 122). This function can be seen in many of the abessive case forms as well, especially in Komi. For example, the Komi examples (10a) and (22) can be seen as instances of nouns in the abessive form marked as topical or focus with the possessive ending (marked “DET” in the glossings).

Finally, one more observation should be made regarding the Komi abessive suffix. In some dialects, the suffix has extended forms such as *-tegja*, *-tegji* and *-tegi* especially before a possessive suffix. The coaffix in *-ja* / *-ji* / *-i* is dialectally also found in the prosecutive, terminative and comitative case forms, usually preceding the possessive suffix (see Baker 1985: 232–237 and the references therein; see also

10 However, one person-specific feature can be detected in the morpheme order of both Komi and Udmurt. In the 1st person singular, two variants are used: in most of the case forms, this person is represented by Udmurt *-e* and Komi *-ej* (or their dialectal variants), whereas a suffix containing an *m* is found especially in local cases but also in the accusative in both languages. The former always precedes the case suffix in both languages, while the latter appears in suffix-final position (except in the accusative that has a subsequent vowel). Considering that Udmurt *-e* and Komi *-e-* (in *-ej*) most likely go back to a former stem vowel of nouns (Csúcs 2005: 199) and that the *-j* in the Komi suffix was probably originally a derivational diminutive suffix used in a vocative function (Bartens 2000: 113), it is to be expected that these would appear before case endings. The original 1st person element in *-m*, on the other hand, that has been preserved in the local cases seems to have been prone to appear in a position following the case suffix, and this tendency can also be seen in the abessive forms of the Letka dialect of Komi and in the abessive paradigm given by Bubrix seen above.

Section 4.3.3 for the extended abessive forms of verbs). According to Baker (id.), in the modern dialects, “the presence of *-ja* / *-ji* / *-i* is entirely superfluous to the functions of the case forms in every dialect where the compounds are found.” This suffix is etymologically related to the Udmurt adverbial case suffix in *-ja* and can still be found in certain Komi adverbs and postpositions, but it is not a productive case in Komi (Baker 1985: 154–155). Given that within the case system the coaffix is characteristically a component of the possessive declension, it bears a certain functional resemblance to the vowel *a* that is found in the personal forms of the Udmurt negative converb. I will come back to these forms in Section 4.3.1, when discussing the verbal abessive of the Permic languages.

3.1.3.2. The comparative forms of the abessive case

One peculiar feature of the Permic languages is the use of the comparative endings in words belonging to categories other than adjectives. Particularly often they can be attached to adverbs and verbs (see e.g. ÖKK 2000: 95–96, 198, 310–316 on Komi and Tepljašina 1964: 139 on Udmurt). Such extensive use is most likely connected to the presumed development of the comparative suffixes from clitics or derivational endings with meanings such as ‘more’ or ‘quite’ (see Bartens 2000: 133–138 and the references therein). In Udmurt, the comparative suffix is either *-ges* or *-gem*, while in Komi it is *-žik*.

The comparative suffix can also be attached to abessive forms in both Permic languages, although this was not common in the study corpus. Example (24) is the only occasion in which the comparative was encountered in Udmurt, while three such expressions were found in Komi (e.g. Example 25).

(24) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art444.html>>

No dišetškj-nj mĭlkĭd-tek-ges vetlĭl-i-z.
 but study-INF will-ABE-COMP go-1PST-3SG
 ‘But he went to study rather unwillingly.’

(25) Komi <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=349462>>

Ėd taje gaž dirj-ĭs stav-se
 as this rejoicing during-DET all-ACC
pož-i-s ħeb-nj don-teg-žik.
 be.able-1PST-3SG buy-INF price-ABE-COMP
 ‘As during this celebration everything could be bought at nearly no price at all.’

According to ÖKK (2000: 95), the comparative suffix in Komi marks a comparison of some sort even in expressions in which the suffix is attached to a case form of a noun. The standard of comparison is usually not expressed in the same sentence, but can be determined from the context. Tepljašina (1964: 139), on the other hand, states

that in Udmurt, the comparative suffix does not necessarily mark comparison, but can also be understood as a marker of the quality of an action or a change in the modality of an action. However, when considering the use of the verbal abessive, Perevoščikov (1959: 48) interprets the meaning of the combination of the abessive and comparative as ‘not quite’ (see also Section 4.3.2). Perevoščikov’s interpretation is, in fact, the closest to the meanings found in the comparative forms of the abessives in the examples above (i.e. ‘not quite willingly’, ‘rather unwillingly’ in Example 24 and ‘not quite with a price’, ‘at nearly no price’ in Example 25).

3.2. Pronouns

The abessive case suffix can also be attached to certain pronouns in both Komi and Udmurt. These include, for example, the personal pronouns (Tables 6 and 7) and the reflexive-intensive pronouns meaning ‘self’ in both languages (Tables 8 and 9); all of these pronouns can be inflected in most other cases as well (see e.g. Bartens 2000: 149, 151, 154, 157).

1SG <i>me-teg</i>	1PL <i>mijan-teg</i>
2SG <i>te-teg</i>	2PL <i>tijan-teg</i>
3SG <i>si-teg</i>	3PL <i>na-teg</i>

Table 6. The Komi personal pronouns in the abessive case (Bartens 2000: 149, 151, 154).

1SG <i>mon-tek</i>	1PL <i>mi-tek</i>
2SG <i>ton-tek</i>	2PL <i>ti-tek</i>
3SG <i>so-tek</i>	3PL <i>soos-tek</i>

Table 7. The Udmurt personal pronouns in the abessive case (Bartens 2000: 149, 151, 154).

1SG <i>as-teg</i>	1PL <i>as-teg-nim</i>
2SG <i>as-teg-id</i>	2PL <i>as-teg-nid</i>
3SG <i>as-teg-is</i>	3PL <i>as-teg-nis</i>

Table 8. The Komi reflexive-intensive pronoun *as*- ‘self’ in the abessive case (Bartens 2000: 157).

1SG <i>ać-im-tek</i>	1PL <i>aś-me-os-tek</i> / <i>aś-me-tek</i>
2SG <i>ać-id-tek</i>	2PL <i>aś-te-os-tek</i> / <i>aś-te-tek</i>
3SG <i>ać-iz-tek</i>	3PL <i>aś-se-os-tek</i> / <i>aś-se-tek</i>

Table 9. The Udmurt reflexive-intensive pronoun *aś*- / *ać*- ‘self’ in the abessive case (Bartens 2000: 157).

As can be seen in the paradigms of the pronoun ‘self’, the possessive suffixes are also involved in all expressions except the Komi 1st person singular form. The function of the possessive suffixes is, however, not to mark possession; they simply refer to the same person as the pronoun itself.

The use of the abessive case forms of personal pronouns that were encountered in the study material do not differ from the prototypical uses of the abessive forms of nouns. Most of them were employed in an adverbial position in both languages, as in the following examples. Example (28) is one of only two occurrences of the pronoun ‘self’ in the abessive case in Udmurt, while no such examples were found in the Komi material.

- (26) Komi <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=325401>>

Da i kŋži sije bŋdm-as me-teg.
and PRT how 3SG grow.up-FUT.3SG 1SG-ABE
‘And how is she going to grow up without me?’

- (27) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art1015.html>>

En koškj, ton-tek mŋnŋm šekŋt lu-o-z.
NEG.IMP leave.CNG.IMP.SG 2SG-ABE 1SG.DAT hard be-FUT-3SG
‘Don’t leave, it is going to be hard for me without you.’

- (28) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art638.html>>

O, tati aš-me-tek no vetl-iš-jos-ŋz tŋrmŋt gine, [--]
oh here self-POSS.1PL-ABE too go-PTC-PL-DET enough quite
‘Oh, there are enough walkers here without us [--]’ (Lit. ‘without ourselves’)

Demonstrative and reciprocal pronouns can likewise be inflected in most cases in both languages, including the abessive case, as can interrogative, indefinite and relative pronouns based on pronouns meaning ‘who’ and ‘what’ (see e.g. ÖKK 2000: 187, 189, 192, 195 on Komi and GSUJa 1962: 170–172, 176, 177, 179–180, 182 on Udmurt). A couple of instances of demonstrative (Example 29) and reciprocal (Example 30) pronouns in the abessive case were encountered in the Komi material, as well as examples of interrogative pronouns in relative function (Example 31):

- (29) Komi <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=257822>>

Lŋdđa ta-teg o-z poŋ
read.IMP.2SG this-ABE NEG.PRS-3 be.able.CNG.SG
lešed-nŋ demokratičeskej gosudarstvo.
establish-INF democratic state
‘Read, without this a democratic state cannot be established.’

- (30) Komi <
- <http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=356022>
- >

Zduk etamed-teg ov-nj e-g verm-ej.
 moment each.other-ABE live-INF NEG.1PST-1 be.able-CNG.PL
 ‘We couldn’t live one moment without each other.’

- (31) Komi <
- <http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=331739>
- >

Ti viž-annjd medša dona-tor-se, mij-teg
 2PL guard-PRS.2PL SUPERL valuable-thing-ACC what-ABE
o-z vermj sevmj-nj obščestvo – žónvižalun.
 NEG.PRS-3 be.able.CNG.SG develop-INF society health.
 ‘You are guarding the most valuable thing without which society cannot develop – health.’

In Udmurt, on the other hand, the negative indefinite pronoun can be inflected in the abessive case. In Example (32a), this form is used as an adverbial, in Example (32b) as an attribute to a deverbal noun and in Example (32c) as a complement to the verb *kijl’ini* ‘stay, be left’:

- (32) Udmurt

- a. <
- <http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art1270.html>
- >

No ta ar-in ik avgust tolež-e kjšnomurt
 but this year-INE same august month-ILL woman
nomjr-tek bert-e, vjl-az vekci derem gine.
 nothing-ABE return-PRS.3SG on-INE.POSS.3SG thin dress only
 ‘But also this year in August, the woman returns without anything, with only a thin dress on her.’

- b. <
- <http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art422.html>
- >

Nomjr-tek kijl-em užbergatiš-narkoman kjk
 nothing-ABE stay-PTC.PST entrepreneur-drug.addict two
kvarтира-in luškašk-em ni.
 apartment-INE steal-2PST.3SG already
 ‘The self-employed drug addict, who has been left without anything has already robbed two apartments.’

- c. <
- <http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art728.html>
- >

Ožj soos nomjr-tek no kijl-i-zj.
 like.this 3PL nothing-ABE NEG stay-1PST-3PL
 ‘This way, they were left without anything.’

No equivalent Komi examples were found in the corpus of the present study. However, ÖKK (2000: 189) does mention the form *ninemteg* ‘without anything’ in a table presenting the inflectional paradigm of *ninem* ‘nothing’, although cautiously in parentheses and without any examples.

Another special type of an abessive case on pronouns in Udmurt is the idiomatic expression *sointek-a*. It consists of an instrumental case form of the 3rd person singular pronoun *so*, which is followed by the abessive case ending and an enclitic question particle *-a*. The position of the phrase is usually in the beginning of the clause and, despite the question particle, it is not understood as a question but rather as a rhetorical expression that can be translated ‘isn’t this the reason why’ or ‘this must be the reason why’. Examples of this are presented below in a larger context to better illustrate their usage:

(33) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art832.html>>

<i>Gord</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>inmar-len</i>	<i>bujol-ez.</i>	<i>So-in-tek-a</i>	<i>uno</i>
red	3SG	God-GEN	colour-POSS.3SG	3SG-INS-ABE-Q	many
<i>kun-jos-len</i>		<i>flag-jos-azj</i>	<i>gord</i>	<i>bujol</i>	<i>vań.</i>
country-PL-GEN		flag-PL-INE.POSS.3PL	red	colour	EX

‘Red is the colour of God. This must be the reason why so many countries have the colour red in their flags.’

(34) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art1046.html>>

<i>So</i>	<i>u-g</i>	<i>śotj</i>	<i>no-kin-lj</i>	<i>čemtj-nj-mogžj-nj.</i>
3SG	NEG.PRS-3	let.CNG.PRS.3SG	NEG-who-DAT	stop-INF-halt-INF
<i>So-in-tek-a</i>		<i>ogažejaškon-jš</i>	<i>nań</i>	<i>budetiš-jos kotkud</i>
3SG-INS-ABE-Q		union-ELA	grain	farmer-PL every
<i>gektar-jšťiz</i>	<i>tue</i>	<i>šor-ljd-jn</i>	<i>27,4</i>	<i>centńher</i>
hectare-ELA.POSS.3SG	this.year	middle-figure-INE	27.4	hundredweight
<i>ju</i>	<i>tjš</i>	<i>kutsa-zj.</i>		
grain	seed	thresh-1PST.3PL		

‘He doesn’t let anyone stop or halt. This must be the reason why the farmers of the union threshed an average of 27.4 hundred kilograms of seed grain from every hectare this year.’

Generally, the abessive case cannot be attached to any other case suffix in either Komi or Udmurt. This form has most likely developed on the basis of the rather lexicalized instrumental form of the 3rd person singular *soin* ‘therefore, on that account’. Consequently, the construction is not exactly a combination of the instrumental case and the abessive case but, rather, a further lexicalization of the adverb *soin*. (See other abessive case forms of adverbs in Udmurt in Section 3.4.)

3.3. Adjectives and numerals

In both Permic languages, the abessive case ending can be attached to adjectives and numerals as well. However, the number of occurrences of abessive forms of adjectives and numerals was very low in the study corpus, only one of each in Komi and two of each in Udmurt. In all of these cases the forms in question functioned as nouns. In examples (35) and (36) the abessive forms of adjectives are presented.

- (35) Komi <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=282308>>
Ižid kar kol'-i-s šonid-teg, va-teg, transport-teg.
 big city stay-1PST-3SG warm-ABE water-ABE transportation-ABE
 'A big city was left without heat, water and transportation.'

(36) Udmurt

- a. <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art740.html>>
*Čerod-jos-tek no kuañer-jos-tek socializm-e!*¹¹
 queue-PL-ABE and poor-PL-ABE socialism-ILL
 'Without queues and without the poor to socialism!'
- b. <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art1157.html>>
 [--] *muket-jos-se žinji ar čože uvolñitel'noj-tek vož-i'llam* [--]
 other-PL-ACC.PL half year during vacation.ADJ-ABE hold-2PST.3PL
 '[--] the others were prevented from taking a vacation for half a year [--]'

The use of adjectives as nouns is typical for other Uralic languages as well. In the Permic languages, in addition to the abessive, other case suffixes can also be attached to the adjectives on these occasions (SKJa 1955: 158; GSUJa 1962: 136).

As can be seen, the use of these forms does not deviate from what has been said above about the abessives of nouns. The Udmurt examples are representatives of adverbial use of the abessive case, whereas in the Komi example, the adjectival noun is employed as a complement to the verb *kol'ni* 'stay, be left'.

The numerals in the abessive case were all instances of school grades used as nouns. These, too, functioned as adverbials:

- (37) Komi <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=303105>>
No medim veškav-nj šuda-jas l'id-as,
 but OPT end.up-INF fortunate-PL amount-ILL.POSS.3SG
student-lj kovm-as pom-ša k'ik vo veledčj-nj "3"-teg.
 student-DAT must-FUT.3SG end-ADJ two year study-INF 3-ABE
 'But to make it to the group of the fortunate ones, a student must study the last two years without a (grade) "3".'
- (38) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art742.html>>
Niřišeti šešši-jez ik "kuin-jos-tek" pot-i.
 first examination.period-ACC same three-PL-ABE go.out-1PST.1SG
 'I left the first examination period likewise without "threes".'

11 The expression in (36a) is elliptical, as it is a headline of a newspaper article.

3.4. Adverbs

Probably the most prominent difference between Komi and Udmurt in the use of the abessive case in the nominal categories is that in Udmurt, the case suffix can be attached to certain adverbs, whereas in Komi, this is not possible. In the material of the present study, two adverbs were encountered that appeared in the abessive form on several occasions: *oži* ‘like this, in this way’ and *kema* ‘for a long time’.

The abessive in the form *ožitek* is clearly used to produce a negation or a contrast of the adverb *oži* ‘like this, in this way’; the meaning of *ožitek* could be described as ‘not like this, not in this way, otherwise’. The following extended examples illustrate the use of this form:

- (39) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art283.html>>

<i>Mon</i>	<i>malpa-ško:</i>	<i>tazaljk-ed</i>	<i>gine</i>	<i>med</i>	<i>lu-o-z –</i>
1SG	think-PRS.1SG	health-POSS.2SG	only	OPT	be-FUT-3SG
<i>malpan-ed</i>	<i>bjdesm-o-z.</i>	<i>Oži-tek</i>		<i>tatćjož</i>	<i>ul-on</i>
dream-POSS.2SG	come.true-FUT-3SG	like.this-ABE		so.far	live-NMLZ
<i>intj</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>baštj-nj</i>	<i>ej</i>	<i>permiťj-sal.</i>	
place	too	buy-INF	NEG.COND	be.able-COND	

‘I think that if only you will stay healthy, your dream will come true. Otherwise (i.e. if I didn’t believe in this) I wouldn’t have been able to buy an apartment so far.’

- (40) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art522.html>>

<i>Televideñi-iš</i>	<i>košk-em-e</i>	<i>pumiš</i>	<i>u-g</i>
television-ELA	leave-NMLZ-POSS.1SG	about	NEG.PRS-1SG
<i>žala-škj,</i>	<i>ugo</i>	<i>oži-tek</i>	<i>mon</i>
be.sorry-CNG.PRS.1SG	because	like.this-ABE	1sg
<i>vuij-sal</i>	<i>“Čagjr-čagjr</i>	<i>djdjk-e”</i>	<i>peredaća-je.</i>
come-COND	bright.blue-bright.blue	dove-POSS.1SG	program-ILL

‘I’m not sorry about my leaving the television, because otherwise I wouldn’t have come to the (radio) program “My Bright Blue Dove”.’

However, the abessive form of *kema* ‘for a long time’ is of a different type; *kematek* bears the same meaning as *kema*, but the difference between the “nominative” and abessive cases is that the abessive only appears in negative expressions:

- (41) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art146.html>>

<i>Valentina</i>	<i>Petrovna</i>	<i>umme</i>	<i>uśj-nj</i>	<i>kema-tek</i>
Valentina	Petrovna	into.sleep	fall-INF	for.long-ABE
<i>ej-z</i>	<i>bigatj.</i>			
NEG.1PST-3	be.able.CNG.1PST.SG			

‘Valentina Petrovna couldn’t fall asleep for a long time.’

(42) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art778.html>>

<i>Kjšnomurt</i>	<i>pe,</i>	<i>piosmurt</i>	<i>šariš,</i>	<i>višon-ze</i>
woman	they.say	man	compared.with	illness-ACC
<i>kema-tek</i>	<i>u-g</i>	<i>šedj.</i>		
for.long-ABE	NEG.PRS-3	feel.CNG.PRS.3SG		

‘They say that compared to men, women don’t feel the illness for a long time.’

(43) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art841.html>>

<i>Ta</i>	<i>prazdnik-ez</i>	<i>gurt-o-os</i>	<i>kema-tek</i>	<i>u-z</i>
this	feast-ACC	village-ADJ-PL	for.long-ABE	NEG.FUT-3
	<i>vunet-e.</i>			
	forget-CNG.FUT.PL			

‘The villagers are not going to forget this feast for a long time.’

However, *kema* and *kematek* are not in complementary distribution, since *kema* ‘for a long time’ can likewise be employed in negative contexts, as in the following example:

(44) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art29.html>>

<i>Jekaterina</i>	<i>Alekseevna</i>	<i>sobere</i>	<i>kema</i>	<i>e-z</i>
Jekaterina	Alekseevna	there.after	for.long	NEG.1PST-3
<i>ćida</i>	<i>ñi –</i>	<i>kul-i-z.</i>		
endure.CNG.SG	any.more	die-1PST-3SG		

‘After that Jekaterina Alekseevna couldn’t endure for a long time any more – she died.’

In the adverbs *ožitek* ‘not like this, not in this way, otherwise’ and *kematek* ‘for a long time’ as well as in the form *sointek-a* ‘isn’t this the reason why’ or ‘this must be the reason why’ seen in Section 3.2, the meaning of the abessive has been reanalysed. It no longer carries the meaning ‘without’ but has become a marker of contrast (in *ožitek* and *sointek-a*) or of a kind of negative agreement (in *kematek*).

4. The abessive of verbs: the negative converbs

The term *converb* has been introduced in the typological study of non-finite verb forms to replace such earlier terms as, for example, *adverbial participle*, *conjunctive participle*, *gerund*, *gerundive* or *verbal adverb*. According to the typological definition, a converb is a non-finite verb form that typically functions as an adverbial, i.e. it is syntactically dependent on another verb form, but is not its obligatory complement (Haspelmath 1995: 3–8; Nedjalkov 1995: 97; Ylikoski 2001: 215–217; Ylikoski 2003: 189). Consequently, the Permic verbal abessives (e.g. K *vetlj-teg* ~ U *vetlj-tek* ‘without going’; K, U *vetlj-* ‘go’) can be regarded as converbs; the abessive verb

forms are often employed as adverbial modifiers of verbs (see e.g. Bartens 2000: 257). However, as will become apparent in the course of this study, the syntactic functions of the abessive verb forms of the Permic languages are not restricted to adverbials, as they are also employed as attributes and even obligatory complements of certain verbs. In this section, I will first treat the semantics of the negative converbs (4.1) and then consider their syntactic features (4.2). Finally, the interaction of the verbal abessives and other grammatical markers will be discussed (4.3).

4.1. The semantics of the negative converbs

Both Komi and Udmurt have a rather rich variety of converbs. In Komi, there are five productive converbs: (1) the temporal converb in *-ig* (and its extensions¹²), (2) the converb in *-emen* that expresses accompanying circumstances, (3) the terminative converb in *-tež*, (4) the converb in *-men* that expresses the degree of the action in question and (5) the negative converb in *-teg* (Fokos-Fuchs 1958; Stipa 1960; Bartens 2000: 248–265; Ylikoski: 2001). In Udmurt there are likewise five converbs, some of which share a common origin with the Komi converbs: (1) the converb in *-ku* (northern dialects) ~ *-kj* (southern and middle dialects) is temporal, as is (2) the terminative converb in *-tož* that can also be used to express contrast ('instead of'), (3) the converb *-mon* expresses the degree of action, (4) the converb in *-sa* is extensively used in temporal, conditional and modal contexts and (5) the converb *-tek* has a negative meaning (Fokos-Fuchs 1958; Perevoščikov 1959; Stipa 1960; GSUJa 1962: 269–293; Bartens 2000: 248–265). Moreover, some descriptions of Udmurt converbs include certain case forms of verbal nouns in the inventory. These are the affirmative *-(e)men* and *-(e)miš* that are used synonymously to express a reason for an action and their respective negative counterparts *-mtejen* and *-mtejš* (Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 232–233).

The meaning and use of the negative converbs in both languages is extensive. Therefore, especially in the case of Komi, it has been no easy task to define the affirmative counterparts of the negative converb. In fact, several categorizations have been offered by different scholars (for a summary, see Ylikoski 2001: 208–209 and the references therein). The following list of sentences with opposite polarity will illustrate the wide array of possible contexts for the Komi negative converb.¹³

12 As specified by Ylikoski (2001: 201–205) among others, there are also converbs in Komi that have developed through the attachment of a plural ending, certain case suffixes or postpositions to the converb in *-ig*. The extended forms such as *-igjas* (< *-ig* + *-jas* 'PL'), *-igen* (< *-ig* + *-en* 'INSTR'), *-igkosti* (< *-ig* + *-kosti* 'between'), *-igkežle* (*-ig* + *kežle* 'for/by [a period of time], for the purpose of'), etc. usually express temporal simultaneity of the actions of the main verb and the converb. Simultaneity is also expressed by the plain *-ig*, but the extended forms often add some other semantic feature to the verb form.

13 The negative converb is glossed "ABE" in the examples of this section, while other converbs are glossed "CONV".

(45) Komi (ÖKK 2000: 388)

- a. *Vanja mun-e śil-ig.*
 Vanja go-PRS.3SG sing-CONV
 ‘Vanja goes singing.’

><

- Vanja mun-e śiv-teg.*
 Vanja go-PRS.3SG sing-ABE
 ‘Vanja goes without singing.’

- b. *Jur-se peliñt-ig-moz eš ju-e va.*
 head-ACC.POSS.3SG bend-CONV-like ox drink-PRS.3SG water
 ‘Bending its head, the ox drinks the water.’

><

- Jur-se peliñt-teg eš ju-e va.*
 head-ACC.POSS.3SG bend-ABE ox drink-PRS.3SG water
 ‘Without bending its head, the ox drinks the water.’

- c. *Gorz-ig-tir-ji mun-am vož-e.*
 shout-CONV-full-ADV go-PRS.1PL front-ILL
 ‘Shouting we go forward.’

><

- Gorzi-teg mun-am vož-e.*
 shout-ABE go-PRS.1PL front-ILL
 ‘Without shouting we go forward.’

- d. *Taži dumajt-ig-eñ, Miron pet-i-s kil’če vjl-e.*
 like.this think-CONV-INS Miron go.out-1PST-3SG porch on-ILL
 ‘Thinking like this, Miron went out on the porch.’

><

- Taži dumajt-teg, Miron pet-i-s kil’če vjl-e.*
 like.this think-ABE Miron go.out-1PST-3SG porch on-ILL
 ‘Without thinking like this, Miron went out on the porch.’

- e. *Čećcal-eñen kotert-eñi čel’ad.*
 jump-CONV run-PRS.3PL children
 ‘The children run and jump.’ (Lit. ‘The children run jumping.’)

><

- Čećcav-teg kotert-eñi čel’ad.*
 jump-ABE run-PRS.3PL children
 ‘The children run without jumping.’

The affirmative converb in *-emen* shows in fact an original instrumental form of a verbal noun in *-em*, and its status as a converb has been questioned (see Ylikoski 2001: 207–208 for discussion). Another suffix that is sometimes considered a converb is *-ana(a)* (e.g. ÖKK 1000: 381–383), which is based on a derivational ending in *-ana* and an optional suffix *-a* of adverbs. These verb forms can also be regarded as affirmative counterparts of negative converbs:

(46) Komi (ÖKK 2000: 388)

– <i>Siži?</i>	– <i>donjal-ana-a</i>	<i>jual-i-s</i>	<i>Anna</i>	<i>tét.</i>
like.that	contemplate-NMLZ-ADV	ask-1PST-3SG	Anna	aunt
“‘Like that?’ asked aunt Anna contemplating.”				
><				
– <i>Siži?</i>	– <i>donjav-teg</i>	<i>jual-i-s</i>	<i>Anna</i>	<i>tét.</i>
like.that	contemplate-ABE	ask-1PST-3SG	Anna	aunt
“‘Like that?’ asked aunt Anna without contemplating.”				

As can be seen in the examples above, the affirmative equivalents of the abessive verb forms usually express simultaneity, but different forms carry further semantic features that most often specify the manner of the action. These further specifications are absent in the negative converbs. This wider diversity of the affirmative forms is another manifestation of the asymmetry between affirmation and negation and the larger number of distinctions made in the affirmative category as opposed to the negative (Ylikoski 2001: 208–209). In the case of the Komi converbs, more semantic and functional distinctions are made in the affirmative converbs, while only one converb has a negative meaning and must cover a wider range of meanings.

In Udmurt, on the other hand, the converb in *-tek* is most often presented as the negative counterpart of only one verb form: the affirmative converb in *-sa* (e.g. Perevoščikov 1959: 48, 263–264; Serebrennikov 1963: 309; Kel’makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 224–225). The meaning of the affirmative converb is extensive; as for the temporal relation between the converb and the main verb, the converb can express an action that precedes the action denoted by the main verb or is simultaneous with it, but is sometimes even used in a context in which the main verb expresses the preceding action (GSUJa 1962: 274–278). Moreover, the converb in *-sa* can be used to denote, for example, the condition, reason, circumstances, purpose or manner of the action of the main verb (GSUJa, id.). The same extensive meaning is given to the Udmurt negative verb form in *-tek* (GSUJa 1962: 278–283; Kel’makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 224–225). The following examples illustrate some of the uses of the two converbs:

(47) Manner

- a. Udmurt <
- <http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art334.html>
- >

Dirtj-sa pirt-i-zj kabinet-e.

hurry-CONV bring-1PST-3PL room-ILL

‘They brought (her) quickly to the (reception) room.’ (Lit. ‘brought hurrying’.)

- b. Udmurt (Kel’makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 224)

Adami dirtj-tek mjn-e.

person hurry-ABE go-PRS.3SG

‘The person goes without hurry.’ (Lit. ‘goes without hurrying’.)

(48) Simultaneity

- a. Udmurt (Kel’makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 225)

Djšetskiš malpaškj-sa puk-e.

student think-CONV sit-PRS.3SG

‘The student sits and thinks.’ (Lit. ‘sits thinking’.)

- b. Udmurt (Kel’makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 225)

Djšetskiš nomjr no kari-tek puk-e.

student nothing NEG do-ABE sit-PRS.3SG

‘The student is sitting without doing anything.’

(49) Preceding action

- a. Udmurt (Kel’makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 225)

Ata-je, korka piri-sa, žek šer-j puk-i-z.

father-POSS.1SG house-ILL enter-CONV table behind-ILL sit-PST1-3SG

‘After entering the house, my father sat down at the table.’ (Lit. ‘entering [--] sits down’.)

- b. Udmurt (Perevoščikov 1959: 255)

Nene-je gurt-e bertj-tek, mon šudj-nj

mother-POSS.1SG home-ILL return-ABE 1SG play-INF

ε-j potj, [--]

NEG.1PST-1SG go.out.CNG.1PST.SG

‘I didn’t go out to play before my mother returned home, [--]’ (Lit. ‘without my mother returning home’.)

(50) Reason or condition

- a. Udmurt (Kel’makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 225)

Uram-jn šud-iš pinal-jos-iz adžj-sa, pereš-jos

street-INE play-PTC.PRS child-PL-ACC.PL see-CONV old-PL

tod-azj va-i-zj piči dır-zes.

mind-ILL.POSS.3PL bring-1PST-3PL small time-ACC.POSS.3PL

‘As they saw the children playing in the street, the old remembered their own childhood.’ (Lit. ‘remember [when] seeing’.)

b. Udmurt (GSUJa 1962: 281)

<i>Kǝz-jos-len</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>ńıl-pu-os-len</i>	<i>vaj-jos-sǝ</i>
spruce-PL-GEN	and	fir-tree-PL-GEN	branch-PL-ACC.PL
<i>lǝmj-len</i>	<i>šekǝt-ez-lǝ</i>	<i>ćida-tek</i>	<i>ńakǝrsk-il'lam.</i>
snow-GEN	heavy-POSS.3SG-DAT	endure-ABE	bend-PST2.3PL

‘The branches of the spruces and the fir trees have bended, as they didn’t endure the heaviness of the snow.’ (Lit. ‘have bended without enduring’.)

According to Perevoščikov (1959: 263–264), certain other verb forms can also be interpreted as affirmative equivalents of the converb in *-tek*. He states that, in addition to the verb form in *-sa* in Example (51b), the constructions in examples (51c) and (51d) can also correspond to the negative converb.

(51) Udmurt (Perevoščikov 1959: 263–264)

a. (Perevoščikov 1959: 263)

Noš	M. I. Lopatkina,	T. V. Naumova,	A. N. Karkina,	Z. A. Sematkina	
but	M. I. Lopatkina	T. V. Naumova	A. N. Karkina	Z. A. Sematkina	
no	muket-jos-ǝz	araš-jos	ara-n	norma-zes	multes-en
and	other-PL-DET	harvester-PL	harvest-NMLZ	norm-ACC.POSS.3PL	surplus-INS
<i>bǝdestǝ-tek</i>	<i>lud-iš</i>	<i>e-z</i>	<i>koški-le.</i>		
fulfil-ABE	field-ELA	NEG.1PST-3	leave-CNG.PL		

‘But M. I. Lopatkina, T. V. Naumova, A. N. Karkina, Z. A. Sematkina and the other harvesters didn’t leave the field without exceeding the harvesting norms.’

b. (Perevoščikov 1959: 264)

[--]	<i>ara-n</i>	<i>norma-zes</i>	<i>multes-en</i>	<i>bǝdestǝ-sa</i>	<i>gine</i> [--]
harvest-NMLZ	norm-ACC.POSS.3PL	surplus-INS	fulfil-CONV	only	

‘[--] only after exceeding the harvesting norms [--]’

c. (Perevoščikov 1959: 264)

[--]	<i>ara-n</i>	<i>norma-zes</i>	<i>multes-en</i>	<i>bǝdest-em</i>	<i>bere</i>	<i>gine</i> [--]
harvest-NMLZ	norm-ACC.POSS.3PL	surplus-INS	fulfil-NMLZ	after	only	

‘[--] only after exceeding the harvesting norms [--]’

d. (Perevoščikov 1959: 264)

[--] <i>ara-n</i>	<i>norma-zes</i>	<i>multes-en</i>	
harvest-NMLZ	norm-ACC.POSS.3PL	surplus-INS	
<i>bǝdest-o</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>sobere</i>	<i>gine</i> [--]
fulfil-PRS.3PL	and	thereafter	only

‘[--] they exceed the harvesting norms and only after that [--]’

Considering these different uses of the Permic negative converbs, they can be regarded as contextual converbs, that is, their function can be determined according to the context of their use (see Nedjalkov 1998: 424 on the definition of the term).

4.2. The syntactic characteristics of the negative converbs

4.2.1. The abessive verb forms as adverbials

As mentioned above, the negative converbs of the Permic languages usually serve as adverbials. The examples of the negative converbs presented in the previous section were all cases of adverbial use of the verb forms. Two further examples are given below, and in both the negative converbs appear in coordination with other adverbials:

(52) Komi <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=270404>>

Taje perje šeššija-ŋs mun-i-s venžj-teg da edje.
 this time.ILL session-DET go-1PST-3SG quarrel-ABE and fast
 ‘This time the session passed quickly and without quarrelling.’

(53) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art1155.html>>

Venjamin Semjonovič vaň-ze rad-ŋz-ja, dŋrtj-tek lešt-e.
 Venjamin Semjonovič all-ACC order-POSS.3SG-ADVL hurry-ABE do-PRS.3SG
 ‘Venjamin Semjonovič does everything in an orderly fashion and without hurrying.’

Using Haspelmath’s (1996) terminology, the Permic negative converbs are typical occurrences of transpositional or word-class-changing inflection. The formation of the abessive verb forms is completely regular, general and productive, which makes their morphology inflectional rather than derivational, but in the formation of the converbs the word-class of the word seems to change¹⁴, and this is traditionally seen as a feature of derivation rather than inflection. According to Haspelmath (1996: 52), in cases of transpositional inflection, two levels of word-class are actually present. On one hand, the formation is used in syntactic contexts that are not typical for the word-class of the basis, but on the other hand, certain features of the original word-class are retained. Consequently, Haspelmath distinguishes between two types of syntax in the use of the words derived by word-class-changing inflection: external and internal syntax. In the case of the Permic negative converbs (and, in fact, other Permic converbs as well), their use in the adverbial function can be defined in terms of external syntax. However, the converbs are still clearly verb forms in that they can acquire modifiers typical of verbs, which is a feature of their internal syntax; an adverb can be seen in Example (45d) for Komi and in examples (49b), (50b) and (51a) for Udmurt, while an object is present in Example (45b) for Komi and in examples (48b) and (51a) for Udmurt.

The subject of the negative converb is usually the same as the subject of the main verb, but this is not absolutely necessary. According to the grammatical descriptions of both Komi and Udmurt, a different subject of the converb can be expressed

¹⁴ That is, from a verb to a “verbal adverb”; however, see Ylikoski (2003: 195–196, 220–222) for criticism of the interpretation of converbs as adverbs.

by a noun in either nominative or genitive case or by using a possessive suffix in the abessive verb form (e.g. Bartens 2000: 257; ÖKK 2000: 390). However, in the corpus of the present study, different kinds of trends can be seen in Komi and in Udmurt. In Komi a subject in the genitive case (as in Example 54) was encountered nine times, but not once in the nominative (but see Hamari 2001: 141 for an example). In Udmurt, on the other hand, thirteen cases of nominative subjects (as in Example 55) were found, but no genitive.

(54) Komi <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=287204>>

Gaške, silen iŕed-teg e-g i lo artist-en, [--]
 maybe 3SG.GEN encourage-ABE NEG.1PST-1SG PRT become.CNG.SG artist-INS
 ‘Maybe without her encouraging (me) I wouldn’t even have become an artist [--]’

(55) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art672.html>>

Keňa nil-pi-os bud-i-zi, anaj-jos erkija-tek, kužmo
 how.many girl-boy-PL grow.up-1PST-3PL mother-PL cuddle-ABE strong
ataj ki-os-tj adžj-tek, ulon-leš šuldir-ze vala-tek.
 father hand-PL-ACC.PL see-ABE life-ABL joy-ACC.SG understand-ABE
 ‘How many children grew up without mothers cuddling (them), without seeing strong father’s hands, without understanding the joy of life.’

Moreover, as pointed out in Hamari (2001: 141), the subject can also appear in the instrumental case in Komi. The occurrence of subjects in the instrumental case in Komi has been regarded as a Russian influence by Bubrix (1949: 42).¹⁵ However, at least with negative converbs the use of the instrumental case in subjects may have originated in constructions in which an instrument was reanalysed as an agent (Hamari 2001: 141). For example, in the following sentence extracted from a source outside the study corpus, the body part nouns in the instrumental case are ambiguous in this sense; they can be understood either as body part instruments or as agents.

(56) Komi (Hamari 2001: 141 < Fokos-Fuchs 1958: 303)

med lu-e zeletej dom, ki-en
 OPT be-PRS.3SG golden house hand-INS
maljšti-teg, kok-en čužji-teg
 touch-ABE foot-INS push-ABE
 ‘let there be a golden house, without a hand touching, without a foot pushing’

The use of the possessive suffixes will be dealt with in greater detail below, but it can be stated already at this point that their use in a disambiguating function was practically non-existent in the corpus. Among the 35 Komi cases in which a possessive ending appeared in the abessive verb forms, only one expression can be interpreted as an instance of the ending in this function. In Example (57), the subject of the main

15 Bubrix deals with subjects of finite verbs and does not mention non-finite verb forms in this context.

verb ('the judges') is different from the subject of the negative converb ('[the team] Stroitel') and the 3rd person singular possessive suffix refers to the latter.

(57) Komi <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=300754>>

<i>Gegervo-an-a,</i>	<i>sudja-jas</i>	<i>vors-teg-is</i>
understand-NMLZ-ADJ	judge-PL	play-ABE-POSS.3SG
<i>šet-i-sni</i>	<i>verm-əm-se</i>	<i>"Stroitel'-lĭ".</i>
give-1PST-3PL	win-NMLZ-ACC	Stroitel'-DAT

'It is understood that the judges gave the victory to (the team) "Stroitel"' without its playing.'

In Udmurt, on the other hand, the use of possessive suffixes in abessive verb forms is extremely rare. Although data has been presented by some scholars, no examples of their use were found in the corpus of the present study (see Section 4.3.1).

4.2.2. The abessive verb forms as attributes

In addition to the adverbial uses, there are cases in which the abessive verb forms are used in an attributive position. As mentioned before, Bartens (2000: 257) points out that the attributive use of the abessive verb form is possible in Udmurt (as in Example 58), but as can be seen in Example (59), also the Komi negative converb can be employed this way:

(58) Udmurt

a. Bartens (2000: 257 < GSUJa 1970: 14)

<i>dugdĭlĭ-tek</i>	<i>už-an</i>
cease-ABE	work-NMLZ

'ceaseless work'

b. <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art301.html>>

<i>Ĥelevizor,</i>	<i>kompjuter</i>	<i>až-ĭn</i>	<i>dĭr-ez</i>	<i>vala-tek</i>
television	computer	front-INE	time-ACC	understand-ABE
<i>puk-on</i>	<i>tazaljk-lĭ</i>	<i>izjan</i>	<i>vaj-e.</i>	
sit-NMLZ	health-DAT	damage	bring-PRS.3SG	

'Sitting in front of the television or the computer without being aware of (the passing of) time causes damage to health.'

(59) Komi <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=340141>>

[--] <i>da</i>	<i>korś-ənĭ</i>	<i>aslanĭs</i>	<i>Jen-lĭś</i>	<i>žoŋvižalun,</i>	<i>ozĭrlun,</i>	<i>bur</i>
and	ask-PRS.3PL	own.GEN.POSS.3PL	God-ABL	health	wealth	good
<i>urožaj</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>jort-a-jort-ĭs-kęd</i>	<i>zĭkśĭ-teg</i>	<i>ol-əm.</i>		
crop	and	friend-ADJ-friend-POSS.3SG-COM	quarrel-ABE	live-NMLZ		

'[--] from their God they ask health, wealth, good crop and life without friends quarrelling with each other.'

When dealing with the attributive use of nouns in the abessive case, it was pointed out that they mostly appear in constructions in which the head is a deverbal noun (see also Bartens 2000: 257), although a lexical noun can sometimes also appear as the head. However, it seems to be a general restriction of the use of the converb as an attribute that only a deverbal noun can appear as a head; in the corpus of this study, data was only found of this particular use. On the other hand, as shown in Hamari (2001: 140) the abessive verb form of Komi can also appear as an attribute, when the head is the noun *už* ‘work’ that is not exactly deverbal, though its relation to the verb *užavni* ‘to work’ is clear:

(60) Komi (Hamari 2001: 140 < *Vojvju kožuv* 1997: 60)

<i>Da</i>	<i>nešta</i>	<i>čig</i>	<i>vo-jas,</i>	<i>omelik</i>	<i>paš-kem,</i>	<i>sešša</i>
and	still	hunger	year-PL	poor	dress-shoes	then
<i>žik</i>	<i>nin</i>	<i>šojččiy-teg</i>	<i>už –</i>	<i>stav-is</i>	<i>taje</i>	<i>i</i>
just	still	rest-ABE	work	all-DET	this	PRT
<i>vajed-ema</i>	<i>tuberkuloz-ež-is,</i>			<i>tįdal-e.</i>		
bring-2PST.3SG	tuberculosis-TERM-POSS.3SG			seem-PRS.3SG		

‘And also the years of famine, poor clothes and then work without any rest – it seems that all this brought him to (catch) tuberculosis.’

When dealing with such constructions as found in examples (58) and (59), we can state that they actually contain two layers of the kind of inflection that Haspelmath (1996) calls transpositional: the formation of the deverbal noun on one hand and the formation of the abessive verb form on the other. Firstly, the head of the constructions is a deverbal noun, which means that in many cases, a process is involved in which the word-class of the word has changed from a verb to a noun. The external syntax of the deverbal nouns is that of typical nouns. In Example (58b) Udmurt *pukon* ‘sitting’ is a subject, while in Example (59) Komi *olem* ‘living, life’ is an object. On the other hand, the internal syntax of these nouns involves verbal features in that they have adverbial modifiers: the abessive verb forms. Secondly, in these cases the abessive verb forms are used as attributes, which is a function of typical adjectives. On the other hand, the abessive verb forms still have features that are typical for verbs, as they can also take modifiers of their own. In Example (59) the attributive converb of Komi has its own adverbial phrase, whereas in Example (58b) the converb of Udmurt is accompanied by an object.

4.2.3. The abessive verb forms as complements

As shown earlier, abessive forms of nouns often appear as obligatory constituents in constructions formed with verbs such as ‘stay, be left’ and ‘leave’. The same is true of the verbal abessive forms:

- (61) Komi <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=310859>>
Vojtir-kost-sa téhnika-sa da nauka-sa térmiń-jas, geografija
 nation-between-ADJ technology-ADJ and science-ADJ term-PL geography
ńim-jas kol'-eni vežsij-teg, taži bjd kįvj-jn.
 name-PL stay-PRS.3PL change-ABE like.this every language-INE
 ‘International, technological and scientific terms, geographical names stay un-
 changed, (it is) like this in every language.’

- (62) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art59.html>>
Malj-ze ali vera-nj u-g ni bigat-iški,
 why-ACC now say-INF NEG.PRS-1SG any.more be.able-CNG.PRS.1SG
no so oži ik gožtj-tek kıl-i-z.
 but 3SG like.this same write-ABE stay-1PST-3SG
 ‘I cannot say the reason any more but, anyway, it wasn’t written.’ (Lit. ‘it was
 left without writing’)

- (63) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art265.html>>
Tuljs vu-i-z, busj-os-tj kiži-tek u-d kelj.
 spring come-1PST-3SG field-PL-ACC.PL sow-ABE NEG.FUT-2SG leave.CNG.FUT.SG
 ‘Spring has come, you will not leave the fields without sowing.’

Even in these contexts, the subject of the converb can be different from that of the main verb. This is the case in the following Udmurt example where the subject of the abessive verb form is *juos* ‘corn (pl.)’, while the subject of the main verb is *busjosj* ‘my fields’:

- (64) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art874.html>>
Oži ju-os kišma-tek ik busj-os-j kılı-l-i-zj.
 like.this corn-PL ripen-ABE same field-PL-POSS.1SG stay-FREQ-1PST-3PL
 ‘Thus, the corn of my fields did not ripen.’ (Lit. ‘my fields stayed without the
 corn ripening’)

In addition to verbs meaning ‘stay, be left’ and ‘leave’, the verbal abessives can be used with verbs meaning ‘be; live’ and (in Udmurt) ‘become’. According to Bartens (2000: 258), sentences such as Example (65) in Udmurt are converb constructions in which the abessive form together with the main verb *ulinj* ‘be; live’ expresses continuative aspect; Bartens considers these constructions to have developed under the influence of the Turkic languages spoken in the vicinity of the Udmurts.

- (65) Udmurt (Bartens 2000: 258 < GSUJa 1962: 281)
umoj šem-ze todj-tek u-m ul-iške
 good heart-ACC.POSS.3SG know-ABE NEG.PRS-1PL be-CNG.PL
 ‘We know his/her good heart.’ (lit. ‘we are not without knowing his/her good
 heart’)

The Komi verb *ovni* ‘be; live’ cognate with Udmurt *ulini* is also used in constructions with the abessive verb forms, but it does not carry the same type of continuative meaning. According to Cypanov (1995: 138) *ovni* can be replaced by *kolni* ‘stay, be left’ in at least the following expression:

(66) Komi (Bartens 2000: 258 < Cypanov 1995: 138)

<i>sek</i>	<i>že</i>	<i>sije</i>	<i>as-keč-is</i>	<i>venzi-teg</i>
then	PRT	3SG	self-COM-POSS.3SG	argue-ABE
<i>e-z</i>	<i>kol'</i>	~	<i>e-z</i>	<i>ov</i>
NEG.1PST-3	stay.CNG.SG		NEG.1PST-3	be.CNG.SG
‘even then he couldn’t be without arguing with himself’				

According to Cypanov (1995: 138), this type of constructions have largely been replaced by negative constructions that are formed by using the negative particle *ne* borrowed from Russian and the infinitive of the verb:

(67) Komi (Cypanov 1995: 138)

<i>sek</i>	<i>že</i>	<i>sije</i>	<i>e-z</i>	<i>vermi</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>venzi-ni</i> [--]
then	PRT	3SG	NEG.1PST-3	argue.CNG.SG	NEG	argue-INF
‘even then he couldn’t be without arguing [--]’						

All in all, in the study corpus, the abessive verb forms appeared as complements to different verbs much more regularly in Udmurt than in Komi. This could be due to, on one hand, the Turkic influence on Udmurt that has led to the extension of the converb forms to aspectual constructions and, on the other hand, the rise of alternative expression type in Komi under the influence of Russian.

4.3. The negative converbs and other grammatical markers

The grammatical markers that can be attached to the abessive in the forms of the negative converbs are the same that were seen in the treatment of nominal abessives: the possessive suffixes and the comparative ending. The plural suffix, however, is not possible in these forms, although – as was seen in footnote 12 – they are not completely unheard of in the Permic converbs. In addition to possessive and comparative suffixes, a postposition can be agglutinated in the Komi abessive suffix.

4.3.1. Person marking

In the Komi negative converbs, the possessive suffixes always follow the abessive ending. This morpheme order is hardly surprising, since the possessive suffixes in general are not attached to the verb stems in non-finite verb forms in the Permic languages – if acceptable at all (see e.g. Bartens 2000: 228ff. for the marking of subject

person in different non-finite forms). The 1st person singular suffix is not used in the Komi negative converbs:

1SG –	1PL <i>už-teg-njm</i>
2SG <i>už-teg-id</i>	2PL <i>už-teg-njd</i>
3SG <i>už-teg-is</i>	3PL <i>už-teg-njs</i>

Table 10. The Komi negative converb of *už*- ‘sleep’ with person marking (ÖKK 2000: 390)

However, according to ÖKK (2000: 390), although the original function of the possessive suffixes in Komi negative converbs was only to refer to the subject, this is no longer their primary function. In modern Komi, mostly the possessive endings of the 2nd and 3rd person singular persons are in use, and they are mainly employed to denote that the action is already known from previous discussion or to mark focus, topicalization etc. This was clearly visible in the study corpus in which mostly the 2nd and 3rd person singular forms were encountered – except for one occurrence of the 3rd person plural – and in many of them, the possessive suffix could be interpreted as appearing in a pragmatic function. Of course, if the subject is the 2nd or 3rd person singular and a possessive suffix is present that refers to the same person, the function of the suffix is difficult to determine. In the following sentence, however, the subject is the 1st person plural, so the possessive suffix cannot refer to it:

(68) Komi <<http://www.komipress.ru/smi/issue.php?id=304156>>

<i>A</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>Ljušžen-kəd</i>	<i>kizke-mijke</i>	<i>kjv</i>
but	1PL	Ljušžen-COM	somehow-something	word
<i>šu-teg-is</i>		<i>eta-međ-əs</i>	<i>gegervo-am....</i>	
say-ABE-POSS.3SG		one-another-ACC	understand-PRS.1PL	

‘But somehow we and Ljušžen understand each other without saying a word...’

In Udmurt, no verbal abessives with a possessive ending were found in the corpus of the present study, but there are some references to their use in this language as well (Fokos-Fuchs 1958: 305, Perevoščikov 1959: 51; Bartens 2000: 257). However, the forms are radically different from the possessive declension of nouns. Unlike within nouns, the possessive suffixes follow the abessive ending in negative converbs, but are preceded by an *a* vowel, the origin of which is uncertain (Bartens 2000: 257):

(69) Udmurt (Bartens 2000: 257 < Fokos-Fuchs 1958: 305)

pottj-tek-a-dj

take.out-ABE-*a*-POSS.2PL

‘without your taking (the gold) out’

(70) Udmurt (Perevoščikov 1959: 51)

<i>Tunne</i>	<i>kēt-te</i>	<i>tīrim-on</i>	
today	stomach-ACC.POSS.2SG	be.filled-NMLZ	
<i>šed̆t̆j-tek-a-d</i>	<i>kēlj-nj</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>vetlj.</i>
find-ABE- <i>a</i> -POSS.2SG	sleep-INF	NEG.IMP	go.CNG.IMP.SG
‘Don’t go to sleep today without finding food.’			

Perevoščikov (1959: 51) assumes that these forms have developed from a combination of the abessive case suffix and the inessive form of the possessive nominal declension; after all, the possessive endings of the verbal abessives are identical to the inessive (and illative) of the possessive declension (cf. *gurt-ad* ‘in/into your (sg.) village’, *gurt-adj* ‘in/into your (pl.) village’), in which the vowel *a* appears as an irregular designation of the locational case. However, the assumption of the combination of the two case forms is rather unconvincing, because the semantics of the compound cannot be rationalized. On the other hand, the origin of the vowel *a* in the inessive-illative forms is not completely understood either, and it is likely that they are etymologically of same origin – although the common denominator cannot be the local meaning of the inessive-illative. As pointed out by Bartens (2000: 116–117), the vowel *a* before the possessive ending is typical not only of the inessive-illative, but also of the possessive forms of the terminative case of nouns. As mentioned before, the morpheme order can be either PxCx or CxPx in the terminative, and the vowel *a* only appears in the latter case:

(71) Udmurt

a. (Bartens 2000: 111)

<i>gurt-ed-ož</i>	~	<i>gurt-ož-a-d</i>
village-POSS.2SG-TERM		village-TERM- <i>a</i> -POSS.2SG
‘up to your (sg.) village’		‘up to your (sg.) village’

b. (Bartens 2000: 112)

<i>gurt-tj-ož</i>	~	<i>gurt-ož-a-dj</i>
village-POSS.2PL-TERM		village-TERM- <i>a</i> -POSS.2SG
‘up to your (pl.) village’		‘up to your (pl.) village’

The same vowel can be seen in the possessive forms of the terminative converb in *-tož* that includes the terminative case suffix (Bartens 2000: 254); in this verb form, only the order CxPx is possible:

(72) Udmurt (Perevoščikov 1959: 72)

- a. *ljdžj-tož-a-d*
 read-CONV-*a*-POSS.2SG
 ‘until you (sg.) read’

- b. *lidži-tož-a-dj*
 read-CONV-*a*-POSS.2PL
 ‘until you (pl.) read’

Consequently, it seems that in Udmurt, the vowel *a* – whatever its origin – is prone to appear in those contexts in which the morpheme order is CxPx. In Komi, this vowel only appears in the inessive-illative and instrumental case forms of nouns.

4.3.2. The comparative forms of the negative converbs

Examples of the use of the comparative suffix in the negative converbs were only encountered in the Udmurt corpus of the present study. As was mentioned before, Perevoščikov (1959: 48) interprets the meaning of the combination of the negative verb and comparative as ‘not quite’.

- (73) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art146.html>>
Ožgarci šorj kjšnomurt oskĵ-teĵ-ges ućk-i-z: [--]
 soldier direction.ILL woman believe-ABE-COMP look-PST1-3SG
 ‘The woman looked at the soldier not quite believing: [--]’

4.3.3. Postpositions and coaffixes

As was mentioned before, postpositions have been attached to some Komi converbs. In the case of the negative verb, the suffix has a variant in *-tegmoz*, in which the postposition *moz* ‘like’ has been agglutinated into the abessive suffix and reanalysed as part of the suffix:

- (74) Komi (ÖKK 2000: 387)
Teđli-teĵ-moz lebišt-i-snj kĵk vežon.
 notice-ABE-like fly-1PST-3PL two week
 ‘Two weeks flew by unnoticed.’

According to ÖKK (2000: 387), *moz* does not bring any semantic or functional addition to the negative verb; the same applies to the Komi variants *-teĵja*, *-teĵa* in which an adverbial coaffix is attached to the form. Unlike the coaffixes found in the abessive case forms of nouns in Komi dialects, these forms of the negative converbs are not followed by a possessive suffix. None of these extended forms were found in the study corpus.

In Udmurt, the abessives do not have extended forms, but the negative verb can be accompanied by a postposition such as *kad* (Example 75), *muzen* (Example 76) and *śamen* (Example 77) all of which have the meaning ‘like’:

(75) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art252.html>>

Šoka-nj *dištj-tek* *kad'* *puk-i-z* *bjdes* *zal.*
 breath-INF dare-ABE like sit-1PST-3SG whole hall
 'The whole hall sat as if not daring to breath.'

(76) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art400.html>>

Zal *tjir* *lukašk-em* *kaljık* *šoka-tek* *mužen* *kjılz-e.*
 hall full gather-PTC.PST people breath-ABE like listen-PRS.3SG
 'The people who have filled the hall listen (like) without breathing.'

(77) Udmurt <<http://old.udmdunne.ru/articles/art377.html>>

Už *no* *kapči-jen*, *šed-tek* *šamen* *šotsk-e* *ni.*
 work even light-INS notice-ABE like give.in-PRS.3SG any.more
 'Even work is easy, like you didn't notice it any more.' (Lit. 'Even work gives [itself] in lightly, like without noticing any more.')

In the last example, the form *šedtek* 'without noticing' is exceptional: its stem is *šedj-* 'notice, feel', but it has lost its stem vowel in this form. The same form is found in another postpositional construction, *šedtek šorjś* that has a fixed meaning 'unexpectedly, out of the blue'. However, *šedjtek* is also attested. (GSUJa 1962: 28.)

5. Conclusions

It was suggested in the introduction of the study that the uses of the abessive in both nominal and verbal categories should be considered together to find the similarities and differences between the functions of the actual abessive case of nouns and the negative converbs of verbs. In the course of the study, several similarities were pointed out.

First of all, as is known from existing literature, the abessive forms of both nominal and verbal categories are usually employed as adverbials, but references have been made to the use of these forms in attributive positions in both Komi and Udmurt. This study showed that the conditions of the attributive use are largely the same irrespective of whether we are dealing with a nominal or a verbal constituent: the abessive forms of both are most likely to appear in an attributive position if the head of the construction is a deverbal noun. Examples of abessive attributes of lexical nouns are scarce in both languages. Secondly, it was argued that the abessive forms of both nouns and verbs can be used as obligatory complements of verbs meaning 'stay, be left', 'leave' and 'be; live' in both languages.

The largest differences between the nominal and verbal abessives, of course, are in the semantics of the constructions themselves. The abessive forms of nominal categories express the absence of a referent in a given situation, whereas abessive verb forms are used to denote the absence of an action. Another notable difference has

to do with person marking. The person is expressed by using the possessive suffixes, but the nominal and verbal abessives are different both in respect to the form and the function of the person marking. In nouns, the possessive suffixes are used to mark the possessor of the referent in question, whereas in verbs, they mark the subject of the negative converb. However, in both nouns and verbs the possessive suffixes can be used to encode the entity or the action as topicalized or focused or definite. Yet another function was mentioned with regard to the abessive forms of pronouns, where the possessive endings are used redundantly to mark the same person as the pronoun itself. The formal differences are based on how the possessive suffixes are attached to the nominal or verbal forms.

When comparing the abessive forms of Komi and Udmurt, it was discovered that the forms and the functions largely correspond to each other in the two languages. This result was also expected on the basis of earlier literature. However, certain differences were pointed out that can be ascribed to changes that must have taken place after the break-up of Proto-Permic. First of all, the abessive is used more often in Udmurt than in Komi. This difference has partly to do with the fact that in Udmurt, the abessive can be attached to certain word forms that cannot take this suffix in Komi. These include certain adverbs and pronominal forms. Moreover, the negative converbs are more often used as obligatory complements of verbs meaning ‘stay, be left’, ‘leave’ and ‘be; live’ in Udmurt, whereas in Komi, they have partly been replaced by a construction formed with the particle *ñe* ‘not’ and an infinitive. In Udmurt, an extension of the use of the negative converb as a complement to certain other verbs has taken place, probably by analogy with the Turkic languages.

Differences in the person marking of Komi and Udmurt abessives were also detected. As for the nominal categories, there are differences in the morpheme order of the possessive ending and the abessive case ending so that, in Udmurt, the order is always PxCx, whereas extensive variation can be found in the Komi forms. It was argued that the differences are due to the Proto-Permic reordering of the noun declension, especially when it comes to the possessive forms. The original morpheme order has probably been preserved in Udmurt, while in Komi, variation has started to occur. In verbal abessives, person marking is more extensive in Komi but practically non-existent in modern Udmurt. In the Udmurt examples that can be found, the position of the possessive suffixes differs greatly from what is found in nouns. In the negative converbs, the possessive suffix follows the abessive ending, but an additional vowel *a* is inserted between the two. The origin of this vowel is unknown, but it can also be found in some parts of the possessive declension in both Komi and Udmurt. In Komi, there are also certain coaffixes that appear between the abessive ending and the possessive ending especially in some dialects, but these affixes are probably related to an ancient suffixes of adverbs that was either a derivational or a declensional element.

It was argued in the introduction that the abessive case is, in many ways, a conservative category in the Permic languages. Considering its uses in the modern languages, this assumption seems to hold. The abessive has maintained its form and function quite consistently in both Komi and Udmurt and in both nominal and verbal

categories. However, this does not mean that it has remained totally unchanged. What is needed in future studies to further clarify these changes is, firstly, to compare the abessive to the uses of the caritive ending in the Permic languages and, secondly, the uses of both of these elements in other Uralic languages.

Abbreviations

1	first person	FREQ	frequentative
2	second person	FUT	future tense
3	third person	GEN	genitive
1PST	first past tense	ILL	illative
2PST	second past tense	INE	inessive
ABE	abessive	INF	infinitive
ABL	ablative	INS	instrumental
ACC	accusative	NEG	negative element
ADJ	adjective	NMLZ	nominalizer
ADV	adverb	OPT	optative
ADVL	adverbial case	PL	plural
CAR	caritive	POSS	possessive suffix
CNG	connegative form	PRED	predicate marker
COM	comitative	PRS	present tense
COMP	comparative	PRT	particle
COND	conditional	PST	past tense
CONV	converb	PTC	participle
DAT	dative	SG	singular
DET	determinate	SUPERL	superlative
ELA	elative	TERM	terminative
EX	existential		

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-ngV/-h(b)zV-johtimet Karjalan nimistössä

This article investigates place-names of Russian Karelia containing the formant (word-final element) *-ngV/-nkV*. The main purpose of the article is the description and systematization of Karelian toponyms belonging to this type. From the perspective of research on language contacts, it is an especially interesting type that apparently has multiple sources and includes place-names of different origin. In the article, the appearance of this formant in the Karelian appellatives and the use of the *-ngV* place names in historical documents of various periods are investigated. The possible origin of this word-final element is discussed and a comparative analysis of the stems containing the formant *-ngV/-nkV* in the Karelian toponymy is carried out. The article also touches upon the use of the formant *-нбза* (*-n'gV*) in the Russian toponymy of Northwest Russia and its links with the Finnic formant *-ngV*.

Artikkelissa käsittelen *-ngV/-nkV*-johtimellisia paikannimiä Karjalan nimistössä. Kyseessä on nimikontaktien tutkimuksen kannalta varsin kiintoisa nimityyppi, joka on selvästi monilähtöinen ja näyttää keränneen ympärilleen erilähtöisiä nimiä.

Esitän artikkelissa huomioita aineksen esiintymisestä karjalaisessa appellatiivisessa sanastossa ja *-ngV*-loppuisten nimien käytöstä eriaikaisissa historiallisissa lähteissä, kajoan kysymykseen aineksen alkuperästä sekä teen *-ngV/-nkV*-johtimen sisältävien karjalankielisten nimivartaloiden vertailevan analyysin. Artikkelissa kosketten myös kysymyksiä aineksen *-нбза* (*-n'gV*) käytöstä venäjänkielisessä nimistössä ja sen yhteydestä itämerensuomalaiseen *-ngV*-suffiksiin.

Artikkelin päätavoitteena on täten karjalankielisten *-ngV/-nkV*-aineksisten paikannimien yleiskuvaus ja systematisointi.

1. Tutkimuskysymys

Karjalan nimistöstä on havaittavissa ryhmä pääasiassa vesistönimiä, jotka sisältävät sekä itämerensuomalaisessa (karjalaisessa, suomalaisessa ja vepsäläisessä) että Luoteis-Venäjän venäläisessä nimistössä esiintyvän *-ngV/-h(b)zV*-aineksen.

Tämän sananloppuisen aineksen juurien tutkimisen historia on alkanut 1800-luvun puolivälissä, jolloin akateemikko Andreas Johan Sjögren (1832) yritti ensimmäisen kerran analysoida *-ngV/-h(b)zV*-johtimellisia paikannimiä. Hänen jälkeensä kysymystä on käsitellyt suurehko joukko suomalaisia ja venäläisiä tiedemiehiä (mm. M. A. Castrén (1844), D. E. D. Europaeus (1868, 1874), E. Kiviniemi (1980), A. Räisänen (2003), J. Saarikivi (2003), A. K. Matvejev (1970, 2001, 2007), B. A. Serebrennikov (1966), I. I. Mullonen (2002), E. A. Helinski (2006) ja muut).¹ Samalla Karjalan pai-

1 Tämän kysymyksen tutkimisen historiasta seikkaperäisemmin Saarikivi (2003) ja Matvejev (2007).

kannimet ovat jääneet tähän asti pääasiassa tieteellisen tutkimuksen ulkopuolelle, kun tutkijoilla ei ole ollut käytössä paljonkaan vertailevaa tutkimusmateriaalia karjalan kielen puhuma-alueilta.

2. -ngV/-nkV-johdin appellatiivisessa sanastossa

Ennen -nkV/-ngV-johtimellisten paikannimien analyysia esitän aluksi muutamia huomioita johtimen esiintymisestä appellatiivisessa sanastossa.

Kuten tiedetään, nimistössä esiintyy hyvin usein sellaisia johtimia, jotka ovat vähäproduktiivisia appellatiivisessa sananmuodostuksessa. Tämä ilmiö lienee selitettävissä kielenkehityksessä havaittavissa olevalla tendenssillä pyrkiä erottamaan appellatiivi- ja nimistöjohtimet. Kuitenkaan täysin puhtaita nimijohtimia ei juurikaan tavata, ja -nkV on sekin myös appellatiivijohdin.

Karjalan murrenastosta (kartta 1) voidaan löytää yli 60 -nkV/-ngV-loppuista sanaa (esim. *d'uominga* 'juolukka', *hairingo* 'erehdys', *houčinki* 'puuha, touhu', *kouringo* 'leipämöykky' *nirhingi* '(vihan) kauna, närä', *piirungu*² 'rako').³ Ne esiintyvät murteissa seuraavasti:

	Yhteensä	Vain tässä murteistossa
Varsinaiskarjalan pohjoismurteet	17	5
Varsinaiskarjalan etelämurteet	41	22
Tverin ja Leningradin alueiden Varsinaiskarjalaiset murteet	3	1
Livviläismurteet	25	11
Lyydiläismurteet	6	1

Taulukko 1. -ngV/-nkV-loppuiset appellatiivit karjalan kielessä.

Taulukosta 1 näkyy, että appellatiivisella tasolla käsiteltävä johdin esiintyy karjalan kielen kaikissa murteissa, mutta sen produktiivisuudessa on huomattavia vaihteluita. Aineistokokoelmiin tallennettujen appellatiivien joukossa on vain kolme sanaa, jotka tavataan koko Karjalan alueella: *alanko*, *karanko* ja *vahinko* (KKS). Kaksi viimeksi mainittua esiintyvät myös Tverin ja Leningradin alueiden varsinaiskarjalan murteissa (kenttäaineisto).

Karjalan kielen -nkV/-ngV-loppuisista appellatiiveista maastoterminä esiintyy vain yhdeksän sanaa: *ahingo* 'kapea kannas järven ja suon välissä', *alango* 'alanko', *burango* 'upottava kohta suossa', *čauringo* 'somerikko', *rauningo* 'kiviröykkiö', *suo-tingo* 'pieni suo', *tazango* 'tasanne', *vanango* 'märkä alanne', *ylängö* 'ylänkö'. Tähän ryhmään kuuluu nähtävästi vielä kolme termiä, joita käytetään nimistössä, mutta joita

2 Karjalan livviläismurteissa 3- ja useampitavuisissa sanoissa sekä 2-tavuisissa sanoissa, joiden 1. tavu on pitkä, sananloppuinen *a/ä* muuttuu *u/i/*:ksi.

3 Kirjoittaessani tätä artikkelia olen käyttänyt omia kenttätöyömaterialaalejani sekä seuraavia sanakirjoja ja aineistoja: KKS, NA, LMS, Pohjanvalo (1947), NTA IJALI, SKJ 1990 ja SKJ 1994.



Karjalan murteet:

1. varsinaiskarjalaiset murteet
2. livviläismurteet
3. lyydiläismurteet

Kartta 1. Karjalan kielen murteet.

nykyisin ei tunneta appellatiiveina: **kudrinki* 'syväne vesistöissä', **kujangi* 'tie' ja **ypänki* 'ylänne' (ks. alempana).

-nkV/-ngV-loppuisia appellatiiveja on tallennettu myös vepsäläisten asuma-alueella, vrt. *alang* 'alanko', *karangišt* 'kuusikko, jossa on paljon karankoja (kelopuita)', *sohring* 'rämeikkö', *tazangišt* 'tasanne', *uhring*, *urting* 'lähde; hetteikkö' (PFGŁ). Suurin osa *-nkV/-ngV*-loppuisista appellatiiveista tavataan kuitenkin varsinaiskarjalan etelämurteissa, pääasiassa Karjalan tasavallan keskiosassa (Paateneen ja Rukajärven murteissa) sekä Suomen Raja-Karjalan Suojärven murteissa.

-nkV-loppuiset maastotermit eivät ole yleisiä myöskään suomen kielen appellatiivisessa maastotermistössä. Eero Kiviniemen käsittelemästä yli kahdestasadasta maastoappellatiivista tämä struktuurallinen elementti esiintyy vain seitsemässä sanassa: *alanko* (*alinko*), *alunki* 'alue', *kuorinki* 'louhikko vaarassa tai tunturissa; maa- tai kiviluola', *ojanko* '(umpeutunut) luonnonoja tai joenuoma; notko, noro', *raivinki* 'raivattu pelto', *ryöpinkö* 'savinen ja kurainen tie' ja *ylänkö* (Kiviniemi 1990: 64–79). On kuitenkin todettavissa, että eräät *-nkV*-loppuiset appellatiivit eivät ilmeisesti ole joutuneet tutkijan näköpiiriin ja tästä syystä niiden todellinen määrä sittenkin lienee jonkin verran suurempi. Esimerkiksi Hakulinen mainitsee muutaman käsiteltävään tyyppiin kuuluvan termin, jotka näyttäisivät puuttuvan Kiviniemen luettelosta. Näitä ovat *kujanki* 'kapeahko tie', *oilinka*, *oilinki* 'pitkä suora osa tiellä tai joenselällä; pitkä suora taival' ja *peranko* 'pelloksi raivattu aukeama' (Hakulinen 1968: 113, 142, 174), *elanko* 'joen poukama, suvantopaikka kosken alla', *horanko* 'metsässä sammaleisten kivien, kantojen ja puunjuurien välissä oleva pudottava kuoppa', *kursunki* 'niitty, jonka läpi kulkee luonnonoja', *laiminki* 'tyyni paikka merellä', *syvänkö* 'alava paikka; alanko', *västinki* 'rantapenkka' (NA).⁴

3. *-ngV/-nkV*-johdin nimistössä

Erotukseksi Suomen nimistöstä, jossa monet *-nkV*-johtimen sisältävät paikannimet ovat keskeisten ja tärkeiden vesistöjen nimiä (Kiviniemi 1980: 334–335), Karjalassa käsiteltävään tyyppiin kuuluvat paikannimet esiintyvät keskikokoisten ja hyvin usein myös pienikokoisten maastokohtien nimissä. Huomattavaa on sekin, että ne ovat tavallisesti tuntemattomia sen kyläyhteisön ulkopuolella, jossa niitä käytetään. Tällä selittyy myös se tosiasia, että karjalankieliset *-ngV*-päätteiset paikannimet ovat olleet pitkään tutkijoiden näköpiirin ulkopuolella kenttätutkimuksen puutteen takia. Käsiteltäviä nimiä ei useinkaan löydy topografisilta kartoilta, joita laajalti käytetään paikannimistö tutkimuksen lähteinä.

Kuten edellä on mainittu, karjalaisten nykyisellä asuma-alueella *-nkV/-ngV*-johdin esiintyy ennen kaikkea vesistönimissä, erityisesti järvien nimissä. Sitä on käytetty myös jokien, purojen, niemien, lahtien, ylänköjen, soiden ja maatalousmaiden nimeämisessä. Yhteensä Karjalassa on tallennettu 138 käsiteltävään tyyppiin kuuluvaa nimiryöstä (esim. *Hemmenki*–: *Hemmenkiniemi*, *Hemmenkijoki*, *Hemmenkisuari*,

4 *-ngV*-loppuisia sanoja löytyy mm. myös viron etelämurteista (*päivänõsõng* 'auringonnousu', *hainang* 'heinäteko', *vussing* 'pilalle mennyt asia') sekä Saarenmaan murteesta (*alang* 'alanko'). On huomattava, että viron maastoappellatiiveissa *-ngV*-aines on hyvin epätyypillinen (Evar Saar suullisesti).

Hemmenkisuot, Hemmenkivuara (Luusalmi, Uhtua).⁵ Suurin osa niistä esiintyy karjalankielisessä nimistössä, eräät tunnetaan vain venäjänkielisinä variantteina. 77:ää nimi-ryvästä voidaan pitää uniikkimininä, koska ne tavataan nimistöstä vain kerran. Muut nimet esiintyvät vähintään kahdessa paikassa. Huomattavaa on kuitenkin, että vain viisi -nkV/-ngV-loppuista nimivartaloa esiintyy kolmessa tai neljässä rypäessä: *Eningi-/Enängi-* (3), *Kuuzingi-/Kuusinki-* (4), *Munangi-/Munanki-* (3), *Vezungi-/Vesunki-* (4) ja *Ypängi-/Ypänki-* (3). Nämä ovat myös aineiston laajimmin esiintyvät nimet.

On edelleen havaittavissa, että suurin osa nimivartaloista on harvinaisia myös yleisitämerensuomalaisessa kontekstissa. 220 -nkV-päätteisen nimivartalon joukosta, jotka Alpo Räisänen on käsitellyt (Räisänen 2003: 5–6), karjalaisiin nimiin rinnastuvia variantteja on vain kymmenen:

Karjala	Suomi (Räisänen 2003)
<i>Juomingilammit</i> (Jyskyjärvi)	<i>Juominki</i> (koski, Pudasjärvi)
<i>Kujanginiemi</i> (Luzma, Rebola)	<i>Kujankijoki</i> (Kuhmo)
<i>Kuuzingijärvi</i> (Kiimasjärvi, Rugajärvi)	<i>Kuusinginmukka</i> (Sodankylä)
<i>Limingansuo</i> (Lezola, Voijärvi)	<i>Liminganjoki</i> (Liminka)
<i>Oulungajogi</i> (Voijärvi)	<i>Oulankajoki</i> (Kuusamo)
<i>Pieninkiluoma</i> (Kiimaisjärvi, Pistojärvi)	<i>Pienankijärvi</i> (Puolanka)
<i>Sieminginoja</i> (Kiisjoki, Kiestinki)	<i>Sieminki</i> (järvi, Salla)
<i>Vezungilaksi</i> (Suigujärvi)	<i>Vesanka</i> (kylä, Jyväskylä)
<i>Viijankijärvi</i> (Uhtua)	<i>Viiankiniitty</i> (Mikkeli)
<i>Vičangivuara</i> (Koivuniemi, Tungua)	<i>Vitsankijärvi</i> (Kuusamo)

Taulukko 2. Nimivartaloiden äänteellisiä paralleeleja Karjalan ja Suomen nimistössä.

Sitä paitsi Nimiarkiston kortistosta löytyy vielä 11 paralleelinimeä:

Karjala	Suomi (nimiarkisto)
<i>Gul't'unganvuara</i> (Lubasalmi, Porajärvi)	<i>Kuljungi/Kuljunki</i> (mäki, Ilomantsi)
<i>Kalmungi</i> (järvi, Sellinkylä, Puadene)	<i>Kalmunginsuari</i> (Kuopio)
<i>Krusingijärvi</i> (Vongajärvi, Kontokki)	<i>Ruusinginpuro</i> (Reisjärvi)
<i>Latinka</i> (nurmi, Akkala, Pistojärvi)	<i>Latinkainen</i> (oja, Kokemäki)
<i>Lavinginkoski</i> (Korbilaksi, Rugajärvi)	<i>Lavinkainen</i> (asumus, Tyrvää)
<i>Маленьга</i> (<i>Malen'ga</i>) (oja, Njuhča)	<i>Maalinkaluoto</i> (Viipuri)
<i>Munangisuari</i> (Kiimasjärvi, Rugajärvi)	<i>Munanki</i> (lahti, Suomussalmi)
<i>Tal(l)inka</i> (nurmi, Akkala, Pistojärvi)	<i>Tallinki</i> (koski, Merikarvia)
<i>Tenningoselgä</i> (mäki, Puadene)	<i>Tenninki</i> (mökki, Nousiainen)
<i>Uarinkisuari</i> (Kostovuara, Oulanka)	<i>Aarinkaislahti</i> (Hausjärvi)
<i>Vuotanginniemi</i> (Kurenkylä, Puanajärvi)	<i>Vuotinki</i> (lahdeke, Kymi)

Taulukko 3. Nimivartaloiden äänteellisiä paralleeleja Karjalassa ja Suomessa.

5 Sulkeissa esimerkin jälkeen mainitaan ensin kylän nimi, jonka nimistössä paikannimi on tallennettu, ja sitten pitäjän nimi, jossa itse kylä on sijainnut. Jos paikannimi esiintyy pitäjän keskuskylässä, jonka mukaan pitäjä on saanut nimensä, sulkeissa mainitaan vain pitäjä. Suomen-puoleisten esimerkkien jälkeen mainitaan vain pitäjän nimi.

Eräillä karjalaisilla nimillä on äänteellisiä paralleeleja myös Kuolan niemimaalla sekä Arkangelin ja Vologdan alueilla. Samalla jää kuitenkin avoimeksi kysymys taulukoissa mainittujen nimivartaloiden mahdollisesta yhteisestä alkuperästä. Tämä kysymys vaatisi nimikantojen tarkkaa vertailua ja niiden esiintymisen kartoittamista, mikä ei kuuluu kuitenkaan tämän artikkelin tarkoituksiin.

Karjala	Luoteis-Venäjä
<i>Барзанга</i> (<i>Varzanga</i>) (pelto, Njuhča)	<i>Барзеньга</i> (<i>Varzen'ga</i>) (joki, Arkangelin alue)
<i>Voingi</i> (joki, Voingi, Tungua)	<i>Воинга</i> (<i>Voinga</i>) (joki, Kuolan niemimaa)
<i>Enängijogi</i> (Suarenpiä, Rebola)	<i>Енанга</i> (<i>Enanga</i>) (joki, Vologdan alue)
<i>Kalmungi</i> (järvi, Sellinkylä, Puadane)	<i>Калманьга</i> (<i>Kalman'ga</i>) (joki, Arkangelin alue)
<i>Kuollungijärvi</i> (Tiiksi, Rugajärvi)	<i>Коленьга</i> (<i>Kolen'ga</i>) (joki, Arkangelin alue)
<i>Kormanka</i> (kylä, Oulanka)	<i>Корманга</i> (<i>Kormanga</i>) (joki, Vologdan alue)
<i>Korpankijoki</i> (Kostamus, Kontokki)	<i>Корбанка</i> (<i>Korbanka</i>) (joki, Vologdan alue)
<i>Kuuzengijogi</i> (Koivuniemi, Tungua)	<i>Кузеньга</i> (<i>Kuzen'ga</i>) (joki, Vologdan alue)
<i>Kurtangioja</i> (Jyskyjärvi)	<i>Курденьга</i> (<i>Kurden'ga</i>), <i>Куртанга</i> (<i>Kurtanga</i>) (joki, pelto, Vologdan alue)
<i>Lemengijärvi</i> (Vičcataipale)	<i>Леменьга</i> (<i>Lemen'ga</i>) (joki, Arkangelin alue)
<i>Puulonkijärvet</i> (Puulonki, Kieretti)	<i>Пулонга</i> (<i>Pulonga</i>) (kylä, Kuolan niemimaa)
<i>Suksingo</i> (järvi, Jouhivuara Puadane)	<i>Суксонга</i> (<i>Suksonga</i>) (joki, Arkangelin alue)
<i>Suulanki</i> (järvi, Mikkola, Uhtua)	<i>Сулонга</i> (<i>Sulonga</i>) (joki, Vologdan alue)
<i>Tаваньга</i> (<i>Tavan'ga</i>) (kylä, Oulanka)	<i>Тавеньга</i> (<i>Taven'ga</i>) (joki, Vologdan alue)
<i>Ulango-oja</i> (Peldoine, Pyhäjärvi)	<i>Уленьга</i> (<i>Ulen'ga</i>) (joki, Arkangelin alue)
<i>Чаванка</i> (<i>Čavanka</i>) (saari, Njuhča)	<i>Чаваньга</i> (<i>Čavan'ga</i>) (joki, Kuolan niemimaa)
<i>Juumingivirda</i> (koski, Kagara, Vičcataipale)	<i>Юменьга</i> (<i>Jumen'ga</i>) (joki, Arkangelin alue) ⁶

Taulukko 4. Nimivartaloiden äänteellisiä paralleeleja Karjalassa ja Luoteis-Venäjällä.

Samoin kuin appellatiivisessa sanastossa, myös nimistössä voi esiintyä erilaisia johdinaineksen loppuvokaalivariantteja. Suurin osa nimistä, noin 70 %, on *-ngi/-nki*-loppuisia – vrt. puro *Čieringioja* (Kuorilaksi, Puanajärvi), järvi *Kylmengijärvet* (Sellinkylä, Puadane), saari *Юзмунги* (*Juzmingi*) (Pongoma, Vienan Kemi). Noin 20 % aineistosta on *-nga/-nka*-johtimen sisältäviä paikannimiä (vrt. ylänkö *Gul'l'unganvuara* (Lubasalmi, Porajärvi), joki *Oulankajoki* (Oulanka), pelto *Барзанга* (Njuhča), ja noin 10 % nimistä on *-o*-loppuisia (vrt. lahti *Ruamingo* (Liävyneemi, Vieljärvi), puro *Lozungo-oja* (Kuuziniemi, Rugajärvi), lammet *Kuuksinkolammit* (Lohilaksi, Kiestinki)). Kaksi viimeksi mainittua johtimen varianttia esiintyy pääasiassa tämän strukturaalisen mallin areaalin reunoilla, kun taas sen ydinalueilla käytetään vain *-ngi/-nki*-johdinta.

6 Arkangelin ja Vologdan alueiden paikannimet on otettu Matvejevilta (2007).

Mainittakoon myös, että johtimen loppuvokaalin vaihtelevuudella ei nähtävästi ole etnohistoriallista merkitystä.⁷ Areaalin eri alueilla ja jopa yhden kyläyhteisön rajoissa tavataan johtimen eri variantteja sisältäviä nimivartaloita:

<i>Eningolambi (Eningi-) (Salgovuara, Puadene)</i>	<i>Eningijärvi (Sellinkylä, Puadene)</i>
<i>Šapšangajärvi (Sellinkylä, Puadene)</i>	<i>Šapšangojärvi (Lubosalmi, Porajärvi)</i>
<i>Punangojärvet (Kagara, Vičcataipale)</i>	<i>Punankilampi (Haikola, Uhtua)</i>
<i>Pieningäjogi (Tuuzenie, Rebola)</i>	<i>Pieninkiluoma (järvi, Kiimaisjärvi, Pistojärvi)</i>
<i>Čieringioja (Kuorilaksi, Puanajärvi)</i>	<i>Čieringännurmi (Nimijärvi, Vuohjärvi)</i>
<i>Suksingo (järvi, Sellinkylä, Puadene)</i>	<i>Suksingi (järvi, Sellinkylä, Puadene)</i>
<i>Urpangilaksi (lahti, Piäkkö, Jyskyjärvi)</i>	<i>Urpenganiemi (Piäkkö, Jyskyjärvi)</i>
<i>Maininkajärvi (Akkala, Pistojärvi)</i>	<i>Maininkijärvi (Akkala, Pistojärvi)</i>

Taulukko 5. -ngV-johtimen loppuvokaalin vaihtelevuus Karjalan nimistössä.

Myöskään nimivartaloiden toisen tavun vokaaleissa, jotka edeltävät -nkV/-ngV-ainesta, ei ole havaittavissa säännönmukaisuutta. Variaatiota on paljon. On hyvin mahdollista, että eräissä tapauksissa se voi viitata nimivartaloiden eri alkulähteisiin.

<i>Eningi- (Suarenpiä, Repola)</i>	<i>Enängi- (Sellinkylä, Puadene)</i>
<i>Gul’l’ungo- (Lubasalmi, Porajärvi)</i>	<i>Kul’l’ango- (Suodele, Puadene)</i>
<i>Hemmenki- (Luusalmi, Uhtua)</i>	<i>Hemmunki- (Luusalmi, Uhtua)</i>
<i>Kuusinki-/Kuusenki- (Tumča, Oulanka)</i>	<i>Kuuzangi- (Koivuniemi, Tungua)</i>
<i>Kylmengi- (Sellinkylä, Puadene)</i>	<i>Kylmingi- (Sellinkylä, Puadene)</i>
<i>Levenki- (Nurmilakši, Uhtua)</i>	<i>Levingi- (Nurmilakši, Uhtua)</i>
<i>Oulanka- (Oulanka)</i>	<i>Oulunga- (Voijärvi)</i>
<i>Pirtanki- (Ahvenlakši, Kiestinki)</i>	<i>Pirtonki- (Ahvenlakši, Kiestinki)</i>
<i>Punengo- (Kagara, Vičcataipale)</i>	<i>Punanki- (Haikolan Uhtua)</i>
<i>Urpangi- (Piäkkö, Rugajärvi)</i>	<i>Urpengi- (Piäkkö, Rugajärvi)</i>
<i>Vuavangi-/Vuavengi- (Pilzjärvi, Puanajärvi)</i>	<i>Vuavungi- (Pilzjärvi, Puanajärvi)</i>

Taulukko 6. Vokaalien vaihtelevuus nimivartaloiden toisessa tavussa.

7 -nki ja -ngO-ainekset ovat formaalisti yhdysperäisiä -nkA-johtimen pohjalle muodostettuja johtimia.

4. *-ngV/-nkV*-johtimen alkuperästä

Pohdiskellessaan mallin alkuperää Suomen nimistössä Eero Kiviniemi (1980) olettaa, että mallin juuret voivat juontaa juurensa esihistoriallisesta ajasta. Tästä on hänen mukaansa todistuksena *-nkV/-ngV*-johtimen sisältävien maastokohtien merkittävä koko ja useimpien nimien läpinäkymättömyys. Kiviniemi on myös sitä mieltä, että osa etymologisesti hämäristä nimistä on voinut syntyä joskus Keski-Suomessa asuneiden saamelaisten keskuudessa. Nimivartaloiden hämäryyden tutkija selittää sekä vastaavien appellatiivien mahdollisella katoamisella nykyisistä saamelaiskielistä että saamelaisten nimien mukautumisella uudisasukkaiden kieleen, mikä on muuttanut huomattavasti saamelaisnimien alkuperäistä äänneasua.

Kiviniemen mukaan itämerensuomalainen *-nkV/-ngV*-paikannimijohdin on voinut saada alkunsa ainakin osassa nimiä kantasaamelaisesta **-ńdže/*-ńće*-deminutiivijohtimesta⁸ (vrt. saK. *suolenč* 'pieni saari', *uaivenč* 'pieni mäki'). Näin ollen kyseessä olisi itämerensuomalaisten *-nen*-loppuisten vesistönimien rinnakkaistyyppi, jonka levikki on samalla tavalla "sisäsuomalainen" kuin *-nen*-nimien (*-nen* : *-se*-johdinaines palautuu vksm. *-ńće*-johdinainekseen). Samaan aikaan Kiviniemi on kuitenkin myös sitä mieltä, että monet Suomen nimistössä esiintyvistä nimistä ovat voineet syntyä jossakin historian vaiheessa jo produktiivisen *-nkV/-ngV*-paikannimijohtimen ansiosta, jota käytettiin alun perin vierasperäisten paikannimien mukautumisessa omaan nimistösysteemiin (Kiviniemi 1980: 335–337, vrt. myös Räisänen 2003: 159–166). Janne Saarikivi olettaa vuorostaan, että *-ńće*-johdin olisi lainautunut paikannimien välityksellä kantasaamesta kantasuomeen, jossa sitä olisi myöhemmin ruvettu käyttämään myös appellatiiveissa (kantasuomessahan omaperäinen vanha **-ńće*-johdin kehittyi *-se*-johdinainekseksi) (Saarikivi 2003: 78).

Itämerensuomalaisen *-nkV/-ngV*-paikannimisuffiksin syntyä kantasaamelaisesta *-ńdže* (**-ńće*) -johtimesta voivat tukea Vienan Karjalassa tallennetut paikannimet, joissa molemmat johtimet esiintyvät rinnakkain: vrt. *Uarinčiranta* ja *Uarinkisuari* (Kostovaara, Oulanka), *Rievenči* (lahti, Lohilahti, Kiestinki) ja *Rievinkijoki* (Pistojärvi).⁹ Historiasta tiedetään, että Vienan pohjoisosissa saamelaiset ovat asuneet 1700-luvun loppuun saakka (Chernäkova 1998: 63; Pöllä 1995: 184; Pöllä 2001: 94–98). Onkin aivan ilmeistä, että tämän seudun saamelaisväestöstä osa on vaihtanut kielensä karjalaksi kaksikielisyyden kautta, mikä loi hyvät edellytykset sekä vanhan saamelaisnimistön että sen rakenteellisten aineksien säilymiselle (ks. tarkemmin Kuzmin 2010).

Edellä mainittujen nimien lisäksi *-nčV*-suffiksin sisältävä malli tavataan vielä nykyisen Karjalan muidenkin maastokohtien nimissä:

8 Substituutiosuhteesta sa. *č* > ims. *k* etuvokaalin edessä on jo entuudestaan tunnettu paljon esimerkkejä (esim. saN. *čearru* > kero 'tunturin puuton laki', saN. *čiekčá* > kiekki 'kalasääski').

9 Vrt. myös 1600-luvun alun asiakirjassa mainittu Kuolan niemimaan luoteisosassa joki *РовденчV* (*RovdenčV*) ja sen variantti *Ровденга* (*Rovdenga*) (Haruzin 1890: 434, 441).

<i>Ilmančisuari</i> (< vrt. sa. * <i>elme</i> 'ylä')	(Jänkäjärvi, Porajärvi)
Imančijärvi	(Jänkäjärvi, Porajärvi)
Kopančajärvi	(Laitasalmi, Oulanka)
<i>Kopančajärvi</i> (ven. <i>Копанець</i>)	(Heinäjärvi, Kiestinki)
Korkančivuara	(Kostovaara, Oulanka)
Kotančisuari	(Niska, Oulanka)
<i>Livončinoja</i> (? < * <i>livē</i> 'peurojen lepoaikka')	(Nuozjärvi, Vieljärvi)
<i>Lotenčansuari</i>	(Vičcataipale)
järvi <i>Pelončozero</i> (ven. <i>Пелончозеро</i>)	(Kočkamozero, Vuigajärvi)
<i>Pizančajärvi</i> (ven. <i>Пизанець</i>), - <i>vuara</i> (< * <i>pēsē</i> 'pyhä')	(Puadene)
<i>Povenčaniemi</i> , - <i>vuara</i>	(Valasjoki, Kiestinki)
asutus <i>Povenča</i> (ven. <i>Повенец</i>)	(Povenets)
<i>Rovančisuari</i> (? < * <i>rovē</i> 'palo')	(Soukelo, Oulanka)
<i>Tulinčijoki</i> , - <i>järvi</i>	(Kälkäjärvi, Vičcataipale)
<i>Uomančijärvi</i> (? < * <i>vuome</i> 'laakso')	(Rukajärvi)
<i>Uvančarvi</i> (tai <i>Uančarvi</i>) → * <i>Uvanči</i> / <i>Uvančajärvi</i> (? < sa. * <i>uve</i> 'uoma')	(Rukajärvi)
<i>Voivončijogi</i> (variaantit <i>Voijonči</i> , <i>Vaivanča</i> (ven. <i>Вайванець</i>))	(Kaličinsuari, Puadene)
<i>Il'mančinjärvi</i> (ven. <i>Иломанець</i>) (< * <i>ēlēmānčē</i> 'ylimmäinen') (Aikio 2007: 98).	(Ilomantsi, Suomen Karjala)

Taulukko 7. -nčV-aineksiset paikannimet karjalaisessa nimistössä.

Jos lähdetään kahdesta viimeksi esitetystä venäjänkielisestä esimerkistä, voidaan olettaa, että -nčV-tyyppi voisi edustua myös eräissä Vienanmeren rannikon venäjänkielisissä¹⁰ paikannimissä: vrt. saaret *Кайнець*, *Морженець*, *Ухконець* (Unežma), *Калганцы*, *Шагланцы* (Suma), *Пулонець* (Vienanmeren etelärannikko). On hyvin mahdollista, että tähän paikannimiryhmään on kuulunut myös Vienanmeressä oleva *Bolšoj Soloveckij ostrov*. Kyseessä on sen saaren nimi, jolla sijaitsee kuuluisa *Solovetskin* luostari. Saaren varhaisempi muoto on ollut vain *Solovec* (*Соловець*), ja vielä aikaisempi muoto olisi voinut olla *Solonec*, jonka pohjalta voi rekonstruoida saamenkielisen muodon **SuolenčV* (vrt. sa. *suolo/suolu* 'saari' + -nčV-johdin; vrt.

10 Vienanmeren rannikon asukkaiden kielessä ja venäjänkielisessä nimistössä on tallennettu melkoinen määrä sekä saamelaisperäisiä paikannimiä (esim. *Jolmaniha*, *Kočkamnavolok*, *Kotkovostrov*, *Kovdareka*, *Kätkäreka* jne.) että appellatiivia (vrt. *коткуй* (*kotkui*) 'kannas', *нахма* (*pahta*) 'kallio, kalliainen mäki', *тундра* (*tundra*) 'sammalta kasvava aukea paikka' jne. (Kuzmin 2007, 2010)), mikä voi todistaa, että rannikolla on ollut joskus saamelaista asutusta. Se sallii myös olettaa, että osa saamelaisväestöä on assimiloitunut täällä uudisasukkaisiin.

myös saK. *suolenč* 'pieni saari'¹¹). Johtimella *-nčV* ei saarennimessä *SuolenčV* kuitenkaan ole deminutiivista merkitystä, vaan kyseessä on itämerensuomalaiselle *-nen-*johtimelle läheinen paikannimiformantti. Kuolan niemimaalla *-nčV*-loppuisia paikannimiä tavataan esimerkiksi Alai Mihalkovan maakirjassa 1600-luvun alussa (*Vypiska iz pistsovoi knigi Alaja Mihalkova 116, 117, 119*): esim. joki *RovdenčV* (tekstissä sijamuodossa *do reki Rovdenču*) Petsamon tienoilla ja leiripaikka *Лонские Куванцы* (Lopskie Kuvanci) < **Kuvanči*¹² (Haruzin 1890: 426, 434), sekä paikka *Каранцы* (*Karanci*) (1627) (KBC 1950: 150).

Venäjänkielinen alkuperäinen muoto *Solonec* on voinut muuttua muodoksi *Solovec* Viananmeren rannikon melko lukuisien *-vec*-loppuisten saarennimien vaikutuksella: vrt. *Берёзовец* (Berjozovets eli Koivusaari) (Kandalahi, Kalgalahti, Sorokka, Koležma, Kuivaniemi), *Соговец* (*Sogovets*) (Varzuga), *Еловец* (*Jelovets* eli Kuusisaari) (Kouta, Kesäjoki, Kemi, Suiku, Suma, Virma), *Сосновец* (*Sosnovets* eli Mäntysaari) (Pongoma, Kemi, Suma, Koležma), *Половец* (*Polovets*) (Kesäjoki), *Борщовец* (Borshovets) (Koležma), *Езовец* (*Jegovets*) (Koležma) jne.

Huomattakoon, että nykyisessä Suomen nimistössä edellä mainittu *Ilomantsi*-paikannimi on ainoa tietämäni esimerkki, jossa saattaa esiintyä *-ntsi*-muodossa kantasaamen *-*ńće*-johdinaines. Voidaan olettaa, että aineksen säilymisen edellytyksenä olisi voinut olla paikannimen pitkäaikainen käyttö karjalankielisessä ympäristössä, jossa sitä käytettiin juuri *-nči*-muotoisena (ks. ylempänä). Toisaalta, Suomen nimistössä on tallennettu *-nči*-ainekselle läheinen *-nsi*-johdinaines: vrt. *Kuvansi* (kylänkunta), *Kuvansi(njoki)* ja *Kuvansinkoski* (Joroinen), *Kuvansi* (järvi, Suonenjoki/Leppävirta), *Syvänsi* (järvi, Joroinen/Jäppilä). Mainittakoon tässä, että karjalaisessa nimistössä tallennettuun *-nčV* (*-*ńće*) -johtimeen on sidottu nähtävästi geneettisesti läheinen *-нжа/-нза* (← *-*ńdže*)-johdinaines, joka esiintyy venäjänkielisissä vesistönnimissä Äänisen tienoiden eteläosassa sekä Karjalan kaakkoisosassa (mukaan lukien Arkangelin alueen itäosat nykyisen Karjalan rajalla): vrt. *Веренжа* (saari, Vodlajärvi), *Воренжа* (joen osa, Vorenža, Sumozero), *Илеменза* (joki, Pulozero, Sumozero)¹³, *Колонжа* ja *Колонжозеро* (puro ja järvi, Kalakunda, Puutonen), *Наглинжа* (koski, Vodlajärvi), *Парманжа* (joki, Njuhčozero Arkangelin alue), *Роменьжа* (joki, Vorenža, Sumozero), *Ухтинжа* (puro, lahti, Vodlajärvi), *Шигеренжа* (puro, Vožmogora, Vuigajärvi). Jos edellä mainittu oletus pitää paikkansa, niin voidaan myös olettaa, että *-nčV*/*-нжа*-areaalilla on selkeä etnokielellinen tausta. Silloin Äänisen tienoiden itä- ja kaakkoisosassa esiintynyt substraattikielen muoto erosi esimerkiksi tämän perusteella Karjalan muissa osissa olleesta substraattimurteesta, ja murteiden rajana lännessä on ollut joskus Ääninen ja pohjoisessa Uikujärvi (karj. Vuigajärvi) ja Uikujoki. Täten rajalta pohjoiseen ja itään mentäessä käytettiin vesistönnimissä *-nčV*-ainesta mutta etelässä ja kaakossa *-nžV*-ainesta (vrt. naapurialueilla

11 On mainittava, että Arkangelin alueen Äänisen piirin venäläisväestön kielessä on tallennettu myös *-nči*-ainesta sisältävä appellatiivi: vrt. *тыренчу* (*turenči*) 'vedenalaiset kallvot tai suuret kivet' (SRGK 1999: 538).

12 Vrt. *Kuvansi*- (Joroinen).

13 Vrt. *Il'manči*- (Ilomantsi).

Pelončozero (Пелончозеро) (järvi, Kočkamozero, Vuigajärvi) / *Vorenža* (Воренжа) (joen osa, Vorenža, Sumozero). Kiinnostava on myös se, että -nžV-arealin venäjänkielisestä nimistöstä puuttuu melko kokonaan -h(b)za eli -n(')ga-loppuisia paikan-nimiä. Kysymys vaatii kuitenkin jatkotutkimusta.

5. -nkV/-ngV-johtimelliset paikannimet asiakirjoissa ja kartoissa

-nkV/-ngV-johtimiset paikannimet ovat olleet käytössä Karjalan nimistössä melko pitkään, mistä todistavat 1500–1700-luvun asiakirjat, joissa käsiteltävä tyyppi esiintyy toistuvasti:

Paikannimi	Vuosi	Lähde
järvi <i>Енинга</i> (nyk. <i>Eningijärvi</i>) (Sellinkylä, Puadene)	1728	(Rytkölä 2006: 22) ¹⁴
joki <i>Кустенга</i> (Kiestinki)	1552/53	(ASM I: 114)
<i>Куенгинаволоок</i> (nyk. <i>Kujanginiemi</i>) (Luzma, Rebola)	1621	(RGADA 1621)
järvi <i>Люзэнга/Люзэнга</i> (nyk. <i>Lu(u)zingi</i>) (Omelie, Repola)	1718	(Chernäkova 1998: 59)
<i>Munangolax</i> (nyk. <i>Munankilakši</i>) (Munankilaksi, Kontokki)	1650	(Rytkölä 2006: 77)
joki <i>Олунга</i> (nyk. <i>Oulunga</i>) (Voijärvi)	1591	(MPIK: 327)
<i>Сапсанго-ярва</i> (variantti <i>Шапшангаозеро</i>) (nyk. <i>Šapšangajärvi</i>) (Sellinkylä, Puadene)	1621	(RGADA 1621)
lahti <i>Пулонская губа</i> < * <i>Пулонгская</i> (nyk. <i>Puulonkinlaksi</i>) (Puulonki, Kieretti)	1572	(ASM I: 200)
järvi <i>Виангожерф, Виангиярви</i> (nyk. <i>Vijankijärvi</i>) (Kivijärvi, Vuokkiniemi)	1650 1728	(Rytkölä 2006: 22, 77)

Taulukko 8. Karjalankieliset -ngV-loppuiset paikannimet asiakirjossa.

Alempana on esitetty muutama 1600-luvun esimerkki -h(b)za-loppuisista paikannimistä myös Kuolan niemimaalta ja Äänisjoen vesistöalueelta: vrt.

14 Käytän H. Rytkölän tutkielmassa olevia karttoja: mm. Claes Claessonin Kajaanin pitäjän kartta vuodelta 1650 ja A. Kleshninin Aunuksen ujestin kartta vuodelta 1728.

Paikannimi	Vuosi	Lähde
järvi <i>Аренго озеро (Arengo)</i> (Kuolan niemimaa)	1575	(ASM II: 68)
paikka <i>Варенга (Varenga)</i> (Kuolan niemimaa)	1592	(MPIK: 81)
paikka <i>Лазбинка (Lazbinka)</i> (Kuolan niemimaa)	1580	(ASM II: 145)
joki <i>Печенга (Pečenga)</i> (Kuolan niemimaa)	1581	(MPIK: 277)
joki <i>Чявунга (Čävunga)</i> (Kuolan niemimaa)	1575	(ASM II: 67)
joki <i>Неменга (Nemenga)</i> (Arkangelin Onegajoen vesistö)	1559	(ASM I: 156)
joki <i>Оченга (Očenga)</i> (Arkangelin Onegajoen vesistö)	1572	(ASM II: 13)
joki <i>Пулонга (Pulonga)</i> (Kuolan niemimaa)	1608–1611	(Haruzin 1890: 450)
joki <i>Утенга (Utenga)</i> (Kuolan niemimaa)	1608–1611	(Haruzin 1890: 441)
joki <i>Ваенга (Vaenga)</i> (Kuolan niemimaa)	1608–1611	(Haruzin 1890: 443)
vesistö <i>Куренга (Kurenga)</i> (Kuolan niemimaa)	1608–1611	(Haruzin 1890: 443)
joki <i>Еканга (Ekanga)</i> (Kuolan niemimaa)	1608–1611	(Haruzin 1890: 450)
järvi <i>Пиринга озеро (Piringa)</i> (Kuolan niemimaa)	1608–1611	(Haruzin 1890: 454)
järvi <i>Калонга озеро (Kalonga)</i> (Kuolan niemimaa)	1608–1611	(Haruzin 1890: 454)
joki <i>Тодонга (Todonga)</i> (Kuolan niemimaa)	1608–1611	(Haruzin 1890: 455)
joki <i>Лувонга (Luvonga)</i> (Kuolan niemimaa)	1608–1611	(Haruzin 1890: 460)
järvi <i>Чермонко озеро (Čermonko)</i> (Kuolan niemimaa)	1608–1611	(Haruzin 1890: 396)

Taulukko 9. Venäjänkieliset -n(ʼ)ga-loppuiset paikannimet asiakirjoissa.

Suffiksaalisten ja johtimettomien paikannimien rinnakkainen olemassaolo sekä muutama esimerkki nykyisten -nkV/-ngV-loppuisten paikannimien esiintymisestä 1800-luvun asiakirjoissa ilman johdinta viittaa siihen, että käsiteltävä suffiksi voi ainakin eräissä nimissä olla suhteellisen myöhäinen. Tämä puolestaan vahvistaa edellä esitetyn hypoteesin, että olemme tekemisissä nimenomaan paikannimimuodostuksessa käytetyn johtimen kanssa, joka on voinut olla produktiivinen uusien nimien muodostamisessa hyvin pitkään, paikoin mahdollisesti aivan 1800-luvun loppuun asti:

Вотанъяр(ву) (1728) (Rytkölä 2006: 22) – *Vuotangijärvi* (Kurenkylä, Ruana-järvi), järvi *Лостозеро* (1591) (MPIK: 327), *Лоустозеро* (1678), *Илоустозеро* (1762) (Chernäköva 2003: 40–41) – joki *Luostanki*, *Луюшталамбу* (1876) (GAAO 1876) – *Luostankilampi* (Haikola, Uhtua), kylä *Пежушозеро* (1762), *Пешушозеро* (1795) (Chernäköva 2003: 41), *Пежушозеро* (GARK 1906) – *Piesunki* (Mikkola, Uhtua), *Сиприн Шару* (GAAO 1876) – *Čiprinkisuari* (Niska, Oulanka), *Улмоозеро*

(1552/53) (ASM I: 114), *Ульмо озеро* (1591) (MPIK: 325) – *Ulmangijärvi* (Sarviniemi, Vičcataipale), puro *Чюно-ручей* (1563) (SGKE 1929: 447) – *Čuupinka* (Čuuppa, Kieretti).

6. -ngV/-nkV- johtimellisten nimivartaloiden analyysi

-nkV/-ngV-johtimen sisältävien nimivartaloiden alustava analyysi on osoittanut, että niiden alkuperä Karjalan nimistössä voi olla hyvin monenlainen. Kaikki tähän ryhmään kuuluvat paikannimet voidaan jakaa alustavasti neljään pääryhmään.¹⁵ Ensimmäinen ja suurin ryhmä koostuu nimistä, joiden vartalot ovat etymologisesti hankalasti selitettävissä. Toisin sanoen, ainakaan tutkimuksen tässä vaiheessa ei ole mahdollista tehdä johtopäätöksiä kielestä, jossa nimet alunperin ovat syntyneet, vrt. *Lepčenga* (järvet, Pizmalaksi, Jyskyjärvi), *Lupčinkisuari*, -vuara (Niska, Oulanka), *Puulonkijärviet* (Puulonki, Kieretti), *Ovankijogi* (Tungua), *Чаванка* (Čavanka) (saari, Njuhča), *Чаменьга* (Čamen’ga) (kannas, Äänisniemi). Tässä tapauksessa on vaikea ratkaista, missä tapauksissa substraattinimissä esiintyvä -ngV-aines todella on formantti ja missä tapauksissa se kuuluu nimikantaan. Se edellyttää laajaa nimikantojen vertailua ja eri suffiksivarianttien etsimistä laajalta alueelta, mitä minun käytettävissäni olevalla aineistolla on mahdotonta tehdä.

Toiseen ryhmään kuuluvat paikannimet, jotka voidaan pitää korkealla todennäköisyydellä saamelaisina.¹⁶ Niiden joukossa ovat mm. seuraavat paikannimet: *Čolmanki(järvi)*, *Čolmankisuari* (Haikola, Uhtua) *Jolmanginsuari* (Jolmani, Vičcataipale) < saN. *čolbmī*, saK. *čuèlm* ’salmi’; *Enängijogi* (Roukula, Rebola), *Eningijärvi* (Sellinkylä, Puadene) ja *Eningolambi* (Salgovuara, Puadene) < saN. *eatna*, saK. *ædne* ’suuri’ (Mullonen 2002: 273), *Kiestinkijoki* ja *Kiestinkilammit* (Kiestinki) < saK. *kiesta* ’koste, akanvirta (kosken alla)’, joka on johdos verbistä saN. *giessat* ’kääriä, keriä; kaartaa (joesta)’ (Räisänen 2003: 151), järvi *Kuolingi* (Sellinkylä, Puadene), *Kuollungijärvi* (Tiiksi, Rugajärvi) < saN. *guolli*, saK. *kuoll(e)* ’kala’; *Lu(u)zingijogi* ja *Lu(u)zingi(järvi)* (Omelie, Rebola) < saN. *luossa* ’lohi’; *Šapšangajärvi* (Sellinkylä, Puadene) ja *Šapšangojärvi* (Lubasalmi, Porajärvi) < saK. *šaps* ’siika’ (Nickul, NA); *Uarinkisuari* (Kostovuara, Oulanka) < saK. *ārri* ’jk harmaa lokkilintu’ (Räisänen 2003: 150), *Kuusenki järvi* (ven. *Кувьжденьга*) (Tumča, Oulanka), joki *Кувьженьга* (Kouda) < saN. *guvžá* ’taimen’ tai *kuovsi* ’yksivuotias majava’ (Salo 2000: 28); puro *Чутинка* > (karj. Čuupinka) (Čuuppa, Kieretti) < saK. *čuöppöš* ’lahdenpää’.

Kolmanteen ryhmään voidaan lukea kuuluviksi ne paikannimet, joiden nimivartaloihin -nkV/-ngV-johdin on voinut liittyä jo ennen nimenmuodostusta. Toisin sanoen paikannimissä esiintyvä jokin karjalan kielessä tavattavista -nkV/-ngV-loppui-

15 Vastaavaa nimien ryhmittelyä on käytetty A. Räisänen (2003) ja E. Kiviniemen (1980) tutkimuksissa.

16 Saamelaisasutuksesta Karjalassa, sekä saamelaisen ja itämerensuomalaisen kerrostuman erottamisesta koskevasta ongelmasta ks. tarkemmin Kuzmin 2010: 225–231, Kuzmin 2007: 21–29.

sista appellatiiveista: *Hemmunkijoki* (Luusalmi, Uhtua) ← *hemmungane* 'mesimarja'; *Juomingilammit* ja *Juominginoja* (Jyskyjärvi) ← *juominga* 'juolukka', *Maininkajärvi* ja *Maininkijoki* (Akkala) ← *mainink/a*, *-i*, *-o* 'pitkä loiva aalto'. Samalla eräiden yllä mainittujen paikannimien epäselvän syntymotivaation takia ei ole täysin selvää, koostuvatko paikannimet valmiista appellatiivista vai ovatko ne vain homonyymisiä appellatiivien kanssa.

Viimeinen ryhmä edustaa paikannimiä, joissa voidaan suhteellisen suurella todennäköisyydellä havaita itämerensuomalaisia nimivartaloita. Mutta samoin kuin edellisessäkin ryhmässä, myös tässä tapauksessa eräille niistä ei löydy täysin tyydyttävää selitystä sen suhteen, mikä on voinut olla paikannimen syntyedellytys. Tämä ryhmä on melko laaja ja muodostaa kolmanneksen *-nkV/-ngV*-johtimellisista paikannimistä. Esimerkkeinä voivat olla seuraavat paikannimet:

Gul'l'unganvuara (Lubasalmi, Porajärvi), vrt. *gul'l'u*, *kul'l'u* 'notkelma', koski *Juumingivirda* (Kagara, Vičcataipale), vrt. *juuma* 'syyvennys joessa', järvi *Kalmungi* (Sellinkylä, Puadene), vrt. *kalma* 'hautaus', *Kudringilambi* (Jyskyjärvi), vrt. ? *kutru* 'syvennys vesistöissä' (Kiviniemi 1990: 78), *Kuuksinkolammit* (Lohilaksi, Kiestinki), vrt. *kuukso* 'kuukkeli', *Kuuzingijärvi* (Kiimasjärvi, Rugajärvi), vrt. *kuuzi* 'kuusi', *Kylmengijärvet* (Sellinkylä, Puadene), vrt. *kylmä*, järvi *Lemengi* (Vičcataipale), vrt. *lemi* 'lieju', *Lepongilammit* (Puanajärvi), vrt. *lepo*, *Limingansuo* (Lezola, Voijärvi), vrt. *lima* 'siimapalpakko' (Räisänen 2003: 70), *Lozungo-oja* (Kuuziniemi, Rugajärvi), vrt. *lozo* 'vetinen alava paikka', joki *Oulunga* (Voijärvi), vrt. *oulu* 'kevättulva', *Punangojärvet* (Kagara, Vičcataipale), vrt. *puna* 'vesipyörre', järvi *Suarvanki* (Uhtua), vrt. *suarva* 'saukko', *Suksingojärvi* (Semšijärvi, Mändyselgä), vrt. *suksi* 'suksi', *Užmangisuo* (Užmana), vrt. *užma* 'höyry, sumu', *Užvangivuara* (Piebjärvi, Voijärvi), vrt. *užva* 'huurre', *Vičankijärvi* (Kiimaisjärvi, Pistojärvi), vrt. *vičča* 'vitsa', *vičikkö* 'pensaikko', *Viijankijärvi* (Kivijärvi, Vuokkiniemi), vrt. *viita* (gen. *viijan*) 'tiheä kuusikko', järvi *Ypänki* (Tollonjoki, Vuokkiniemi), vrt. *yppä* (gen. *ypän*), *ypäkkä* 'ylännepaikka', peltö *Барзанка* (Njuhča) vrt. *varza* 'varsa'.

Käsiteltävien paikannimien itämerensuomalaisen taustan todennäköisyys on eräissä tapauksissa hiukan korkeampi, sillä *-nkV/-ngV*-loppuisten nimien läheisyydessä on samavartaloisia mutta johtimettomia paikannimiä. Esimerkiksi Nurmilahden kylän tienoilla Levenki-järven luona on suurempi Leviejärvi ja lähellä Pizmalahtea Lepungijärveen virtaa Lepänoja-niminen puro. Myös objektiiviset maantieteelliset olosuhteet voivat auttaa tutkijaa nimen tulkinnassa. Näin esimerkiksi Tunkuan pitäjässä on tallennettu Kuuzengijogi-nimisen joen nimitys, joka nimioppaiden mukaan virtaa sakeassa kuusikossa. Tämän tiedon valossa ei olekaan uskallettua yhdistää nimi kuusi-appellatiiviin.

Kaikki yllä mainitut paikannimet todistavat mielestäni siitä, että näissä tapauksissa ollaan tekemisissä suffiksaation kanssa. Tähän seikkaan viittaa hyvin vahvasti sekin, että on olemassa suuri joukko paikannimiä, joissa edellä esitetyt nimivartalot esiintyvät ilman *-nkV/-ngV*-johdinta, joko sellaisenaan tai muiden paikannimisuffiksien kanssa, vrt. *Gul'l'umägi* (Kuudamolaksi, Porajärvi), *Kul'l'unranda* (Kirvesvuara, Puadene), *Kalmajärvi* (Kurenkylä, Puanajärvi), *Kuuksolambi* (Kokora, Puanajärvi), *Kuuzijärvi* (Pölkkyä, Puadene), *Kylmäjärvi* (Akonlaksi, Kontokki), *Lemijogi*

(Juustjärvi, Porajärvi), *Losolampi* (Tuhkala, Pistojärvi), *Oululaksi* (Korbinieniemi, Rugajärvi), *Punalampi* (Haikola, Uhtua), *Suksiselgä* (Prokkola, Puadene), *Suarvajärvi* (Jyskyjärvi), *Usmajoki* (Haikola, Uhtua), *Uzmakoski* (Uzmana), *Varsansuo* (Hämehenkylä, Pistojärvi), *Viččalambi* (Lindujärvi), *Viidajärvi* (Luzma, Rebola), *Viijanjogi* (Semsjärvi, Mändyselgä), *Ypäyzojat* (Suopassalmi, Jyskyjärvi).

-nkV/-ngV-loppuiset etymologisesti hämärit nimivartalot elävät myös Karjalan nimistössä rinnakkain sekä johtimettomien että muiden suffiksien avulla muodostuneiden nimivarianttien kanssa, vrt. järvi *Čiprinki* – *Sipretinjärvi* (Čiprinki, Oulanka), *Kuatrankioja* – *Kuatrakkivuara* (Haikola, Uhtua), *Kurtankioja* (Jyskyjärvi) – *Kurtansuo* (Pirttijärvi, Viččataipale), *Kurtinvuara* (Kivijärvi, Vuokkiniemi), *Möllängilambi* (Čirkkakemi, Jyskyjärvi) – järvi *Mölläkkä* (Kostamus, Kontokki), joenhaara *Orengivengi* (Suopassalmi, Jyskyjärvi) – *Orensuo* (Vengivuara, Puadene), *Orjangilambi* (Suopassalmi, Jyskyjärvi) – *Orjasvuara* (Haikola, Uhtua), *Orja(n)lambi* (Strahvila, Puanajärvi), luoto *Пунди́нка* (*Pon'goma*) – lahti *Punduni* (Jolmani, Viččataipale), *Puntamojärvet* (Sohjanansuu, Oulanka), *Puulonkinlakši* (Puulonki, Kieretti) – saari *Пулонец* (**Pu(u)lonči*) (Vienanmeren etelärannikko), koski *Rievinki* (Pistojärvi) – lahti *Rievenči* (Lohilahti, Kiestinki), järvi *Suulanki* (Mikkola, Uhtua) – *Suuluasuari* (*Suuluasuari*, Rebola), järvi *Tipingä* (Kuuziniemi, Rugajärvi) – asutus *Тупини́цы* (Tipinitsi, Äänisniemi), *Ulmangijärvi* (Sarviniemi, Viččataipale) – *Ulmajoki* (Vuarakylä, Kiestinki), *Uarinkisuari* – *Uarinčiranta* (Kostovuara, Oulanka), järvi *Vojangi* (Suopassalmi, Jyskyjärvi) – koski *Vojačču* (Vojačču, Vuigajärvi), järvi *Vuotangi* (Jekko, Rugajärvi) – *Vuotanjärvi* (Himola, Porajärvi).

Siten on mahdollista olettaa, että formantti on rajoittunut ainakin alkuvaiheessa lainanimien morfologiseen adaptaatioon. Myöhemmin se on kehittynyt karjalaisessa nimistössä vesistönnimimalliksi, eli pääte osoittaa ensinnäkin, että kyseessä on paikannimi ja sen tarkoite kuuluu vesistöihin. Täten osa -ngV-päätteisistä nimistä on Karjalassa mitä ilmeisimmin suhteellisen nuoria.

Mainittakoon samalla, että kaksiosaisten nimien rinnalla Karjalan nimistössä käytetään sellaisiakin paikannimiä, joiden perusosa on korvattu käsiteltävällä johdoksella, vrt. *Čiepingi* = *Čieppijärvi* (Kurenkylä, Puanajärvi), *Dualingo* (pelto) = *Dualinoja* (Suigujärvi), *Suulanki* = *Suuluajärvi* (Mikkola, Uhtua), *Vojangi* = *Voijärvi* (Suopassalmi, Jyskyjärvi), *Kolhanki* = *Kolhanjoki* (Latvajärvi, Vuokkiniemi).

Kiinnostavaa on sekin, että monet käsiteltävää tyyppiä edustavat paikannimet sijaitsevat lähellä toisiaan, mikä viittaa nähtävästi siihen, että nimet on muodostettu analogisesti. Näin ollen voidaan olettaa, että noiden paikannimiryhmien synty on ollut sidoksissa joskus -ngV/-nkV-produktiiviseen paikannimijohtimeen (vrt. Kiviniemi 1980: 336), jota voitiin käyttää alun perin vierasperäisten paikannimien mukauttamisessa omaan nimistösysteemiin. Vrt. *Čolmanki(järvi)*, *Kuatrankioja*, *Luostanki(joki)*, *Punankijärvi* (Haikola, Uhtua); joenhaara *Orengivengi*, *Orjangilambi*, *Vojangi(järvi)* (Suopassalmi, Jyskyjärvi).

Edellä mainitun kaltaisten tapausten rinnalla on kuitenkin mahdollista esittää eräitä muitakin -nkV/-ngV-johtimen alkuperän tulkintoja. Esim. uudisasukkaat olisivat voineet siirtää joitakin tämäntyypisiä nimiä Karjalaan kotiseuduiltaan jo valmiina malliniminä. Siirrynnäisnimenä voisi pitää esim. Itä-Vienassa Lezolan tienoilla

tallennettua *Limingansuo*-nimeä. Siirrynnäisalkuperää tukee mielestäni se, että juuri Suomessa on melkoinen määrä (50) *Liminka*-/ *Limingan*-alkuisia paikannimiä (NA). Vastaava tapaus on nähtävästi myös Keski-Karjalan länsiosassa Luzman kylän lähellä sijaitseva Kujanginiemi, koska viereisellä Suomen alueella lähellä Nurmeksien kaupunkia on olemassa kaksi samannimistä järveä. Sitä paitsi samankaltaisia nimiä on tiedossa myös muualla nyky-Suomessa. Karjalassa kumpikin yllä mainittu paikkanimi esiintyy vain kerran.

Anningisoja Tihverillä (Kotkajärvi), *Urpangalaksi*-lahden nimi lähellä Piäkönientä (Rugajärvi) ja *Tipingä*-järven nimi Kuuzinimen ympäristössä (Rugajärvi) saattavat olla myös henkilönnimikantaisia, vrt. Nenoksassa vuonna 1581 mainittu Pavel Ortemjev Urpanpoika (Павел Ортемьев сын Урпин) (ASM II: 156) ja kylä *Tipinici* (Тупиницы) Äänisniemellä. Viimeiksi mainittu on muodostettu venäläisen *-ицы*-johtimen avulla, jota on käytetty aikoinaan nimenomaan itämerensuomalaisten *-la*-loppuisten esikristillisten henkilönnimien mukauttamisessa slaavilaiseen nimistösysteemiin (Mullonen 2002: 86–87). Mainittakoon, että suomalaisessakin tutkimuksessa on pohdittu eräiden *-nkV*-/ *-ngV*-aineksen sisältävien paikkanimien mahdollista henkilönnimikantaista alkuperää: vrt. esim. *Aninkainen*, *Hyvinkää* (Kiviniemi 1980: 334) ja *Anunki*, *Himanka* (Räsänen 2003: 15).

Toista alkuperää voivat olla käsiteltävän mallin yhteyteen kuuluvat nimet lyydin puhuma-alueella. Yksi niistä (*Uslonkujogi*¹⁷) on tallennettu karjalaisten asuma-alueen eteläosassa eli *-nkV*-/ *-ngV*-pääarealin ulkopuolella. Niinpä vaikuttaa ilmeiseltä, että äänteellisestä samankaltaisuudesta huolimatta nimellä ei ole mitään yhteistä *-nkV*-/ *-ngV*-suffiksin sisältävien nimien kanssa. Ilmeisesti joen nimessä piileskeleekin venäjänkielinen *Усланка*-nimi, joka palautuu **Устьлонка*-muotoon ('Lonkajoensuu'). Keskilyydiläisen *Viningä*-puron nimessä (Peldoine, Pyhäjärvi) on Irma Mullosen mielestä voinut tapahtua *-nda*-/ *-ndä* / *-nkV*-/ *-ngV*-johtimien vaihto¹⁸ (suullinen tiedonanto). Toisaalta kylän tienoilla on tallennettu myös toinen *-ngV*-loppuinen paikkanimi: vrt. *Ulango-oja*. Samalla Munjärven kunnassa tiedetään nurmi *Puilingo* (Šuskenkylä). Täten yllä mainitut paikkanimet todistavat mielestäni, että *-ngV*-päätteiset nimet ovat tuttuja myös lyydiläisnimistölle.

Osa nimistä on voinut mielestäni päästä karjalaiseen nimistöön venäläisen *-н(б)ѣV*-päätteisen nimistömallin kautta. Tämä vakiintui pääasiassa Vienan pohjoisosassa olevien virallisten kylien nimityksissä. Tästä syystä voidaan karjalaisten keskuudessa tavata sekä omaperäisiä että venäläisiltä lainattuja nimimuotoja: vrt. *Jolmanki* (< *Ёлманга*) = *Jolmoni* (Jolmoni, Viččataipale), *Kormanka* (< *Корманка*, *Корманьга*) = *Kormani* (var. *Kormohonkylä*) (Kormani, Oulanka), *Sohjanka* (< *Софьянга*) = *Sohjanansuu* (Sohjanansuu, Oulanka), *Čuipinka* (< *Чупинка*) = *Kotijoki* (Čuuppa, Kieretti).

17 Tätä esimerkkiä ei ole leviämiskartalla.

18 Irma Mullosen ajatus lienee jossakin määrin paikkansapitävä, kun on olemassa tapauksia, joissa tiedetään *-ngV*-/ *-ndV*-suffiksien vaihtelua: esim. *Korungikangaz* (Ignoilu, Suojärvi) = *Korundikangaz* (Veskelys, Siämäjärvi), vrt. myös Suomessa *Rasvangi* = *Rasvanto* (Pirinen 1988: 300).

7. -hɘa/-hɘa-johdin venäjänkielisessä nimistössä

Karjalan nykyisessä venäjänkielisessä nimistössä esiintyy 16 käsiteltävään tyyppiin kuuluvaa paikannimeä (NTA IJALI), joista suurin osa on tallennettu Vienanmeren rannikolla tai sen välittömässä läheisyydessä olevilla manneralueilla.

Venäjänkielisessä nimistössä samoin kuin karjalaisilla alueilla -hɘa/-hɘa/-hka-johtimen alkuperä voi olla monenlainen. Tieteellisessä kirjallisuudessa on jo pitkään käyty polemiikkia -hɘa/-hɘa-johtimen alkuperästä Pohjois-Venäjän nimistössä. Ensimmäisenä tyypin olemassaoloon kiinnitti huomiota jo A. H. Vostokov (1812). Sitten A. J. Sjögren (1832) ja häneen littyen M. A. Castrén (1844) esittivät, että kyseessä on suomalais-ugrilaisista kielistä peräisin oleva suffiksi, joka syntynyt venäjän kielessä (*joki >) ga -päätteisten nimien pohjalta. Hieman myöhemmin D. Europaeus (1868, 1874) systematisoi tähän tyyppiin kuuluvia nimiä laajalta alueelta. Hän vertasi niitä hantin sanaan jŋk 'vesi' ja piti -n(')gV-tyyppiin kuuluvia nimiä osoituksena obinugrilaisien kansojen varhaisemmasta, laajasta levinnäisyydestä Pohjois-Euroopassa. Europaeus vertasi tyyppiin kuuluvia venäläisnimiä myös Suomen -nkV-päätteisiin nimiin, joiden hän oletti olevan yhteistä alkuperää näiden kanssa. Kalima (1935: 133) puolestaan oletti, että -nga-aines oli venäjässä elävä ("usein käytetty") nimenmuodostussuffiksi ja huomautti samalla, että tyyppiin kuuluvia nimiä on saatu venäjään sekä saamesta ja itämerensuomalaisista kielistä että muista lähteistä.

A. I. Popov (1965) oli sitä mieltä, että ainakin joissain tapauksissa formantti olisi syntynyt suomalais-ugrilaisen genetiivin tunnuksen n:n esiintyessä jokea merkitsevän sanan edellä. Saman vertauksen esitti sittemmin myös Helinski (2006). B. A. Serebrennikov (1966) puolestaan huomautti tätä vastaan olevan epätodennäköistä, että näin suuri määrä joennimiä sisältäisi genetiivissä olevan määritteen (vrt. myös Matvejev 2007: 12–14). Itse Serebrennikov oli Europeuksen kannalla. Saarikiven mukaan ainakin yksittäistapauksissa Popovin esittämä ajatus lienee paikkansapitävä, mikä sekin viittaa siihen, että -nga-päätteisiä nimiä ei tule tarkastella yhtenäisenä etymologisena ryhmänä (Saarikivi 2003: 76).

A. K. Matvejev (1970: 264) on huomauttanut tyyppiin kuuluvien nimien laajan levikin viittaavan siihen, että -nga-aines on peräisin nykyisiä suomalais-ugrilaisia kansoja varhaisemmalta suomalais-ugrilaiselta väestöltä, joka olisi assimiloitunut osin nykyisiin suomalais-ugrilaisiin kansoihin, osin venäläisiin. A. K. Matvejev (2001) on esittänyt, että kyseessä olisi vanha suomalais-ugrilainen jokea merkitsevä maastoappellatiivi, ja on verrannut formanttia marin *eŋer* 'joki'-sanaan, jossa sananloppuinen -r selittyy johtimeksi.

J. Saarikiven mukaan Matvejevin ajatus vanhasta suomalais-ugrilaisesta vesistötermistä, joka olisi säilynyt -n(')ga-päätteisissä nimissä, tuntuu periaatteessa uskottavalta. Siihen viittaavat tyypin kytkeytyminen tiiviisti vesistöihin, sen laaja levikki ja paralleelleiksi sopivien appellatiivien puuttuminen nykykielistä. Tulee kuitenkin pitää mielessä, että kyse on lähinnä tyypin alkusynnystä: myöhemmin -nga-nimiä on kyllä syntynyt muistakin lähteistä. Saarikivi arvelee samalla, että Matvejevin oletta-

mus *-nga*-nimien korkeasta iästä ei kaikilta osin pidä paikkaansa. Hänen mukaansa *-n(′)ga*-päätteisestä mallista on tullut vierasperäisten vesistönnimien morfologisen adaptaation malli, jolla ei ole enää kovinkaan paljon tekemistä nimien äännerakenteen substituoinnin kanssa. Siten suuri osa Pohjois-Venäjän *-n(′)ga*-päätteisistä nimistä onkin selvästi syntynyt melko myöhään (Saarikivi 2003: 77).

Saarikivi huomauttaa myös, että pelkän formantin sisältävien nimien puute viittaa siihen, että *-n(′)ga*-aineksen taustalla on joko substraattikielinen johdinaines tai joissakin tapauksissa sijapäätteen tai johdinaineen ja maastoappellatiivin yhdistelmä. Jos Popovin ajatus genetiivin tunnuksen ja jokea merkitsevän maastoappellatiivin yhtymästä hylätään *-n(′)ga*-nimien alkuperän selityksenä pääosassa tapauksista, kyseen tulisi suomalais-ugrilaisella taholla lähinnä vanha **-ńće*-johdinaines, johon jo Kiviniemi (1980) on suomen *-nkV*-nimien yhteydessä viitannut (Saarikivi 2003: 77).

Täten on mahdollista todeta, että puolentoista vuosisadan kuluessa on muodostunut käsiteltävän suffiksin kolme päätulkintaa, joita voidaan nimittää terminologiseksi (eli perusosaiseksi), suffiksaaliseksi ja genetiiviseksi (Matvejev 2007: 12).

Karjalan venäjänkielisillä alueilla samoin kuin itämerensuomalaisessa nimistössä suffiksia voitaisiin ensin käyttää mallina, jonka avulla venäjänkielinen väestö on mukauttanut vieraskielisiä paikannimiä. Esimerkiksi voidaan tuoda muutama paikannimi: *Кувженьга*-joki Koudanseudulla, *Варзанга*-pelto Njuhčassa ja *Масленга*-niminen järvi Kuarnisjärven kylän ympäristössä (Vičcataipale). Ensimmäisessä tapauksessa nimivartalo palautuu nähtävästi saamenkieliseen appellatiiviin *saN.guvžá* 'taimen'. Njuhčan kylässä sijaitseva *Варзанга*-pelto on melko suurikokoisen *Коничек*-nimisen kiven vieressä. Kiven nimi on ilmeinen käännöslaina karjalaisesta nimestä (vrt. ka. *varza*, ven. *коничек* 'varsa'). Viimeinen tapaus *Масленга* on verrattavissa karjalaiseen paikannimen muotoon *Muaseläisjärvi*, joka esiintyy ilman *-nkV/-ngV*-johdinta. Sitä paitsi ei voi sulkea pois mahdollisuutta, että venäjänkielisissä paikannimissä käsiteltävä suffiksi voi olla substraatinimen osa, jolla oli nimen alkuperäiskielessä vielä jokin funktio.

Edellä mainittuun ryhmään kuuluu nähtävästi muutama Vienan Karjalan pohjoisosassa sijainnut kylänimikin: esim. *Jolmoni* – *Ёлманга* (*Jolmoni*, Vičcataipale), *Kormani* (var. *Kormohonkylä*) – *Корманьга* (var. *Корманка*) (*Kormani*, Oulanka), *Sohjanansuu* – *Софьянга* (*Sohjanansuu*, Oulanka), *Tuavo* – *Таваньга* (var. *Тавеньга*) (*Tuavo*, Oulanka). Toisaalta herääkin kysymys, olisiko mahdollista, että venäjänkielisten nimien muodot olivat lainattuja karjalaista edeltävästä lähteestä, esimerkiksi saamesta?

Kesäjoen kylänosan nimitys *Kesten'ga* on nähtävästi karjalaisten uudisasukkaiden Vienanmeren rannalle jo valmiina mallina Kiestingin volostista siirtämä. Tämän puolesta puhuu mielestäni sekin, että sen asukkaiden joukossa tavataan sukunimiä *Югаров* ja *Лошкин*, jotka ovat asuneet myös Kiestingin volostin Kiisjoella: vrt. *Jukaraiset* > *Югаров* ja *Loškaiset* > *Лошкин*. Toisaalta, *Kesten'ga*-nimen olivat voineet antaa kylän venäjänkieliset kanta-asukkaat juuri Kiestingin volostista muuttaneiden asukkaiden entisen elinpaikan nimen mukaan.

Pon'gaman kylästä tallennettu saaren nimi *Юзмунги* (*Juzmingi*) on selvä venäläisiä edeltävän väestön jälki Vienanmeren rannikolla. Muodoltaan nimi on nähtävästi

karjalainen, mistä kertoo juuri karjalaisnimistölle tyypillinen -ngi-johtimen muoto. Sisällöltään saaren nimi jää kuitenkin hämäräksi.

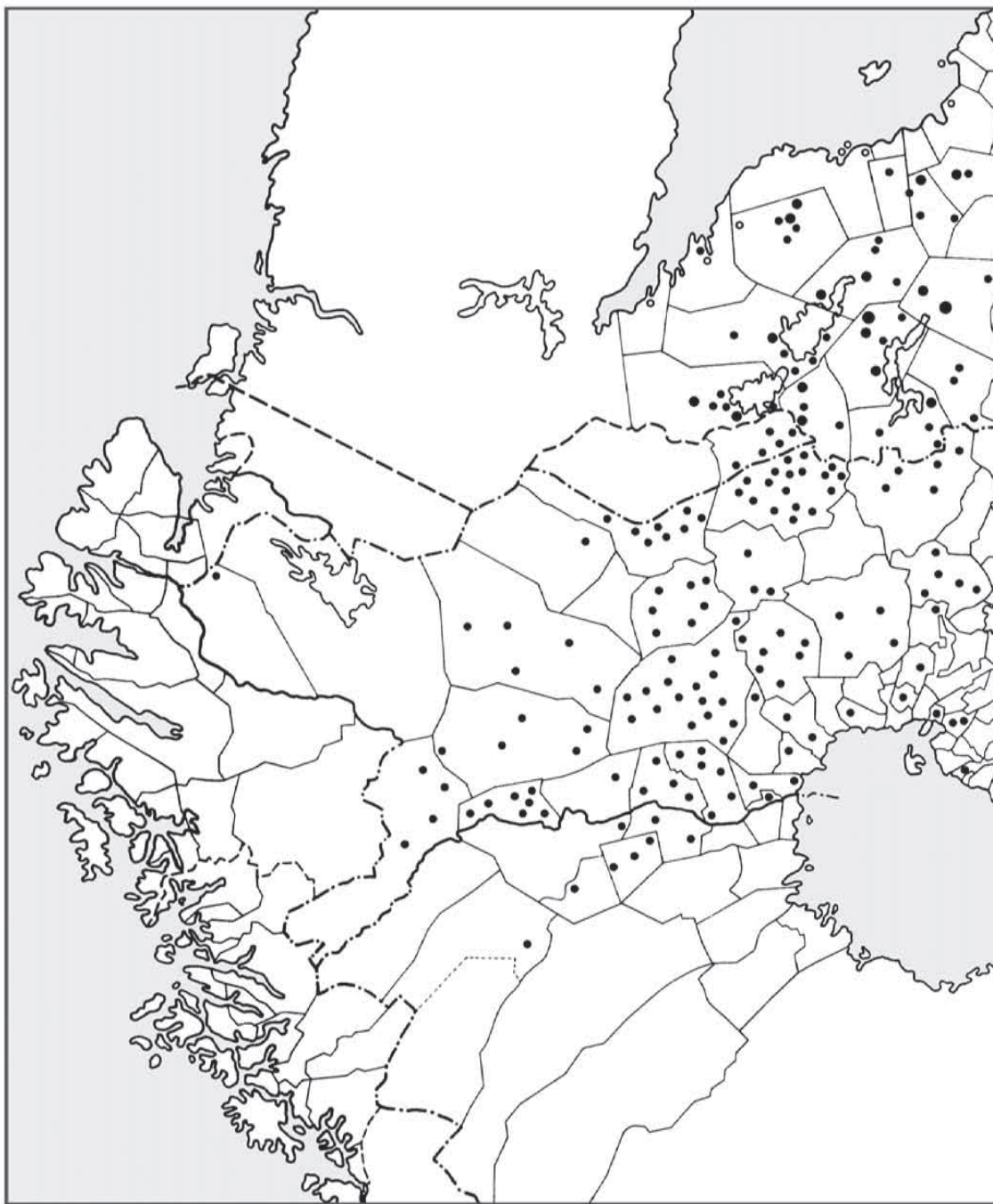
Верхенга (*Verhenga*) -nurmen nimen (Jondoguba, Sumozero) liittyminen tähän nimityyppiin on epävarmaa, koska kyseessä on nähtävästi muoto **Верх-Ёнга* (*Ylä-Jonga*), joka kielii nurmen sijainnista *Jonga*-nimisen joen yläjuoksulla. Tässä tapauksessa *Verhenga*-nimellä ei ole mitään yhteyttä -n(')ga-loppuisiin paikannimiin.

Venäläisessä nimistössä on olemassa vielä muutama -nkV/-ngV-loppuinen nimi, joiden alkuperästä on tällä hetkellä vaikea sanoa mitään varmaa. Niiden joukossa on esimerkiksi joki *Маленьга* (Njuhča), metsikkö *Пузенга* (Kuivaniemi, Sorokka), luoto *Пундинка* (Pon'goma), saari *Роганка* (Jukova, Sumposad), joki *Рязанка* (Danilovo, Vuigajärvi), saari *Чаванка* (var. *Гаванка*) (Njuhča), kannas *Чаменьга* (Äänisniemimaa). Toisaalta ei voi sulkea pois mahdollisuutta, että osa yllä mainituista nimistä ei edusta käsiteltävää mallia, vaan ne on muodostettu venäläisen deminutiivisen -ka-johtimen avulla, jolla tietenkään ei ole mitään tekemistä -ngV/-nkV-tyypin kanssa.

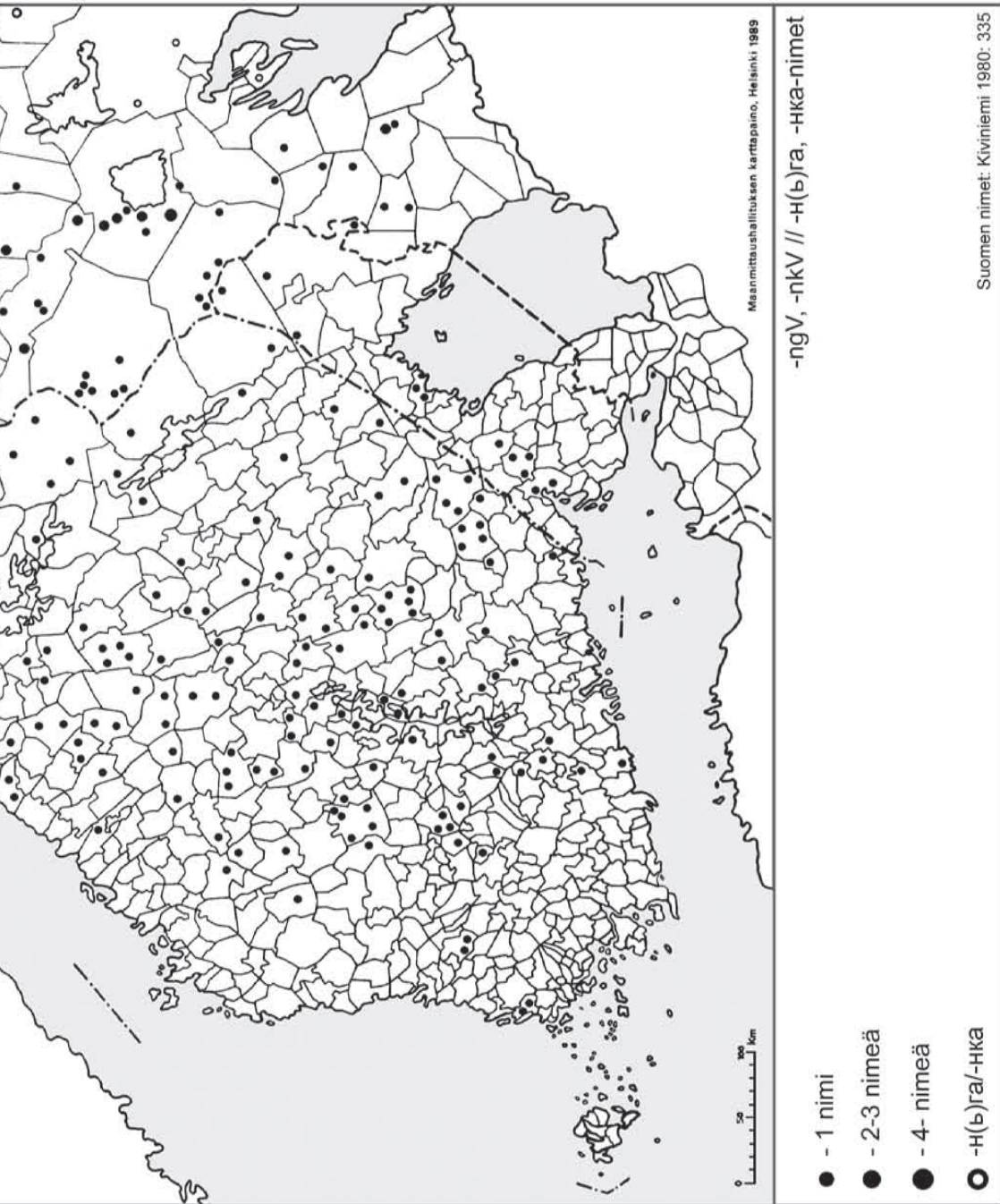
8. -ngV/nkV/-nga/-nga-tyypin leviämisareaalista Karjalassa

-ngV/-nkV-tyypin leviämiskartta osoittaa¹⁹ (kartta 2), että Karjalassa tyyppi on suosittu pääasiassa varsinaiskarjalaisten murteiden leviämisalueella, mikä vuorostaan voi olla todisteena siitä, että nimeämismalli on voinut syntyä juuri varsinaiskarjalaisten keskuudessa. Samalla avoimeksi jää kuitenkin kysymys johdinaineksen synnystä Karjalassa. Ei ole aivan selvä, oliko käsiteltävä suffiksiaines karjalaisten lähtöseuduiltaan (Laatokan Karjalasta) tuoma 1400-/1500-luvun vaihteessa vai onko se syntynyt vasta nykyisessä Karjalassa? Kartalta nähdään, että karjalaisten sydänalueilla malli ei ole nimistössä kovin suosittu. Esimerkiksi Suomen Raja-Karjalan nimistössä tiedetään vain seisemän -ngV-formantin sisältävää karjalankielistä paikannimeä, vrt. *Bulunki* (särkkä) (Liusvaara, Ilomantsi), *Ellinginlahti* ja *Ellingilambi* (Vaaksaus, Suojärvi), *Kuljungi* (mäki) (Ilomantsi), *Vieksingijärvi* (Vieksinki, Korpiselkä), *Korungi* (kangas), *Korunginpuro* (Ignoilu, Suojärvi). Tämä tosiasia viittaa mahdollisesti siihen, että mallin suosio liittyy nähtävästi jo Käkisalmen läänistä poismuuton jälkeiseen aikakautteen. Toisaalta -ngV/-nkV-loppuisia paikannimiä on tallennettu niiden varsinaiskarjalaisten asuma-alueella, jotka ovat muuttuneet Leningradin alueen itäosaan Tihvinän seudulle 1600-luvun puolivälissä: vrt. *Kivenkisuo* < kivi + -nki, *Närienkinurmi* < näre + -nki. Mainittakoon tässä yhteydessä myös *Sääminki*-paikannimi, joka on mainittu ensimmäisen kerran vuonna 1364 karjalaisen Savolaksi-kihlakunnan alueella muodossa *Semingasala* (Lappalainen 1970: 191). Tämä alue oli luovutettu Ruotsille vuoden 1323 rauhansopimuksen mukaan, mikä vuorostaan todistaa käsiteltävän johdinaineksen mahdollisen olemassaolon jo karjalaisten sydänalueella ja sen käytön uusien paikannimien muodostuksessa uusilla asuma-alueilla.

19 Leviämiskartalle ei ole merkitty *Alango-/Alanko-*, *Karango-/Karanko-* ja *Ylängö-/Ylänkö-* alkuisia paikannimiä.



Kartta 2. -ngV/-nkV-tyyppin levikkikartta.



Karjalan venäjänkielisessä nimistössä *-нъга/-нка*-johtimellisia paikannimiä tavataan pääasiassa nykyisen Karjalan itäosassa eli Vienanmeren rannikon ja sen rajaseudun nimistössä. Sen ulkopuolella ainoa esiintymä on olemassa vain Äänisniemellä niemi *Чаменьга* (*Čamen'ga*). Edellä oli jo mainittu, että käsiteltävään tyypiin kuuluvat paikannimet puuttuvat kuitenkin Karjalan kaakkoisosista (ks. ylempänä). Täten venäjänkielisten nimien leviämisen perusteella on mahdollista todeta, että ne kaikki mahtuvat 1500–1600-luvun karjalaisen asuma-alueen rajojen sisäpuolelle.

Toisaalta kysymys karjalankielisten ja venäjänkielisten nimien yhteisistä juurista jää toistaiseksi ratkaisemattomaksi. *-нъга*-tyyppi on nimittäin laajasti edustettu Luoteis-Venäjän nimistössä. Tämän areaalin pääleviämisalue sijaitsee Suhonan sekä Vienan- ja Äänisjoen välissä (Matvejev 2007: 42, 269). Ei voikaan sulkea pois mahdollisuutta, että Karjalan itäosan (mm. Vienanmeren kaakkoisrannikon) paikannimet ovat yhteisen Luoteis-Venäjällä olevan areaalin jatkoa. Toisin sanoen niiden leviäminen voi olla sidoksissa asutusvirtaan, joka on ulottunut idästä²⁰ Vologdan alueella sijaitsevilta Valkeajärven tienoilta Vienanmeren vesistöalueelle (kartta 3).

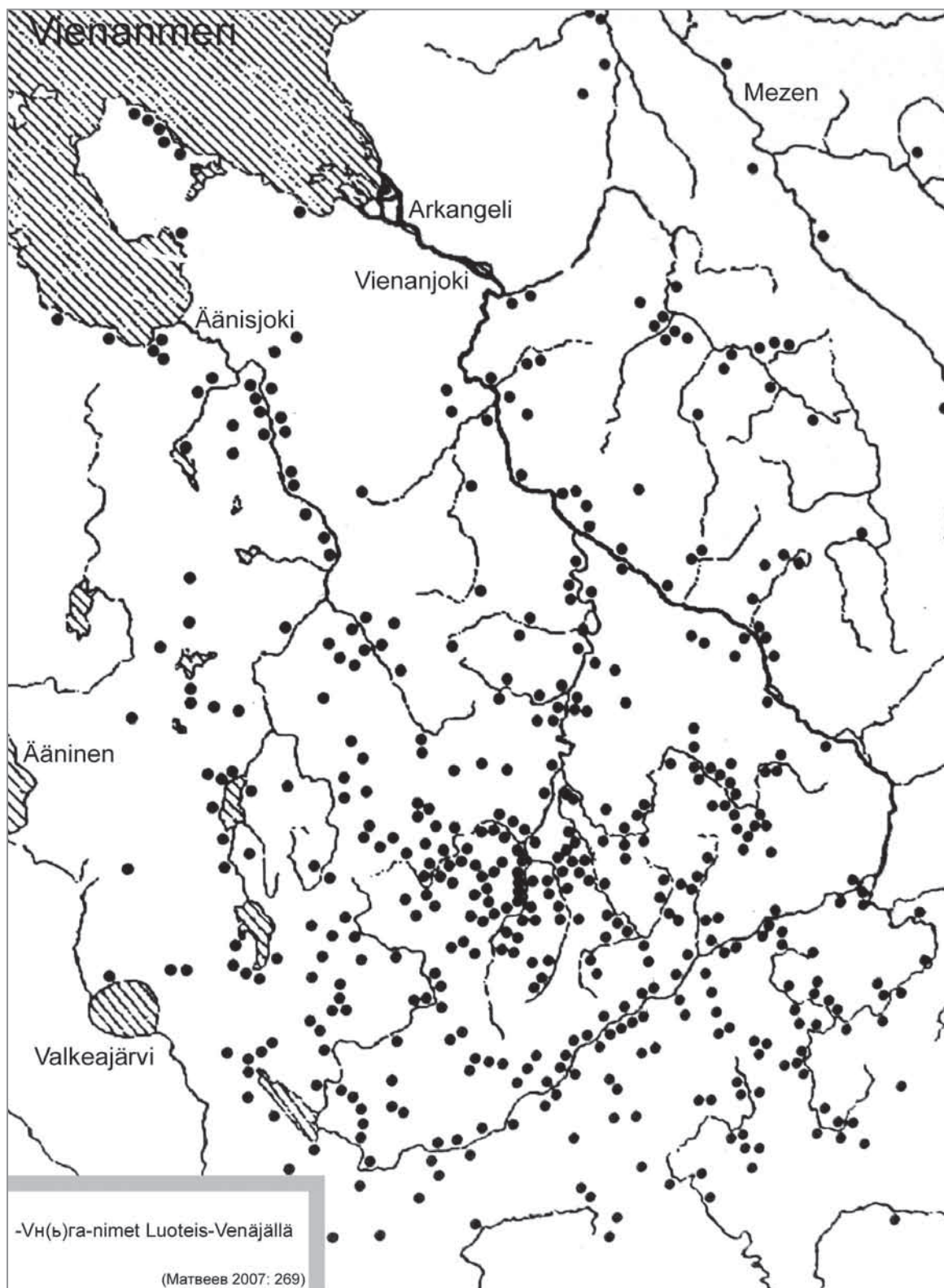
9. Lopuksi

Lopuksi mainittakoon vielä kerran, että *-ngV/-nkV*-mallilla Karjalassa on melko tarkka areaali, joka on käytännöllisesti katsoen identtinen varsinaiskarjalan murteiden leviämisalueen kanssa. Tämä tosiasia vuorostaan voi todistaa siitä, että Karjalassa malli on voinut syntyä varsinaiskarjalaisten keskuudessa. Mainittakoon edelleen, että tyyppin pääareaali keskittyy Vienan Karjalan keskiosiin. Etelään ja kaakkoon mentäessä johdinaineksen käyttö nimistössä vähenee. Pääareaalin ulkopuolelta löytyy vain kahdeksan tätä mallia edustavaa paikannimeä: viisi niistä on tallennettu livviläisten ja neljä lyydiläisten nimistössä. On mahdollista, että ne viittaavat varsinaiskarjalaisiin vaikutteisiin, jotka ovat ulottuneet jossakin vaiheessa etelämpänä asuvien karjalaisien (itämerensuomalaisten) asuma-alueisiin. Toisaalta, käsiteltävän johtimen alkuperä ainakin lyydin nimistössä voi olla jossain määrin toisenlainen.

-нъга/-нъга-nimeämismalli ei ole levinnyt laajalle Karjalan venäjänkielisessä nimistössä. Jääkin avoimeksi kysymys karjalaisen ja venäläisen johdinaineksen mahdollisesta yhteisestä alkuperästä. Samaan aikaan paikannimien *-ngV/-нъга/-нка*-leviämisareaali osoittaa, että nykyisen Karjalan nimistössä on selvä areaalinen oppositio Karjalan kaakkoisosan (josta malli puuttuu) ja sen naapurialueiden välillä. Näin ollen areaalilla on selkeä etnokieellinen tausta, joka mielestäni antaa mahdollisuuden liittää kuitenkin molemmat tyypit yhteen.

-ngV/-nkV-suffiksisten nimien muodostaminen on saattanut olla Karjalassa melko produktiivista jo kauan. Tästä todistavat 1500–1600-luvun asiakirjat, joissa käsiteltävä tyyppi esiintyy toistuvasti. Kuten yllä on mainittu, nykyisessä Karjalan

20 L. Hakulinen toteaa, että käsiteltävän johtimen vastineita tavataan suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten permiläisen haaran deminutiivisten sananmuodostussuffiksien joukossa (Hakulinen 1968, 113, 174). Tämä tosiasia voikin viitata itämerensuomalaisen *-ngV/-nkV*-aineksen ja venäläisen *-нъга*-formantin yhteiseen alkuperään.



Kartta 3. -Vn(ь)ra-tyyppin levikki Luoteis-Venäjällä.

nimistössä malli on suosiossa pääasiassa varsinaiskarjalaisten murteiden alueella, jossa voidaan laskea olevan 115 *-ngV/-nkV*-loppuista paikannimeä tai nimiryvästä. Mainittakoon samalla, että kaksiosaisten nimien rinnalla usein Karjalan nimistössä käytetään sellaisia paikannimiä, joiden perusosa on korvattu käsiteltävällä johdoksella ja että monet tätä tyyppiä edustavat paikannimet sijaitsevat lähellä toisiaan, mikä viittaa nähtävästi siihen, että osa niistä on muodostettu analogisesti. Näin olleen voidaan olettaa, että käsiteltävän paikannimiryhmän synty on ollut sidoksissa tiettyinä menneisyyden aikakautena produktiiviseen *-ngV/-nkV*-paikannimijohtimeen, jota käytettiin alun perin vierasperäisten paikannimien mukauttamisessa omaan nimistösysteemiin. Itse itämerensuomalainen *-nkV/-ngV*-paikannimijohdin on voinut saada alkunsa ainakin osassa nimiä kantasaamelaisesta **-ńće*-deminutiivijohtimesta, joka on säilynyt nähtävästi muutamassa Karjalan paikannimessä (esim. *Rievenčilaksi*, *Uarinčiranta* ja *Rievinkijoki*, *Uarinkisuari*).

Yllä on jo mainittu, että *-nkV/-ngV*-aineksen sisältävien paikannimien alkulähteet voivat olla hyvin erilaiset. Osalla nimivartaloista on melko vakuuttavia saamelaisia tai itämerensuomalaisia tulkintoja, mutta suurin osa nimiä on tähän asti läpinäkyvättömiä. Useissa tapauksissa on myös vaikeuksia määrittää, sisältääkö paikannimi *-nkV/-ngV*-loppuisen appellatiivin vai onko nimi muodostettu jo *-nkV/-ngV*-paikannimimallin mukaan.

Tarkasta areaalista huolimatta jää kuitenkin avoimeksi kysymys mallin synnystä Karjalan nimistössä. Ei ole aivan selvää, oliko malli karjalaisten lähtöseuduiltaan tuoma vai onko se syntynyt ja tullut suositukseksi jo nykyisen Karjalan alueella.

Lyhenteet

ka.	= karjalan kieli	su.	= suomen kieli
sa.	= saamelaiskielet	ven.	= venäjän kieli
saK.	= koltansaame	vksm.	= varhaiskantasuomi
saN.	= pohjoissaame		

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Skolt Saami: A typological profile

The article presents a typological overview of Skolt Saami based on the examination of the features in the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (WALS) database. The relevant properties of Skolt Saami are discussed and the language is assigned a value for each feature. The features cover phonology, different domains of grammar – morphology, nominal categories, nominal syntax, verbal categories, word order, simple clauses and complex sentences – as well as some aspects of the lexicon. The typological profile of Skolt Saami that emerges from the examination of the features is then compared with the languages in the database to see what the typological distance is between Skolt Saami and these other languages.

1. Introduction

This paper aims to present the reader with a typological overview of the Skolt Saami language. The typological profile is based on the features in the *World atlas of language structures* (WALS) database (Haspelmath & al. eds. 2005, 2008), which contains information on 142 typological features from different (mostly grammatical) domains and includes 2560 languages in total.¹ The number of features coded in the database varies from language to language, some languages having information for almost all features and some for only a few. Skolt Saami itself is not represented in the database. This paper examines the properties of Skolt Saami with respect to each feature in WALS and discusses which type (feature value) the language represents in the typology of the feature. A typological profile of Skolt Saami emerges from the discussion. Skolt Saami is also compared to other languages in the database, especially to its closest relatives and geographical neighbours. At many points, the discussion touches upon the nature of the WALS features, and is therefore interesting from a general linguistic viewpoint as well.²

1 A new edition of WALS was released in 2011 after the first submission of this paper. The new edition contains two more maps, but these and other new features or changes have not been taken into account in this paper, which is based on the 2005/2008 editions of WALS.

2 The idea behind going through all the features in the WALS database from the point of view of Skolt Saami was originally conceived of as a first step to get acquainted with and learn about the structural characteristics of the language. Once this information had been gathered, it became clear that it would be worth sharing with other scholars of Skolt Saami and with the typological community in the form of a journal article. I wish to thank Ante Aikio, Eino Koponen, and Jussi Ylikoski for their valuable comments on the paper and replies to my questions, as well as Tiina Sanila-Aikio for her views as a Skolt Saami speaker. Special thanks to Östen Dahl for his help with the typological distance measure in Section 3. Thanks are also due to the Institute for the Languages of Finland (Kotus) for the permission to use the Skolt Saami materials in their archives.

Skolt Saami is spoken by some 300 people out of an ethnic group of 600, most of whom live in the municipality of Inari in northeastern Finland. The traditional territory of Skolt Saami was on the other side of the present Finno-Russian border, but most of the speakers evacuated to Finland at the time of World War II, when their traditional lands became part of the Soviet Union. Culturally Skolt Saami speakers have had close ties to the Russian orthodox tradition ever since the time of their Christianization in the 15th–16th Centuries. Finnish influence has been more prominent since the first half of the 20th Century, but the orthodox religion has been preserved. Almost all of the 300 mother tongue speakers were born before 1970, the members of later generations having Finnish as their first language (with few exceptions).

The Saami languages constitute a branch of the Uralic language family. Within the Saami branch, Skolt Saami belongs to the eastern group together with Inari Saami, Kildin Saami, Akkala Saami, and Ter Saami. Inari Saami is spoken in Inari in Finland, whereas the latter three are located on the Kola Peninsula, to the east of the traditional Skolt Saami territories.

In the long and well-established tradition of Saami linguistics, a number of works on Skolt Saami have appeared and information on the language is also included in many studies dealing with Saami languages more generally. Text collections include Itkonen (1931), Lagercrantz (1961), and Koponen et al. (2010). Itkonen (1958) has published a detailed scientific dictionary, and Sammallahti & Moshnikoff (1991) and Moshnikoff & Sammallahti (1988) have published smaller dictionaries aimed at more practical use. There is a grammar sketch (Korhonen, Moshnikoff & Sammallahti 1973) and a school grammar (Moshnikoff, Moshnikoff & Koponen 2009) both focusing on phonology and especially morphology, but containing little information on syntax. A more comprehensive descriptive grammar has been written by Feist (2010). Detailed phonological analysis can be found in Korhonen (1971, 1975). Furthermore, some 80 hours of materials (narrative, interviews, dialogue, *leu'dd* songs), recorded mostly in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as in 2007–2009, are available at the archives of the Institute for the Languages of Finland (Kotus); preliminary transcriptions are available for approximately 36 hours of these recordings.³ The language can be considered to be highly endangered, and despite the recent appearance of a descriptive grammar, a lot of work remains to be done to document and describe the language. This paper is a step towards that direction.

The main sources used in the research behind this paper have been the published grammar sketches, dictionaries, and text collections mentioned above.⁴ Some analyses are also based on examination of the transcriptions of the recordings available in

3 Further linguistic analysis of the materials has not been made to date, but I am currently leading a project funded by the Finnish Cultural foundation that aims to produce an annotated corpus of the transcribed recordings (including translations into Finnish and English).

4 Unfortunately, Feist's (2010) grammar became available to me only after the submission of this paper and it has been possible to take into account the analyses proposed therein only to a very limited extent.

the Kotus archives.⁵ Reference to these is made with the code “Kotus” followed by the archival number of the recording (signum).

Section 2 discusses the WALS features in Skolt Saami, Section 3 compares the Skolt Saami values with other languages in the database, close to Skolt Saami in areal or genealogical terms, and Section 4 concludes the paper. Needless to say, this is not a comprehensive or authoritative treatment of the grammar of Skolt Saami, but rather a collection of typologically relevant information that I hope can give typologists some valuable information on the language and help scholars working on the language to identify points where more research is needed. At the same time, I hope that I have managed to contribute some new information to the field of Saami linguistics as well.

2. The WALS features in Skolt Saami

This section discusses the WALS features in Skolt Saami. The features belong to the different thematic sections of WALS as follows: A. Phonology 1–19, B. Morphology 20–29, C. Nominal categories 30–56 (Gender and number 30–36, Articles and pronouns 37–48, Case 49–52, Numerals 53–56), D. Nominal syntax 57–64, E. Verbal categories 65–80 (Tense and aspect 65–69, Modality 70–78, Suppletion 79–80), F. Word order 81–97, G. Simple clauses 98–121 (Core argument marking 98–105, Valence and voice 106–111, Negation and questions 112–116, Predication 117–121), H. Complex sentences 122–128, I. Lexicon 129–138, J. Sign languages 139–140, K. Other 141–142.

The discussion of each feature begins with its number and name (= chapter heading in WALS) in italics. The title is followed by the number and the name of the value assigned to Skolt Saami, which in turn are followed by the number of languages showing this value and the total number of languages coded for the feature in the WALS database. The name of the feature and the name of the value assigned to Skolt Saami appear in exactly the same form as in the chapter headings and feature value boxes in the chapter texts of the printed atlas. The WALS features and values assigned to Skolt Saami are briefly explained, if not self-explanatory from their names (but for the other values of each feature, the reader is referred to WALS).⁶ The value assignment and possible problems posed by the analysis of the feature in Skolt Saami are then discussed. In view of the comparison between Skolt Saami and related or neighbouring languages in Section 3, it is also relevant to pay attention to the value assignments given in WALS for these languages. The value assignments for the related or neighbouring languages are not examined systematically, but some observations are made in the footnotes in this section, where relevant to the discussion in Section 3.

5 The production of the annotated corpus on the basis of these recordings is work in progress and it has not been possible to make use of its results in writing this paper.

6 Easy access to the information is available through the online edition at <<http://wals.info/>>.

A. Phonology

1. **Consonant Inventories.** 4. Moderately large. 116/562. According to Korhonen et al. (1973: 18–20) and Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 12–15), Skolt Saami has 29 consonants. In (1), the consonant phonemes are given in Skolt Saami orthography followed by their IPA values between slashes.⁷

(1) Skolt Saami consonant phonemes

<i>p</i> /p/	<i>t</i> /t/	<i>ķ</i> /c/	<i>k</i> /k/
<i>b</i> /b/	<i>d</i> /d/	<i>ǵ</i> /ʒ/	<i>g</i> /g/
	<i>c</i> /ts/	<i>č</i> /tʃ/	
	<i>ǵ</i> /dz/	<i>ǵ</i> /dʒ/	
<i>f</i> /f/			<i>h</i> /x/
<i>v</i> /v/	<i>đ</i> /ð/	<i>j</i> /j/	<i>ǵ</i> /ʎ/
	<i>s</i> /s/	<i>š</i> /ʃ/	
	<i>z</i> /z/	<i>ž</i> /ʒ/	
	<i>r</i> /r/		
	<i>l</i> /l/	<i>llj</i> /ɭ/	
<i>m</i> /m/	<i>n</i> /n/	<i>nj</i> /ɲ/	<i>ŋ</i> /ŋ/

The feature value “moderately large” is defined as an inventory of 26–33 consonants in the WALS chapter. And the number of consonants in Skolt Saami falls within this range.⁸ Most of the consonants occur both short and long. Furthermore, the quality of consonants may be affected by palatalization (marked in the orthography with ‘ ’), and minimal pairs are found distinguished solely by palatalization, but palatalization is a suprasegmental property affecting several segments at the same time. Palatalized and non-palatalized variants are therefore not analysed as different phonemes.⁹

2. **Vowel Quality Inventories.** 3. Large vowel inventory (7–14). 183/563. There are nine distinct vowel qualities (Korhonen et al. 1973: 11–13; Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 10–12), which falls within the range of the value “large vowel inventory” (between 7 and 14 vowel qualities). In (2), the vowel qualities are given in Skolt Saami orthography followed by their IPA values between slashes.

7 Ante Aikio (p.c.) points out that there is also a marginal distinction between a non-velarized /l/ and a velarized /ɭ/. This phonemic opposition only occurs word-finally, and, due to its marginality, it is not recognized in the orthography. Minimal pairs are hard to find, but the following word forms show the contrast: /jeæk:al/ (GEN.SG of *jee* ‘el’ ‘lichen’) vs. /vædz:al/ (3SG.PRES of *vä* ‘zzled’ ‘to walk away’), cf. Itkonen (1958: 53a, 706a). A referee points out that the distinction may also be considered to be a matter of allophony.

8 Feist (2010: 50) distinguishes as many as 31 consonant phonemes, but this would still fall within the range of “moderately large”.

9 In the WALS chapter, Finnish is analysed as having a “moderately small” consonant inventory (15–18 consonants). However, if only indigenous consonants are counted and consonants occurring only in recent loans, absent from the repertoire of many speakers, are disregarded, the size of the Finnish inventory is as small as 13, thus falling into the “small” category (6–14 consonants), Feature value 1.

(2) Skolt Saami vowel qualities

<i>i</i> /i/		<i>u</i> /u/
<i>e</i> /e/	<i>õ</i> /ɤ/	<i>o</i> /o/
	<i>â</i> /æ/	<i>â</i> /ɒ/
<i>ä</i> /æ/	<i>a</i> /ɑ/	

As with consonants, vowel qualities are also affected by palatalization, but this is a suprasegmental feature. In addition to the nine vowels listed, there is also a large number of diphthongs; Korhonen (1975: 18) lists 10 distinctive ones. The WALS chapter counts diphthongs as combinations of monophthongs, not as distinct vowel qualities. Furthermore, the nine monophthongs as well as the diphthongs may occur both short and long, but this does not add to the inventory of vowel qualities, either.

3. Consonant-Vowel Ratio. 3. Average. 234/563. This feature measures the relationship between the consonant and vowel quality inventories and it can be directly calculated from Features 1 and 2 by dividing the number of consonants by the number of vowel qualities (C/VQ). Skolt Saami has 29 consonants and 9 vowel qualities, which yields a ratio of 3.22. This falls within the range of the “average” value (between 2.75 and 4.5). Note that if we take the number of consonants to be 30, cf. Feature 1 above, the ratio is still within the range of the “average” value.

4. Voicing in Plosives and Fricatives. 4. Voicing contrast in both plosives and fricatives. 158/566. As seen above, the consonant inventory contains both voiceless and voiced plosives and fricatives. The sources characterize the voiced plosives as semi-voiced when they occur in word-internal or word-final position (Korhonen et al. 1973: 19; Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 13).¹⁰

5. Voicing and Gaps in Plosive Systems. 2. /p t k b d g/. 256/566. Skolt Saami has all six consonants and does not have any of the gaps observed in this chapter.¹¹

6. Uvular Consonants. 1. No uvulars. 468/566. See inventory above.

7. Glottalized Consonants. 1. No glottalized consonants. 412/566. See inventory above.

8. Lateral Consonants. 2. /l/, no obstruent laterals. 388/566. See inventory above.

9. The Velar Nasal (ŋ). 2. Velar nasal, but not initially. 88/468. The velar nasal occurs in medial and final position, but not initially (Korhonen et al. 1973: 20, *passim*; Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 13, *passim*).

10. Vowel Nasalization. 2. Contrastive nasal vowels absent. 179/243. See vowel inventory above.

11. Front Rounded Vowels. 1. None. 524/561. See vowel inventory above.

10 The WALS chapter assigns the same value to Finnish, but in reality a voicing contrast is only present in recent loans, cf. Feature 1, and, in fact, many speakers do not make the distinction in their speech. If recent loans are disregarded and the indigenous phonological system of Finnish is taken into account, there is no voicing contrast in Finnish, and Value 1 should be assigned to Finnish.

11 If Finnish is analysed according to the indigenous system (cf. Note 10), it should fall into the category “other”, Feature value 1.

12. Syllable Structure. 3. Complex syllable structure. 150/485. In the *WALS* chapter, there are three levels of syllable complexity: simple, moderate and complex. The simple type is maximally CV, and the moderately complex type maximally CCVC with the limitation that the second consonant in the onset may only be a liquid or a glide; anything beyond that falls into the complex type. According to Korhonen (1975: 26–29), Skolt Saami may have maximally two consonants in the coda and three in the onset, and thus clearly falls into the complex type. Note that most complex onsets occur in relatively recent loan words.¹²

13. Tone. 1. No tones. 306/526. Skolt Saami has no tones.

14. Fixed Stress Locations. 2. Initial: stress is on the first syllable. 92/500. See Korhonen et al. (1973: 23–24).

15. Weight-Sensitive Stress. 8. Fixed stress (no weight-sensitivity). 281/500. Stress is on the first syllable regardless of syllable weight, see Korhonen et al. (1973: 23–24).

16. Weight Factors in Weight-Sensitive Stress Systems. 4. Long vowel + coda: long vowels *or* closed syllables [are heavy for stress]. 35/500. Chapters 14 and 15 focused on primary stress, but this chapter takes into account secondary stresses as well. According to Korhonen et al. (1973: 23–24), primary stress is on the first syllable, weak secondary stress is on the last syllable, and in words longer than two syllables the medial syllables have a stronger secondary stress. However, when a two-syllable word has an “overshort” (non-syllabic) vowel following the second syllable, the second syllable has a stronger secondary stress, and furthermore, certain case endings also affect the secondary stress on the preceding syllable. On this basis, Skolt Saami could be assigned Value 1, “No weight, or weight factor unknown”. This analysis may, however, seem odd in that it recognizes no unstressed syllables at all. This is due to the analysis of overshort (and unstressed) vowels as non-syllabic and thus excluded from the syllable count. Elsewhere, Korhonen (1975: 12–13) takes a different view on stress in non-first syllables: short vowels in syllables with secondary stress are realized short and short vowels in unstressed syllables are realized overshort, being often completely dropped in fast speech; as to long vowels, they always bear secondary stress. Unstressed syllables are always open syllables with overshort vowels. Syllables with secondary stress and short vowels may be open or closed. In other words, short vowels in open syllables may be stressed or unstressed, but both vowel length and syllable closedness suffice alone to make the syllable stressed. Following this analysis, Skolt Saami can be assigned Value 4 for this feature.

17. Rhythm Types. 4. Undetermined: no clear foot type. 37/323. This feature value means that there are secondary stresses but they form no clear foot type. In earlier stages of the language, there was a system in which secondary stress fell regularly on the 3rd, 5th, etc. syllable (cf. Korhonen 1975: 15; Sammallahti 1998: 39), and thus a trochaic foot type. The present-day system (cf. Feature 16 above) does not seem to exhibit a clear foot type.

¹² In Finnish, codas may have more than one consonant which places Finnish syllable structure in the complex category as well, Feature value 3.

18. Absence of Common Consonants. 1. All present. 502/566. This chapter is about languages lacking bilabials, nasals or fricatives. The Skolt Saami consonant inventory features representatives of all these categories (see above).

19. Presence of Uncommon Consonants. 5. ‘Th’-sounds. 40/566. Skolt Saami has the voiced dental fricative /ð/ but none of the other uncommon consonant types referred to in the chapter (see Korhonen et al. 1973: 18, 20).

The features in the phonology section of WALS do not address the length of sounds, but in a typological overview like the present one, it is worth emphasizing that length contrasts are an important part of the vocalic and consonantal systems of Skolt Saami. It has even been claimed that a three-way quantity contrast can be found in the language, see McRobbie-Utasi (1999) for discussion.

B. Morphology

20. Fusion of Selected Inflectional Formatives. 6. Ablaut/concatenative. 5/162. This chapter focuses on fusion in the expression of central case and tense categories, which, according to the definitions given by Bickel & Nichols (2005a: 87), are accusative case and past tense in the case of Skolt Saami. The singular accusative is generally marked with a stem change (the same form is used for genitive singular and nominative plural as well) and no ending whereas the plural accusative has the ending *-d* following the plural marker *-i* (see Korhonen et al. 1973: 32, 35ff; Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 32–34, 167ff). To take an example, the following are the nominative and accusative forms of *jokk* ‘river’ (3).

(3) *jokk* ‘river’

NOM.SG <i>jokk</i>	ACC.SG <i>joogg</i>
NOM.PL <i>joogg</i>	ACC.PL <i>jooggid</i>

Past tense is marked by polyexponential suffixes and stem-internal changes (see paradigms in Korhonen et al. 1973: 67, 70ff; Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 88–91, 354ff). The following paradigms of the verb *kuullâd* ‘hear’ – two numbers and three persons and the indefinite person – serve to illustrate this (4).

(4) *kuullâd* ‘to hear’

	PRESENT	PAST
1SG	<i>kuulam</i>	<i>ku’llem</i>
2SG	<i>kuulak</i>	<i>ku’lliĭ</i>
3SG	<i>kooll</i>	<i>kuuli</i>
1PL	<i>kuullâp</i>	<i>kuulim</i>
2PL	<i>kuullve’ted</i>	<i>kuulid</i>
3PL	<i>ko’lle</i>	<i>ku’lle</i>
INDEF	<i>kuulât</i>	<i>ku’lleš</i>

The basic distinction in the chapter is between isolating, concatenative and non-linear expression, and non-linear is further divided into tonal and ablaut. What is important

for the analysis of Skolt Saami case and tense morphology is how to draw the line between concatenative and nonlinear. The authors of the chapter are quite minimalistic in their explanations of this distinction. They say: “Once the phonological alternations are properly analyzed, strings of concatenative formatives can be segmented into clear-cut morphemes. Nonlinear formatives are not amenable to this because they are realized not in linear sequence but by direct modification of their host.” (Bickel & Nichols 2005a: 86.) On the basis of this definition, Skolt Saami is to be assigned Value 6 for this feature.¹³

21. Exponence of Selected Inflectional Formatives. This chapter contains two maps.

21. Case exponence. 1. Monoexponential case. 69/160. Attention is paid to the accusative as in Chapter 20. The accusative singular is marked by stem variation and has no suffix to be paid attention to here. In the plural, the accusative ending is *-d* and there is no cumulation with any other category – number is expressed by *-i-* (see Korhonen et al. 1973: 32, 35ff; Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 32–34, 167ff). The following paradigm of *võrr* ‘blood’ shows this clearly (5).

(5) *võrr* ‘blood’

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM	<i>võrr</i>	<i>võõr</i>
GEN	<i>võõr</i>	<i>võõri</i>
ACC	<i>võõr</i>	<i>võõrid</i>
ILL	<i>võ'rre</i>	<i>võõrid</i>
LOC	<i>võõrâst</i>	<i>võõrin</i>
COM	<i>võõrin</i>	<i>võõrivui'm</i>
ESS	<i>võrrân</i>	
PART	<i>võrrâd</i>	
ABE	<i>võõrtää</i>	<i>võõritää</i>

Note that the plural illative is identical in form with the plural accusative. Looking at the relevant suffixes only, Skolt Saami appears to have monoexponential case.

21A. Exponence of TAM (tense-aspect-mood) Inflection. 2. TAM + agreement. 19/160. Attention is paid to the past tense as in Chapter 20. Past tense markers are polyexponential with agreement, see Korhonen et al. (1973: 67, 70ff) and Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 88–91, 354ff), and cf. the paradigm in (4) above.

22. Inflectional Synthesis of the Verb. 2. 2–3 categories per word. 24/145. This chapter pays attention to the number of categories appearing on the maximally

13 It is notable that in the authors' analysis ablaut is only found in Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan languages (only 5 cases in total). However, according to the definition they give, e.g., English past tense marking in *sing–sang* should be analysed as non-linear (ablaut). It seems only regular past tense in *-ed* is taken into account in the analysis of English. To analyse English *sing–sang* (or the Skolt Saami formatives for that matter) as exclusively concatenative, one would need to resort to diachronic analysis, not just synchronic phonological alternations.

inflected verb, inflectional category being understood as “any grammatical category whose presence or shape is (at least in part) a regular response to the grammatical environment” (Bickel & Nichols 2005b: 94). Finite verbs carry maximally two verbal inflectional categories: tense/mood and person-number (see Korhonen et al. 1973: 67ff; Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 83ff). It could be argued that three inflectional categories occur on a verbal base when a present participle is used as a noun and inflected for number and case (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 126–127, 346–353), but these forms may not be considered to be verbs and are thus irrelevant here. The synthesis of the verb may of course be increased by various derivational categories, and furthermore, various discourse clitics may also be added on verbs, but they may occur on other parts of speech as well and are therefore not to be considered as verbal inflectional categories.

23. Locus of Marking in the Clause. 2. P is dependent-marked. 63/235. The WALs chapter pays attention to the marking of direct objects (P). In Skolt Saami, there is case marking on objects but no object agreement on verbs; more specifically, object case marking is realized as follows: in the singular the accusative form has no overt case suffix and is distinguished from nominatives only through internal modification, whereas in the plural an overt case suffix is found (see Korhonen et al. 1973: 30ff, 67ff; Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 28ff, 83ff). Looking at the locus of marking in the clause more generally, we may note that arguments and adjuncts are generally dependent marked by case or adpositions, and furthermore, head marking is present in the form of subject agreement on the verb.

24. Locus of Marking in Possessive Noun Phrases. 3. Possessor is double marked. 22/235. Both head and dependent marking occur, possessive suffixes on the possessee and genitive case on the possessor, but they are not simultaneously present (see Korhonen et al. 1973: 62–63; Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 56–65).¹⁴ The analysis of the Skolt Saami system as double marking is not straightforward, since head and dependent marking are in complementary distribution. The typology does not have the type “possessor is either head- or dependent-marked”, to which Skolt Saami could be classified without problems.

25. Locus of Marking: Whole-language Typology. 5. Inconsistent marking or other type. 120/235. This feature is derived from Features 23 and 24. Skolt Saami shows differences in the locus of marking in the clause (dependent) and in possessive NPs (head or dependent) and is therefore classified as inconsistent or other. This chapter contains a submap: *25A. Zero marking of A and P arguments.* 2. Other (non-zero marking). 219/235. Both are overtly marked, P with case and A with agreement (and case).

26. Prefixing versus Suffixing in Inflectional Morphology. 2. Predominantly suffixing. 382/894. Inflection is exclusively suffixing (see Korhonen et al. 1973: 30ff, 67ff; Moshnikoff et al. 2009: passim).

¹⁴ The sources contain no explicit statement about their cooccurrence possibilities, but they are not found occurring together in the examples given in the sources or in the texts examined, and their non-cooccurrence is confirmed by Tiina Sanila-Aikio and Eino Koponen, p.c., who note that an instance of double marking might occasionally occur due to Finnish influence, but is not a feature of Skolt Saami.

27. **Reduplication.** 3. No productive reduplication. 56/367. No indication of reduplication found in the sources.

28. **Case Syncretism.** 3. Inflectional case marking is syncretic for core and non-core cases. 22/197. In the singular, genitive and accusative are identical (and the nominative plural is also identical with these), and in the plural, accusative and illative are identical, see Korhonen et al. (1973: 30ff) and Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 28ff), cf. also the paradigm given in (5) above. In personal pronouns in the plural, nominative and genitive are syncretic (see Korhonen et al. 1973: 61; Moshnikoff & al. 2009: 61–63).

29. **Syncretism in Verbal Person/Number Marking.** 3. Subject person/number is never syncretic. 80/197. See Korhonen et al. (1973: 67ff) and Moshnikoff & al. (2009: 83ff), see also the paradigm in (4) above.

C. Nominal Categories

30. **Number of Genders.** 1. None. 144/256. See Korhonen et al. (1973: 30ff) and Moshnikoff & al. (2009: 28ff).

31. **Sex-based and Non-sex-based Gender Systems:** 1. No gender system. 144/256. See Korhonen et al. (1973: 30ff) and Moshnikoff & al. (2009: 28ff).

32. **Systems of Gender Assignment.** 1. No gender system. 144/256. See Korhonen et al. (1973: 30ff and Moshnikoff & al. (2009: 28ff).

33. **Coding of Nominal Plurality.** 6. Morphological plural with no method primary. 34/957. Both suffixation and stem changes are used in coding nominal plurality. The nominative plural does not have the plural suffix and it is usually distinguished from the nominative singular by changes in the stem (in words that are not subject to consonant gradation or other changes in the stem, the nominative singular and plural are identical in form). In other cases than the nominative the plural ending *i* occurs and stem changes are also common, cf. also the paradigms in (3) and (5) above. See Korhonen et al. (1973: 30ff) and Moshnikoff & al. (2009: 28ff)

34. **Occurrence of Nominal Plurality.** 6. Plural in all nouns, always obligatory. 133/290. This feature pays attention to whether the marking of nominal plurality is obligatory or optional with different types of nouns – human/animate vs. inanimate. In Skolt Saami, plural is marked when plural meaning is intended irrespective of whether the noun is animate or inanimate. See Korhonen et al. (1973: 30ff) and Moshnikoff & al. (2009: 28ff). It should, however, be noted that with numerals, the singular form is used if the numeral is singular in form: *kuõi't põ'rtte* (two.SG.GEN house.SG.ILL) 'into two houses',¹⁵ but this does not change the analysis with respect to the WALs feature.

35. **Plurality in Independent Personal Pronouns.** 4. Person-number stem. 114/260. The chapter looks at independent subject pronouns, which means the nomi-

15 The numeral may also be in the plural, and then the noun is also plural in form: *kuõi'tid põõrtid* (two.PL.ILL house.PL.ILL) ≈ 'into two (sets of) houses'. It may be further noted that in addition to the number agreement, the noun also agrees in case with the numeral except in the following combinations. With the numerals 2–6 in the nominative, the noun occurs in the genitive (or alternatively the partitive), and with 7 and above in the nominative or accusative, it occurs in the partitive (or alternatively in the genitive after a nominative numeral). See Sammallahti & Moshnikoff (1991: 165).

native forms of plural personal pronouns in the case of Skolt Saami. The form of the stem expresses person and number and no plural affixation occurs on these stems, see Korhonen et al. (1973: 61) and Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 59ff).

36. The Associative Plural. 2. Special bound associative plural marker. 48/237. Associative plurals are markers used with nouns typically referring to humans to denote ‘X and other people associated with X’. Itkonen (1958: 78b) reports the marker *-i’3ze* derived from the noun *kä’33* ‘companion’ expressing what seems to be a prototypically associative plural meaning, and it is also found in this function in the texts examined, e.g. *Tiinai’3ze* ‘Tiina and her company’ (Kotus 17461_1ez: 39:45).

37. Definite Articles. 5. Neither definite nor indefinite article. 188/566. See Korhonen et al. (1973: passim) and Moshnikoff et al. (2009: passim).

38. Indefinite Articles. 5. Neither indefinite nor definite article. 188/473. See Korhonen et al. (1973: passim) and Moshnikoff et al. (2009: passim).

39. Inclusive/Exclusive Distinction in Independent Pronouns. 3. No inclusive/exclusive opposition. 120/200. See Korhonen et al. (1973: 61) and Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 56).

40. Inclusive/Exclusive Distinction in Verbal Inflection. 3. No inclusive/exclusive opposition. 79/200. See Korhonen et al. (1973: 67ff) and Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 83ff).

41. Distance Contrasts in Demonstratives. 4. Four-way contrast. 8/234. Four demonstratives: *tät* ‘this’, *tut* ‘that’, *tõt* ‘it’ and *tiet-aa* ‘this here’ (Korhonen et al. 1973: 64; Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 57, 66–69). These four demonstratives seem to form a system with a four-way distance contrast, but it should be further investigated to what extent the four-way distinction is really one of distance and to what extent other factors are involved. The WALS chapter focuses on adnominal demonstratives; most of the examples given by Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 66–69) are ones where the demonstratives are used pronominally rather than adnominally, but adnominal examples of all four demonstratives are found in the texts examined (e.g., Kotus 17461).¹⁶

42. Pronominal and Adnominal Demonstratives. 3. Different inflectional features. 21/201. This chapter pays attention to the relationship between pronominal and adnominal demonstratives, distinguishing three different types according to whether they are identical, differ in their stems or in their inflection. In Skolt Saami, demonstratives have the so-called weak inflection when adnominal, i.e. in the singular illative, locative and abessive they are identical to the genitive in form and in the plural comitative and abessive they are identical to the genitive; pronominal demonstratives distinguish these cases normally (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 67). Note that some other pronominals and comparative forms of adjectives also have the weak paradigm when adnominal.

43. Third Person Pronouns and Demonstratives. 1. Unrelated. 100/225. Third person pronouns and demonstratives are formally unrelated. Their nominative forms

16 Finnish should be analysed as having a three-way contrast (*tämä* ‘near speaker’, *se* ‘near hearer’, *tuo* ‘away from both’) rather than a two-way contrast, changing the value assignment from 2 to 3.

are as follows: *son* 3SG, *suäna* 3DU, *sij* 3PL vs. *tät* ‘this’, *tut* ‘that’, *tõt* ‘it’ and *tiet-aa* ‘this here’ (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 56–57; Korhonen et al. 1973: 61, 64).

44. Gender Distinctions in Independent Personal Pronouns. 6. No gender distinctions. 254/378. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 56, 59–65) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 61).

45. Politeness Distinctions in Pronouns. 1. Second person pronouns encode no politeness distinctions. 136/207. The sources do not report politeness distinctions in connection with pronouns (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 56, 59–65; Korhonen et al. 1973: 61; Sammallahti 1998: 117).¹⁷

46. Indefinite Pronouns. 1. Interrogative-based indefinites. 194/326. The indefinites are formed by adding a suffix to the interrogatives, e.g., *mii* ‘what?’, *mii-ne* ‘something’ (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 57).

47. Intensifiers and Reflexive Pronouns. 1. Intensifiers and reflexive pronouns are formally identical. 94/168. In (Itkonen 1958: 64), the reflexive pronoun *jiðčč* is given both a reflexive and an intensifying translation into German, “sich” and “selbst”, respectively. It is further noted (ibid.) that in stories *jiðčč* is often used to refer to the devil or to a giant. This is a clear indication of an intensifying use, ‘the devil himself’.

48. Person Marking on Adpositions. 3. Person marking for pronouns only. 83/378. Most adpositions require genitive case on the accompanying nominal (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 31, 142–150; Korhonen et al. 1973: 31–34). As possessive affixes may appear instead of genitive modifiers (see Feature 24 above) it could be the case that genitive-governing adpositions have the alternative of taking a possessive suffix instead of being modified by a genitive pronoun. This is not reported in the existing grammatical descriptions, but some adpositions found in Moshnikoff & Sammallahti (1991) do allow it, e.g., *lu’nn* ‘at, near’ with the following paradigm of the three persons in singular and plural: *loonnan*, *loonnad*, *luu’nnes*, *luu’nnen*, *luu’nned*, *luu’nnez*, and *mie’ldd* ‘with, accompanying’ with the following paradigm of the three persons in singular and plural *meâldan*, *meâldad*, *mie’ldes*, *mie’lden*, *mie’lded*, *mie’ldez* (pp. 64, 72). As possessive suffixes do not cooccur with genitive modifiers, person marking on adpositions is only possible for pronominal complements of adpositions.

49. Number of Cases. 7. 8–9 case categories. 23/261. Nine cases: nominative, genitive, accusative, illative, locative, comitative, abessive, essive, and partitive (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 28; Korhonen et al. 1973: 30–34). The instrumental would be the 10th case but it is not productive, cf. (Ylikoski 2009: 86).

50. Asymmetrical Case-Marking. 2. Symmetrical case marking. 79/261. Case marking is symmetrical when all (functionally defined) nominal subclasses show the same distinctions and asymmetrical when there are differences between the case distinctions available in different subclasses. In Skolt Saami, the case distinctions available in different subclasses are identical (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 23–82; Korhonen

17 According to Tiina Sanila-Aikio, p.c., although pronouns do not code politeness distinctions, isolated examples imitating the Finnish usage of the second person plural as a polite pronoun may occasionally be found in translated texts.

et al. 1973: 30–66). Note, however, that in Korhonen et al. (1973: 57–58), the case paradigms of comparative and superlative adjectives do not have abessive forms, but they do have them in Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 52–55). The pronominal paradigms given in Korhonen et al. (1973: 61, 64–65) also lack some cases (abessive, partitive, essive), but all these case forms are found in Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 59–77), except for the reflexive pronoun which lacks the abessive and the partitive in the given paradigm. There is no explicit statement about the lack of the abessive and the partitive in the reflexive pronoun, but according to Eino Koponen (p.c.), the forms are missing due to their semantic improbability rather than being morphologically impossible. Furthermore, even if its paradigm lacked these case distinctions, the reflexive pronoun could hardly be seen as constituting a nominal subclass alone. Note also that the weak inflection of demonstratives and comparative adjectives when adnominal (see Feature 42 above) is an effect of the syntactic position of these elements, not a morphological restriction of this lexical subclass of nominals, and is therefore not relevant in this context.

51. Position of Case Affixes. 1. Case suffixes. 431/934. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 23–82) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 30ff).

52. Comitatives and Instrumentals. 1. Identity. 76/322. Skolt Saami treats comitatives and instrumentals alike, i.e. both are expressed with comitative case (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 37–38, 144, 150; Korhonen et al. 1973: 33, 34). An instrumental case that can express instruments with some nouns but not accompaniment is also mentioned in Korhonen et al. (1973: 34), but it may be disregarded as it is not productive (see Ylikoski 2009: 86). There is also the postposition *mie'ldd* 'with', which expresses accompaniment without expressing instrument. However, the comitative meaning expressed with this postposition is not pure accompaniment, but involves a meaning of movement (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 144, 150), and is thus irrelevant in the present context.

53. Ordinal Numerals. 7. First, second, three-th: 'First' and a small set of consecutive higher ordinal numerals are suppletive. 61/321. In Skolt Saami, 'first' and 'second' are suppletive and the ordinals from 'third' upwards are derived from cardinals: *õhtt* 'one', *vuõss~vuõssmõs* 'first'; *kue'htt* 'two', *nu'bb* 'second'; *koumm* 'three', *kuälmad* 'third'; *nellj* 'four', *neelljad* 'fourth'; etc. (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 78–82; Korhonen et al. 1973: 59–61).

54. Distributive Numerals. 1. No distributive numerals. 62/250. No indication of the presence of distributive numerals in the sources (Moshnikoff et al. 2009; Korhonen et al. 1973; Sammallahti 1998; Itkonen 1958) or in the texts examined so far. Note however that in WALs the closely related Kildin Saami is analysed as having distributive numerals and North Saami has them as well (Jussi Ylikoski, p.c.). The matter is worth looking at in more detail.

55. Numeral Classifiers. 1. Numeral classifiers are absent. 260/400. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 78–82) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 59–61).

56. Conjunctions and Universal Quantifiers. 1. Formally different. 40/116. There is no formal similarity between these classes, see the following items found in

Sammallahti & Moshnikoff (1991) that count as conjunctions or universal quantifiers according to the definition used in the WALS chapter (the original Finnish translations found in the dictionaries are given after the equal sign): CONJUNCTIONS: *da* ‘and=ja/sekä’, *di* ‘and=ja/sekä’, *de* ‘and=ja’, *ja~jä* ‘and=ja’, *še* ‘also=myös/-kin’, *-i* ‘also=-kin’, *joba* ‘even=jopa’, *nu’bb* ‘another=toinen’, *jee’res* ‘another=toinen’, *e’pet-â’pet-â’pet* ‘again=taas’, *vâ’st* ‘again=taas’, *däs* ‘again=taas’, *tâ’lk* ‘only=vain’, *pâi* ‘only=vain’; UNIVERSAL QUANTIFIERS: *juõ’kk* ‘every=joka’, *juõ’k’k-kaž* ‘every=jokainen’, *kii-a* ‘each=kukin’, *kâ’t-a* ‘each=kukin’, *puk* ‘all=kaikki’, *täättas* ‘any’, *hâ’t* ‘any’.

57. **Position of Pronominal Possessive Affixes.** 2. Possessive suffixes. 330/795. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 58) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 62–63).

D. Nominal Syntax

58. **Obligatory Possessive Inflection.** 2. No obligatorily possessed nouns. 201/244. There is no subclass of nouns in which the use of possessive suffixes would be obligatory (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 23–82; Korhonen et al. 1973: 30–66).

59. **Possessive Classification.** 1. No possessive classification. 125/243. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 30–32, 58) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 31, 62–63).

60. **Genitives, Adjectives, and Relative Clauses.** 6. Highly differentiated. 77/138. Alienable possessors are expressed by the genitive case, modifying adjectives have a special attributive form (usually distinct from the nominative singular [=predicative] form), and relative clauses are finite clauses introduced by a relative pronoun (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 30–32, 42–48, 57, 75, 126–128, 164–165; Korhonen et al. 1973: 31, 56–57, 64–65, 69). All three functions thus have their own dedicated constructions. Note, however, that participial modifiers are often functionally equivalent to relative clauses and can be identified as relative clauses in a functional sense, and on this analysis a type of relative clause comes closer to adjectives, but there is still a difference in that the attributive form of participles is identical to the nominative singular, whereas most adjectives have an attributive form distinct from the nominative singular.

61. **Adjectives without Nouns.** 2. Adjective may occur without noun, and without marking. 73/124. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 48). Note that in difference to attributive adjectives, substantivized adjectives inflect for case and do not bear the attributive marker.

62. **Action Nominal Constructions.** 4. Double-Possessive: All major arguments treated as possessors. 7/168. This chapter is about the marking of arguments in action nominal constructions such as *John’s running* and *the enemy’s destruction of the city*. In Skolt Saami, The verb form used is the action nominalization form (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 121–123; Korhonen et al. 1973: 68). There is no statement on the marking of the arguments in the sources. One example is found where the A argument is in the genitive (Moshnikoff & al. 2009: 121). According to Jussi Ylikoski (p.c., cf. also Ylikoski 2009: 75), Skolt Saami puts both agents and patients in the genitive in action nominal constructions.

63. Noun Phrase Conjunction. 1. AND-languages: ‘and’ and ‘with’ are not identical. 131/234. There is a strategy to express noun phrase conjunction (medial conjunction *da* ‘and’) distinct from the expression of the comitative function (comitative case), see Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 37–38, 151–152) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 33).

64. Nominal and Verbal Conjunction. 1. Nominal and verbal conjunction are largely identical. 161/301. Conjunction *da* ‘and’ is used for both functions in the texts examined.

E. Verbal Categories

65. Perfective/Imperfective Aspect. 2. No grammatical marking of perfective/imperfective distinction. 121/222. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 83ff); Korhonen et al. (1973: 67–68).

66. The Past Tense. 1. Past/non-past distinction marked, no remoteness distinction. 94/222. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 83–91) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 67–68).

67. The Future Tense. 2. No inflectional marking of future/nonfuture distinction. 112/222. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 85–88) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 67–68).

68. The Perfect. 3. Other perfect. 80/222. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 92–98) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 94–95). In Skolt Saami the perfect is marked by the verb *lee’d* ‘be’ and the past participle of the lexical verb. The value “other perfect” means that the language has a perfect but it is neither a have-perfect, nor a perfect derived from a word meaning ‘finish’ or ‘already’. Note that on the map, 114/222 languages have no perfect.

69. Position of Tense-Aspect Affixes. 2. Tense-aspect suffixes. 629/1062. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 88–90) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 67–68).

70. The Morphological Imperative. 1. The language has morphologically dedicated second singular as well as second plural imperatives. 292/547. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 99–100) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 67–68). Note, however, that the 2nd person singular imperative form is homonymous with the connegative form used in present tense indicative negatives, but since there is no plausible semantic connection between these forms, the 2nd singular imperative form is taken to be dedicated to its function, in accordance with the way in which similar cases are analysed in the WALS chapter.

71. The Prohibitive. 2. The prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy not found in (indicative) declaratives. 183/495. The chapter focuses on 2nd person singular negative imperatives and looks at two aspects: whether the negative marker is the same as or different from the negative marker used in declarative negatives and whether the imperative form is the same as or different from the imperative form used in positive imperatives. In Skolt Saami, negation (both declarative/indicative and imperative) is expressed with a construction where the negative element is a negative auxiliary verb and the lexical verb appears in a connegative or a nominal form depending on the TAM category; the negative auxiliary has a dedicated imperative form different from the form used

in indicatives (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 99–100, 116–117; Korhonen et al. 1973: 67–68, 95–97). Since the negative auxiliary has a dedicated imperative form, it is clear that the construction belongs either to Type 2 (“The prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy not found in (indicative) declaratives”) or to Type 4 (“The prohibitive uses a verbal construction other than the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy not found in (indicative) declaratives”). However, it is trickier to decide which one of these two types we are dealing with, i.e. whether the imperative constructions used in positive and negative imperatives are the same or different. Should we look at the lexical verb or the auxiliary or both? The morphological form of the lexical verb is the same in positive and negative 2nd person singular imperatives, and if we only look at this form, we could assign the construction to Type 2. However, the connegative form used in present tense indicative negatives is identical in form, and it could also be argued that the negative imperative uses this connegative form, not the imperative form used in positive imperatives. We could then say that imperative marking is on the auxiliary only and compare this with positive imperatives. Although the stem of the negative imperative auxiliary is specific to negative imperatives, the form of the auxiliary is similar to positive 2nd person imperatives in that it is the (vowel) stem form of the verb. It could then be concluded that, in this respect, prohibitives use the same imperative marking as positive imperatives. Under this analysis as well, the construction would be assigned Value 2. The WALS chapter only looks at 2nd person singular negative imperatives and both of the possible analyses discussed so far, based on 2nd person singulars only, would assign Value 2 to Skolt Saami. This is the analysis adopted when strictly following the definition given in the WALS chapter. To gain a better understanding of the marking of negative imperatives in Skolt Saami, we will have to look at the whole person-number paradigm in negative imperatives: in all other persons the lexical verb has connegative forms specific to the imperative. From the point of view of the whole paradigm, the system would clearly be of Type 4.¹⁸

72. Imperative-Hortative Systems. 1. The language has a maximal system, but not a minimal one. 133/375. This WALS chapter pays attention to the extent and homogeneity of imperative-hortative systems. Two imperative-hortative forms are homogenous if they are formed using the same kinds of morphological or syntactic means. A system is minimal if the 2nd person singular imperative is not homogenous with any other person/number in the imperative-hortative system. The system is maximal if the 2nd person singular imperative is homogenous with the other 2nd person forms, with the 3rd person and with at least the inclusive 1st person plural. In Skolt Saami, the imperative paradigm uses dedicated imperative markers which are all suffixal in all persons (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 99–100; Korhonen et al. 1973: 67–68). Skolt Saami thus has a maximal system.

¹⁸ Value 1 is assigned to North Saami although it has a suppletive imperative stem for the negative auxiliary just like Skolt Saami and Finnish (cf. Nickel 1994: 61); Value 2 should be assigned to North Saami.

73. The Optative. 2. Inflectional optative absent. 271/319. The optative is defined as a verb form dedicated to the expression of the wish of the speaker. The imperative in 3rd person has optative uses, but there is no form in Skolt Saami dedicated to the optative function (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 83ff; Korhonen et al. 1973: 67–68).

74. Situational Possibility. 2. The language does not express situational possibility with affixes on verbs, but with verbal constructions. 158/234. There are no verbal affixes for this purpose, the potential expressing only epistemic possibility (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 106–113, 120; Korhonen et al. 1973: 67–69). There are many examples of verbal constructions being used for situational possibility in the texts in Korhonen et al. (1973: 100ff), cf. also the following verbs found in Sammallahti & Moshnikoff's (1991) dictionary (their original Finnish translations are given after the equal sign): *pâ'stted* 'can, be able=kyetä, pystyä' (p. 52, 99), *põõžžted* 'can, be able=osata, pystyä' (p. 99), *vuei'tted* 'can, be able=voida' (p. 149); see also the corresponding entries in Moshnikoff & Sammallahti (1988) and Itkonen (1958).

75. Epistemic Possibility. 1. The language can express epistemic possibility with verbal constructions. 65/240. Affixal marking of epistemic possibility is done with the potential (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 106–113; Korhonen et al. 1973: 67–69). Verbal constructions are also possible. Examples are found with the verb *täi'dded* 'seem, may' in Itkonen (1958: 567b) and in Korhonen et al. (1973: 105),¹⁹ as well as *sä'tted* 'may, might' in Itkonen (1958: 477a). Other types of marking epistemic possibility, particles, adverbs, are of course also found, e.g. *možât* 'perhaps' (Sammallahti & Moshnikoff 1991: 8).

76. Overlap between Situational and Epistemic Modal Marking. 1. The language has markers that can code both situational and epistemic modality, both for possibility and for necessity. 36/207. This chapter is about whether the same markers (not only the same types of markers but the same morphemes) can be used for both situational and epistemic modal marking. In some languages this is not possible, in some languages it is possible only for necessity or possibility and in some languages it is possible for both. In Skolt Saami, the verbal inflectional categories do not offer this possibility: the potential is only used for epistemic possibility and the imperative is only used for situational necessity (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 106–113; Korhonen et al. 1973: 67–69). As to verbal constructions, most of them are specialized to either situational or epistemic modality. There are two necessity verbs discussed in Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 129–131): *õlggâd* and *fe'rttjed* both meaning 'must, have to' – all examples given are instances of situational necessity. The texts in Korhonen et al. (1973: 100–121) have many examples of situational possibility and necessity with verbal constructions, but no epistemic ones. Overlap is equally hard to find in the examples given in Itkonen's (1958) dictionary. The examples given in the following entries were examined (the numbers refer to pages and the letters to columns in Itkonen

19 Note that a verbal construction expressing epistemic possibility is exemplified in the WALS chapter text using the North Saami cognate of this verb. The example form Korhonen et al. (1973) might not be the best possible one as the meaning may be closer to 'seem' than neutral epistemic possibility 'may'.

1958, the transcription has been changed to standard orthography): verbs with necessity as (one of) their meaning(s): *fe'rttjed* (32a), *öuggâd-ölggâd* (33b, 819a); the noun *päkk* 'necessity' (333a); verbs with possibility, permission or ability as (one of) their meaning(s): *mä'tted* (242b), *sä'tted* (477a), *sui'tted* (526a), *täi'dded* (567b), *vââ'jjed* (710a), *vuei'tted* (766b), *äppšed* (15b). Examples showing possible overlap between epistemic and situational modality were found for *mä'tted* and *sä'tted*. For the former, the basic meaning is situational possibility, but one example seems to have an epistemic meaning ('they must have laughed, the original Finnish translation 'mahtoivat(kin) nauraa', lit. 'they may have laughed'). For the latter, the relevant examples are instances of epistemic possibility, but the German gloss 'vermögen' points towards possible situational use as well. Furthermore, there is a construction expressing necessity with the potential of the verb 'be' and the infinitive of the lexical verb (Itkonen 1958: 203a–b), and the examples given of this construction show both epistemic and situational uses. These examples point towards the conclusion that the overlap of situational and epistemic modal marking is possible for both possibility and necessity, but is not typical or widespread in Skolt Saami; Koukkari's (2010) first results concerning necessity verbs point towards the same conclusion.²⁰

77. Semantic Distinctions of Evidentiality. 1. No grammatical evidentials. 181/418. There are no dedicated evidential morphemes reported in the sources, and the sections on verbs in Moshnikoff et al. (2009) and Korhonen et al. (1973) contain no information on secondary uses of TAM categories as evidentials. Whether some of the verbs used for coding modality (cf. discussion of Feature 76 above) have grammaticalized evidential uses is not clear from the sources either. These issues need more investigation in Skolt Saami.

78. Coding of Evidentiality. 1. No grammatical evidentials. 181/418. No evidence of grammatical evidentials found in the sources (cf. the discussion of Feature 77 above).

79. Suppletion According to Tense and Aspect. 4. No suppletion in tense or aspect. 123/193. The chapter focuses on strong and unique cases of stem suppletion, which means that there is no shared phonological material between the alternants and the alternation is unique to a lexeme. The only unique paradigms found in Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 402–403) are the verbs *lee'd* 'be' and *píijjâd* 'put, set, lay', but their irregularity is not of the strong suppletive type. According to Korhonen et al. (1973: 93–94), the auxiliary *lee'd* 'be' has some missing forms substituted for by the verb *äärrad* 'be'. However, this only concerns some nominal forms, not tense-aspect inflection, and furthermore, it cannot even be considered suppletion: it is not a case of phonologically unrelated forms living in the same paradigm, but rather of one verb having a defective paradigm and the missing forms being provided by another verb, which has a full paradigm of its own.

20 North Saami also seems to have some overlap between situational and epistemic modality: according to Nickel (1994: 463–466), the verbs *sáhttit* 'can, be possible' and *fertet* 'must, be necessary' may express both situational and epistemic modality, and Value 3 should therefore be assigned.

79A. Suppletion in Imperatives and Hortatives. 5. No suppletion in imperatives or hortatives. 153/193. The imperative form of the negative auxiliary is different from the declarative, but it is not suppletive in the strong sense (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 114–116; Korhonen et al. 1973: 96).

80. Verbal Number and Suppletion. 1. No singular(-dual)-plural pairs/triples in the reference material. 159/193. In the WALS chapter, verbal number refers to the quantification of the action rather than the nominal participants. This chapter pays attention to the presence of pairs (or triples) of forms contrasting in verbal number, and to whether the formal relation between them is suppletive, suppletion being here defined as either exceptions to very productive derivational patterns or exceptions to established agreement patterns. No verbal pairs/triples are found in the Skolt Saami reference materials.

F. Word Order

81. Order of Subject, Object, and Verb. 2. Subject-Verb-Object (SVO). 435/1228. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 33, 163, *passim*) and Korhonen et al. (1973: *passim*).

82. Order of Subject and Verb. 1. Subject precedes verb (SV). 1060/1344. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 33, 163, *passim*) and Korhonen et al. (1973: *passim*).

83. Order of Object and Verb. 2. Object follows verb (VO). 639/1370. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 33, 163, *passim*), Korhonen et al. (1973: *passim*).

84. Order of Object, Oblique, and Verb. 1. Verb-object-oblique order (VOX). 189/449. The obliques taken into account in this chapter include phrases expressing location (source and goal), instruments, benefactives and comitatives (recipients and temporal expressions are not included). In the examples in Moshnikoff et al. (2009: *passim*), these obliques are predominantly placed after the object (Korhonen et al. 1973 have only very few relevant examples). In texts (e.g., Kotus 6749, 6750, 12744) orders in which either X or O precedes the verb are common, especially OVX. To establish this or any other order as basic would require text analysis beyond the scope of this paper. At this point, assuming that the most neutral order is reflected in the examples of the school grammar, it may be tentatively concluded that Skolt Saami has verb-object-oblique order. Note also that recipients in ditransitives (which are expressed with the illative case) tend to precede the object even in Moshnikoff et al. (2009).

85. Order of Adposition and Noun Phrase. 1. Postpositions. 520/1074. Both prepositions and postpositions occur, but the latter are clearly dominant: the inventory of postpositions in Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 142–150) is much larger than that of prepositions.

86. Order of Genitive and Noun. 1. Genitive-noun (GenN). 608/1105. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 30–32).

87. Order of Adjective and Noun. 1. Modifying adjective precedes noun (AdjN). 340/1213. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 42–43).

88. Order of Demonstrative and Noun. 1. Demonstrative word precedes noun (DemN). 496/1085. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 66–69).

89. Order of Numeral and Noun. 1. Numeral precedes noun (NumN). 430/1001. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 81–82).

90. Order of Relative Clause and Noun. 1. Relative clause follows noun (NRel). 507/705. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 164–165). If the non-finite (participial) functional equivalents or relative clauses were taken into account (cf. discussion above, Feature 60), RelN order would also be found.

91. Order of Degree Word and Adjective. 1. Degree word precedes adjective (DegAdj). 205/437. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 46–47): the degree word *samai* ‘very’ is placed before the adjective.

92. Position of Polar Question Particles. 3. Question particle in second position in sentence. 45/777. The question particles *-a*, *-go* and *-son* occur after the first constituent (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 154–155).

93. Position of Interrogative Phrases in Content Questions. 1. Interrogative phrases obligatorily initial. 241/803. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 69–74).

94. Order of Adverbial Subordinator and Clause. 1. Adverbial subordinators which are separate words and which appear at the beginning of the subordinate clause. 367/611. Subordinate clauses are introduced by free-standing initial conjunctions (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 153, 164). There are also non-finite adverbial clauses in which the subordinator is a nominalizing suffix on the verb (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 123, 124–125; Korhonen et al. 1973: 68–69), but these are not comparable to the finite ones in frequency in the texts examined (cf. also Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 166).

95. Relationship between the Order of Object and Verb and the Order of Adposition and Noun Phrase. 3. Verb-object and postpositional (VO&Postp). 38/1033. See Features 83 and 85 above.

96. Relationship between the Order of Object and Verb and the Order of Relative Clause and Noun. 4. Verb-object and noun-relative clause (VO&NRel). 370/756. See Features 83 and 90 above.

97. Relationship between the Order of Object and Verb and the Order of Adjective and Noun. 3. Verb-object and adjective-noun (VO&AdjN). 100/1170. See Features 83 and 87 above.

G. Simple Clauses

98. Alignment of Case Marking of Full Noun Phrases. 2. Nominative-accusative (standard). 46/190. The core argument (S) of a canonical intransitive predicate is marked by the nominative, and the nominative also marks the more agent-like argument (A) of a canonical transitive predicate. The more patient-like argument (P) of a canonical transitive predicate is marked by the accusative. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 28–34) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 31–32).

99. Alignment of Case Marking of Pronouns. 2. Nominative-accusative (standard). 61/172. The case functions are the same as with full noun phrases (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 28–34, 59–77; Korhonen et al. 1973: 31–32, 61–66).

100. Alignment of Verbal Person Marking. 2. Accusative alignment. 212/380. The S and A arguments are cross-referenced on the verb with subject agreement, while the

P is not marked on the verb (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 83ff; Korhonen et al. 1973: 67ff).

101. Expression of Pronominal Subjects. 6. More than one of the above types with none dominant. 30/674. This chapter pays attention to how pronominal subjects are expressed: by affixes, clitics or by independent pronouns, and in the latter case whether pronouns occur in the same position as nominal subjects and whether they are obligatory or optional. In Skolt Saami, verbs have subject agreement, and subject pronouns occur in the same position as nominal subjects, but there is no explicit statement in the sources about whether the pronouns are optional or obligatory. In the examples given by Moshnikoff et al. (2009) and in the texts in Korhonen et al. (1973), the presence of subject pronouns is much more common than their absence, but both possibilities exist. However, no genuine cases of absence of pronoun were found in these sources for either 3rd person pronominal subjects (in any number) or for dual pronominal subjects (in any person); generic person constructions with 3rd person singular verb forms without pronoun were naturally not considered.²¹ The obligatoriness of dual subject pronouns is understandable since verbal agreement does not distinguish between dual and plural.

102. Verbal Person Marking. 2. Person marking of only the A argument. 73/378. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 83ff) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 67ff).

103. Third-Person Zero of Verbal Person Marking. 4. Zero-realization of all third person singular S forms. 45/380. Some illustrative examples of 3rd person verb forms are given in (6).

(6) a. *poorrâd* ‘to eat’

påårr 3SG.PRES *på’rre* 3PL.PRES *poori* 3SG.PST *po’rre* 3PL.PST

b. *laullad* ‘to sing’

läull 3SG.PRES *läulla* 3PL.PRES *lääulai* 3SG.PST *laullu* 3PL.PST

(Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 86, 89)

According to Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 86, 89, 101, 107) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 67), 3rd person singular verb forms have no overt person endings; in the present there is no tense ending either and in the past they end in the past suffix *-i* (note, however, that stem-internal changes make the 3rd singular forms distinct from a [theoretical] pure stem). As to the 3rd person plural, both of these sources agree on the status of the endings *e* or *a* used in the present as person suffixes, but the sources differ in their interpretation of the suffixes, *e* or *u*, used in the past: they are interpreted as past suffixes by Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 89) but as personal suffixes by Korhonen et al. (1973: 67). My interpretation of these analyses is that in the present, the 3rd singular form has no suffix and the 3rd plural has a person-number agreement suffix, whereas

21 There was in fact one example with a 3rd person dual pronominal subject without a pronoun (Korhonen et al. 1973: 117), but it can be seen as a case of ellipsis of a subordinate clause subject made explicit in the following main clause.

in the past the 3rd singular form has a tense suffix only and the 3rd plural has a tense-agreement portmanteau suffix.²²

104. Order of Person Markers on the Verb. 1. A and P do not, or do not both, occur on the verb. 187/379. Only A is marked on verb (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 86, 89, 101, 107; Korhonen et al. 1973: 67).

105. Ditransitive Constructions: The Verb ‘Give’. 1. Indirect-object construction. 189/378. The theme is coded like the patient (with the accusative) and the recipient is coded differently (with the illative), see Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 32–35) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 31–32). Note however that the accusative and illative are identical in the plural and the difference in coding these roles thus only applies to the singular.

106. Reciprocal Constructions. 2. All reciprocal constructions are formally distinct from reflexive constructions. 99/175. No reciprocal uses are reported for the reflexive pronoun *jiõčč* in the sources, and there is a distinct reciprocal construction: *kuei’mm kuei’mes* ‘each other’ (Itkonen 1958: 170b; Moshnikoff & Sammallahti 1988: 28, 40; Sammallahti & Moshnikoff 1991: 25, 131; Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 56–58; Korhonen et al. 1973: 65–66); *kuei’mm* = ‘companion’ (‘kumppani, Gefährte’, see Itkonen 1958: 170b). A similar reciprocal construction based on *kä’zz* ‘companion’ (‘kumppani, Genosse’) is reported by Itkonen (1958: 78b).

107. Passive Constructions. 1. There is a passive construction. 162/373. The indefinite person (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 83ff; Korhonen et al. 1973: 67–68) fulfils the passive criteria used in the WALS chapter, see the example in Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 98) where the object is marked with the accusative and no subject is present. Note that according to Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 136), there is no passive as an inflectional voice but passive derivation can be applied to most transitive verbs.

108. Antipassive Constructions. 3. No antipassive. 146/194. No antipassive is found in the sources (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 83ff; Korhonen et al. 1973: 67ff).

109. Applicative Constructions. 8. No applicative construction. 100/183. No applicative is found in the sources (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: passim; Korhonen et al. 1973: passim).

110. Periphrastic Causative Constructions. 2. Purposive type but no sequential type. 68/118. This feature pays attention to whether languages exhibit periphrastic causative constructions of the sequential or the purposive type, or both. In the sequential type the clause expressing the cause and the clause expressing the effect are juxtaposed in that order. In the purposive type, one clause expresses an event carried out for the purpose of realizing another event, and the sense of purpose or goal is expressed by an overt marker (e.g., subjunctive mood, or dative case marking). Moshnikoff et al. (2009) and Korhonen et al. (1973) discuss only non-periphrastic causatives. Some

22 A possible alternative analysis for the past forms would contrast two suffixes cumulating the marking of person and tense: *-i* in 3rd singular and *-e/-u* in 3rd plural. Under this analysis, one would then assign value “Zero-realization of some third person singular S forms” for Skolt Saami. Diachronically, the 3rd singular past form has not had a person suffix in its history whereas the 3rd plural past form has lost an earlier person suffix that used to occur after the tense suffix (see Korhonen 1981: 271–273, 283–284).

examples of periphrastic causatives using the verb *piijjâd* ‘put’ or *vuäž’žad* ‘get’ are found in the texts examined, the caused event being expressed with an infinitival complement clause, e.g. (7).

- (7) *Ruõšš vaangid pi’jje kue’dded käälvaid*
 Russian prisoner.ACC.PL put.PST.3PL carry.INF thing.ACC.PL
 ‘they made Russian prisoners carry stuff’ (Kotus 12744_1a: 06:18)

These are clearly periphrastic causatives of the purposive type, the infinitive acting as the purposive marker in the relevant sense. No indication of sequential constructions are found in the data sources.

111. **Nonperiphrastic Causative Constructions.** 2. Morphological type but no compound type. 254/310. There is a derivational causative with the ending *-ted*, e.g. *poorrâd* ‘to eat’ → *poorted* ‘to feed’ (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 135); no compound type construction is found in the sources.

112. **Negative Morphemes.** 3. Negative auxiliary verb. 45/1011. As seen in Example (8), the negative element used in declaratives is the auxiliary verb *ij* which inflects in person and number and the lexical verb is in a nonfinite form – connegative in the present, past participle in the past (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 114–119; Korhonen et al. 1973: 95–97).

- (8) *viigga-m* take-1SG vs. *jið-m viigg* NEG-1SG take.CNG
vi’kk-e-m take-PST-1SG vs. *jið-m viikkâ-m* NEG-1SG take-PST.PTCP

113. **Symmetric and Asymmetric Standard Negation.** 2. Asymmetric standard negation only: Type Asy. 53/297. Since standard negation (the negation of declarative verbal main clauses) is expressed with an auxiliary taking the finite inflections and the lexical verb being in a non-finite form (see Example 8 above), negatives always show structural differences (other than the mere presence of a negative marker) in comparison to the corresponding affirmative, and standard negation is thus always asymmetric vis-à-vis affirmation.

114. **Subtypes of Asymmetric Standard Negation.** 1. In finiteness: subtype A/Fin. 40/297. The Skolt Saami standard negation construction (see Example 8 above) is a typical negative auxiliary construction, and negative auxiliary constructions form a subtype of A/Fin asymmetry, defined by the loss or reduction of finiteness of the lexical verb usually accompanied by the addition of a finite element (auxiliary). It is true that in the present tense indicative, the connegative is identical to the 2nd singular imperative. This could lead one to think that there is (also) asymmetry of type A/NonReal, in which negatives show marking denoting non-realized states of affairs in non-negatives. However, this form can be interpreted as being a minimal stem form homonymous with the 2nd singular imperative rather than a true imperative form; the 2nd singular imperative is without ending in all verbs but the verb *lee’d* ‘be’

(see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 354–403; Korhonen et al. 1973: 69–94). Therefore the connection to the imperative is more apparent than real and asymmetry of type A/NonReal is not found in Skolt Saami.

115. Negative Indefinite Pronouns and Predicate Negation. 1. Negative indefinites cooccur with predicate negation. 170/206. Negative indefinites are formed by adding *ni* in front of interrogative pronouns *kii* ‘who’ and *mii* ‘what’: *[ij] ni kii* ‘[not] anybody’ and *[ij] ni mii* ‘[not] anything’, and they cooccur with verbal negation in clauses (Itkonen 1958: 280a–b; Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 57; Korhonen et al. 1973: 66, 110).

116. Polar Questions: 1. Question particle. 520/842. Polar interrogation is expressed by the 2nd position enclitic *-a* (with slight differences in meaning and distribution also *-go*, *-son*, or *-šât*); in polar interrogatives without focus on a specific constituent, it is the finite verb that is fronted and carries the interrogative clitic, and polar interrogation thus also involves word order change. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 154–155). Question particles are the primary means to express polar interrogation, but there are some other means to express this function as well. In texts, a number of examples are found in which a sentence that is declarative in form expresses a polar interrogative (see e.g. Itkonen 1931: 44, 168); according to Eino Koponen (p.c.) intonation distinguishes these from declaratives. There are also a few examples in which polar interrogation is expressed by putting the negative auxiliary after the verb, both inflected for the same person and number (see e.g. Itkonen 1931: 204, 206). These may be analysed as instances of the so-called A-not-A construction type found in a number of the world’s languages, e.g. Mandarin and Kobon, where polar interrogation is expressed by a disjunction of a positive predicate and its negation. (The A-not-A type is treated as a subtype of expression of polar interrogation by particles in Chapters 92 and 116 in WALS.)

117. Predicative possession. 1. Locational possessive. 48/240. Predicative possession is expressed by a construction in which the possessor takes the locative case and the possessee is the grammatical subject of the verb *lee’d* ‘be’ (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 35–36; Korhonen et al. 1973: 33).

118. Predicative Adjectives. 2. Predicative adjectives have nonverbal encoding. 132/386. Predicative adjectives use the verb *lee’d* ‘be’ as copula just as nominal predicates do (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 42–48).

119. Nominal and Locational Predication. 2. Shared (i.e. identical) encoding of nominal and locational predication. 117/386. Locational predicates use the verb *lee’d* ‘be’ just as nominal predicates do (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 29–30, 35–36, 87, 90, 92–93, 96).

120. Zero Copula for Predicate Nominals. 1. Zero-copula is impossible. 211/386. No indication of the possibility of leaving out the copula with predicate nominals is found in Moshnikoff et al. (2009: passim).

121. Comparative Constructions. 1. Locational comparative. 78/167. The standard of comparison is in the partitive, e.g. *uu’ccab vi’lljed* (small.COMP.SG.NOM brother.SG.PART) ‘smaller than the brother’ (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 41, 49–53; Korhonen

et al. 1973: 34). Since the partitive was originally a locational (more precisely separative) case, this construction is to be analysed as a locational/separative comparative in Stassen's (1985, 2005) typology. However, nowadays the standard may also be in the genitive (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 41; Korhonen et al. 1973: 34); note that the partitive is a marginal case in contemporary Skolt Saami and its remaining functions are being taken over by the genitive more generally, not only as regards the expression of the standard of comparison. The genitive does not have locative functions in Skolt Saami and this usage cannot therefore be analysed as a locational comparative. It may be noted that Russian can also use the genitive to mark the standard of comparison (see Wade 2000: 199); the genitive has partitive uses in Russian, and a functional connection between partitive and genitive coding of the standard can thus be argued for. Genitive coding of the standard is typologically rare and it is not attested in Stassen's (1985, 2005) typology. Note also that although the available grammatical descriptions do not mention this possibility, a few examples of particle comparatives, with the standard marked by *ko* 'than' are also found in the texts examined, e.g. (9).

- (9) *tõt leäi hää'skab hãmm ko suei'nnhãmm*
 it.NOM be.PST.3SG fun.CMPR job.SG.NOM than hay.job.SG.NOM
 'It was a nicer job than hay work.' (Kotus 19465_1: 45:05)

H. Complex Sentences

122. Relativization on Subjects. 1. Relative pronoun. 12/166. Relativization on subjects is done with the relative pronoun strategy (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 57, 75, 165). If the non-finite clauses that have similar functions as relative clauses are taken into account, cf. Features 60 and 90 above, the gap strategy exists as well; non-finite relativization on subjects is done with participles (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 126–128; this usage is reported only for the present participle).

123. Relativization on Obliques. 1. Relative pronoun strategy. 13/112. Obliques are relativized using relative pronouns (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 57, 75, 165). As to the non-finite functional equivalents of relative clauses, they can only be used to relativize on subjects and objects and are thus not relevant here (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 121–122, 126–128).

124. 'Want' Complement Clauses. 1. The complement subject is left implicit. 144/283. 'Want' verbs take infinitival complements and the complement subject is left implicit, see the examples with the 'want' verbs *haa'leed* (Itkonen 1958: 35b) and *tãttad* (Itkonen 1958: 576a).

125. Purpose Clauses. 2. Balanced/deranked. 30/170. A balanced purposive clause construction may be formed with the conjunction *što* (see Sammallahti & Moshnikoff 1991: 27; Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 166). As to the deranked option, the infinitive can be used in a purposive sense (with motion verbs in the main event), see Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 120), and examples of the construction in which action nominalization is followed by the postposition *diõtt* 'because of, for', cf. Feature 127 below, have also been found with a purposive sense (e.g. in Kotus 3320_2a: 08:10).

126. 'When' Clauses. 2. Balanced/deranked. 39/174. Balanced constructions can be formed with the conjunction *ko* (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 153, 164), and deranked constructions with either the essive of the action form or with the *een-gerund* (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 123, 124).

127. Reason Clauses. 2. Balanced/deranked. 37/169. Reason clauses are most often balanced and use the conjunction *ko* 'when, because' (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 153, 164). Deranked constructions can be formed with the postposition *diött* 'because of' and the action nominalization of the verb (e.g., Kotus 3320_2a: 17:18); see also Ylikoski 2009: 75).

128. Utterance Complement Clauses. 1. Balanced. 114/143. These have balanced expression with the conjunction *što* 'that' (Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 153, 164). Deranked constructions are not found for utterance complements (see section on nominal verb forms in Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 119–128). This is further confirmed in Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 166) where it is stated that (certain kinds of) non-finite clauses cannot be used to replace finite subordinate clauses (in contrast to Finnish), and two of the examples given in this context as equivalents of Finnish non-finite utterance complement clauses are finite utterance complement clauses with the conjunction *što* 'that'.

I. Lexicon

129. Hand and Arm. 1. Identity: a single word denotes both 'hand' and 'arm'. 228/617. The word *kiött* denotes both 'hand' and 'arm' (Itkonen 1958: 123–124), and no separate term for 'arm' is found in the dictionaries. It can be noted that the word *keä'mmen* 'palm' is, in the Nuorttijärvi dialect, translated into German as "Hand (von den Fingerspitzen bis zur Handwurzel)" in Itkonen (1958: 101a), but this meaning is found in this dialect only and there is no information about a separate term for 'arm' anyway. In the newer dictionaries 'palm' is given as *kiöttkeä'mmen*.²³

130. Finger and Hand. 2. Differentiation: one word denotes 'hand' and another, different word denotes 'finger' (or, very rarely, 'fingers'). 521/593. The word *kiött* denotes 'hand' (and 'arm') and the word *suõrmm* denotes 'finger' (Sammallahti & Moshnikoff 1991: 53, 117).

131. Numeral Bases. 1. Decimal. 125/196. See Moshnikoff et al. (2009: 78–80) and Korhonen et al. (1973: 59–60).

132. Number of Nonderived Basic Colour Categories. 7. 6 categories. 29/119. The primary colour categories are black, white, red, yellow, green and blue. A language may have a separate term for each of these or arrange them in composite categories such as green-or-blue. Derived categories are mixtures of primary terms such as grey (mixture of black and white). This chapter looks at the number of non-derived

23 In Finnish, the word *käsi* means both hand and arm; there is a more specialized term *käsivarsi* for 'arm' but none for 'hand' (*kämmen* means 'palm'). Value 1 should be assigned in WALS for Finnish.

(primary or composite) categories receiving basic colour terms.²⁴ To decide which colour terms are basic and which are not, experimental work would be needed. This is beyond the scope of the present paper, but a preliminary idea may be gained by looking at dictionaries (Moshnikoff & Sammallahti 1988; Sammallahti & Moshnikoff 1991): Skolt Saami has the following terms for non-derived colour categories: *čappád* ‘black’, *viðlggád* ‘white’, *ruðpssád* ‘red’, *viskkád* ‘yellow’, *ruðnâs* ‘green (used of plants)’, *ruânn* ‘green (used of materials, objects)’, and *ââ’leķ~ââ’liķ* ‘blue’. It is probably safe to say that there is a basic colour term for every primary colour category. For green, there is also a more specialized term used for plants, but the more general term can still be seen as a basic term for this category.

133. Number of Basic Colour Categories. 5. 8 or between 8 and 9 categories. 6/119. In addition to the six primary ones (see Feature 132), the following non-compositional colour terms were found in the dictionaries (Moshnikoff & Sammallahti 1988; Sammallahti & Moshnikoff 1991; Itkonen 1958): *rää’nes* ‘grey’, *ručkkâd~ru’čkkâd* ‘brown’, and *golubai* (Itkonen 1958: 819b) ‘blue-grey’. Terms for pink and light blue are compositional, formed from red and blue by compounding them with *kiðlggád* ‘light’ (see Itkonen 1958: 117a). The term for orange is also compositional: *ma’linovi ruðpssád*. No terms were found for purple or turquoise in the dictionaries. Adding the terms for grey and brown to the six primary ones, we have eight basic colour terms. The term for blue-grey is a recent loan from Russian and it is not clear how well integrated if at all it is in the colour lexicon of Skolt Saami. If it were taken as basic, there would be nine terms. It should be noted that the problem of having to rely on dictionaries is worse when trying to determine the total number of basic colour terms than it was with the primary categories in Chapter 132. Needless to say, a thorough study of colour terminology should be conducted with native speakers.

134. Green and Blue. 1. Green and blue. 30/119. Green and blue are distinguished, see above.

135. Red and Yellow. 1. Red and yellow. 97/119. Red and yellow are distinguished, see above.

136. M-T Pronouns. 2. M-T pronouns, paradigmatic. 27/230. This chapter pays attention to the first consonant in 1st and 2nd person singular pronominal elements. M-T pronoun systems have M in 1st and T in 2nd person singular. M is basically defined as [m] and T as any apical obstruent. By paradigmatic is meant that the consonants form a paradigm, both occurring in the same form class(es) of their respective pronouns. Skolt Saami has M in 1st person singular independent pronouns, possessive suffixes and verb suffixes and T in 2nd person singular independent pronouns, possessive suffixes but not in verb affixes (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 56, 58–60, 83ff;

24 Surprisingly, the WALS chapter does not give a definition of the notion of basic colour term. Following a traditional definition these are colour terms that are general (apply to diverse classes of objects, meaning not subsumable under the meaning of another term) and salient (readily elicitable, occurs in the idiolects of most speakers, used consistently by individuals and with a high degree of consensus among individuals), cf. Hardin & Maffi (1997: 3–4).

Korhonen et al. 1973: 61–63, 67–68). The 2nd person singular *-k/-k̃*-ending in verbs is historically derived from a *-t* ending (see Korhonen 1981: 271). There is a submap focusing on 1st person singular only: 136a. *M in First Person Singular*. 2. M in first person singular. 53/230.

137. **N-M Pronouns**. 1. No N-M pronouns. 194/230. This feature is similar to the previous one with the difference that attention is paid to the occurrence of N in 1st person singular and M in 2nd person singular. N is basically defined as dental or alveolar [n] or palatal [ɲ] and M as [m] as above. Skolt Saami does not have N-M pronouns (see Moshnikoff et al. 2009: 56, 58–60, 83ff; Korhonen et al. 1973: 61–63, 67–68). There is a submap focusing on 1st person singular only: 137a. *M in Second Person Singular*. 1. No M in second person singular. 152/230.

138. **Tea**. 1. Words derived from Sinitic *cha*. 109/230. The word for ‘tea’ is *čee~čeei* (Sammallahti & Moshnikoff 1991: 128; see also Itkonen 1958: 655b, 956a).²⁵

J. Sign Languages

139. **Irregular Negatives in Sign Languages**. Not applicable to Skolt Saami.

140. **Question Particles in Sign Languages**. Not applicable to Skolt Saami.

K. Other

141. **Writing Systems**. 1. Alphabetic. As seen in the examples given in this paper, a Roman-based alphabet is used in Skolt Saami. Cyrillic was used in some earlier documents in the 19th century.

142. **Paralinguistic Usages of Clicks**. No information on this feature can be found in the sources. Given that all Skolt Saami speakers living in Finland are bilingual in Finnish and Skolt Saami, and that Finnish speakers use clicks for affective meanings, it is highly probable that contemporary Skolt Saami speakers do this while speaking Skolt as well. Earlier influence from Russian may also increase the probability – affective use of clicks is also reported for Russian in the WALs chapter. However, it is beyond the scope of this paper to verify this for Skolt Saami.

3. Typological distance between Skolt Saami and other languages

Typological properties of Skolt Saami have now been discussed on the basis of the WALs features. The Skolt Saami features and the emerging typological profile of the language are the main topic of this paper, but since a value has been assigned to Skolt Saami for each feature, it is now also possible to compare the typological properties of Skolt Saami with the languages in the WALs database, in order to determine which languages are typologically closest to Skolt Saami.

25 As pointed out by Jussi Ylikoski and noted in the Online version of WALs, there is a value assignment error in the WALs database for this feature in North Saami, the correct value being 2, “Words derived from Min Nan Chinese *te*”.

Typological similarity between Skolt Saami and the languages in the WALS database is estimated using a distance measure proposed by Dahl in his (2008a) contribution looking at the typological distance between Finnish and other languages. The analysis is based on Features 1–138. The measure pays attention to the proportion of shared values and shared features. Shared features are those features that are coded for both Skolt Saami and the language in the database that Skolt Saami is being compared to. In the present case, since Skolt Saami is coded for all features, the number of shared features is simply the number of features coded for each language in the database. The number of shared values is the number of features for which each language shows the exact same value as the language that it is being compared to, i.e. Skolt Saami in the present case. The formula for counting typological distances is simple: the number of shared values is divided by the number of shared features, the result of which is then multiplied by 100, and the resulting integer is subtracted from 100. The smaller the resulting number, the smaller the typological distance between the languages.²⁶

Before looking at the results, a few caveats are in order. The 2560 languages in the database only amount to roughly 40% of the world's languages, and the languages that are not in the database are naturally left out of the comparison. Since the number of features coded in the database varies from language to language, the reliability of the comparison varies accordingly; the fewer features a language is coded for, the less certain the typological distance measure is for that language, and the reliability of the results is highest for the languages that are coded for most features (i.e. languages for which the number of shared features is the highest). Furthermore, in order for a value to count as shared, it has to be exactly the same in the languages compared; the measure does not take into account the fact that some values of a feature are closer to each other than others. For example, for Feature 49, "Number of cases", Skolt Saami has the value 7 meaning 8–9 case categories; any value other than seven is counted as not shared, regardless of whether it refers to 6–7 case categories, more than 10, or to no case marking at all. And finally, the WALS features only cover a selection of possible points of typological comparison (fortunately, however, they cover different domains of grammar relatively evenly). Given these restrictions, the numbers have to be considered as giving a rather rough measure of typological similarity.

Table 1 shows the results for the top 25 languages in the WALS database that are typologically closest to Skolt Saami.²⁷ For the sake of the reliability of the results, only languages with 41 or more features in the database are included in the measure, and as a result of this restriction, only 410 of the 2560 languages are included in the comparison. Even within this group reliability varies according to the number of shared features. The actual feature values for these languages have not been reproduced in this article, but they are easily available in the online version of WALS (<<http://wals.info/>>).

26 Note that the distance measure is somewhat simpler here than the one used in Dahl (2008b).

27 I am grateful to Östen Dahl for running the analysis for my Skolt Saami data.

		Shared values	Shared features	Distance
1.	Finnish	109	134	18
2.	Saami (Northern)	33	41	19
3.	Estonian	35	48	27
4.	Tuvan	37	54	31
5.	Dagur	32	49	34
	Tatar	28	43	34
7.	Bashkir	33	51	35
	Russian	86	134	35
9.	Brahui	59	93	36
10.	Armenian (Eastern)	53	85	37
	Bulgarian	44	70	37
	Nenets	59	95	37
	Yakut	33	53	37
14.	Hungarian	81	132	38
	Serbian-Croatian	31	50	38
16.	Buriat	25	41	39
	Kashmiri	41	68	39
	Latvian	68	112	39
	Mari (Meadow)	25	41	39
	Ukrainian	25	41	39
21.	Even	27	45	40
	Hindi	73	123	40
	Marathi	36	60	40
	Telugu	31	52	40
25.	Breton	33	56	41
	English	81	138	41

Table 1. Typological distance from Skolt Saami.

First of all, we may observe that, just as expected, the languages that are typologically closest to Skolt Saami, are also genealogically and areally very close, namely North Saami and Finnish. A second immediate observation is that the typologically closest languages are mainly languages of northern and eastern Europe (Uralic, Indo-European), northern Asia (Mongolic, Turkic), and southern Asia (Dravidian).

In view of more recent contact history, it is interesting to focus on languages that are closest to Skolt Saami in areal or genealogical terms. Table 1 only listed the 25 typologically closest languages based on a comparison of languages with 41 or more shared features. Table 2 shows the closest neighbours of Skolt Saami in the database

regardless of the number of shared features. The following languages are included: all three Saami languages in the database: North Saami, South Saami²⁸ and Kildin Saami; Finnish and Karelian – two Finnic languages that are or have been in close contact with Skolt Saami; Nenets and Komi-Zyrian, because there are speakers of these languages on the Kola Peninsula; Russian since it has been in close contact with Skolt Saami; and the two Scandinavian languages spoken in Saami territories: Norwegian and Swedish.

	Shared values	Shared features	Distance
Saami (Kildin)	3	4	25
Saami (Northern)	33	41	19
Saami (South)	8	13	38
Finnish	109	134	18
Karelian	5	6	16
Komi-Zyrian	30	37	18
Nenets	59	95	37
Russian	86	134	35
Norwegian	29	55	47
Swedish	33	64	48

Table 2. Typological distance from Skolt Saami, relatives and neighbours.

Most of these languages were not present in Table 1. There are two possible reasons for this: either the language has fewer than 41 shared features in the database, or it is not among the 25 languages typologically most similar to Skolt Saami. The former is the case for Kildin Saami, South Saami, Karelian and Komi-Zyrian, and the latter for Norwegian and Swedish. It is clear that the results cannot be taken to be very reliable for Kildin Saami, South Saami and Karelian, coded for so few features. It may further be noted that in the case of South Saami all of the shared features concern phonology, and in the case of Karelian four of the six features concern phonology. In the case of Komi-Zyrian, the number of shared features is close to the 41-feature threshold, but 22 of the 37 features concern either phonology or word order, the other domains being much less evenly covered for this language. We may note that for North Saami, which has only four more shared features, the distribution of the features is much more even across the different domains of grammar.

That the two languages most similar to Skolt Saami are Finnish and North Saami is naturally to be expected, given their genealogical and areal closeness to Skolt Saami. It is notable that there is such a wide margin between these two and the languages fur-

28 In the WALS database, South Saami is referred to as Central-South Saami. With the exception of this language, all language names in this paper are as in the WALS database.

ther down on the list.²⁹ Some modifications were proposed for the Finnish and North Saami values in the WALS database in the footnotes in Section 2. For Finnish, taking these into account would not change the number of shared values (the modified values are: F1: 1, F4: 1, F5: 1, F12: 3, F41: 3, and F129: 1; two of these changes reduce the number of shared values two increase it). In the case of North Saami, taking the three modifications into account would increase the number of shared values by two, bringing the distance between Skolt and North Saami as low as 15 (the modified values are F71: 2, F76: 1, F138: 1). It would be interesting to see what the distance between North Saami and Skolt Saami would be if more shared features were available for North Saami, enabling a more reliable count.

The remaining languages with enough features to allow for a relatively reliable comparison pattern in two groups: Russian and Nenets at a distance of 35–37 points and Norwegian and Swedish at a distance of 47–48 points from Skolt Saami. Of all Indo-European languages, Russian is the closest to Skolt Saami typologically, which may be a reflection of the long contact history between Russian and eastern Saami languages. In the light of these numbers, the much shorter presence of Nenets on the Kola Peninsula has not brought Nenets and Skolt Saami typologically closer than expected by their genealogical relatedness. Attention may be paid to the closeness between Skolt Saami and Komi-Zyrian, which can be speculated to be linked to the fact that Komi-Zyrian, just like Nenets, has also been present on the Kola Peninsula, but as noted above, the results are not very reliable for Komi-Zyrian. According to Blokland and Riessler (2011), contacts between the Komi and Saami populations have not resulted in contact-induced structural changes in the respective languages.

Coming briefly back to Table 1 and looking at the typologically closest top 25 languages, Skolt Saami can, in wider macro-areal terms, be characterized as a northern Eurasian language. We may, however, observe, that the language possesses some typically western European features, as well, including suppletion in ordinal numerals (F53), the overlap between situational and epistemic modality (F76), and relative pronouns (F122, F123) (cf. Dahl 2008a: 554). Furthermore, it may be noted that, e.g., the word order properties of Skolt Saami have been influenced by neighbouring European languages in comparison to Uralic languages spoken more to the east, and that although not dominant in the language and thus not reflected in the feature value assignments in Section 2, European features such as particle comparatives (F121) are gaining ground in the language.

This section has discussed the typological distance between Skolt Saami and languages in the WALS database, focusing more closely on languages that are genealogically or areally close to Skolt Saami. A more comprehensive picture of the typological distances between these languages would require discussing and assigning values for all WALS features for each language. This would provide a good starting point for

29 The typological distance between Skolt Saami and the languages closest to it, apart from Finnish, North Saami and Estonian, is much higher than the distance between Finnish and the languages closest to it in Dahl (2008a). How this observation should be interpreted is not clear.

a detailed areal-typological study of the region, bringing new light to the contact history between Skolt Saami and its neighbours. Such a study would naturally need to go beyond the features in WALS and pay attention to any typological features that are of interest in view of the contact history of the region.

4. Conclusion

This paper has examined typological properties of Skolt Saami on the basis of the typological features in the *World atlas of language structures* (WALS). The properties of Skolt Saami with respect to each feature have been scrutinized and a value has been assigned to Skolt Saami for every feature. A typological profile of the language, taking into account different domains from phonology to morphosyntax and even aspects of the lexicon, has emerged from this discussion. The Skolt Saami values have been compared with values found in the WALS database for other languages in order to get an overall picture of which languages are typologically closest to Skolt Saami. The comparison has revealed no big surprises, the genealogically and areally closest languages, North Saami and Finnish, being typologically closest to Skolt Saami. It is worth noting that Russian, with its long contact history with eastern Saami languages, is typologically closest to Skolt Saami of all Indo-European languages in the database.

The WALS database provides a good starting point for working on the grammar of a language. It offers a set of features covering a variety of linguistic domains, and gives a firm typological background for discussing these features in the language under study. WALS provides a useful template for a typological overview of a language.

The WALS features are primarily intended for studying large-scale areal patterns, and they are rather well-suited for this purpose. When it comes to focusing on a smaller area or genealogical grouping, such as the neighbours of Skolt Saami, the WALS data as such cannot take us very far. To begin with, only a subset of the languages that would be interesting to include in the comparison are present in the WALS database, and for many of these only a subset of the features have been coded. WALS can provide a starting point for a typological comparison between an areally or genealogically restricted set of languages, but a thorough investigation of the areal typology of a region will have to take into account features not present in WALS that are interesting in terms of the contact history of the region.

The main contributions of this paper are, on the one hand, the general typological picture painted of Skolt Saami, and on the other, the discussion of each individual feature of the language, which I hope to be of interest for typologists, as well as to open up new questions and point at issues in need of more research for linguists working on Skolt Saami.

Abbreviations

1	= first person	INF	= infinitive
2	= second person	LOC	= locative
3	= third person	NEG	= negative
ABE	= abessive	NOM	= nominative
ACC	= accusative	PART	= partitive
CNG	= connegative	PL	= plural
COM	= comitative	PRES	= present
CMPR	= comparative	PST	= past
ESS	= essive	PTCP	= participle
GEN	= genitive	SG	= singular
ILL	= illative		

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Revisiting the Ongi inscription of Mongolia from the Second Turkic Qayanate on the basis of rubbings by G. J. Ramstedt

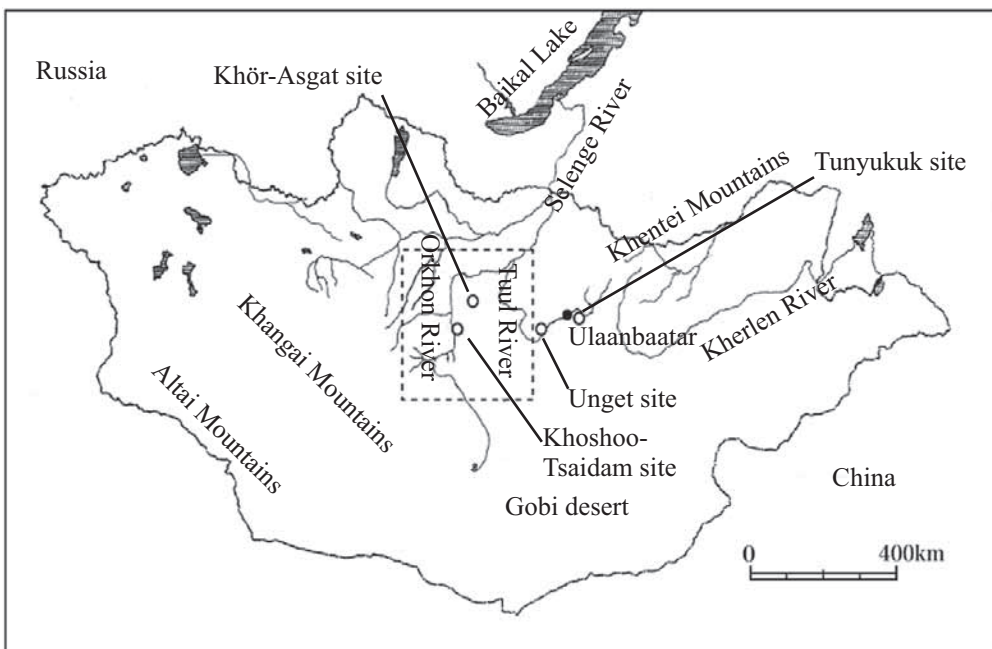
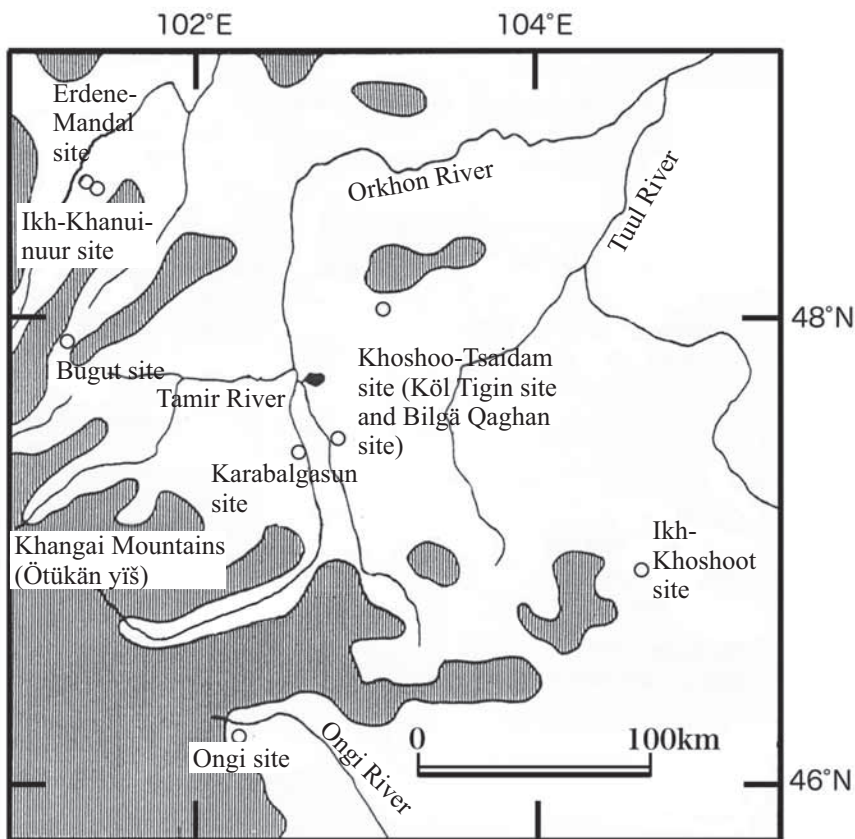
Since its discovery in the late 19th century, the Ongi inscription is well known as one of the Old Turkic inscriptions in Mongolia. In the early 20th century, however, the inscribed stele was badly destroyed and only partly conserved, which makes it difficult to research the original text. It is therefore noteworthy that the rubbings and photographs taken by G. J. Ramstedt and S. Pālsi in the excavation of the site in 1909 are still preserved in the collections of the Finno-Ugrian Society in Helsinki. This paper aims to reconstruct the original orientation of the inscription and to analyse philologically the new texts, and to resolve historically the purpose and dating of the stele and by whom it was established, with reference to new materials and the original data of the author's fieldwork.

I. Preface

I.1. The discovery of the Ongi site and stele

As is known, the history of discovery and research of the Ongi¹ site and inscription can be dated back to the period of the Orkhon Expedition, which was organized and executed under the supervision of V. V. Radloff in the last quarter of the 19th century. N. M. Jadrincev, a Russian archaeologist and ethnologist of Irkutsk, also participated in this expedition along with other members. Radloff himself stayed in the Khosho Tsaidam Basin between 28 July and 7 August 1891. Jadrincev, however, continued to research old kurgans, stone statues and so-called deer stones from Erdeni-zuu to Oyanga som of Ubur Khangai along the Khökshin Orkhon River. On the way from Erdeni-zuu to the Sayin Noyan Buddhist Temple, he was informed by Chinese traders that there was an unknown site and epigraphic stone near the Maanit Steppe. With help from local nomad Mongolians, he then looked for the unknown site and inscription. At last on 20 August 1891, Jadrincev discovered this site in the Maanit steppe along the Tarimal River (Jadrincev 1901: 42–44; cf. Kljaštornyj 1964: 63; Kljaštornyj 2003: 75–78)

1 This name is based on native Mongolian usage. In the modern Mongolian road map, the river is given as Ongi gol (Mongolia, Road ATLAS gazryn Zurag, 2005, p. 42).



Map 2. Old Turkic sites near the eastern Khangai Mountains in Mongolia.

1.2. The location of the site

With regard to the investigation of the Ongi site and stele, the Japanese-Mongolian International Joint Expedition of 2–21 August of 2007, defined the location of the centre of the sarcophagus at the site at latitude 46° 20' 20.3" North, longitude 102° 11' 02.5" East and at an elevation of 2110 metres (see Map 1 & 2).

Generally speaking, this site is positioned at the point where the Tarimal River pours into the Ongi River on the right, and it is located at a distance of approximately 17 kilometres from Oyanya som in Ubur-Hangai Aymak, southern Mongolia. This site is 300 m from the right bank of the Maanit River and in the centre of the basin of the Ongi Steppe, which is not large. The site is close to the low Maanit-Ula Mountain in the north and Xosh-Ula Mountain in the east. From the entrance to this site, a line of the *balbal* stones extends eastwards to a small stone circle at an elevation of 2030–2040 metres (Ōsawa & Katayama 1999: 126–127, Pl. 2a, 2b, 2d; Ōsawa 1999b: 281–282; 1999c: 281–281; 2000: 197–198; 2008: 164–166; MNTSD: 112).

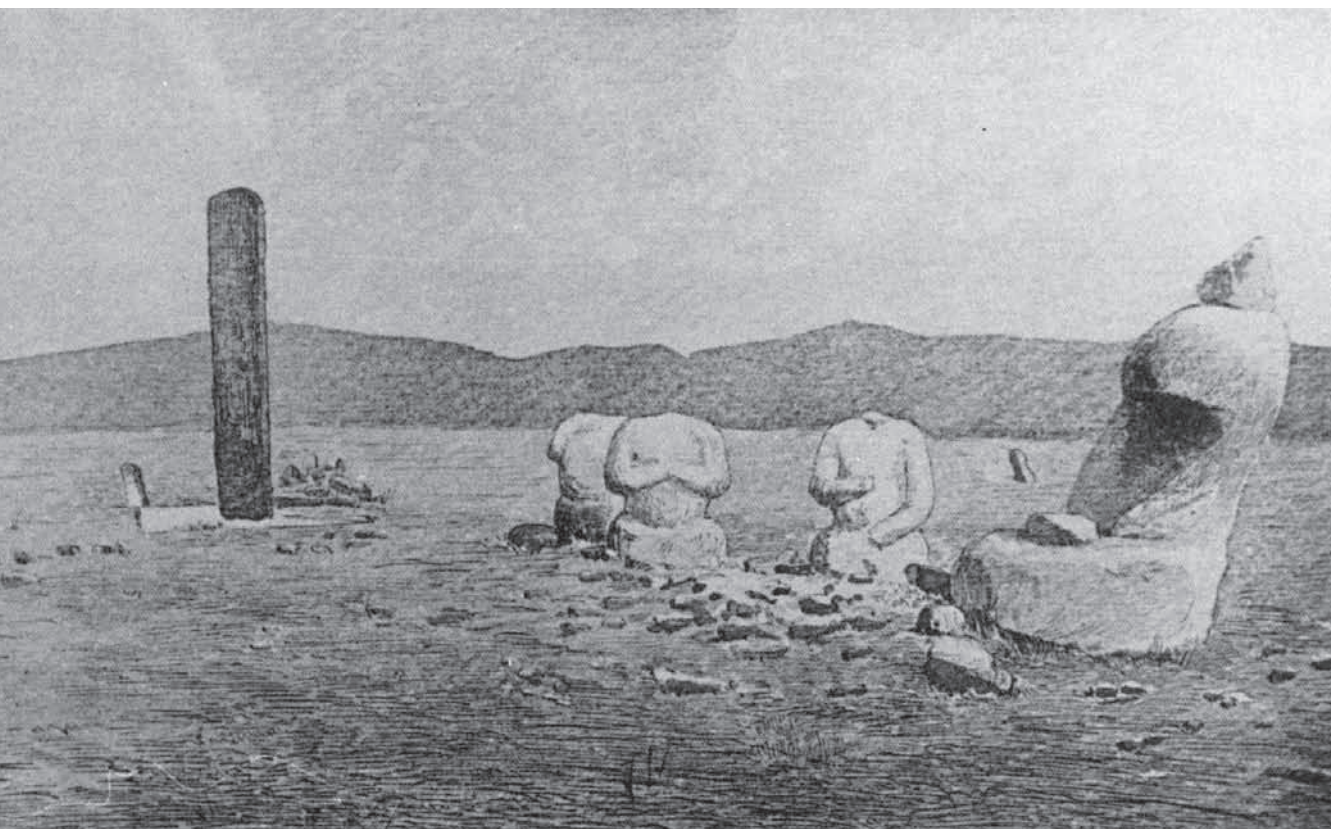


Figure 1. Sketch of the Ongi site by N. M. Jadrincev 1891 (Atlas: Pl. XIV).



Figure 2. Four stone statues of the Ongi site from the front (eastern) side (MSSP: 131, Pl. 80).

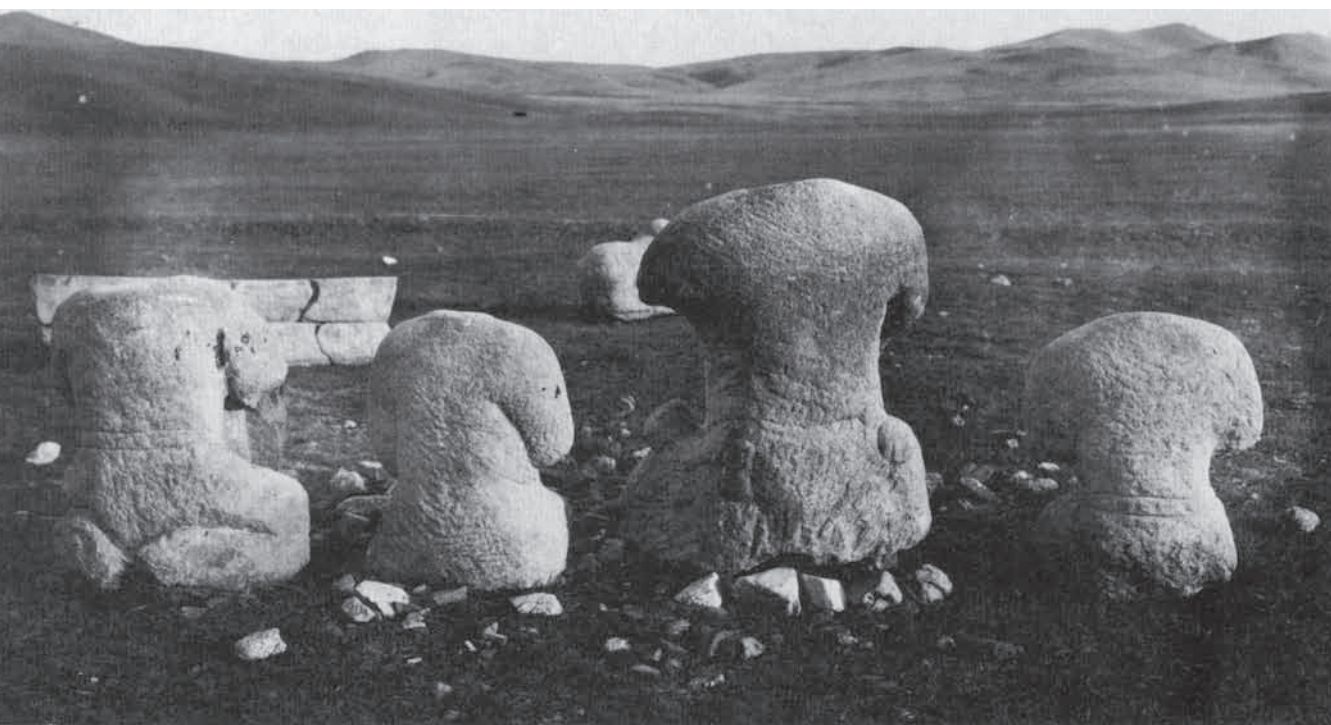


Figure 3. Four stone statues of the Ongi site from the rear (western) side (MSSP: 131, Pl. 81).



Figure 4. Tortoise stone of the Ongi stele (145–150–143–148 cm; the hole is 43 cm wide and 28 cm long, cf. MSSR: 130, Pl. 79) (Photograph No. VKK 5382 from the Ramstedt collection, National Board of Antiquities of Finland (NBA).

1.3. Investigation of the site and the inscription

According to Jadrincev's diary, he first surveyed this site and inscription, after which he sent sketches and photographs of the site and rubbings of the inscriptions to V. V. Radloff. On the basis of these materials, Radloff published the sketches of the general view and some remains in 1893 (Atlas: XIV; cf. Figure 1(a) of this paper). Radloff described each side and part in his mouldings of Ongi as follows: the wider side has 8 lines (O), the narrow side has 4 lines (Oa), this same side having small letters of 7 horizontal lines over the part of (Oa)–(Ob) and a *balbal* stone with the letter (Oc) (Atlas: XVI, LXXXIII–1). In the same year, the Orkhon Expedition under the supervision of D. A. Klemenc also visited his site and took many photographs, which however have not been published until now (cf. Klemenc 1895; ATIM: 244). On 10 September 1909, Ramstedt and Pälvi then visited the Ongi monument, surveyed it, took photographs and made rubbings. Some of these photographs and a sketch of the site were published by H. Halén of the University of Helsinki (Figures 2, 3 and 5). It is especially noteworthy that we can see the Ongi stele lying behind a stone statue on the left side in Figure 3. This photograph verifies the existence of the Ongi stele until 10 September 1909.

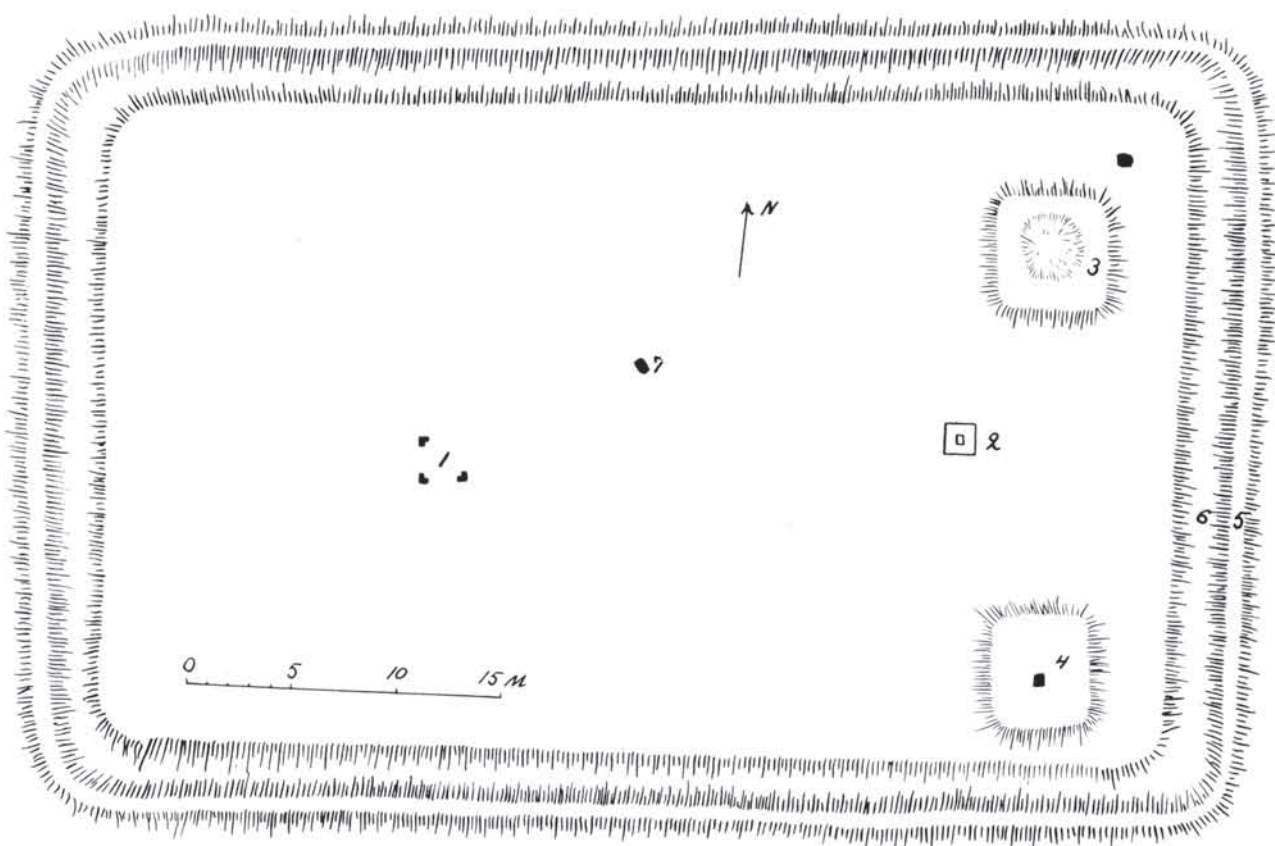


Figure 5. Layout of the Ongi site; 1 = sarcophagus of granite, 2 = the tortoise stone and stele, 3 & 4 = cairn, 5 = ditch, 6 = bank (MSSP: 64, Pl. 10)

They excavated and found a tortoise stone and bricks under the central area, and some sheep bones in the west part of the mound (MSSP: 63–64, 130, 132, Pl. 80–83; Figure 4 of this paper).

In 1926, Kozlov visited the site and recorded that there were three stone statues and two sheep figures of granite that had been broken and were placed in the tomb, a frame of slabs of granite in the hole that had been dug in the ground, and stone *balbals* in a line running east from the mound etc. (Kozlov 1949: 117; Vojtov 1989: 36–38). His photographs, however, have not been published until now. In 1962, Tryjarski surveyed the plan of this monument, measuring it and taking photographs of three stone statues and two stone figures of sheep (Tryjarski 1966: 166–168, Fig. 11–14, 23–25; 1971: Fig. 20; 1972: 37–39, Pl. 1a, 1b, 4, 5). Namhaidagwa of the Arbaikheer National Museum, however, informed Tryjarski that Buddhist monks (Lama) had secretly dug up and destroyed this monument in the period between 1909 and 1962. Silver plates, the skull of a horse, a harness and earthenware vessels etc. had been excavated from there. In early period before 1962, Namhaidagwa himself told Tryjarski that he had discovered 37 sherds of broken earthenware vessels carved in relief of the flower pattern under the sarcophagus, and had added them as new acquisitions to this museum (cf. Tryjarski 1966: 167). At present, there are about eight holes which can be identified as traces of excavations by the grave-robbers at the time. In 1969, Namhaidagwa discovered two pieces of a broken inscription, and Rintchen informed Tryjarski of

this. Academic research, however, had not been done on this site and stele until the investigation by Vojtov and Bajar in 1987 (Vojtov & Bajar 1989).

1.4. The rubbings of the Ongi inscription

This site and inscription are recognized as a monument of the 8th century AD, although even now it seems that there are many arguments on the points of the date of construction, the party originally responsible for the site and the stele, and the historical background. Some researchers have subsequently surveyed the site and the stele. Since this discovery, many scholars tried to solve the problematic issues from philological, historical and archaeological perspectives. It is especially noteworthy that V. V. Radloff published the original rubbings by Jadrincev along with rubbings retouched by Radloff in 1893 (Atlas: XIV, XVI, LXXXIII–1), after which Radloff published his interpretation (ATIM: 243–256). From this interpretation we know that Orkun and Malov basically approved his reading (Orkun 1936: 125–132; Malov 1959: 7–11). G. Clauson, however, criticized Radloff's retouched rubbings, and reconstructed the runic text of this inscription and tried to present new readings, revising the first rubbings by Jadrincev (Clauson 1957: 177–192). Clauson's copies made by hand have been regarded as the basic sources as well as Jadrincev's rubbings in the Atlas. A Hungarian colleague recently published a critical work on Old Turkic runic inscriptions in detail (Berta 2004: 209–225), but unfortunately he could not investigate the original rubbings and materials. Regarding the identification of Ongi fragments that we researched in the new rubbings in Mongolia, I have reported the transliteration, transcription and translation and related notes previously (Ōsawa 1999; 1999b; 1999c; 2000; 2007a; 2007b; 2008; 2010). Visiting Helsinki in 2004 and 2005, I was able to study previously unknown rubbings of the Ongi stele and other materials in photographs by Ramstedt and Pälsi. I then investigated three rubbings of Ongi by Jadrincev in Saint Petersburg in 2006. Accordingly, in this paper I reconsider the orientation of the Ongi stele and the original text on the basis of new rubbings and our new fieldwork with Mongolian and Japanese colleagues in 1996 and 2007.

2. New views on the orientation of the tortoise stone and the stele

When Jadrincev discovered the site in 1891, he reported that “the tortoise stone was turned toward a southern orientation ... we can see a stone slab installed on the base of the stone stele, the stele itself being of granite ... and erected on the stone slab which can be regarded as in the style of a tortoise” (Jadrincev 1901: 43; Vojtov 1989: 34–35). From this report, we can conclude that the so-called tortoise stone was turned southwards, and thus the wide side of the stone pillar must also have faced southwards. But 18 years later when Ramstedt and Pälsi visited the site, the tortoise stone was buried facing westwards under the ground (Figure 3 of this paper). We thus understand that

the tortoise stone must have changed orientation from south to west. This change of position reflects the fact that the remains had been broken into three fragments around 1900. What then was the original orientation of the tortoise stone at Ongi?

The Russian archaeologist Novgorodova analysed this problem on the basis of L. Jisl and S. Odzhav's joint archaeological expedition to the Köl Tigin site in 1958. She concluded that the tortoise stone originally faced east. This is based on traditional sun cult beliefs of Old Turkic peoples, who revered the east, the direction where the sun rises. From this, Novgorodova concluded that the tortoise had been turned to the west in later periods, but originally had an eastern orientation (Novgorodova 1980: 240; 1981: 210, Pl. 3). There is no doubt that the Old Turkic words *öñrä* and *ilgäri* means "in the east, eastwards" as well as "in front, forwards" (ED: 189a, 144a; Tekin 1988: 165, 138).

As far as I know, according to the archaeological evidence of L. Jisl and S. Odzhav's excavation at the Köl Tigin site in 1958 and research by the Turkish and Mongolian joint archaeological expedition at the Bilgä Qayan site, the tortoise stones at both sites were excavated in a position in which the heads were turned to the western side (Jisl 1963: 392; Pl. 7; TIKa 2003: 391; TIKa 2005: 205; Bajar 2004: 77, Pl. 7). As I analysed, the Chinese texts of the western side of the Köl Tigin and Bilgä Qayan sites had been first carved before the other parts except other runic texts of 2 lines on the same side. It can be recognized that the western side can be considered to be the most important part from the viewpoints of political and cultural relationships between the Tang Emperor *Xuanzong* 玄宗 and the Turkic Bilgä Qayan with reference to the expression of the relationship of *Father* 父 and *Son* 息子. This reflects the Sinocentric political relationship of the Tang Dynasty towards foreign countries which can be called symbolically the regime of *Ce feng* 冊封. The runic text was then carved secondly after finishing the Chinese text of the western side (Ōsawa 2007a: 23–29). This position suggests that the tortoise stone and the inscription had been originally established so that the western side was turned to the soul of the deceased, which can return to the stone statues and the sarcophagus or the shrine that were constructed in the western part of the mound.

I therefore consider that in the case of the Ongi site, the tortoise stone and the inscription would first have been arranged so that the head and the part with the first line of the runic letters faced in the same direction. In the Orkhon inscription, we can see that the Chinese part was the most important side of all from the viewpoint of the political relationship between both countries. The western side of the stele is traditionally regarded as the most important side, and accordingly the Chinese text was carved on the western side of the stele. The fact the first line was carved on the western side can be confirmed by the fact that in the Tunyukuk and Ikh Khoshoot inscriptions the first line had been carved on the western sides (Ōsawa 2007a). According to the general position of the Old Turkic inscriptions of the Second Eastern Turkic Qayanate, in the case of the tortoise stone and the inscription of Ongi, we can consider that the first line was carved on the western side also here, and that the tortoise stone was positioned with the head facing west. Therefore we can say that the wider side of the Ongi inscription faced westwards, and the narrower side faced southwards.

3. Reconstruction of the stele on the basis of the Ramstedt collection and my fieldwork

Regarding the names of the sides in the Ongi stele, in the explanation of Jadrincev's squeeze mouldings, Radloff said that on the front side of this stele there was the sign (i.e. *tamya*) for Qan, and on the right side vertical lines that began from a location of the same height as the lines of the front side. Moreover, in the upper part of these lines, at the same height as one of the signs for Qan (i.e. *tamya*) there were 7 horizontal lines. In the preface to the decipherment (ATIM 1895: 244), and regarding position of these lines, he noted that this stele had 8 lines on the front side and 4 lines on the right side. Radloff also named the side with 8 lines the wide side (O), the side with 4 lines the narrow side (Oa), and the side with 7 horizontal lines the upper part (Oc). He did not, however, mention where this can be placed on the Ongi stele. Clauson, for example, also named the front side (O) the (right) side (Oa) according to Radloff (Clauson 1957: 177; GOT: 291–292). On the contrary, after Onogawa named (O) the east side, (Oa) the south side without doubt, subsequent researchers continued to support him (Onogawa 1950: 442–444; Sawada 1983a: 54; 1983b: 79; 1984: 94). This name, however, should be corrected. That the letters had been carved in the wide side and the right side of the original stele can be supported by the state of the large fragment as mentioned above. Moreover, according to the description of the stone tortoise plate (MSSP: 130), we can understand that the navel hole of the stone tortoise is 43 cm long and 28 cm wide, and accordingly it seems undoubted that the wide side of the stele faced the head or the tail. In his journal, Jadrincev, who inspected this site in 1891 recorded that the stele faced southwards (Jadrincev 1901: 43; cf. Vojtov 1989: 43). Therefore at that time, the wider side of this stele faced southwards, and the narrower side faced eastwards. As a result, the south side can be regarded the wider side of the stele, and the east side as its narrower side. It seems doubtful, however, that the stele had not been altered since its initial construction, because there was a cut gate in the east side of the mound, and a shrine and sarcophagus positioned in its western part. As analysed above, we can maintain in the case of the Orkhon, Tunyukuk and Ikh-Khoshoot (Küli Čor) inscriptions that the first line of the inscription originally faced west.

It can thus be considered that the inscription had been made to show respect to the sarcophagus and shrine or the stone statue of the buried person in front of the shrine (Ōsawa 2007a: 22–30). Accordingly, we cannot deny that the beginning part of this stele of 8 lines is turned to the west as its front side. This is the same in the Orkhon inscriptions and Tunyukuk and Ikh Khoshoot inscriptions of the Second Eastern Turkic Qayanate periods. From these viewpoints, I researched the journals of travelers in Mongolia and the squeeze mouldings made by G. Ramstedt and S. Pälsi on 9 September 1909. From these materials, I can confirm that G. Ramstedt and S. Pälsi considered that the beginning part of the 8 lines can be the western side, although this was only based on the fact that the stele was lying on the ground in three parts in the eastern part of this mound, and the beginning part of this stele was turned to the western side. Regarding the position of the fragments of this stele, I can say that



Figure 7. The headstone of the Ongi stele with tamya designs of a ram and a snake. From the left, west, east and south sides (Takashi Ōsawa 1996).



Figure 8. Small and medium-sized fragments from Ongi. Arvaikheer Museum, Mongolia (Takashi Ōsawa 1996).

in each line. These letters are indicated by three lines in the 6th–8th lines. In 2007, we took rubbings of the narrow side (i.e. the northern side) of this fragment, discovering a slight trace of a ruled line. There is thus no doubt that there are runic letters also on the northern side of the Ongi stele, but, unfortunately, we cannot attest the letters because other parts of this stele were broken and have disappeared.

(3) Medium-sized fragment: There are runic letters of four lines on one side. The fragment is 24–30 cm long, 15.5–16.5 cm wide and 19.5–22 cm thick. The front side (W) of this fragment has a runic letters on four lines from the 5th to the 8th line (Figure 8).

(4) Large fragment: There are runic letters of four lines on one side and ones of four lines on the other side. The fragment is 77–80 cm long, 19 cm wide and 20.5–22 cm thick. The front side (W) of this fragment has runic letters on the 1st–4th lines and the narrow side (S) has runic letters on the 1st–4th lines.

As I have analysed previously (Ōsawa 1999b: 130–131; 2007b: 330–332), the small fragment can be shown to be the top part of the western side of the original stele, the medium-sized one can be identified as part of the western side, and the large fragment can be identified as the bottom part of the western side and the top part of the southern side (Figure 9).

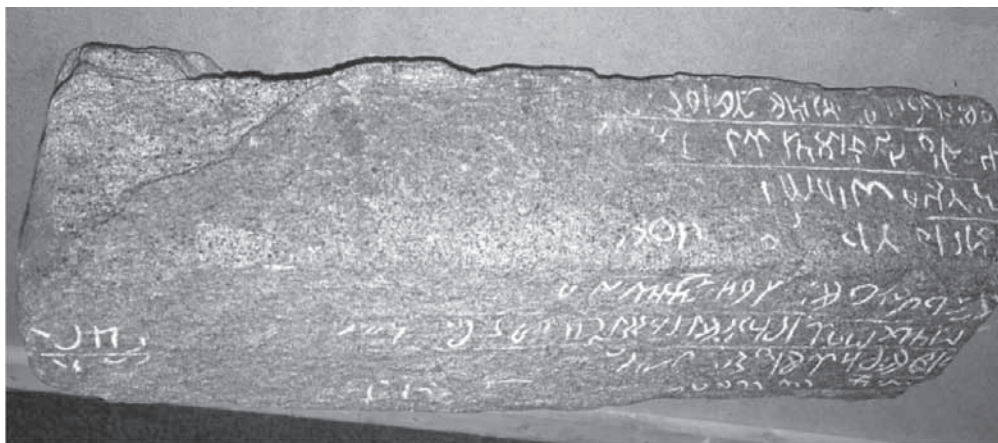


Figure 9. The large fragment in the Arvaikheer Museum, Mongolia (Takashi Ōsawa 1996).

(5) A balbal stone with a runic inscription and a tamya design of a ram and a snake:

As mentioned above, a balbal stone of *Bilgä Īšbara Tamyan balbali* with a tamya design of a ram and a snake was the eleventh of the balbal stones extending in a straight line from the eastern border of this site, and this stone is thought to have been in this position since it was erected (as based on our comparative fieldwork at the site in 1997 and 2007), i.e. the balbal can be identified with the shape and the position of the surrounding mountains landscape towards the north (this is based on a photograph taken by S. Pälsi in 1909). Accordingly, we cannot regard this balbal of *Bilgä Īšbara Tamyan balbali* as the first balbal of this site as considered by Radloff, Pälsi, Tryjarski, Vojtov, Xaržaubaj, Bazylxan and others (ATIM: 244; MSSP: 63; Tryjarski & Aalto 1973: 417; 418, Fig. 3; Vojtov 1989: 36; Xaržaubaj 2003: 143; Bazylxan 2005: 58, n. 114; Xaržaubaj & Myrzataj 2006: 96). This tamya is identical on each side of the headstone. As I have analysed before, this balbal stone was built by the *Bilgä Īšbara Tamyan Tarqan*, who can be identified as the younger son of *Eletmiš yabyu* in W-4 (Figures 10, 11a, 11b).

5. Rubbings of the Ongi stele taken by Ramstedt on 10 September 1909

Ramstedt and Pälsi reported as follows on the condition of the stele. The basic, 56 cm-long fragment of this stele stood in the eastern mound. The other part was made up of two fragments, a middle part 154 cm in length and an upper part 104 cm long, which were lying in the mound. The inscription of which Kozlov made a rubbing had been buried under the ground, and when Pälsi tried to dig up the fragment sheep bones were recovered from among the bricks. The main stone had been carved in the shape of a tortoise, with its face to the west (MSSP: 63). From this, we can assume that Ramstedt and Pälsi had taken three rubbings from the original stele.



Figure 10. A balbal stone with runic letters on the right side and a tamya of a ram and a snake on the left side at the bottom in a photograph by S. Pälsi (MSSP: 132, Pl. 83).

In March 2004, following the information presented by Halén (1978: 99) and a note from my report on the Ongi stele (Ōsawa 1999: 130), my Japanese colleague Dr. Kousetsu Suzuki visited Finland and tried to research the rubbings of the Tunyukuk inscription in Ramstedt's materials in the National Archives of Finland. He was able



Figure 1/a. Balbal stones in the east part of the Ongi site.



Figure 11b. The 11th balbal stone with runic letters (Takashi Ōsawa 1996).

to confirm the rubbings of the inscriptions of Ongi and Šine-Uš, but could not confirm the rubbings of Tunyukuk, although they are registered under the list of (343) SUS 2.20 in the collection of the Finno-Ugrian Society (Halén 1978: 99). At that time he only estimated the sizes of rubbings and investigated some letters of several lines.²

I tried to confirm the condition of their rubbings, and after receiving permission to conduct research from the Finno-Ugrian Society, I visited the National Archives of Finland and the National Board of Antiquities of Finland in March and April 2005 and February and March of 2006. There I confirmed the rubbings of the Ongi and Šine-Uš steles made by G. Ramstedt and S. Pälssi during their Mongolian expedition with financial assistance from the Finno-Ugrian Society under the director Prof. O. Donner in 1909 (cf. Ramstedt 1978; Aalto 1971; Halén 1998: 143–147).³ In the top part of the western side of the Ongi rubbing, we can confirm the handwritten note “TAMIR 10/IX 1908” in black ink. The rubbings consisted of 1–3 thin and light brown paraffin papers. The orientations are noted W(est)-1, W-2, W-3, S(outh)-1, S-2, S-3, E(ast)-1, E-2, E-3. We can see additional epitaphs of the horizontal 7 lines in the southern side of the headstone (Figure 12)

2 I am deeply grateful to Dr. Kousetsu Suzuki for his permission and help to use his important data.

3 With regard to my research in Helsinki, I express my deep gratitude to H. Halén, Doctor of Honour, and Dr. V. Rybatzki who helped me obtain permission to investigate the materials of Ramstedt and Pälssi from the Finno-Ugrian Society and the National Board of Antiquities of Finland.

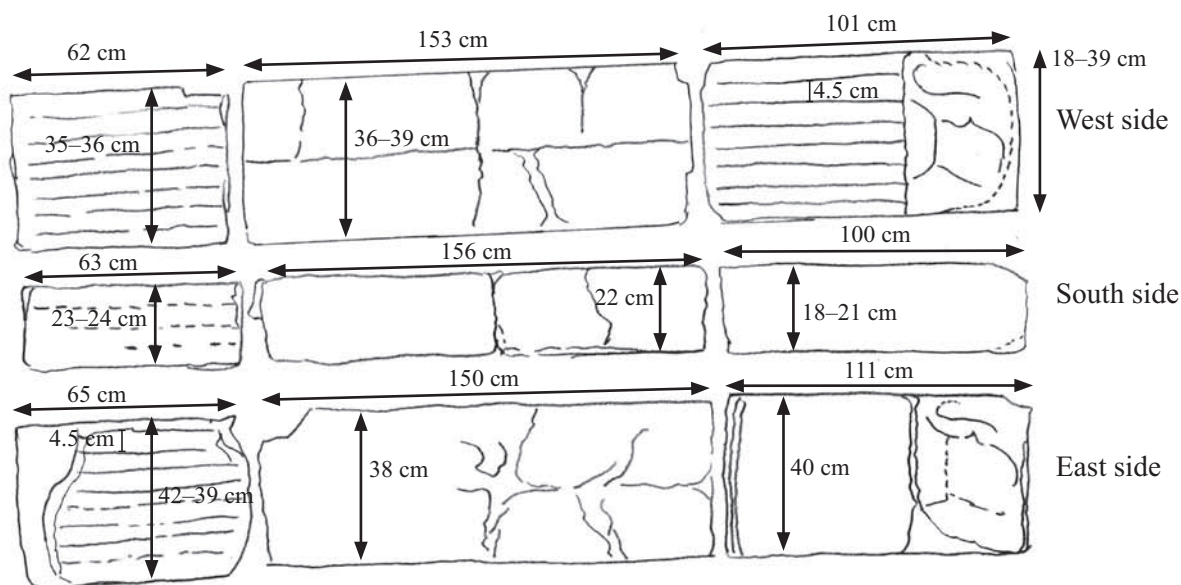


Figure 12. Sketches of Ramstedt's rubbings of the west, south and east sides of the Ongi stele (measured by Takashi Ōsawa).

These rubbings were made using the western squeeze moulding method by attaching the stone with adhesive and tearing off the paper after drying. This is not the same method as the traditional Chinese rubbing as used by Jadrincev, which makes it too hard to read and understand the real rune shape than when reading the text from the Jadrincev version. In addition, I would like to emphasize that they took rubbings of the three sides (west, south and east). The rubbings consist of the following:

West side: The upper part of the stone pillar has runic letters of 8 lines measuring 101 cm x 38–39 cm. The middle part of the stone pillar measures 153 cm x 35–37 cm and bears runic letters of 8 lines. The bottom part of stone pillar has runic letters of 8 lines, and measures 62 cm x 35–36 cm. Overall dimensions of the west side: 316 cm x 35–39 cm.

South side: The upper part of the stone pillar has runic letters of 4 lines and measures 100 cm x 18–21 cm. The middle part of the stone pillar has runic letters of 4 lines, with dimensions of 156 cm x 22 cm. The bottom part of stone pillar has runic letters of 4 lines, measuring 63 cm x 23–24.5 cm. Overall dimensions of the south side: 319 cm x 18–24.5 cm.

East side: The upper part of the stone pillar has runic letters of 8 lines and measures 111 cm x 38–39 cm. The bottom part has runic letters of 4 lines, with dimensions of 150 cm x 38 cm. The bottom part of stone pillar has runic letters of 8 lines, dimensions 65 cm x 39–42 cm. Overall dimensions of the south side: 326 cm x 38–42 c.



Figure 13. Photographs of parts of the headstone and W-I (bottom), E-I (top) of the Ongi stele from the Ramstedt collection (VKK 5325, NBA).

The data of our survey shows the Ongi stele to be roughly 320 cm high and 35–39 cm wide on the west and east sides, and about 18–24 cm wide on the south and north sides. When compared with the Kōl Tigin stele (334 cm in height, 124–132 cm in width on the west and east sides, 42 cm wide on the north and south sides), this stele is the almost same size in height while the Ongi stele is not as wide. If the text is also confirmed on the north side as I suppose, the style is very similar to the Kōl Tigin and Bilgä Qayan steles.

Moreover, from Ramstedt's rubbing we can confirm that a pair of tamya design consisting of a ram and a snake was carved on the western and eastern sides of this stele. This can be fitted to our investigation in which rubbings were taken from the both sides of this headstone in 1997. When Ramstedt and Pälisi surveyed this site in 1909, this stele remained, but was broken into three fragments with the head part and the second part lying down and the bottom part was lodged in the ground. Ramstedt noted that the tortoise stone was buried near the eastern location starting from the bottom part of stele. As mentioned above, when Jadrincev discovered it in July 1891, this stele was built on the tortoise stone with the head oriented south. In 2005, I could confirm Jadrincev's statement in his own handwriting noting "the southern side of Ongi monument" in Russian in the border of his original rubbing (Oa) that is conserved at the Institute for Oriental Studies of Saint Petersburg. From this, we can conclude



Figure 14. Photographs of the rubbings of W-1/2(bottom), E-1/2(top) of the Ongi stele, from the Ramstedt collection (VKK 5322, NBA).

that this stele was moved from the place where Jadrincev had discovered it to the east side of the mound, and the tortoise stone was also buried in the ground in the place discovered by in 1909. As I stated above, the Ongi stele had been the only one erected since the period of construction of this site (Ōsawa 1999a: 129–130; 1999c: 284–286; 2007b: 329–330) although Vojtov, Xaržaubaj and Bold mentioned that this site had two steles on the basis of Pālsi’s suggestion (Vojtov 1989: 44; Xaržaubaj 2003: 132, 146; Bold 2006: 102). We cannot, however, confirm Pālsi’s statement from his layout of this site (Figure 5 of this paper) or from Xaržaubaj (MSSP: 64, Fig. 10; Xaržaubaj 2003: 358, Pl.).

6. The revised runic texts of the Ongi inscription based on Ramstedt’s rubbings

I would now like to mention Old Turkic texts according to my investigation of Ramstedt’s rubbings that I carried out in 2004 and 2005 at the National Archives of Finland and National Board of Antiquities of Finland, and the Institute for Oriental Studies of Saint Petersburg of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 2006. I added some lines based on my assumptions to the northern and southern side of this stele. In transliteration and transcription, I followed the system of Moriyasu & Ochir (1999: 119–10).



Figure 15.
Photographs of
the rubbings
in W-2/2
(bottom),
E-2/2 (top)
of the Ogi
stele from
the Ramstedt
collection (VKK
5321, NBA).



Figure 16.
Photographs
of the
rubbings
in W-3
(bottom), E-3
(top) of the
Ogi stele
from the
Ramstedt
collection
(VKK 5323,
NBA).



Figure 17. Photographs of the rubbings on the south side(1) of the Ongi stele from the Ramstedt collection (VKK 5226, NBA).



Figure 18. Photographs of the rubbings of the south side (2) of the Ongi stele from the Ramstedt collection (VKK 5324, NBA).

6.1. Transliteration

Table giving the transliteration system from Old Turkic letters to Latin letters:

Vowels		
Front	Double	Back
	a (for a / ä) ᠠ	
	i (for ĭ / i / ä / e) ᠢ	
ü (for ü / ü) ᠨ		W (for u / o) ᠤ
Consonants		
Front	Double	Back
b (for b / v) ᠪ		B (for b / v) ᠪ
	č ᠴ	
	ič ᠶ	
d X		D ᠳ
g €		G ᠭ
k ᠬ		Q ᠬ
ük ᠬ, B		uQ ᠬ
		ïQ ᠬ
l Y		L ᠯ
	lt M	
	m ᠮ	
n ᠨ		N ᠨ
	nč ʒ	
	ŋ ᠨ	
	nt ᠨ, ᠨ	
	ñ ʒ	
	p ᠮ	
r ᠷ		R ᠷ
s (for s / š) ᠰ		S (for s / š) ᠰ
	š (for s / š) ᠰ	
t ᠲ		T ᠲ
y ᠶ		Y ᠶ
	z ᠵ	

Severed part of the inscription.
: Punctuation.
[aBč] Letters completely restored.
(aBč) Letters partly damaged but restored with certainty.
/// Damaged and illegible letters.
... Illegible letters with some traces. Number known, indicated by points.

Severed point of the inscription (placed after a word where it extends over two fragments).
[aBč] Words completely restored.
(aBč) Letters omitted by mistake, but restored by the editors.
/// Damaged and illegible parts.

[aBč] Words completely restored.
(aBč) Words not in the text but added to improve the English, or explanatory remarks by the translator.

W-l č ü m z : p a m z : Y m a Q G N : t ü r t : b W L ŋ G : (Q s) m s # (:) Y i G m s :
 Y Y m s : B s m s : W L Q N : Y W u Q : B W L T u Q D a : k s r a : l y (i) t m s : Q
 č š (m s) : Q a : // // // // // : L t m s : t g m s : // // // // // : # // // // // // // //
 // : l b g l r : T B G č :
 äcümiz apamiz : yama qayan : tört : bulunuy : qismış # : yigmiş : yaymış :
 basmış : ol qan : yoq : boltuqda : kesrā : elyitmiş : qačış (miş) : qa : // // // // :
 altmış : tägmış : // // // // // : # // // // // // // // // : elbägler : tabyač :

[illegible]

W-8 Q η m : S(D) : nč a : ü t n m s : t η r k n : L m(z n) : t y n # (:) // // // // // // // //
 // // (B W) D N : . (nt)/(b r)m z (η)a : T s W L(r) // // // (T č m a) // // // // // // //
 //
 // // // //
 qaηim : š(ad) : anča : ötünmiš : täηrikän : almazın teyin # : // // // // // // //
 bodun : anta bermäziη ä : tusul är // // // // (atačim a) // // // // // // // // // //
 //
 // // // //

S-1 Q m uQ : B L iQ a : (t g d m) : uQ W N L D m : lt m : s ü s i : k l t i : R Q s # n :
 y G D m : b g i : Q č D i : / š / G r t i (:) T B G č B W D N i : // // // // // // // // : T
 uQ i D(T)m : y G(D)m : B s(d m : y y d m :) // // // (B W Z W Q N č a :) // // // // #
 // // // // / m z : r(nč) : s g(k ü č g) b(r)t(i)[m :] // // // // //
 qamuq : balıqqa : (tägdım) : qonuldım : altım : süsi : kälti : arqası#n : yaydım
 : bägi : qačdı : / š / γ ärti : tabyač bodunı : // // // // // // // : toqıdtım : yaydım :
 bas(dım : yaydım :) // // // buzuq anča : // // // // // // // : // mäs : ärinč : işig küčig
 bert(im:) // // // // // //

S-2 k l r : (r)t m i z : k i n R a : T g Y G i : B W L m s : t g m č i # m n t y n : S Q n t m
 : t η r i b l g a : Q G N Q a : nč Q η a : s g k ü č g : b r s g m : B R r m s : r nč : (t)
 g d(k)n (ü č n) // // // // // // // // // // // # b m a : t g d ü k m : W R l i Q η l i : D
 R L m (L)m : t y n : Q G N D a : D r L m z : t y n : t g d m :
 kälir : ärtimiz : ekin ara : täg yayı : bolmiš : tägmäči#män teyin : saqıntım :
 täηri bilgä : qayanqa : ančaqaıηa : işig küčüg : bersäğim : bar ärmış : ärinč :
 tägdük(in) (üčün) // // // // // // // // // // // # äbimä tägdüküm : ur elı qaη elı :
 adrılmalım : täyin : qayanda : adrılmaz : teyin : tägdım :

S-3 t g p : i n m a : W G L m a : nč a : ü t l d m : Q η : Y W R p : l t r s Q G N Q a # :
 D R L m D uQ : Y η L m D uQ : t η r i b i l g a : Q G n t a : D R L m L m : z m L
 m : t i y n : (nč)a : ü t l d m : l g r ü B R G m a : B R D i : b i l g ä : Q G N : B W
 D (N)i // // // // // // // // // // // B R D i # : ü l g n : T Q a s g k ü č g : b r t m : D R L m
 z : t y n : t g d m
 tägip : inima : oylıma : anča : ötlädım : qaη : yorıp : elteriš qayanqa# : adrılma-
 duq : yaηılmađuq : täηri bilgä : qayanta : adrılmalım : azmalım : teyin : anča :
 ötlädım : ilgärü bariyma : bardı # : bilgä qaηan : bodunı // // // // // // // // : bardı
 # : ölügin : atqa : işig küčig : bertim : adrılmaz : teyin : tägdım

S-4 ü z a : t η r i : Q N : l ü i : y i L Q a : y t i nč : Y : ü k ü č l g : L p # r : Q G N m D a
 : D R L W : B R D η z : b i l g a : T č m : Y W G η : uQ W R G η N : Q z G n t m
 : (i)l y t i : t η r (i) : ü z a : t η r i : k n : // // // // // // // // // // // // // // (T B G)č : k
 ü r r : r t m : d g ü : t č m : üzä : täηri : qan : lüi : yılqa : yetinč : ay : küčlüg : alp
 är : qayanımda : adrılı : bardıηız : bilgä : atačım : yoyuη : qorıyıηın : qazıantım :
 el yetti : täηri : üzä : täηrikän : // // // // // // // // // // // // // // (tabya)č körür : ärtim
 : ädgü : atačım : // // // //

```
E-3 ///////////////////////////////////g r t m : ///////////////////////////////////#/////////////////////////////////
s T p r g : W D š R W : š n ċ D m : ///:
/////////////////////////////////girtim : ///////////////////////////////////#/////////////////////////////////
/////////////////////////////////
//#//basatip ärig : uduşuru : sanċdim : ///:////////
```

E-4 ///#
 ///////////////////////////////////////
 ///#// : n g // : ////////////////// č n : // d m :
 ////////////////////////////////// : išig : küčig : kü // : ///////////////////#
 ///////////////////////////////////////
 ///////////#// : n g // : ////////// ičün : // dim : ///

E-5 ///D s ///T č m : ///# ///

/// # /// m : B ///

/ n : t g : S B R a : T R Q N G :

///D s ///atačim : ///# ///

/// # /// m : B ///

////// n : täg : išbara : tarqanïy : ////

E-6 // / G // / # // /
// / # //
// / # //
// /
// / # //

E-7 ///# g ///
 ///# ///
 ///# g ///
 ///# ///
 //////////////////////////////////

E-8 ///# (l) t (r) s : Q G N : ///
 ///# ///
 ///# elteriš
 : qayan : ///
 ///# ///

(N-1~4) The number of letters is uncertain, but it is possible that they were carved in the original stele (cf. Bichees 68).

Transliteration of the south side of the headstone

- 1 T(č)m Q a : b i t g : T š G
atačimqa : bitig : taši
- 2 Q i L D m : b ŋ i g ü
qıldım : bāṅigü
- 3 Q G N m : T č m
qayanım : atačım
- 4 b l g a : T č m : l ü
bilgä : atačım : lü
- 5 y i L Q a : b i l g a :
yılqa : bilgä:
- 6 W L G : L p r : d g ü Q N :
uluγ : alp är : ädgü qan:
- 7 T č m : ü l t i
atačım : ölti

6.3. Translation

- [illegible]

W-8 said he. And my father Šad addressed as follows, “Don’t let Tängrikän plunder!”
 said he. //: And “My peoples, you, don’t give him something
 from here, ah. Please be useful! //
 //: My dear father, you, ah” //
 //

S-1 I attacked all cities, and I settled down. His army came (against me). Then I at-
 tacked from behind, the lord (beg) escaped, and they were // The
 Tabγač (Chinese) peoples did //, I made (my army) attack and I attacked
 (them). I overwhelmed and broke into pieces. (They) fell into //, then it
 is certain that they did not // I served (him) //,

S-2 We came and we became enemies against them as far as to the location between
 the two groups. “I am not willing to attack (them)” I thought. I have a desire to
 serve Tängri Bilgä Qayan at least, certainly. They attacked me //
 // I went to my house. “The people of sons’ generation and fathers’ gen-
 eration (of my family), you, don’t be apart” said and “Let us not be apart from
 the Qayan” said and I marched.

S-3 I attacked, and I advised my little brothers and my sons as follows: “My father
 marched ahead and he did not make a mistake against Elteriš Qayan”. “Let us
 not be apart from Tängri Bilgä Qayan and not leave him” said I and also said as
 follows: “Ones who went ahead went. The peoples of Bilgä Qayan went away, //
 // Regarding death in battle as an honour, I served him. Let us not be apart
 (from him)”, I marched ahead.

S-4 Over, Tängri Qan, you went away separating from my Qayan that was a strong and
 brave warrior in June of the Lüi (Dragon) year, my dear and wise father! I could
 hold funeral services for you and I got your pasture. He organized his country.
 Over the sky Tängrikän and the China were subjugated. // I subju-
 gated the China. My dear and good father!

E-1 //: // # //
 //
 // # //
 z W // n / ü // i r //: //

E-2 //: // # //
 //
 // # : We attacked.
 My uncle, Boyla: //

E-3 ///He entered (or He was subjugated): ///#/
 //////////////////////////////////////
 ///////////////////////////////////#// I made attack (the enemy ?), and then ran after him and
 speared him://:/

E-4 ///////////////(I) served : kü // : ///////////////////////////////////#////////////////////////////////////
 //////////////////////////////////////
 //:/ : n g // : // for . . . : // I did . . . : //

E-5 ///////////////D s ///////////////my dear father : ///////////////#////////////////////////////////////
 //////////////////////////////////////
 ///////////////////////////////////#/ m : B
 /////////////// n : : išbara : tarqan such as . . . : //

E-6 ///////////////////////////////////////# g //////////////////////////////////////
 ///////////////////////////////////////#////////////////////////////////////
 //////////////////////////////////

E-7 ///////////////////////////////////////# g //////////////////////////////////////
 ///////////////////////////////////////#////////////////////////////////////
 //////////////////////////////////

E-8 ///////////////////////////////////////# elteriš : qayan : //////////////////////////////////////
 ///////////////////////////////////////#////////////////////////////////////
 //////////////////////////////////

(N-I~4) The number of letters is uncertain, but it is possible they were carved in the original stele.

Additional inscription

- 1 For my dear father, stone epitaph
- 2 I constructed. Eternal,
- 3 my Qayan, my dear father
- 4 wise and my dear father, in the
- 5 Lü (Dragon) year, wise,
- 6 great and brave warrior, good Qan,
- 7 my dear father died.

6.4. Philological and historical considerations

W-I :yama qayan:

When Radloff first read this word, he transliterated it as *Y m i* (*Yami*), not *Y m a* (*Yama*).⁴ However, as far as I investigated in Ramstedt's rubbing in the National Archives of Finland in Helsinki in the winter season of 2004–2005, this word should be read *Y m a*, and this could also be confirmed by one of Jadrincev's rubbings when I visited the Institute for Oriental Studies of Saint Petersburg in the summer of 2006. As to the identification of *Yama Qayan*, I would like to identify him with *Shemo hehan* 射摩可汗 from an Old Chinese source and *Zhama* of the Old Tibetan document (Pelliot Tibetan No. 1283 of Tunhuang Documents collection; cf. Moriyasu 1977: 3, n. 5, 6).⁵ The Chinese letters *Shemo* 射摩 can be pronounced as **Dzia*, **Mua* in Middle Era Chinese (MEC) (GSR: No. 807a, 17e). Furthermore, according to Pulleyblank, the first character can be also reconstructed as **šhia* or **jia* and the second one is reconstructed as **mua* in LMC (Pulleyblank 1991: 279, 364, 217). At a glance, there is a difference between the *Yama* of Ongi and the **Dzia-Nua* of the reconstructed phonology of EMC. How can we explain this difference? I would bring your attention to a variant of the title of *Yehu* 葉護, **iäp*, **γuo* (GSR: No. 633d, 783k). This suggests two kinds of sounds such as *yabyu* and *jabyu* in the Turkic Qayanate period. Especially regarding the second sound, *jabyu* can be attested in a variant of *yabyu* such as 蛇婆護 *She/yi, po, hu*, **d'ie/ts'ie*, **b'ua*, **γuo* (GSR: No. 3l, No. 25q, No. 41i) from Old Chinese documents unearthed from the Astana tombs (No. 329) of the 6th–7th centuries AD of the Turfan Basin of Xinjiang Uigur regions of China (TAM60: 23/1, 23/2; TFCW III: 342–343; TFCWF I: 461; cf. Ōsawa 2002: 84, 87, n. 41). As another example, we can point out that the same phonology is found on Old Turkish coins in the 6–7th centuries AD unearthed from Tashkent, Samarkand and other regions of Sogdiana in modern Uzbekistan, in which the title of *yabyu* was carved in the form of *čapyu* in Old Sogdian cursive letters. This *č* was used in the place of *j*, because in Sogdian letters there were no letters reflecting *j*, and *p* was used in the place of *b*. Therefore, we can reconstruct *jabyu* as the correct phonological form (Babayar 2007: 19–22). From this, we can say of the title *yabyu* that there were two phonetic variants such as *yabyu* and *jabyu* in the Turkic Qayanate period.⁶ Thus we can assume that there was another variant that had a *y* sound in the head part in the place of the pronunciation of **Dzia-mua* in Old Turkic period. This form can be attested as *Yama*.

4 Bold reads this as *yumi qayan* (Bold 2006: 111, 116).

5 On the basis of Radloff and Clauson's reading of *Yami Qayan* on the Ongi stele, V. Rybatzki considered that this name can be attested as *ža-ma-mohan* in the Tibetan documents of No. 1283 of the Pelliot Collection (Rybatzki 2000: 209). The Chinese researcher Rui presumes that *Yami qayan* on the Ongi stele is *Shemo qayan* of a Chinese romance (YYZZ-4) of the Tang period (Rui 1998: 297). But both researchers' identifications are hard to accept as there is a difference between *i* and *a* of the last vowel of this name. Regarding this proper name, I have proposed a new view (Ōsawa 2009: 401, n. 2).

6 This phenomenon can be confirmed by the fact that the title of <šad> has other phonological form such as <čad> in the runic letters of the Terkh (Tariat) inscription and Šine-us inscriptions of the early Uigur nomad Qayanate in Mongolia.

From this, I can suggest that *Yama Qayan* can be identified with the **Dzia-mua* Qayan of Old Chinese sources and the *Zhama* of Old Tibetan documents. We cannot thus support the view that the *Yami* of Ongi could be *istemi* as Clauson has suggested. Who was he then? As to this problem, I can say only that he can be identified with *Bumïn Qayan* of the Orkhon inscription, as almost all researchers such as Radloff, Marquart, Onogawa and Sawada have assumed (ATIM 1895: 253; Marquart 1898: 39; Onogawa 1950: 444, n. 1; Sawada 1984: 102–103, n. 10). Regarding this problem, I have presented my view of the cultic-cultural relation between the Sogdians and Turks from philological and historical points of views (Ōsawa 2007b).

W-I qışmıš.

The verb *qış-* is a variant of *qış-* ‘to compress, to squeeze’ (ED: 665b-666a).

W-I : il bāgler : tabyač : W-2: qayanladuq qayanın içyini : idmiš :

This last part of W-1 can be read in Ramstedt’s rubbing. This can be directly connected to the first line of W-2. The phrase *il bāglār* means high-ranking aristocratic people of the Old Turkic tribes. In Orkhon Turkic, *id-* has a function of an aspectual verb and means ‘to do something completely’ (Erdal 2004: 247), so *ičyini id-* means ‘lost (trans.) completely’ (Erdal 1991: 257). As to the sentence involving *qayanladuq*, we can refer to the same expression from the Köl Tigin inscription reading as follows: (D6) *begleri : bodunı : tüzüz üçün : tabyač : tebligin : kürlüg<in> üçün : armaqčisin : üçün : inili : ečili : kiksürtükün : üçün : begli : bodunlıy : yoñaşurtuqın : üçün : türük : bodun : illedük : ilin : içyinu : idmiš* (D7) *qayanladuq : qayanın : yitürü : idmiš : tabyač : bodunqa : beglik : urı oyılın : qul boltı : ešilik : qız oyılın : küng boltı : türük* (D8) *körmuš, elig yıl : işig küčüg birmiš* (KT-E: 6–8; Tekin 1988: 10–11).

I can also mention the same contents in the Tunyukuk inscription as follows: (2) *Tür(ü)k bodun : qanın bulmayın : tabyačda : adrilti : qanlantı : qanın qodup : tabyačqa : yana içikdi* : (T: 2; Tekin 1994: 2–3).

In my view, this sentence indicates the historical situation in which their Qayanate was subjugated by the Tang Dynasty in 630. As a result, the Turkic peoples served the Tang emperor as his subjects. In 679 the *Ashite* tribal leaders *Wenchuan* and *Fengzhi* and the Ashinas’ tribal leader **Nizhuk bāg* mounted a rebellion against the Tang Dynasty, which, however, was suppressed by the Tang army. Accordingly, this part of this stele can be dated to AD 630–679. As is well known, the First Turkic Qayanate was ruined in 630. They then moved into the regions of the Ordus and the *Hunag-hua* River of northern China and served the Tang emperor in a traditional tribal system under the Tang Dynasty. This sentence is written with the evidential marker *-miš*, meaning that this is hearsay knowledge reflecting an independent war against the Tang Dynasty. Who was “the qayan that the Tang Dynasty made ascend to the throne”? From the historical point of view, this can remind us of *Ashina Sima* 阿史那思摩 that was called *Lisima* 李思摩 as its Chinese surname. According to

sources (TD: 197: 5415, cf. XTS 215: 6039), at first when *Qimin kehan* (qayan) 啓民可汗 was subjugated to the Sui Dynasty, the Turkic tribes of the northern steppe (i.e. Mongolia) supported and appointed *Ashina Sima* to be their qayan. *Qimin* qayan, however, returned to his country and *Sima* abandoned his title.⁷ Then after the destruction of the First Turkic Qayanate, *Sima* surrendered to the Tang Dynasty with *Illig* qayan. But the Tang emperor praised his loyalty to his lord. Thus, in 639 when the Turkic tribes rose in rebellion in the Ordos region, Taizong gave *Sima* the title of *Yimi Nishu, silibi, hehan* 乙彌泥孰俟利苾可汗 **iet*, **mjie*, **niei*, **ziuk*, **d'zi*, **lji*, **b'iet* (*Yama? Nizhuk, Iltäbär*) qayan (GSR: No. 505a, 359m, 563d, 1026a, 976m, 519a, 405g) in the government-general of *Doudufu* 都督府 of *Dingxiang* 定襄 that had been organized earlier in the northern regions of the *Hunag-hua* River. *Sima* was expected to control the Turkic tribes, but he did not have the ability to organize the Turkic peoples that wanted him to be a qayan independent of the Tang Dynasty. He feared the attack of the *Siyantou* 薛延陀 tribes of Tokuz Oγuz in Mongolia. He escaped to the capital of the Tang Dynasty and served *Taizong*. However, he died from a battle wound in the *Liaotong* region (cf. Suzuki 2005). The Tang Dynasty then gave the *Siyantou*'s tribal leader the title of *Yinčü Bilgä qayan* and awarded him control over the Tokuz Oγuz peoples of Mongolia. However, they also failed to organize, and many Tokuz Oγuz escaped to the Tang Dynasty. These historical accidents of Old Chinese chronicles must be reflected in this inscription (JTS-194: 5163–5166; XTS-215: 6039–6043; KT-E: 5–10; BK-E: 6–10; T: 1–4; Tekin 1988: 2–5, 38–41; 1994: 2–3).

W-2: türk bodun : öñrä : kün : tusuqıñja : kisrä : kün : batsıqıñja : tägi : beriyä : tabyačqa : yıraya : yış(qa) : (tägi :) // // // //

From the context, as I mentioned above, this sentence can be identified with the historical fact that Turkic peoples could not assist in campaigns as a part of the Chinese army under the control of the Tang Empire after the destruction of the First Turkic Qayanate. This phrase *beriyä tabyačqa : yıraya yışqa tägi* ‘in the south as far as the

7 According to the Chinese epitaph of *Ashina Sima*'s tomb named *datang qu youwuwei da jiang jun zeng bing bu shan shu yi yue shun Li junmuzhiming bingxu* 大唐故右武衛大將軍贈兵部尚書諡曰順李君墓誌銘并序 (that is, Epigraphic text and introduction on the Sir *Li* that was appointed Great Commander of the right wing of the Tang army and secretary of the Tang court), the father of the grandfather of *Ashina Sima* was 伊力可汗 *yili kehan* (*Illig* qayan) and *Sima*'s grandfather was 闐跋可汗 *daba* **d'at* *b'wät* (GSR: No. 271, 276h) *kehan* (= Qayan), that can be identified with 他鉢可汗 *Tatpar* Qayan that was the fourth qayan of the First Old Turkic Qayanate. *Sima* was appointed as 波斯特勤 *bosi teqin* (Pars Tigin). Then he suddenly sat on the throne as 俱陸可汗 *julu kehan* (*Küllüg* Qayan) and he controlled the tribes of 薛延陀 *Xueyantuo*, 迴紇 *Huihe* (Uigur), 暴骨 *Baogu* (Bogug), 同羅 *Tongluo* (Tongra) and similar ones. But then he was defeated by 頡利可汗 *Jieli kehan* **Illig* qayan, and then he was captured by the Sui Dynasty. The Emperor 煬帝 *Yangdi* granted freedom from Sui control and gave many gifts such as 500 *tan* of silk cloths, and made him to come back to his country. Then the 始畢可汗 *shibi* **Shipi* Qayan gave him the title of 伽苾特勤 *jiabi teqin* **khia* *b'jēt* (Pulleyblank 1991: 253; GSR: No. 405g) Tigin that can be same as 夾畢特勤 *gabi* **kāp* *pjēt* (GSR: No. 630a, 407b) Tigin might be reconstructed as **Qapir* Tigin in my view, and after this qayan's death, when 頡利可汗 *Jieli* Qayan sat on the throne, he (*Sima*) was appointed 羅失特勤 *Luoshi teqin*, **las* *jēt* (GSR: No. 6a, 402a) **Yariš* (?) Tigin. (The remaining sentence is omitted.) (ZLBS 1993: 112; Suzuki 2005: 45–50.)

Tang Dynasty, in the north as far as the wooded mountains' can remind us that Turkic tribes were settled in northern China and engaged in campaigns of war in surrounding areas. In fact, as mentioned above, since 644, the Tang Dynasty conquered the Tokuz Oğuz peoples as far as the Mongolian Steppe near the Hangai Mountains, and reorganized the nomad peoples, giving the tribal leaders Chinese administrative titles such as *totoq*, *šiči*, *čayšī* under the control of the government-general of *Doudufu* 都督府 of *Dingxiang* 定襄 and the government-general of *Doudufu* of *Yunzhong* 雲中. Moreover, when the Tokuz Oğuz peoples rose in rebellion in 660, the Tang Dynasty sent a military force to the Selenge Steppe and suppressed it, and established an administrative centre named the protectorate-general 都護府 *Douhufu* of *Hanhai* 瀚海 in the Orkhon Steppe and the protectorate-general of *Yunzhong* 雲中 in Inner Mongolia in 663. The first one can be identified with *Tuɣo balıq* (i.e. *Douhucheng* 都護城 means Protecting General administrative of the City) (KT-N: 4; BK-E: 30). Under the Tang policy that controlled foreign peoples with foreign soldiers, the Turkic peoples were appointed to a high-ranking official with military titles serving the Tang emperor. At that time under the Tang commanders, Turkic peoples engaged in campaigns of war to the west as far as the northern steppe of the *Tianshan* Mountains in the rebellion of the *Ashina Helo* of the Western Turkic Qayanate in 640 years and eastwards as far as the northern Korean areas in the rebellion of the *Gaogouli* 高句麗 peoples in 650, northwards as far as the Mongolian Steppe in the rebellion of Tokuz Oğuz. So this *yış* is to be read as *Ötükan Yış* (The Hangai Mountains). A similar situation is narrated in the Orkhon Turkic text, as noted in W-1 (KT-E: 8; Tekin 1988: 10–11).

W-2: : qazyantuq : üçün : ol qız oylin körti : W-3: alp ärin balbal : qışdı:

This part of W-2 can be attested to only in Ramstedt's rubbing, being connected to the beginning part of the next line. Before the word *qazyantuk*: *üçün*, we cannot read the letters from Ramstedt's rubbing, but from the context it is possible that they stand for *ilig*, which is comparable with the expression with same details in KT-E (9–10). As I mentioned above, these incidents are closely related to the campaigns against surrounding enemies. But it is remarkable that these two sentences are narrated in the style of the direct past suffix *-ti/-dī*. In my view, this verb form also has the function of narrating a historical fact. This fact must have been a shameful and unforgettable memory among the Turkic people.

Secondly, regarding the word *ärin*, Radloff read it as *ärin* as derived from *är* (man, warrior) + an accusative suffix *-in* (ATIM 1895: 247), but Clauson read *ärän* as consisting of *är* (man, warrior) + a plural suffix *-än* (Clauson 1957: Pl. V, 182; Tryjarski & Aalto 1973: 419). But in Old Turkic, the term *balbal* is used as a singular form with an accusative suffix *-(i)n*, *-(i)g* or without a suffix: *alp ärin ölürip balbal qili bertim* (BK-S: 7), *quy säñünüg balbal bertim* (BK-S: 9), *qıryz qayan balbal tikdim* (KT: E-25). Thus, in this case, the form *är* can be also a singular form. Here, I would like to analyse *-in* as an accusative suffix as done by Radloff.⁸

8 Regarding this problem, Bold also analysed this as *är* + *-in* (Bold 2006: 112, 117).

Regarding *qış-*, Clauson considered it to mean ‘to thrust’ (Clauson 1957: 182). This verb is used in the Tunyukuk inscription, meaning ‘birlikte yapmak, etmek, kılmak’ (T: 5, 6, 11, 21; Tekin 1994: 61). It is, however, hard to say why the “*balbal* stone” is mentioned. This fact can be dated to the periods under the control of the Tang Dynasty. From the context, *alp är* (brave warrior) was a tribal leader of their enemy killed by Turkic peoples in campaigns around them in the period AD 630–679. And this description indicates that even under the control of the Tang Dynasty, Turkic peoples maintained their traditional burial customs since the First Turkic Qaγanate. This has been confirmed in Old Chinese chronicles (ZS-50: 910; SS-84: 1864), and archaeologically confirmed in the Bugut site, the Tsetsuuv site (Idel site), and the Bayin-Tsagaan Khöndii site (Gindin-Bulak I site) of the First Turkic Qaγanate period (Vojtov 1996: 27–30, 33–34; Moriyasu & Ochir 1999: 121; Ōsawa & Suzuki 2008: 84–85, 88–89, 129–131).

W-3: türk bodun : atı yoq : bolu : barmış : ärti : türk bodun yitmäzün : teyin : yulup ärmäzün : teyin : üzä : täñri : temiş : ärig / / /

This part can be considered to be the words of Täñri (a god), and the first sentence can be compared with the following expression: *türük : begler : türük : atin : itti* (KT-E: 7; Tekin 1988: 10–11). Here the God Täñri ordered the Turks to take a new ruler to be independent from Tang rule. A similar expression can be confirmed as follows: *üzä: türük: täñrisi: türk iduk yiri: subī: anča ätmış: türük: bodun: yok: bolmazun: tiyin: bodun: bolčun tiyin:* (KT-E: 11; Tekin 1988: 10–11). This is followed by the enthronement of *Elteriš qaγan* and *El bilgä qatun* (KT-E: 11; Tekin 1988: 10–11). Thus in this context, it is expected that a Turkic qaγan’s name (possibly Elteriš qaγan) that was admitted by the God Täñri was carved in the space that followed, which is hard to read now.

W-4: qapγan : elteriš : qaγan : eliñä qilintüm :

This part has keywords to resolve the date of this stele. First, *eliñä* has the basic meaning ‘in the country’ (cf. GOT: 132). As far as we know, the usage of /// *eliñä* can be also confirmed in T: 1, 58; SU-N: 4. Gabain regarded *eliñä* as ‘for the country’, and as a result Clauson translated it as ‘I grew for (i.e. as a subject of) the realm of Qapγan and Elteriš’. However, Bazin insisted that in Old Turkic the dative suffix *-qa/-ka* has the basic function of date, but this expression can mean ‘royal country’ and ‘the reign’ with *el* ‘empire’ (Bazin 1991: 159). Giraud (1961: 66, 120) thus analysed that a ruler’s name + *-eliñä* means ‘in the reign of (ruler)’. Tekin also translates *eliñä* of T (1) as ‘yönetimi sırasında’ (‘in the reign of’) (Tekin 1994: 2–3), which means that this part can be ‘I was born (and grew up) in the reign of Qapγan Elteriš qaγan’ (GOT: 291; Moriyasu 2009: 47–48). But the last phrase *Qapγan Elteriš qaγan* is uncertain. As is well known, “Qapγan” and “Elteriš” are titles of rulers of the Second Turkic Qaγanate, and Clauson thus translated it as ‘I grew up in the reign of Qapγan Elteriš qaγan’. But

as Bazin explained, the word *qilintī* has the basic meaning of ‘he was born’ or ‘he grew up’, but for a person, the first one is preferred. Accordingly, I select the meaning of ‘he was born’.⁹ In this case as Bazin told (Bazin 1991: 159–160), a person cannot be born in the reigns, of two qaγan, so we must consider either one of the two titles as an epithet. It thus means ‘I was born in the reign of Elteriš qaγan who was a conqueror’ or ‘I was born in the reign of qaγan qaγan who organized the people’. Bazin considered qaγan to be an epithet of *Elteriš*, but there are no historical sources to attest his view (Bazin 1991: 160). Regarding this problem, Japanese colleagues Onogawa and Sawada have pointed out that *Mochuo* 默啜, Bögü Čor also had the title of *elteriš*, *Xiedielishi* 頡跌利施 **xhjiat*, **thiat*, **li*, **si* in LMC (Pulleyblank 1991: 341, 79, 188, 282; Onogawa 1950: 435–436; Sawada 1983b: 80–85).¹⁰ Qaγan qaγan was given the title *Xiedielishi*, *danyu*, *libaoguo*, *hehan* 頡跌利施大單于立報國可汗 by the Chinese empress (*Wuzetian* 武則天) in 696 (ZZTJ-205: 6510; JTS-194: 5167; XTS-215: 6044; TD-198: 5434). Contrary to this, *Elteriš qaγan* did not bear the title of *qaγan*. Thus, in this case, *Qaγan Elteriš qaγan eliṇä qiliṇtim* can be considered as ‘I was born in the reign of Qaγan qaγan who organized the tribal peoples’. This means that the writer of this sentence shown with a personal suffix *-m* was born in the reign of Qaγan qaγan (691–716).

W-4: eletmiš yabyu : oylī : iṣbara : tamyan čor : yoya : inisi : bilgä : iṣbara : tamyan : tarqan : yoya : atī : beš : yetmiš : äčim atīm :

Here are names of *Eletmiš yabyu*’s family. His son was named *iṣbara Tamyan Čor Yoya* and his younger brother was named *Bilgä iṣbara Tamyan Tarqan Yoya*. Here, this writer of the Ongi site stele introduced his family. In my investigations of Ramstedt’s rubbing and Jadrincev’s original rubbing in 2005, I could not confirm the letters such as *Y B G W : i n s i* and *Y M G L G : (. . L) t m s :* as Clauson transliterated (Clauson 1957: Pl. 7, 182).

As to this title *Eletmiš yabyu*, as Sawada stated, it can be a proper name having the basic meaning ‘organizer of tribe’, and the proper name *Elteriš qaγan* basically means ‘qaγan that assembled the tribal people’. Regarding the historical background of this naming, I have to state the related historical facts. As we know from the Tunyukuk inscription (T: 5; Tekin 1994: 3–4), Qutluy 骨咄祿 launched an independent war against the Tang Dynasty; he had a *šad*. After he ascended to the throne as *Elteriš Qaγan* with the help of his adviser Tunyukuk, he settled in a camp named *Baidaochuan* (White road steppe) of the northern steppe of the Yinshan Mountains

9 Rybatzki considered *qilīn-* to derive from *qil-* + *-n-*; usually meaning in a passive sense ‘to be made, created’ and the like, but in the early period also (of a child) ‘to form its own character, to grow up’ (Rybatzki 1997: 75, n. 216).

10 P. Pelliot reconstructed *Mochuo* from the Chinese expression as *Bäg čor* on the basis of Old Tibetan sources. But this title should be revised as *Bögü čor* of *Dru-gu*, not as *bäg čor* (Moriyasu 1977: 3, 9, n. 17). This *Qaγan* can be identified as *Bögü Qaγan* that can be attested with Qaγan qaγan in T: 34, 50 (Tekin 1994: 14–15, n. 44, 20–21).

(Čuγay yış). In KT-E (13–14), it is mentioned as follows: *ečüm apam : törüsinče : yaratmış : boşyurmış : tölis : tarduş (bodun : anta etmiş) yabyu : şadı : anta bermiş* (Tekin 1988: 10–13). From here, when on the basis of the traditional law Elteriş qayan could conquer the eastern regions named *tölis*, and the western regions named *tarduş*, he appointed a *yabyu* to be the leader of the former regions, and a *şad* to be another leader of the latter ones (Tekin 1988: 10–13). According to information from Old Chinese chronicles, Elteriş qayan gave the title of *şad* to his younger brother *Mochuo* (Bögü Čor), later *Qapγan Qayan* and gave the title of *yabyu* to another younger brother named *Duoxifu* 咄悉紇, **tuəət*, **siet*, **b’iuk* (GSR: No. 496h, 1257a, 933m), **Turs Bäg* (JTS-194: 5166; XTS-215: 6044).¹¹ From these records it appears that *tölis yabyu* as told in the inscription was *Duoxifu*, and *tarduş yabyu* was his elder brother *Mochuo*. The *Eletmiş yabyu* of the Ongi text was thus the *tölis yabyu* that Elteriş qayan appointed to organize the eastern regions of the Second Turkic Qaγanate. Then after Elteriş qayan died in AD 691 and Mochuo became a Turkic ruler as his successor, Mochuo qayan gave the appointment of *tölis şad* to his younger brother *Duoxifu*, and *tarduş şad* to his nephew, and the first son of Elteriş qayan *Moju* 默矩, later *Bilgä Qayan* (JTS-194: 5169; XTS-215: 6046). But according to the Orkhon text, Moju was appointed *tarduş şad* at the age of 14 (KT-E: 17; BK-E: 14–15), thus gaining this title in AD 697. It is generally presumed that *Duoxifu* became *tölis şad* at the beginning of the enthronement of *Mochuo* (Onogawa 1950: 440–441), but he may have gained this title in the same year, 697, in addition to appointing Moju to be *tarduş şad*. In this case, it is possible that *Duoxifu* was *tölis yabyu* during the periods AD 687 to 697.

Then in 716 Qapγan qayan was killed by a warrior named *Xiezhilüe* of the Bayirku tribe of Tokuz Oγuz in the steppe along the Tula River of Mongolia. His head was sent by a Chinese officer named *Haolingcho* to the capital city of the Tang Dynasty (Changan) in June 716 (JTS 8: 176; XTS-215: 6049; TD-198: 5439).

When the lesser qayan Inäl, son of Qapγan qayan was about to become a great qayan, Köl Tigin, the second son of Elteriş Qayan arose in rebellion against *Inäl qayan* and murdered him, his younger brothers and relatives (JTS-194: 5137; XTS-215: 6049; TD-198: 5439). In the confusion, Inäl’s relatives and the Tokuz Oγuz tribes escaped from Mongolia to the northern Chinese regions along the *Huang-hu* River (XTS-215: 6052; TFCW 986: 11583; cf. Iwami 1998: 226–278), and he was head of the *Shier Xing Tujue* 十二姓突厥 (Union of twelve Turkic tribes) (Haneda 1957: 374–375; Moriyasu 1977: 3, 13–14; Iwami 1998: 217). But we cannot find *Duoxifu* among Turkic peoples that escaped into northern China. Thus we can only admit that *Duoxifu*

11 The *Eletmiş Yabyu* of this inscription can be attested as the man buried at the site and named *Duoxifu*, who had been appointed *tölis yabyu* during the reign of *elteriş Qayan* as a founder of the Second Old Turkic Qaγanate. The third letter 紇 **b’iuk* can be attested with the Turkic title *bäg*, but the first and second words seem hard to reconstruct until now. Hamilton reconstructed the first Chinese letter as <-dr-> in the Old Turkic periods (Hamilton 1988: 168). The second letter *si* is reconstructed by Karlgren as **siet*, whereby the Old Turkic name *duoxifu* can be reconstructed as **Turs bæg* while Marquart considered it to be *Tusik bæg* (Marquart 1898: 37).

must have been killed by Köl Tigin as one of the close relatives of Inäl qaγan's family in 716.

The word *Bilgä* can be an Old Turkic title meaning 'counsellor' (Clauson 1957: 188), but not the adjective 'wise' as regarded by Radloff, Onogawa (ATIM 1895: 248; Onogawa 1950: 442). This title can be attested in many instances in Old Turkic periods as "Tun Bilgä" (Čoir inscription), 'İšbara Bilgä Küli Čor' (KČ-W: 4) etc. (cf. Rybatzki 1997: 75, n. 215).

Onogawa regarded the personal name *Yoya* of *İšbara Tamγan Tarqan Yoya* to mean a son of Qaγan qaγan (Onogawa 1950: 440), *Yangwoshi teqin*, 楊我支特勤 **Yoyači Tigin* who had been sent as an ambassador to the Tang Dynasty in AD 713 and had died there according to Old Chinese chronicles (ZZTJ-210: 6686; XTS-215: 6047). Sawada (1983b: 88) doubted this, but I cannot agree with him because this part can be positioned as the introduction of sons of *Eletmiš Yabyu*, i.e. the younger brother of Qaγan, *Duoxifu*, and his family. Moreover, *Yoya* lacks the last onomastic suffix *Shi* 支 of **Yoyači*. *Yoya* is also recorded as his younger brother's name as *İšbara Tamγan Tarqan Yoya*, who was the second son of *Eletmiš yabyu*. From this situation it appears that this word can be a personal name or an Old Turkic title that has never been attested. As to the title of Tamγan, it can be attested in the first line of the eastern side and other lines of the Khör-Asgat inscription, and it seems that it means 'having a tamya' (Ōsawa 2010: 22–23, 36).

W-4: : sü: äšij : oyli : tamγan W-5: bu : tabyačda : yiriyä : täg oyuz : ara : yeti ärin : yayi : bolmiš :

This part of W-4 can be read only in Ramstedt's rubbing and it is connected with the beginning of line W-5. I translated *a s η* as *äšij* consisting of the verb *äš-* meaning 'to amble' (ED: 255b) + infinitive suffix of the second person singular *-η*. It seems possible that *oyli* of *oyli Tamγan* indicates 'son of *Eletmiš yabyu*'. The *Tamγan* can mean (*İšbara*) *Tamγan* (*Čor Yoya*) or his younger brother (*Bilgä İšbara*) *Tamγan* (*Tarqan Yoya*) in line W-4. But it is questionable that he would have been the younger brother who was also the writer of this stele, because their campaign against their enemy between northern China and Oyuz can be dated to the period of AD 686–687 in the reign of Qutluy, Elteriš qaγan. This situation does not suit the fact that his younger brother was born in the reign of Qaγan qaγan. The *Tamγan* of this part can thus be his elder brother (*İšbara*) *Tamγan* (*Čor Yoya*). This view can be supported by the usage of the *-miš* style. This use of *-miš* indicates that this writer happened to hear this from another person, possibly his father or from relatives. This person having the title of *tamγan* must have been more than 15 years old during the reign of Elteriš qaγan, and thus must have been born in the period AD 630–667, because a boy could bear the "adult name" *är at* at the age of at least 15 at that time (Bazin 1991: 107–108).

Regarding the word *bu*, although Clauson regards *B (s a) (basa)* 'then', I cannot confirm this letter. From Ramstedt's rubbing, we can read *B W*, as read in Jadrincev's original rubbing. This is to be read as a demonstrative adjective of *Tabyač*.

Until now, the passage *T g* has been discussed and the proposed hypothesis among philologists is a problematic issue as Clauson and Sawada have pointed out (Clauson 1957: 185–186; Sawada 1983a: 60–61).¹² The first letter *T* is a back consonant with a back vowel as *T W G* (*tu*) ‘engel (barrier)’ in T: 26 (Tekin 1994: 12–13; cf. Alyılmaz 2005: 212). However, in this stele, the following letter is shown with the front consonant *g* that is contrary to the vowel harmony of the Old Turkic language. As far as we know, there is no evidence of such a combination in old runic inscriptions. According to the context, however, it must be a kind of postposition because the preceding word has a dative suffix such as *-(y)a* of *yir*. Some researchers have thus translated *täg* and the postposition *tapa* as ‘up to’ (Onogawa 1950: 446, n. 13). This, however, is still a problematic issue. This can be a mistaken form in runic spelling, as Mori pointed out that there are some mistaken spellings or forgotten sounds in the runic inscription (Mori 1992: 515, n. 15, 587–595). In this text, this curious usage of *T g* is confirmed three times. In my view, this can be considered as the postposition *täg* (Orkun 1936: 128). In this case, the back consonant *T* might be used in the place of the front consonant *t* to coincide with the back vowel sound /a/ of *yiraya*. In my view, if this word is transcribed as *täg* ‘up to’, this can be regarded as a variant of the postposition *tägi* ‘up to; as far as’ (ED: 477; Tekin 2003: 154, No. 358) of Old Turkic with differences between Turkic dialects or the periods. For example, it is well known that there are some kinds of *tägi* such as *degin*, *dek*, *degi*, *dak* ‘-e kadar’ in Old Anatolian Turkish, *değın*, *dek*, *dak* ‘-e kadar’ in Osmanlı Turkish, *değın*, *dek* ‘-e kadar’ in the Turkmen language, *-dan/-dän/-dak/-däk* ‘-e kadar’ (cf. Li 2004: 471–472) and *tek* ‘kadar, değın’ in the Çorum dialect (TDK, *Derleme Sözlüğü* XII, 1982: 4747) in colloquial Turkish. Because until now this word had not been analysed from this viewpoint, I would like to suggest that this word is a variant of *tegi* that reflects the colloquial pronunciation at that time.

With regard to *yäti ärin*, Radloff read *yäti ärän* as the subject of this sentence, and Clauson and Sawada concurred (ATIM 1895: 248–249; Clauson 1957: 182; Sawada 1984: 98). Onogawa, on the other hand, regarded it as an instructive form, reading it as ‘by seven warriors’ (Onogawa 1950: 443). I agree with Onogawa’s view, because, as is well known from old runic inscriptions, it is seldom that a certain numeral is added to a plural noun, and thus *yeti ärän* (seven warriors) cannot fit this rule, although *+än* might be an Old Mongolian loan word with a plural suffix. At present, I would like to consider this function of the suffix *-in* as the comitative form ‘with’.

This sentence as a whole can thus be interpreted as ‘my son, (Bilgä İšbara) Tamyan Tarqan (Çor Yoya) became enemy with seven warriors among Oğuz tribes as far as the northern regions of this Tabğaç (China)’. This situation reminds us of expressions such as *qañım qayan* : *yiti yegirmi ärin* : *taşıkmış* : *taşra yorıyur* : *tiyin* : *kü eşidip* : *balıqdaqı* : *taşıqmış* : *taşdaqı* : *inmiş* : *tirilip yetmiş är bolmış* (KT-E:

12 Bazylxan (2005: 56, n. 110) made transcriptions such as *at eg* in the W-5, 6 and 10 lines of this stele and interpreted the ethnos as having had horses and animals for transport, although there is no evidence of this in historical sources of the Old Turkic peoples.

11–12; Tekin 1988: 10–11) and *yeti yüz : kišig : uduzuyma : uluγu : šad ärti : ayγil tidi : ayγımasi : bän ärtim : bilgä tunyuquq* (T: 4–5; Tekin 1994: 2–3; Onogawa 1950: 440). From this description, we can regard that this incident can be dated to the years AD 682–686 at the beginning of the reign of Elteriš qaγan, and the enemy of that time could be the Tang Dynasty. Accordingly, this description points to the rebellion of Turkic tribes against the Tang Dynasty.

W-5: qaγim baya : täñrikän : yan : anta : yorimış : išig : küčin : bermiş : ärtmiş :

Regarding *qaγim*, Bazylxan's transcription as *aqaqim* is generally accepted, considering *aq* as the cognate of *ake* 'father' in the Kazakh language (Bazylxan 2005: 56, n. 111). But this analysis entails a problem because he neglected the existence of the sound *ŋ*, so I cannot agree with him.

As mentioned above in the note on W-4, *qaγim* (my father) can be identified with *Eletmiş yabyu* that was the father of two sons. *Baya täñrikän*, in turn, must be the one that appointed *tölis yabyu*, i.e. Qutluγ, Elteriš qaγan, as suggested by Onogawa (1950: 437).

Concerning this, V. Rybatzki mentioned that "the hitherto accepted dating of the Ongi inscription to the year 720 or 730 might not be correct, as for palaeographic as well as onomastic reasons the inscription might belong to the beginning of the period of the Uigur Steppe empire" (Rybatzki 2000: 209). Here, he considered that the title *täñrikän* could not have been from the Second Turkic Qaγanate period although we can confirm this word in the runic part of the headstone of the Qarabalgasun inscription (Moriyasu & Ochir 1999: 219) and other Old Uigur documents (Rybatzki 2000: 210–211). Rybatzki's viewpoint, however, is disproved by the existence of a *tamya* consisting of a ram and a snake. As well known, this *tamya* belonged to the collateral line of the Ashinas family of the Second Turkic Qaγanate as confirmed in the Čoir inscription (Kljaštornyj 1971: 250–253; Alyılmaz 2005: 20, photo 13), both sides of the tortoise stone of the Mukhar inscription (Ösawa 1999d: 146, Pl. 7a–c) and the second Qarabalgasun inscription (Ösawa 1999e: 133–134, Pl. 6; Alyılmaz 2005: 20, photo 14). Moreover, the word *täñrikän* can be attested in the Hangita Hat inscription on a rock near Dashinchiren som at Bulgan aymak in Mongolia. This rock inscription had been investigated by Rintchen, Bazylxan, Shinekhüü, Kljaštornyj and TIKa (Rintchen 1968: 37; Bazylxan 1968; Shinekhüü 1979; Kljaštornyj 1975; TIKa 2003: 340–342; cf. Battulga 2005: 75). I also researched this rock in August 2008. There I could read a phrase such as *Baz Qan Oγlı Täñri uçmış* '(It is said that) the son of Baz qan went away to the sky (i.e. died)' on the second line and *Bäg är, Täñrikänim . . .* (*Bäg är*, my *Täñrikän . . .* on the fourth line. A ram-styled *tamya* for the Ashinas royal family was carved evidently on the left over the inscription. Moreover I could confirm the Old Turkic runic text from the eastern, northern and cover boards of sarcophagus of the Olonnuur Khöndii site of Galuut som of Bayankhongor aymak in Mongolia in 2008. This site has the typical features on the Second Turkic Qaγanate period as evidently suggested by three stone statues, balbal stones and sarcophagus

with runic text. From the top of the eastern sarcophagus, I could read *üzä täņrikānim, a. yayiz yārim, a* ('My Täņgrikān, ah! My brown Earth, ah!') (Ōsawa 2009: 197–198). From this, we can date this inscription to the first half of the 8th century, that is, to the Second Turkic Qaγanate as suggested by Kljaštornyj. We can thus say that this Ongi stele can be dated to the Second Turkic Qaγanate. But until now it is unresolved whether *täņrikān* can be attested as *Tian nan* 天男, 'son of *Täņri*' or *Täņri Qan* (cf. Haneda 1957: 372–374; Sawada 1983a: 71, n. 29; Rybatzki 2000: 210–211; Moriyasu et al. 1999: 220). At present, it is clear that this title was a special epithet of *qaγan* from the similar uses of this title in the runic inscriptions of the Old Uigur Qaγanate and Old Uigur documents of Kočo Uigur. I do not discuss this etymology any further here, but, as Onogawa presumed (Onogawa 1950: 441–442), this word must have been a special title for indicating respect to a ruler, i.e. Qutluγ, Elteriš Qaγan of the Second Old Qaγanate..

Historically, the campaign against Tokuz Oγuz mentioned in this sentence can be dated to 686–687 from the Turkic Ordu in the steppe named *Baidaochuan* (White road steppe) of *Kara Qum* (Black desert) in the northern steppe of the *Yinshen* Mountains (Čuyay yīš) to the steppe around the Hangai Mountains (Ötükān yīš; Ötükān yer) of Mongolia across the Gobi Desert and the Ongi River (Iwasa 1936: 130–131).

W-5: : tarduš : boltuqda : W-6: täņrikānkä išig bertin : teyin : yarlıqamış : šad atıγ : anta : bermiš : boltuqda

This part of W-5 could be first confirmed in Ramstedt's rubbing, and it is connected with the beginning part of line W-6.

The word *tarduš* means firstly 'the western territory of the Turkic Qaγanate', and *tarduš boltuqda* accordingly 'when the western regions (*tarduš*) were formed (or organized)'. This phrase reminds us of a similar phrase such as *tölis : tarduš (bodunu : anta etmiş) yabyu : šadī : anta : bermiš* (KT-E: 13–14). So in this place, *tarduš* could be an omission of *tarduš (bodun)*. Who then organized *tarduš bodun* (the peoples of the western regions) at that time? According to Old Chinese sources, it was *Mochuo* (later Qaγan qaγan), or *Moju* (later Bilgä qaγan) who became šad of *tarduš* (the western regions of the Qaγanate), not *Duoxifu*, i.e. *Eletmiş yabyu*. In Chinese sources, *Duoxifu* was never given the title of *tarduš šad*. As a result, this view does not find support.

Is a different translation possible? We can often read *tarduš* as a personal name deriving from the original meaning such as *tarduš, köl tarduš, tarduš šad* etc. From this usage, this *tarduš* can be part of a personal name or a title. If so, *tarduš boltuqda* means 'when a man named *tarduš* became a ruler' or 'when he became *tarduš* (šad)'. In the following place, *täņrikān* gives the title of šad to *Eletmiş yabyu*, i.e. *Duoxifu*. On the basis of Chinese chronicles, it was *Qaγan qaγan* who gave the title of šad to *Duoxifu* in 699. Thus, *täņrikān* can be identified with *Mochuo*, Qaγan qaγan. According to the first translation, a man named *tarduš* can be *Mochuo* who became a ruler in 691, not *Moju* (later Bilgä qaγan). In the latter translation, he was *Moju* who became *tarduš šad* in 697. I cannot say which translation is better. At this point, I would like to translate

it literally as ‘the peoples of the western regions of the Qaγanate were organized’, but this means *tarduš šad* ‘(i.e. *Mochuo*) became a ruler’. This part can thus be dated to 691, when *Mochuo* became Qaγan qaγan (Sawada 1983a: 57–59).

The one who “yarlıqamış (commanded)” can be Qapan qaγan although it is also possible that this is “Täñri (God)” if we compare it with the phrase Täñri yarlıqaduqın üçün (KT-S: 9; BK-N: 11; T: 40; Tekin 1988: 4–5, 28–29; 1994: 16–17).

W-6: : toquz : oγuz : täg : yayı ärmiş : bedük ärmiş : qaγan : täg(miš)

Täg is carved as *T g* and it seems problematic because there is no dative suffix in the preceding word *oγuz*. If *täg* is a postposition, it requires a dative suffix *-qa/-a* in the preceding word. Clauson, Tekin and Sawada considered it to be a tribal name that cannot be attested in other Turkic inscriptions. At present, I would like to consider it to be a variant of a postposition *tägi* ‘up to’ as I mentioned above in the note of W-5.

This scene can be dated to the reign of Qaγan qaγan as I mentioned above. So this accident can be related to the campaigns against Tokuz Oγuz in the reign of Qaγan qaγan.

W-6: biz bädük biz : biz bat biz : biz : W-7: yabüz bat biz : azı üküšüg : körtüg :

This part of W-6 can be read only in Ramstedt’s rubbing and can be connected with the first part of the line W-7. This part can be divided as *biz bädük biz*, *biz bat biz*, *biz yabüz bat biz*, *azı üküšüg körtüg*. From this, we can read that Qaγan qaγan’s warriors were psychologically afraid of marching against the strong Touz Oγuz army because of their lack of warriors. But *Eletmiş yabγu* who had the title of *tölis šad* commanded them not to be afraid and marched to Tokuz Oγuz.

W-7: irti : sülätim : ter ermiş :

According to Clauson, the verb *ir-* means ‘to mope, feel lonely or bored’ (ED: 194a). I regard this verb as an expression of the Turkic peoples’ being despondent possibly because their army had few warriors. However, the subject of *sülätim* (I marched) can be *Eletmiş yabγu* and from this we can understand that he wanted to tell of his great contribution to his country.

W-7: amtī bağlärım a : ter ärmiş : biz az biz : teyin : alqonur : (ärtimiz) :

These addressing words can be also attested in the Orkhon inscription when Bilgä qaγan ascended to the throne in Ötükän yış in 716. Tekin regarded it as *matī* meaning ‘royal, faithful’ with a question mark (GOT: 355). But he also translated *amtī* as ‘now’ in KT-S: 3; KT-E: 9; BK-N: 2; GOT: 302. He also translated the same spelling *matī* as ‘royal, faithful’ in (BK-S: 13, 14), while he changed this word to *amtī* as ‘now’ in the same place (Tekin 1988: 54–55). In my view, *m t i* can be regarded as a part of

tölis yabyu's address to his soldiers who were despondent from marching, and I would like to regard it as the word *amtī*, meaning 'now'. The word *a* can be the interjection *a* (Tekin 2003: 161), not a dative suffix as stated by Radloff, Onogawa and others (ATIM 1895: 249; Onogawa 1950: 443). The word *alqon-* can be considered as a variant of the verb *alqin-* 'to use oneself up, exhaust oneself; to be used up, exhausted' (ED: 138b). In the context, this part indicates that Qapγan's army exhausted themselves on this campaign. In the next place, it is possible that three or four letters were carved but there is no evidence of what letters were inscribed. *Ārtimiz*, however, is to be expected.

W-7: : yoriγin : sü : sülāyin : W-8: qañim : š(ad) : anča : ötünmiš : täñrikän : almazın teyin :

This passage of W-7 can be attested only in Ramstedt's rubbing, and it is connected with the beginning part of the next W-8 line. *Qañim šad* (my father šad) indicates that the father of *Bilgä İšbara Tamγan Tarqan* has the title of *šad*. This situation supports the view that this incident can be dated to the reign of Qapγan qayan as I clarified in the note to W-6. This *täñrikän* can be Qapγan qayan.

W-8: bodun : anta bermäziñ ä : tusul är

This part can belong to *Duoxifu*'s saying. And the word *ä* following *bermäzin* is an interjection, not a dative suffix as other researchers have considered until now.

W-8: (atačim) a

Regarding *atačim*, I discussed this identification in connection with the first line of the horizontal inscription of the Ongi stele.

S-I: qamuq : balıqqa : (t)ägdım :

Clauson transliterated *Q M* / from Radloff's Atlas, and he interpreted the uncertain third letter as *L*, not as *uQ*, and read *qamul*; *hami* named 'yiwu 伊吾' **i-nguo* (MEC) (GSR : No. 604a, 58f) as an oasis country of Chinese Turkestan from the context (Clauson 1957: Pl. VI, 182, 186). However, from Ramstedt's rubbing we can read *Q m uQ*, which I could also confirm from Jadrincev's original rubbing at the Institute for Oriental Studies of Saint Petersburg in 2005. So this part should be read *qamuq* as a variant of *kamay* 'all' (ED: 627a). According to Clauson, the form *qamuq* with labial vowel attraction does, however, occur as early as the Turkic inscriptions. As to this sentence, I can assume that it can be considered as a historical fact that Turkic peoples went on warring campaigns against enemies in surrounding regions between *Kadırgan yış* 'the *Daxinanling* Mountains' in the East and *Tämir Qapıy* 'The Iron Gate' in the West. There were campaigns against the Tang Dynasty and the Qıryız as

mentioned in the Orkhon inscription (KT, BK, and T). *Eletmiš yabyu*, however, had the title of *tölis šad* with control over the Eastern territories of the Turkic Qaγanate, which suggests the possibility that he conquered Chinese cities.

S-1: qonuldım :

Regarding this verb, Radloff read *aqunladım* to mean ‘I attacked’, and Onogawa read *uqunladım* as ‘I plundered’ (Onogawa 1950: 443, 447, n. 15). In historical terms, I can remember an expression such as *ötükän yerig konmıš* (‘they settled down in the Ötükän country’) (T: 17; ED: 632b). This description tells us that the Turkic army occupied the north or northwestern regions under the Tang Dynasty and laid siege to all the cities of these regions, as I mentioned in the note on the same line of the Ongi stele.

S-1: mäs : ärinč : išig küçig bert(im) S-2: ekin ara : täg yayı : bolmıš : tägmäci teyin : saqıntım :

This part of S-1 can be read in Ramstedt’s rubbing, and it is connected with the beginning of line S-2. In this, the one that “served” can be the writer of this stele, *Bilgä İšbara Tamyan Tarqan*. He is written with a pronoun suffix of the first singular *-m*. The one whom he served can be Bilgä Qaγan, the son of Elteriš Qaγan. This can be suggested by the context of the next lines. The word *Tg* is regarded as the variant *täg* of the postposition *tägi* (‘up to’) as in line W-5.

S-2: täñri bilgä : qaγanqa :

Täñri Bilgä Qaγan can be the elder son of Elteriš qaγan, Muju, Bilgä Qaγan as Onogawa and Bazin considered (Onogawa 1950: 438–439; Bazin 1991: 153). Bilgä Qaγan was indeed recorded as *Täñri Bilgä Qaγan*, as Dobrovits points out (Dobrovits 2000: 150). In this inscription, however, as *Täñrikän* can be suggested as the epithet for Elteriš Qaγan, it is possible that the title *Täñri* is used as the epithet for Bilgä Qaγan who was the son of Elteriš Qaγan as an honorific title (Onogawa 1950: 438). In my view, the epithet *täñri* is a shortened expression of *täñri tä : täñridä bolmıš : türük bilgä qaγan* (BK-N: 1; Tekin 1988: 28–29).

S-2: ančaqıñ : išig küçüg : bersäğim : bar ärmıš : ärinč :

The adverb *ančaqıñ* can be read in Ramstedt’s rubbing. I would like to express my gratitude to my Japanese colleague Kousetsu Suzuki who advised me of the possibility of this word in 2005. It means ‘a very little’ (ED: 175a). Until now, everyone have read *anča* ‘like this’ since Radloff (ATIM 1895: 250–251). This reading makes the unresolved meaning of *bärsigim bar* clear (Ōsawa 1999a: 135–136). Erdal considered *bärsigim* impossible from the viewpoint of Turkic grammar, because this form can

be attested in an Old Uigur document (OTWF: 527, n. 147). In general terms, this sentence expresses with hesitation that *Bilgä İšbara Tamyan Tarqan* intends to join the army of Bilgä Qayan, because *Eletmiş Yabyu* who was the father of *Bilgä İšbara Tamyan Tarqan*, the builder of the Ongi site and stele was killed by Köl Tigin, the younger brother of Bilgä Qayan in June 716. However, he finally decided to go on a campaign on the side of Bilgä Qayan's army. From this, we can understand that he was in a complex political condition under Bilgä Qayan.

S-2: äbimä tägdüküm : urlï qanli : adrïmalim : täyin : qayanda : adrïmalim : teyin : tägdim.

This part can be read in Ramstedt's rubbing and is connected with *tägiþ* : *inima oylïma* : *anča ötlädim* of S-3. The *-li* of *urlï qanli* is regarded as the coordinating conjunctive suffix *-li* 'with, and' (GOT: 124). We can confirm the same from examples such as *ini-li äči-li* 'younger and elder brothers' (KT-E: 6), *bägli bodunliþ* 'the lords and people' (KT-E: 6), *toruq buqa-li sämiz buqa-li* 'lean bulls and fat bulls' (T: 5), *tün-li kün-li* 'night and day' (BK-SE). This means that *urlï qanli* can be literally interpreted as 'son and father'. But as I stated, the father of the writer *İšbara Tamyan Tarqan* had already died, and this *qanli* can be understood as meaning 'the people of the father's generation'. Furthermore, *urlï* is also understood as 'the people of the son's generation' belonging to his family.

It is also noteworthy that the last letter a of the word *qayanda* is in the last position in S-3, and the following phrase *adrïmalim : teyin : tägdim* goes from the right to the left and then reaching the left margin in S-4. Reaching the left margin of the surface, the row of letters curves upwards, making a complete about-turn and running eventually in the opposite direction and turning the letters upside down. In my view, this part narrates that when *İšbara Tamyan Tarqan* returned to his camp along the Ongi River, he requested his companions and his father's companions to join the side of Bilgä Qayan's army.

S-3: qan yoriþ : elteriþ qayanqa : adrïmaduq : yañïmaduq :

This part is related to the historical contribution of *Bilgä İšbara Tamyan Tarqan*'s father *Elteriþ yabyu* to the construction of the Second Turkic Qayanate under Qutluþ, Elteriþ Qayan. This part also indicates that this builder, *Bilgä İšbara Tamyan Tarqan*, wanted to maintain a political position in the Bilgä Qayan's government.

S-3: täñri bilgä : qayanta : adrïmalim : azmalim : teyin : anča : ötlädim :

Täñri Bilgä Qayan can be Bilgä Qayan (716–734 AD) as I mentioned above in the note to S-2. This sentence tells us that *İšbara Tamyan Tarqan* advised his family to follow Bilgä Qayan and to guard his political position.

S-3: ilgärü barıyma : bardı : bilgä qaγan : bodunı

This part can be first read in our rubbing of the large fragment of the Ongi stele that is kept at Osaka University (Ōsawa 1999a: 136). This reading can also be confirmed in Ramstedt's rubbing.

S-3: : bardı : ölügin : atqa : işig küçig : bertim : adrılmaz : teyin : tägdım

This part can be read only in Ramstedt's rubbing, and it explains that the builder of this stele also served Bilgä Qaγan to guard his political position. The expression *ölügin atqa*, meaning literally 'to die, for his fame', tells that the writer of this stele *Bilgä İšbara Tamγan Tarqan* served Tängri Bilgä Qaγan to defend his political stand, and he went to the front prepared to die. This phrase can be compared with the expression *ölü yitü* 'ölesiye yitesiye çalıştım' (KT-E: 27; Tekin 1988: 14).

S-3: adrılmaz : teyin : tägdım

This part is reversely carved, i.e. differently from the normal order of runic letters, in the following order from left to right and joining the former sentence in the last circular corner as in *m d g t : n y t : z m L R D : .* This is to be read in reverse order as *D R L m z : t y n : t g d m.*

S-4: üzä : täñri : qan : lüi : yılqa : yetinç : ay : küçlüg : alp är : qaγanımda : adrılı : bardıñız :

Regarding *üzä täñri qan*, as Onogawa (1950: 439) analysed, *täñri qan* should be identified as the subject shown in the verbal suffix of the second person plural *-iñiz* of the verb *adrılı bardıñız*, that is, *Eletmiş yabγu*. As I mentioned and as far as we know, *Duoxifu* named *Eletmiş yabγu* did not become *qaγan*. Accordingly, this verbal suffix *-iñiz* should be interpreted as a respectful expression referring to his father *Eletmiş yabγu* by the writer of the stele. From this we know that *Eletmiş yabγu* was also addressed with *Täñri Qan* as a title of respect. The same use of *qan/qaγan* can be confirmed as *bäñigü qaγanım* in the 2–3rd lines and *bilgä külüg är ädgü qan* in the 5–6th lines.¹³

Concerning *lüi yılqa* which have been regarded as uncertain words by Clauson, these letters are, however, evidently read in Ramstedt's rubbing and Jadrincev's original rubbing conserved in St. Petersburg. The word *lüi* from the Chinese character 龍

13 The words *üzä täñri qan* were considered by Sawada to mean 'To the sky where Tängri Qan lived', and he also interpreted *Täñri Qan* as term of *Täñrikän*. He considered the verbal suffix *-iñiz* as a plural form, i.e., he interpreted that these peoples were the Turkic peoples following the *Duoxifu*'s son's family that became the enemy forces of Bilgä Qaγan. This, however, should be not interpreted in such a complex manner as suggested by Sawada. This passage should be read more simply as '*Eletmiş yabγu* died in the reign of *Bilgä Qaγan*'.

long, **liwong* in MEC (GSR: No. 1193a) means ‘dragon’, which is featured in the traditional Chinese calendar. This term is also recorded as *W L W Yi l iQ* (*ulu yilqa*) in the Terkh inscription (W-2) of the Old Uigur Qayanate. On this part of the Ongi stele, Bazylxan read it as *ülüi* (Bazylxan 2005: 57, n. 112), but there is no letter *ü* in this stele. It is therefore to be read literally as *lūi yilqa*. With regard to history, I can definitely say that *Eletmiš yabyu*, the father of *Bilgä İšbara Tamyan Tarqan* who was the writer of this stele died in June of the Year of the Dragon (AD 716) when Köl Tigin launched a coup d’état against the successor, İnäl Qayan, the son of *Mochuo*, Qapyan Qayan and his relatives as assumed by Radloff, Marquart, Onogawa and Sawada (ATIM 1899: IX; Marquart 1898: 38; Onogawa 1950: 438; Sawada 1983a: 68–69), although Bazylxan considered the “Year of the Dragon” to have been 703 between 681 and 716. As to *är* in *küčlüg alp är qayan*, this letter can only be read in Ramstedt’s rubbing. This qayan can be identified with *Bilgä Qayan* whom *İšbara Tamyan Tarqan* served after the death of his father *Eletmiš yabyu*.

S-4: bilgä : atačim : yoyuñ : qorıyınñin : qazyantim : el yetti :

This passage can be read only in Ramstedt’s rubbing. It indicates that the son, *İšbara Tamyan Tarqan* held a funeral ceremony, received his father’s territory, and organized his camp. It indicates that *İšbara Tamyan Tarqan* was publicly admitted as the legitimate successor of his father *Eletmiš yabyu*.

S-4: täñri : üzä : täñrikän : tabyač : körür : ärti :

This part can be read only in Ramstedt’s rubbing, and *täñri : üzä : täñrikän* can be identified as Qutluğ, Elteriš Qayan as mentioned above. This part indicates that around AD 686–687 in the reign of the father of *Bilgä Qayan*, Turkic peoples could be independent of the Tang dynasty.

S-4: (tabya)č körür : ärtim : ädgü : atačim :

This part can be read only in Ramstedt’s rubbing. It indicates that *Bilgä İšbara Tamyan Tarqan* under the rule of *Bilgä Qayan* engaged in a warring campaign against Northern China although it seems that there is no record of battles between Turks and the Tang Dynasty in Old Chinese chronicles. Here, the son *İšbara Tamyan Tarqan* held the territory of his father, *Eletmiš yabyu*, and kept his *ordu* near the Ongi Steppe in southern Mongolia.

E-2: toqädimiz : äčim boyla :

As is well known, the word *äči* means junior paternal uncle or elder brother, and *Boyla* is a high officer’s title of the Turkic Qayanate. For example, we can remember the title *Boyla Baya Tarqan* that Tunyukuk had in the last period of his life as mentioned in

BK-S 14; T. 6 (Tekin 1988: 54–55; Tekin 1994: 4–5) and *Boyla Qutluγ Yaryan* in the second line of the Suji inscription (Mori 1992: 158, 162). This part may indicate that his uncle or his elder brother was a high officer bearing the title of *Boyla*.

E-3: basatip ārig : udušuru : sančdīm :

This phrase reminds us of the scene of a warrior and it can be supported by the sentences such as *bir ārig oqun urti : eki : ārig udušuru sančti* (he shot one man with an arrow and speared two men sending them one after the other) in KT-E: 36; KT-N: 2. In the transcription of *W D š R W*, I follow Clauson, although T. Tekin transcribed this word as *udš(u)ru* (Tekin 1988: 82, n. 99; ED: 73b).

E-5: n : tǎg : ĩšbara : tarqanĭγ :

The first element *-n* can be an animal name such as *arslan*, *yılan* that symbolizes bravery and manliness because after the postpositional term *tǎg* (‘like’), a high-ranking officer *Ĭšbara Tarqan* is mentioned. Accordingly, *///n tǎg* should be an adjective modifier of a man having the title *Ĭšbara Tarqan*. As mentioned above, this title can be identified with a young son having the formal title *Bilgä Ĭšbara Tamγan Tarqan* of *Eletmiš yabyu* in W-4 of this inscription. This person can be also identified as having constructed the site and as a person having the title *Ĭšbara tarqan* in the 11th *balbal* stone of this site, with the short phrase *Bilgä Ĭšbara Tarqan balbalĭ* and a couple of *tamγa* designs of a ram and a snake (Ōsawa 1999b: 278–282).

E-8: elteriš : qaγan :

This name can be *Qutluγ, Elteriš qaγan* of the Second Turkic Qaγanate, but the title is also an element of the title of *Qaγan elteriš qaγan* in W-4. If so, *elteriš Qaγan* may be a title of *Mochuo hehan* 默啜 **muək, *tš^hyat* in LMC (Pulleyblank 1991: 218, 63).

Notes concerning the horizontal lines on the south side of the headstone

(I) atačīmqa :

The word *atačīm* can be confirmed in W-8 and W-4. Radloff read it as the proper name *Tačam* (ATIM 1895: 252), but A. V. Gabain has suggested a new reading (Gabain 1953: 543). Clauson, Tekin and others accepted her view (Clauson 1957: 187; GOT: 256), although Bold read the word as *atačīm*. Gabain’s view can resolve the relationship between *Eletmiš yabyu* and *atačīm* as the same person, and this reading can be supported by the historical situation and relationship between the father (*Eletmiš yabyu*) and his second son (*Bilgä Ĭšbara Tamγan Tarqan*) in this runic text. Briefly put, in W-4 *atačīm* was an expression with which the writer addressed his father (*Eletmiš yabyu*), and the Ongi site was constructed to honour his father by his younger son

Bilgä İšbara Tamyan Tarqan. Moreover, as I mentioned above, *Bilgä İšbara Tamyan Tarqan* had the runic inscription of *İšbara tarqan balbalı* carved in the twelfth line of balbal stones of this site. This balbal stone had a tamya consisting of a ram and a snake that is same as the one on the headstone. This indicates that he belonged to the *Eletmiš yabyu* family of the Ashina's tribe (Ōsawa 1999c: 278–282).

(2) bāṅigü

As is well known, with reference to the Orkhon Turkic form *b ṡ g ü* in the Orkhon inscription (KT-S: 8, 11, 12, 13; BK-N: 6, 8, 15; Tekin 1988: 4–7, 30–35), there is no similar example of evidence of the letter *i* between *ṡ* and *g* that can be confirmed from the rubbings of either Ramstedt or Jadrincev. However, from the Manichean documents of the Qočo Uigur period we can confirm that *māṅigü* ‘vechnyj (eternal)’ (cf. DT: 342a) can be considered as a variant of *bāṅigü*. I cannot say, however, why this spelling was carved in this stele, and it may also be a mistaken spelling. As well known, there is form *b ṡ k ü* (*bāṅkü*) that was a variant of *bāṅgü* in the Sulek inscription of Khakassia, and in the old Turkic epitaphs of the upper and middle regions of the Yenisei Basin (E20–1; E48–14, 15; E48–9, E27–8; cf. Kormuşin 1997: 285; 2008: 318). In addition, *b ṡ ü* (*bāṅü*) is also attested in the Yenisei inscription (E42, 3; E30, 2; Kormuşin 1997: 285; 318).¹⁴ In my view, Old Turkic peoples did not have the same orthography. Turkic spelling reflects the local pronunciation and dialects at that time. This form can be considered such an example.

(3) qayanım :

This word can be confirmed in both Ramstedt's rubbing and Jadrincev's original rubbing in Saint Petersburg. It seems strange that Douxifu was addressed as *qayan* although there is no record as such that he became *qayan*. This should therefore be regarded as unusual usage. In my view, it is worth noting that the term *tāṅri qan* can be used as a respectful expression on the part of his son as I mentioned in connection with S-4. In this case, we should understand that this term was written for the dead father in honour of whom this stele was erected. In my view, *qayan* and *qan* were respectful expressions denoting the same amount of significance. As stated by M. Mori, since the middle of the 7th century, there were very few leaders that had the title “lesser qayan” in the Turkic Qayanate, which can be explained by the fact that political matters were centralized under a great qayan at that time. So the title of *šad* was used in the place of “little qayan” (Mori 1967: 274–277, 374–379). Accordingly, *qayanım* cannot show that he became a qayan as a matter of fact. Instead, this should be the respectful expression referring to his dead father.

14 Regarding this variety, my colleague Hiroaki Fujiie of Osaka University has remarked that today's Karachay pronounce an unnoticed sound *g* between *bāṅ* and *ü* although they recognize the form *bāṅü* at the phonological level. From this, Fujiie supposes that this may be caused by the difference between phonology and pronunciation.

(4)–(5) *lū yīlqa* :

This year can be attested with the expression *lūi yīlqa* (the Year of the Dragon) of S-4. Previously, Clauson assumed that the man buried at this site died in *Qon yīlqa* (the Year of the Sheep). I cannot, however, read the letters such as *Q ny* in the main text or the additional text of Ramstedt's rubbing and Jadrincev's original rubbing conserved in St. Petersburg. As a result, we cannot accept the date of construction of this stele that Clauson insisted on (Clauson 1957: Pl. VI, 183).

7. Conclusions

From philological points of view, these runic texts of the Ongi stele can be generally described as follows.

7.1. Arrangement of the contents in text

(W-1) Yama qayan establishing the First Turkic Qayanate, his successful campaigns in the four directions and the ruin of his country after his death (552–630).

(W-2) Deserting their qayan, Turkic aristocratic people served the Tang Dynasty as warriors (630–679).

(W-3) The God Tängri addressed the Turkic peoples who had lost his own qayan and commanded them to be independent from the Tang Dynasty (679–681).

(W-4) The statement on family lineage of the writer *Bilgä İšbara Tamyan Tarqan*.

(W-5) The war against the Tang Dynasty under Elteriš qayan and participation in this war (682–691 AD).

(W-6) The granting of the title of *šad* for contributing to the campaigns in the reign of Qapyan qayan.

(W-7, 8) The father *Eletmiš yabyu*'s contribution to the campaigns against their enemies in weak condition during the reign of Qapyan qayan.

(S-1) *Eletmiš yabyu* and his younger son's participation in the campaign against "all cities" under the Tang Dynasty.

(S-2) The Bilgä Qayan's enthronement, and the writer's addressing his family to serve Tängri Bilgä Qayan, and hesitation to participate in campaigns under Bilgä Qayan.

(S-3) The writer commanding his sons and his younger brothers to join Bilgä Qayan's army.

(S-4) The death of *Eletmiš yabyu* and his funeral ceremony, and the succession of his son *Bilgä İšbara Tamyan Tarqan*.

(E-1~8) The writer commanding his son and younger brother to serve Tängri Bilgä Qayan and to strengthen his contribution to his country.

I can generally say that the Ongi text has many characteristic expressions as well as other Orkhon inscriptions (KT; BK, T and KČ). Similarities with other runic inscriptions indicate that this text was carved in the Second Turkic Qayanate.

7.2. The lineage of *Eletmiš yabyu* and the writer of this stele

As mentioned above, *Duoxifu* **Turs Bäg* named *Eletmiš yabyu* was the youngest brother of *Qutluy*, *Elteriš qayan* and *Mochuo*, *Qapyan qayan*. *Duoxifu* had two sons named *İšbara Tamyan Čor Yoğa* and his younger brother *Bilgä İšbara Tamyan Tarqan Yoğa*. The second man also had a son and a younger brother. The person for whom this stele was built can be *Duoxifu*, i.e. *Eletmiš yabyu*, and the writer of this stele can be his young son and successor *Bilgä İšbara Taman Tarqan*. Regarding *Bilgä İšbara Tamyan Tarqan Yoğa*, as I mentioned above, it is doubtful that he was the one who erected the eleventh balbal stone with the phrase *İšbara Tarqan* and a tamyas design consisting of ram and a snake sign. He could thus be named *İšbara Tarqan*. According to information from old Chinese sources, this named person can be identified with a high-ranking officer named under the *Bilgä Qayan* government as follows: on the date of *Boshin* (the 7th), July of the *Kaiyuan* 11th year (AD 723), Turkic ambassadors of 阿史那慧鉢達干 **’â-ṣ-nâ ṣiet-puat d’ât yân* in MEC¹⁵, that is, *İšbara Tarqan* of the Ashina’s clan and his 32 companions visited the Tang dynasty. The Tang government gave him the title of great general, and gave his companions the titles of general followers, and then the Tang dynasty let them return to their native country, i.e. the Turkic Qayanate.¹⁶ From this, we can know that *İšbara Tarqan* made *Bilgä Qayan* one of the elite members of higher-ranking officials in 727 AD. This attestation can support my following suggestion regarding the date of construction of the Ongi site and the age of the inscription.

7.3. Date of construction of this site and stele

Bazin first analysed this text from philological and other viewpoints, and created a hypothesis. According to him, the Turkic expressions of this text are almost attested in Orkhon Turkic (T: KČ, KT, and BK). The syntax has archaic features, permitting a date earlier than that of the Tunyukuk inscription (AD 725–726). From the contents of this text, the deceased of this stele was buried in the Year of the Sheep, as based on Clauson’s reading, i.e. AD 719 or 732. This text has many words of the God *Tängri* or the father *Eletmiš yabyu* advising his younger brother and sons to join with *Tängri Bilgä Qayan*, not to part from this qayan, and not to betray him. Bazin thought this reflected the killing of the son of *Qapyan qayan* and his intimate relatives by *Köl Tigin* in July 716. For these reasons, Bazin regarded that this stele was built in 719 (the Year

15 GSR: No. 1m, 975a, 350a, 411a, 275d, 271b, 157a. Concerning the reconstruction of this name, cf. Ōsawa 2010: 50–51.

16 In the original source, it is recorded as 開元十一（723 AD.）年七月戊辰条：突厥大首領阿史那慧鉢達干等三十二人來朝，授慧鉢達干大將，其屬並授郎將，放還蕃（‘On the *Boshin* of November in *Kaiyuan* periods, the great tribal leader of Tujü named *Ashina-Ishbar Tarqan* brought a tribute to the Tang dynasty with his thirty-two companions. Tang emperor gifted the title of General in chief to *Ishbara Tarqan* and the title of the general of palace horsemen to his attendants, and then the Emperor let them to go back to their country’.) (CFYG-974: 3875.)

of the Sheep) or in the following year (720) (Bazin 1991: 159–161). In Bazin’s view, as I mentioned above, “the Year of the Sheep” cannot be confirmed from Ramstedt’s and Jadrincev’s rubbings. This should be the “Lüi” year, whereby *Eletmiš yabyu* must have been buried in “the Year of the Dragon”. In the 8th century during the Second Turkic Qaγanate, the Dragon year could have been 704, 716, 728 or 740. In the contents of this stele, as Bazin pointed out, the text reflects the killing of the son of Qaγyan qaγan and his intimate relatives by Köl Tigin, making it possible that it was carved in 716, 728 or 740. As I mentioned above, from Chinese sources, it seems that Qaγyan qaγan’s younger brother *Eletmiš yabyu* was also killed by Köl Tigin, which can be supported by the description on this stele noting: “You (*Eletmiš yabyu*) went away from my strong and brave warrior and wise qaγan in the June of the Year of the Dragon (*lüi*)” (S-4). Accordingly “the Year of the Dragon” can suit the time of death, July 716, when the head of the dead Qaγyan qaγan was brought to the Tang Dynasty. From this, Köl Tigin’s coup d’état can be dated to May or June of 716, after Qaγyan qaγan’s death. Thus, *Eletmiš yabyu* also died in July as a result of the battle between the successors of Qaγyan (Inäl qaγan) and Qutluy (Köl Tigin). *Eletmiš yabyu*’s burial ceremony and funeral ceremony (*Yoy*) must then have been held in the month of July in 716 or 717. From this stele, however, we can confirm that *Bilgä İšbara Tamyan Tarqan* was “*Eletmiš yabyu*’s successor” serving with much hesitation Bilgä Qaγan who was an elder brother of Köl Tigin. He followed Bilgä Qaγan and went on campaign against the Tang Dynasty. This hesitation tells us that *Bilgä İšbara Tamyan tarqan* was suspected by Bilgä Qaγan’s relatives of serving Bilgä qaγan, because his father was killed by Köl Tigin in 716. He thus had to strengthen and emphasize his service to Bilgä Qaγan to defend his political position in the Second Turkic Qaγanate under Bilgä Qaγan. *İšbara Tamyan Tarqan* was then appointed as a high-ranking officer by Bilgä Qaγan as a result of serving the latter with loyalty. This meant that he could build the stele to honour his father in the reign of Bilgä Qaγan.

At present, I cannot find the key to resolve the date of building this stele, because we no longer know what was carved on the eastern and northern sides. The stele was carved from the western side, to the southern, eastern side and northern side, in the order W→S→E→N. From the viewpoint of the direction of lines, the Ongi text was carved from the bottom to the top on all sides. This writing method is different from that of the Tunyukuk inscription (ca. AD 725), Köl Tigin inscription (732), that is, W (Chinese) → S → E → N. From the viewpoint of the direction in which the line proceeds, the Ongi text can be read from the bottom to the upper part. This is similar to the Köl Tigin inscription (made in July 732). As a result, from a chronological viewpoint, the stele can be placed between the Tunyukuk inscription and Köl Tigin inscription, placing it in the periods from 726 to 732. This assumption can be supported by the contents of this stele referring to campaigns in the reign of Bilgä Qaγan (716–734). From the palaeographical viewpoint, the verbal suffix *-miš* consisted of the two letters of *m s* in *T*, not of *m š* as well as KT, BK. At present, in my view the Ongi stele can be dated to 725–732. The seven-line inscription of this headstone can be regarded as a supplementary inscription on this stele. There is also a supplement to the side of the tortoise stone of Köl Tigin’s stele and on the upper side of the western

(Chinese) side of the same stele. On the western and eastern sides of the headstone of this stele, there are a tamya design consisting of a ram and a snake. The figures of dragons of this headstone can be regarded as simplifications of those on the Köl Tigin and Bilgä Qayan steles, which can be evidently confirmed in the rubbings of Ramstedt and Jadrincev. This stele was also built on the tortoise stone like KT and BK. Dragon ornaments of the headstone and a tortoise stone could be used for the most high-ranking aristocratic people of the Turkic Qayanate (Ōsawa 1999a: 128; 2007a: 29–30). This symbol, however, has Chinese cultural influences, as the traditional stele of the Tang Dynasty was built for high-ranking officers or high-ranking warriors of the Tang emperors, never for the emperor himself. Regarding this difference, we can say that Turkic peoples created the new style of inscription for their Qayans and the most high-ranking aristocratic rulers of the Ashinas' royal family. As mentioned above, these features indicated that the man buried at the site can be attested to have been an aristocratic individual such as a qayan or qan of the Ashinas' royal family. This can be supported by the fact that *Duoxifu* named *Eletmiş yabyu* was called “qan” or “qayan” on this stele.

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Pauli RAHKONEN (Lahti)

Finno-Ugrian hydronyms of the River Volkhov and Luga catchment areas

The aim of the present work is to study by the means of onomastics the language of the ancient Chudes mentioned by Russian chroniclers. More precisely, the research concerns the Chudes that inhabited the Novgorod Land before their assimilation with Slavs. The previous view has been that the language belonged to the Finnic group. In this work, I have defined the boundaries of actual Finnic toponyms, examined the areal connection of the formants of hydronyms, the distribution of Chud toponyms and the names of large bodies of waters in the Pskov territory between Estonia and Novgorod. The results of onomastics are also compared with archaeological data. The basic conclusion is that the language of these Chudes was not Finnic.

I. Preface

This study primarily examines the hydronyms of the River Volkhov and Luga catchment areas in order to trace the ethnohistory of the region over the approximate period 400–1100 AD. In addition, hydronyms of the River Syas and Narva catchment areas have been examined to some extent. I have ruled out the later Slavic toponyms and concentrated on the material assumed to be Finno-Ugrian.

This work is part of a series of articles intended as my doctoral thesis. The first article, “The Linguistic Background of the Ancient Meshchera Tribe and Principal Areas of Settlement” was published in *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 60 (2009). In this article, the boundaries of the ancient settlements of the Meshchera tribe and their linguistic background was determined. My dissertation has the title *The South-Eastern Contact Field of the Finnic Languages*. Its goal is primarily to describe the linguistic relations of the Finnic and hitherto unknown, extinct Finno-Ugrian languages of the Upper Volga and Oka area and place them within the Uralic linguistic family.¹ Furthermore, I attempt to trace as far as possible the languages and settlements of the vanished and poorly researched Finno-Ugrian tribes of the Upper Volkhov and Luga area.

In the present article I concentrate on the linguistic connections between the Finnic populations and the Novgorodian Chudes mentioned frequently in the Russian chronicles. In Section 2, I present the topic of investigation and its history. Section 3, which deals with research methods, is rather long because the substrate toponyms are based on a language (or languages) now extinct, making the research more com-

¹ Finnic is the linguistic group consisting of Livonian, Estonian, Votic, Finnish, Karelian, Olonetsian, Lude and Veps. Finno-Ugrian refers to the Uralic languages with the exception of Samoyed, although this definition may not reflect the real history of the language family. Because I have followed Sammallahti's reconstructions of the Uralic proto-languages (1988) I have followed his terminology as well.

plicated. In Section 4 the research work consists of the transparently Finnic or otherwise possible Finnic hydronyms in Leningrad and Novgorod oblasts. In Section 5, I analyse the (topo)formants of the Finno-Ugrian hydronyms in Novgorod oblast. In Section 6, I examine the sounds <č> and <š> alien to Finnic languages, as well as Finno-Ugrian hydronyms in the research field displaying an initial <h> typical for Finnic.² In Section 7 I examine the ethnonyms. Finally, in Section 8 I, to some extent, examine the hydronyms of the Pskov area. The Pskov region is located between Southern Estonia and Novgorod. If Novgorodian Chudes can be connected with the southern Estonians, this should be visible in the toponyms of the Pskov region. My conclusions are presented in Section 9.

In my transcription of the toponyms, Russian names and words written in Cyrillic, I follow the definitions of the U.S. Board on Geographic Names (BGN) and the Permanent Committee on Geographic Names for British Official Use (PCGN) with the exception of such expressions whose spellings are widely in general use, e.g. Moscow. However, in some cases the Russian *ь* is marked with an apostrophe, if linguistic reasons demand it.

2. Research questions and research history

It is assumed that the enormous area between the Upper Volga and Lake Peipus was populated by Finno-Ugrian peoples until their russification in the Late Middle Ages. However, little attention has been given to the question of what languages were spoken in the area. Ethnohistorical debate has mainly been carried out by archaeologists. For this reason, there has been no deep linguistic analysis. Usually the research has been based only on the names of large bodies of water considered to be Finno-Ugrian, such as the lakes *oz. Ilmen* < **Ilmeŕ*, *oz. Seliger* < **Seriger* and the river *Msta* (e.g. Isakov 1985: 17; Uino 2006: 359; Mullonen 2002: 232–233). Sedov has defined the southern boundaries of Finno-Ugrian toponyms as running alongside the northern side of the river Daugava (~ Zapadnaya Dvina) from Livonia to the Kaluga region (Ryabinin 1997: 4, Fig. 1 according to Sedov; see Map 2).

Although not only Sedov, but also such scholars as Popov (1981) and Vasilyev (2005: 19) and others have noted the Finno-Ugrian layer of toponyms, I have not heard of any more precise analysis that would define to which Finno-Ugrian linguistic group the toponyms should belong. Russian scholars are understandably interested primarily in Slavic migrations, slavization and the toponyms connected with these. Vasilyev (2005) has written quite widely on ancient Slavic toponyms. Important Russian publications include Popov's *Iz istorii finno-ugorskikh narodnostey SSSR* (1947), Sedov's article "Etnicheskiy sostav naseleniya Novgorodskoy zemli" in the book *Finno-Ugry i Slavyane* (1979), Tretyakov's *Finno-Ugry, Balty i Slavyane na Dnepre i Volge* (1966) and Ageyeva's *Gidronimiya Russkogo Severo-Zapada kak istochnik kulturno-*

2 For example, in the Karelian branch of Finnic the sound *š* exists, but it is secondary (**s* > *š*).

istoricheskoy informatsii (1989). In Finnish circles, no thorough study of Finno-Ugrian substrate toponyms in the area has been performed until now. There has existed a general assumption that the Chudes belonged to the Finnic linguistic group and lived east of Lake Peipus on the upper reaches of the rivers Luga and Volkhov, mostly in the area of modern Novgorod oblast. This idea is based on ancient Russian chronicles and interpretations of archaeological data (Grünthal 1997: 150–171 and attached literature).

In this study I have, utilizing the discipline of onomastics, endeavoured especially to trace the more exact linguistic background of the Finno-Ugrian population that named the bodies of waters in this area. I thus shall debate whether the toponyms confirm a Finnic origin for the Novgorodian Chudes as claimed in earlier literature, or if they do not, which geographical direction the lexical and structural content of the toponyms refers to. As I have already emphasized, the claim that the Chudes were a Finnic tribe has been based practically upon only the three hydronyms *Ilmen*, *Seliger* and *Msta*. From the point of view of archaeology, the claim has been supported by the assumption that the ethnic background of the Long Barrow Culture was Finnic.

2.1. Chudes in the research frame

Previous ethnohistorical research on the Novgorodian Land has concentrated especially on the Chudes mentioned in the ancient Russian chronicles.³ Riho Grünthal (1997: 151, 161) has argued that the ethnonym *Chud(e)* spread from the original Novgorodian area towards the north. He remarks that the essential problem in tracking down the origin of the Chudes is the poor knowledge of the ethnic history of the area around the lakes Chudskoye ozero ~ Peipus and Ilmen. No doubt, these are noteworthy points when solving the problem. The portion concerning the Chudes in Grünthal's book is an extraordinary summary of the research published up to the time he wrote it.

Ryabinin, in turn, writes of the contacts between the Chudes and Slavs, looking at the question from a remarkably wider geographical perspective. Ryabinin (1997: 9–15) principally represents the Russian scientific discussion of the 20th century. His conclusion is that almost all of the Finno-Ugrian nations that the Slavs encountered when moving northwards were ultimately called Chudes (ibid. 1997: 9, footnote). Janne Saarikivi has reported of traditions in the River Pinega region in Arkhangelsk oblast and claims the present population to be partly descendants of the Chudes. There exist people who even today consider themselves to be Chudes (Saarikivi, personal information). Supposedly, in that area they may be the descendants of the so-called “Chudes behind the neck of land” [Russian *заволочские чуди*], though the chronicles distinguish these from other Chudes (Lihatshov 1994: 10; PSRL 1965). Several Finnic tribes have been suggested to be the Chudes: Vote (Jaakkola 1935; Mägiste

3 There are numerous mentions of the Chudes also in the folklore of different districts and ethnic groups. Due to a lack of space, I have not broached this subject in the present article.

1954; Itkonen 1961), Veps (Bubrikh 1947), Estonians (Ariste 1962) or some unknown Finnic group (Moora 1956). Some support can be found for each of these explanations. Therefore, in this study I have used the term “Novgorodian Chudes” in order to specify precisely those Chudes who lived mainly in the upper reaches of the River Volkhov and Luga catchment area and were mentioned in the early chronicles.

2.2. Finnic anthroponyms of the Novgorodian Birchbark Documents

According to Saarikivi (2007: 243–244), the Finnic anthroponyms of the Novgorodian Birchbark Documents mainly resemble the medieval names in the Karelian Isthmus and Ingria. It is important to note that the anthroponyms of these birchbark documents have almost no connection with Estonian names. If the Chudes really were linguistically linked with the Estonians, some similarity would be expected. It is also noteworthy that in the oldest stratum of the documents (ca 1000–1125 AD), no Finnic anthroponyms are found at all (*ibid.* 2007: 241). This stratum, however, is numerically small, but it may still give a hint that the Novgorodian Chudes were not necessarily a Finnic tribe. The argument presented by Grünthal (1997: 154), that the oldest Novgorodian administrative language does not mention either the Land of the Chudes or the Chudes as a nation, is most natural if the territory of Novgorod itself was the “Land of the Chudes”. One must bear in mind that in the birchbark documents, the ethnonym in question is frequently represented (Janne Saarikivi, personal information).

2.3. Archaeology of Novgorod, Leningrad and Pskov oblasts

Archaeologists have also studied the Finno-Ugrian ethnohistory of the area to some extent. Uino and Yushkova have written of the so-called Volkhov Culture (ca 700–400 BC). The population of this culture has been understood as a group that spoke Proto-Finnic (Yushkova 2006: 140–141; Uino 2006: 362). Ryabinin, in turn, has tried to determine the boundaries of the ancient Vot and Ingrian settlements during the Medieval Ages (Ryabinin 1997: 4, Fig. 1 and 62, Fig. 18). The border of their settlement area has followed a line from the Lower Luga to the River Tigoda. The northern boundary of the Long Barrow Culture is located slightly south of it. The southern boundary of transparently Finnic hydronyms (see Section 4) is also placed rather close to these lines. (See Map 1.)

When studying the history of the Chudes by utilizing archaeological methods, there exists a fundamental disagreement: what possibilities does archaeology, as a scientific discipline, have to examine linguistic groups?⁴ This question has produced

4 It is not possible to treat such a wide and controversial subject in greater detail here. I shall only state that any language and certain features of a local material culture together usually form ethnic identities. The research challenge of archaeology is its ability to define as reliably as possible what kind of archaeological material really can serve as an ethnic marker. Such material can supposedly be found.

several schools of thought. For example, Andres Tvauri (2007) has maintained a critical attitude towards combining archaeological data with linguistic or ethnic groups. A problem remains, however. What should the geographical area and the timeframe of the study be? Given that the earliest references to the Chudes of the chronicles are connected with the Pskov and Novgorod regions, it seems reasonable to start from there. The best starting point of the timeframe might be the earliest contacts between the Slavs and the Finnic tribes or the Chudes. These supposedly occurred around 400 AD (Kallio 2006: 157). After 1050 AD the chronicles cease to mention the Chudes. It is possible that the reason for no further mention of the Chudes after this date was a change in the structure of the Russian state itself. Russia changed from a federal union of various tribes to a coherent, Christian state and the whole population was simply called Russians.

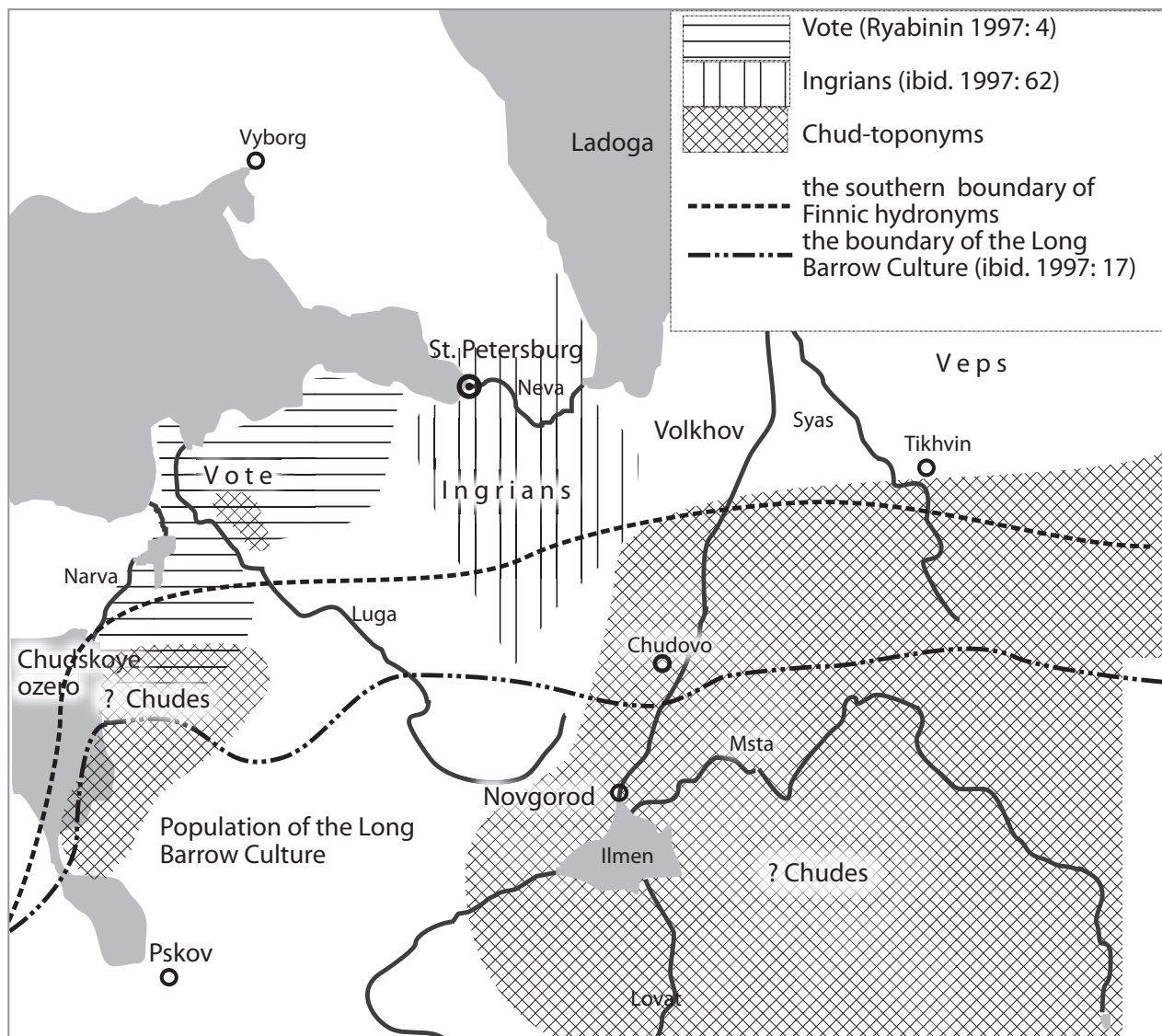
2.3.1. The Long Barrow Culture

There has been heavy disagreement about the ethnic background of the so-called long barrows (*kurgans*) and *sopka* graves.⁵ The former are found in the Pskov–Novgorod–Smolensk–River Mologa area (Tvauri 2007 and attached literature; see Map 2). The earliest findings (5th century AD) have been excavated especially in the Pskov region (Tvauri 2007: 253). Very early material of the Long Barrow Culture (5th century AD) is also found in the River Mologa area, in the Upper Volga as reported by Yushkova (2006: 145). Long barrows have also been found in Smolensk region in the Upper Dnieper, in the Polotsk area in the Upper Daugava and in East Latvia (Tvauri 2007: 261, 247). Laul (1973: 101) has linked the Pskovian long barrows with the Chudes he thought to be Finnic. In early Russian research, this culture was thought to be connected with the migration of the Slavic Kriviches (Chernyagin 1941; Tretyakov 1953; Tarakanova 1950; Sedov 1960).

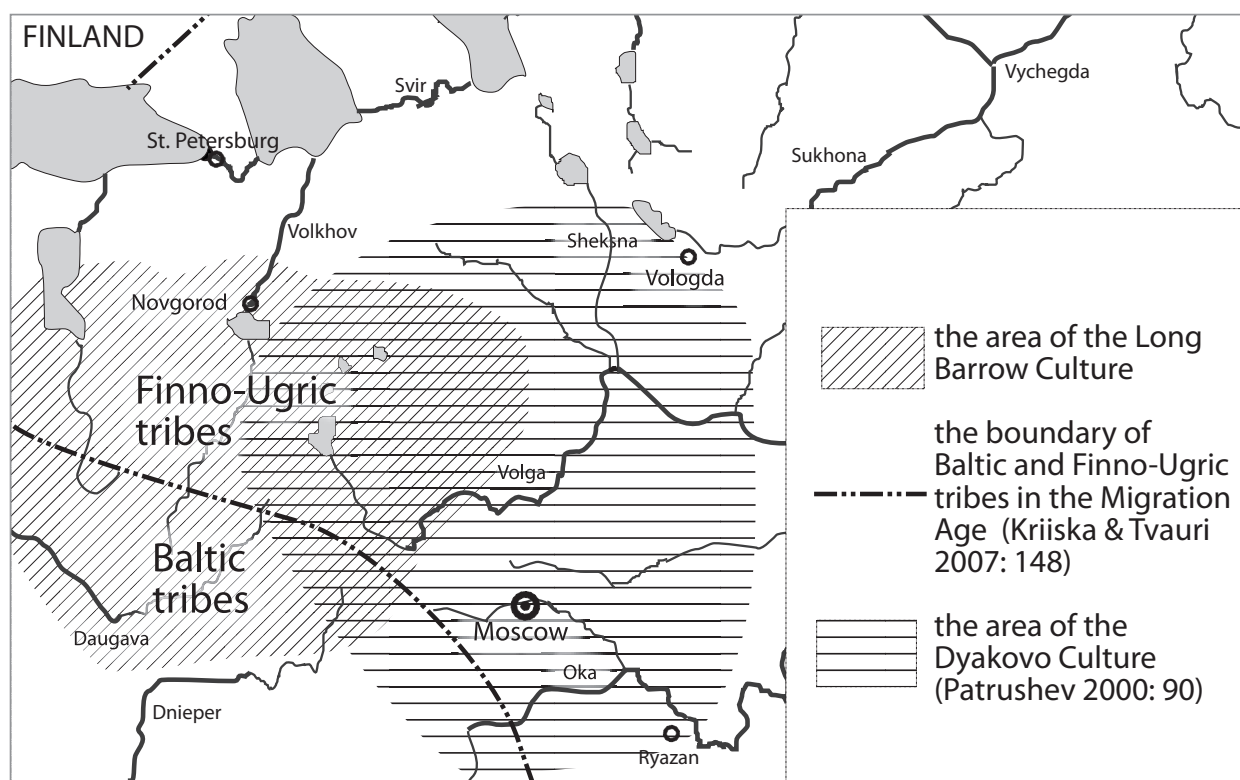
Some researchers have been prepared to connect the origin of the Long Barrow Culture with Baltic tribes (Lyapushkin 1966: 130–131; 1968: 20–22; Spitsyn 1903; Gote 1930; see also Yushkova 2006: 146 and attached literature). The Long Barrow Culture seemingly spread to the Polotsk and Smolensk regions and further to the River Mologa via the River Daugava. Balts lived east of their present areas as far as the Moscow region at least as late as the 11th century AD. The Primary Chronicle, or *Povest vremennykh let* [PVL] tells of a tribe called *Golyad* [~ *East Galindies*] (Lihatshov 1994: 105). Kriiska and Tvauri (2007: 148) present a map where, in their opinion, the area of the Balts reached the town of Kaluga on the River Oka (Map 4) during the Age of Migrations (5th–7th centuries AD). The boundary between the Balts and the Finno-Ugrians runs in their map accordingly with the above-mentioned presentation of Sedov. The Baltic area also included the environs of Polotsk and Smolensk, towns which were founded later. Long barrows are found in these particular areas.

5 The question of the *sopka* graves is so controversial that there is no possibility to treat this subject in this article.

The only Baltic tribe that lived on the northern side of the River Daugava were the Latgalians. Kriiska and Tvauri (2007: 193) report that after the Age of Migrations (5th–6th centuries AD) they settled down in ancient Finno-Ugrian land and preserved much of Livonian and South Estonian culture among themselves. Machinskiy regards the Long Barrow Culture as originating from Baltic tribes. According to him, the area later became Finnic (Machinskiy 1990: 116–119). Slavs undoubtedly began to move to the area of the Long Barrow Culture in the beginning of the second half of the first millennium at the latest.



Map 1. The medieval ethnographic situation of Finno-Ugrian tribes in Leningrad, Pskov and Novgorod oblasts (featuring Ryabinin 1997: 4, Fig. 1 and 62, Fig. 18). The principal area of the Chud-toponyms and the southern boundary of Finnic hydronyms (see also Map 11).



Map 2. The boundary of Finno-Ugrian and Baltic tribes in the Age of Migrations (Kriiska & Tvauri 2007: 148).

2.3.2. Dyakovo Culture (9th century BC–7th century AD)

Many archaeologists consider the areas west of Moscow to have been settled by both Baltic and Finno-Ugrian tribes during the Late Dyakovo Culture (3th–7th centuries AD) and the Long Barrow Culture (5th–10th centuries AD) (see Ryabinin 1997: 151 and attached literature). Already in the Early Iron Age, the Dnieper-Dvina Culture (called *днепродвинская культура* in Russian) had regional characteristic features. In the western area, the material of the Scratched Surface Ceramics typical in Baltic countries was more influential, and in the Upper Daugava there was more prominent influence of the Textile Ceramics and Dyakovo Culture, which are usually considered Finno-Ugrian (Yemifinova 2001:25–27; Korotkevich 2001: 28–29). In the archaeological site of Yabara close to Pskov, long barrows are found with objects that, according to Mikhaylova (2001: 39), show intensive interaction between the Long Barrow Culture and the Late Dyakovo Culture. Tvauri (2007: 252–254) also writes about the connection of the archaeological material of excavations in Pskov Castle with the Dyakovo Culture. However, the Dyakovo Culture (see Maps 2 and 12), is problematic because the definition of its boundaries is difficult. In the literature there exists

a minimalistic, Moscow-centric view (e.g. Rozenfeldt 1974, Fig. 48) or a wider view that includes the Upper Volga and Oka area (e.g. Patrushev 2000: 90; Makarov 1999: 55; Tretyakov 1966: 145–153; Goryunova 1967: 75). If the wider view is correct, a considerable part of the Novgorodian Chudes most likely lived under the influence of the Upper-Volgaic Late Dyakovo Culture.

2.3.3. Medieval Novgorod

The earliest archaeological material of the site of Ryurikovo, the predecessor of Novgorod, has been dated to around 850 AD and the earliest material of Novgorod itself to around 925–950 AD (Uino 2006: 356). There existed a suburb called *Nerev|skiy konets* and a street called *Chudintsevaya ulitsa* in the late medieval Novgorod (ibid. 2006: 368).⁶ In the Upper Volga area, the corresponding toponyms with *Nerevskiy* < **ner(e)* ~ **mer(e)* are linked to the Meryans (Ahlqvist 1999: 627).

Pendants with horse and bird motifs are found in the suburb of Nerevskiy Konets. They were manufactured in the 13th and 14th centuries, and are commonly thought to have been made by Chudes (Uino 1997: 191, Fig. 6:14.). Altogether at least 64 horse-motif pendants have been found (ibid. 1997: 192 reference to Sedova 1981: 28–34; Ryabinin 1981). The motifs of horses and birds are very common in the Finno-Ugrian cultures of the Oka and Upper Volga area. A figure of a horse-shaped pendant presented by Ryabinin (1997: 182, Fig. 47, object 10) can be taken as an example. This pendant was found in the Uglich region of the Upper Volga area, close to the site called *Chudskoy Stan*.⁷ It belongs to the group V according to the classification of Ryabinin, as do the Novgorodian pendants as well. The Uglich pendant belongs to the type XIX, but the Novgorodian pendants belong to type XX (Ryabinin 1981: Katalog nakhodok, numbers 639–642).

According to Ryabinin, the Uglich-type horse pendants have been found especially in the Kostroma Volga and on the isthmus between Lake Ladoga and Onega. Horse pendants of the Novgorodian type have been found also in the north-west corner of the Novgorodian Land (Ryabinin 1997: 49, Fig. 13.). It is noteworthy that the type represented by the Uglich pendant is not common in the Meryan core areas. Accordingly, Ryabinin (1997: 189–181) assumes these findings to have been made by some subgroup, different from the actual Meryans. Proper Meryan horse-pendants represent the type XVII (according to Ryabinin) and are found especially in the vicinity of the River Nerl [of the Klyazma catchment area] as well as in the surroundings of the town of Murom (Makarov 2006: 277). Thus, *Nerevskiy Konets* and *Chudintsevaya ulitsa* may, indeed, be connected with the Chudes, who in that case continued the tradition of the Upper-Volgaic art of horse-shaped pendants in Novgorod as late as the 14th century AD.

6 From an anthroponym *Chudin* ‘a Chude’.

7 *Stan* was an old Russian administrative term.

2.4. The old Russian chronicles

The ancient Russian chronicles describe many ethnic groups, e.g. Chudes, Meryans, Muromas, etc. When I have discussed these with specialists of various disciplines, they have expressed many doubts concerning the reliability of the ethnographic picture drawn by the chronicles. It seems to me very curious that the mention given by the *Povest vremennykh let* (PVL) of Mordvins, Cheremis, Livonians, Kurians and Zhemgalians are taken as reliable, but the mentions of Chudes and Meryans have been questioned only because they have no continuous presence up to modern times. Of course the PVL, like most ancient chronicles in general, is biased when describing e.g. the higher morals of the Polyans compared with other ethnic groups (Lind 2006: 257). Nonetheless, the description of the ethnic groups seems reliable because these groups are presented in the correct geographical order. Peoples who paid taxes to the Russian state are mentioned in the following order: [Novgorod–Tver–Belozero area]:⁸ *чудь, весь* || [Volga–Oka area]: *меря, мурома, черемись, мордва* || [north-eastern area]: *тѣрмь, печера* || [Baltic area]: *ямь* (Yam ~ Vote; see below), *литва* (Lithuania), *зимъгола* (Latvian Zhemgals), *корсь* (Latvian Kurians), *нерома* (an unknown Baltic group), *либь* (Livonians) (PVL). On these grounds, my opinion is that there is no reason to doubt the real existence of the nations known by the Slavs as *Chude*, *Merya* and *Muroma*. This is proven also by the ethnonymic toponyms that have been preserved until modern times (see below Section 7; Saarikivi 2006b: 52).

PVL describes the early stage of the Russian state in the light that the Chudes were close allies who participated in various military campaigns organized by the princes of Kiev as a part of the common army (Lihatshov 1994: 20,24). At a later stage, which PVL places in the year 1030, there was a conflict with some Chudian group. After this event the town of Yuryev ~ Tartu in East Estonia was founded (ibid. 1994: 96). These Chudes may have been south-eastern Estonians, the ancestors of the Setu people. Slightly later, in the year 1042, there was a military conflict with the Yams (ibid. 1994: 99). I would interpret the Yams as being the inhabitants of the town Yamburg ~ (modern) Kingisepp region, and thus these people were Votes, close relatives of the Estonians. These conflicts seem to reflect the atmosphere of rebellion among the Finno-Ugrians. The reason might be a tension between Christianity and paganism that is constantly reported by the PVL. A very typical story from the PVL tells of a discussion between a Novgorodian Christian and a Chudian sorcerer in the year 1040 “in the Land of the Chudes” (Lihatshov 1994: 115). The story reflects the difference between the Slavic Christian towns and the Chudian pagan countryside. In any case, the chronicler wished to express that the Slavs were Christian and the Chudes heathens. Nonetheless, it seems that at least in the early stages of the Russian state, the migration of Slavs continued rather peacefully, leading to a gradual change of language from the Chudian original to the Russian prestige language.

8 The brackets and text within are added by the author.

3. Research material and methods

In the following I present methods of onomastics thoroughly, because the toponyms in the present study are very demanding and therefore valid methods are needed. The problem is first of all due to the lack of research history, and secondly to the fact that there is no successor of the language(s) behind the substrate names. The latter point especially makes it very difficult to find reliable etymologies.

3.1. Names under investigation

3.1.1. Material of toponyms

At first it must be mentioned that the object of this research are names of large bodies of water. Macrotoponyms are usually preserved better than other toponyms (Ainiala et al. 2008: 122–125).⁹ As for microtoponyms, 71% of the toponyms of Kurhila village in Asikkala parish in Finland have disappeared over the course of 200 years. The loss in Närhilä village in Ristiina parish is even higher at 81% (ibid. 2008: 122–123). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that only a very small amount of microtoponyms named by the Chudes some 500–1000 years ago can be preserved.

The name material of the River Volkhov and Luga catchment area has been collected by choosing hydronyms from the maps *Atlas Novgorodskaya oblast* (ANO) 1:200 000 and *Obzorno-Geograficheskaya karta* (LPNP) 1:400 000 (see References). In addition, I have utilized the material collected by Vasmer and published in his *Wörterbuch der Russischen gewässernamen I–V* (1961–1969). Toponyms collected from maps are problematic. Firstly, maps may contain mistakes. Secondly, most of the microtoponyms will be ignored. Thirdly, it is not possible to reflect variants. The small amount of microtoponyms is compensated by the fact that the names of large bodies of water occurring in maps are usually older and therefore more relevant than those of small bodies of water. Even though a larger corpus of names collected from the research field would be more desirable, in this case the lack of a large corpus does not hinder achieving an adequate result.

3.1.2. Substrate vocabulary and toponyms

When researching the substrate names of any particular area, one must choose the names for the corpus. The first question is therefore which names among all the toponyms are substrate names. Here I will not discuss the theories of the mechanisms that produce substrate names. Saarikivi (2006a: 11–25; 2006b: 15–52) has written of this subject in two articles. When defining the substrate names and vocabulary of

9 The term ‘macrotoponym’ is used here when referring to names of larger bodies of water, which usually are older than microtoponyms (names of meadows, fields, small brooks).

the Saami linguistic area, Ante Aikio (2004: 5–34) has followed the criteria presented by Salmons (1992: 267): 1) in the modern dominant language there must exist a sufficient amount of vocabulary from an unknown source; 2) the vocabulary of toponyms is concentrated in the segment where substrate words are highly presumable; 3) linguistic structures that are not typical in the dominant language are frequent in the words; 4) irregular phonetic correspondences occur between the languages or dialects which reflect loanwords from a substrate language. In the present research it might suffice to state that in North and Central Russian dialects a great deal of substrate vocabulary occurs and – typically for substrate words – it is related to geographic terms, fishing, hunting, etc. (cf. Saarikivi 2006a: 39–41).

Kiviniemi has discussed the question of original languages reflected in the toponyms of Finland. According to him, toponyms can be studied by comparing toponyms outside of historically known linguistic areas and searching for names which are alien to historically known settlement. In both cases the phonetic relations of adopting loanwords from one language to another create an additional problem (Kiviniemi 1980: 320; Matveyev 2001: 123–126). Saarikivi also believes that it is not sufficient to examine the toponyms of the research area only, but it is necessary to also study toponyms from areas where the substrate language is probably still spoken. However, according to Saarikivi, in several cases one must be content with utilizing the material of cognate languages, because the substrate language may not be sufficiently known (Saarikivi 2006b: 16).

In the present research I have followed the methods of Kiviniemi and Saarikivi in order to select the corpus of toponyms. I have searched for toponyms alien to the Russian language. By comparing the toponyms of neighbouring areas with each other, it is possible to outline the focus areas of different toponyms and name types. The areas of comparison are Tver and Yaroslavl oblasts and the Oka and Svir catchment areas. To some extent the toponyms are compared also with those of Finland and the western parts of Kostroma and Vologda oblasts. The languages compared are mainly Mordvin and Finnic, as these are the most presumable cognate languages.

3.2. Lexical, phonetic and structural factors

The starting-point of the research is that there are certain linguistic reasons to believe that a name originates from the predecessors of the modern dominant population. The linguistic reasons may be lexical, phonetic or structural.

3.2.1. Lexicon

When a lexicon that does not belong to the dominant language occurs constantly in toponyms, these toponyms can be suspected to be linked with a substrate language. It is not always easy to recognize toponyms as substrate names, for example because words disappear from languages (Kiviniemi 1990: 38 referring to Nirvi). Such names

look as obscure as proper substrate names. Old anthroponyms are especially difficult to attest. They seldom occur in names of large bodies of water, but instead are visible in names of fields and meadows and in oikonyms attached to those. In Finland such ancient anthroponyms include for example *Ikali*, *Hollo* and *Paro*, from which the oikonyms *Ikaalinen*, *Hollola* and *Parola* are derived (NA). The global evidence presupposes that also in the present research area, there should be numerous toponyms derived from anthroponyms. They are introduced to some extent in Section 5 alongside with the formant *-lya*.

3.2.2. Phonetic points

Phonetic features may reveal a toponym as a substrate name. Saarikivi (2006b: 15) refers to variants of what were originally identical words in toponyms, such as *Kukas|järvi*, *Kuukas|järvi*, *Kuukka* < SaaN *guhkes* < Proto-Saami **kukkē* ‘long’. It is the irregularity that expressly reveals a substrate language. There are many similar examples in the Oka catchment area, such as the variants of the rivers *Konshur* ~ *Konchur* (GBO231) and *Konchura* ~ *Konshura* ~ *Konshchura* ~ *Konsyera* (GBO198). The variants of the second syllable consonants *č*, *š*, *š’*, *s’* [*ʧ*, *ʉ*, *ʉʃ*, *c(e)*] point to a non-Russian original. In the background there might be a Finno-Ugrian affricate **č* or a sibilant **ś*.

3.2.3. Structure of names

Matveyev (2001: 73–75) believes it is important to pay attention to those morphological regularities which can be considered sufficiently absolute and frequent. In his view, it is important to note the regular frequency of formants and generics of toponyms. The structure of Finno-Ugrian toponyms often consists of what, in the Finnish terminology, are called a *specific* (Finn. *määriteosa*) and a *generic* (Finn. *perusosa*). For example, in *Jänis|järvi*, *jänis* ‘hare’ is a specific and *järvi* ‘lake’ a generic. The same structure is found also in other Finno-Ugrian languages, e.g. Mari *Shem|yer* < **Šem|jer* ‘black lake’; Mordvin *In|erka* < *Îne erke* ‘big lake’; **Meryan Peche|khra* < **Pečejäyra|ä* ‘pine lake’ (Ahlqvist 2006: 16). In Russian a toponym may be based on a noun construction, such as *peka* Медведка ‘Bear River’, or on adjectives as in *озеро Медвежье* ‘Bear Lake’. A generic element, typical of Finno-Ugrian toponyms, did not exist in the original Slavic naming system.¹⁰ A generic is attached to the Finno-Ugrian (and Baltic) naming system to express the nature of the place; e.g. *Pää|järvi* where *järvi* ‘lake’ is a generic (Kiviniemi 1990: 106). Thus, any toponym in the research

10 For example, in the Karelian Republic in the Russian Federation, a structure similar with the Finno-Ugrian system commonly occurs: *Vedl|ozero*, *Syam|ozero*, etc. These are partial translations from the originally Finno-Ugrian names *Viell|järvi*, *Säämä|järvi*.

area which has a formant (a kind of affix; see below) with the original meaning ‘lake’ or ‘river’ (e.g. *-(y)er*, *-khra*, *-yuga*) is most likely of Finno-Ugrian origin.

I must briefly explain the terminology connected with the structure of toponyms that is used in the present article. Russian onomastics uses the terms *основа* ‘base’ and *моноформант* ‘(topo)formant’. When treating Finno-Ugrian toponyms, Matveyev (2001: 188–248) also uses the term *детерминант* ‘determinant’ that usually refers to generics. Because the present research concerns hydronyms in Russia, I have thought it useful to observe the Russian terminology to some extent. The term *formant* is especially useful. Formants are connected with a *stem* of a name. However, the terms *specific* and *generic* used in Finnish terminology are preferable expressions concerning Finno-Ugrian substrate names, in contrast with the Russian ‘base’ and ‘determinant’.

Saarikivi (2006b: 18) has defined formants as phonotactic types of single-morpheme opaque toponyms having a characteristic feature that makes it possible to understand the word as a place name. An example is the Central Russian hydronym *Kolo|ksha*, where *kolo-* ‘fish’ is the stem of the hydronym and *-ksha* the formant. In the background of formants there are generics and *derivational affixes* that have been obscured.

There are several different Russian *suffixes* occurring in Russian toponyms, such as an affectionate or diminutive suffix *-ka*, a possessive suffix *-ов/-ев* (an old genitive), etc. Usually, but not always, possessive suffixes in toponyms refer to an anthroponym origin. Russian suffixes are also connected quite commonly with toponyms of non-Slavic origin. In using the term *suffix* for Russian-language elements, I follow in this respect Irma Mullonen’s terminology (Mullonen 2002: 69–105).

There may exist formants, generics, suffixes and derivational affixes whose boundaries are ambiguous and hard to define. Undoubtedly, many formants were originally derivational affixes. A good example is the lake *Päijä|nne* in Finland. The derivational suffix *-nne* < **-nte(k)* occurs in Finnish in such geographical terms as *syvä|nne* ‘deep area in a lake or sea’ < *syvä* ‘deep’, *ala|nne* ‘low area’ < *ala* ‘low’, *ylä|nne* ‘heights’ < *ylä* ‘above’, *paina|nne* ‘depression, hollow’ < *painaa* ‘to depress’. According to Saarikivi’s definition, it is possible to state that derivational affixes have become formants, because they express that there is a toponym in question and the original meaning of the derivational affix has been obscured. Some formants are attested by old literal documents as originally generics; cf. *Must|io* < **Must|oja* ‘black brook’ (Ainiala et al. 2008: 116) or *Laut|ua* < **Laut|oja* ‘raft brook’ (Räisänen 2003: 186–187); Finnish *oja* ‘brook’. If a formant is connected with an obscure stem from the point of view of a dominant language, there is a good reason to assume that in the background there is a toponym originating from a substrate language. In the present work the terms *stem*, *specific*, *generic* and *formant* are used in discussing Finno-Ugrian toponyms. In addition, the term *suffix* is used when suffixal elements of Russian origin are in question.

3.3. Toponyms and the language in the background

A corpus of toponyms to be examined can be created when various alternatives have been evaluated and a large stratum of presumable toponyms of substrate origin are detected in the same area. This raises new questions, the most ethnohistorically important one being to which linguistic connection the toponyms belong. In order to tackle this question, various scholars have utilized methods that are introduced in the following.

3.3.1. Formants connected with different types of toponyms and areal distribution

Toponyms can be classified in types based, for example, on the formants (Ainiala et al. 2008: 39). Mullonen, who has concentrated especially on the hydronyms of the River Svir, has used areal distribution of different types and models of toponyms as one of her methods in order to study substrate names. Accordingly, she has paid much attention to structural characteristics of toponyms. This usually means analysis of formants (Mullonen 2002: 183). In the present research, areal distribution and analysis of formants play a great role as well (see Section 5). If the stem and the formant of a toponym refer to the same areal direction, the toponym presumably belongs to the connection in which this type is principally represented. Formants and generics are important also because they reflect in many cases different phases of a language shift (Mullonen 2002: 85–96).¹¹

3.3.2. Semantic typology

It is very important to define the most common types and motifs of naming. It is possible to accomplish this by comparing research of *semantic typology* connected with toponyms of a substrate language (Saarikivi 2006b: 16; Ainiala et al. 2008: 115). One useful method for defining an etymology is to utilize semantic opposites such as big–little, upper–lower, black–white (Matveyev 2001: 85; Rahkonen 2009: 169–178).

3.3.3. Comparative linguistic study

Comparing toponyms with the presumable substrate language is very difficult in the present study, because the language is initially unknown. There is also a possibility that there are several substrate languages. A presumption might lead to a vicious circle and subjective study. For these reasons, the starting point in the present research is more complicated than e.g. in Pitkänen's (1985) studies concerning the Finnish toponyms

11 In cases of partial translations (semi-calque) or changes of formants typical in different languages; see Sections 3.3.4 and 3.3.5.

in the Turunmaa isles prior to the Swedish-speaking settlement layer, or Saarikivi's (2006b) study concerning the Finnic substrate toponyms in the River Pinega region. Correspondingly, the toponyms of Saami origin in the River Svir area examined by Mullonen (2002: 228–290) can be compared with the modern Saami languages and with the Proto-Saami reliably constructed on the basis of these languages. Thus the researchers mentioned above had a relatively clear standard of comparison, making the etymologies remarkably more reliable. The task becomes much more complicated when the substrate language is extinct without leaving any direct modern successor. The speech of the Novgorodian Chudes was exactly such a language (or languages). On the other hand, the situation is better than in the work of Aikio (2004) concerning substrate toponyms prior to the Saami era, because in that case there was no point of comparison. As a result, he was content with presenting a list of these toponyms, which is a quite acceptable result of his research in this case.

3.3.4. Productivity of the types of toponyms

One of Mullonen's methods is to examine productivity of types of toponyms. For example the formant *-la* of old Finnic oikonyms has changed into the Slavic formant *-ichi* (Mullonen 2002: 183). This helps us to date contacts between Finnic tribes and Slavs. In the Novgorod Land it is not possible to enter deeply into the productivity of models of toponyms, because the area in question was russified so early that there is insufficient documentary material of hydronyms originating from substrate language(s). This subject has been treated to some extent in Section 5 under the title of formant *-lya*.

3.3.5. Partial translation

It is well-known that newcomers or speakers undergoing language shift often replace generics of names with the correspondence in their own language, but leave specifics in their original form or adapt them phonetically to their own language. This process – called in Russian *полукалька* 'semi-calque' by e.g. Mullonen – has been attested practically in modern times in the Republic of Karelia and in the area of the Svir catchment area; e.g. Finnic *Hiim|d'ogi* > Russian *Гум|пека* 'the River Hiim' (Mullonen 2002: 105–106).

If an original generic can no longer be recognized as a generic, the result may be an *epexegetis*. Such an interesting naming has taken place in the headwaters of the River Oyat, especially in the region of its tributary the River Sondala (MAG 43–48), where such forms of hydronyms as *Ind|är|järv*, *Syv|är|järv*, *Kal|är|järv*, and *Pad|är|järv* occur (MAG 44–45). It seems that the toponyms there reflect two different Finno-Ugrian (or Finnic) layers. The speakers of the latter stratum (Veps) seemingly did not understand the element *-är/-ärr-* to be a generic ?< **järi* 'lake' and suffixed the word *järv* from their own language.

One can assume that the more generics of a substrate language are represented in modern times, the stronger the position of the speakers of a substrate language was for a long time. If so, the change to Russian speech did not happen through a migration but through a relatively slow language shift, a situation where long-term bilingualism is presumable. During the process of the language shift, the bilingual population had no need to replace generics with Russian counterparts, because the original meaning of the generics was still understood. By the end of the process, the meaning was finally obscured and generics became pure formants. This is the case e.g. in the upper course of the River Msta, where the formant *-dra*, connected with lakes (< **jädra/ä* ‘lake’), has been largely preserved (see Section 5, formant *-dra*, Map 7). Similarly the lakes in the vicinity of the town of Vladimir have widely preserved the formant *-khra* until modern times (Map 7). It can be derived from the word **jäyra/ä* ‘lake’ that belonged to the substrate language of the region (seemingly Meryan–Muroma). The word is attested by the *Яxp*-lakes [*Yakhr-*] (see Ahlqvist 2006: 12).

3.3.6. Ethnonyms

Ethnonyms should be carefully noted, even though they are problematic. It is not always clear what those who named the toponyms meant exactly when using an ethnonym. For example, Karelians referred to Finns with the ethnonym *ruotši* ‘Swede’ (SSA III 108). If in a particular geographical area similar ethnonyms occur widely enough, their testimony increases remarkably. Also Matveyev (2001: 65–71) has introduced them as useful tools of onomastics. I have earlier used this method to some extent when trying to define the core area of settlement of ancient Meshchera in the region of the River Oka (Rahkonen 2009: 168–170, Map 1).

3.4. Etymologies based on substrate names of extinct languages

As presented above, I have followed many principles similar to those of Aikio, Matveyev and Saarikivi when collecting the corpus of hydronyms. Mullonen and Ahlqvist took their starting point in smaller collection areas that they then broadened to larger entities for further examination. Following Aikio, I have had to lean on previously gathered material or map names because my research area is very large.¹² In this sense the present study comes close to Vasmer’s early work *Die Alten Bevölkerungsverhältnisse Russlands im Lichte der Sprachforschung* (1941). In a study like this, phonetic matters become even more important. A study of comparative research of extensive entities of toponyms is important as well. Similarly, Matveyev (2001, 2004, 2007) has examined large entities in Northern Russia, but he additionally chose smaller subregions from among these large areas (ibid. 2004: 111–187).

12 Aikio’s research area in his article ‘The study of Saami substrate toponyms in Finland’ (2007) is the whole of Finland.

The object of the present study is to examine toponyms based on extinct languages. Thus, many of the methods of defining etymology used by other researchers are not valid, as those are based on known languages or reliably derived proto-languages. Because there is no continuation of those languages, one must choose as the etymological starting point primarily comparisons with the presumable closest cognate languages and reconstructed proto-languages. One can assume that in most cases the best results are offered by the Finnic languages and Mordvin. To some extent Mari and Saami can be referred to as well.

There are some words occurring in the toponyms of the Meryan area as defined by Russian chronicles that have been reconstructed quite reliably on the grounds of their topographic regularity. Such words are e.g. **jäyra/ä* ‘lake’, **uht(V)* ‘neck of land, boat dragging road over dry land’, **ner(e)* ‘Meryan’, **veksa* ‘river between two (bigger) waters’, **il(e)-* ‘upper’, *vol(o)-* ‘lower’, **en(V)* ‘big’, **váz(ä)* ‘small’ (Ahlqvist 1997, 2004, 2006; Matveyev 2006: 133–233; Mullonen 2002: 212–213, 291; Rahkonen 2009: 172–180; Tkachenko 2007: 115–116; 1985). In all cases, toponyms of the Meryan area ought to be compared with those of Novgorod and Tver oblasts.

The dialectal lexicon of the Russian language also sometimes allows a reliable definition of the etymology of some substrate names and words behind them; e.g. *kub*-toponyms (*Kubena* etc.) can be compared with Russ. dial. *кубытун* ‘bog, marsh’ (MGT 1970) and Proto-Permian *gīb* ‘bog, marsh’ (Lytkin & Gulyayev 1999: 84). Sometimes a reconstructed word from a proto-language is useful, such as PFU **ukti* ‘track’ (Sammallahti 1988: 536) from which the stem or specific *Ukht(V)-* can presumably be derived. Topographical evidence supports this idea as well.

The probability of grounds for naming is essential when a toponym belongs to those that occur frequently. Grounds for naming in a corpus of toponyms based on vanished languages are usually semantically similar with those of known languages. The most common specifics occurring in areas where Finno-Ugrian languages are spoken number at most around 50. Among these the most phonetically and topographically reasonable alternatives can be found. Saarikivi (2004: 186–187) has presented the 20 most common Finnish specifics of lakes and 20 Saami specifics of hydronyms in Finnish Lapland. The sources of livelihood of these two peoples have influenced the grounds for naming to some extent, but common namings for specifics are ‘island’, ‘long’, ‘stone’, ‘big’, ‘perch’, ‘hay’, ‘rock/cliff’, ‘pike’, ‘hut’. In addition, general Finnish specifics are ‘white’, ‘black’, ‘little’, ‘roach’, ‘deep’, ‘curved’, ‘strait’, ‘upper’, ‘middle’, ‘lower’, ‘pine’ and Saami ‘burned area’, ‘unfrozen’, ‘lichen’, ‘place or object for worshipping an idol’, ‘summer’, ‘headland’ and different species of salmon.

Thus, for example, it is useful to search among the toponyms of the research field for phonetically suitable stems of names that can be compared with presumed kindred languages with the meaning ‘little’. In the Meryan region defined by the Russian chronicles, only one suitable candidate is actually found: the hydronyms with the stem *vyaz-* connected with typical formants of Finno-Ugrian toponyms. This stem can be derived from an original **váz(ä)* ‘little’. Comparisons can be found for this word, e.g. Mordvin *vež* and Finnish *vähä* < **väšä* ‘little’ (SSA III 478). In addition, there

is topographic evidence for the etymology **vāz(ä)* ‘little’ (Rahkonen 2009: 175). It is presumably always possible to find correspondences for the most common Finno-Ugrian specifics, and for this reason it is possible to find a phonetically acceptable etymology if there is only a large enough quantity of toponyms. In order to discover the generality of specifics and stems, it is essential to examine a sufficiently large areal distribution of toponyms.

In some cases it is difficult to know whether a toponym in the River Volkhov catchment area should be connected with Finnic or Upper-Volgaic or with languages spoken in the Oka area (?Meryan, ?Chudian). The difficulty arises from the fact that some stems and specifics can phonetically be derived from both Finnic languages and language(s) that, on grounds of toponyms, were spoken in Central Russia. Such specifics or stems include **and(a/o)*, **ilm(V)*, **kib(V)* and **msta*, commonly found in the Upper Volga and Oka area. In such cases formants, core areas of the names and an unbreakable areal continuation of the names have a great importance when reasoning to which of these two directions toponyms in question belong.

However, a fully unambiguous etymology is sometimes difficult to present (see Saarikivi 2006b: 21, table 1). In some cases the topography of a body of water or its vicinity is helpful, when a similar and repeated characteristic in names of a similar specific offers the possibility of determining the etymology with a respectively high degree of certainty (Ainiala et al. 2008: 115). At best a toponym may have two variants, the original version and its Russian translation. However, there must be more than one case of variants to assure us that it is really a matter of translation, and not renaming based on the Russian language. Numerous etymologies of toponyms in the River Svir catchment area presented by Mullonen are based on such variants (Mullonen 2002; MAG). It is important to remember the danger of Russian folk etymologies as well. Sometimes it may be useful to examine names of marshes, hills or settlements around a water system. There is a possibility that originally there was a cluster of specifics occurring in various types of topographic objects in the same small area (e.g. a river, hill, woods or marsh may share the same specific). Some of them may have preserved the original specific better than the hydronym itself. It is possible that the hydronyms have been translated in the process of language shift, but some other object of the cluster has preserved its original form.

3.5. The problem of adoption

The adoption of toponyms from a substrate language into a dominant prestige language often creates a serious research problem. Especially in order to track down the correct etymology, knowing the original form of a toponym is necessary. Saarikivi (2006b: 23, table 2 and 25, table 3) has presented tables concerning adoptions from Finnic into Russian in the River Pinega catchment area. Mullonen (2002: 39–72) has attended to the same problem very thoroughly and presented several examples in the River Svir area. Matveyev (2001: 130–151) has also written on this subject concerning adoptions from Finno-Ugrian to Slavic in general. The table below has been constructed on the

basis of their work, reflecting also the publications of Juhani Nuorluoto (2006) and Jouni Vaahtera (2009) concerning the phonetic history of the Russian language.

Finno-Ugrian	Slavic	Finno-Ugrian	Slavic	Finno-Ugrian	Slavic
<i>t</i>	<i>m, ð</i> (non-initial)	<i>-ŋ(k)-</i>	<i>-h-</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a, o</i> (early)
<i>k</i>	<i>κ, z</i> (non-initial)	<i>s</i>	<i>c, u, з, ж</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e, ě, a, o, э</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>n, ǃ</i> (non-initial)	<i>h</i>	<i>x, z, Ø</i> (initial)	<i>ee</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>-tt-</i>	<i>-m-</i>	<i>-hk-</i>	<i>-xm-, -θK-, -K-</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u, ъ</i>
<i>-kk-</i>	<i>-κ-</i>	<i>-u(C)-</i>	<i>-θ(C)</i>	<i>o, oo</i>	<i>o, e</i> (late)
<i>-pp-</i>	<i>-n-</i>			<i>u</i>	<i>y, oy</i> (early)
<i>m</i>	<i>м, н</i>	<i>č, č, c</i>	<i>ч</i> (non-Finnic)	<i>ü</i>	<i>ю, y, ъ</i>
<i>-mb-</i>	<i>-mǃ-, -hǃ-</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o, y, e</i> (non-Finnic)	<i>ä</i>	<i>я, e</i> (early), <i>a</i> (2.syll.)
				<i>ö</i>	<i>ě, ?ѡ</i>

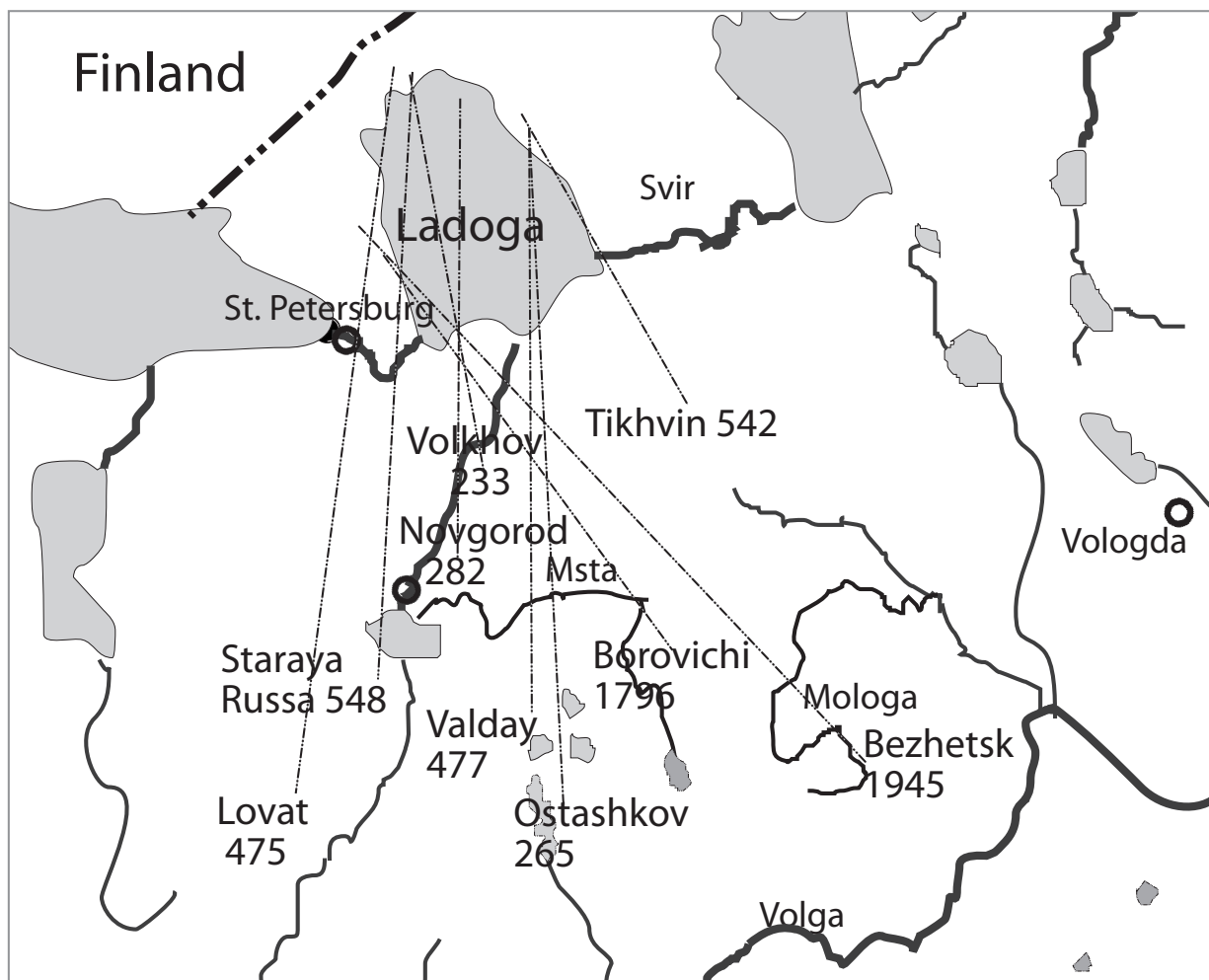
Table 1. The most common rules of adoption from Finnic and other Finno-Ugrian languages (Saami, Mordvin) into Slavic. The Slavic counterparts are written in the Cyrillic alphabet.

4. Remarks on Finnic hydronyms in Novgorod, Pskov and Leningrad oblasts

As mentioned above, it is often assumed in the literature that the Finno-Ugrian tribes who lived east of Lake Peipus and in the area of the Upper Volkhov were Baltic Finns (see e.g. Grünthal 1997: 159–164 and the attached literature). Hydronyms do not necessarily support this idea. Transparently Finnic hydronyms follow like a ribbon the southern coastal areas of the Gulf of Finland, the Neva River and Lake Ladoga (Map 1). Some researchers have suggested hypotheses concerning the area presented above whose reliability on one hand is not watertight, but on the other hand cannot be denied at once. For example the Kalmistonmäki-Volkhov type Textile Ceramics in the early Iron Age (7th–4th centuries BC) found in the southern coastal area of Lake Ladoga have been assumed to originate from a Proto-Finnic population (Yushkova 2006: 141; Uino 2006: 363).¹³ According to the terminology of Petri Kallio, these tribes later became the eastern group of Finnic tribes who spoke the eastern dialect of the Gulf of Finland (Kallio 2007: 243).

Names of settlements in the area of Novgorod are irrelevant from this research's point of view, because relatively late in the 17th century a remarkable amount of orthodox Karelians from Käkisalme county and Ingrians from Ingria moved there as refugees and produced new oikonyms (Kirkinen 1994: 165–171). However, their migration could not change the overall picture of hydronyms. The same concerns the influence of the migration from Savo and Swedish Karelia on oikonyms and hydronyms in the vicinity of Leningrad.

13 An especially important archaeological site is Shkurina Gorka 6 km south of Staraya Ladoga.



Map 3. Directions and numbers of Karelian Orthodox refugees from Käkisalmi county in the 17th century AD (featuring Kirkinen 1994: 154).

I have divided the possible Finnic toponyms in Leningrad and Novgorod oblasts into two categories. There are names that can certainly be considered Finnic. There are also names whose origin is uncertain. The factors of uncertainty in this work are 1) non-Finnic formants, 2) specifics typical in the Upper Volga and Oka catchment area and 3) orthographic factors of uncertainty possibly originating from Russian adoption.

4.1. Leningrad oblast

Finnic hydronyms (visible on Map 4 according to the numbering).¹⁴

- 1) Avloga ~ Aulokanjoki
cf. *Aula|nko* in Finland; the origin of *aula* uncertain;
possibly ~ Fin. *oulu* 'flood'
- 2) *Khabolovo oz.* ~ *Haapalanjärvi* 'lake of aspen
(*-la*-formant refers to a settlement, a farm or a family)
- 3) *Khepoyarvi oz.* ~ *Hepojärvi* 'horse lake'
- 4) *Kostuya* ~ **Kostoja* 'wet river'
- 5) *Kusega* ~ **Kuusjogi* 'spruce river'
- 6) *Kusi|nka* ~ **Kuusijoki* 'spruce river'
- 7) *Lembolovskoye oz.* ~ *Lempaalanjärvi* 'lake Lempaala';
< *lempo* 'ancient mythological character'
- 8) *Pinega* ~ **Pienjogi* 'little river'
- 9) *Sestra* ~ *Siestarjoki* 'currant river'
- 10) *Voitolovka* ~ *Voittolanjoki* < oikonym *Voittola* < *voitto* 'victory'
- 11) *Voloyarvi oz.* ~ *Vuolejärvi* < possibly of Proto-Saami origin 'lower lake'
- 12) *Kavgolovskoye oz.* ~ *Kaukolanjärvi* < oikonym *Kaukola*
- 13) *Azika* ~ *Asikka* < anthroponym *Asikka*
- 14) *Lava* ~ **Lavajoki* 'flood river'
- 15) *Kivuya* ~ **Kivioja* 'stone river'
- 22) *Lipyarvi oz.* ~ **Lepjärvi* or **Lippojärvi* 'alder lake' or 'scoop lake'
- 23) *Shuyarvi-Shu, bol.* ~ **Šuojärvišuo*¹⁵ 'marsh of marsh lake'

Possibly Finnic hydronyms:

- 16) *Galmach|ikha* ?< Finnic *halme* 'field'; uncertain, because the word behind the toponym (close to the Lake Peipus) does not occur in Estonian or Vote!
- 17) *Rap|lya* ?< Finnic *rapa* 'bog'; the formant *-lya* is concentrated in Central Russia
- 18) *Okhta* ?< Proto-Finnic **okti* 'bear'; the hydronyms can be connected with Central and Northern Russian *Okhta*, *Ukhta*-names with the meaning 'land-neck between two waters'
- 19) *Ukhta* ?< Finnic *huhta* 'burn and slash field'; see however *Okhta* above. The word *uhta* is not found in Vote. The hydronym *Ukhta* is located in the Vote area.
- 20) *Voya* ?< Finnic *oja* 'ditch, river' < PU **woja* (Saarikivi 2006b: 31). Possibly the hydronym (in the middle course of the Luga) is based on a word derived from a more archaic language.
- 21) *Volgom|ka* ?< Finnic *valkama* 'boat shore'; there are numerous names with *volg-* in the Upper Volga area.

14 Names with (*) are reconstructions into Finnic. The others are selected from the collection of NA.

15 Phonetically this name occurring close to Tikhvin seems to originate from the South Karelian dialect and it was seemingly named by Karelian refugees (17th century AD). The Veps form should be *Sojärvsuo*.

4.2. Novgorod oblast

No certain Finnic hydronyms found.

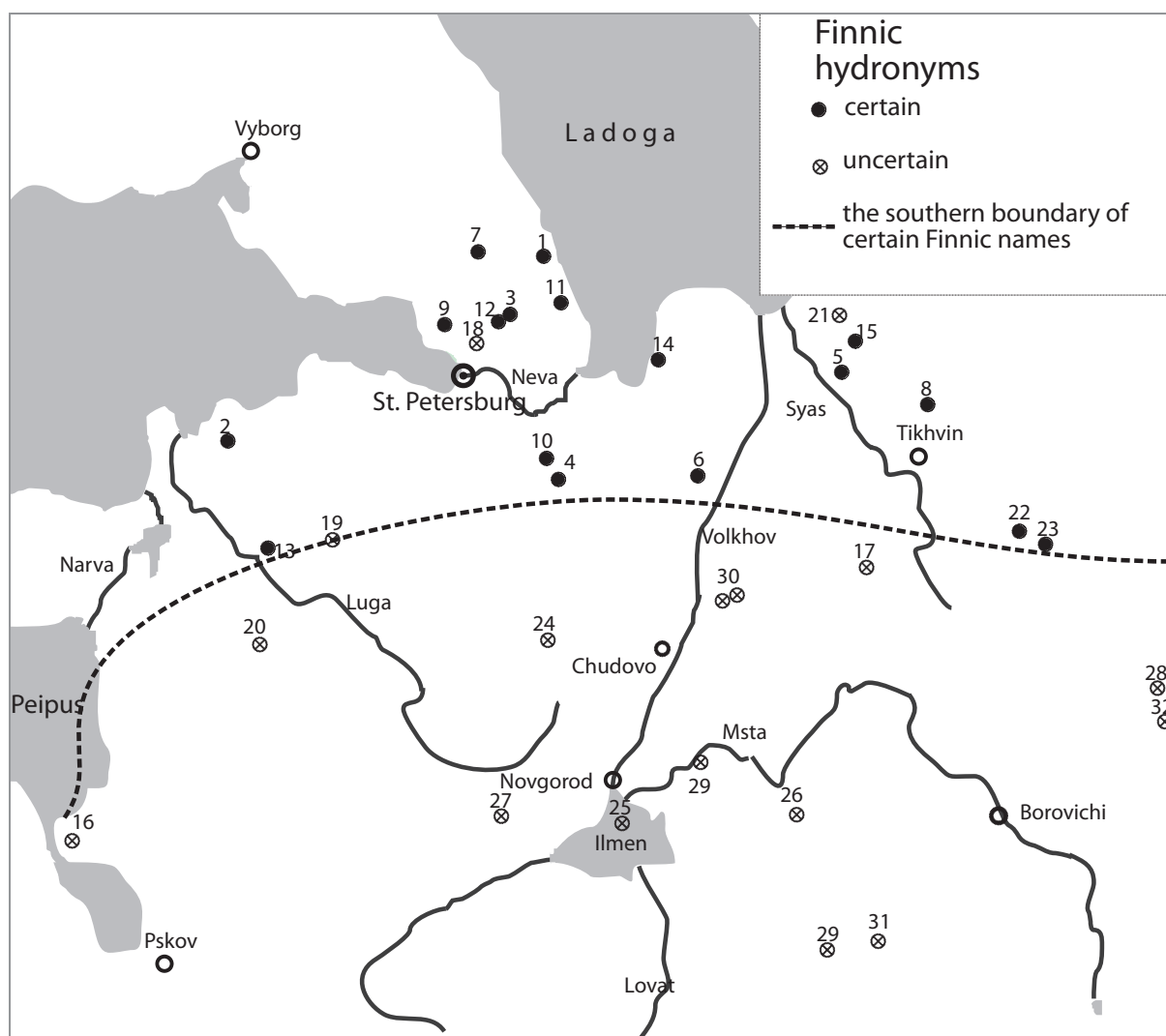
Possible Finnic hydronyms:

- 24) *Andolovka* ?< Finnic *antaa* ‘to give’ (originally food) > **Andola*. Hydronyms with *and-* occur also in Central Russia. The formant *-l(a)* in names of rivers is quite common in Central Russia as well.
- 25) *Ilmen* < **Ilmeŕ* ?< Finnic *ilma* ‘weather, wind’. Hydronyms with *il’m-* are common in Central Russia (Map 5) as is the formant *-er* (see Section 5, formant *-er*).
- 26) *Yaim|lya* < **Äimlāj* ?< Finnic *äimä* ‘needle’. Finnic *äimä* < PU **äjmä* and therefore the stem here is not necessarily of Finnic origin. The formant *-lya* is very common in Central Russia (see Section 5).
- 27) *Kiba* ?< Finnic *kivi* ‘stone’. *Kib(V)* hydronyms occur also in Central Russia. In the Novgorodian dialect **v* > *b* is usual (Zaliznyak 2004: 55).
- 28) *Kirva* ?< Finnic *kirves* ‘axe’. There exists in Russian adoptions of hydronyms Finnic *kangaz* > Russian *канз* (MAG 37,83). Accordingly, Finnic *kirves* could have become Russian *купв-*. *Kirva* can be compared also with the oikonym *Kirvu* in the River Vuoksi valley in the Karelian Isthmus, which probably originated from an anthroponym.
- 29) *Msta*, *Mstizhskoye oz.* ?< Finnic *musta* ‘black’. Many correspondences of *msta*-hydronyms occur in Central Russia, even in the Lower Klyazma area (Map 5).
- 30) *Oskuya*, *Oskuyskoye oz.* ?< **Oskaoja*. However, cf. two *Oskom|lya* in Tver oblast (ATO94, 123) ?< anthroponym *Oska* that can be compared with the *Uska* names in Finland.
- 31) *Rabe|zha* ?< Est. *raba* ‘bog’. The river flows in a marshy area, but on the other hand the formant *-ža* is very common in Central Russia (see Section 5).
- 32) *Voldom|itsa* ?< Finnic **valkama*. Through Russian adoption **valkama* > *волдома* is phonetically possible. However, *voldom* hydronyms occur also in the Oka catchment area.

It is worth noting that in Leningrad oblast, the certain cases are much more frequent than the uncertain ones, while in Novgorod oblast certain cases do not exist. There are nine (9) hydronyms whose uncertainty is based on frequent correspondences of specifics or stems in the Upper Volga or Oka region and again others whose formants refer to Central Russia.

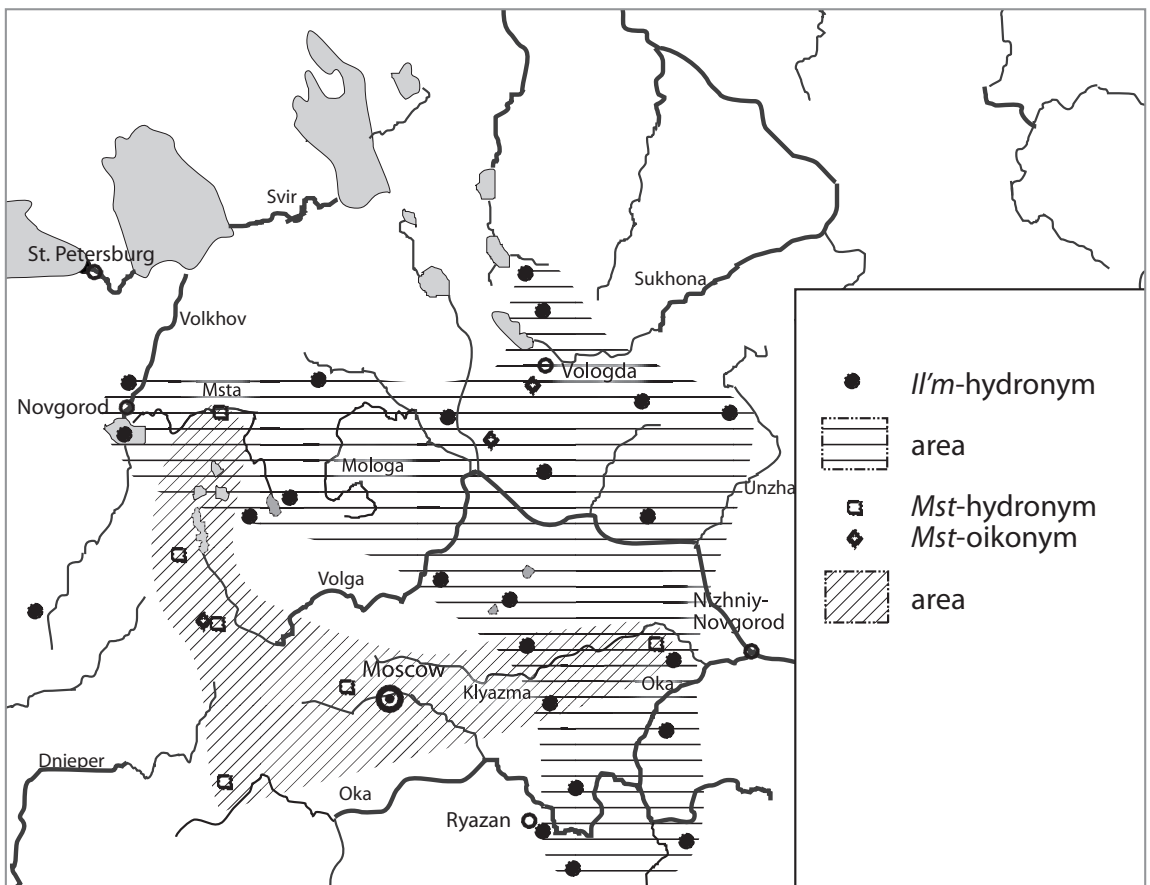
The hydronyms *Oskuya* and *Kirva* may represent cases where either the modern form of the names have possibly changed when they were adopted into Russian (? **oks-* > *osk-*, ? **kirves/z* > *kirv-*) or those names are not of Finnic origin. The element *-uya*, however, can be derived from Finnic original **oja* ‘ditch, river’ (Matveyev 2001: 258). This makes the Finnic origin of the name more probable. The river (and lake) *Oskuya* is located not far from the historically known Veps territory. The hydronym *Kirva* can be attached to the toponym *Kirvu* in the River Vuoksi valley. This name may have been spread by Karelian refugees from the River Vuoksi area.

In Tver oblast there are some hydronyms that can be interpreted as Finnic: *Khit|ka* < oikonym *Khititsy* (ATO178B3) < Finnic **hiite* 'demon, pagan worshipping place', *Yarvy oz.* (ATO99A4) < Finnic **järvi* 'lake', *Kagra* (ATO57A2) < Finnic **kagra* 'oats' or more probably **kägrä* 'curved', *Kivy* (ATO76A1) < Finnic **kivi* 'stone', *Mushto* (ATO76A4) < Finnic **musta* 'black'. On areal distribution grounds, all of these are connected with Karelian settlements in Tver oblast (see Map 3) (KKM, maps; Kirkinen 1994: 166, map). In addition, especially the specifics *mušta* and *kägrä* or *kagra* refer phonetically to the Karelian language (KKS III 381; KKM, Map 96). One must remember that these hydronyms are located in the catchment area of the Volga – not the River Volkhov – and thus they are outside of the area under study.



Map 4. Finnic hydronyms in Leningrad, Pskov and Novgorod oblasts

In Novgorod oblast the names of large bodies of water, Lake *Ilmen* < **Ilmeŕ* ~ *Илмѣрь* (e.g. Kuleshov 2001: 76; Mullonen 2002: 234) and the River *Msta* < *Мѣста* are often interpreted to be of Finnic origin. However, both of these have many correspondences with stems in the Upper Volga and Oka areas (Map 5). In addition, the formant *-er/-or* (cf. *Ilm|er*) is typical in Valday region and in the Upper Volga and Oka regions: e.g. *Lam|er|skoye oz.* (ANO36), *Pud|oro oz.* (ATO54), *Selig|er* < **Serig|er oz.* (ATO117), *Sud|er|ev'e oz.* (ATO142), *Tam|or|ža oz.* (ATO54), *Tum|er|to oz.* (ATO256). Ahlqvist (2006: 17–20) has also mentioned some *-er/or*-names of lakes in Yaroslavl oblast, although according to Matveyev (2006: 207–208) in the proper Meryan area there is not a single certain example. This subject is presented in more detail in Section 5, formant *-er*.



Map 5. *Il'm*- and *Mst*-toponyms in Novgorod, Tver, Yaroslavl, Kostroma and Vologda oblasts and in the territory of the Oka catchment area.

It is noteworthy that in Finland and in Karelia, *Ilma*-hydronyms with the meaning of ‘upper lake’ or ‘upper river’ can be derived from Proto-Saami **elē* ‘upper’ or **elmē* ‘sky, ?upper part’ and were probably adopted from Saami into Finnic languages (Rahkonen 2009: 171, footnote 8). For example, in Ruokolahti parish in Finland, the uppermost body of water is *Ilma|järvi* (GT2000: 60C4). In the Vuoksi catchment area there is the River *Ilmee* ~ *Ilmet|joki*, whose source lake is called *Ylimäinen* Finn. ‘uppermost’ (Mullonen 2002: 238–244), while a tributary of the Köyliönjoki is called *Ilmiinoja* and its source lake *Ilmiinjärvi* (GT2000: 51E6). In the Finnic-speaking area there are some names where the word *ilma* apparently means ‘wind’ (Mullonen 2002: 235). It is geographically natural that Lake **Ilmer* refers semantically to a upper position in the water system if the idea is to ascend from Lake Ladoga to Lake Ilmen via the River Volkhov. However, a Saami origin for Lake **Ilmer* seems very improbable. According to Nissilä, the dialectal word *olhava* (*Volkhov* ~ in Finnic *Olhava*) ‘long, deep sloped and wet hollow’ occurred as a geographical appellative in the Karelian Isthmus (Nissilä 1975: 28–29). The shores of the Volkhov are in many places very wet, because the difference in the water level between the Lake Ilmen and Ladoga is only 15 metres and therefore the current is very slow causing floods. It is possible that the original meaning of the hydronym *Volkhov* ~ *Olhava* was ‘long and wet’.

In addition, close to Lake Ilmen and north of it, there flows into the River Volkhov its tributary, the River Kerest, which have headwaters called the *Ilmen|ka* (ANO22A5). Such a narrow upper course could hardly have been named on the grounds of the motif *ilma* ‘wind’. When bearing in mind all the facts mentioned above and thinking objectively, the name **Ilmer* should more preferably be connected with the Volgaic regions than with those of Finnic on the grounds of the motif of naming, the formant *er*, the phonetics and the areal connection (Map 5).

The strongest evidence against the hypothesis of a Finnic Chudian population in Novgorod oblast is the fact that there does not occur any remarkable amount of those Finnic formants and generics that, according to Matveyev, are central markers when defining Finnic toponyms in Northern Russia: e.g. *nem(a)* < **niemi*, (*V*)*la*, *matka* < **-matka*, *randa* **-ranta*, *luda* **-luoto*, *sel’ga* **-selkä*, *koska* < **-koski*, *lamba* < **-lampi*, *salma* < **-salmi*, *korba* **-korpi*, *pelda/palda* **-pelto* (Matveyev 2001: 297–298). The same concerns specifics that, according to Matveyev, are the most common in Finnic substrate names in Northern Russia: e.g. *akhn* < **ahven*, *vene(h)* < **veneh*, *vekhk/vakhk* < **vehka*, *ikhal* < **ihala*, *kayd* < **kaita*, *kask* < **kaski*, *kovk* < **koukku*, *koy(b)* < **koipi*, *kolk* < **kolkka*, *kort* < **korte*, *kotka(s)* < **kotka*, *kuyv* < **kuiva*, *lakhn-/lagn* < **lahna*, *lamb(as)* < **lammas*, *legm* < **lehmä*, *lemb* < **lempi*, **lempo*, *lind* < **lintu*, *matk* < **matka*, *myagr-/megr* < **mäkrä*, *myand-/mend* < **mänty*, *peld* < **pelto*, *pikhk* < **pihka*, *rand* < **ranta*, *reb(V)* < **repo*, *salm* < **salmi*, *terv* < **terva*, *hab/gab* < **haapa*, *khavd/gavd* < **hauta*, *khavk/khauk* < **haukka*, *khain/khein* < **heinä*, *kheb/khepa* < **hepo*, *khid/khit/khiž* < **hiite*, *khim(V)* < **himo*, *khong/gong* < **honka*, *khjarg/khjark/kherg/kherk* < **härkä* (Matveyev 2004: 33–80).

Here it is also worth stating that 51 out of the 55 Finnic anthroponyms of the Novgorodian birchbark documents mentioned by Saarikivi (2007) do not occur in

oikonyms of Novgorod oblast. If a great number of bearers of these names had lived there, those names should be reflected in oikonyms. Four (4) uncertain names are found: the anthroponym *Libinʹ* (2007: 210) ~ the River *Libya* [Valday], the anthroponym *Věljakazʹ* (ibid. 2007: 215) ~ oikonym *Velyash|eva Gorka* [Luga], the anthroponym *Ikagalʹ* (ibid. 2007: 220) ~ oikonym *Ikand|ovo* [Valday] and the anthroponym *Měličʹ* (ibid. 2007: 222) ~ oikonyms *Melecha* [Valday] and *Mele|gusha* [Tikhvin].¹⁶ It is worth noting that these oikonyms are located both in Valday and on the boundaries of historically known Finnic settlements close to the towns of Luga and Tikhvin. In Valday and in the area of Luga as well, the influence of Karelian and Ingrian exiles on toponyms is very possible.

The anthroponym *Uda*, occurring in the document no. 124 (Saarikivi 2007: 226–227), is worth mentioning here. As Zaliznyak (2004: 658) has stated, *Uda* toponyms are widespread in Northern Russia and in Novgorod, Pskov and Tver oblasts as well, e.g. *Uda* (ANO6-7V1) [Dedovichi, Pskv obl.], *Uda|l oz.* (ANO39V4) [Borovichi, Nvg. obl.], *Uda|kha* (ANO31G1) [Porkhov, Pskv obl.], *Udo|vishchi* (ANO26A3) [Ljubytino, Nvg obl.] and *Udo|m|lya* (ANO40G3) [Udomlya, Tvr obl.]. Because of this wide distribution, it is presumable that at least in the Pskov–Novgorod–Tver area *Uda* was an ancient anthroponym used by the Novgorodian Chudes. Saarikivi (2007: 227) suggests that this name from the birchbark documents originated from an old Finnish anthroponym **Uta* > *Utula*, *Utti*, *Utupää*, but he also states that its etymology is uncertain. This name may be based on such an ancient lexicon that it was common both in Finnish and in the (Novgorodian) Chudian language.

5. Formants of hydronyms in Novgorod oblast

-oda (-oda)¹⁷

This formant also occurs in Northern Russia: *Vong|oda* [Kotlas], *Vong|uda* [Onega], *Volg|uda*, *Lamb|uda*, *Novg|uda*, *Chemba|uda*, *Tun|uda* < **Tung|uda* [Sev. Dvina], *Tung|uda* [Belomorsk]. Matveyev (2004: 21) believes that the formant originates from an old Finno-Ugrian adjective suffix *-(e)δa/ä; cf. Veps *korged* ‘high’, **valged* ‘white’, Mari *volgêdo* ‘bright’. The formant also occurs in Central Russia in the catchment areas of the River Kostroma and Nerl [Klyazma catchment area]: *Udg|oda* (AJO41), *Sukh|oda* (GBO214), *Shikh|oda* (GBO214). Matveyev’s view of the origin of this formant is not necessarily correct. For example, *Lamb|uda* < Finnic *lamb* ‘pond’ and *Vong|uda* < Finnic *vonka* ‘deep point in a river’ are not based on adjectives as the hypothesis of Matveyev presupposes.

16 In the Upper Oka the hydronym *Melech|eva* occurs. *Melecha* in Valday should perhaps be connected with it and thus would be of non-Finno-Ugrian origin.

17 In Novgorod oblast: *Chag|oda* (ANO13A5, ANO19B5), *Chag|od|oshcha* (ANO6-7A8), *Chag|od|skoye oz.* (ANO34B2), *Tig|oda* (ANO12G2), *Tig|oda* (ANO14A2).

Most of the stems of hydronyms connected with this formant cannot be derived from the Finnic languages. Phonetically impossible are *Chagoda* and *Chembuda*, because of the initial *č. Lexically non-Finnic are *Tigoda*, *Tunuda*, *Udgoda*, *Sukhoda*, *Shikhoda* and probably also *Novguda*. The stem *volg-* may not be connected with Finnic with certainty, because it has many correspondences also in the Upper Volga area.

Interestingly enough, the formant *-oda/-uda* regularly follows the plosives *g* (or the spirant **γ* < **g* or the combination **ηγ* ? < *-*gg-*) and *b*. This seems to refer to a clear phonetic regularity. I would presume, as one alternative, that in the background one can find the word **joγ(V)* or **jog(V)* ‘river’, from which > *-oda*. As visible in the names of lakes in the region of Valday, the formant *-dra* being connected with lakes (see below formant *-dra*), it seems that the plosive **g* (? > *γ*) has been replaced by *d*, e.g. **jäγra/ä* or **jägra/ä* > *jädra/ä* ‘lake’ > *-dra*. Correspondingly the development **joγa* or **joga* ‘river’ > *-oda* is possible; cf. the River *Ioda* ? < **joγa* or **joga* (AJO62A1) flowing through the city of Rybinsk as additional evidence for this hypothesis.

The Early Russian sporadic sound shift **g* > *d* (Mullonen 2002: 65 referring to Sokolova 1962: 74–75) is considered to be of Russian origin. According to Sokolova this phonetic shift (regressive assimilation) **ɣ* > *ð*, **κ* > *m*, observed also in Russian medieval chronicles, occurs before front vowels and iotas sporadically both in original Russian words and names and in loanwords. It should be reasonable to consider whether this sound shift **g* > *d* of Russian dialects may originate from some previous substrate language (? of Novgorodian Chudes). Some support for this hypothesis may be provided by the variants of the same hydronym in the Svir region: Russian Янз|озеро [*Yang|ozero*] ~ Veps Jänd|ärv (MAG46). In this case, against the presumption, there occurs *-ng-* in the Russian variant, in contrast with *-nd-* in Veps. Veps **g* > Russian *d* is possible, but **d* > *g* not necessarily without problems. On these grounds one can assume that the Veps variant originates from some previous substrate language (? Chudian) in which **g* > *d*.

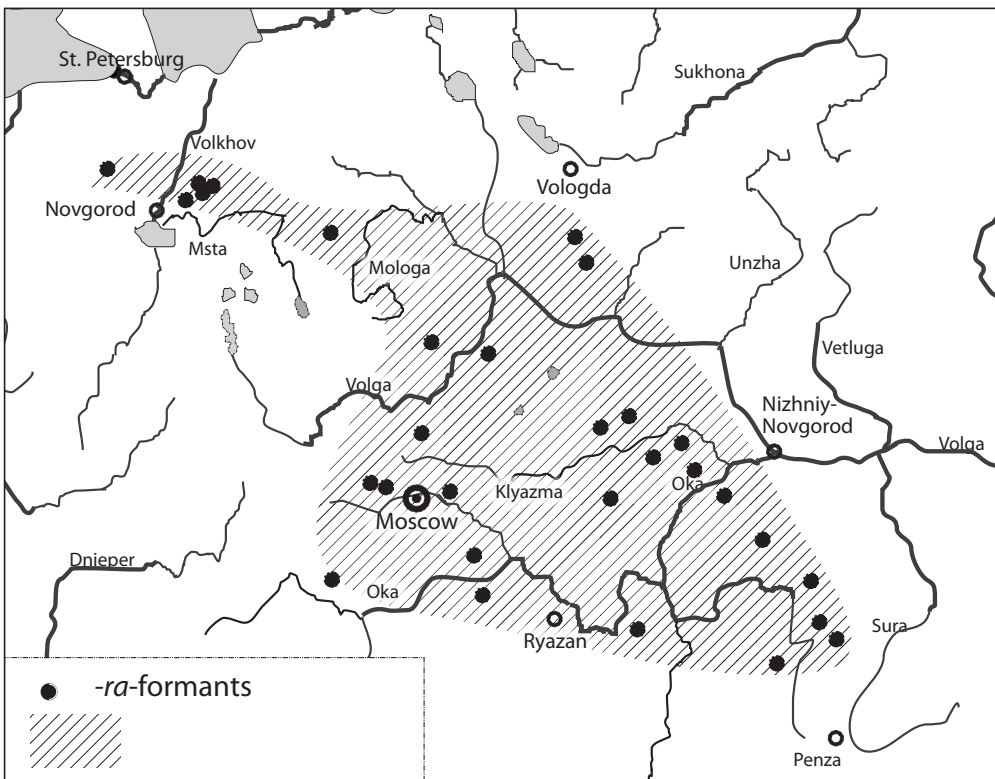
*-ra (-pa)*¹⁸

The formant *-(V)ra* occurring in the names of rivers is very common in the Upper Volga and Oka catchment areas, e.g. *Cheche|ra* ~ *Checho|ra* (GBO109,148), *Kamo|ra* (GBO236,258), *Kato|ra* (GBO230), *Koya|ra* (GBO129), *Koshi|ra* (GBO100), *Vyaze|ra* (GBO255), *Voymi|ra* (GBO226), *Vikshe|ra* (AJO37), *Cheche|ra* (AJO11), *Checho|ra* (AJO87), *Pezo|ra* (ATO106). There are also numerous formants of the type *-(C)ra*: *Ist|ra* (GBO40,106,107), *Kost|ra* (GBO217), *Kust|ra* (GBO270), *Mat|ra* (GBO195), *Pem|ra* (GBO255), *Pom|ra* (GBO265), *Sukh|ra* (GBO197), *Shim|ra* (GBO211). This together with the fact that there are several possibilities for the previous vowel (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*) shows that the vowel does not belong to the formant itself.

18 In Novgorod oblast: *Checho|ra* (ANO28V2), *Yashche|ra* (ANO6-7A1), *Bol. Vishe|ra*; (ANO14G4), *Mal. Vishera* (ANO23A6), *Bol. Vishe|r|ka* (ANO23B5).

The areal distribution (Map 6) offers the most likely possibility to connect the Novgorodian formant *-ra* with languages spoken in the Upper Volga and Oka. This is true especially because the Novgorodian (Nvg) specifics of hydronyms have counterparts in Central Russia (CR); cf. Nvg *Chechora* vs. CR *Chechora* (GBO109,148) [Moscow], Nvg *Yashchera* vs. CR *Yashcher|ka* (GBO111) [Moscow], Nvg *Vishera* vs. CR *Vikshera* (AJO37) [Yaroslav].¹⁹ It is possible that the formant in question can be derived from an original generic **r(h)a* ‘river’.

In old maps the River Volga is called *Rha*. On the map of Mercator (1595) we find written *Volga flu olim Rha* ‘The River Volga, formerly Rha’. Ortelius (1595) has denoted the Volga as *Rha occidentalis* ‘western stream’ (the Kama was *Rha orientalis* ‘eastern stream’). De Jode & Jenkinson (1571) has marked *Volga Rha* ‘The River Volga’. On the basis of these maps, it seems that **rha* > *-ra* was an appellative ‘river, stream’ (in Meryan-Muroma). This idea is supported also by such variants of hydronyms as *Voymi|ra* ~ *Voymi|ga* (GBO226), *Sukh|ra* ~ *Sukh|la* < **Suy|lāj* (GBO197) and the names *Nev|ra* (GBO223) and *Nev|ley* (GBO242, 264).



Map 6. The area of the hydronyms with the formant *-ra*.

¹⁹ The variation of *sh* ~ *ksh* occurs frequently in the toponyms in Central Russia; see below the formant *-sh/-ksh*.

-lya (-ля)

In Novgorod oblast and close to its borders *-lya*-toponyms are distributed as follows in footnote 20 (numbering according to ANO):²⁰

General view

Ahlqvist (1998a: 29, 44; 1998b: 14) and before her Popov (1974: 20–21, 27) have stated that both formants *-lya* (-ля) and *-l'* (-ль) can be traced back to the same origin as Erzya Mordvin *lej* and Moksha *läj* ‘river’. Saarikivi (2006b: 52) has held a similar opinion. Some variants of the same names support this idea: *Mar|ley* ~ *Mar|lya* (GBO241), *Tishem|lya* ~ *Tishim|l'* (GBO16). However, a more detailed study shows that the matter is very complicated and it is possible that the formant *-lya* has several origins, which have only merged into the same form. In the following I present some alternatives. Most of the *-lya*-toponyms are names of rivers. In Novgorod (ANO), Tver (ATO) and Smolensk (ASO) oblasts, 37 toponyms are rivers, 20 settlements, 12 lakes and 6 other natural sites. At least 10 of the oikonyms can be derived from names of rivers and many others from the names of lakes and other sites. This proves that *-lya* in most cases is a formant that is connected with names of rivers.

Areal distribution (Map 7)

In Novgorod oblast *-lya*-toponyms are concentrated in the boundaries of Novgorod and Tver oblasts in the headwaters of the River Msta and Mologa. They are numerous also south of Tikhvin. Some toponyms are found west of these areas as well, e.g. *Yaim|lya* ?< **Äim|läj* [Krestitsy], *Tuleb|lya* ?< **Tulema|läj* [Staraya Russa]. The specifics *Yaim* < **äjmä* and *Tuleb* < **tulema* might be interpreted as Finnic, but one should remember that both words can be derived from even Proto-Uralic; cf. PU **äjmä* ‘needle’, **toli* ‘come’ (Sammallahti 1988: 536, 540). In Smolensk oblast a remarkable concentration of *-lya*-formants is located in the headwaters of the rivers Dnieper and Daugava (Zap. Dvina). Especially in those regions, adoption into Russian has possibly taken place either from Baltic or from Finno-Ugrian languages.

20 Settlements (11) – *Gadom|lya* (40V3), *Khotim|lya* (55A2), *Loshchem|lya* (41G5), **Sitom|lya* (6-7A4), **Sukrom|lya* (6-7A7), **Tuleb|lya* (33G5), *Tukho|lya* (35A4), **Tushem|lya* (19B4), **Udom|lya* (40G3), *Zhelom|lya* (38A3);

rivers (14) – *Tsynov|lya* (53A4), *Dup|lya* (35A5), *Izlom|lya* (52B2), *Yaim|lya* (36B2), *Korkom|lya* (30A3), *Nikom|lya* (17A5), *Pyardom|lya* (17A6), *Radu|lya* (25A5), *Rap|lya* (16A2)~*Ryap|lya* (16B1), *Sitom|lya* (LPNP:L5/N), *Sukrom|lya* (ATO251A1), *Shadom|lya* (28G2), *Tuleb|lya* (34V2); lakes (7) – *Chuchem|lya* (27V5), *Karkom|lya* (40B3), *Radu|lya* (26A2), *Retom|lya* (17V5),

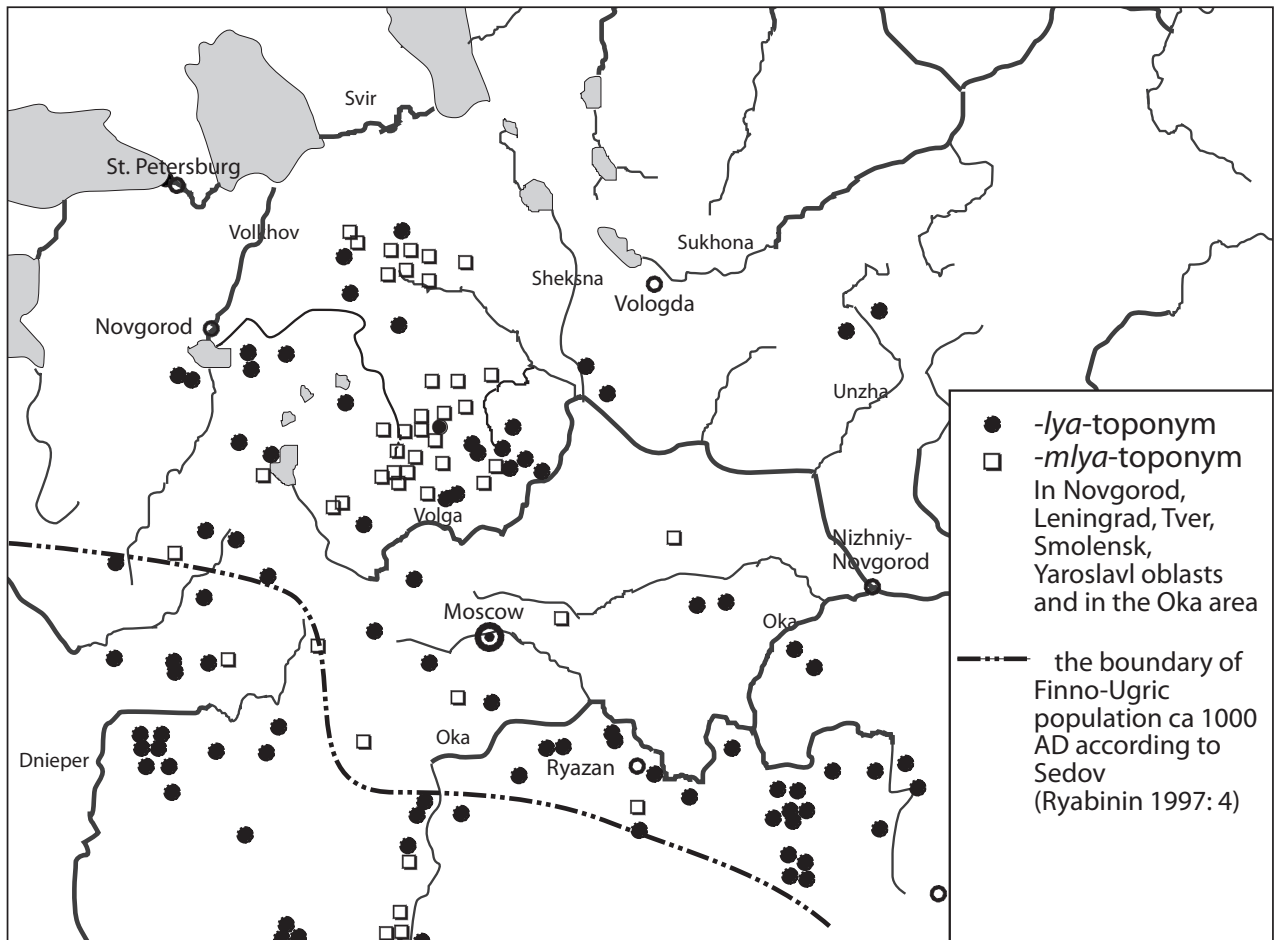
Sudom|lya (18B1), *Udom|lya* (40G3), *Zdym|lya* (18V3);

others – *Gorodom|lya* (isle) (54V2), *Sudom|lya* (marsh) (18B1).

(*) Oikonyms which are derived from hydronyms.

Stems of hydronyms based on anthroponyms

Many of the stems connected with the formant *-lya* can be derived from old Slavic anthroponyms, e.g. *Chuchem|lya* < *Chucha* (Ahlqvist 2006: 19 referring to Veselovskiy 1974) < Russ. dial. *чуча* ‘aboriginal’ (Dal IV 616), cf. *Chude, Khotim|lya* < *Хотимъ* (Vasilyev 2005: 182, 186, 249), *Sudom|lya* < *Судомиръ, Судиславъ* (ibid. 2005: 323), *Tukhom|lya* < *Тухомъ* (ibid. 2005: 246, 249), *Tushem|lya* < *Тушемъ* (ibid. 2005: 246), *Lyutiv|lya, Lyutom|lya* < *Лютъ* (ibid. 2005: 41, 271), *Radob|lya* < *Радомъ* (ibid. 2005: 68, 249), *Zhelom|lya* < *Железостъ* (ibid. 2005: 141). Stems of some names can be derived from such Russian words which can be used to reconstruct anthroponyms: *Retom|lya* ?< *ретивный* ‘furious’ (Dal IV 93), *Dremov|lya* ?< *дрема* ‘dream, doze’ (Dal I 491), *Kokh|lya* ?< Russ. Smolensk *кохать* ‘to love’ (Dal II 180).



Map 7. The areal distribution of toponyms with the formants *-lya* and *-(V)mlya*.

Stems of hydronyms based on old dialectal Russian words

Some of the toponyms are based on old Russian (often dialectal) words that are usually related to obsolete cultural customs: *Khatom|lya* < Russian [South & West] *xama* ‘cottage’ (Dal IV 543), *Sukrom|lya* < Russian [Novgorod/Pskov] *сукром* ‘store for food, etc.’ (Dal IV 359), *Tsynov|lya* < Russian *цыновать* ‘peel bark off bast’ (Dal IV 575), *Posokh|lya* < Russian *nocox* ‘traveller’s staff’ (Dal III 339), *Zdym|lya* < Russian [Pskov] *здым* ‘lifting of an object’ (Dal I 676).

Finno-Ugrian specifics

Some of the *-lya* toponyms have Finno-Ugrian specifics. For example, in the vicinity of Novgorod there is *Tuleb|lya* < **Tulem|lya* literary ‘(on)coming river’ and *Yaim|lya* ‘needle river’. In the ancient area of Mordovia area there is *Kev|lya* (GBO256) ‘stone river’, *Shuzh|lya* (GBO250) ‘oats river’ and *Osh|lya* (GBO253) ?< **Ash|lya* ‘white river’. In the Mordovian names the formant *-lya* certainly has the same original form and meaning as Mordvin *läj* ‘river’.

Unknown stems of hydronyms

Some of the specifics of *lya*-toponyms remain difficult to explain. These include *Itom|lya*, *Korkom|lya*, *Pyardom|lya*, *Karm|lya*, *Oskom|lya* and *Kasp|lya*. The last is a large tributary of the River Daugava (Zap. Dvina) flowing in Smolensk oblast that could be derived from the Baltic languages; cf. Lith. *kaspinas* ‘ribbon’ (LAŽ 1985: 167). The others may originate from Chudian anthroponyms (see below).

Etymology of the formant *-lya*

Because it is possible to connect this formant with Russian as well as Finno-Ugrian stems of toponyms, and possibly even with Baltic ones, it is very difficult to define the original source language, if there really is only one etymological origin. The distribution map (Map 7) shows that the formant *-lya* does not occur in the historically known Finnic territory of the Veps and not widely in the territory of the Meryans of the chronicles. According to the distribution map, it is possible to assume that possibly the early Slavs adopted from the ancient western Mordvins or from their cognate tribes the appellative *läj* < **läkä* ‘valley, river’ (a modern Russian counterpart may be *овраз* [с речкой] ‘valley where a river flows’). Phonetically Proto-Finno-Volgaic **läkä* is possible, with **k* > *j* (Janne Saarikivi, personal information; Bartens 1999: 38; Lehtiranta 2001: 68).

If the origin is not Finno-Ugrian, in the background there may be a word that occurred already in the Balto-Slavic proto-language; cf. Proto-Slavic **lějō* ‘flow’, Lithuanian *lieju* (ESRJ III 504). There exists also in Latvian the word *lej|a* ‘valley, lower-’ (Pajula et al. 1997: 110) which could be the origin of the formant. Thus,

a Balto-Slavic or Baltic origin is a possibility. A Slavic origin seems unlikely because of the narrow distribution of the formant *-lya* in the Slavic-speaking area.

Krysko (2006: 225) reports that in Russian, connected with persons, there sometimes occurs a possessive element **-j* (ъ). This element is preceded by <л> after the labial consonants *б, в, н* and *ф*; e.g. *Ярослав|ль, епископ|ль, философ|ль*. However, this does not occur with the endings *-ов/-ев*, so such a type as *Ростов|ль* is not possible. Krysko does not present any examples with the labial consonant <м>, but supposedly there exist such cases; cf. in verbal conjugation *шуметь : шум|л|ю*. In many cases the formant *-lya* occurs expressly after the labial <м>. The formant *-lya* could, in principle, originate from this phenomenon, but in that case it would be difficult to explain such names of rivers as *Kokh|lya* in Smolensk oblast (ASO34B3) or *Rod|lya* in Kostroma oblast (AKO34B3) and numerous others. In addition, there exist several *-lya*-toponyms that are not based on persons or their names. There are good reasons to note Jouni Vaahtera's view that there do not exist such dialectic factors inside of the Russian language that could explain the areal distribution of the formant in question. Instead, he considers it to be caused by a substrate (Vaahtera: e-mail 8.9.2010). This formant does not occur in the area of the westernmost dialects in the Pskov region or in the River Shelon area, but it occurs in Novgorod oblast east of Lake Ilmen (see Map 7).

Formant *-om/-em|lya*

Among 54 *-lya*-toponyms that I have collected from maps, there are 27 toponyms with the element *-om/-em-* (see Map 7). In most cases it is difficult to believe that all of them could originate from shortened anthroponyms with original *-mir* endings, such as *Vido|mir > Vidom*. Therefore, I presume with reservations that the element *-m* at least in some cases is an original Finno-Ugrian genitive marker **n > m*. The variation of *m ~ n* is common in Russian (e.g. Ahlqvist 1999: 627–629). There are such variations also in *-lya*-toponyms in the Oka watersystem: *Rado|m|lya* (GBO18,25,224) vs. *Rado|n|lya* (GBO32). Genitive constructions are very common in toponyms whose stem is based on personal names. The fact that toponyms with *-m|lya* do not occur in anywhere in Smolensk oblast but the northern parts (see Map 7) suggests a Finno-Ugrian origin. The boundary of these toponyms follows that of Sedov's (Ryabinin 1997: 4, map 1) and Kriiska & Tvauri's illustrations of the ancient Finno-Ugrian settlement (see Maps 2 and 7). In Vologda and Kostroma oblasts there exist two interesting hydronyms connected with this problem. South of the Lake Belozero there occurs *Rodo|m|boy* (AVO53B5), while in the headwaters of the Unzha there is a river *Rod|lya* (AVO83G5) that may be based on the anthroponym *Родъ* [*Rod*'] (Vasilyev 2005: 254). An appellative *boy* occurs in the hydronyms of the Sheksna–Belozero region. Saarikivi (2004: 200–201) has interpreted it as derived from PU **woja* (> Finnish *oja*) 'streamlet', and in that case the translation of *Rodom|boy* could be 'Rodo's streamlet'. *Rod|lya* should be translated 'Rod-streamlet'.

There exists a corresponding Russian genitive construction among the toponyms of Tver oblast. For example, we find *Drem|ov|lya* (ATO201B3) in which *Dremov* seems to be a personal name, and the translation is thus ‘Drema’s river’. The possessive structure with the sign *-ль* mentioned by Krysko (see above) expressly does not work on names with *-ev/-ov* such as Kiev or Rostov, because *-ov* or *-ev* are already genitive markers. This seems to assure that the formant *-lya* does not originate from this Russian genitive structure.

The name of an island in Tver oblast in the Lake Seliger (< **Seriger*), *Gorodom|lya* (ANO117B1), may offer proof for this presumed Finno-Ugrian genitive in *m* (< **n*). The island is situated before the town of Ostashkov. Earlier there was also a town nearby called Zhabachev, which belonged to the princes of Smolensk. The town is mentioned in an ancient (from 1150 AD) document *Ustavnaya gramota* (Isakov 1985: 66). The stem of the name of the island is clearly derived from the Russian word *gorod* ‘town (fortified)’. The form *gorod|om* might be a Chudian genitive **gorodo|n* ‘of the town’. In the middle of the island there exists a long and narrow lake that could be the reason for the formant *-lya*. On the other hand it is possible that the original meaning ‘valley, river’ of the formant was obscured and later it could be attached to all kinds of toponyms.

It is probable that the Novgorodian Chudes adopted Slavic Christian personal names, adapting them to their own language in the same way as e.g. Karelians have done. Oikonyms later arose from these just as in Finland; cf. the Russian anthroponym *Настасья* > Karelian *Nasto* > oikonym *Nasto|la* or the Russian anthroponym *Проконий* > Karelian *Kuopio* > oikonyms *Kuopio|la*, *Kuopio* (SP 195, 286). On these grounds it is possible that among the Novgorodian Chudes there occurred such shortened personal names of Slavic origin as *Rado* > hydronym *Radom|lya* ‘Rado’s river’, *Sudo* > hydronym *Sudom|lya* ‘Sudo’s river’, *Niko* > hydronym *Nikom|lya* ‘Niko’s river’, etc. Original Chudian personal names could be *Ita*, *Korka*, *Oska*, *Pärda*, *Uda*, *Shada*.²¹ They occur as stems in several *-om|lya* hydronyms. Their correspondences are e.g. in the Middle Volkhov *Osk|uya* ‘Osko streamlet’ (ANO14B2), in the Svir water system in the upper courses of the Yavosma *Pyardomskoye oz.* ~ Veps. *Perdomjärvi* (close to a village called Chudskoye), in the Oka area *Perde|ley* (GBO269) and *Perd|ino oz.* (GBO124), *Shadym|ka* (GBO256), *Itja* (GBO173). There exists an anthroponym *Uda* in Novgorodian birchbark documents that has been interpreted as Finno-Ugrian (Saarikivi 2007: 226–227) > *Udom|lya*. It is possible that the second vowel which is represented by *o* in Russian was originally a reduced vowel *ə*, i.e. *Uda* : *Udən* > *Udom*. Except for the last, all other *-lya*-hydronyms are relatively small waters that could be considered as usufructuary rights of individual persons or families offering good grounds for naming.

Undoubtedly, there are also toponyms that truly are shortened forms of old Slavic anthroponyms with *-mir* (**-mir* > *-m*). The river *Tukhom|lya* in the upper courses of

21 *Perd-/Pärd*-anthroponyms and hydronyms may be derived from an original Indo-European **pertā* ‘wing’ ~ Udm. *burd* (Koivulehto 2006: 183).

the River Lovat serves as an example. A village called *Tukhom|ichi* is located close to the river. This type of naming by adding *-ichi* belongs typically to the old Russian tradition. The construction consists of a personal name *Tukhom* + Russian formant *-ichi* (Vasilyev 2005: 246, 249; Mullonen 2002: 84–105).

-zha (-жа)²²

This formant occurs throughout Novgorod oblast and is connected with rivers. It occurs in a large area also elsewhere in Northern and Central Russia. Matveyev (2004: 21) considers it probably a diminutive marker. I personally agree with him and consider *-zh(V)* to be derived from diminutive. The sibilant <zh> of formants can possibly be a Russian substitute for Chudian voiced *ž ~ Proto-Finnic diminutive *-čču (Saarikivi 2006b: 32).

-sha, -ksha, -ksa (-ша, -кша, -кса)²³

It seems that *-sh(a)* has the variants *-ksa/-ksha*. This formant with both variants occurs widely in Yaroslavl and Vladimir oblasts: *Volo|ksha* ~ *Volo|sh|ka* (GBO196) < **Volo|ša*, *Shumo|ksha* ~ *Shumo|sh* (GBO126), *Kolo|ksha* (GBO210) ~ *Kolo|sha* (GBO218), *Tome|ksha* ~ *Tomu|sh|ka* (GBO212) < **Tomə|ša*.

However, the formant *ksa/-ksha* does not occur in the area of the Moscow-centric Dyakovo culture, where only *-sh(a)* formants occur: *Lav|sha* (GBO106), *Nero|sh|ka* (GBO41) < **Nero|ša*, *Pono|sha* (GBO105), *Tol|sha* (GBO142), *Ugre|sha* (GBO88), etc. This fact suggests that the more widespread *-sh(a)* is older than the more narrowly spread *-ksa/-ksha*. This also accords with what Ahlqvist (2004: 12) has presented.

However, there is a difficulty in dating the formant in question. Scholars have usually considered a reverse development, **ks* > *s*, according to the history of the declensions of Finno-Ugrian nouns; e.g. Finn. *vari|s* : *vari|ks|en* [*crow* : *crow's*] (cf. Mullonen 2002: 217–222), where the declined form *-ks-* has been understood to be older. But, as it was presented above, the evidence of the areal distribution seems to contradict this hypothesis.

Matveyev has connected the formant *-sh(a)* with *-zh(a)* (Matveyev 2001). The variants of formants *-sha* ~ *-ksha*, however, stand against his assumption. In my opinion *-zh(a)* is of different origin, a diminutive marker as presented above. Both Ahlqvist and Matveyev claim that the formant *-gda/-khta* could be derived from an earlier formant *-ksa/-ksha* (Matveyev 2004: 27–28; Ahlqvist 2004: 11–13). The following variants of the same hydronym prove that a development **-kša* > **-kča* > *-gda/-khta* has taken place: *Molo|ksha* ~ *Molo|khcha* ~ *Molo|khta* (GBO 201).

22 In Novgorod oblast: *Kobo|zha* (ANO28A3), *Kobo|zha* (ANO30A2), *Molog|zha* (ANO25V5), *Orede|zh* (ANO20B1), *Rabe|zha* (ANO47V5), *Sere|zha* (ANO55A3), *Vereg|zha* (ANO33A5), *Volo|zha* (ANO34V4), *Volo|zh|ba* (ANO17A5), *Voro|zh|ba* (ANO41G4).

23 In Novgorod oblast: *Yere|sha* (ANO21B5), *Kolo|sh|ka* (ANO32V2) < **Kolo|sha*, *Nurdy|sha* (ANO33B5), *Ragu|sha* (ANO17B5), *Shildu|sh|ka* (ANO25B4) < **Shildu|sha*, *Mene|ksha* (ANO14V2), *Nudo|ksa* (LPNP:K6/N).

-st' (-cmб)

The Novgorodian hydronym *Kerest'* (ANO14V2) has a correspondence *Kerost'* (AJ0110A1) in Yaroslavl oblast. In Central Russia, especially in the Meryan-Muroma territory defined by Russian chronicles, there occur also other hydronyms which have a formant *-st'/-sta*: in the Klyazma region *Lakho|st'* (GBO219), in the Oka area *Nere|sta* (GBO137), *Uro|sta* (GBO261), *Vob|sta* (GBO39), in Yaroslavl oblast *Sulo|st'* [a settlement] (AJ0102), *Shigolo|st'* (AJ080) and in Kostroma oblast *Yakhru|st* (TKKO36). The formant in question may have a common origin with the Finnic derivational suffix **-st(V)* (Finn. *-sto/-stö*, Est. *-ste*, Veps *-(i)št*).

The stem *Ker(V)-* is very common in what the chronicles call Meryan territory: *Kero|st'* (AJ0110), *Kero|ma* (AJ017), *Kera* (AKO182), *Ker|bash* (AKO138), *Ker|na* (AKO133), *Ker|nas* (AKO160), *Kera* (GBO234). In the Finnic area there are numerous toponyms with the specific *Keri-* < *keri|tä* 'shear', but the verb is derived from Germanic **skeran*, which is very unlikely to be connected with Central Russian toponyms. The correspondence between *Kerest'* [Chudovo, Volkhov] and *Kerost'* [Rostov, Upper Volga] links this hydronym and the formant clearly with the Upper-Volgaic connection.

-(y)er (-ep)²⁴

The formant *-er ~ -er' ~ -ero/-oro* connected with lakes occurs quite widely in Central Russia and has the same etymology as Mordvin *erke/jäkkä* and Mari *jer/jär*. (Ahlqvist 1997: 29; 1998a: 42; 2000: 16–18; 2004: 15; 2006: 12, 17–20; Matveyev 2001: 290–292.) The formant originating from shortened form *-ar'/-är* 'lake' that occurs only in a rather narrow area in the eastern Veps territory, namely the upper courses of the River Oyat (MAG), is not necessarily connected with the Novgorodian Chudes because of the areal narrowness of its distribution.

The etymology of the Finnish word *järvi* 'lake' that Rédei gives, deriving it from the Proto-Finno-Volgaic **järwä* (UEW II 633) should be reconsidered, because the word occurring in the Meryan hydronyms *яхра* < **jäyra/ä* cannot be derived from the root presented by Rédei. The solution could be an early metathesis **-kr* > **-rk*. Some scholars have derived the word from a Baltic original; cf. Lith. *jáura* 'bog' < Proto-Indo-European **euer-* (Nuutinen 1989: 497–501). This solution too seems impossible if one bears in mind the Meryan word **jäyra/ä*. Arja Ahlqvist has studied the problem of Nuutinen's presentation (2006: 20, footnote 13) having critics against his solution as well. Saarikivi (2006b: 35) also suggests a proto-word with **-kr*. Indo-European linguists such as R. Beekes, however, have reconstructed the PIE word as **ieuHr-* (Mallory & Adams 1997: 636). The assumption of a laryngeal in the Indo-European proto-language might explain the reason for the metathesis **-kr* > **-rk*. I suggested above, because **-Hr* > *-kr* should have been more unnatural for speakers

24 In Novgorod oblast: *oz. Ilmen* < **Ilm|er'* (ANO34B2), *Lam|er|skoye oz.* (ANO36B3), *Nev|ery oz.* (ANO46B3), *Never|ka* (ANO 46B3), *Selig|er oz.* < *Serig|er* (ANO54V2).

of Finno-Ugrian languages than *-rk-*. Proto-Uralic had liquid+plosive combinations, but plosive+liquid combinations were very rare (Petri Kallio, personal comment).

Proto-Saami **jāvrē*; Meryan **jäyra/ä* and the **jädra/ä* that occurs in the territory of the Novgorodian Chudes (see the formant *-dra* below) can be derived without difficulty from the root **jäkra/ä*. Finnic **järve*, Mordvin E *erke* M (j) *äkkä* and Mari *jer/jär* can be derived from **järkä*. In that case, the *-kä* of Mordvin *jär|kä* is not a diminutive marker as usually has been thought (SSA I 259), but part of the original stem. The element *-i* of the second syllable in Finnic (note the exception of Livonian) offers a good reason to suspect the regularity of the whole second syllable *-vi*, because Liv. *jāra*, Proto-Saami **jāvrē*, Mordvin **jäkkä* and Meryan **jäyra/ä* refer to the historical vowel **a/ä* in the second syllable.²⁵ The Estonian dialectal word *järi* is declined in the genitive as *järve* (EEW 603) proving that it is a shortened version of the word **järve* and does not represent an independent development from the original root of the proto-language.

These two lines of linguistic history are visible in the ‘lake’-hydronyms of Novgorod oblast where both *jer* (*jär*) < **järkä/ä* and **jädra/ä* < **jäkra/ä* hydronyms or formants based on them occur (Map 8). For example the component *-er* of the lake **Ilmer* might be developed as the following: **järkä* > **järy* > **järi*. The last stage **järi* is supported by the name of the River *Yary|nya* [Яры|ня] (ANO36V3), *-nya* being a typical Russian formant. The Lake *Lam|er|skoye* (ANO36) is the source of this river. The specific of the river could thus be **järi* ‘lake’ > *Yarynya* ‘lake river’. In Valday exists the Lake *Nev|ery* (ANO46); *-ery* ? < **järi*. Close to the town of Velikiy Novgorod flows the River *Yere|sha* (ANO21B5), whose original form may be **Järi|š*. The river has its sources in a bog where a lake called *Goriyskoye oz.* is located.

The stems of *-er/-or*-lakes in Novgorod (ANO) and Tver (ATO) oblasts have several correspondences with the names of rivers in the Upper Volga (AJO) and Oka regions (GBO): **Ilm|er* (ANO34) vs. *Il'ma* (AJO109), *Il'mezh* (AJO36), *Il'menka* (AJO112), *Lam|er|skoye oz.* (ANO36) vs. *Lam'* (AJO27), *Lamo* (GBO220), *Lamekh* (GBO223), *Lamenka* (GBO224), *Lam|ka* (GBO246), *Pud|oro* (ATO54A4) vs. *Pudega* (AVO76), **Serig|er* ANO54 vs. *Seruksha* (AJO115), *Serenga* (GBO147), *Seroksha* (GBO210,212), *Tam|or|zha* (ATO54B1) vs. *Tamara* (AJO102), *Tum|er|to* (ATO256B2) vs. *Tumash* (AJO98), *Nev|ery* ANO46 vs. *Nev|ra* (GBO223), *Nev|ley* (GBO242,264), *Neva* (GBO185).²⁶ Thus, it is not possible to connect the word **järi* of the hydronyms in Novgorod and Tver oblasts with the Estonian word *järi* < **järve*.

25 Sometimes an original **k/g* can be represented in open syllables in loanwords in Finnic as *v*; e.g. *porvari* < Late Old Swedish *borghare* (SSA II 402) offering the phonetic possibility of **järy(V)* > *järv(V)*.

26 It is unlikely that the stem **serig* is derived from a fish **serig* ‘roach’ as suggested by Mullonen (2002: 235), because in Finland *Särki|järvi* ‘roach lake’ was never the name of any big lake (GT2000: 272–273). The etymological background might be the same as Mordvin *seren* ‘high’ > **Seren|jär* > **Seriger* ‘high lake’ (MW IV 1970). Lake Seliger is located in the Valday highlands, being the highest lake in the Volga catchment area.

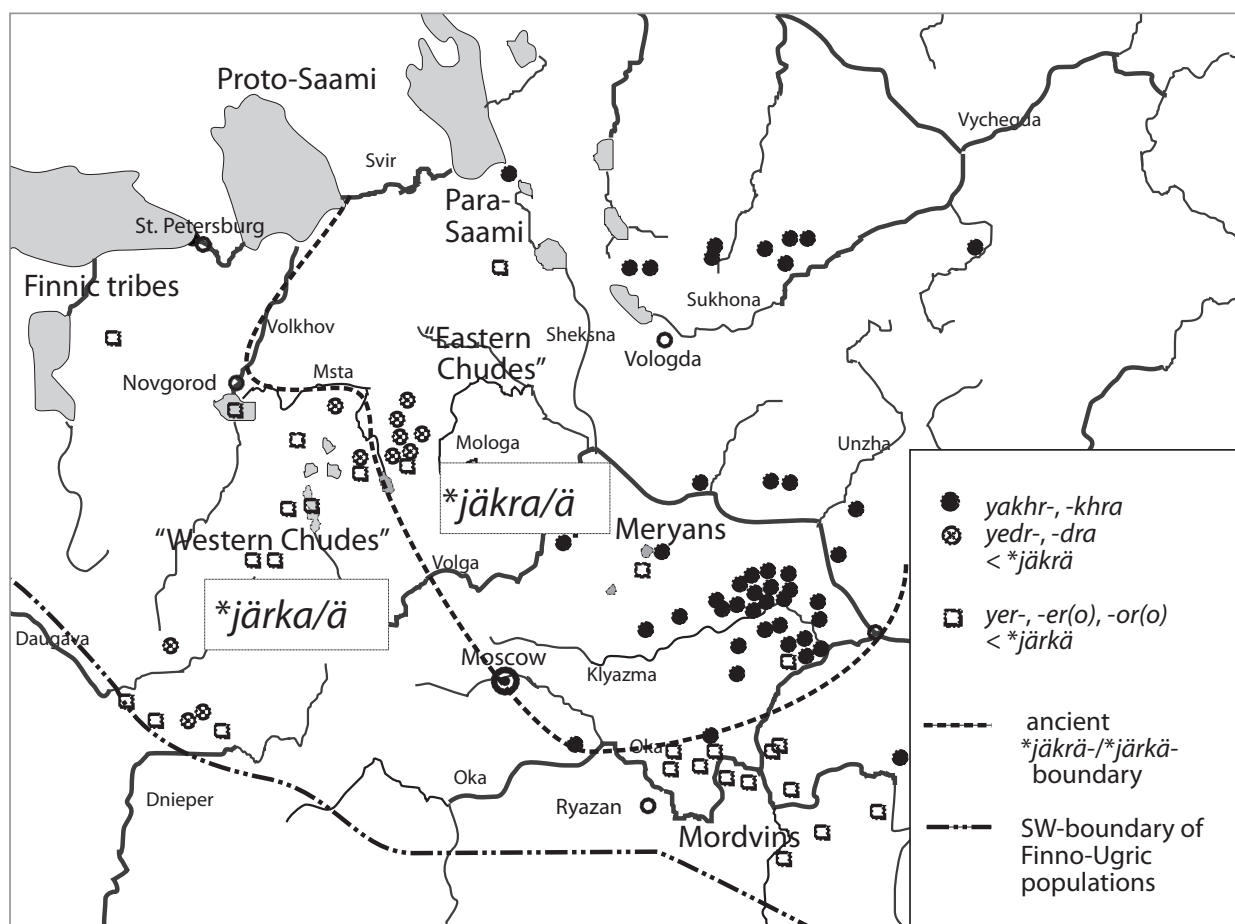
*-dra (-ðpa)*²⁷

The fact that in some ancient language in Novgorod and Tver oblasts there has been a word **jädra/ä* can be concluded from *-dra*-formants that almost without exception are lakes or rivers connected with lakes (see the list in footnote 27). In addition, in Valday there occur such names of lakes as *Yedr|ovo oz.* (ATO50A1) and *Yedr|itsa oz.* (ATO32A3). In the upper courses of the River Daugava occurs the Lake *Edr|itsa oz.* (ATO50A1). Some *-dra*-formants are found also in the Svir region *Kuz|dra* (MAG2), in Yaroslavl oblast *Savo|dra|nka* (AJ067A1) and, on the boundaries of Vologda and Yaroslavl oblast *Yashkon|dra* (AJ022B1).

I present as an explanation for two different words for ‘lake’, **järi* and **jädra/ä*, the following hypothesis with reservations. In Novgorod and Tver oblasts there may have been two kinds of Chudes, “western” and “eastern” (Map 8). In the area of more western Chudes, mostly on the south-western side of the River Msta, there occur e.g. the words **m(u)sta* ‘black’ (Map 5) and **järi* ‘lake’. However, in both of these languages the phonetic shifts typical for the Finnic languages had not taken place; **š > h* and **č > t* (see below Section 6). It is possible to think that the language of “the western Chudes” (WCh) was phonetically close to Proto-Finnic or the Proto-Finno-Volgaic language. On the other hand there seem to be some words which are close to Mordvin: WCh *čere* ~ Mordv. *čire* ‘being alongside’, WCh *lama* ~ Mordv. *lamolama* ‘much/big’ (see hydronyms above), WCh *tum(V)* ~ Mordv. *tumol/tuma* ‘oak’ (see hydronyms above), and possibly the word *vel-* ‘upper’. There are such small headwaters as the River *Vel’giya* ? < **Veljog(V)* ‘upper river’ (ANO39A4) and some others with the stem *vel-*. Many of them are so small that it seems difficult to derive them from the Slavic stem *вел-* ‘big’. In the present article it is not possible to enter more deeply into this subject.

The language of the “eastern Chudes” (ECh) seems to have had some similarities with the language spoken in the territory of the Merya of the old Russian chronicles; cf. ECh *jädra/ä* ~ Meryan **jäyra/ä* [**g > d*]. There are also indications of a common word *vol(o)* < Finno-Volgaic **ala* ‘lower’ in ECh and Meryan (see also Rahkonen 2009: 172). Thus the following two matters in the “ECh language” share common features with the language spoken in the Meryan territory and Saami: 1) the common historical root **jäkrä* ‘lake’ and 2) the phonetic shift of initial **a > vo*. It is important to emphasize that the boundaries were not very strict. Ancient Finno-Ugrian tribes did not establish any national kingdoms with clear boundaries.

27 In Novgorod oblast *Keza|dra oz.* (ANO41V3), *Lima|ndr|ovo oz.* (ANO39A5), *Limandrovka* (ANO39A5), *Nez|dr|inskoye oz.* (ANO25G3), *Shabo|dro oz.* (ANO40B1), *Shabo|der|ka* (ANO40B1), *Sherego|dra oz.* (ANO27B4), *Tikhoman|dr|ica* (ANO40V3), *Tishi|dra oz.* (ATO54A3).



Map 8. Yakhr-, -khra, yedr-, -dra and yer-lyar, -er(o), -or(o) names of lakes in Central and North Russia and the possible boundary of the proto-language words *jäkra/ä and *jarka/ä.

-uya (-уя)²⁸

Undoubtedly, this formant is derived from the Finnic word *oja* ‘ditch, river’ (see Matveyev 2001: 256–261). The specific *Osk-* may be a result of a metathesis *oska* < **oksa* ‘twig’ or **oksi* ‘bear’. An origin in a personal name *Oska* is possible, even probable; see above the formant *-lya*, *Oskom|lya* (ATO94A4) and *Oskom|lya ruchey* (ATO123A1). *Oskuya* is located close to the boundary of the area of Finnic hydronyms (see Section 4, Map 4).

-nda (-нда)²⁹

The formant *-nda* has correspondences in Finnic toponyms (cf. in Finland *Vesa|nto*, *Pyhä|ntä*), but also in the Oka and Upper Volga region; cf. *Ile|nda* (GBO228), *Leve|nda* (GBO193), *Uro|nda* (GBO216), *Shura|nda* (GBO252), *Bol. & Mal. Kolo|nda* (TKKO21), *Meze|nda* (TKKO21). The majority of these are located in Kostroma and Vladimir oblasts. The same formant also occurs in the region of southern Lake Onega

28 In Novgorod oblast: *Osk|uya* (ANO14B2), *Osk|uy|skoye oz.* (ANO14B3)

29 In Novgorod oblast: *Vero|nda* (ANO33A5)

and the River Svir: *Luzha|nd|ozero* (AVO12), *Sula|nd|ozero* (AVO12), *Vera|nda* (MAG2), *Yulo|nda* (MAG18), *Sura|nda* (MAG13), *Viksi|nda* (TKRK116) (see also Mullonen 2002: 199, 290–292).

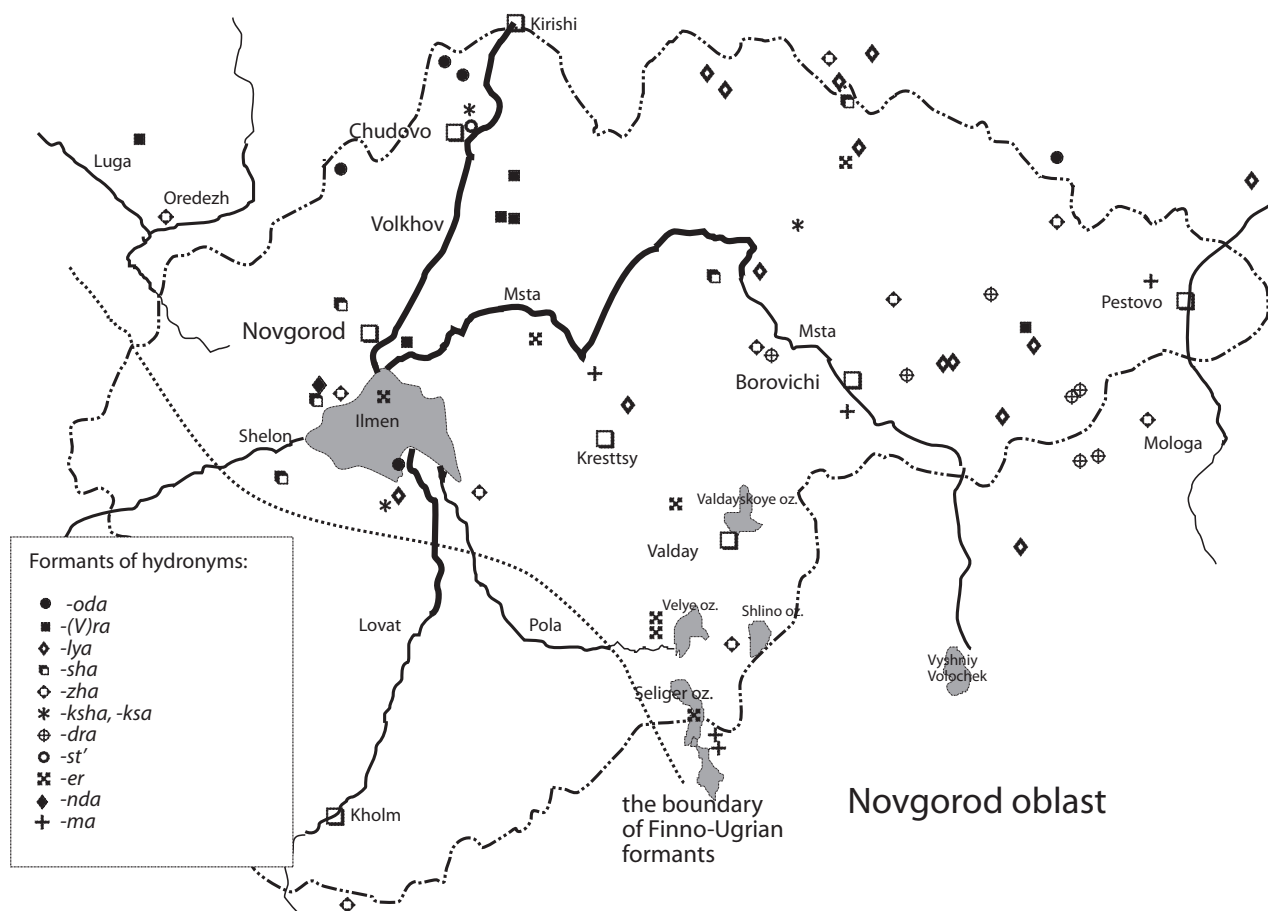
Ahlqvist (1992: 27–28) has pointed out that the formant *-nda* varies in central Russian toponyms with the formant *-nga*. Such *nk* ~ *nt* variation is found also in Finnish dialects: e.g. **nki* > *nti*; cf. **kaupu|nki* > *kaupu|nti* ‘town’ (SSAI 332). Finnish toponyms also display the variation **nti* > *nki*; cf. **Anu|nti* > *Anunki*, **Holla|nti* > *Holla|nki*, **Muola|nti* > *Muola|nki* (Räsänen 2003: 15, 21–22, 80–81).

The River *Veronda* (ANO33A5), close to Velikiy Novgorod, has a counterpart in the river *Vera|nda* ~ *Vere|nda* and the lake *Vera|nd|ozero* (MAG2) in the Upper Svir. Direct Finnic counterparts, such as **Vierunta* are not found in Finnish toponyms (NA), but the lakes *Vierus|järvi* (GT2000: 156C2) and *Vieruva|n|järvi* (GT2000: 47F1) may correspond. In the Oka region as well as in Yaroslavl and Kostroma oblasts there occur the probable correspondences *Ver|da* (GBO179,185), *Vere|pa* ? < **Vere|upa* (GBO160), *Vere|sh|ka* < **Vere|ša* (GBO41), *Ver|zha* (GBO210), *Ver|kusha* (GBO152), *Vere|ksa* (AJ057), *Ver|bush|ka* (AKO186), *Vere|me|evka* < **Vere|ma* (AKO173), *Vere|na* (AKO197), *Ver|zhe|nka* < **Ver|ža* (AKO184). The stem *ver(e)-* can be compared with Mordvin word *ver/vär* ‘upper’ that, on the grounds of the areal distribution of this specific, seems to have belonged to the language of the Meryans of the chronicles as well.

Conclusions

The Finno-Ugrian formants of Novgorod oblast can be viewed as five groups: 1) the Oka–Upper-Volgaic group, 2) the vast Finno-Ugrian group, 3) the Finnic group, 4) the local group and 5) the Finnic–Upper-Volgaic group. Many of these groups have connections with toponyms in Northern Russia, but because the toponyms there are very heterogeneous, Northern Russia has not been considered as its own group.

The Oka–Upper-Volgaic group contains the formants *-ra*, *-lya* and *-er*. The vast Finno-Ugrian group contains the formants *-sha/-ksa/-ksha*, *-zha*, *-ma/-ba*, *-ga*. The Finnic group has only the one representative *-uya* < **oja*. The local group is represented by formants with possible shift **g* > *d*; *-oda* ? < **joga*, *-dra* < **jädra/ä* ? < **jäyra/ä*. The Finnic–Upper-Volgaic group contains the formants *-st(V)* and *-nd(V)*. These two formants have representatives in the Oka–Upper-Volgaic as well as in the Finnic linguistic area. However, in Novgorod oblast they are rare. Only two hydronyms are known: *Kere|st*’ [Chudovo] and *Vero|nda* [Velikiy Novgorod]. Otherwise they are strongly represented in the Oka–Upper-Volgaic territory.



Map 9. Finno-Ugrian formants in Novgorod oblast.

6. The Finnic sound shifts $*\check{s} > h$, $*\check{c} > t$ and Novgorodian hydronyms

One of the most essential sound shifts in Finnic is $*\check{s} > h$ and another is $*\check{c} > t$ (Sammallahti 1999: 76; Kallio 2007: 233). For this reason it is very useful to examine names containing $\check{s}$, $\check{c}$ and h . With the help of these names it is possible to verify whether in the ancient language(s) of the research area the most typical Finnic sound shifts did or did not take place.

6.1. Hydronyms with $< \check{s} >$

To this category belong such hydronyms as *Shabo|dro oz.* (ANO40B1) $< * \check{S}abo|j\check{a}dra < * \check{s}ab(V)$ ‘aspen’ || *Shadomlya* (ANO28G2) $? < * \check{S}adonl\check{a}j$ ‘river of $\check{S}ado$ ’ || *Shuya* (ANO16V3) $< * \check{s}uj$ ‘long bay into which usually empties a river’ (the topography of $* \check{s}uj$ -hydronyms in North and Central Russia mostly corresponds with this explanation) || *Yashche|ra* (LPNP: $\check{Z}4/S$) $< * J\check{a}(k)\check{s}\check{a}|ra < * j\check{ä}(k)\check{s}\check{ä}$ ‘cold’ (see SSA I 260) ||

Bol. & Mal. Vishe|ra (ANO14G2/23A6), *Vishe|ra* (ANO22V2), *Bol. & Mal. Visherka* (ANO23B5) < **više/ä* ‘viha-nta, vihreä’ (see Sammallahti 1988: 554). Not far away we find another hydronym based on colours, the river *Msta* ‘Black River’. These hydronyms have numerous correspondences in the Upper Volga and Oka region.

6.2. Hydronyms with < č >

To this category belong such rivers and lakes as *Chagoda* (2) (ANO13A5; ANO19B5), *Chagodoshcha* (ANO6-7A8), *Chagodskoye oz.* (ANO34B2), *Checho|ra* (ANO28V2); cf. Erzya Mordvin *čāčo|ms* < **šačoms* ‘to be born’ (MW I 194–198) i.e. ‘source river’ (this river is the last one in its catchment area)³⁰, *Cherma* (LPNP:Z1/S) and the Lake *Cheremenskoye* < **Čerema*; cf. Erzya Mordvin *čīre* ‘being alongside’ (MW I 269); these waters are located parallel to a larger body of water. There are several correspondences in the Upper Volga and Oka regions.

On the basis of the hydronyms mentioned above, it is possible to conclude that some Finno-Ugrian language was spoken in Novgorod oblast and in the southern, south-western and eastern parts of Leningrad oblast that could not be Finnic, because the sound shifts **š* > *h* and **č* > *t* had not taken place. The hydronyms of the research area show a similarity with those in the Upper Volga and Oka regions. The stems **čer(e)-* and **čeče-* resemble the Erzya Mordvin words *čīre* < **šere* ‘being alongside’ and *čāčo|ms* < **šačo|ms* ‘to be born’. In that case, in the Chudian language there was a similar secondary < *č* > as in Erzya Mordvin.

6.3. Hydronyms with < h >

The initial Finnic *h* can be substituted in Novgorodian Russian by the consonants *x*, *z* and *j-* (*я*, *e*, *ě*, *ѣ*, *ю*) or by zero *Ø* (Mullonen 2002: 51–56).

6.3.1. Toponyms with initial Russian *kh-* (*x-*):

Khaba|l|inka (ANO20B2), an oikonym in Leningrad oblast in the upper course of the River Oredez. Undoubtedly, there exists in the background an Ingrian word *hāpa* ‘wood of aspen’ (SSA I 126). The oikonym is located close to the historically known southern boundary of Ingrian settlement.

Khobo|l|ka (ANO51B4) is a river in the upper source of the River Lovat. The name can probably be derived from Karelian dialectal word [Valday] *hoaba* ‘aspen’ (KKS) (see Map 3), being connected with Käkisalmi Karelian refugees (Kirkinen

30 In the Meryan area occur widely *Shach(V)*-hydronyms ? < Meryan **šač(V)*- ~ Mordvin *čāčo|ms*, *šačo|ms* < PFP **šeč-*.

1994: 154). The Finnic diphthongs are usually represented in Russian with the first vowel of the diphthong; cf. *Suomi* ‘Finland’ > Old Russian Сумь (ESRJ III 803).

Khuba (ANO23V6), *Khub|ka* (ANO23V5) are tributaries of the lower course of the River Msta. In the background there may be the Tver Karelian dialectal word *huaba* ‘aspen’ (KKS). In the region in question, migration by the Käkisalme Karelians has taken place (Kirkinen 1994: 154). In principle, it is possible to derive the toponyms also from the Finnic word *hüvä* ‘good’. In that case the Finnic **ü* > Russian *y* and the Finnic **v* > Russian *o*, which is possible according to the rules of adoption in the Novgorodian area (Mullonen 2002: 58, 68). The latter is more rare as a naming ground.

6.3.2. Toponyms with initial Russian *z-*

Gebezhkoye oz. (ANO50A2) ?< **Hebož|järvi* is a lake in the Lovat watersystem close to *Khobolka*. Phonetically it is possible to derive the specific from Tver-Valday Karelian *hebo* ‘horse’.

6.3.3. Toponyms with loss (Ø) of the original initial Finnic **h-*

Izhina (ANO30B4) is a name of a river in the extreme eastern corner of Novgorod oblast close to the border of Vologda oblast. This hydronym can most probably be derived from an original **Hi(i)ži|na*. In that case, in the background there may be the Salmi Karelian dialectal word *hiiži* ‘demon, pagan worshipping place’ (KKS). The river is not far away from the Vesjegonsk region where numerous Tver Karelians migrated in the 17th century (Kirkinen 1994: 166).

6.3.4. Toponyms with **h* ~ Russian *ě, ŭ, ю, я*

Toponyms of this category are not found.

6.4. Conclusion

It seems that some toponyms with an initial **h-* exist in the research area. However, they can be derived either from Ingrian or Karelian migration in the 17th century AD. Even if they are connected with an earlier population, the number of these hydronyms is so small that most probably they are not inherited from the aboriginals of the Novgorodian territory, i.e. from the *Chudes* of the early Russian chronicles. At least the toponyms based on the diphthongs *-oa-* (*hoaba*) or *-ua-* (*huaba*) originate from the Karelian language.

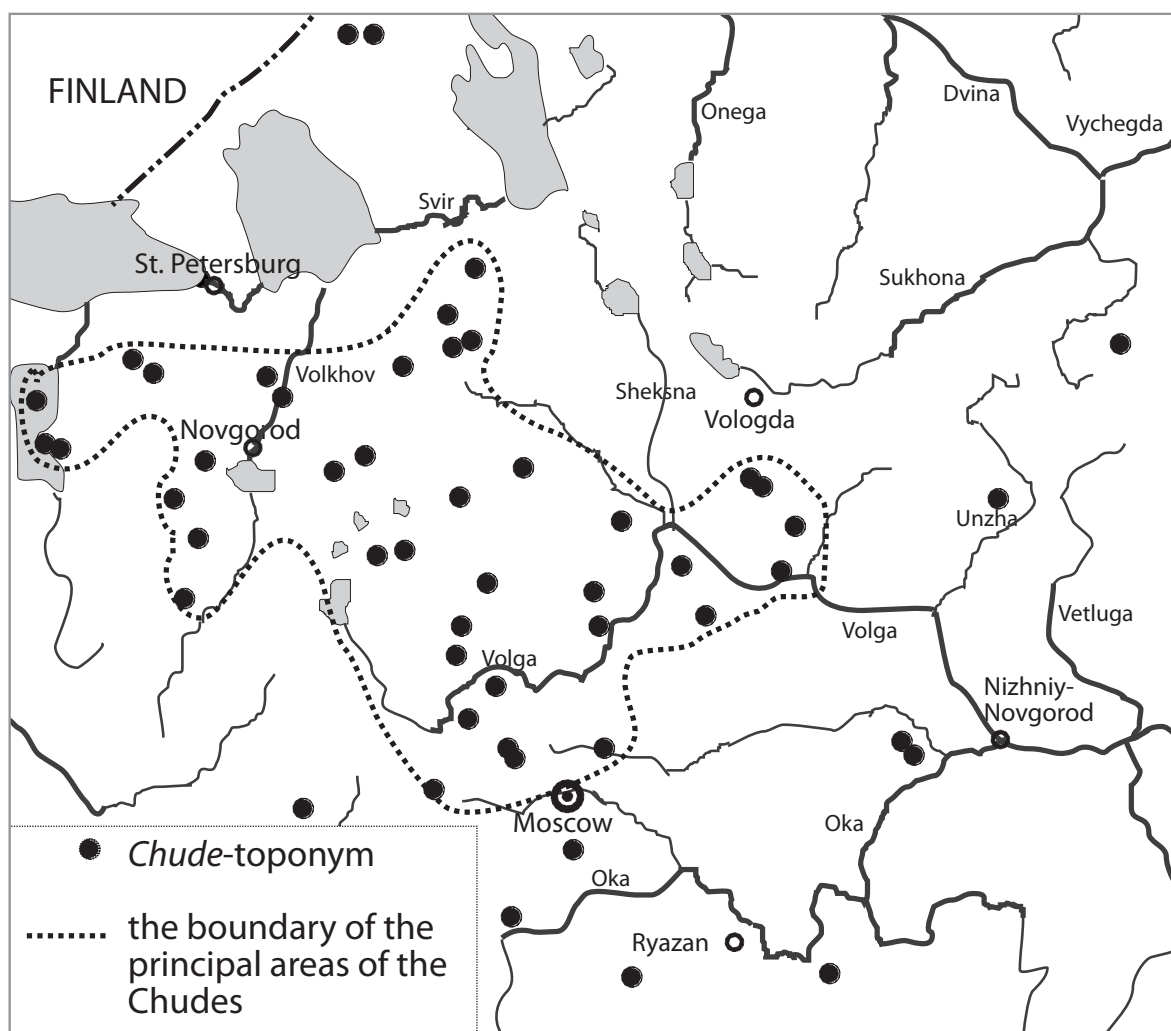
7. Ethnonyms *Chude* and *Nere ~ Mere*

7.1. *chud(e)-*

The area of toponyms with *Chud(e)* is vast.³¹ The areal distribution is focused in Novgorod, Leningrad and Tver oblasts. A total of 30 names have been collected here. Some stray occurrences are found in Moscow obl. (4), Yaroslavl obl. (4), Pskov obl. (3), Ivanov obl. (2), the Republic of Karelia (2), Smolensk obl. (2), Vladimir obl. (2), Kaluga obl. (1), Kirov obl. (1), Kostoma obl. (1), Tula obl. (1). Arkhangelsk oblast and the Republic of Komi are ruled out, because in these areas lived a tribe that was in the chronicles referred to as *Zavolochkaya Ch(y)ude* [Заволочкая Чюдь] ‘the Chude behind the neck of land’. The connection of this tribe with the Novgorodian Chudes is not yet solved.

If the *chud(e)*-toponyms at least mainly reflect the ethnos of the Novgorodian Chudes mentioned in the Russian chronicles, the formation of the imperial governments of Novgorod and Tver seem to correspond to the core area of Chudian settlement quite well (Map 10). It is very important to note those areas where the number of *chud(e)*-toponyms is small or they do not exist at all. Even though the Veps are later called Chudes by Russians, the *chud(e)*-toponyms do not occur in the historical Veps territory with the exception of the environs of Tikhvin and the name of the marsh *Choudy|boloto* (MAG53) in the area of the River Shoksha in the upper course of the River Oyat. Even more surprising is that in Vologda oblast, according to the atlas AVO (2008), *chud(e)*-toponyms are totally lacking. In the traditional Meryan territory in Yaroslavl, Vladimir and Kostroma oblasts the number is also low. A couple of *chud(e)*-hydronyms, *Chud|ozero* and *Chudo|järvi* occur in the Republic of Karelia in the Porajärvi region as well. These hydronyms may be of Saami origin reflecting hostile contacts reported in Saami folklore between a Saami population and Chudes (Grünthal 1997: 156).

31 *Chudina* (oikon.) (ANO48), *Chudinovo* (oikon.) (ANO43), *Chudinskoye bol.* (marsh) (ANO36), *Chudintsevy Gorki* (oikon.) (ANO32), *Chudovka* (river) (ANO24), *Chudovo* (town) (ANO13), *Chudovo* (oikon.) (ANO38), *Chudsko* (oikon.) (ANO32), *Chudskoye oz.* (lake) (ANO50), *Chudskoye* (nature) (ANO28), *Chudskoy Bor* (oikon.) (ANO13), *Chudtsy* (nature) (ANO16), *Chudskoye ozero ~ Peipus* (lake) (LPNP:Z1/S), *Chudskaya Rudnitsa* (oikon.) (LPNP:I1/S), *Chudskiye Zakhody* (oikon.) (LPNP:I1/S), *Chudtsy* (oikon.) (LPNP:K7/N), *Chudskaya* (oikon.) (LPNP:I7/N), *Opol'skiy v Chyudi* (oikon.) (Ryabinin 1997: 18), *Toldozhskiy v Chyudi* (oikon.) ibid., *Chudinka* (oikon.) (AMO57), *Chudinovo* (oikon.) (AMO115), *Chudtsevo* (oikon.) (AMO37), *Chudtsevskoye oz.* (lake) (AMO37), *Chudnovka* (ATuO69), *Chudnenkij* (oikon.) (AKaO51), *Chudinovo* (nature) (ASO32,63), *Chudino oz.* (lake) (ARO68), *Chudinovo* (oikon.) (AVldO43), *Chudskaya* (oikon.) (AVldO65), *Chud'* (oikon.) (AIO18~AKO189), *Chudin-ka* (nature) (AJO21), *Chudinovo* (oikon.) (AJO38), *Chudinovskoye bol.* (marsh) (AJO61), *Chudikha* (oikon.) (AKO121), *Chudal'ovo* (oikon.) [Kir. obl.] (AVO67), *Chudinka* (oikon.) [Yrl obl.] (AVO92), *Chudino* (oikon.) (ATO67), *Chudinovo* (oikon.) (ATO134,152), *Chudinovskiy* (river) (ATO16,123), *Chudiny* (oikon.) (ATO96), *Chudnikovo* (oikon.) (ATO80), *Chudovo* (oikon.) (ATO189,211), *Chudskoy Stan* [Uglich] (Ryabinin 1997: 168), *Choudy boloto* (marsh) (MAG53), *Chudojärvi* (lake) (TKRK80), *Chudozero* (lake) (TKRK81).



Map 10. The areal distribution of Chud(e)-toponyms.

There are some interesting stray toponyms. In Kirov oblast close to the border of Vologda oblast there occurs a village name *Chudal|ovo*. Close to it is another village called *Chegado|evskiy*. These names recall such toponyms as the town of *Chudovo* and the River *Chagoda* in the middle course of the River Volkhov. Thus, it seems obvious that these oikonyms in Kirov oblast have been transferred from the River Volkhov area.

7.2. *mer(e)*, *ner(e)*-

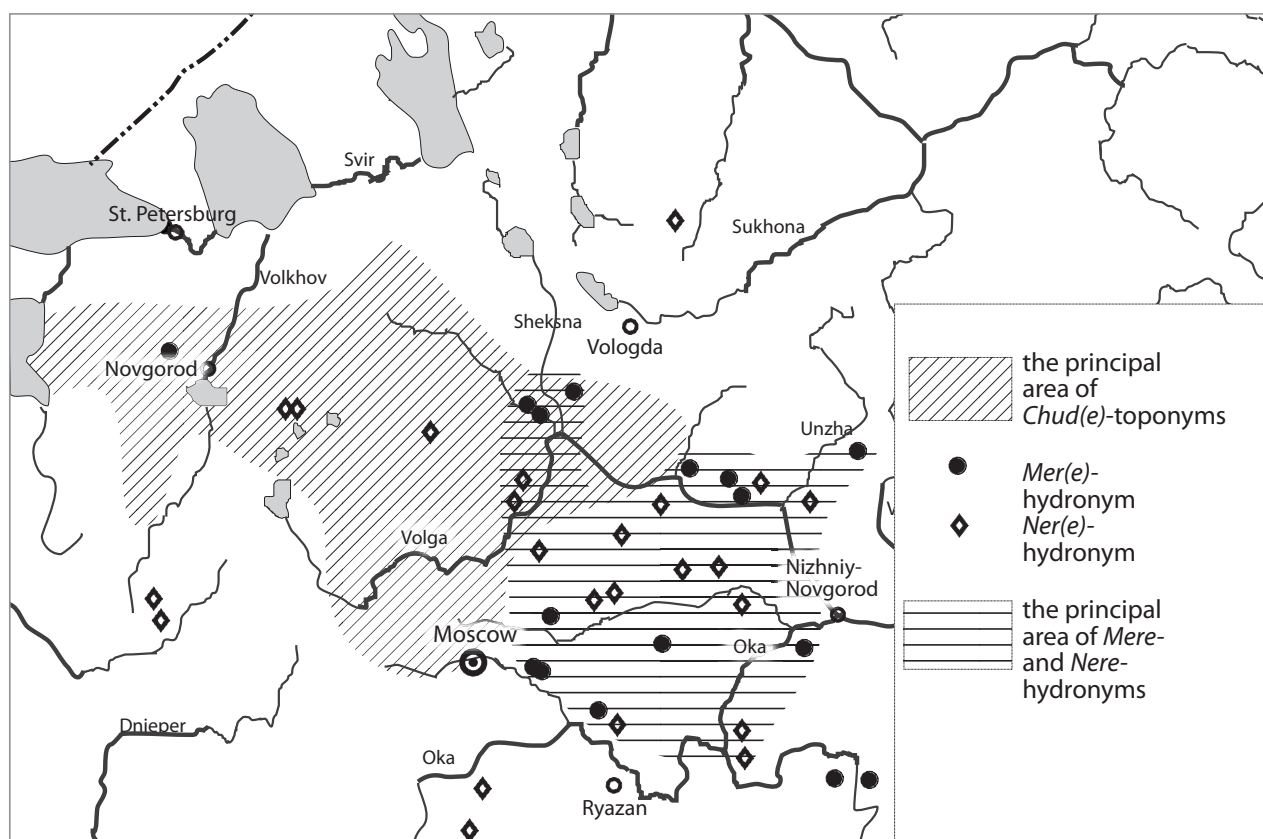
The majority of *mere(e)* and *ner(e)* toponyms are located in the traditional area of the Meryans and Muromas defined by the Russian chronicles.³² *Merevskoye oz.* on the border of Novgorod and Leningrad oblasts is hardly connected with actual Meryans, but more probably with an ethnos called *Mereva* ~ *Nereva* (see Machinskiy 1986: 8–9). This ethnos is also known in the *Povest vremennykh let* in a literary form *Neroma*. It has been incorrectly interpreted as Narva (Cross & Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953).

The variants *mer(e)* ~ *ner(e)* in the Upper Volga–Oka area seem both to refer to the Meryans of the chronicles. Ahlqvist (1999: 626–630) has seen a reason for the two variants in an **n > m* shift in Old Russian; cf. **norrman > murman* ‘Norwegian Viking’. In that case the original ethnonym should be **ner(e)*. Ahlqvist believes that it originates from the name of Lake Nero < **In|jer*. As a naming model her explanation is very reasonable, but there are still some problems left. If there is any connection with the ethnonyms *Merya* < **Nere* and *Nereva* ~ *Nereva* ~ *Neroma* of Pskov–Novgorod region, the explanation based on the hydronym *Nero oz.* is very unlikely. Already Herodotus (ca 485–420 BC) writes of a nationality called *Neuri*. According to him they lived somewhere “behind the Scythians” in the neighbourhood of the Androphags (?Mordvins). There are still mentions of them in Roman sources in the 4th century AD, placing this ethnos in the upper source of the River Dnieper. (Gimbutas 1963: 99–100).

I would present as one possibility that there was a Baltic tribe who came from either the River *Narev* (today in Northern Poland) or the River *Neris* (today in Belarus and Lithuania) and who migrated to the upper sources of the Dnieper and the Kaluga–Moscow area. The Slavs called them *голядь* (~ *Galindian*). It is known that the western Galindians lived on the northern banks of the River Narev. In the upper sources of the River Daugava (Zap. Dvina) there flows a river *Nar|yazykovo* ‘speaker of the Nar-language’. This hydronym can be connected with the Novgorodian *Nerevas*. It is possible that the Finno-Ugrians that are known as Meryans adopted the ethnonym from the neighbouring Balts.

32 *Merevskoye oz.* (ANO20), *Mereley* (GBO257), *Mer|ka* (GBO110), *Mer|lyay* (GBO240), *Mer|ovka* (GBO123), *Mer|skaya* (GBO110,129), *Meryan|ovskoye* (GBO205), *Meryak|in* (GBO272), *Mer|skaya* (AJO69), *Mera* (TKKO49), *Merem|sha* (TKKO41).

Ner|ach|ino oz. (ANO40), *Nere|ts|koye oz.* (ANO37), *Ner|tsa* (ANO37), *Ner|ash* (GBO209), *Nere|vets* (GBO262), *Nere|vka* (GBO261), *Nere|vskoye* (GBO124,141), *Neres|l'* (GBO208), *Nere|sta* (GBO137), *Nere|khta* (GBO227), *Ner|l'* [Klyazma] (GBO214), *Nere|buzh|skoye* (GBO221), *Ner|ga* (AJO72), *Nere|khta* (AJO85,95), *Ner|l'* [Volga] (AJO106), *Nero oz.* (AJO102), *Nere|to* (ATO21), *Nere|g* (TKKO62), *Nere|khta* (TKKO45,50) || WRG: *Nerizha* Kr. Odoev, G. Tula, *Nero|sh|ka* Kr. Medyn, G. Kaluga, *Nere|ta* ~ *Narata* Kr. Dvinsk, G. Vitebsk. Kr. = kray, G. = government.



Map 11. The principal areas of Chud(e), Mer(e) and Ner(e) hydronyms.

7.3. Other ethnonyms

There exist some other ethnonyms which are represented here only very briefly in the following list:

Kurlyandskoye (ANO45A4) < 'Kurlandic'

Libya (ANO47B4), *Livitsa* (ANO48A2) < 'Livonian'

Litvinovo (ANO36B2, ANO43V4) < 'Lithuanian'

Meshcherskaya Kromka (ANO35V5) < 'Meshchera'

Nemtsovo (ANO41B4) < 'German, Scandinavian'

8. Pskov region

Neither Finnic nor Upper-Volgaic Finno-Ugrian macrotoponyms occur in the surroundings of the town of Pskov. The names of bigger rivers in this area are mostly Slavic, and therefore it is possible to presume that the Slavs have lived in the Pskov region for a long time. In the map *Obzorno-Geograficheskaya karta* (LPNP) 1: 400 000 we find the following transparently Slavic hydronyms: *Kamenka* < Russian *камень* ‘stone’, *Shchepets* < Russian *щеп* ‘chip’, *Velikaya* < Russian *великий* ‘big’, *Mnoga* < Russian *много* ‘much; i.e. big’, *Shiritskoye oz.* < Russian *шир-* ‘broad’, *Chernaya* < Russian *чёрный* ‘black’, *Belka* < Russian *белый* ‘white’ or *белка* ‘squirrel’, *Velino oz.* < Old Russian *велии* ‘big’, *Brannoje oz.* < Russian *бранный* ‘battle, war-’, *Zabel’skoye oz.* < Russian *белый* ‘white’ and probably Slavic *Zhel|tsa* ?< Russian *жёлтый* ‘yellow’, *Polon|ka* ?< Russian *полон* ‘harvest, prey’, *Obdekh* ~ Estonian *Optjogi* ?< Slavic *обьдо* ‘treasure’, *Lochkina* ?< Russian *лочига* ‘Lapsana communis’, *Uza* ?< Russian *уза* ‘beeswax’

In addition, there are etymologically obscure, possibly Old Baltic names such as *Pskova* < **Plbeskova*; cf. a river in Lithuania *Plisa* (ESRJ III 397), *Tolba* ?< **tol|upe*; cf. Lith. *tolimas*, Latv. *tāls* ‘remote’, Lith./Latv. *upe* ‘river’. In Smolensk oblast in the headwaters of the Daugava flows also the River *Tolba* (ASO84A2). The names of the rivers *Keb*’ and *Kebtsa* could be of Finno-Ugrian origin, i.e. from Finnic **kive* ‘stone’, but this interpretation has the problem of how to explain the vowel < *e* >.

With the exception of the last two hydronyms, it is not possible to derive any of the larger hydronyms in Pskov region from Finnic languages. It is also noteworthy that the Russian name *Chudskoye ozero* (~ *Peipsijärvi* ~ *Peipus*) is not the name of the southern part of this double-lake, which is called *Pskovskoye oz.* The *chud(e)*-toponyms as well as toponyms which are defined in this study as Oka-Volgaic reach only to the northern part of the lake; i.e. to the lake *Chudskoye* (see Map 1).

9. Conclusions

9.1. Finnic toponyms

As presented in Section 4, the southern boundary of transparently Finnic hydronyms runs from the north-east corner of Lake Peipus towards the region of Tikhvin, and thus in the lower courses of the rivers Luga and Volkhov indisputably Finnic hydronyms occur (Map 1). Their areal distribution is located mainly in the area of Leningrad oblast. In Novgorod oblast there occur only few hydronyms that are unquestionably Finnic. I have found approximately ten Finnic hydronyms in Novgorod oblast that can be classified as uncertain. Compared with the total number of hydronyms considered to be Finno-Ugrian, they are rather few even if they were all of Finnic origin. Taking into account that most of their stems or specifics occur also in the Upper Volga and Oka area, e.g. hydronyms with *Il’*-, *Kib*- and *Mst*- (see Map 4) or that they have an

Oka-Volgaic formant (e.g. *Yaim|lya*, Map 6), the Finnic origin of these hydronyms must be considered uncertain. The most remarkable argument against the Finnic origin of the Novgorodian Chudes is that there do not exist such Finnic specifics or generics in the hydronyms as for example in Arkhangelsk oblast.

The language behind the Novgorodian hydronyms has features in common with Finnic, especially in vowels. But one should remember that the vowels in Finnic are close to what is reconstructed for Proto-Uralic. As for the consonants, the sound shifts typical of Late Proto-Finnic had not taken place (see Section 6); *š > h (e.g. in the hydronyms *Shuya*, *Shabo|dro oz.*, *Yashchera*, *Vishera*) and *č > t (in the hydronyms *Chagoda*, *Chechora*, *Cherma*, *Cheremenskoye oz.*). Toponyms with initial *h that could be considered as Finnic names in Novgorod oblast seem to originate from Karelian dialects; e.g. *Khobo|l'* < Ka.Valday *hoaba* and *Khuba* < Ka.Tver *huaba* 'aspen'.

9.2. Evidence of formants

The following formants found in the toponyms of the research field occur in a vast area in Northern and Central Russia (see Section 5): *-sha/-ksa/-ksha*, *-zha*, *-ga*, *-nda*, *-ra*, *-lya/-l'* and *-er(o)/-or(o)*. Some formants that originally probably were generics such as *-dra* < **jädra/ä* 'lake' and *-oda* < **joga* 'river' are typical especially in the areas of Novgorod and Tver oblasts and to some extent in various parts of Northern Russia. In the background there seems to have been the sound shift *g > d. There is only one occurrence of a generic that is certainly Finnic: **oja* > *-uya*.

It is possible to speculate whether *-(y)er* is a Finnic shortened form of the word *järvi* 'lake' and refers to *-ař/-äř*-formants of lakes (MAG44–45) in the headwaters of the River Oyat and in the Belozero region. It is further possible to debate the Estonian shortened form *järi* or even such toponyms in Finland as Lake *In|ari* in Lapland and Lake *Äht|äri* in Central Finland. However, one should bear in mind that the toponyms in the Oyat and Belozero region occur in a very narrow area, the Estonian *järi* is a rare shortened form of the word **järvi* and *In|ari* or *Äht|äri* (< **Ätsäri*) originate from some unknown language. The formant *-(y)er* occurs in the Upper Volga and Oka area (Map 8) as well.

9.3. Evidence of ethnonyms

The ethnonyms of the research area show that the most essential Finno-Ugrian groups were the *Chudes* and an ethnic group called *mer(e)/-ner(e)-* (see Section 7). The most important area of *chud(e)*-toponyms is located in Novgorod and Tver oblasts, in the western part of Moscow oblast and the area of Lake Peipus and the middle course of the River Luga. *Mere-*, *Nere-*, and *Nar-*ethnonyms are located in the Upper Luga and Upper Daugava, in Valday and in the Meryan areas of the chronicles in Central

Russia (Map 11). In the town of Novgorod there was both a suburb called *Nere|vskiy Konets* and a street called *Chudintsevaya ulitsa*. There may be two explanations: 1) the Chudes and Merevas/Nerevas were one tribe with two ethnonyms, the endonym *Nere(va)* and exonym *Chude* or 2) the Nerevas and Chudes were two separate linguistic groups which may be reflected e.g. in the word ‘lake’ as West Chudian **jär(i)* and East Chudian (?Nere) **jädra/ä* (see Section 7.2 and Map 11).

The areal distribution of the ethnonyms *Chude* and *Mere/Nere* shows that the boundary between them runs mainly alongside the border of modern Tver and Yaroslavl oblasts (Map 11). This shows that the Chudes were not proper Meryans. Also, hydronyms with *-emlya* and *-omlya* follow the same line (Map 4). The ancient regional administrative centres *Chudskoy stan* and *Meretskiy stan* were also located on this boundary in the vicinity of the town of Uglich, on the left bank of the River Volga (Ryabinin 1997: 168, map 44). Both *chud(e)*-toponyms and the onomastic similarity show that the original Finno-Ugrian population of Novgorod and Tver oblasts belonged to a large ethnic entity. The eastern boundary followed the western border of the Principality of Vladimir-Suzdal, which in turn seems to have been founded on the basis of the ancient Meryan Land. The areal distribution of *chud(e)*-toponyms and its northern boundary correspond rather well with the southern boundary of transparently Finnic hydronyms (Map 3) and the boundary of medieval Votes, Ingrians and Vepses as well (Map 1).

9.4. Lexical evidence

The vocabulary behind substrate names in Novgorod oblast seems in most cases to be closer to Volgaic Finno-Ugrian languages than Finnic; see above Section 5, formants *-dra* and *-(y)er*.³³ In addition the name of the Lake *Kaftino~Kaftano oz.* (ANO39V4-5, on the boundary of Novgorod and Tver oblasts) in the headwaters of the River *Msta* being clearly bifurcated seems to originate from a word similar to Erzya Mordvin *kavto ~ kafto* and Moksha *kafta* < PFP **kakta* (PS 537) ‘two’. Close to this is located the Lake *Udal’ oz.* (TVO35B4); cf. Mordvin < *udal-* ‘behind, back’ (MW IV 2428–2431). The lake is not connected with any other water, thus being situated “behind all the other waters”. Not faraway from the town of Tver there occur such names of rivers as of the big one *In|jukha* (TVO188B2) and its smaller tributary *Veshka* (TVO188B3); cf. Mordvin *inë* ‘big’ and *veška* ‘small’. One exception is the word *musta* (in *Msta*-hydronyms) that occurs in modern languages only in Finnic. However, the word may well have belonged to the lexicon of some language spoken in the Oka and Upper Volga territory. At least the toponyms seem to support this, because Finnic tribes hardly lived in the Lower Klyazma close to Murom or in Moscow oblast and were responsible for the hydronyms with *Mst-* in Central Russia (see Map 5).

33 In this case Volgaic languages mean Mordvin and Meryan-Muroma, the latter as defined by toponyms.

9.5. Hydronyms of Pskov region

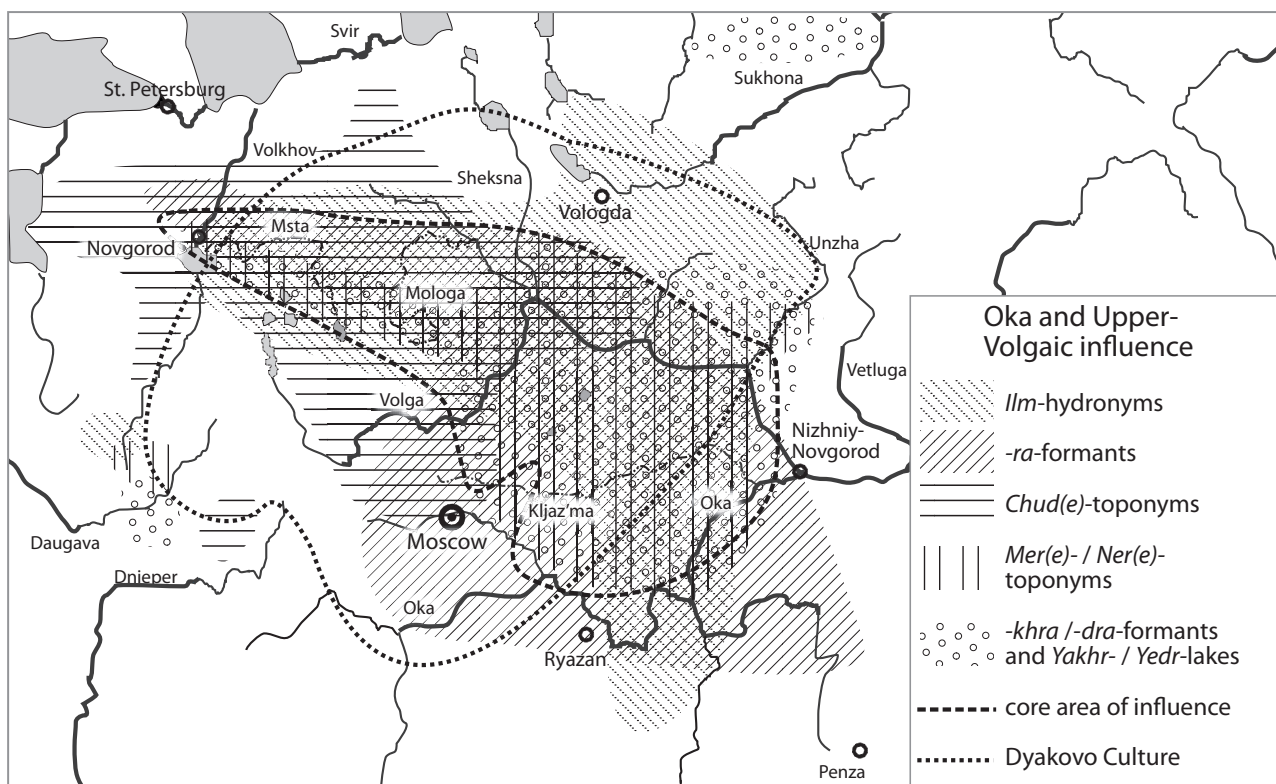
The land between Novgorod and Estonia, i.e. the region of Pskov, seems on the basis of macrotoponyms to have been populated by Slavs since a very early date. A medieval continuation of Finno-Ugrian settlement from South Estonia to Lake Ilmen seems in the light of toponyms almost impossible. The proportion of Balts in the Pskov area does not seem to have been significant. Perhaps in this sense we must return to the Balto-Slavic era. Some hydronyms of Tver oblast, such as *Oka* [Lovat basin] and *Ok|cha*, may possibly be derived from Proto-Balto-Slavic **akâ* < NW Proto-Indo-European **h₂akwah₂* ‘water’ (Petri Kallio, personal information). As mentioned above, Sedov has come to the same conclusion when defining the northern boundary of Baltic toponyms. He states that the boundary runs on the isthmus located between the rivers Daugava–Dnepr and Lovat–Velikaya south of Novgorod and Pskov (Ryabinin 1997: 4, Fig. 1 according to Sedov).

The great number of Slavic toponyms of the Pskov region support the old hypothesis of its early slavization presented by many Russian researchers (e.g. Tarakanova 1950; Sedov 1960). This does not mean that the Long Barrow Culture should be connected with Slavs but quite the opposite, as long barrows are found at a very early stage already in the 5th century as far as the Mologa region (Yushkova 2006: 145). It is highly unlikely that the Slavs would have reached the River Mologa so early, which seems to mean that they alone could not be behind the Long Barrow Culture. According to Yushkova (2006: 149), the first small Slavic groups came to the Lake Udomlya (close to the River Mologa) area ca 500–750 AD. Presumably the Long Barrow Culture was multi-ethnic, i.e. Baltic–Slavic–Finno-Ugrian. The Pskov region could be the contact area that brought the earliest Early Middle-Slavic loanwords already ca 300–400 AD through ancient south-eastern Estonians and Novgorodian Chudes into the Finnic speaking area.

A smaller Finnic population has lived in different times in the area of modern Novgorod and Tver oblasts. The dating of their migrations remains obscure. It is well known that Karelian and Ingrian refugees migrated in the 17th century (see Map 3), but supposedly the economical attraction of Novgorod brought a Finnic population from Ingria and Karelia already in earlier times (see the Birchbark Documents in Section 2.2). It seems on the basis of archaeological evidence that the so-called *Vesb* people (?Veps) came to the Mologa area already in the Viking Age (Makarov 1999: 59–62). It is possible that Livonians also wandered via the River Daugava up to Valday; cf. the ethnonymic hydronyms *Libya* and *Livitsa*. In any case, Finnic migrants were not the aboriginal Novgorodian Chudes of the chronicles.

9.6. Oka–Upper-Volgaic influence

Finally, I present through five factors a summary of Maps 4, 5, 7, 11 and 12 that shows Oka–Upper-Volgaic influence clearly reaching Novgorod and territory of Lake Ilmen. It is possible to achieve corresponding results by comparing the toponyms with the



Map 12. *Ilm* hydronyms, *Chude* and *Mere-/Nere-* toponyms, *ra-* and *-khra-*, *-dra-* formants and *Yakhr-/Yedr-*lakes. The core area has been defined by three (3) of five (5) factors influencing together at the same time; see above Maps 5, 6, 8, 10 and 11.

distribution of the Dyakovo Culture (Map 12 featuring Patrushev 2000: 90; Makarov 1999: 55; Ryabinin 1997: 161).

Jouni Vaahtera (2009: 95) has considered the origin of the Russian ёканье-dialect to be a Meryan substrate influence. This dialectal area is especially strong in Yaroslavl and Vladimir oblasts and continues westwards sporadically so that the surroundings of Lake Ilmen still belong to the ёканье-area as well. As presented above, it seems that the “Eastern Chudes” were linguistically and culturally (cf. horse-shaped pendants mentioned above) close to the Meryans.

This work is not at all the final word on the present subject. One purpose of this article is to attract a younger generation of scholars to the study of the Finno-Ugrians of the ancient Novgorodian Land. More thorough research of the stems and specifics of hydronyms might reveal much more of the lexicon of the ancient Novgorodian Chudes. It may be fruitful to study microtoponyms as well. This especially concerns the areas where the density of Finno-Ugrian macrotoponyms is high. It might thus be possible to define the latest layer of the toponyms. This means that expeditions should be organized to this area, and it would be easier to distinguish the toponyms named by the relatively late Karelian and Ingrian migrants from the more early names originating from the Novgorodian Chudian language. The question of “West Chudes” and “East Chudes” has not been solved to a satisfactory extent in this work.

Appendix

Hydronyms of Leningrad oblast from the map Obzorno-Geograficheskaja karta [LPNP] (N=north, S=south)

Avloga V5S, *Cheremenskoye oz.* Z4S, *Cherma* Z1S, *Choga* I8N, *Chud|lya* K3N, *Galmach|ikha* I1S, *Khabol|ovo oz.* D2S, *Khepo|yarvi oz.* G5S, *Il'mas* I8N, *Izhora* (~ *Inkere*) D5S, *Kem|ka* Ž4S, *Kikhtol|ka* E2S, *Kobo|na* I3N, *Kopan|skoye oz.* D2S, *Kost|uya* K3N, *Kus|ega* I5N, *Kusi|nka* K4N, *Lembol|ovskoye oz.* V5S, *Lemovzha* Ž3S, *Lipovskoye oz.* D2S, *Lyamzha* I7N, *Lyussa* Z2S, *Lyuta* Z2S, *Ludo|nka* I3S, *Luti|nka* Ž4S, *Lynna* I5N, *Mar'i|nka* K4N, *Mga* D6S, *Nazi|ya* I3N, *Neva* D5S, *Nudo|ksa* K6N, *Obnova* Ž3S, *Okhta* V5S, *Olesh|nya* K4N, *Olo|m|na* K4N, *Oredezh* E4S, *Pinega* I6N, *Pit'* I7N, *Pyal'itsa; Bol.* I8N, *Puz|oya* I8N, *Radil|ovo* K3S, *Ragoz|inka* G5S, *Rap|lya* L6N, *Saba* Ž3S, *Samro oz.* Ž2S, *Sapa* I6N, *Sestra* G4S, *Sit|nya* I3S, *Syas'* I5N, *Sol|ka* E2S, *Suyda* E4S, *Suksa* I6N, *Suma* D2S, *Shchalo oz.* K5N, *Shizh|nya* I6N, *Shomu|ksa* I6N, *Shug|ozero* I7N, *Tosna* D5S, *Tikhvin|ka* K7N, *Tig|oda* L4N, *Tumo|ka* I7N, *Ukhta* E3S, *Vegotskoye oz.* I4N, *Vel'ya* L4N, *Verd|uga* Z3S, *Vyalye oz.* Ž4S, *Vl|oya* K4N, *Voytol|ovka* D6S, *Voya* Ž3S, *Volgom|ka* I5N, *Volo|yarvi oz.* V5S, *Volo|zh|ba* K6N, *Yanya* Z2S, *Yashchera* Ž4S, *Yegl|inka* E5S.

Hydronyms of Novgorod oblast from the map ANO

Andolovka 12G1, *Chagoda* 13A5, *Chagoda* 19B5, *Chagodoshcha* 6-7A8, *Chagodskoye oz.* 34B2, *Chechora* 28V2, *Cherenka* 18B1, *Cherenka* 17A4, *Cherenskoye oz.* 17A4, *Chichilovka* 46B1, *Chuchemlya* 27V5, *Chuchemlya oz.* 27V5, *Chudovka* 24V2, *Chudskoye oz.* 50B2, *Il'men' oz.* 34B2, *Il'men'* 19V5, *Ingor'* 14B4, *Izhina* 30B4, *Kadvisha* 27V5, *Kaftino* 39V5, *Kalenoye oz.* 48A3, *Kaleshev* 30V2, *Kaleshevka* 29V5, *Karkomlya* 40B3, *Kastenka* 12B1, *Kashirka* 24A3, *Kat'* 30B3, *Keza* 41V5, *Kezadra* 41V3, *Kemka* 39V4, *Kerest'* 14V2, *Khachin* 54V2, *Khadritsa* 26V4, *Khuba* 23V6, *Khubka* 23V5, *Kiba* 32A2, *Kirva* 30B2, *Kirishkoye oz.* 14A2, *Kit'ma* 29V5, *Kobozha* 28A3, *Kobozha* 30A2, *Kocha* 54G1, *Koyegoshcha* 38A3, *Kolba* 35V5, *Kolodezhskoye oz.* 34A2, *Kolomenka* 31V1, *Kolomenka* 48A3, *Koloshka* 32V2, *Komel'* 25B3, *Koregoshch oz.* 54V1, *Korkomlya* 30A3, *Korpovka* 34V2, *Korpovka* 45V5, *Kostygovka* 46V1, *Kostyzhenskoye oz.* 30B2, *Kotyl'* 30B2, *Kova* 47V5, *Kreksha* 34V2, *Kudra* 47B3, *Lamerskoye oz.* 36B3, *Lib'ya* 47B4, *Limandrovka* 39A5, *Lipyarvi oz.* 18B3, *Mda* 25A3, *Mdo oz.* 26A2, *Mezga* 30A4, *Melegusha* 17A4, *Meneksha* 14V2, *Merevskoye oz.* 20B1, *Merlozhinskaya* 55A5, *Mologa* 30B3, *Mologzha* 25V5, *Molonitsa* 41B5, *Msta* 34A2, *Mstizhskoye oz.* 46V2, *Mshaga* 32B3, *Neverka* 46B3, *Nevery oz.* 46B3, *Nezdrinskoye oz.* 25G3, *Nemega oz.* 48B2, *Neretskoye oz.* 37V4, *Nertska* 37A3, *Niga oz.* 27B6, *Nil'skoye oz.* 34A3, *Nudynya* 14A3, *Nurdyscha* 33B5, *Oka* 55B3, *Okzovka* 15G5, *Oksochka* 24V3, *Omasch* 29B5, *Omscha oz.* 17V5, *Omscha oz.* 27V5, *Omscha* 17V5, *Oredezh* 20B1, *Oskuya* 14B2, *Oskuyskoye oz.* 14B3, *Pyardomlya* 17A6, *Ponyr'* 18B1, *Priksha* 26A2, *Rabezha*

47V5, *Ravan'* 13B5, *Ragusha* 17B5, *Radoga* 29B4, *Radol'* 40A1, *Radol'skoye oz.* 40B2, *Radokha* 14B2, *Raduga* 31G3, *Raduga* 37A3, *Radulya oz.* 26A2, *Raplya* 16A2, *Rdeyskoye oz.* 50B2, *Redekha* 40B1, *Redya* 34V3, *Redrovo oz.* 28B3, *Retno oz.* 21A4, *Retomlya* 17V5, *Rotno oz.* 17V5, *Rotnoye oz.* 26V2, *Ryaplya* 16B1, *Ryasno oz.* 54V3, *Saba* 20G2, *Sabro oz.* 54G1, *Sabrovka* 54G1, *Sapina* 17B4, *Saragozha* 41B5, *Seliger oz.* 54V2, *Seregizhna* 23V5, *Seremno oz.* 54B3, *Seremo oz.* 54V2, *Serezha* 55A3, *Sermenok oz.* 54V2, *Sig oz.* 54G2, *Sivel'ba* 38A3, *Siverik oz.* 17V4, *Siverka* 23V5, *Sizovka* 52V2, *Syas'* 17A4, *Smerdomka* 19V4, *Sormal'* oz. 26A3, *Soroga* 54V3, *Stabenka* 53A3, *Sudomlya* 18B1, *Suglinka* 19A3, *Suytsa; Bol.* 12B1, *Sun'ya* 12B2, *Surovskoye oz.* 12B1, *Suvatel'* 12A2, *Shaboderka* 40B1, *Shabodro oz.* 40B1, *Shadomlya* 28G2, *Shalimovka* 26V2, *Shambolovka* 44V3, *Shar'ya* 14B3, *Shedomets oz.* 38B3, *Shegrinka* 26G2, *Shelon'* 33B4, *Sheregodra oz.* 27B4, *Sheshno oz.* 38B2, *Shigolka* 19B4, *Shildushka* 25B4, *Shuya* 16V3, *Shuyarvi-Shu, bol.* 18B3, *Shulakovka* 51G5, *Shul'ga* 50V3, *Taborka* 18A3, *Tagran'* oz. 48A1, *Tigoda oz.* 12G2, *Tigoda* 14A2, *Tikhomandritsa* 40V3, *Tsevlo oz.* 49V2, *Tsozhenka* 55A4, *Tuder; Bol.* 51V4, *Tuder; Mal.* 50V3, *Tuleblya* 34V2, *Tushemel'ka* 19B3, *Tushemel'skoye oz.* 19B4, *Uchenskiy* 45B4, *Uchonka* 34V2, *Udal' oz.* 39V4, *Udina* 27B5, *Udomlya oz.* 40G3, *Unomerka* 32A2, *Ushenka* 42V3, *Ushkovo oz.* 26A2, *Uzminka oz.* 18B2, *Uzha oz.* 26B3, *Vagan oz.* 16V3, *Valdayka* 38V2, *Valdayskoye oz.* 37G5, *Veksha* 33B3, *Vergot'* 34V3, *Veregzha* 27B4, *Verkasenka* 34B3, *Veronda* 33A5, *Veryazha* 33A5, *Vitsa* 50G2, *Virovno oz.* 23A4, *Viska* 43V4, *Vittsa* 36A2, *Vishera* 22V2, *Vishera; Bol.* 14G4, *Vishera; Mal.* 23A6, *Visherka; Bol.* 23B5, *Vyalets oz.* 26B4, *Vyaloye oz.* 24V3, *Vyazhitskoye oz.* 21V5, *Vozhanskoye oz.* 19B4, *Volga* 53B4, *Voldomitsa* 30G1, *Volzhanka* 40V1, *Volma* 36A1, *Volozha* 34V4, *Volozhba* 17A5, *Volkhov* 22V2, *Vorozhba* 41G4, *Yaimlya* 36B2, *Yashchera* 6-7A1, *Yavon'* 46V1, *Yederka* 48A3, *Yedrovo oz.* 48A2, *Yeglinka* 12B2, *Yeglinka* 37V4, *Yeglino oz.* 37V4, *Yelimna* 14B4, *Yemetskoye oz.* 27A5, *Yemenets* 28G2, *Yerasha* 21B5, *Yurinka* 26G3.

Map 13. Location of hydronyms according to the page numbers of GBO.

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Maps

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- ARO = *Атлас Рязанской области (1:100 000)* 2006: Москва: Роскартография.
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- GUGK: Arkhangel = *Архангель – Главное управление геодезии и картографии (1:100 000)* 1990: Ленинград: ГУГК СССР.
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The terms for black and white and their development in the Uralic languages

This article deals with the colour terms for black and white in the Uralic languages, concentrating on their semantic development. Berlin and Kay (1969) suggest that all languages should have at least two basic colour terms: ‘black’ and ‘white’. In the Uralic languages there is more than one old term for white, but the terms for black are rather young and etymologically unclear. The reason for this may lie in affect. In the Uralic data words denoting ‘dirty’ or ‘unclear’ may develop into a term for black. However, the denotation ‘dark (of light)’ does not seem to develop into a term for black. The old terms for white have the denotations ‘bright’ and ‘pure, clean’, but these denotations do not overlap without the denotation ‘white’.

1. Introduction

Over the last few decades there has been lively discussion about naming colours in different languages. This discussion has been going on in both linguistics and anthropology, and it was initiated by the anthropologists Brent Berlin and Paul Kay (1969), who suggested an evolutionary system of the development of basic colour terms in language. In order to test Berlin and Kay’s hypothesis, a data archive called the World Color Survey (WCS) was launched (<<http://www.icsi.berkeley.edu/wcs/>>). The WCS includes data on colour terms collected from the speakers of 110 different languages by means of the 330 Munsell colour chips, a colour chart used by Berlin and Kay and many fieldworkers since. This paper concerns colour terminology and the semantic development of the colour terms for black and white in the Uralic languages. I shall ask what semantic denotations may develop into a colour term ‘black’ or ‘white’.

The human eye can distinguish hundreds of colours and shades in the spectrum (see e.g. Koski 1983: 35). However, the system of colour terms in a language is never anywhere near as vast as the eye’s ability to distinguish between colours. Berlin and Kay introduced a restricted group of **basic colour terms** and named their referents “basic colours”. Berlin and Kay defined a basic colour term as (a) monomorphemic (thus not, for example, *ocean-blue*), (b) not included in another colour term (e.g. *scarlet* is a kind of red) and (c) unrestricted in application to objects (e.g. *brunette* is only used to refer to hair) (Berlin & Kay 1969: 6, also Croft 2003: 276). They discovered that the amount of basic colour terms varies in languages, as few as two or as many as eleven. Another discovery was that the foci of these basic colour terms are uniform across languages, i.e. the same hue was identified as the best exemplar of colour.

According to Berlin and Kay, all languages have at least two basic colour terms: a term for black and a term for white. According to the first version of Berlin and Kay’s theory, the other colour terms emerge in the language in the following order (Berlin & Kay 1969: 4):

red > green/yellow > yellow/green > blue > purple, orange, grey (in free order)

This theory has been modified several times according to new evidence found in languages (see e.g. Levinson 2000; Croft 2003: 277, more closely discussed in Chapter 2.1), but the basic assumptions have remained the same: all languages have at least two basic colour terms, i.e. terms for black and white, and the next colour term emerging in a language is for red.

Many scholars have criticized the theory itself (e.g. Wierzbicka 2008), and also the method of defining the basic colour terms (e.g. Taylor 1991). Despite criticism the theory of Berlin and Kay is still used and the data in the WCS is compared to their theory (see e.g. Regier, Kay & Khetarpal 2009).

Black and white are special in the colour chart as they are achromatic. Grey is also achromatic, but all other colours are chromatic. The achromatic colours refer only to brightness, not hue, but in languages with a two-term colour system, the colour terms for black and white refer to brightness as well as hue (MacLaury 1992: 161). William Croft (2003: 277) describes the conceptual space for basic colour terms with a diagram (Figure 1) which presents the division of colours into cool and warm and opposite pairs of hues. There has been a belief that the warm and cool categories are differentiated (Berlin, Kay & Merrifield 1991). However, there are languages that have one common term for green and yellow, and even languages that have a common term for green-yellow-blue (ibid.). A connection between green, yellow and blue can be found also in the Uralic languages (PU *piša* ‘gall; green, yellow’ > MdE *piže* ‘green; copper, brass; small, young; blue’, NeT *paderāḫā* ‘gall-coloured, gall-like, yellow’, UEW: 384–385).

This paper approaches the subject from an etymological and semantic point of view. The focus is on the terms for black and white, which, as Berlin and Kay assume, should be the terms found in all languages. Thus, it is plausible that the two terms were present also in Proto-Uralic. Etymologically however the case is not that simple. There is more than one term for white reconstructed in the Uralic and Finno-Ugric protolanguages (UEW), but no one term has been reconstructed for black. The term for black (*musta*) is the most common colour term by frequency in the vocabulary of Finnish (Saukkonen et al. 1979), and it is also the colour that is recognized most rap-

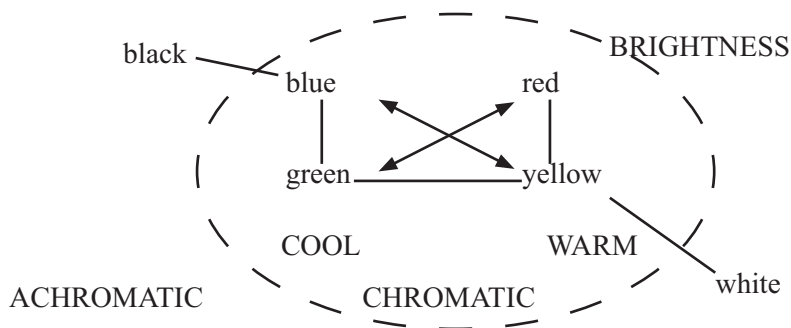


Figure 1. Conceptual space for basic colour terms by Croft (2003: 277).

idly of all colours (Taylor 1991: 12). For these reasons the term for black would have a good chance for being an old word. Nonetheless, none of the terms for black seem to be as old as the terms for white.

This study concentrates on the terms for black in the Uralic languages, their etymological background and the semantic extensions they have, and thus tries to find semantic fields in which the terms for black could emerge. I compare the data to Casson and Gardner's (1992; Casson 1997) notions on the semantic development of colour terms in English. He has studied the semantic development of colour terms from Old English to Modern English and found that the colour term system in Old English denoted brightness rather than hue. As the terms for black differ greatly in the Uralic languages, I have taken also the oldest Uralic terms for white, in which the patterns of semantic development can be seen and probably compared to the semantic development of the terms for black.

There is a fundamental difference between the data which Casson and I have used. The history of written English is much longer than the history of any written Uralic language, and its data set is large. The Uralic data, however, includes only modern Uralic languages, and thus assumptions of the semantic development of the colour terms must be based on the semantic extensions found in the modern languages. Also, Casson's focus is in the recent history of English, although he refers also to earlier phases of the language, i.e. the Germanic and Indo-European protolanguages. This study concentrates on the history of the colour terms for black and the oldest terms for white in the Uralic languages. However, this does not mean that the findings could not be compared. On the contrary, as Casson's data is broader, it is also rather reliable, and it does give hints as to what kind of denotations the colour terms may have and how these denotations may change.

The aim of this study is to determine what type of denotations terms for 'black' could develop from. In the present paper it is assumed that the colour terms for black and white in the Uralic languages may have developed from two separate semantic categories. The idea of colour has not been primary in these categories, but rather there were opposite pairs 'brightness/darkness' and 'cleanliness/dirtiness'. The hypothesis is motivated by an etymological approach to the semantics of the colour terms in the Uralic languages. In addition, the same division can be seen in the Germanic languages, where the German term for black, *schwarz*, is reconstructed in Proto-Indo-European as denoting 'dirty, dark, black' (Harper 2001–2011). The ancestor of the English term *black* is reconstructed as Proto-Indo-European **bhleg-* 'burn, shine', which has in Proto-Germanic become **blakaz-* 'burnt' (> Dutch *blaken* 'burn') (Watkins 1985: 6).

I will also present some notions concerning the question of why the terms for white are old and terms for black are not. The semantic extensions concerning the terms for black may help in this. If the affect towards the term for white is positive, there is no need to change the term. However, the colour black has taken on a negative affect in many parts of the world (Jäppinen 1999: 107), and such a negative affect is visible also in most Uralic languages. However, the colour black is not only connected to evil; take, for example, the English idiom *in the black* which refers to the condition

of making profit (Merriam-Webster 1986: 90). Among the Saami people the black-coloured reindeer is the most respected one (Lappalainen 1991: 23).

If the terms for black are connected with evil, as usually seems to be the case in modern western languages, this could be one reason to change the term from time to time (on word negation based on affect see e.g. Kulonen 2006: 324). It is possible that the neighbouring languages and their cultures have affected the Uralic peoples and their attitudes towards the colour black. It is also possible that there is no special need to change the colour term, but rather there is a case of a so-called luxury loan, i.e. a new word borrowed from another language even though a word with a similar meaning already exists. One example is Finnish *hammas* ‘tooth’ which was borrowed from Proto-Baltic even though the Uralic word *pii* ‘tooth’ was already present in the language. In this case the original word *pii* was preserved in a special meaning (a tooth of a rake), but sometimes the original word becomes extinct.

2. Colour terms and their development

2.1. Discussion on colour terms

The study of systems of basic colour terms is an example of research on lexical universals and diachronic typology in the lexicon. Berlin and Kay’s theory of the evolution of basic colour terms has stimulated debate within linguistics and also anthropology (for criticism see e.g. Taylor 1991, Lucy 1997, Lyons 1999). Linguistically, Taylor (1991) has criticized the definition of “basic colour terms” and the way Berlin and Kay have excluded colour terms from their survey. On the other hand, John Lyons (1999) assumes that, based on his examples of the Austronesian language Hanunoó, culture has affected the development of colour terms, and that the cultural surroundings have much influence over the need for a colour term. John A. Lucy (1997) criticizes the entire method of collecting colour terms with the Munsell chips because it does not correspond to everyday life, as does Wierzbicka (2008) who maintains that there are languages that do not have a word denoting ‘colour’.

The colour system has been seen as a division of colours into warm and cool categories, of which the terms for white, red and yellow belong to the warm category, while black, green, blue belong to the cool category (see Figure 1 in Chapter 1). However, there are systems that combine green and yellow, and they violate the principle of differentiating the warm and cool hues. This problem has been solved in later studies by assuming that colour terms are based not only on hues but also on brightness. This idea was brought forth by Robert E. MacLaury (1992), who has analysed both individual and cross-linguistic variation. He argues that already two-term systems containing terms only for black and white could be based on both brightness (light–dark) and hue (white–black) categories (MacLaury 1992: 161). MacLaury maintains that the category of colour began as a category of brightness, but the importance of hues has increased while the importance of brightness has decreased, and thus the focus of the colour terms has changed to hues.

MacLaury's view is supported by Ronald W. Casson (1997) who has studied the development of colour terms in English. Casson compares the colour terms and their semantic development from Old English towards Middle and Modern English. He notes that in Old English the denotation of colour terms emphasized brightness, whereas towards Modern English the denotation has changed to hue.

John Lyons (1999: 53) has gone further in suggesting that the system of colour terms is not divided up only into hues and brightness, but also into dryness and wetness or freshness and desiccation. Of these, hue is the least relevant feature in naming colour. This assumption seems adequate as we observe what is important to peoples who have no need to define objects differing from each other only by colour. Casson has also recognized that the cultural surroundings affect changes in a system of colour terms. The brightness category changes towards hue when the colours become culturally significant (Casson 1997: 238). The languages studied are mostly spoken by peoples who live in a tropical environment. It is possible that peoples in tropical surroundings need slightly different colour terms than peoples living in northern areas and totally different weather conditions. However, none of the studies refer to this difference.

The Uralic languages have also been subjects of research into basic colour term systems. Probably the largest and most thorough study of the colour terms in Uralistics is Mauno Koski's study of basic colour terms in the Finnic languages (1983). Koski reaches the conclusion that the system of colour terms in the Finnic languages developed mainly after the Proto-Finnic stage. The only common Finnic colour terms are (in Finnish) *valkea* 'white', *musta* 'black' and *sininen* 'blue' (Koski 1983: 246). Koski suggests that Finnic *sini* 'blue' filled the black-blue category, but under the influence of Russian *sinij* 'dark blue' its denotation has moved to the blue-green area. He explains his suggestion by saying that the Finnic *sini* stem words refer to the same entities and verbs as the *musta* stem words, e.g. *sinelmä*, *mustelma* 'bruise' and the verbs *si(i)ntää*, *mustottaa* 'loom dark, loom in the distance' (1983: 248–249). As Finnic *sini-* has a cognate in Mordvin, E *señ*, M *senem* 'blue' (Turunen 2002: 177), Koski (1983: 248–249) suggests that in the Finnic-Volgaic protolanguage (if there was one) the term for light colours was **ačka* and the term for dark colours **sine*. Both terms have moved from their original foci in the colour chart, as Fi *hahka* denotes 'grey' and the derivatives of **sine* have 'blue' as their foci in both the Finnic and Mordvin languages.

Koski has excluded all terms for red from Proto-Finnic, because the Finnic languages have no common term for red. Koski's conclusion concerning the colour terms in Proto-Finnic does not take into account the possibility that a colour term could have replaced an older one in the case of the terms for red. Also István Futaky (1981) has studied the Finno-Ugric colour terms etymologically. He suggests one kind of colour system in Proto-Finno-Ugric, where he assumes that also a term for 'red' has existed in the Finno-Ugric protolanguage. I will comment Futaky's system later in this article.

Mari Uusküla (2008) has studied the basic colour terms in Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian and also Czech. She concluded that if there are two terms in a language denoting the same colour category, only one of them is basic (e.g. Hungarian *piros* 'red' and *vörös* '(blood) red', of which *piros* is a basic colour term, cf. Uusküla 2008: 11). She has also noted that the foci of a colour, i.e. the best examples representing

certain colours, differ slightly from one language to another, although already Berlin and Kay (1969) assumed that the foci of a colour term are universal.

Also some individual Uralic languages have been studied according to their systems of colour terms: Mansi (Sipőcz 1994), Moksha Mordvin (Turunen 2002) and Estonian (Sutrop 1995, 2000). Common to all the studies concerning the colour terms in the Uralic languages is that they challenge Berlin and Kay's theory and/or the definition of a basic colour term that they make. Turunen compares the etymological background of the basic colour terms to Berlin and Kay's theory of the terms emerging in language. She concludes that the emergence of colour terms in the Mordvin languages does not follow Berlin and Kay's assumptions. However, the study does not take account the fact that colour terms tend to change just like any other words. It is always uncertain which colour terms have been replaced by other terms, and which terms are made for a "new" colour. Turunen also criticizes the criterion that young loanwords are not basic colour terms and she asks what a young loanword is exactly.

One of the latest studies is Johanna Parviainen's Master's Thesis (2010) in which she compares Finnish and Hungarian idioms that include colour terms. This study is more cultural than other studies mentioned above. In her study Parviainen found that the colour terms used most often in idioms both in Hungarian and Finnish refer to black and white.

2.2. Semantic development and its patterns

2.2.1. Unidirectionality

In this chapter I approach colour terms from an etymological point of view. There is a universal tendency that the meaning of a word develops from concrete to abstract (Futaky 1981: 53). Thus, a prototypical red thing such as blood may give its feature, colour, to a more abstract use: *a blood-coloured car* 'red car'. Like many other words in language, also adjectives are replaced by other adjectives. The patterns of semantic change seem to be similar: an old word is usually replaced with a new one taken from the same type of semantic environment as the previous one. For instance, in the Finno-Ugric languages the word **puna* originally denoted 'hair, fur'. In modern Finnish the denotation is 'red' (*punainen*), but the Erzya Mordvin cognate *pona* denotes 'colour' in addition to the original denotation 'hair; wool' (SSA 1995: 427). The same semantic change can be seen in the Finnish word *karva* whose primary meaning is 'hair, fur'. From this *karva* an adjective *karvainen* 'of some colour' has been derived, which is used in compounds like *kullankarvainen* 'of golden colour'. The semantic change is the same in both words:

'hair' > 'some specific colour, usually red or brown' > 'colour'

The development is unidirectional, i.e. it does not go backwards (Croft 2003: 252).

2.2.2. Prototypicality

One naming motivation is prototypicality. Blood is red, and for example Hungarian has a word for red, *vörös*, which means literally ‘bloody’. In English an orange-coloured fruit has given its typical feature to the colour term *orange*. Taylor (1991: 14) suggests that also the stability of colour focality noticed by Berlin and Kay as well as many others, has to do with the stability of certain attributes that are the prototypical referents of a certain colour.

For white, Ulla Jäppinen (1999: 65) assumes that the prototypical exemplar would be snow. However, the oldest Uralic words for white do not mean snow but light, sun and, in some cases, purity and cleanliness. Also in Jäppinen’s examples only Latin *niveus* ‘white, snowy’ is a non-compound word that refers to both white and snow. In Finnish the word *lumivalkoinen* ‘snowwhite’ is commonly used, but it is a compound like German *schneeweiss* and English *snowwhite*. In Berlin and Kay’s theory the basic colour terms must be monomorphemic, i.e. compounds are not accepted as basic colour terms.

The prototypical black entity in nature is coal. The prototypicality of coal as black can be seen in the Finnish compound *sysimusta* ‘coal-black’, which is an exact counterpart to *lumivalkoinen* ‘snowwhite’. One could assume that the word for black might come from a word denoting ‘coal’, which in Proto-Uralic was **šüde* (> Fi *sysi* ‘coal’). However, just as with terms for white, also the terms for black do not seem to have etymological connections to **šüde*.

Ronald W. Casson has studied how the colour terms in English have changed from denoting brightness to denoting hues (1997: 224–239). He maintains that in Old English the colour terms denoted primarily brightness, but towards Middle and Modern English the denotation has mostly turned to hues. The English term *black* is descended from Proto-Indo-European (PIE) **bhleg-* ‘shine, flash, burn’ (~ Proto-Germanic **blakaz* ‘burned’, Watkins 1985: 6). Old English *blaec* was a brightness term, but it had also a sense of hue: ‘burnt, scorched’. Middle English *blak* was applied to the darkness of night and clouds, but more extensively to the hue of coal, soot; pigment and ink; hair, beard; cloth, clothing and mourning garb, etc. (Casson 1997: 227–228). The same semantic fields occur also in the data of the Uralic languages presented in Chapter 3.1.

There are four basic English colour terms reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European: *white*, *black*, *red* and *yellow* (Shields 1979). According to Casson (1997: 227), English has as many as seven basic colour terms that are etymologically of Proto-Indo-European origin. The case in the Uralic languages is totally different: most of the colour terms are borrowed from other languages, most recently e.g. Fi *oranssi* ‘orange’ < Eng *orange*. Colour terms tend to be borrowed even when the language already has a term for a certain colour, for example when Lude borrowed the term *žoltii* ‘yellow’ from Russian *жёлтый* ‘id.’ even though it already had a word *keldaine* ‘yellow’ (Ojanen 1985: 70, 282). The reason for this kind of change may be communicative, i.e. the need to adjust the colour chart in Lude to match the one in Russian.

Concerning the Finno-Ugric protolanguage (PFU), István Futaky (1981: 52) has studied the colour terms that could be reconstructed for PFU and suggests a three-colour system which is presented in Figure 2.

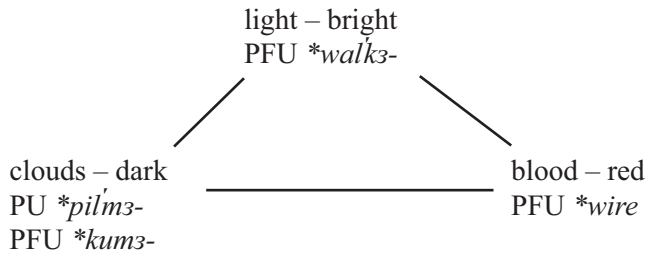


Figure 2. The Finno-Ugric basic colours according to Futaky (1981).

The system Futaky presents is close to MacLaury and Casson's idea of a brightness category. It does not merge the difference between brightness and hue, as can be seen in the semantic fields presented in the chart. Futaky's colour term system is based on prototypicality, and the bottom line of his reconstruction is Berlin and Kay's theory of the development of colour terms. He selects the words that, by his assumptions, could semantically be colour terms in Proto-Uralic, and he concludes that a probable candidate for white is PFU *wal-k3- (> e.g. Fi *valkea* 'white, light, shiny; shine, light') while candidates for black are PFU *kum3- (> MdE *kovol* 'cloud', Ko *kjmer* 'cloud', Hu *homály* 'dim, dimness; darkness (of light)' (UEW: 204) and Proto-Uralic *pil'm3- 'dark (of light)' (> e.g. Fi *pimeä* 'id.', see e.g. Janhunen 1981). However, neither of the words that Futaky suggests for the semantic field 'dark' or 'black' have the denotation 'black' or any other colour in the present-day Uralic languages. The former denotes 'cloud' and 'darkness (of light)', and the latter 'dark (of light)' (SSA 1995: 367). This is something fundamentally different from e.g. English and German, where Eng *dark* and Ger *dunkel* denote both darkness of light and of colour. The English term *dark* comes from Proto-Germanic *derkaz (> Old English *deorc* 'dark, obscure, gloomy; sad, cheerless; sinister, wicked'), the original denotation of which was 'absence of light', especially at night. The denotation of colour emerged as late as the 16th century (Harper 2001–2011). In some dialects of Estonian the word *pime* means also darkness of colour (Oja 1999: 196). However, this denotation occurs in dialects that are close to the borders of Estonia and thus one may assume that the denotation of the darkness of colour has been influenced by neighbouring languages, e.g. German which has had a great impact on Estonian.

Based on MacLaury and Casson's notions of colours dividing into categories of brightness and of hue, I suggest that in the Finno-Ugric protolanguage there were two, probably simultaneous systems, one referring to brightness (Figure 3) and the other to the opposite pairs of cleanliness and dirtiness, and also hues (Figure 4).

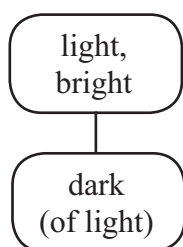


Figure 3. Opposite pair in the category brightness.

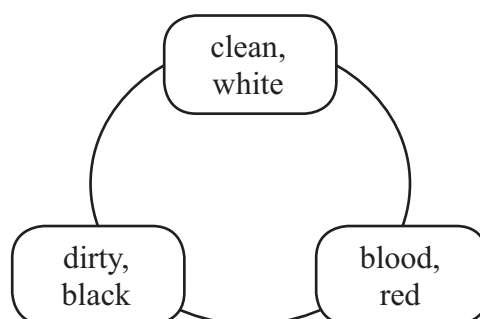


Figure 4. The opposite pair 'dirty'–'clean' and hue.

The reason to place other colour terms in the same figure with the field dirtiness–cleanliness is based on Casson's system of two categories, one brightness and the other hue. Also Latin, which has fewer colour terms than Modern English, has two terms each for black and white; *ater* 'black', *niger* 'shiny black', *albus* 'white', *candidus* 'brilliant, bright white' (Taylor 1991: 4).

Casson maintains that the entire colour system has changed from brightness to hues, and thus he does not present a simultaneous two-category system as I do here. According to Casson, many of the chromatic colours have referred also to some state of brightness, for example *red* which was a hue-dominated term but denoted also luminosity and reflectivity, e.g. flames, fire, lightning, dawn and also gold and sword-edges (Casson & Gardner 1992: 396). Although I present here two systems as simultaneous, they are not necessarily so. The categories can be seen as semantic motivations where the terms for black and white have developed.

Both systems presented above are expected to develop colour terms, but it is uncertain whether the categories can overlap. The answer can be sought by monitoring the semantic extensions that the different terms for black and white have, and this is what I shall do in the next chapter.

3. Etymological explanations and semantic motives in the terms for 'black' in the Uralic languages

The following presents etymological data given for the terms for 'black' in the Uralic languages. The words are collected from dictionaries, both synchronic and etymological. In addition, some examples of use collected from text samples, studies and chrestomathies are provided.

Some dictionaries contain more than one word for 'black' and it is not always easy to define which is the basic colour term. Many of the dictionaries give examples of usage, e.g. verbs and compounds, which makes it easier to define what words might

be the basic colour terms. The examples of usage help also to define the additional denotations, although usually they are too few to show how widely used they are. However, in some instances the examples are few and it is unclear what types of use the word has. Especially problematic is the translation *dark* (German *dunkel* ‘dark’) as it refers to both darkness of light and colour. However, usually the examples refer only to the darkness of colour. The Uralic data displays a division between darkness of light and colour. In some cases also informants have helped with this problem of translation.

The words are presented in separate articles, but etymologically related words are discussed together in a single article, e.g. the term for black in Mansi, *sēmel*, is presented together with the Mari term *šem* because of the possible etymological connection they have.

3.1. Data

3.1.1. Finnic **musta*

PFi **musta* ‘black; dirty’ > Fi *musta* ‘black’, Ing *musta* ‘black, dark (colour); dirty’, Ka *musta* ‘black, dark (colour); dark (of light); dirty’, Lu *must(e)* ‘id.’, *muzed* ‘dark (of colour), blackish’, Ve *must* ‘black’, *muza* ‘dark (of colour)’, darkish, Vo *mussa*, Est *must* ‘black; dirty’, Li *mustā* ‘black; dirty’ (SSA 1995: 183; Koski 1983: 59–63; Zaiceva 2010: 261)

= PSaa **moste-* > SaaN *mosttas* ‘thick, cloudy, muddy, not clear (of fish-oil and boiled fat)’ (Koivulehto 2001: 71, Nielsen 1979: 690), SaaS *māstodh* ‘take fright, get wild (of driving reindeer)’, SaaLu *māstōs* ‘heavy, depressed (of head); angry’, SaaIn *mostos* ‘dark (of colour)’, SaaSko *mōsttad* ‘stick; get dirty (vessel, cloth), become black’ (Bergsland & Magga 1993: 199; LuLpW: 560; InLpW 1987: 156; T. I. Itkonen 1958: 897)

< * PGerm **mus-ta-* > Nr *must* ‘steam, fog’ (Koivulehto 2001: 71)

The common term for ‘black’ in the Finnic languages is **musta*: Fi *musta*, Ing *musta*, Ka *musta*, Lu, Ve, Est *must*, Li *mustā* (Koski 1983: 59–63). It has parallel variants *musea*, *museva* ‘dark (of colour), blackish’ (SSA 1995: 183; Koski 1983: 59–63) and in some Veps dialects *musket* (Koski 1983: 59–63; Mullonen & Zaiceva 1971: 339). Veps has also a word *muza* that does not denote ‘black’ but ‘dark (of colour)’ (Zaiceva 2010: 261). The Finnish and Karelian variants *musea* (Ka *musie*) and *museva* (in Karelian also the forms *musava*, *musova*) do not denote exactly ‘black’ but rather moderate ‘blackish, dark’. In Lude and Veps the word *muzav* has also denotations ‘(dark) brown’ and ‘dark grey’.

In addition to referring to the colour ‘black’ (in Ingrian and Karelian also ‘dark (colour)’), the Finnish term *musta* and its cognates in the other Finnic languages denote ‘dirty’ (SSA 1995: 183, see further different meanings in Koski 1983). Koski

assumes that the denotation of dirtiness might be borrowed from German, Latvian and some dialects of Russian. One must consider the possibility that the denotation ‘dirty’ may be older than the denotation ‘black’.

The denotations common to all Finnic languages are ‘black’ and ‘dirty’. In some Finnic languages such as Ingrian, the derivatives of Proto-Finnic **musta* mean also a dark colour. In Karelian and dialects of Finnish the colour term for black means also lack of light. Koski (1983: 62) assumes that in many languages the term for black may have a secondary metaphorical denotation of darkness (lack of light), especially when referring to night (also Jäppinen 1999: 111). In Karelian the denotation ‘dark (of light)’ has been lexicalized:

nämä on mussat päivät, ei soa ni midä ommella
 These be.PRS.3 black.PL day.PL NEG.SG3 can.NEG nothing sew.INF

‘These are black days, one cannot see to sew anything’ (Koski 1983: 62; KKS 1983: 381).

However, the secondary nature of the meaning ‘dark (of light)’ is still visible, as the informants have tended to add the word *pimie* ‘dark (of light)’ to explain what they mean: *mustad päiväd, pimied* ‘black days, dark (ones)’ (Koski 1983: 62).

It has been assumed that the word *museva* was borrowed into Saami: SaaLu *mæsså* ‘grey or white-grey reindeer’, *måsåk* ‘yellow (of a dog); grey (of a reindeer), *måskå* ‘hoary (of reindeer)’, SaaN *mosat* ‘greyish reindeer’ (SKES 1958: 353; SSA 1995: 183). However, this assumption is not phonologically or semantically correct. Instead, the SaaN word *muzet* ‘brownish-black reindeer’ is probably borrowed from Finnic, as presented in SKES.

Thus far, the most probable etymology for Finnish *musta* has been given by Jorma Koivulehto (2001: 71), who connected it with the SaaN *mosttas* ‘thick, cloudy, muddy, not clear (of fish-oil and boiled fat)’. He suggests a Germanic origin for the Finno-Saamic word: Proto-Germanic **mus-ta-* > e.g. Norwegian *must* ‘steam, fog’ (ibid.). Häkkinen (2004: 745) explains the semantic connection by saying that in weather conditions fogginess is understood as dark or gloomy.

The word *mosttas* is not included in Juhani Lehtiranta’s list of words common to the Saami languages (1989). However, the word seems have the following cognates in other Saami languages: T. I. Itkonen (1958: 24) has connected North Saami *mosttas* to the Skolt *mõsttad* ‘stick; become dirty (vessel, cloth), become black’ and Inari Saami *mostos* ‘dark’, *mostod* ‘lose its colour, bleach, become darker (clothing), lose the silvering’. Lagercrantz (1939: 493) has suggested a cognate in Lule Saami *måstōs* ‘heavy, depressed (of the feeling in the head); angry’, *måstōtit* ‘cook so heavily that the soup fat mixes with the bouillon’. In addition, the South Saami verb *måstodh* ‘take fright, get wild (of driving reindeer)’ is probably cognate with SaaN *mosttas*, although it is semantically more abstract than its cognates. Phonologically this comparison is unproblematic. Semantically it is valid if we assume that the present-day form originates from the denotation ‘stirred, fuzzy’, as in SaaLu *måstōs* ‘heavy, depressed;

a bit angry'. According to the words presented above, the Proto-Saami reconstruction would be **moste-* which, in principle, can be cognate with Proto-Finnic **musta*. The Saami branch has mostly the denotation 'unclear, thick, stirred', whereas in the Finnic languages the common denotation is 'black; dirty'. The denotations of 'black' and 'dirty' in Skolt and Inari Saami may be borrowed from Finnic, or they may be an inner development such as the Old English *salu* 'sallow' (> Eng *sallow*) that had sense of brightness 'dark, dusky' and sense of hue 'dirty, discoloured' (Casson & Gardner 1992: 395).

Koivulehto connects also the Saami adjective *moskkus* 'cloudy' (< PSaa **moskē*, Lehtiranta 1989: 76–77; Koivulehto 2001: 71) to the words listed above, and argues that in Proto-Germanic there was a parallel form **mus-ka-* (> Icel *mosk* 'dust', Nr *musk* 'dust, dust clouds, cloudiness, darkness, sprinkle', Swiz *muschen* 'smudge', also Nr *svart-musken* 'very dark', Koivulehto 2001: 71). Concerning the borrowing of the given word it must be noted that, in fact, the latter stem corresponds one-to-one with Veps *musket* 'black'. Koivulehto does not explain the rise of the other derivational types represented in Fi, Ka *museva*, Ly *muzed* that have no word-internal *-t-* or *-k-*. However, due to both semantic and formal similarities, they clearly belong together with Ve *musket* and Fi *musta*. Valmen Hallap (1983) notes that in the Finnic languages, the derivational suffixes *-eA* and *-keA* display ample variation, and they may be mutually replaced without semantic change, as in the Finnish adjectives *vireä* 'lively, sprite' and *virkeä* 'id.'.

In short, Proto-Finnic **musta* and Proto-Saami **moste-* are cognates, and they are borrowed from Proto-Germanic **mus-ta*. Koivulehto suggests that Saami **moskē* (> e.g. SaaN *moskkus* 'cloudy') may be borrowed from Proto-Germanic **mus-ka* (> e.g. Nr *musk* 'dust, dust clouds, cloudiness, darkness, sprinkle') that is a parallel form for **mus-ta*. If this suggestion is correct, then also Veps *musket* 'black' could be borrowed from Proto-Germanic. The forms *musea*, *museva* can be explained as analogical forms. The phonological variation can be explained so that the words *musta* and Veps *musket* needed a "basic" form and thus the words *museva*, *musea* were formed to fulfil the suffixal analogy. The Veps form *muza* 'dark (of colour)' could also be explained by analogy, which means that *muza* does not need to be the form from which *muzed* is borrowed. However, the possibility must also be considered that *muza* could be original, and then Koivulehto's etymology would be more difficult to maintain.

The original Germanic meaning of Proto-Finnic **musta* and Proto-Saami **moste-* has naturally left traces in the semantic extensions of the word. Dirtiness and murkiness are primary meanings in Saami, where the semantic development has not lead to a colour term. Also in the Finnic term, where the common primary denotation is 'black', the earlier denotations are still visible. Koski has assumed that the denotation of dirtiness in Finnic is borrowed from the neighbouring languages. Koivulehto's etymology removes the need to assume a semantic loan because dust is also dirty and thus the semantic development towards 'dirty' can be expected.

3.1.2. Saamic **čāppe*

PSaa **čāppe* ‘black’ > SaaS *tjeehpes* ‘black’, SaaU *tjaahpada*, SaaPi *tjaah’pat* ‘id.’, SaaLu *tjahppat* ‘black; dark (colour); altogether, utterly’, SaaN *čáhppat* ‘black; dark; (in certain phrases) quite empty, quite without; altogether, utterly’, SaaIn *čappad* ‘black’, SaaSko *čappâd* ‘black’, SaaKld *čoahpes* ‘black, dark’ (Lehtiranta 1989: 22–23; Bergsland & Magga 1993: 306, 312; LuLpW: 1136; Nielsen 1979: 366–367; InLpW 1986: 71; T. I. Itkonen 1958: 646; Kuruč 1985: 397)

The Saami languages have a common term for black, PSaa **čāppe* ‘black’, but the etymology beyond Proto-Saami is yet unknown. The semantic extensions of this colour term denote neither dirtiness nor darkness (of light). Instead, emptiness and invisibility is something very typical to at least the North Saami *čáhppat*. It can be seen also in the verb *čáhpodit* ‘become black; become quite black; disappear’. The denotation of disappearance can be found also in an Inari Saami idiom, which, however, may also be borrowed from North Saami *Čáhpo nu!* ‘Get lost’ (example from Idström & Morottaja 2006: 13):

Te koolgah čápudiđ!
 PRT must.sg2 become.black.INF
 ‘Get lost!’

The adjective *čáhppat* is used also of a sea or a lake that has no fish in it (Sammallahti 1989: 77), and probably also the North Saami idiom *čáhppes geafi* ‘poverty-struck’ has the idea of emptiness behind it. This same idiom is known also in Lule Saami. Many other Uralic languages, such as Finnish *mustottaa* ‘loom, be visible in the distance’ and Erzya Mordvin *rauždoms* ‘loom black, start to shine black’ have at least some kind of idea of being visible, not invisible as in (North and Lule) Saami. It is possible that the idea of murkiness has caused a development towards invisibility. The additional meanings to the terms for ‘black’ in Saami are highly negative; e.g. SaaIn *čappadas* ‘devil’, Lu *tjāhputit* ‘be black; (fig.) be bad, evil, godless’. Also in other Uralic languages such as Moksha Mordvin (see next chapter) the negative aspect is visible.

Some attempts have been made to identify cognates to Saami **čāppe*, but they have been rejected mostly because of phonological difficulties. For instance, Wiklund (1894: 117) has connected SaaN *čáhppat* with Fi *häpeä* ‘shame’, but this comparison is not valid due to the initial consonant: Saami *č*- does not correspond to Finnish *h*-. Instead, the correspondence of SaaN *č*- should be *s*- in Finnish. The denotations referring to emptiness and somewhat total loss are unique when compared to other Uralic languages. Although these denotations may be a later development from the colour term, it must be considered that these special denotations could be even older than the colour term itself.

3.1.3. Mordvin *ravužo*, *ravuža*

PMd **ravâ* > E *ravužo*, *raužo* ‘black, dark; dirty’, (dial.) *raužosto* ‘dirty’, M *ravuža* ‘black, dark; dirty; (dial.) devil; black clothes, mourning garb’ (MdWb 1994: 1887–1888)

? = Fi *rapa* ‘mud; mire; gravel, rubble; fragile, crispy’, Ka *raba(h)ine* ‘muddy’, Est *raba* ‘marsh’

In the Mordvin languages the term for black is E *ravužo*, M *ravuža*. In Mordvin, as also in Finnic, the term has the additional denotation ‘dirty’. In some dialects it also has the denotation ‘devil’ (MdWb 1994: 1887–1888), but otherwise the denotations are much the same as in the Finnic languages. In some dialects of Moksha the word denotes also ‘mourning clothes’. However, this denotation may be borrowed, as in European cultures the colour of mourning is black (Jäppinen 1999: 107). The verbs derived from *ravužo* refer to looming and being dirty, just like the Finnish verb *mustottaa* ‘loom dark, loom in the distance’: *rauždoms* ‘shine black, begin to shine black’, *rauškadoms* ‘black; begin to shine black; be dirty’ (MdWb 1994: 1887–1888). The translational problem is the denotation ‘dark’. According to an Erzya informant, the word refers mainly to the darkness of colour, but metaphorically it can be used for light, e.g. *meneleš raužkadš* ‘the sky darkened’.

The following riddle is an example of the use of colour terms in Erzya Mordvin:

Živojste ašo; kulomo karmī, jaksterǵadi; ojmeze liši
 life.ELA white die.VN begin.3sg become.red.3sg breath.3sg leave.3sg
ravuškadi. – penǵeš.
 become.black.3sg firewood.DEF
 ‘Living it is white; it starts to die, becomes red; its breath departs, it becomes black. – Firewood. (MdWb 1994: 1888).’

In this riddle we can see that sometimes it is hard to divide brightness from hue, especially when it comes to the word ‘white’. Is it a coincidence that these three “first” basic colour terms occur in a riddle that refers to an ancient entity: burning wood? The first stage of the firewood in the riddle refers probably to the white growing birch, which is the best type of firewood.

The origin of this colour term is thus far unknown. Structurally, a three-syllable word is presumably a derivation. Turunen (2002) has noted that the Mordvin ending E *-ža*, M *-žo* occurs in many colour terms. She explains that many colour terms have had the same ending in the first place (*piže* ‘green’, *ožo* ‘yellow’), and so this ending has been connected with colour terms and consequently e.g. *ravužo* has been formed by using the *-žV* as a suffix. In Mordvin there is a moderative adjective suffix *-ža*, for instance E *bérán* ‘bad’ → *béraža*, E *piže* ‘green’ → *pižeža* (Bartens 1999: 109; Serebrennikov 1967: 77), and it may have been used in forming a new adjective from a stem **ravâ*. There is only one word that looks similar to the stem and it is the

name of the river Volga: *rav*, *rava* (MdWb 1994: 1887–1888). Support for a connection between the colour term and the name of the river is the idiom *Mon rauškadiń rav(-)lopaks*. ‘I was as black as the Volga-leaf’. This connection may be etymological, phonological (rhyme) or metaphorical (the blackened leaves in the Volga River).

The colour black is usually a very typical appellative in place names, but according to Rahkonen (2009: 178) there are no Mordvin place names formed with *ravužo*, *ravuža*. Instead, Rahkonen (ibid.) notes that the term used in Erzya Mordvin place names is *čem-*, which is probably identical with Mari *šeme* ‘black’.

The Mordvin stem *ravu-* could be cognate with Finnish *rapa* ‘mud, mire; gravel, rubble; fragile, crisp’ (Janne Saarikivi, p.c.). The SSA (2000: 49) suggests that Finnish *rapa* ‘mud, mire; gravel, rubble; fragile, crispy’ is of the same “onomatopoeic-descriptive” origin as *rapea* ‘fragile; crispy’. The assumption of an onomatopoeic-descriptive origin is probably based on a connection with the verb *rapista* ‘rustle; fall’. Descriptive or onomatopoeic-descriptive explanations are very typical in the SSA, although descriptiveness or sound symbolism is rarely valid as an etymological explanation (see e.g. Saarikivi 2006, Aikio 2009).

Semantically Finnish *rapa* and Mordvin *ra(v)užo* could fit together, because the semantic shift between ‘black’ and ‘dirty’ seems possible in e.g. Finnic languages as demonstrated above (in Chapter 3.1.1), and it is present also in the Mordvin languages. A parallel example is German *schwarz* ‘black’ which means also ‘dirty’ and comes from Proto-Germanic **swartaz* ‘black’, in turn from PIE **swordo-* ‘dirty, dark, black’ (Harper 2001–2011).

3.1.4. Mari *šem(e)*

PMa **šim3* > H *šem(e)* ‘black; dirty; black(blood), brown (of skin)’, *šemalye* ‘dark (of colour)’, M *šimi* ‘black’ (TschWb: 671)

Either = Fi *hāme: mennä hämeeseen* ‘get sour, spoiled (of soup)’, *hāmen* ‘the first wool from a sheep’, ?? *hämärä* ‘dim’, EstS *hāmm(e)* ‘damp, wet’, ? Md E *čem: čemeń*, M *šāmeń* ‘rust; (dial.) mould that spoils corn’ (Koponen 2009) < PU **š3m3*

Or = ManN E *sēmēl*, W *šēmēl*, S *šī-mēl* ‘black’ (Lytkin 1970: 258) < PFU **š3m3*

Mari *šem(e)* is semantically somewhat identical to Finnish *musta*. In addition, blood can be described with *šem(e)*, as well as the brown colour of skin (TschWb: 671). There is a verb *šememeš* ‘the sky gets dark’.

The etymology of this term is still unknown, but it has been compared to various Uralic words such as Finnish *hämä-*, *hämärä* ‘dim’ (e.g. Setälä 1899: 267; Lytkin 1970: 258). This assumption has been rejected (SSA 1992: 208), but the question of possible cognates for Finnish *hämä-* is still being discussed (e.g. Koponen 2009).

Lytkin (1970: 258) compares Mari *šem* to Komi *sim* ‘rust, rusty; dark (colour)’, a term which occurs also in compounds like *simgerd* ‘dark red’ and derivatives like *simjd*

(Udora dialect) ‘cloudy (of weather)’. Komi *sim* and Mari *šem* are compared also to Mansi *sēmēl*, dial. *šēmēl* ‘black’. Lytkin has assumed Mansi K *simil* ‘rust’ to be a variant of the word *sēmēl*, but according to the dictionary of Munkácsi and Kálmán (1986: 547) they are separate words, and the one with the meaning ‘rust, rusty’ is a loanword from Komi (also Rédei 1970: 150). In addition, Komi *sim* does not belong together with the words suggested by Lytkin for phonological reasons. The Komi initial sibilant *s-* should go back to **s*, not **ś* as in Mansi, or **š* as in Finnish *hämä-*. In Mari the three sibilants have merged, and thus initial *š-* can be traced back to **s*, **ś* or **š*.

To the same word group Lytkin adds also Mordvin E *čem-*: *čemeň*, M *šämeň* ‘rust’ and Hungarian *szenny* ‘dirt’ (Lytkin 1970: 258). In later studies Hungarian *szenny* and the adjective *szennyes* ‘dirty’ have been compared to Hu *szén* ‘coal’ and it is thought probable that *szenny* and *szennyes* are irregular derivatives from this (Zaicz 2006: 787).

Mordvin *čem-* ‘rust’ could phonologically be cognate with Mari *šem*, but semantically the comparison is problematic. This *čem-* occurs in hydronyms, whereas the expected *ravužo* ‘black’ does not (Rahkonen 2009: 178). It seems that in hydronyms the naming motivation would have been black, as in Mari *šem*. If the original meaning of Mordvin *čem-* was ‘black’ and the denotation ‘rust’ were a semantic loan from e.g. Komi, the comparison would be unproblematic.

For Mordvin *čem-* there is an additional meaning ‘mould that spoils corn’ in MdWb (1994: 235). Koponen (2009) has suggested that the Finnish word *häme* in *mennä hämeeseen* ‘get sour, spoiled (of soup)’ and South Estonian *hämm(e)* ‘damp, wet’ are cognates with Md *čem*. The comparison is both phonologically and semantically valid, and Mari *šem* ‘black’ could be a cognate because the semantic development from ‘unclear’ to ‘black’ has occurred also in Finnish *musta* ‘black’, of which the Proto-Saami cognate **mostē* ‘unclear’ is parallel to the semantic development in Mari versus Mordvin and Finnic.

It is unclear, whether Finnish *hämärä* ‘dim’ is etymologically of the same origin as the *häme* that refers to mould or some other substance that spoils food. The SSA (1992: 208) includes *häme* under a word *hämätä* ‘bamboozle; confuse; amaze’ with a comment that also the words *hämärä* and *hämmentää* belong to the same descriptive-type group. Also Koponen (1998: 514) has suggested a descriptive group *hVm(m)-*, in which he later includes also Mari *šem* and Mordvin *čemen* (Koponen 2009). The word group he suggests is too vast and too heterogeneous to be reliable.

Also the ethnonym *Häme* ‘a province in Western Finland’, *hämäläinen* ‘a person living in Häme’ has been connected to the Finnish *hämärä* from time to time (e.g. Koivulehto 1997), but the connection is still uncertain. Koivulehto has suggested that all these words – *häme* ‘ethnonym for western Finland’, *hämärä* ‘dim’, *hämmentää* ‘stir; confuse; embarrass’, and possibly also *häme* in *mennä hämeeseen* ‘get sour, spoiled (of food)’ – belong together and derive from Proto-Germanic **sēma-* ‘dark (of human); dim, cloudy’ (Koivulehto 1998: 429). If this is the case, the Finnish words *häme*, *hämärä* cannot be cognates with Mari *šem* ‘black’.

Mari *šem* is not a cognate of Komi *sim*, but it is probable that it is related either to Finnish *häme* or Mansi *sēmēl* ‘black’. Both options are not possible because

Finnish *hämä-* should go back to Proto-Uralic **š3m3* while Mansi *sēməl* goes back to PU **š3m3*. The fact that the sibilants *s* and *š* occur in different dialects of Mansi suggests an ancient origin (Honti 1986: 260) and thus supports the assumption that this word should have relatives also in other Uralic languages.

3.1.5. Permic **šód*

PPerm **šód* > Ko *šed* ‘black; dirty; target (in shooting)’, Udm *šed, šod, šed* ‘black, dark (of colour); (dial.) dirty’ (Csúcs 2005: 378; Wichmann & Uotila 1942: 246; Wichmann 1987: 232)

? = Fi *sonta* ‘muck, dung’, Ma *šandā, šondā* ‘muck, dung; urine’ (Wichmann 1954: 103)

In the Permic languages the term for ‘black’ is in Komi and dialects of Udmurt *šed*. The translations do not distinguish between darkness of light and colour. However, in derivatives the denotation seems to be ‘dirty’ rather than ‘dark (of light)’, as can be seen in Ko *šedamni* ‘be black or dirty’, *šedašni* ‘become or get dirty; (?) shine black’ (Wichmann & Uotila 1942: 246). An interview with an Udmurt informant confirmed that Udm *šed* does not refer to darkness of light, only of colour.

The Proto-Uralic ancestor of Permic *šed* would be reconstructed as **š3nt3* or **š3mt3*. Wichmann (1954:103) has connected the Permic words with Finnish *sonta* ‘muck, dung’, which is cognate with Mari *šandā, šondā* ‘muck, dung, Abtritt, urine’ (E. Itkonen 1953: 163, SSA 2000: 199). Phonologically Wichmann’s comparison is unproblematic, but in UEW (764–765) this etymology has been rejected due to semantic differences, as also in SSA. However, already earlier in this chapter we have seen that the semantic development from ‘dirt’ to ‘black’ is more regular than exceptional in the Uralic languages, and therefore I see no reason to discard Wichmann’s etymology.

3.1.6. Ugric **pškk3-tt3*

> Kha *pitj*, N (dial.) *pəyt3* ‘black; bear meat; N (dial. also) ‘(dark) blue’, Hu *fekete* ‘black; dark (of colour); fig. dark (of light); black coffee’ (Zaicz 2006: 205)

Man *pit, piti* ‘black; bear; dark (of light)’ (Sipőcz 1994: 54) < Kha *pitj, pəyt3* (Munkácsi & Kálmán 1986: 444a)

The Ugric languages have a common term for black that has no denotation of dirtiness. The Ugric languages have one common term for ‘black’: Khanty *pitj, pəyt3* (Paasonen & Donner 1926: 176), Mansi *pit, piti*, and Hu *fekete* (Zaicz 2006: 205). Mansi *pit, piti* has probably been borrowed from Khanty (Munkácsi & Kálmán 1986: 444a), and according to Sipőcz (1994: 103), the semantic field of use is more restricted than that of *sēməl* ‘black’.

This term does not seem to have undergone a semantic extension to ‘dirty’, but it does have a denotation ‘dark (of light)’. The extension may be secondary, as in Hungarian it is used figuratively. This seems to be the case in the Finnic languages. Interestingly, Khanty *piti* has also the denotation ‘bear meat’. Unfortunately the dictionaries of Khanty do not give examples of the word’s use in this denotation, and thus also the reasons to refer to meat with the term for black remain unknown. It may refer to the edibility of the meat just as *musta liha* ‘black meat’ in Finnish. Another possibility is that it is an euphemism because of the taboo nature of words referring to the bear, a rather common phenomenon in the Uralic languages. The Khanty term refers also to evil, as it is used in *pəɣtə wenčəp* ‘devil’ (DEWOS: 1135; KT: 682), literally “black-foreheaded”. It occurs also in *pəɣtə jəŋk*, literally “black water” denoting ‘spirits’ (ibid.), although the colour of the liquor is definitely not black.

The compounds presented in e.g. Khanty are names for animals and denote colour, e.g. *pəɣtəkəɾəp* ‘black woodpecker’ (Paasonen 1926: 176). In Mansi it is used in compounds denoting darkness in a colour: *pittēlp* ‘bled blood, dark red’ (Sipőcz 1994: 54). Also some kind of evil is present in *pittōram* ‘underworld’ (ibid.), which is parallel with North Saami *čáhppesáibmu* ‘underworld’, literally “black-air”.

Johanna Parviainen (2010) has studied Finnish and Hungarian idioms that include a colour term. She presents an idiom *A feketé bika (a) lábujjára hágott* ‘a black ox trod on the toe’, which refers to death. Here, the colour black is a symbol of death. The idiom seems typical for Hungarian, but it does not exist in Finnish (Parviainen 2010: 61). Many idioms in Hungarian have been borrowed from German, e.g. *fekete könyv* < Ger *Schwarzbuch* ‘black book or list’ (Zaicz 2006: 205), and it is possible that German has idioms referring to the black ox as a symbol of death. Thus far I have not been able to find any, which suggests that the Hungarian idiom may be original or borrowed from some language other than German.

One idiom in Parviainen’s data refers to dirtiness (Parviainen 2010: 66): *fekete tehénnek is fehér a teje* ‘The black cow’s milk (is) also white’. It means that the income one gets from dirty work is equal to the income of anyone else. Parviainen suggests that the colour black in this idiom refers to the dirtiness of the work one does, while *fehér* ‘white’ refers to the good and honest income.

Parviainen (2010: 76) concludes that the Hungarian idioms with *fekete* have negative denotations. They refer to dirt, evil, illegality and also death. However, many of the idioms are borrowed from other languages, and thus the reliability of original denotations is small. Especially *fekete* referring to dirtiness is rather unclear, as the idiom presented above is rather abstract and it is difficult to determine what kind of dirtiness lies behind this idiom.

There are a few possibilities for reconstructing a Proto-Ugric form: **pöktz*, **pökkz* or **pökkz-tt3*, depending on which language is the starting point. The latest etymological dictionary of Hungarian uses the form **pökkz-tt3* (Zaicz 2006: 205) and assumes that *-tt3* is a denominal derivational suffix. Thus the Ugric stem would be **pökkz*, although it is rather strange that also Khanty has the *-t-* in the ending: *piti*, *pəɣt3*. This same ending can be seen also in some other Khanty colour terms, e.g. *wərt3* ‘red’ that is derived from *wəɾ* ‘blood’ (= Fi *veri* ‘id.’). This is typical only for Khanty and it

seems to be used only in some colour terms. It is possible that this suffix has referred only to colours, just like the Nganasan suffix *-kuo* in e.g. *tusajkuo* ‘black’ (more in Chapter 3.3.4). In Mansi there seems to be no such ending (if it is assumed that the Mansi colour term *pit*, *piti* ‘black’ is a loanword from Khanty), and in Hungarian this ending is very rare, especially among adjectives (Papp 1969: 107).

Theoretically, the Khanty ending (suffix?) *-t3* could date back to the Uralic adjectival suffix **-tA*. The last vowel is problematic, as it should have disappeared. However, according to Korhonen (1991: 70) and Kulonen (1993: 80), phonemes which carry suffixal meaning may change differently than phonemes in other positions.

3.1.7. Nenets **pə̌i-*

PNen **pə̌i-* > NeT *paryi* (verb) ‘be black’, *paryidye*° ‘black’, NeF *pjǎ́lice* ‘is black’ (Lehtisalo 1956: 339–340)

= En *pólzed* (*нолзе(дь)*) ‘be black’, *polžeda*, *polžede* ‘black’ (Katzschmann & Pusztay 1978: 175)

? < PS **pâ̌râ-* ‘burn (intr.)’

In many Samoyed languages, adjectives are not a morphological class or the nature of adjectives is at least unclear (see more on adjectives in Samoyed in e.g. Szeverényi 2005). Some adjectival denotations are referred to with verbs, others with nouns. In a verb, the adjectival meaning is constructed with a participle suffix, which is a typical way of forming adjectives also in other languages such as Finnish (see e.g. Koivisto 1987). This concerns also colour terms. For instance, in Nenets the word for ‘black’ is a verb and the word for ‘white’ is a noun. One reason for such a division between word classes can be found in the etymological background.

The Samoyed languages do not have a common term for ‘black’. However, the North Samoyed languages Nenets and Enets have a common term for ‘black’: NeT *paryi* (verb) ‘be black’ > *paryidye*° ‘black’, En *pólzed* ‘be black’ > *polžeda*, *polžede* ‘black (participle)’ (Lehtisalo 1956: 339–340; Katzschmann & Pusztay 1978: 175). Almost all uses of the term for ‘black’ seem to denote purely colour or opposite-ness to ‘white’ as in the names for the Arctic fox in summer, *париденя нохо* ‘black fox’, and in winter, *сэр” нохо* ‘white fox’ (Tereščenko 1965: 317b, 447b).

The Tundra Nenets derivation *parikku* means not only black but also the genitals of a woman or a female animal (Lehtisalo 1956: 339–340). The female genitalia tend to have a negative or taboo status in various cultures. In the light of that knowledge, we may assume that the term for black would also have a negative affect, although this kind of semantic extension does not seem to occur in the other Uralic languages.

The words in both Nenets and Enets remind one greatly of the verbs meaning ‘burn’: NeT *parā* (Janhunen 1977: 114), En *forabado* (Katzschmann & Pusztay 1978: 175), which date back to a Proto-Samoyed form **pâ̌râ-* ‘burn (intr.)’ (Janhunen

1977: 114). Phonologically the Proto-Samoyed reconstruction **pârâ-* could lie behind Proto-Nenets **pârî-* ‘be black’ (the Proto-Nenets reconstruction suggested by Lotta Jalava, p.c.). The comparison is also supported by the fact that the words for ‘black’ in this case are verbs. Thus it is conceivable that they have developed from a verb, while the term for white, NeT *ser*, which is a noun, has presumably developed from a noun meaning ‘ice’ (Janhunen 1977: 138). Semantically this comparison is unproblematic. A semantic parallel occurs in English where the word *black* derives from PIE **bhleg-* ‘shine, flash, burn’ (Watkins 1985: 6).

Proto-Samoyed **pârâ-* ‘burn (intr.)’ has not been linked with Proto-Uralic **pala-* ‘id.’ (> Fi *palaa* ‘burn (intr.)’, SaaN *buollit* ‘id.’), although they are semantically similar. The reason for this lack of connection is phonological, namely that PU **-l-* should have changed to **-j-* in Proto-Samoyed. However, this type of semantic and phonological similarity may be a sign that the sound changes from Proto-Uralic to Proto-Samoyed have not been fully studied.

3.1.8. Selkup *sākā*

sākā ‘black’

? = Kam *sāγâr* ‘black’ (SWB 2004: 371), En *ḡägo*, *ḡäo* ‘black’ (Joki 1956: 13)

? < Ev *сaxa*, *сакарпун* ‘black, dark’ (KWB 1944: 56, SWB 2004: 371)

Donner assumed that *sākā* belongs etymologically together with Kamas *sāγâr*, *sār* ‘black’ (SWB 2004: 371), which has been compared to Evenki *сaxa*, *сакарпун* ‘black’ (KWB 1944: 56b). Probably also Enets *ḡägo*, *ḡäo* ‘black’ (Joki 1956: 13; Katzschmann & Pusztay 1978: 186) belongs to this word group, but the etymological relations are unclear.

3.1.9. Nganasan *heŋkə* and *tusajkuo*

heŋkə (*xeykə*) ‘black’ (Kortt & Simcenko 1985: 107–108, Katzschmann 2008: 189)

~ Ngan *hii*, *hiŋ* ‘night’ < PS **pi* ‘night’ (Janhunen 1977: 123)

tusajkuo (*mycaйkyo*) ‘black’ (Szeverényi 2005: 86; in Katzschmann 2008: ‘dark’)

Other forms: *mycaйчыca* ‘blacken, become black’, *mycaйka* ‘a’ ‘black’ (Kosterkina et al. 2001: 90)

Nganasan has two terms for ‘black’, *heŋkə* and *tusajkuo*. For instance, Szeverényi (2005: 86–87) does distinguish which is a basic colour term and which is not, although morphologically he mentions that the basic colour terms have their own marker (*-kuə*). If his suggestion is correct, this means that only *tusajkuo* would be a basic colour term. However, the word *tusajkuo* does not occur in all dictionaries of Nganasan, unlike *heŋkə*. In any event, I shall present both words in the following.

Nganasan *heŋkə* does not appear to have any denotation of darkness or dirtiness, a phenomenon that seems typical for all Samoyed languages. There is, however, the following riddle (Katzschmann 2008: 58):

ŋilədu bənsə heŋkə, bəntuðə kasititi (nitə).
underside all black.PRED, above.ABL be_steaming.3SG (pot).
'Its bottom is all **black**, from above it is steaming (a pot).'

The blackness on the bottom of a kettle comes from soot, which is black. It is also dirty as it soils one's hands if one touches it. Another example is *xeykə čuupɣ* 'cloud', literally 'black cloud' (Sorokina & Bolina 2001: 95). This refers to darkness (of light), or the opposite of a clear sky. It can also refer only to the dark colour of the cloud as in Finnish *musta pilvi* 'black cloud'.

Katzschmann (2008: 497) presents a nominal suffix *-nka*, and gives examples *heŋiŋkə* 'mosquito' and *sɨðəŋkə* 'shadow soul (especially of a dead person)'. However, he gives no stems for these derivations, and therefore it is difficult to say, for instance, what kind of vowel shift is possible in the stem, and to what kind of stem it is possible to add the suffix. The word *heŋkə* is probably a derivation like the other examples given above, but the stem is unclear. Theoretically it might be possible to form *heŋkə* 'black' from *hi* 'night', which is a common Samoyed word (< PS **pi* 'night', Janhunen 1977: 123). A problematic issue is that Katzschmann does not mention that the suffix *-nka* could be used in derivational adjectives, and all his examples are nouns.

Katzschmann (2008: 312) mentions also another word used for black in Nganasan: *tusajkuo* (*mycaŋkyo*). Wagner-Nagy mentions a suffix *-kuə*, *-jkuə* used in forming especially colour terms in Nganasan, e.g. *tusajkuo* 'black', *toðakuo* 'yellow' (Wagner-Nagy 2001: 160). She notes that the stems of these colour terms are unknown.

In the texts of Katzschmann's *Chrestomathie* the word *tusajkuo* is used in the same story as *heŋkə*. Katzschmann has translated the word *tusajkuo* as 'dark' (Katzschmann 2008), but this division is uncertain as both *tusajkuo* and *heŋkə* are used as opposites to *sɨrə* 'white' (examples are from Katzschmann 2008: 136 while the English translations are by the author):

ŋam'aj üñsüðə sɨrə" taatini huturəməə, ŋam'aj üñsüðə tusajkuo
other team white.PL reindeer.LOC.PL harness.PTCP, other team black
taatini huturəməə.
reindeer.LOC.PL harness.PTCP
'One team (is) harnessed with white reindeer, [while] the other team (is) harnessed with dark reindeer.'

naa kobt'a ŋomtəbtura" a sɨrə" kubu" ni, sɨgi"ə
Nganasan girl sit.3SG white.PL fur.GEN.PL ON.DAT, man-eater
ŋomtəbura" a heŋgə" kubu" ni.
sit.3G black.PL fur.GEN.PL ON.DAT
'The Nganasan girl sat down on a white reindeer pelt, the man-eater (woman) sat down on the black reindeer pelt.'

According to these examples from texts, the difference in the use of *tusajkuo* and *heŋkə* seems to follow the animate–inanimate opposition. In the examples from texts, *heŋkə* refers to inanimate objects. In the story of a Nganasan girl and a man-eater the word *heŋkə* is used of a reindeer pelt. The adjective *tusajkuo* refers always to the reindeer. In another story, the verbal form of *tusajkuo* (*tusajt'ütü*) is used to refer to a human being's mouth (Katzschmann 2008: 68). This might also be considered as a part of a living being, unlike the bottom of a kettle, where the word *heŋkə* is used. However, the text material is small, and thus the given assumptions may be proven wrong in later studies.

The texts from which the examples above were taken, refer to a positive–negative position between the terms for white and black. The Nganasan girl chooses white reindeer and the man-eater chooses the black/dark ones (Katzschmann 2008: 136). This suggests that the negative affect is present also in the Samoyed languages. It is not visible in the semantic extensions found in dictionaries, but becomes visible in a larger context, e.g. folk tales.

3.2. Conclusions

3.2.1. Etymologies

What do we hold in our hands after the analysis in the Chapter 3.1? Some old etymologies, some suggestions for new etymologies and an idea of a semantic development of the terms for 'black'.

Usually the terms for black are common to closely related languages such as Permic, Mordvin and Finnic, but the etymologies further back are more or less uncertain. A long-known etymology is that the Ugric branch has a common term for 'black', which must be considered one of the oldest known terms for black in the Uralic languages. Both Hungarian *fekete* and Khanty *pitj* denote 'black' and thus also the Proto-Ugric form **pëkk3-tt3* presumably denoted 'black'. However, there are no suggested cognates outside the Ugric languages and thus the semantic background is still unclear.

Thus far, the most reliable etymology for Finnish *musta* has been suggested by Koivulehto (2001: 71). It is also one of the oldest etymologies presented for the terms for 'black' in the Uralic languages, as it is common to both Finnic and Saami languages. However, it is not a colour term in the Saami languages, which means that the denotation of colour has developed only in the Finnic languages. In Skolt and Inari Saami there are denotations 'darkness of colour' and 'losing its colour'. This can be the result either of an independent semantic development or Finnic influence.

In the Samoyed branch only Nenets and Enets have a common term for black: NeT *paryi* 'be black', En *pólzed* 'id'. The closest common protolanguage for Nenets and Enets is Proto-Samoyed, and therefore the Nenets and Enets terms can be reconstructed for Proto-Samoyed. In Chapter 3.1.7 I have cautiously suggested that the

terms for ‘black’ in Nenets and Enets could descend from the Proto-Samoyed **para* ‘burn (intr.)’. The denotation of black, however, has possibly been connected with the slightly changed phonological form seen in the modern Nenets and Enets languages.

All the suggestions that combine different Uralic branches together are highly uncertain. Especially Mari *šem* ‘black’ has many suggested cognates, in Mansi, Komi, Mordvin and Finnic languages. However, all these cannot be cognates due to the phonological differences between them. Also, borrowing between Uralic languages should be considered possible in word groups of this type. The Permic *śed* ‘black, dirty’ and Finnish *sonta* ‘muck, dung’ (Wichmann 1954: 103) are a phonologically unproblematic comparison, and also semantically they seem to fit together because the feature common to these words is dirtiness. If the Mordvin *ravužo*, *ravuža* ‘black’ is a cognate of a Finnish *rapa* ‘mud; mire; gravel, rubble; fragile, crispy’, the semantic development would be somewhat the same as in the comparison of Permic and Finnic presented above, from ‘dirty’ to ‘black’. This type of semantic development should be kept in mind when searching for more cognates for the terms for black in the Uralic languages.

3.2.2. Semantic development

In the data we see that usually the colour term has developed from some other denotation. Even the suggested loanwords are such that the borrowed word did not originally denote colour.

In Chapter 2 I suggested that the terms for black could develop from two denotations, ‘dark (of light)’ and ‘dirty’. Surprisingly, the lack of light is not visible in any of the etymologies presented (the comparison of Nganasan *heŋkə* ‘black’ with Proto-Samoyed **pi* ‘night’ is extremely hypothetical). Instead, in most cases the direction of semantic development is from ‘dirty’ to ‘black’. This development occurs especially in the western Uralic languages: Finnic, Mordvin, Mari and Permic. In all these languages the term for black has also denotations of dirtiness.

The denotation of dirtiness is missing or at least opaque in the Saami, Ugric and Samoyed languages. These languages are quite peripheral compared to other Uralic languages. If we assume that original features are usually preserved on the periphery, the semantic development from ‘dirt’ to ‘black’ observed in Finnic, Mordvin, Mari and Permic should be regarded as an innovation.

However, the difference between central and peripheral languages and the connection between black and dirty is not without exception. An example of a possibly ongoing semantic change from dirty to black is found in Mansi where a word *pāŋk*, *paŋkəŋ* has denotations ‘coal, dirt; muddy, dirty’, and in some dialects also ‘black’ (Sipöcz 1994: 54). Due to the rarity of the denotation ‘black’ it is probable that the other denotations are older, and the denotation has moved from ‘dirty’ to ‘black’. This semantic development supports also the suggested etymologies in other Uralic languages (especially Mordvin *ravužo* ‘black’ ~ Fi *rapa* and Permic *śed* ‘black’ ~ Fi *sonta*

‘muck, dung’, Ma W *šandâ* ‘lavatory’, E *šondo* ‘muck, dung’) which are phonologically valid but have been considered semantically problematic.

Many languages have also a denotation ‘dark (of light)’, but the use of it seems rather figurative and secondary, which refers to a metaphorical use instead of lexical. Koski (1983) and also Jäppinen (1999) have noted that the word for black can be used in the meaning ‘dark (of light)’, especially when referring to night. From referring to the darkness of night it is not a great leap to referring to the darkness of days, either concrete (Ka *mussat päivät* ‘black days’ < one cannot see to sew) or metaphorically (Fi *päiväsi mustimmat* ‘your blackest days’ < i.e. the days of mental depression (poetic use)). The semantic movement is the same with regard to the primary term for darkness in Finnish, *pimeä* ‘dark (of light)’, which presumably refers to the darkness of night, but can also refer to the darkness of day.

The studies of colour terms in other languages have suggested a development from terms denoting brightness to terms denoting hues (e.g. MacLaury 1992, Casson & Gardner 1992, Casson 1997). Finnish *musta* and North Saami *mosttas* represent the same type of semantic development as Old English *salu* ‘sallow’ which had the brightness sense ‘dark, dusky’ and the hue sense ‘dirty, discoloured’ (Casson & Gardner 1992: 395). Although the English *sallow* and its cognates do not have the denotation ‘black’, the denotation ‘dirty’ may develop into a denotation to ‘black’ (Harper 2001–2011). This type of semantic development is present also if Finnish *hämärä* ‘dim’ belongs together with Mari *šem* ‘black; dirty’.

Tundra Nenets *paryidyē* ‘black’ and Enets *polʒeda, polʒede* ‘id.’ could originate from Proto-Samoyed **para* ‘burn (intr.)’, which is parallel to the development of the English *black* (< PIE **bhleg-* ‘burn’). Casson, however, has assumed that the meaning ‘burnt, scorched’ refers to hue, not brightness.

The negative aspect seems to link all the Uralic languages and thus indicates that the connection of black, dark to evil is not typical only of western culture. However, it is possible that surrounding cultures have affected the Uralic languages, e.g. the mythical aspect of the Samoyed languages, where the terms for black seem to be used in a negative sense, although the colour black does not seem to have a negative affect in everyday use. Affect could be one explanation for the vast variation in the terms for black in the Uralic languages and the relatively young age of the terms.

If we assume, like Berlin and Kay, that all languages have a term for black and also a term for white, we must accept that the colour terms change from time to time. However, the old term is not always replaced by a term borrowed from another language. Instead, a word that already exists moves to function as a colour term. The new term is taken from semantically close vocabulary. Koski (1983: 249) has assumed that Proto-Finnic **musta* ‘black’ replaced the older term for black, **sini-*, which has moved to fill the blue and possibly green area of the colour chart.

Although it is uncertain why the terms for black tend to change in languages, it seems that the semantic development is the same. The new word is taken from the same semantic field as the previous word. According to this data and the etymological suggestions, the denotation ‘dirty’ seems the most popular source for the new terms

for black. It is not the only one, however. Also brightness may play a role in developing a term for black. Casson (1997) has suggested such a development for English and we can see such parallels also in some of the Uralic languages.

4. White

In this chapter, unlike the previous one, I shall focus on the old terms for ‘white’ and their denotations in the present-day languages. Terms for black tend to be either of unknown origin or the history of the words does not extend far back into the proto-languages, but there is more than one term for white reconstructed to very old proto-languages, such as the Finno-Ugric, Finno-Permian and Samoyed proto-languages. Due to the selection, the results are preliminary, but they provide clues as to what kind of semantic development the terms for white have undergone.

For the Finno-Ugric protolanguage three separate terms are reconstructed for ‘white’: **päje* ‘white; shine’ (UEW: 360), **walkə* ‘white, light, shiny; shine, light’ (UEW: 554) and **ačka* ‘white’ which is uncertain (UEW: 3). Each of these will be discussed below.

4.1. PFU **päje* ‘white; shine’

> SaaN *beadjut* ‘shine white (e.g. of someone with a white furcoat)’, SaaLu *päju* (attr.) ‘white (of things and animals)’, *päjuk* (pred.) ‘white (of an animal); white reindeer’, *pädjat*, *piedjis* (attr.) ‘white, light’, ? Hu *fehér* ‘white’ (UEW: 359–360)

~ PFU **päjä* ‘fire’ > SaaN *baján* ‘thunder’, ?Ko *bi* ‘fire’, ?Kha *päj* ‘thunder’

> PFU **päjwä* ‘fire’ (derivation of **päje*, Saarikivi 2010: 259) > Fi *päivä* ‘day; sun’, SaaN *beaivi* ‘day; sun’, ?? Ko *bi* ‘fire’, ?? Kha *päj* ‘thunder’, PS **pejwä* ‘warmth, warm’

The UEW has three separate entries that could both formally and semantically belong together: **päje* ‘white; shine’, **päjä* and **päjwä* ‘fire’. Both words under the reconstruction **päje* are uncertain, but the present etymological dictionaries hold to this etymology (e.g. Zaicz 2006: 203). The UEW refers to the same words in Komi and Khanty in the entries for **päjä* and **päjwä*, and thus it is even more probable that the words are the same, although the variation in the Saami first-syllable vowel *a* ~ *ea* needs a closer examination.

Proto-Samoyed **pejwä* ‘warmth, warm’ (Janhunen 1977: 120) is not commented on in any of these articles, although it cannot be a coincidence that PFU **päjwä* and PS **pejwä* are so similar, both formally and semantically. Also Saarikivi (2010: 259) has noticed the similarity of these words and assumes that the form **päjwä* was originally **päj(e)wä*, a derivation from **päje*.

4.2. PFU **walʹʒ* ‘shine, to shine’

> Fi *vaalea* ‘light; blond’, ? Md E *valdo* M *valda* ‘light’, Ko (dial.) *volʹk* ‘bright, shining’, *volʹal-* ‘shine’, Udm (dial.) *valʹ: čilʹ-valʹ* ‘shine, brightness; shining, bright’, dial. also *valʹk*, *valʹt* ‘shining, bright’, Man *olʹk-* ‘be bright, shine’, ? Hu *világ* ‘light; world; people’ (UEW: 554)

~ PFU **walkʒ* ‘white, light, shiny; shine, light’ (UEW: 554) > Fi *valkea*, *valkoinen* ‘white; light; fire’, Li *vālda* ‘white; white cow’, SaaN *vielgat* ‘white’, Md E *valdo*, M *valda* ‘light (noun and adj.)’, Ma *wolyâdo* ‘brightness, clarity; bright, clear’, ? Hu *világ* ‘light; world; people’ (SSA 2000: 399, LuLpW: 1400b, Zaicz 2006: 914–915)

Another Proto-Finno-Ugric term for white in UEW (554) is **walkʒ*. In addition to ‘white’, the term refers also to light and brightness. In a separate entry, UEW presents the word **walʹʒ* ‘shine, to shine’. It is uncertain whether the Mordvin and Hungarian forms derive from **walʹʒ* or **walkʒ*, and therefore they are presented in both entries.

It is generally agreed that these two different reconstructions belong together. The form **walkʒ* is probably a derivation from **walʹʒ*, just as Proto-Uralic **piðkä* ‘long’ is derived from PU **piðe* ‘long’ (SSA 1995: 337). In SSA (2000: 481) North Saami *vielgat* has been connected with Finnish *välkeä* ‘spacious, roomy’, suggesting that the latter is only a front-vocalic form of *valkea*, although the denotation is rather different, as *välkeä* does not refer to ‘white’ or ‘light’. It is possible that the denotation ‘spacious, roomy’ has developed from ‘light’, and this is the assumption also in SSA. The SSA connects also Finnish *väleä* ‘quick, fast’ to this word group as a variant without the velar stop *-k-*, although there is yet another semantic extension. Comparisons of this type are dangerous as both the phonological and semantic shifts would be considerably large.

Finnish *vaalea* ‘light; blond’ is phonologically exceptional because the first vowel is long. One would expect the form *valea*, which according to Koski (1983: 55) occurs in some Finnish dialects. Other forms with a short vowel are e.g. Fi *valeva* ‘light, pale’ and Est *valev* ‘light, shiny’. According to Koski (ibid.), the original form *vale-* entered into a quantitative variation in the Finnic languages and thus the form *vaalea* has emerged.

PFU **walʹʒ* is a colour term only in the Finnic and Saami languages. In all other languages it still means mostly light. In the Finnic branch also the denotation ‘light’ has been preserved in the noun Fi *valo*, Est *valu* ‘light’. In Finnish the form *valkea* is also a noun denoting ‘fire’. Koski assumes that the colour term emerged in Proto-Finnic, although SaaN *vielgat* is also a basic colour term.

4.3. PFU **ačka* ‘white’

> Fi *hahkea*, *haahkea*, dial. *ahka* ‘grey’, ? *ha(a)hka* ‘common eider (*Somateria mollissima*)’, Ka *hoahka* ‘grey (wool)’, Ve *hahk* ‘grey’, *hahkoi* ‘grey sheep’ | Est *hahk* ‘grey’, ? *ahk* ‘eider (*Somateria mollissima*)’ | Li 5̄ gi, ā gi (<**hahkainen*) ‘grey’, mdE *ašo*, M *akša* ‘white; clean’, Ma *ošə*, *oš* ‘white, blond; clean’, ? KhaS *aš*, *äš* ‘(white) clay; chalk’ (UEW: 3; SSA 1992: 124)

~ PFP **čäčkä* ‘clean, white; shine clean, white’ > ? SaaLu *tjäskāk* (pred.), *tjieskis* (attr.) ‘sharp, stinging’, *tjieskis-pājuk* ‘snow-white reindeer; iris white’ (LuLpW: 1162, 1221), SaaN *čeaská-* ‘look snow-white, shine white’, *čeaskat* ‘quite white, pure white, snow-white’, SaaIn *čeaskađ* ‘snow-white (of reindeer, of clothes that are made of reindeer pelt, of ermine)’, Ko *čoćkom* ‘white, clean’ (UEW: 611).

The PFU word **ačka* ‘white’ is the only non-Ugric term that is a colour term in all other languages except Khanty, which is uncertain due to semantic differences. The SSA (1992: 124) connects Finnish *hahkea*, *haahkea* ‘grey’ with *ha(a)hka* ‘eider’ (Est *ahk* ‘id.’). Koski (1983: 59) is uncertain about whether the denotation ‘eider’ is etymologically the same as the words referring to colour. Instead, he suggests that the animal name could be onomatopoeic, based on the sounds that eiders make (Koski 1983: 339).

Unlike the other Finno-Ugric terms for white, this one does not include the meaning ‘bright’, but it does include the meaning ‘clean’, which is typical also for the Finnic-Permic word **čäčkä* ‘clean, white; shine clean, white’. It seems to be a front-vocalic variant of **ačka* with an initial affricate. In fact, the initial affricate could also explain the *h-* in most Finnic cognates. There is even more reason to assume that these two words are cognates as we look at the areal distribution, which is complementary, for according to the UEW, the cognates of PFU **ačka* and PFP **čäčkä* do not occur in the same languages. This might be a parallel to the assumption that North Saami *vielgat* ‘white’ is a front-vocalic variant of Finnish *valkea* ‘white’.

Lule Saami *tjäskāk*, (attr.) *tjieskis* ‘sharp, stinging’ has not been connected to SaaN *čeaskat* before. Probably the reason has been semantical, as it is very different from the other Saami words. However, Grundström (LuLpW: 1162) presents also a compound *tjieskis-pājuk* ‘snow-white reindeer; iris white’ which has exactly the same semantic aspect as North Saami *čeaskat* ‘quite white, pure white, snow white’ and Inari Saami *čeaskađ* ‘snow-white’. It is possible that *tjäskāk*, (attr.) *tjieskis* includes two homonyms, and only the form in *tjieskis-pājuk* would belong together with SaaN *čeaskat* and SaaIn *čeaskađ*. However, it is not obligatory to assume homonymy in this type of semantic difference. It is also possible that in Lule Saami snow-white has taken on a negative aspect, as shining snow stings the eye. Also in the other Saami languages the denotation is ‘pure white’ and ‘snow-white’. Here, the assumed development would be from ‘pure white’ to ‘whiteness stinging the eye’ in Lule Saami.

For the Saami words one can see the prototypical white or snow in translations. Etymologically they do not come from a word meaning snow, and this might also be

just a translational aspect. When one asks an informant to explain a kind of white, the informant might compare the whiteness to snow, i.e. as white as can be. Snow is also a prototypical white entity in the north.

Semantically the words **ačka* and **čäčkä* both have the definition ‘clean’ instead of ‘bright’, which is a denotation that the other Finno-Ugric terms (**päje*, **walʒ*) have. Based on the material presented, we may assume that brightness and cleanliness were separate categories at least in Proto-Finno-Ugric and perhaps earlier. The term for white can develop from both categories, but the denotations ‘clean’ and ‘bright’ do not seem to overlap.

4.4. PSam **ser* ‘white’

> Ngan *сыр*, NeT *сэп*”, *сэпакo* ‘white’, Selk *serə* ‘white’, Kam *sir* (Janhunen 1977: 138)

< PSam **ser* ‘ice’ (Janhunen 1977: 138)

While the Samoyed languages lack a common term for ‘black’, they do have a common term for ‘white’: PSam **ser* (Janhunen 1977: 138). Samoyed **ser* ‘white’ is probably etymologically identical to **ser* ‘ice’. Janhunen presents these two words in separate entries, but compares them (ibid.). In Lehtisalo’s *Juraksamojedisches Wörterbuch* (1956: 410) the descendants of these two words are discussed in the same entry. Jäppinen (1999) assumes that snow is a prototypical white entity. While this is true, etymologically this Samoyed **ser* is the only word in this set of data that would come from something that evokes snow.

4.5. Conclusion

Many terms for white presented in the UEW are phonologically so similar to each other that eventually only three different terms for white can be seen: **päje* (or **päjä*), **walʒ* (possibly also ? **wālʒ*, according to Fi *väleä* ‘quick, fast’, *välkeä* ‘spacious, roomy’ and SaaN *vielgat* ‘white’) and **ačka* (or **čäčkä*). Possibly none of these words denoted ‘white’ in the protolanguage, as the colour term occurs only in some branches of the family. The word **päje* is the best candidate for originally meaning ‘white’, as the suggested derivatives denoting white are found in the Saami languages and Hungarian. In Hungarian the derivate *fehér* is a basic colour term.

Not all words denoting ‘bright’ developed into ‘white’ or any other colour term. Proto-Uralic had a word **jelä* ‘light; sun; day’ (> SaaN *jalahas*, *jealahas* ‘complete cloudlessness’, KhaN *jil* ‘cardinal point, point of the compass’, NeT *яля* ‘day; bright, clear; light (adj.)’) (UEW: 96). The development from ‘light’ to ‘white’ could be expected, but in this case a term for ‘white’ has not emerged.

The Finno-Ugric terms for white display a division between cleanliness and brightness. The denotation ‘white’ can develop both from ‘cleanliness’ and ‘bright-

ness', but it seems that brightness and cleanliness themselves are separate semantic categories. The old terms include also the denotation 'warm', and all this indicates that the brightness category refers to fire and to the sun that are bright and warm, and red and yellow. In the studies of colour terms after Berlin and Kay's theory (e.g. Croft 2003: 279) it has been noted that the term for white includes also warm colours (red, yellow, orange). Warmth is visible also in the Finno-Ugric terms for white, but etymologically the focus in the colour has stayed on white.

5. Discussion

In this study we have not identified Proto-Uralic terms for black and white. However, we have seen what semantic types lurk behind the colour terms of present languages, especially concerning the terms for black. The hypothesis presented in Chapter 2 also needs modifying.

Many studies of colour categories are synchronic, and the whole theory concerning the evolution of the system of colour terms in a language is based on synchronic studies. However, etymological studies show that, like many other words in language, colour terms change. They are borrowed, or new words are derived from a stem that already exists in the language. It is also possible that a word expands its meaning to another semantic field. Usually the semantic extension moves from concrete to abstract. This is typical especially for adjectives.

In the data we find that the motivations for naming black are restricted to a few possibilities. Dirt and murkiness are the most frequent motivations to expand meaning to black. Also 'burning' can be a motivation in naming black not only in the Indo-European languages but in Uralic as well.

Surprisingly, dark (of light) and night are not used as motivations for naming the colour black. In Nganasan, the connection between *hii* 'night' and *heŋkə* 'black' is highly uncertain.

The terms for white come from light and fire, which support the notion that the term for white could refer also to warm colours like red and yellow. Also cleanliness and purity can develop a denotation of white. However, the denotation 'bright' does not seem to occur together with 'clean'. It is probable that the denotations 'bright' and 'clean' have a common feature, 'white', but the categories 'bright' and 'clean' do not overlap.

Many of the Uralic languages tend to have a separate suffix for colours. It has been suggested that Mordvin E *-žo*, M *-ža* have developed to a colour suffix by analogy with words like MdE *piže* 'yellow' and *ožo* 'green'. In Khanty a suffix *-tə* occurs mainly in colour terms: *pitə*, *piytə* 'black', *wirtə* 'red', *wastə* 'green'. In Nganasan the suffix *-kuo* has been seen as a colour term suffix: *tusajkuo* 'black', *dabakuo* 'red'. It seems that it has been important to distinguish colour terms from other words, especially adjectives.

As can be seen from the data presented in Chapter 3, the etymological difference between terms for 'black' and 'white' is in their dating. The terms for 'black'

cannot be reconstructed very far back in the protolanguage. Some etymologies suggest that the terms for black are either borrowed from neighbouring languages or still of unknown origin. However, the borrowings are not very recent, and e.g. Russian *чёрный* ‘black’ does not lie behind any Uralic terms. Unlike black, the semantic field of white has more than one term reconstructed for the Finno-Ugric protolanguage. Also Proto-Samoyed had a term for white, although it is impossible to reconstruct a common term for black in the Samoyed languages.

Another difference between black and white is affect. As in many other languages, also in the Uralic languages the terms for black have a negative affect. In Saami, where the terms for black do not denote dirtiness or darkness, the connotation is negative. The negative aspect can be seen in Inari Saami *čappadas* ‘devil’, but also in the Saami idea of emptiness and invisibility behind the word *čáhppat* ‘black’. The negative aspect is visible also in the Samoyed languages, although otherwise additional meanings are difficult to find. The negativity lies more in the context where the words are used than in the word itself.

The negative affect could be one reason for the vast variation of the terms for ‘black’ in the Uralic languages. The meaning ‘light, pure, white’ has probably always had a positive affect and this may have preserved the old terms. The meaning ‘black’ has had or taken on a negative affect, and thus it has a kind of “taboo” status, which leads to a need to alter or even change the word from time to time (for affect see e.g. Kulonen 2006).

In English the word *dark* denotes both darkness of colour and lack of light. The Uralic data presents denotations of the lack of light, but it seems secondary due to its metaphorical nature. The denotation ‘dark (of light)’ is missing also in the etymologies presented. However, the etymologies of the Finno-Ugric terms for ‘white’ include denotations to both light and cleanliness. The development from the semantic categories bright–dark and clean–dirty is presented in Figure 5.

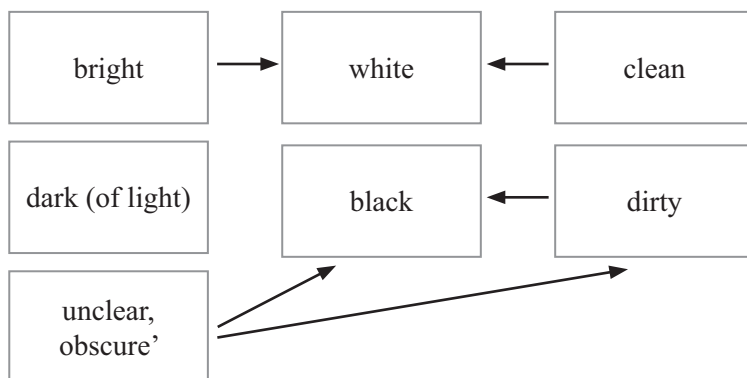


Figure 5. The directions of semantic development of the terms denoting ‘white’ and ‘black’.

The denotations ‘bright’ and ‘clean’ may both develop a term for white, but they do not seem to overlap, as the denotation connecting these two features is ‘white’. The results concerning the terms for white are preliminary because the data is restricted

to old terms. Concerning the colour term ‘black’ the semantic development is not that simple. In chapter two I assumed that the denotations ‘dirty’ and ‘dark (of light)’ could develop into a term for black. However, it seems that of the two only ‘dirty’ motivates the semantic development to ‘black’. Uralic **pil̥m̥3-* ‘dark (of light)’ and Finno-Ugric **kum̥3-* ‘cloud’ do not lie behind any of the terms for black studied above. Neither do they have the denotation ‘black’ or even ‘dark (of colour)’ in any of the languages where they still exist. Both of the words have actually remained salient because all the derivatives of both words have preserved their original denotation. Uralic **pil̥m̥3* has remained purely a brightness term, and it does not seem to interfere with colours at all because there are no languages where it would denote the darkness of colour. Instead, in many Uralic languages the terms for black refer also to dark shades of colour.

Murkiness and obscurity seem to be one semantic source that can develop into a term for black. According to Casson’s example of English *sallow* as well as the data presented for Finnic and etymological suggestions of the cognates of Mari *šem(e)* ‘black’, the obscurity would refer to brightness (see Chapter 3.2.2). However, the English and Finnic examples suggest a connection between obscurity and dirtiness (which, according to Casson, refers to hue), and it is still unclear if the denotation ‘dirty’ is needed between the denotations ‘obscure’ and ‘black’ or if obscurity can develop directly into a denotation ‘black’.

Casson (1997) assumes that especially the terms for black and white were primary brightness terms in Old English. For instance, the term *black* in Old English denoted primarily brightness, but had some sense of hue, ‘burned, scorched’. This type of semantic development seems also possible in the Uralic languages, if the suggested etymology of the Nenets and Enets colour terms in Chapter 3.2.3 is correct.

In the future, the words denoting darkness of colour and darkness of light in the Uralic languages should be more thoroughly studied, taking into account the context in which they appear. One problem to solve is whether the Uralic languages normally display different words denoting darkness of light and darkness of colour. The findings could be compared with data from other languages, especially those like English, German and Swedish which have words such as *dark*, *dunkel* and *mörk* denoting both darkness of light and of colour.

Abbreviations

Glosses

2	second person	INF	infinitive
3	third person	PL	plural
ABL	ablative	PRED	predicative
DEF	definite	PRS	present
ELA	elative	PRT	particle
GEN	genitive	PTCP	participle
LOC	locative	SG	singular
NEG	negative	VN	verbal noun
IMP	imperative		

Languages and dialects

En	Enets	NeT	Tundra Nenets
Eng	English	Ngan	Nganasan
Est	Estonian	Nr	Norwegian
EstS	South Estonian	PFi	Proto-Finnic
Ev	Evenki	PFP	Proto-Finno-Permic
Fi	Finnish	PFU	Proto-Finno-Ugric
Germ	German	PGerm	Proto-Germanic
Hu	Hungarian	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Icel	Icelandic	PMa	Proto-Mari
Ing	Ingrian	PMd	Proto-Mordvin
Ka	Karelian	PNen	Proto-Nenets
Kam	Kamas	PPerm	Proto-Permic
Kha	Khanty	PSaa	Proto-Saamic
KhaN	North Khanty	PSam	Proto-Samoyed
Ko	Komi	PU	Proto-Uralic
KoUd	Udora dialect	PUG	Proto-Ugric
Li	Livonian	SaaIn	Inari Saami
Lu	Lude	SaaKld	Kildin Saami
MaH	Hill Mari	SaaLu	Lule Saami
MaM	Meadow Mari	SaaN	North Saami
Man	Mansi	SaaPi	Pite Saami
ManE	Eastern Mansi	SaaS	South Saami
ManN	North Mansi	SaaSko	Skolt Saami
ManS	South Mansi	Selk	Selkup
ManW	Western Mansi	Swiz	Swiss German
Md	Mordvin	Udm	Udmurt
MdE	Erzya Mordvin	Ve	Veps
MdM	Moksha Mordvin	Vo	Vote
NeF	Forest Nenets		

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Remarks on the usefulness of different types of transcription, with a particular regard to Turkic comparative studies

The article attempts to determine what kind of transcription is best suited for (Turkic) comparative studies. Five questions are asked: what are the features of an ideal transcription, what level of abstraction is most useful, what notation system is most practical, and is it possible for a single transcription to encompass the entire Turkic family. Ultimately, a set of basic rules is proposed together with a small exemplification.

0. Rationale and acknowledgements | 1. Desirable features | 2. Level of abstraction | 3. Notation | 4. Trial | 5. Summary

0. Rationale and acknowledgements

The sound systems of the Turkic languages appear at first sight to be exceptionally congruent, symmetric and regular. However, this is not true of the transcription(s) and, even more so, the orthographies which are used to record them. The practice of transcription in Turkology differs to some degree from one language to another and also, more importantly, it does not have a single standardized form which all or at least most Turkologists agree upon, and actually try to follow. As a result, one-time ad hoc notations occasionally appear in the literature and do little to improve (methodological) consistency and legibility, especially for linguists from outside the field.

The literature on the general subject of transcription is extensive, but it is not my aim here to summarize it. I will merely try to organize my own reflections in a more systematic way, and to draw conclusions on what type of transcription is most suitable for the purpose of family-wide comparative studies (Sections 1–3). I will then try to see how these conclusions can, or cannot, be applied to the Turkic languages (4), and summarize the whole with some examples of what I believe is the best solution (5). Unless stated otherwise, all examples throughout the text are spelt phonologically in the Finno-Ugric transcription.

I would like to express my gratitude to (in alphabetic order) Henryk Jankowski (Poznań), Tapani Salminen (Helsinki) and Jussi Ylikoski (Helsinki), and to many of my friends who have helped me with this article and offered many knowledgeable and insightful remarks and corrections. Naturally, any remaining errors, shortcomings and mistakes are mine.

I. Desirable features

For the theoretical considerations below, it is useful to begin with a summary of the most important features that make for what a linguist could intuitively endorse as a good transcription. I will also attempt to provide definitions for the terms *transcription*, *family-wide transcription* and *orthography* without, however, unrolling the terminological dependency chains in full so as to not lose the train of thought.

Transcription will be understood here as ‘a set of rules which allow the representation of (selected aspects of) spoken text with the use of a writing system’. The specific choice of features that make a transcription ideal naturally depends on its purpose – see Section 2. Generally speaking, an ideal transcription is one that is:

F1 Univocal in reading and in writing

A transcription would be useless if it were not always absolutely clear as to how a certain letter or combination of letters should be read, or how to spell a certain sound.

English orthography is perhaps the most obvious example of this, and it is also the one that is the most discussed. The fact that many English speakers perceive it as being convenient can only be explained by that they already know the language and both the phonetic and the graphical shape of the words. A comparison to the Chinese writing is difficult to avoid here. Such a set of rules would be useless if employed to a word unknown to the reader, such as a reconstruction.

When it comes to the Turkic languages, the Arabic script comes readily to mind. Had it not been for external aids, such as recordings in other scripts or knowledge of modern cognates, our knowledge of the pre-20th century vocalic system of these languages would be mostly guesswork. Cf. F5 below.

F2 Exceptionless

A transcription would also be very inconvenient if it had different sets of rules for different and possibly very small groups of words. German orthography is a good example, with its relatively high number of loanwords where the original spelling has been preserved or imitated (as in loanwords from Greek). It seems that breaking this rule would not cause such grave consequences as breaking the rule of univocality described above (F1), but it would still render the system difficult to use.

F3 Methodologically homogeneous

A linguistic transcription can be expected to render the language at only one level of abstraction. If it mixed phonetics with phonology, if it sometimes recorded allophones and sometimes phonemes, it would be misleading to the reader, and especially to a reader who does not know the language – as is, for instance, always the case in reconstruction. Many official orthographies break this rule, avoiding the consequences only thanks to the fact that readers already know the language.

F4 Flexible

Living languages are constantly changing, just as our knowledge about dead languages is. A transcription which is not flexible enough to adapt to these changes is hardly useful because it requires modification rather too often, and it automatically renders old recordings illegible or misleading. It is of course not possible to prepare a transcription for any change that might possibly occur in the language, but a system which inherently lacks regularity, such as IPA (cf. A1 in Section 3.1), or numerous official orthographies, is more likely than any other to face serious difficulties in the future.

F5 Independent of the knowledge of language

It has already been mentioned that a transcription which is only clear to those who know the language, is a poor transcription. The fact that it is still usable results from the reader's intelligence, rather than from the design of the system. Scrambled text, as used in this sentence, provides a good example of the phenomenon. Such a random transcription would obviously be entirely useless for the usual linguistic purposes.

F6 Convenient in practice

Last but not least, a transcription is ultimately just a tool, and therefore it must be convenient to use. Typological purity and methodological elegance are naturally desirable features but they cannot compensate for nuisances. The orthography of Irish can be used to exemplify this. A very simple and elegant rule, that requires non-palatal consonants to be flanked by back vowels, and palatal consonants to be flanked by front vowels, has effectively barred all the five features mentioned above, e.g. in <roimh> 'before', <o> acts as a diacritic which keeps the *r*- non-palatal: [rív], but in <roinnt> 'some, several', it is <i> that performs the function of a (palatalizing) diacritic: [roínt].

Family-wide transcription will be idealistically understood here as 'a transcription which allows the representation of every idiom of a certain language family on one level of abstraction'. A perfect family transcription is a perfect transcription as described above, which is also:

F7 Methodologically homogeneous for all idioms

It is not enough that a transcription record every dialect on one level of abstraction; it must also be one and the same level for all idioms. If a transcription were only capable of recording, for instance, the phonological level of Turkish and the phonetic level of Yakut, it would be highly misleading. Effectively, this rule means that a general transcription can only be devised for a group of languages with sound systems that are very similar and thoroughly described and understood.

F8 Uniform for all dialects

The value of a general transcription which records every idiom according to a different set of rules, is questionable. The European lexical league provides many examples here, e.g. the word *central* is spelt the same in Danish, English, French, Italian, Romanian, Spanish and perhaps other languages, but it is pronounced differently in every one of them. It is likely that this was also the case with the Old Turkic runic script. In fact, it is not at all clear to me whether such a system should still be called a single transcription.

All of this makes *transcription* different from *orthography*, which will be defined here as ‘a customary set of rules which allow the symbolic representation of selected aspects of spoken text through the use of a writing system’. As it is customary rather than purposefully designed for use in linguistics, all of the rules above do not apply to it. In fact, it seems to be the violation of these rules that qualifies a system as an orthography in the eyes of many linguists. Another immediately conspicuous feature, which does not however directly result from the breaking of the above rules, is the frequent dependence of orthographies on graphical surroundings to establish the exact value of a given grapheme. Admittedly, this is much less common in younger systems than in the generally long-established and conservative orthographies of Europe.

2. Level of abstraction

2.1. Main levels

Transcriptions are usually intended to record a language at one certain level of abstraction. Even a brief examination of the possible methodological choices shows that the customary binary differentiation, phonetic versus phonological, is only true if used as an umbrella term for a variety of degrees of abstraction, and an oversimplification otherwise. The transition is quite gradual, and I will consider below the most distinct steps. The commentaries are not intended to be exhaustive discussions, as this would go beyond the parameters of this work, but rather to give a general idea of the transcription’s possible strong and weak points. For each step, I will (purely subjectively) decide how well it satisfies the desired qualities listed above (Section 1) with a very simple four-level scale ranging from “very good”, through “good” and “lacking” / “in danger” to “unacceptable”. Features F1–F6 are evaluated for a transcription meant for one idiom only, while features F7–F8 are evaluated for a transcription meant to encompass a group of idioms. Later, the same will be done for specific alphabets used for transcription (Section 3.1).

The most phonetically accurate recording of a spoken text is a sound wave graph. However, this is obviously far too radical to be useful and also, according to the

definition in Section 1 above, it is not actually a transcription (as it is not a writing system).

Nevertheless, it is easy to imagine that there exists a “proper” writing system which matches sound wave graphs in accuracy – but consequently, at the level of inconvenience as well. It must be accepted, therefore, that any usable phonetic transcription is not in fact extremely accurate phonetically or, in other words, that it is methodologically “polluted” to a certain degree, and namely to the degree where it becomes usable.

L1 One-time features (sore throat, fatigue, sloppy pronunciation, intonation, &c.)

In normal conditions, most of these features could perhaps be important for a forensic linguist but not for a comparative one, and as such, they are traditionally not recorded. However, sarcasm and other emotions are often expressed by intonation alone. Therefore, omitting a one-time intonation from a transcription could possibly render the meaning of the utterance the exact opposite of what was really intended. Cf. also full assimilations (L4) and Section 2.2 below.

Univocality: very good | exceptionlessness: very good | homogeneity: very good | flexibility: very good | independence: very good | convenience: unacceptable | family-wide homogeneity: very good | uniformity: very good.

Clearly, a transcription which marks all one-time features is almost perfect, but it is rather inconvenient in use.

L2 Individual features (timbre, pitch where not phonological, &c.)

These features are even more unimportant for linguists than the one-time features described above (L1) because none of them could be used to express emotions or to alter the meaning in any other way.

A transcription at this level scores the same as a transcription which records one-time features.

L3 Partial coarticulations

Acoustic phonetics has shown beyond doubt that speech is essentially a continuum of overlapping sounds rather than a sequence of clearly delimited units. Therefore, the question arises as to whether a transcription should record those coarticulations which usually only last for a part of the duration of the sound, can be predicted almost without fail by the closest phonetic surroundings alone, and which are generally unrecognized by native speakers.

The methodological choice of including them in the transcription had already been tested over a century ago by Setälä (1901) and his followers, and was eventu-

in fact obligatory on morpheme boundaries, e.g. Yakut *et* ‘meat’ + *-byt* PX1PL > *eppit* ‘our meat’. Sometimes, they might yield an allophone which is different enough from its base form to be considered a separate phoneme by many native speakers, e.g. *ń* before a fricative is pronounced [ɲ] in Polish, as in *koński* [kɔɲski] ‘equine’ ← *koń* [kɔɲ] ‘horse’ or *Gdańsk*. Finally, particularly frequent words might undergo an entire series of such assimilations and, over time, gain the status of separate words in their own right. This is probably more common in English than in other languages. *I am* ≥ *I’m* or *do not* ≥ *don’t* and similar examples appear to be closer to crossing this border at the moment than e.g. *want to* ≥ *wanna* or *I am going to* ≥ *I’mma*. It is debatable whether this should be considered an overlapping with L1. Cf. also Section 2.2 below.

Univocality: very good | exceptionlessness: very good | homogeneity: good | flexibility: very good | independence: good | convenience: good | family-wide homogeneity: in danger | uniformity: very good.

L5 Phonemes

At first glance, a phonemic transcription might appear to be a perfect and universal solution. However, serious obstacles swiftly arise when the details must be sorted out. Since a “phoneme” appears to be not as much a psychological reality per se as rather an, admittedly, very persuasive illusion created by life-long use of an alphabetic script – see Port (2006, 2007) and others for an adroit summary of the evidence – it is only natural that it is defined in many different ways. As a result, assessment of the exact phonemic inventory is hampered by issues of various kinds, such as the phonemic status of harmonized vowels. Cf. Sections 4.1 and 4.2.

It would seem that this potentially endless source of contention can be overcome by raising the level of abstraction even further, up to where concepts can be less blurred by factual limitations. Or, almost inversely, by assuming the simplistic rule that in case of doubt, a phoneme is simply what can be heard, i.e. possibly an allophone, if it happens to be pronounced or heard in the same way as another phoneme. The latter seems to be more practical, but makes the transcription semi- rather than purely phonological.

In practice this level can be taken together with L6b (cf.).

Univocality: good | exceptionlessness: in danger | homogeneity: good | flexibility: in danger | independence: good | convenience: very good | family-wide homogeneity: in danger | uniformity: in danger.

From this point on, the level of abstraction can be raised by either a) increasing the level of phonological abstraction, or by b) widening the comparative scope so as to encompass (more) cognate idioms. These two paths are independent and can be freely combined.

L6a Morphophonemes

Morphophonemic transcription could be seen as an elegant way to escape the necessity of taking sides in theoretical discussions on the phonemic status of different sounds. It has already been used in Turkology, although, to the best of my knowledge, only for suffixes. The notations of Turkic <-lAr> and <-lAr> PL are clear and convenient shorthands. Transcribing entire words, however, might prove more difficult. Using the same capital letters style, the Yakut example in L4 above can be rewritten as <eTBYt> which I think is less convenient to read than the previously used <eppit>. Also, new questions of a theoretical nature will inevitably arise. While Turkish <kitaB> ‘book’ and similar words seem fairly easy to spell, *burun*, -*rnu* ‘nose, PX3SG’ or *hak*, -*kky* ‘right, PX3SG’ and others, will spark more debate.

In general, moderation is strongly called for in the design of such a transcription in order to avoid the kind of spelling that can be seen in Abondolo (1998) (as it seems, inspired by Austerlitz (1967)) and which has been justly criticized by Winkler (2001: 425f); e.g. <#AKEX-τA>, <LEV-IA-3N> or <#AS^H=ATJA-I-JAA> for Finnish *äestä* ‘plough, PART’ (p. 155) and Hungarian *legyen* ‘let it be’ (p. 449) and *esetei* ‘cases, PX3SG’ (p. 438), respectively.

Univocality: lacking | exceptionlessness: in danger | homogeneity: lacking | flexibility: in danger | independence: lacking | convenience: good | family-wide homogeneity: in danger | uniformity: in danger.

L7a “Prosodies”

The morphophonemic transcription above (L6a) is already too abstract and analytic to be useful. However, in theory it is still possible to go one step further up and view a word as one atomic unit on which vowel harmony, and perhaps other features too, operate. Surprisingly enough, this solution had already been put forward for the Turkic languages. To the best of my knowledge, the first to do so was Lyons (1968: 129f), from whom I have borrowed the term “prosodies” in this meaning. Combining his notation – which he admits himself is “somewhat unconventional” and “for typographic simplicity” only – with the capital letters style used above (L6a), the Yakut example would be rewritten as <-Ba, -Ro (aTBīt)>. As far as I know, this level of abstraction has not been used again except by L. Johanson and É. Á. Csátó Johanson (see e.g. Johanson 1991; Csátó & Johanson 1995). In their spelling, combined again with morphophonemic capitals, our word would be <{’aTBīt}>. Obviously, this type of notation is only applicable to those words which strictly follow the rules of harmony, and can by no means be used as a general transcription.

Univocality: lacking | exceptionlessness: unacceptable | homogeneity: unacceptable | flexibility: unacceptable | independence: unacceptable | convenience: unacceptable | family-wide homogeneity: unacceptable | uniformity: in danger.

L6b Functional phonemes

Phonetic changes can, but do not necessarily have to have any influence on the phonological system. The actual phonetic implementations in particular languages may be different, while the phonological system remains the same or almost the same for the entire family. Estonian and Hungarian ⟨a⟩ are pronounced [a/ɑ] and [ɑ] respectively, yet from the perspective of Uralic phonology (to the extent that such a thing can be conceived), they are both clearly /a/’s. In designing a transcription meant to be applicable to an entire family, one can be tempted to rely on the place that a particular phoneme occupies in the phonological system, rather than on its actual phonetic shape. This would help avoid unnecessary and misleading complications.

A potential trap of this system is that the pursuit of methodological purity can lead to a vicious circle. For example, Estonian has three degrees of vowel length (but cf. e.g. Hasselblatt 1992: 176f for the prosodic analysis), and Hungarian only two. Phonetically, Hungarian long vowels rather closely resemble Estonian long vowels (the middle degree), and could be unified in transcription. This, however, would be a phonetic, rather than a phonological decision. Phonologically, the two systems are incompatible and, therefore, should be transcribed using separate sets of symbols. As a result, short /a/ would have to be spelt differently for Estonian and for Hungarian. Furthermore, ⟨a⟩ would be unacceptable as the difference lies here in the quantitative and typological (segmental vs. suprasegmental) incompatibility of the systems, as opposed to mere phonetic implementation. Ultimately at least three letters or combinations would be required for Estonian, and a different pair for Hungarian, which runs against the very idea of this level of abstraction. Turkology seemed to face a precisely analogous problem in the years 1971–1988, viz. the existence of so-called diphthongoid, i.e. hyperlong vowels in Khalaj and in Proto-Turkic.

It must be said that in fact every level above L1 makes use of this “functional” simplification to some degree. This level merely extends this from unifying individuals onto languages.

A final and key point to note is that the preference for the simplest available notation for L5, which I advocate in Section 2.2 below, effectively negates the difference between the two levels as long as the transcription is limited to one language. The evaluation below disregards this possibility.

Univocality: in danger | exceptionlessness: in danger | homogeneity: lacking | flexibility: in danger | independence: unacceptable | convenience: good | family-wide homogeneity: in danger | uniformity: unacceptable.

L7b Diaphonemes

The natural continuation of L6b above is to incorporate all dialectal variation into one transcription, insensitive to whether the phonetic change did or did not cause a shift in the phonological system of the given idiom. I will use the term “diaphonemic” in

this meaning, regardless of all the variations of the definition which can be found in the literature.

Such a transcription allows, for instance, the spelling of English *body* or *caught* without having to decide on the exact quantity of the vowel (-o- in *body* is short in Received Pronunciation and long in General American, while the inverse is true for -au- in *caught*). A Turkic example is the spelling <|ōt|> ‘fire’ for *uot* in Yakut, *ōt* in Turkmen, *ōd* in Uzbek dialects, *od-* (in *odun* ‘firewood’) in Turkish, *ut* in Tatar, &c. In fact, within Turkic a diaphonemic transcription would be roughly equal to a reconstruction, i.e. the kind of a pan-dialectal approximation that *Turkic* (*Gemeintürkisch*) very often stands for in Turkological literature. In this sense, it is also similar to Chomsky and Halle’s (1968: 233f) spelling <rixt> for *right* which is as famous as it is impractical for a phonological transcription.

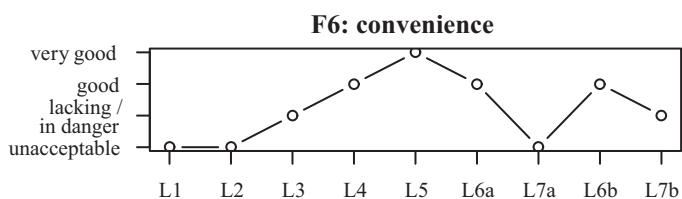
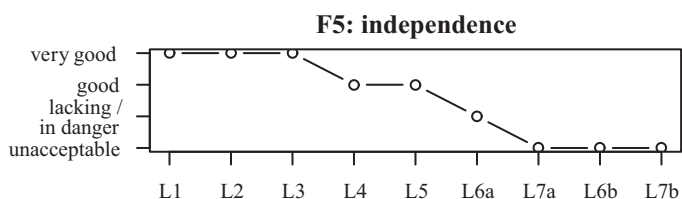
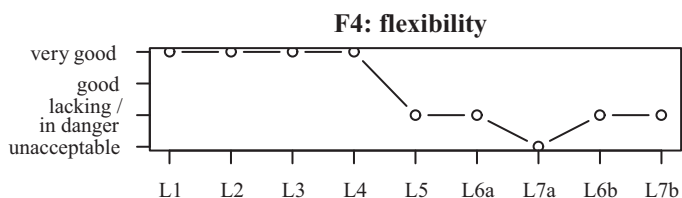
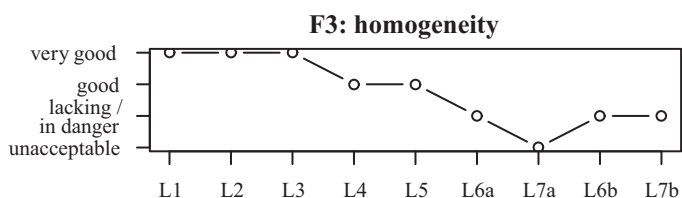
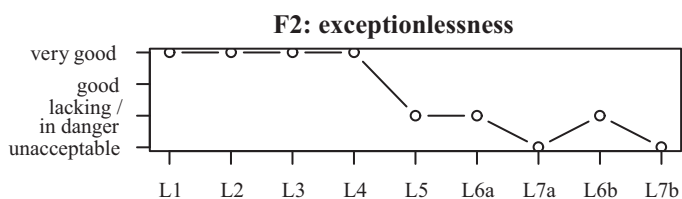
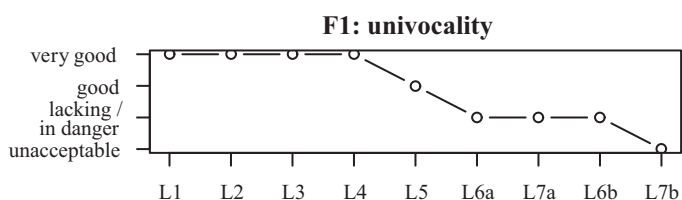
The crux of a diaphonemic transcription is the exact negation of the rule of uniformity (F8). Nonetheless, such a system can be useful in some situations. I believe that the supposed pan-dialectal character of the Old Turkic runic script was not without political importance. In theory, such spelling could still be used today with the same purpose in mind, although practical difficulties arising in its everyday usage would most likely overpower its benefits and caricature its hidden political message. The opposite solution, employed by the Soviet government for the Turkic nations within the USSR, appears to have been more successful.

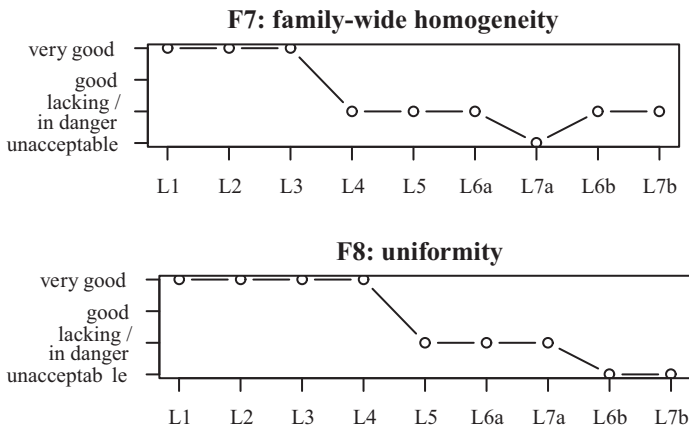
Univocality: unacceptable | exceptionlessness: unacceptable | homogeneity: in danger | flexibility: in danger | independence: unacceptable | convenience: lacking | family-wide homogeneity: in danger | uniformity: unacceptable.

A side question is whether inarticulate sounds (grunts &c.) and other paralinguistic features should be included in the transcription. The traditional practice of omitting them is justified from the point of view of phonology and morphology, as such utterances clearly stand outside of the parameters of these levels and notoriously evade all their rules. For phonetics, however, they should be of some interest, and for semantics they are not at all meaningless. The information they convey may be very often simple but is nevertheless crucial for the entire utterance, or sometimes may even be the entire utterance.

In my view, the decision on the inclusion of inarticulate sounds should be left to the authors’ common sense. In the great majority of cases, omitting them would by no means decrease the comparative linguistic value of the material. In the rare cases where it would, they can be recorded descriptively fairly easily by simple ad hoc notations (*grunt of acceptance* &c.) or by a more advanced system, e.g. the *Jefferson system* (Jefferson 2004; Ward 2000 &c.). It must be remembered, however, that a transcription which does not provide any way to render those sounds is in fact phonetically incomplete.

All the above considerations can be summarized, in a hopefully more concise way, by the (subjective) scores each level of abstraction has received:





The immediate, and absolutely obvious, conclusions are that 1) a perfect and universal transcription does not exist, and 2) the more extreme the methodology behind a transcription is, the less convenient it is when used. A slightly less obvious observation is that phonetic transcriptions generally score much better than the phonological ones, but at the expense of convenience.

Taking all the features into account, it seems that the most promising solutions are those in the middle of the field, L4 and L5, the phonetic and the phonological – or, more precisely, the semi-phonetic and the semi-phonological. The latter is more convenient and thus preferable in most applications for comparative studies. L6b appears to be the most tenable in comparison to all the others.

2.2. Interpretation

It must be emphasized that both L4 and L5 are defined not only by the (very) short descriptions provided in Section 2.1 but also by not being any other level of abstraction. I am aware that it will be necessary to slightly modify the exact spelling every time in order to adjust it to the purpose that the actual instance of transcription is meant to serve – cf. L1 and L4. Examples:

An L4 transcription can be expected to spell Turkish *sonbahar* ‘autumn’ with ⟨ɔ⟩ in all contexts and with ⟨mb⟩ in a neutral context, such as an entry in a dictionary, because this is the standard neutral pronunciation. However, when it is used to record a specific speaker or a specific utterance, it is required to spell the word precisely as it was pronounced – possibly with ⟨mb⟩ in one sentence and with ⟨nb⟩ in another. By the same token, the final *-r* should be spelt ⟨r⟩ when context-free, and ⟨ř⟩ when in absolute auslaut. The same applies to, for example, the degree of palatalization of č or the slight aspiration of initial voiceless stops ([č̥] and [k̟] being the neutral standard).

On the other hand, an L5 transcription is not interested in the precise phonetic implementation, but rather in the place that a sound occupies in the phonological system of the given idiom. And since these tend to be relatively simple, I do not think that

it would be beneficial in any way to use more complex symbols than are necessary. A consequence is that the phonology of any language is thus viewed through the filter of the Latin script, i.e. indirectly, through the filter of Latin phonology. It is a flagrant simplification, but as the worldwide success of the alphabet has shown, it is not a fatal one. Therefore, *sonbahar* should be spelt with ⟨o⟩ and ⟨r⟩ on the one hand, but with ⟨mb⟩ on the other because in this case the phonetic assimilation becomes phonological, and in the former it does not. Likewise, there is no reason to spell the Turkish /e/ as ⟨ä⟩ or /ö/ as ⟨ö̈⟩, /č/ as ⟨č̈⟩ or /k-/ as ⟨k'⟩. Further on, allomorphophonemes belong to another level (L6a), which enforces the spelling of Turkic ⟨-lar⟩/⟨-ler⟩/... PL and Turkish ⟨kitap, -āby⟩ ‘book, 3SG’ and rules out ⟨-LAR⟩ and ⟨kitĀB⟩, &c.

3. Notation

Ohala (1978) introduced the semiotic distinction between models and symbols into discussion of linguistic transcription. Feature notation is considered to be a model. The opposite of this, I understand, would be letters which are obviously symbols. The question arises as to which better serves the needs of a notation meant for comparative studies.

Recording words does not necessarily require the same system that is used to write laws. Feature notation has its confirmed advocates, but not even they go so far as to use it instead of the Latin alphabet to write their books. It seems then that a purely model transcription is not very useful for writing texts, which is our primary goal here. Just how advantageous it is in recording laws is another matter.

Diacritics are usually used to denote a single phonetic feature. In fact, a rich enough set of diacritics could be used instead of words in feature notation:

$$\begin{bmatrix} - \text{cons} \\ + \text{low} \\ + \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} = \begin{bmatrix} \circ \\ \vee \\ \epsilon \end{bmatrix}$$

Diacritics can therefore be seen as models used on top of symbols. Effectively, this reduces the difference between models and symbols to whether they express one or many features at the same time:

$$a_{\circ\vee\epsilon} = a \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} - \text{cons} \\ + \text{low} \\ + \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \right\}$$

Any alphabet-based transcription which makes use of diacritics is therefore semiotically inconsistent. However, by abstracting some features away, such a transcription requires far less separate symbols and generally gives the impression of being more regular, but also the final compound signs appearing in actual usage are more complex.

This set of features strongly resembles the most visible differences between fusional and agglutinative languages. Feature notation, on the other hand, approximates isolating languages. “Polysynthetic” transcriptions would be syllabic or ideographic writing systems, but these are not used in linguistics for obvious reasons.

“Agglutinative” and “fusional” transcriptions are equally univocal and independent of a knowledge of the language, and both can be equally exceptionless. The former are methodologically (semiotically) inconsistent but more flexible. The latter is conclusive in my eyes. The question of convenience appears to be an acquired taste in this instance.

3.1. Alphabet

In any language, the number of allophones is always greater or equal to the number of phonemes. The set of signs used by an L4 transcription must be sufficient for an L5 one as well. It would be an unnecessary complication to use separate sets of signs for the two, as the distinction is traditionally already made by enclosing the notation in square brackets (L4) or slashes (L5).

There are a great number of transcriptions currently in use in linguistics, but only a relative few are rich and/or flexible enough to satisfy the needs of an L4 transcription for the Turkic family. I am convinced that proposing an entirely new system, should it actually gain any acceptance and following, would only create more confusion than already exists in comparative studies in this regard. Adapting a transcription which is comparably popular as of now and seems flexible enough to maintain this status in the foreseeable future, would help facilitate inter-familial research, especially if little modification is needed for it.

I have chosen those systems that seem particularly prospective or relevant by already being popular (in particular, in Turkology), rich, flexible, standard for languages which have had much contact with Turkic, &c. (This is also why I ignore the Turkic Uniform Alphabet here – see e.g. *Stenografičeskij otčet* – despite its apparent pertinence, or the Arabic script apparently favoured by Johanson (2009). Both are targeted at laymen and are unsatisfactory for linguistic needs.)

All the systems thus selected belong to one of three distinctly different traditions (alphabetically): 1) Anglo-Saxon (A1), 2) (continental) European (E1–E6) or 3) Turkish (T1). The main difference between the first two lies in the attitude towards diacritics. Anglo-Saxon systems are based on a strong aversion to them because of their claimed negative effect on legibility. This argument might be valid when transcription is used to record an entire text, which is meant to read like a novel. This is rarely the case in comparative linguistics. (Continental) European systems, on the other hand, tend to make heavy use of diacritics in order to improve their flexibility and regularity, and to minimize the base set of signs which must be memorized. Which of the two is more elegant is perhaps open to debate. The latter is far more practical. Finally, the Turkish tradition aims to use as few symbols as possible outside of modern standard Turkish orthography. This is hardly practical at all.

The Anglo-Saxon tradition can be said to have grown out of nineteenth-century attempts at English spelling reform. Perhaps the most notable of the numerous propositions was the *Romic alphabet* advanced in Sweet (1877), which is also the direct basis for IPA (A1 below), the ultimate stage in the development of this tradition. This is how its author characterized the atmosphere of the time (p. 169):

The absolute necessity of phonetic reform is now almost universally recognized, not only by practical teachers but also by scientific philologists. All the objections that prejudice and irrational conservatism have been able to devise have been successfully met [...].

The attachment to tradition in spelling is in fact so strong that it can even affect *phonetic* transcription: the letter ⟨ʌ⟩ is still used in such words as *cuff* or *up* in RP English even though the factual pronunciation has shifted forward after the Second World War (Roca & Johnson 1999: 135).

A1 International Phonetic Alphabet

IPA is by far the best-known and also one of the oldest phonetic transcriptions. However, it would be very difficult to explain its popularity and vitality in terms of its actual merits. IPA is “fusional”, unlike most other transcriptions which are “agglutinative”. This does not necessarily have to lead to inconsistency or arbitrariness, or completely bind its practitioners to the judgments of the standard-setting body. In this case, however, it does.

For example, palatalization is expressed by a separate letter (⟨ç⟩ for [kʲ]), an extended tail (⟨ɲ⟩ for [ɲ]), an inverted unrelated letter (⟨ʎ⟩ for [j]), a cedilla on an unrelated letter (⟨ç⟩ for [χ]), or a curl on a related (⟨z̥⟩ for [z̥]) or on an unrelated letter (⟨ɶ⟩ for [ʃ] and ⟨j̥⟩ for [ʎ]). Separate letters are particularly common for vowels, e.g. ⟨u̯ u̯̯ ʏ ɐ ʌ⟩ and others.

A more sarcastic mind might think that, in this particular implementation, the focus has shifted from not using diacritics at all to using them so randomly as to create the impression that they are actually something else.

On a positive note, IPA is definitely the best documented and exemplified system, and also one of the richest, if not the richest. It is also fully supported by Unicode which, however, is also essentially true for all the other proposals, and a somewhat weak argument in general (see below).

It might also be added as a curiosity that in the 1920s and 1930s, Yakut was written with an orthography composed by S. A. Novgorodov of IPA characters (see Korkina et al. 1977, in particular pp. 8 and 87–90). But, of course, this cannot be used as an argument in favour of IPA in our case, for the requirements of an orthography are incomparably lower and fewer than those of a linguistic transcription.

Exceptionlessness: unacceptable | homogeneity: unacceptable | flexibility: unacceptable
| convenience: good.

The first fully usable (rich and flexible) transcription in the European tradition appears to be the *Standard Alphabet* proposed by Lepsius (1863; first version in 1851). However, it seems to have never gained wide acceptance and its usage would be misleading today, even if for mere technicalities, e.g. a subscribed umlaut (⟨ü⟩ for [ü] &c.) is already used in Turkology to write front vowels which were originally spelt as back, e.g. because of diacritics being omitted in the Uighur script. Other propositions followed and, with a certain degree of conventionality, the bases of all philology-specific transcriptions can be said to have been wholly formed by the end of the First World War. Later enhancements and amendments rarely made any substantial changes to the core of those systems.

In Turkology, the earliest elaborate system is probably the one used in Radloff (1893–1911). However, the fact that this monumental work has been in constant use for a century and no one seems to have followed the transcription used in it, might indicate that it is not the design preferred by Turkologists. Meanwhile, a Latin-based system has gained popularity and is sometimes used even by “Cyrillic” scholars.

EI Turkological practice

As far as I can tell, the standard practice of transcription in Turkology has never been exhaustively described. However, despite obvious differences between authors and their particular works, the most commonly used base is nowadays generally quite stable. Apart from the notoriously unclear ⟨γ⟩ and the wide choice of notations for [e] : [ä], only one point requires a little more attention here:

⟨y⟩ is usually used in one of two meanings: [i] or [i̟]. Each choice leaves the other sound without a natural designation. The deficit is most commonly filled by ⟨j⟩ and ⟨i̟⟩, respectively, and both solutions have their downsides:

The spelling ⟨j⟩ for [i] and ⟨y⟩ for [i̟] is perhaps misleading from the perspective of Turkish orthography. On the other hand, it enforces the use of different signs for [ž] and [ʒ] which can be good for consistency: cf. ⟨c-č-ʒ-ž-s-š-z-ž⟩ vs. ⟨c/čs-č-ʒ/dž-j/ž-s-š-z-j/ž⟩. It is also practical for transcribing Slavonic (Russian) loanwords where this convention is dominant.

A double dot above a letter is consistently used in standard orthographies to denote 1) fronting of a vowel (umlaut; ⟨ä ö ü⟩) or, less commonly, 2) separation of two adjoining vowels or an exception in orthography (diaeresis; e.g. Spanish ⟨guitarra⟩ vs. ⟨pingüino⟩). It comes as more than a surprise to use it to mark backing of a vowel, as in ⟨i̟⟩ for [i]. IAP (p. 22) calls it an inverse conformity with the tradition, and I think this is a very diplomatic wording. Moreover, in this way ⟨j⟩ and ⟨y⟩ are left unused which invites inconsistency, as seen above.

In any manner, the actual weak point of the common Turkological practice is its lack of a rich and regular (= flexible) standardized form. However, it is actually rich enough to make large extensions very rarely required. Consequently, the literature is spotted with ad hoc one-time notations. (The classical example is the notation of broad versus narrow *e*: the former is mostly transcribed as ⟨e ε ä⟩ or ⟨ə⟩

in Cyrillic texts, whereas the latter is more often than not rendered as ⟨e é ɛ è ɐ⟩, the final combination being usually a matter of current personal preference.)

Exceptionlessness: good | homogeneity: good | flexibility: unacceptable | convenience: very good.

E2 N. A. Baskakov's propositions

N. A. Baskakov proposed two different phonetic transcriptions for the Turkic languages: Baskakov 1959 and 1968 (the latter was repeated with nearly no modification at all in Baskakov 1976). The former is not overly exhaustive and makes little use of diacritics; the latter is considerably richer and more flexible, and well-suited for recording the Turkic languages.

It is essentially an extension of the common Turkological practice. Some sounds and features, however, have received new notations, e.g. [ʁ] is spelt ⟨ŝ⟩ and half-voicedness is marked by ⟨˘⟩. Some details are difficult to establish as the presentation of the system is inconsistent and one or two symbols are apparently assigned mutually exclusive values on different pages. The entire system, however, is generally quite regular with only one or two exceptions.

Paradoxically in a sense, its well-suitedness to the Turkic languages is also its weakness. It does not provide a way of notating non-Turkic sounds and as such, it can hardly be used to record foreign words, e.g. the etyma of loanwords. This deficit could be fairly easily compensated for. However, other systems provide a higher degree of flexibility with less need for modification.

Exceptionlessness: very good | homogeneity: very good | flexibility: lacking | convenience: lacking.

E3 Slavistic transcription

The transcription used by Slavists has been evolving since the (very early) beginnings of research in this field. When work on the *Slavic Linguistic Atlas* began in 1958, the International Committee of Slavists recognized the need for standardization. The codified base has been republished in every volume of the *Atlas* (appearing in different places since 1988). Although quite rich, it still does not comprise all the conventions which one can encounter in the literature. Czesak et al. (2004) summarizes the Polish tradition and can be treated as an almost exhaustive extension of the standard. There are, however, minor differences between the two sources (such as ⟨ː⟩ in the former vs. ⟨˘⟩ in the latter for vowel length).

A characteristic feature of this transcription is its intuitiveness and no-nonsense attitude. This can be seen clearly in the notation of non-cardinal vowels which are simply composed of standard Roman characters, e.g. ⟨ä⟩ for [ä] or ⟨q̃⟩ for [ɨ̃].

Despite its richness and flexibility, the Slavistic transcription still seems to lag behind IPA and FUT (A1 and E5), but its few weaknesses could be very easily redressed. Moreover, most Turkologists are already familiar with its main points because of the large number of Russian loanwords in the Turkic languages, which are usually transcribed with this system.

Exceptionlessness: very good | homogeneity: very good | flexibility: very good | convenience: good.

E4 Semitic studies

A single, universal and widely followed transcription system for the Semitic languages does not seem to exist. Many languages have their own specific traditions which are generally mutually compatible, but cannot be said to combine into one standard as a whole.

Reichmuth (2009) provides a very helpful description and comparison of the systems that have been created to transcribe classical Arabic. However, out of the six that he deals with in detail, four must be directly discarded because of digraphs. Those that remain are the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* transcription composed by Brockelmann et al. (1935) and its subset, the transcription used in EALL. The latter is limited in scope to classical Arabic and is in fact a transliteration rather than a transcription. In dialectology, either IPA (A1 above) or personal, unstandardized extensions are used.

The DMG system is of most interest to us here. Its Arabic part is definitely not rich and flexible enough to easily and non-arbitrarily be imported into Turkology. Diacritics are relatively few and are not used in an entirely regular manner, e.g. ⟨ʾ⟩ is used for postalveolarization in ⟨š⟩ and, by analogy, in ⟨č⟩, ⟨ž⟩, &c. in dialectology, but at the same time for an unrelated sound in ⟨ǧ⟩ ([ʒ] or, more adequately, ⟨ج⟩) where its function would be difficult to capture. However, from the perspective of Arabic linguistics, it is quite easy to imagine the logic which might have stood behind this choice. The use of ⟨ʾ⟩ for emphatic consonants and simultaneously, the letter ⟨ح⟩ (⟨ḥ⟩), seems to result from a similar reasoning.

For us here, however, the most relevant part of Brockelmann et al. (1935) is the system that they propose for transcribing Turkic languages in the Arabic script and Arabic words in Persian and Turkic context. It contains a number of interesting solutions, such as ⟨َ⟩ for vowels spelt long but pronounced short (as in قَانِزَه → ⟨Qanīẓa⟩) or the distinction between ⟨ث⟩ in the Arabic (⟨ṭ⟩) and in the Persian or Turkish context (⟨ṣ⟩), but it nevertheless seems to have never gained a significant following in Turkology. Overall, it is first and foremost a transliteration system and, as such, rather too limited to encompass the real pronunciation of all Turkic languages.

Exceptionlessness: good | homogeneity: good | flexibility: lacking | convenience: very good.

E5 Finno-Ugric Transcription (“Uralic Phonetic Alphabet”)

The usage of FUT is in general quite uniform – unless typographical problems arise – and the system can almost be considered a single notation, somewhat unlike e.g. APN (E6 below). It is not, however, as rigidly adhered to as IPA or the Slavistic transcription (A1 and E3 above); e.g. Abondolo (ed., 1998) and Aikio (2007) use ⟨ï̈⟩ for [i̯] and ⟨ë̈⟩ for [e̯]; the former, together with some other innovations, has been classified by Winkler (2001: 425) as a *Berlitz-Sprachführer-Transkription*.

The standard for Finno-Ugric transcription was first proposed by Setälä (1901). A number of (mostly superficial) modifications and enhancements were postulated during the century following the first publication, perhaps most notably by Lagercrantz (1939) and Sovijärvi & Peltola (1977). The latter can still be considered the model version, cf. e.g. the table in Ojutkangas et al. (2009). Sammallahti (1998) presents a very useful extract in English, although it differs in some minor details. In Table 1 below, I present a compromise between these versions, which is compiled in such a way as to make it as close as possible to the Turkological practice. Note that FUT has already been used in some of the most important publications in Turkology (cf. e.g. Räsänen 1949; Ramstedt 1952, 1957; VEWT).

FUT is a purely “agglutinative” system. It uses diacritics (very) extensively and in a very regular way which makes it unusually rich and flexible but also troublesome to typeset. It is generally supported by Unicode, albeit mostly as base letters and combining diacritical marks rather than full combinations. See below for a little more commentary on technical matters.

Exceptionlessness: very good | homogeneity: very good | flexibility: very good | convenience: good.

E6 Americanist Phonetic Notation

The inclusion of APN here, which may be slightly surprising, has been dictated by the fact that it is (arguably) more popular than most other propositions, particularly due to the extensive use of Native American examples in American theoretical works.

The beginnings of APN can be traced back to HAIL and Boas et al. (1916). Since these publications, it has been modified and enhanced many times and, partly, in different ways. Confronted with actual usage, it can in fact be considered more of an umbrella term for diverse personal alterations. Pullum and Ladusaw (1996) provide a summary of the base skeleton and aptly call it *American usage* rather than *APN*.

Despite its American descent, APN is a European transcription in spirit, albeit the most Anglo-Saxon one. Where this manifests itself most clearly is in the notation of vowels where only two diacritics are used: crossing (horizontal stroke) for centralization and umlaut for fronting and backing simultaneously: ⟨i̯ i̥ ĩ̯, ü̯ ũ̯⟩. It has to be admitted that a diacritic which toggles vowels front-back, is a cunning and potentially very useful trick, especially for a phonology like Turkic, which is quintessentially based on such a binary opposition.

As far as usefulness for our purposes is concerned, APN is altogether most similar to the current Turkological practice (E1): it has indubitable merits but it is even more diversified and badly needs a proper standard.

Exceptionlessness: good | homogeneity: lacking | flexibility: lacking | convenience: very good.

T1 Modern Turkish orthography

It is common practice, especially among Turkish Turkologists, to use standard modern Turkish orthography to record all Turkic languages. This system has a large number of obvious drawbacks, a very strong political undertone, and is far too deficient for its use to be justifiable in any way from the linguistic point of view.

Exceptionlessness: unacceptable | homogeneity: lacking | flexibility: unacceptable | convenience: very good.

The short summary here has no single incontestable winner. IPA and the Turkish tradition (A1 and T1) can both be readily discounted. Turkological practice (E1) is not standardized and therefore inconsistent, and the same applies even more to APN (E6). N. A. Baskakov's propositions (E2) have hardly gained a following, are less flexible than others and too narrowly tailored. The Arabist tradition (E4) has only been standardized to an unacceptably narrow scope.

This leaves us with the Slavistic transcription and FUT (E3 and E5). Both are rich, flexible and rather popular in their respective fields. Both the Slavic and the Uralic languages have had intensive contacts with Turkic. Both are standardized, but neither standard is followed as strictly as IPA. Both have their moments when it comes to typesetting.

It would be difficult to quantify precisely their richness or their degree of flexibility. According to my intuition, however, FUT appears to lead in these fields over the Slavistic transcription. This is not a very strong argument, for both are in fact rich enough to record any Turkic language at L5, but it does seem to make FUT more promising. See Table 1 for details.

Because of its heavy dependence on diacritics, FUT is quite troublesome to typeset. Nonetheless, technology – particularly computer technology – has been repeatedly shown to be unpredictable and, generally, to advance faster than expected. A little more than twenty years ago, Janhunen (1987) promoted the use of a phonological rather than phonetic transcription for Siberian languages, and the notation he designed to this end was so ingeniously thought out as to nearly forgo any diacritics and new or non-Latin letters at all. The main reason for this was to make it computer-friendly and easy to use for average linguists who might lack the knowledge and inclinations of a computer scientist. Ironically, it was produced in the same year that Unicode began

3.2. Regular expressions

The term *regular expressions* derives from computer science. In linguistics, it is essentially unused outside of computational linguistics, but the concept itself has been known for a very long time to virtually any linguist. In particular, for FUT, it appeared at least as early as Setälä (1901) under the name *kollektivzeichnen*. However, this term has not gained a wide following. In fact, the method has been generally left without a name, and it might benefit linguistic nomenclature to borrow a ready and commonly accepted term for essentially the same thing.

For our modest purposes here, a formal definition of regular expressions can be substituted with one that will hopefully be clearer to a linguist. The term will be used in the meaning of ‘one or more characters which symbolize a specific set of more than one readings, or any string which includes such a character’. There is a difference between a regular expression and an equivocal spelling, which cannot be overemphasized: an equivocal spelling can be read in one of many possible ways while a regular expression is simultaneously read in all possible ways. For example, in common linguistic practice, <C> is usually used to denote ‘any consonant’, hence <aCa> stands for *aba*, *aca*, *ada*, &c. all at the same time.

<C> and <V> are essentially the two most widely understood symbols. In newer versions of FUT, six (eight) symbols were proposed, which can be combined into eight basic units:

<x>	‘any consonant’
<xx>	‘any geminate consonant’
<xy>	‘any group of two different consonants’
<qxy>	‘any group of three different consonants’
<3> or <Λ>	‘any vowel’
<8>	‘any back vowel’
<ö>	‘any front vowel’
<33> or <ΛΛ>	‘any diphthong’

This is a much more powerful system, but hardly powerful enough to express any possible combination at all. However, it can easily be enhanced with the use of diacritics, which are absolutely regular in FUT. For example:

<ẋ>	‘any palatal consonant’
<ṡ>	‘any retroflex consonant’
<3̥> or <Λ̥>	‘any central vowel’
<Ê> or <◄>	‘any reduced central vowel’

One way to further expand this system is to use feature notation. However, this is very inconvenient in practice and should not be overused, which all too often is the case (cf. Section 3 above).

A partially alternative solution is to enhance the ⟨C⟩, ⟨V⟩ model, which can be done easily as capital letters have no meaning in FUT. The main advantages are: 1) the symbols stand out because of their size; 2) notation is – arguably – more intuitive; 3) the letters ⟨q⟩, ⟨x⟩ and ⟨y⟩ are freed. See also Section 3.2.4. For example:

⟨A⟩	‘any back vowel’
⟨Ä⟩	‘any palatalized vowel’
⟨E⟩	‘any front vowel’
⟨O⟩	‘any labial vowel’
⟨W⟩	‘any long vowel or diphthong’
⟨VY⟩ or ⟨YV⟩	‘any diphthong’
⟨CC⟩	‘any two consonants (cluster or geminate)’
⟨C̃⟩	‘any geminate’
⟨N⟩	‘any nasal consonant’
⟨P̣⟩	‘any back(ed) stop’
⟨Ṣ⟩	‘any postalveolar sibilant’

The main downsides of this system is that without proper standardization, it can be very ambiguous. Unexplained, ⟨O⟩ can be understood as both ‘any labial vowel’ and ‘any low labial vowel’, which is an important difference for languages where labial attraction is present. I am sure that a regular and flexible system would eventually gain common acceptance, if it could be argued for as elegantly as the mathematical equals sign is:

And to auoide the tedious repetition of these woordes : is equalle to : I will sette as I doe often in woorke vse, a paire of paralleles, or Gemowe lines of one lengthe, thus: =, because noe. 2. thynges, can be moare equalle. (Recorde 1557)

Still, there are ideas which are well known in “computer regular expressions” that cannot be recorded in any of the above ways. The most important ones are probably alternation (Section 3.2.1), exclusion (3.2.2), optionality (3.2.3) and repetition (3.2.4).

3.2.1. Alternation

It is often necessary to provide a few alternatives, not necessarily related to one another, rather than an entire set of homorganic sounds. Different solutions have been proposed to avoid repeating the entire word many times, as it might be regarded as clumsy. Until the early 20th century, listing all the alternatives on top of one another seems to have been the favoured method. However, as technology advanced, this solution became more and more difficult to typeset. In recent publications, a vertical bar is quite popular. an example: ⟨pyjamas⟩ ~ ⟨pajamas⟩ = ⟨p_a^yajamas⟩ = ⟨py|ajamas⟩.

The “stacking” method is elegant and immediately understandable, but using it for more than two, or three at most, options will result in a quite aesthetically unappealing increase of space between the lines. The vertical bar, on the other hand, can be unclear even with three possibilities and entirely incomprehensible when any of the options is longer than one letter, for example $\langle a^b_a \rangle$, $\langle a^b_d a \rangle$ vs. $\langle ab|ca \rangle$, $\langle ab|c|da \rangle$ and $\langle thr^{ough}_u \rangle$ versus $\langle through|u \rangle$. Bracketing can greatly improve the clarity of the vertical bar solution. It must only be remembered that round brackets are traditionally used to denote optionality (Section 3.2.3), square brackets already have the meaning of phonetic spelling and slashes imply phonemic spelling. Curly and angle brackets are still relatively rarely used in linguistics, in particular in Turkology: $\langle thr\{ough|u\} \rangle$ and $\langle thr\langle ough|u \rangle \rangle$. The former seems to be more readable but still not as easily as the “stacking” method.

I would suggest “stacking” for up to three options, and repeating the entire word for more.

3.2.2. Exclusion

Sometimes it is necessary to record a set of homorganic sounds but with a few exceptions. For example, voiceless consonants have been voiced in Polish before all voiced consonants except $*r$, $*l$, $*m$, $*n$ and $*v$: $*stb\textit{blo} > /ʒʒbwo/ < ʒdźb\textit{ło}$ ‘straw, blade’ but $*květb > /kfát/ < kwiat$ ‘flower’ (Mańczak 1983: 34).

The usual notation in programming is $\langle [\dots] \rangle$ which would be difficult to employ in linguistics. The mathematical notation of $\langle \{x \mid x \neq \dots\} \rangle$ or $\langle \dots \setminus \{\dots\} \rangle$ seems to be much more useful. With a little artistic license, the above environment can be written as $\langle \{x \mid x \text{ is voiced, } x \notin /*r *l *m *n *v/ \} \rangle$ or, in a more elegant way, $\langle \downarrow_{\text{voice}} C \setminus /*r l m n v/ \rangle$.

However, none of these methods appears to be truly advantageous over the more traditional notation. I do not think that there is any reason for linguistic regular expressions to necessarily copy all the possibilities of their computer science counterpart.

3.2.3. Optionality

Optionality is usually notated with round brackets. The only drawback of this system is that they are generally considered the default (“prototypical”) brackets and therefore a little extra attention is required from the author to avoid automatically using them in some other meaning. For example (cf. Section 3.2.1), $\langle thr(ough|u) \rangle$ should in fact be understood as *through*, *througu* and *thr*. Substitution with angle brackets ($\langle thr\{ough|u\} \rangle$) is a simple and effective solution, and I am sure it can become a natural method with just a bit of practice.

3.2.4. Repetition

Repetition is without doubt one of the most useful features of regular expressions in programming. In linguistics, however, there is considerably less opportunity to use it. Linguists tend to operate on smaller numbers which can easily, and more understandably, be expressed by other means. For example, an initial consonant can be written $\langle C- \rangle$ or $\langle x- \rangle$. The spelling $\langle C+- \rangle$ or $\langle x+- \rangle$ ('one or more consonants in anlaut') is hardly more convenient. Ideas such as *any number of b's surrounded by any vowels* ($\langle Vb^*V \rangle$ or $\langle 3b^*3 \rangle$) rarely occur in linguistic works.

A consonant cluster, i.e. a group of two or more different consonants, is more likely. The spellings of $\langle xy \rangle$ or $\langle qxy \rangle$ specify the number of consonants as two or three, and this is not desirable. Unfortunately, the usual "computer regular expressions" only provide separate symbols for 1) zero or more occurrences ($\langle * \rangle$), 2) one or more occurrences ($\langle + \rangle$) and 3) zero or one occurrence ($\langle ? \rangle$). The symbol for 'two or more occurrences' is $\langle \{2, \} \rangle$ and not very convenient.

However, since linguists are not limited to unformatted ASCII, this notation can be easily improved. The most obvious solution is probably to use superscripts, as subscripts are usually already reserved for marking different sounds. For example, $\langle C_1C_2 \rangle = \langle xy \rangle$, $\langle C^{2+} \rangle$ 'any consonant cluster', $\langle C_1C_1 \rangle = \langle C_1^2 \rangle = \langle \bar{C} \rangle = \langle xx \rangle$. Note that the spelling $\langle CC \rangle$ should not be possible as an alternative to the latter, as it is more useful for 'any two consonants (a cluster or a geminate)' (Section 3.2 above).

4. Trial

Proof is usually not viewed as rigidly in linguistics as it is in mathematics. The very nature of the object of research enforces acceptance of exceptions, and a single offending case might often not be enough to completely rebut a theory. It seems to me, however, that as far as the question is concerned of whether a single L5 transcription is capable of correctly recording all the Turkic languages, even one obstacle can demonstrate that it is not – or at least, that with all the necessary compromises, it would be a poor transcription indeed. I present below two such obstacles, out of probably many more, which are in my eyes sufficient to conclude that this idea is best abandoned.

4.1. $[k] : [\acute{k}]$

Let us consider the status of $[k]$ and $[\acute{k}]$ within the phonological system of Turkish. Turkish phonology can surely be viewed as particularly homogeneous and regular in general, but there are nevertheless a few points where its elegance is disturbed. The distribution of $[k]$ and $[\acute{k}]$ is clearly different in native words and in loanwords. In the former, they are both allophones of $/K/$; in the latter, they are two separate pho-

nemes. To slightly complicate the matter, the distribution of [k] is effectively limited to a back-vowel environment while [k̟] can (in loanwords) occur freely.

One way of looking at the situation is that [k] and [k̟] are simply two phonemes which are not contrastive in front surroundings. This attitude completely discards the distinction between native words and loans, and I think that it goes too far in this regard as even thoroughly naïve native speakers are very often and rather sharply aware of the difference.

The situation differs when it comes to the details in other Turkic languages, but the above can be said, on the whole, to characterize the entire family, with the degree of conventionality required in this kind of generalization. Therefore, it appears that we must accept two disjoint phonological systems in most Turkic languages with regard to [k] : [k̟] ([q] : [k̟]). Consequently, a phonological transcription has to do one of the following:

1. Turn a blind eye to even the most manifest existence of subsystems and treat the entire phonology as monolithic. In the case of Turkish, this will mean considering [k] and [k̟] as separate phonemes and therefore, noting the palatalization even in such words as Turkish *iki* ‘two’ or *kül* ‘ash’ and *kül* ‘whole’, an idea that many Turkologists would surely feel uncomfortable about. Although this is the solution put forward by Pike (1963: 143a), the methodological homogeneity of such a transcription would be at least debatable. But a less rigorous implementation is possible, too; see the “orthographical” solution below.
2. Devise separate transcriptions for every incompatible subsystem. In this way, the number of necessary systems could easily grow far beyond reason, and obviously break the rule of exceptionlessness (F2). In Turkish, it would for example result in a ridiculous situation where the same phonetic shape [k̟ül] is spelt <kül> in the meaning of ‘ash’ (a native word) and <kül> in the meaning of ‘whole’ (a loanword from Arabic).
3. Sacrifice methodological homogeneity, and possibly other rules along with it, for the sake of convenience. In our case, the following solution could be suggested: in back surroundings, [k] is spelt <k> and [k̟] is spelt <ḱ>; in front surroundings, [k̟] is spelt <k> and [k] is spelt <ḱ>, e.g. <kar> ‘snow’, <ḱar> ‘profit’, <kere> ‘times’ and <ḱaḱıḱı> ‘real’ (k’s after TS and ÖTS; <ḱ> in the latter is even more a prescriptive fiction; final short -i after Ergenç 1995). This is almost how modern Turkish orthography deals with this problem: <kar>, <kar> ~ <ḱâr>, <kere> and <ḱakiki>, respectively (see Section 4.3 below on the usage of circumflex), and indeed, such a transcription has the appearances of an orthography rather than a linguistic transcription in the usual understanding. However, its great convenience in practical usage and its fairly good univocality cannot be denied – both at the cost of homogeneity and exceptionlessness. An interesting point to note, though, is that this solution could also pass as being equivalent to the “monolithic” above, if only *ḱ* were not considered a phoneme but in a back-vowel environment, and an allophone of /K/ otherwise.

Neither of these options is without downsides, nor is one clearly superior, and needless to say these problems would not disappear were the transcription to be widened so as finally to incorporate the entire family, all the language specific peculiarities, the shift to the [k] : [q] opposition in Bashkir and Kazakh, &c.:

1. The “monolithic” solution will no longer be able to sustain its already faint methodological homogeneity. Even a sporadic anomaly in just one dialect, like [k̟] in a front-vowel environment, will be propagated onto all the other languages and force a change in the entire system. Eventually, the transcription will become phonological in only a relatively small part, and perhaps even fully phonetic for some idioms.
2. One of the many problems of the “separate transcriptions” attitude is that it requires knowing the etymology of a word in order to spell it. If the source of either *kül* were unknown, it would not be possible to transcribe it properly. Compared to other Turkic languages, Turkish etymology is fairly advanced. In less researched languages, such as the South Siberian, the number of words which cannot be spelt when using this method, would pass beyond the limits of usability.
3. Finally, the “orthographical” solution would also fail. [k] and [k̟] are allophones in native Turkish words regardless of whether they stand before or after a front vowel. This is, however, not the case in South-Western Karaim where *k* is only palatalized before, but never after, a front vowel. It is seemingly a phonetic trifle, but this method could trick the transcription into the awkward spelling of <kök> for Turkish [k̟ök] ‘blue; heaven’.

K is, naturally, not the only problematic sound in Turkic. *G* and *I* are very similar in this regard, and probably others would emerge while attending to loose ends.

4.2. Long vowels

Now, let us briefly consider long vowels in Turkmen, Yakut and Dolgan, and Turkish. The most common reason for doing this is to draw some conclusions on Proto-Turkic vocalism, but in our case this is irrelevant as our goal is only to determine which differences in pronunciation an L5 transcription should ignore and which it should not.

Turkmen has eight long vowels. One half of them are low and middle vowels which are pronounced monophthongally. The other half are high vowels which are pronounced semi-diphthongally. (The only vowel with length marked in the orthography is /ū/, spelt <ўй> although the actual glide is [w] (Clark 1998: 31).) Phonologically, however, one is fully justified ignoring this difference and spelling all long vowels as monophthongs (cf. L5), which yields an elegant table of eight short vowels and their eight long counterparts. Turkmen is a simple specimen and nearly a model one.

Yakut has the same neat table of sixteen vowels, plus four diphthongs. Phonetically, the difference between long vowels and diphthongs is clearly audible. Phonologically, however, the two happen to overlap. (Examples from M. Stachowski & Menz 1998: 204f.)

Yakut features labial attraction: after a low round vowel in the stem, the suffix vowel is expected to become round if it is low. However, this does not apply to diphthongs, e.g. *tüös* ‘breast’ → *tüöhe* ‘his breast’, rather than **tüöhö*. Clearly, *üö* acts as (morpho)phonological *ū* here and spelling the word as /tūhe/ could be justified.

When a word is used as an exclamation, its last vowel is lengthened: low and middle vowels become long monophthongs, and high vowels become diphthongs. It would seem that in this case, the phonetic realization should not be considered, e.g. *doȳoruom* ‘oh, my friend!’ (← /doȳor.um/ ‘my friend’) could be spelt <doȳorūm>. However, applying the same notation to e.g. *sordōχpuon* ‘oh, I am so unhappy!’ (← /sordōχ.pun/ ‘I am unhappy’) would result in a macron denoting a length in <ō> and a diphthongization in <ū>, and that is undesirable.

Likewise, Dolgans seem to be indifferent to whether the accented vowel of a Russian loanword is rendered as a long vowel in their language, or as a diphthong. Nonetheless, ignoring this difference would make it impossible to differentiate between e.g. *korōba* ~ *koruoba* (<koróva>) ‘cow’ or *ostōl* ~ *ostuol* (<stól>) ‘table’.

In Turkish, long vowels can occur 1) as a result of elision of what is spelt <ğ> in a back-vowel environment (e.g. *dağ* ‘mountain’), 2) as a result of some other elision (e.g. *kāve* < *kahve* ‘coffee’ or *Mēmet* < *Mehmet*), or 3) as preserved in loanwords (e.g. *bādem* ‘almond’ < Persian).

The first type is often followed by what is audible as a [ɣ] after unround or a [w] after round vowels, but the sound’s phonological status is unsettled and it is usually ignored in grammars. I, too, will consider it unphonological.

For our case, the third type is the most interesting: in common words, such as *kitāby* ‘his book’, there is very little if any variation among native speakers. In rarer words, however, or ones that are heard less often as pronounced by highly educated speakers, length often happens to be dropped, moved onto another vowel or spontaneously inserted. For example (after *Radyo Televizyon...*): *ašyk* for correct *āšyk* (i.e. ‘knucklebone’ for intended ‘beloved’), *fāriza* for correct *farīza* ‘duty’ or *mākam* for correct *makam* ‘office’. The spelling <fārīza> would be highly misleading.

As a result, a single spelling of e.g. <ū> in a general Turkic transcription, will have to denote 1) a long vowel in Turkmen (the diphthongoid pronunciation is not phonological), 2) a long vowel (monophthong) or, in some cases, a diphthong in Yakut and 3) a long vowel in Turkish; however, possibly pronounced with a following (non-phonological) [ɣ/w] or only pronounced by some speakers in possibly mutually exclusive groups, and considered correct or incorrect. And like in Section 4.1 above, *it is needless to say that these problems would not disappear were the transcription to be widened so as finally to incorporate the entire family.*

4.3. Conclusion

The difficulties chiefly result from how abstract and blurred the concept of phoneme is, and therefore how arbitrary it can become. Average native speakers of any language are quite ignorant about and indifferent to the origin or the phonological status of palatalization in every *k* or of the length of every vowel they pronounce. Turkish orthography does not mark palatalization other than by a circumflex above the following vowel; this same symbol is simultaneously used to mark length, and usually dropped even in official writing anyway. As a consequence, rarer words are not uncommonly pronounced with lengths in the wrong places, with too few or too many. A Dolgan informant, when asked about the quantity of a specific vowel, replied that it depends: when it is pronounced long, it is long, but when it is pronounced short, it is short (M. Stachowski, personal communication).

The phoneme abstraction has been shown to create enough complications when dealing with one idiom and, understandably, more than enough when attempting to deal with many simultaneously. See Uppstad and Tønnessen (2010) for more commentary on the explanatory and descriptive power of the concept of the phoneme, and its weaknesses. Three options readily come to mind:

1. To abandon the traditional view on the phoneme in favour of a high-dimensional phonology (see e.g. Browman & Goldstein 1992), which is effectively almost equivalent to resigning from an L5 transcription in favour of a less abstract one (L4?). This will bring us closer to the truth and improve three of the eight features considered here: univocality, exceptionlessness and family-wide uniformity (F1, F2 and F8; the last one is irrelevant if the transcription does not encompass the entire family), but it will also result in less convenience (F6), which would be particularly noticeable in poorly described languages – not a rare situation in Turkology. In my opinion the gain does not outweigh the loss in this case. I would therefore prefer to persist with the bias against the psychological reality, and to adopt a more utilitarian attitude for our case.
2. To base the transcription on orthography, since it is from alphabetic spelling that the illusion of discrete phonemes arises. But official orthographies used for the Turkic languages are many and incompatible in the crucial points. The driving force of their evolution can be, and in fact too often is political situation, national pride or even a single person's whim rather than an actual change in the language. It is to be expected, therefore, that phonological awareness is equally variable throughout the family and thus useless as the basis for such a catholic transcription.
3. To discard the admittedly appealing idea of a single transcription encompassing the entire Turkic family and instead to adopt a whole set of compatible transcriptions, one for each idiom, but all based on possibly similar rules and using the same notation. This appears to be in fact the only acceptable – if not good – solution.

5. Summary

The most useful levels of abstraction (see Section 2) for (Turkic) comparative studies appear to be L5, L4 and L6b, in this order. All are defined by the brief descriptions provided and by not being identical to any other level, i.e.:

- L4** Records actually pronounced allophones. Does not record coarticulations (not lasting the entire duration of the sound), individual and one-time features (timbre, sore throat, &c.).

Notations of one word can be different if the pronunciation was so (faster or sloppier speech, sandhi, &c.), or when used context-free as in a dictionary entry, e.g. Turkish *sonbahar* ‘autumn’: ⟨mb⟩, ⟨ř⟩ &c.

- L5** Records actually pronounced phonemes, as determined by their most prototypical allophone. Allophones are treated as belonging to the auditive closest phoneme, e.g. final devoicing is recorded.

Aims to be a sensible compromise between convenience and faithful recording, i.e. a more formalized approximation to what is intuitively perceived as “a different sound”.

Uses the simplest available notation, e.g. ⟨ö⟩ for ⟨õ⟩ if no phonological opposition exists; this makes it virtually identical to L6b.

The “orthographical” variant (differentiating [k] : [k̟] &c. only where necessary) is more practical.

- L6b** Records what are phonemes from the point of view of the phonological system of the entire family. Does not record the differences in realization of one (so understood) phoneme between languages.

If limited to one language and with preference for the simplest available notation, it is virtually identical to L5. Otherwise, e.g. [ɔ] in Turkish should be spelt ⟨ɔ̟⟩ in L5 and ⟨o⟩ in L6b.

The Finno-Ugric transcription (see Section 3.1) is an outstandingly useful system in general, and particularly so for the Turkic languages. It is mature, rich, regular, flexible and rather similar to what is traditional in Turkology. It is troublesome to typeset but only at level L4 and below.

One modification to it should prove useful in practice, namely adding ⟨y⟩ as an alternative spelling for ⟨i̟⟩.

A single transcription encompassing all the Turkic languages is practically impossible (see Section 4). The best solution appears to be adopting a whole set of mutually compatible transcriptions, one per idiom.

Examples

Any transcription is best evaluated on the basis of actual examples. Below are short samples for five Turkic languages in standard orthographies and in L5 FUT “orthographical” transcriptions in the simplest available notation (see Section 5 and Table 1 above).

The Karaim sample is from A. Mardkowicz’s (1933: 9f) edition; see Németh (2011) for commentary and the original in the Hebrew script. All the remaining samples are from appropriate chapters in Tekin & Ölmez (2003). For Turkish, as the best known Turkic language, I have added an L4 (after Ergenç 1995) and an L6a sample.

Bashkir

Башкорт теленең аңлатмалы һүзлегә тәүләп донъяға сыға. Уның ғәмәлгә килеүе республикабыздың культура тормошонда зур вақиға булып тора, халықтың дөйөм белем кимәленең күтәрелеүен, ғөмүмән, фәндең һәм культураның үсәүен күрһәтә. Был һүзлектә әзерләү Совет власы йылдарында башкорт тел [...]

/baškort teleneñ aňlatmaly hüdlege täwläp donjaya syğa. unyñ ǵämälgä kilēwe respublikabydǵyñ kúltúra tormošonda šur vaqiğa bulyp tora ħalyktyñ dōjōm belem kimäleneñ kütärelewēn ǵōmümān fādenñ hām kúltúranyñ üšewēn kūrĥätä. byl hüdlekte äderläw säwet vlassy jyldarynda baškort tel/

(Note: words from Russian exhibit a number of un-Turkic features which disposes them to be treated as Fremdwörter rather than loanwords (preservation of palatalized consonants, non-final stress, consonant clusters in anlaut, non-harmonic forms, &c.). Therefore, *k* which is pronounced [k] even in a back-vowel environment, is not specifically marked here as there is no [k] : [q] opposition in Russian.)

South-Western Karaim

Siwerimiz, karyndasymyz, ol syjly da abajly. Kolabiz kawmuznu ki laskanyz bolhaj kawmuznun da barda ulanlarynyznyn ulludan kicigedejin kelme bijencine ulanlarymyznyn ol eksizlernin. Da jamanlamanyz ki kelmedik alnynyzha kolma ezimiz, ki bilersiz biznin chalymyzny da haligi jolnu ki awurdu.

/siverimiz, karyndasymyz, ol syjly da abajly. kolabiz kawmuznu ki laskanyz bolhaj kawmuznun da barda ulanlarynyznyn ulludan kicigedejin kelme bijencine ulanlarymyznyn ol eksizlernin. da jamanlamanyz ki kelmedik alnyzyzya kolma ezimiz, ki bilersiz biznin ħalymyzny da ħaligi jolnu ki awurdu/

Kazakh

Айла мәдет жаппар хак, \ Сөйлесін деп біздерге \ Беріп еді тіл мен жақ. \ Бір қиссаны аяқтап, \ Тамам етіп кетейін, \ Жап болса егер аруақ. \ Неше болып таралған \ Бұл өзбектің баласы, \ Түрікмен халық ішінде \ Айырап ердің сарасы. \ Қазақпенен бұлардың \ Әуелінде бир екен \ Атасы мен бабасы.

/ajla мәдет žappar hak, \ sөjlesin dep bizderge \ berip edi til men žak. \ bir kyssany ajaktap, \ tamam etip ketejin, \ žap bolsa eger arwak. \ neše bolup taralyan \ bul özbektiñ balasy, \ türkimen halyk işinde \ ajyrar erdiñ sarasy. \ kazakpenen bulardyñ \ äweline bir eken \ atasy men babasy/

Turkish

Millî his ile dil arasındaki bağ çok kuvvetlidir. Dilin millî ve zengin olması millî hissin inkişafında başlıca müessirdir. Türk dili, dillerin en zenginlerindendir; yeter ki bu dil, şuurla işlensin. Ülkesini ve yüksek istiklâlîni korumasını bilen Türk milleti, dilini de yabancı diller boyunduruğundan kurtarmalıdır.

[millî his ilâ dil arasyndaki bâ çok kuvvâtlîdir. dilin millî vâ zengîn olması millî hissin inkişâfynda² başlyža müessirdir. türk dili, dillerin en zengînlärindändir. jeter ki bu dil, şürle³ işlânsin. ülkesini vâ jüksäk istiklalini korumasyny bilân türk millâti, dilini dâ jabanžy diller bojunduruğundan kurtarmalydyr]

/millî his ile dil arasyndaki bâ çok kuvvetlidir. dilin millî ve zengin olması millî hissin inkişâfynda² başlyža müessirdir. türk dili, dillerin en zenginlerindendir; jeter ki bu dil, şürle³ işlensin. ülkesini ve jüksek istiklalini korumasyny bilen türk milleti, dilini de jabanžy diller bojunduruğundan kurtarmalydyr/

/millî his ile dil araSYNDaki bâ çok kuvvetLYDYr. dilYn millî ve zengYn olmaSY millî hisSYn inkişÄfyNDA² başlyža müessirDYr. türk dilY, dilLARYN en zenginLARYNDANDYr; jeter ki bu dil, şürle³ işlensYn. ülkeSYNY ve jüksek istiklalYNY korumaSYNY bilAn türk milletY, dilYNY dA jabanžy dilLAR bojunduruKYNDAn kurtarmALYDYr/

Tuvan

Шыяан ам. Буруңгунуң мурнунда, теҥе кудуруу черге дөжелип, те мыйызы дээрҗэ шаштыгып турар шагда дөргөн бир угаанныг хаан чоруптур оо. Улуг-биче кода-хүрээлиг, улуг-биче лама-хуурактыг хаан күрүзүнүң херээн үзүп шиидер дөрт улуг чундуң дүжүметтиг, хаан боду таакпы-даа тыртпас [...]

2 <mcɪ'ʃaʃ> in Ergenç (1995) but *a* is long in TS and ÖTS. I take it to be a sign of a positionally lengthened vowel of the *kitap*, *-āby* 'book, 3sg' type.

3 <ʃu:γ> in Ergenç (1995) but two syllables (šu,ür) in TS and ÖTS. I maintain the former here for consistency.

/šyĵān am. buruŋunuŋ murnunda, teve kudurū čerge dōžēlip, te myjyzy dēрге šaštygyp turar šagda dōrten bir ugānnyg hān čoruptur ō. ulug-biče koda-hūrēlig, ulug-biče lama-hūraktyg hān kūrüzünüŋ herēn üzüp šīder dōrt ulug čundun düžümettig, hān bodu tākpy-dā tyrtpas/

Yakut

Өлөөн төрдүгэр Үрэн диэн ааттаах эбэнки олорбута үһү. Кини оччотоһу бириэмэҕэ омугу элбехтик кыргыбыт. Кини эр бэрдэ диэн бочуоттаах ааты сүгэрэ эбитэ үһү. Кини аттыгар эмиэ Өлөөн батыытыгар Маһан Хоппоо диэн эмиэ аатырбыт киһи баара, Үрэни өлөрө бараары оностуммута.

/ölön tördüger üren di'en ättāh ebeŋki olorbuta ühü. kini oččotoĥu birjemege omugu elbehtik kyrgybyt. kini er berde di'en bočwottāh äty sügere ebite ühü. kini attygar emje ölön batytygar maĥan xoppō di'en emje ätyrbyt kifi bāra, üreni ölörö barāry oĥostummuta/

Symbols

> = changes into | ≥ = forks to | → = derives to

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Gathering dog's tooth violet (*Erythronium sibiricum*) in Siberia

Siberian dog's tooth violet (*Erythronium sibiricum*) was utilised as food by several ethnic groups in southern Siberia in the eighteenth century. It was an important vegetable supplement for groups that subsisted on hunting and fishing. *E. sibiricum* was gathered especially during the spring, but also rodent burrows were plundered by humans during the colder seasons. The plant was used as medicine and it was of local commercial importance. This ethnobiological article analyses the gathering, processing, conservation, preparation, consumption and nutritional significance of *E. sibiricum* on the basis of historical data. Questions of ethnographic, linguistic and other contacts between groups that can be identified from the use of this plant are raised, and, for comparative purposes, the use of other *Erythronium* species in Japan and North America is discussed.

I. Introduction

The roots of the Siberian dog's tooth violet, *Erythronium sibiricum* (Fischer et C. A. Meyer) Krylov (earlier known as *Erythronium dens-canis* var. *sibiricum*) were previously gathered for food by several peoples in southern Siberia. In addition to fishing and hunting, e.g. Barabin Tatars used to dig up dog's tooth corms (swollen underground plant stems) among other roots and bulbs from the steppe. They also plundered rodent burrows in order to fill their vegetable stores for the winter (Falck 1786: III: 539; Ståhlberg & Svanberg 2010). Although the small, white, tooth-like corms from this modest plant were not as popular as the larger *sarana* bulbs in Russia and Siberia, the collection of these two plants cannot be separated. Most *Erythronium* roots were gathered together with *sarana*, which are usually identified as bulbs of different *Lilium* species. The gathering of dog's tooth is also closely connected with gathering lilyleaf ladybell (*Adenophora lilifolia*) as well as other edible plants (cf. Ståhlberg & Svanberg 2006).

Erythronium sibiricum is a small herbaceous flowering plant of the Liliaceae or lily family. It is considered native to southern Siberia (Altai, Western Sayan), eastern Kazakhstan, northern Xinjiang (China) and Mongolia. It can be found in forests, thickets and subalpine grasslands. Related taxa are found in southern Europe (*Erythronium dens-canis* L.), the Caucasus and northern Iran (*Erythronium caucasicum* Woronow). A fourth Eurasian species, *Erythronium japonicum* Decaisne, is native to Japan, Korea, southern Kurile Islands and northeastern China (Mathew 1992). In Siberia *Erythronium sibiricum* has been observed and described under the generic name *Erythronium dens-canis* by travellers and researchers for about three centuries. This study discusses the period around 1770, when dog's tooth was still actively gathered for food. Dog's tooth was found mainly in the steppe, from the Tom and Irtysh



Figure 1. Dog's tooth violet (Nicholson 1884: 533).

rivers in the west to the Ob and Yenisei in the east, in the Kolyvan Mountains, the Baraba steppe and around Krasnoyarsk (Georgi 1800: 901; Falck 1786: II: 158). The gatherers of dog's tooth were, as far as we have been able to identify, predominantly Turkic nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples. However, also non-indigenous settled peoples, who lived in the vicinity of the gatherers, for example Russians, collected and used the corms.

The purpose of this article is to examine the process and methods of gathering, preparation and conservation of dog's tooth in Siberia from a historical perspective. We discuss the known uses of the plant and the techniques and traditions connected with it and try to identify the importance of dog's tooth corms for the local peoples

(cf. Turner 1988) on the basis of eighteenth-century sources. Comparative perspectives from East Asia and North America are also provided. Using the plant as an example, we raise questions in such diverse fields as history, ethnology, linguistics and cultural contacts between different peoples in southern Siberia. On a regional level, this kind of ethnobiological knowledge contributes to several other fields of study, while at a global level our article adds to the growing amount of data about gathering and local use of the environment. This study is a complement to our previous article about *sarana* (Ståhlberg & Svanberg 2006). The use of dog's tooth and its underground corms in Siberia has been mentioned only briefly in scientific literature until now (see Eidlitz 1969: 49).

2. Sources

Unlike researchers who work with contemporary gatherers, as historical ethnobiologists we cannot make field observations or interviews. The tradition of gathering dog's tooth has disappeared, but we can collect data from historical sources, travel narratives, linguistic materials (especially phytonyms), ethnological and botanical information and local technologies, e.g. for gathering and preparing the roots (see Balée & Brown 1996; Svanberg 2007).

In the case of dog's tooth, our main and often only sources are travel reports written by explorers of the Russian Imperial Academy at the end of the eighteenth century. These explorers were sent from St. Petersburg to different areas of the expanding Russian Empire and lived for several years with local peoples. Most explorers, for instance Peter Simon Pallas and Johann Gottlieb Georgi, were Germans but there were a few Russians who travelled outside the present area, and Johan Peter Falck was Swedish (Ståhlberg & Svanberg 2011). Their travel narratives were published within two decades after their journeys around 1770. Modern researchers are confronted by a number of challenges when using these sources. Lack of local knowledge and little understanding of gathering is the most apparent problem with the explorers; today we possess much more knowledge due to comparative research. Another easily identifiable topic is the abundance of biased attitudes – gatherers and hunters were generally seen as primitive beings. A comparative analysis between modern values and different European attitudes around 1770, including Linnaean and other scientific views, uncovers several similarities, but also some differences which will be taken into account in this study.

Source criticism applied to the travel narratives shows that a very important factor influencing the character and depth of data was the season(s), in which the explorers visited the gathering peoples. If the explorers were able to attest to the gathering process, their information is detailed, and if they could taste the cooked roots, the accounts are clearer than when only based on hearsay. Individual knowledge and other characteristics about the informants should be considered, but mostly we receive no clues as to who provided the information. Language difficulties – few of the explorers

spoke local languages and they had to rely on interpreters – and the time and occasion when information was gathered, the relationships of the informants and groups among themselves and with the explorers are also important, but these are generally unknown. We can only make educated guesses about most of these factors, as the explorers only incidentally inform the reader about when, how and where an observation or interview took place.

The Academy explorers observed Siberian peoples gathering the roots of the dog's tooth at a time when the tradition was still part of the local economy. At the end of the eighteenth century, gathering was widely practised. Yet despite a general popularity of collecting wild plants among Siberian peoples, observations are scarce and scattered. There is even less information in later accounts, possibly due to a decline in the practice and disappearance of knowledge about the environment and the use of plants. Such knowledge is often today called *local ecological knowledge*, but we argue that it comprises much more than ecology. In our view, based on historical studies especially in Russia and Siberia, knowledge about the biota and the environment can be defined as a dynamic, non-written complex, consisting of information of all kinds, including observations, experiences, analysis, beliefs, traditions, techniques and technology (Cotton 1996: 60–61).

A complete identification of the local peoples in Siberia mentioned here with modern groups cannot be done for the above-mentioned reasons, in addition to historical aspects. Therefore we keep the eighteenth-century names and add modern clarifications in brackets when possible. *Tatar* in general means a Turkic people if not otherwise explained (see Ståhlberg & Svanberg 2011).

3. The plant and its names

Siberian dog's tooth violet is one of at least 27 different *Erythronium* species in the world. It reaches a height of about 16 to 20 cm. *Erythronium* species in general are beautiful plants that can spread through seeds or be grown from bulbs, which is often done today in gardens in Europe and North America where it is a popular ornamental plant. The white, oblong, tooth-like corms, up to ten centimetres long, have given the dog's tooth violet its European names which mostly contain the idea of a dog tooth. The corms are juicy when fresh, but dry up slowly after the flower has bloomed in spring (in Siberia between April and June, depending on region). The flower holds five petals which are up to five centimetres long, mostly pink, lilac or purple, but often also yellow or white.

The various *Erythronium* species prefer temperate zones in Eurasia and America, but being cold-resistant, they grow even in high mountains such as the Carpathians, the Pirin (Bulgaria), the Alps and several Siberian mountain areas, including the Altai. In Russia four species are identified so far: *E. caucasicum*, *E. dens-canis*, *E. japonicum* and *E. sibiricum*. *E. dens-canis* has for several decades been a protected plant in Europe and Russia because of its endangered status. In Romania, it used to be

a popular ornamental flower and consequently the demands of the market have almost caused its extinction (Marossy 2006: 65–67). Although modern botanists warn users about *Erythronium* corms, because they can cause dermatitis to sensitive skin, no such problem is recorded in Siberia in historical times. The lack of information does not mean that the problem did not exist, however (cf. Gilyarov et al. 1989: 244a; Winter 1897: 331–333; Gmelin 1747: 39).

Folk names for plants are an important source for historical ethnobiology and research on migration, cultural, social, economic and linguistic contact (Svanberg 2007). Plant names can indicate the geographical extent of the plant's use, trade and other relations, how groups borrowed techniques and knowledge from each other and also measure to some degree the importance of the plant for the users. Here we only discuss certain aspects of the phytonyms; a linguistic analysis, etymologies, etc. would require a separate discussion.

For *E. sibiricum*, there are two main lines in Siberian linguistic materials: *bis/bes* and *kandyk*. The first is found among the Turkic peoples Teleut, Sagai and Beltir, and also among the Tatars around Krasnoyarsk, who called the plant and the roots *bess* or *bis* 'dog's tooth'. The Sagai and Beltir are now considered sub-groups of the Khakas. The great importance these peoples attributed to the root was reflected in their calendars. It is customary for many peoples to name months after the plants that were gathered at a certain point in time or after main occupations during the season. In the Teleut time counting system, the third month, which would largely mean June (the first month was mostly April), was called *bis ay* 'dog's tooth month'. The roots of *bis* were dug up at this time. According to the explorer Peter Simon Pallas, however, the Sagai and Beltir women, who were the main gatherers, dug up the roots already in May. This earlier month was therefore called *bess ay* among the Sagai and Beltir (Pallas 1776: 349; Georgi 1776: 241; Gmelin 1747: 41). The Turkic peoples in the Altai Mountains also had an 'edible-lily bulb month' (Harrison 2007: 69–72).

A more widespread Turkic name for dog's tooth was *kandik* or *kandyk*, which was adopted by immigrant Russians (кандик, кандык). In modern Russian, *kandyk* means *Erythronium* species in general. The explorer Johann Gottlieb Georgi (1780: 487) informs us that where Russians lived close to Tatars, they gathered wild roots like their neighbours, especially *kandyk* and *sarana*. The word *kandyk* has been recorded among several groups, such as the Altai, Kachin, Kuznetsk and Tomsk Tatars, as well as among Russians in Siberia. Also the Turkic peoples Oirot and Koibal used the word *kandyk*. The Teleut and Sagai knew and used the word *xandix* in addition to *bis*. Several of these peoples called the first spring month, which among them meant March, *kandyk ay*. However, in Sagai the meaning of *xandix ayi* was June (Gmelin 1747: 41; Pallas 1776: 349; Falck 1786: II: 158; Georgi 1800: 901; Radloff 1899: 123; Baskakov & Inkižekova-Grekul 1953: 484–485; Vasmer 1955: I: 518; Räsänen 1969: 231). There are also variations such as *kadyk* and *kendyk* (Vasmer 1955: II: 251; Gilyarov et al. 1989: 244a; Hauenschild 1989: 73).

Interestingly, a word similar to *kandyk* is found in Soyot. *Xandyk-ara* denotes a species of *Sambucus*, which is certainly not a dog's tooth. Both words have by

researchers been referred to the word *kanchyk* ‘bitch’, but the etymology is not reliable and supposedly has been influenced by European names for *Erythronium dens-canis*. This word, *kanchyk*, exists in several Turkic languages in various forms, for instance Tobolsk Tatar *kancyk*, Azeri *kancix* and Bashkir *kandyk*, all meaning ‘female dog’. A dog appears also in modern Turkish dialects, where the dog’s tooth (*E. dens-canis*) is called both *alp lâlesi*, literally ‘alpine tulip’ and *köpekdişi*, lit. ‘dog’s tooth’ (Räsänen 1969: 230–231; Hauenschild 1989: 73).

The latter contains the same idea of a dog tooth as in European languages or is a direct translation of the plant’s Latin name, *Erythronium dens-canis*. In some languages in Europe, the official name in translation exists parallel with folk names, which often have no connection to dogs (cf. Hungarian folk names from Romania; Borza 1968: 66). The Latin name was popularised by Linnaeus in 1753, who borrowed it from earlier sources. In European literature the name *dens-canis* ‘dog’s tooth’ existed already from at least the 16th century (Linnaeus 1753: 305; Lange 1959: 561; Genaust 1996: 203).

4. Gathering dog’s tooth

The corms of *E. sibiricum* should be gathered for food when the flower is in bloom in spring and early summer. Otherwise they start drying up and become, if not completely inedible, at least difficult to cook and they lose their taste (Winter 1897: 334). For gathering and preparation of the corms, detailed knowledge and specific technology were required in Siberia. It was important to recognise the right plant, check the roots and assess their quality. Our explorers unfortunately mention nothing about how this knowledge was collected, transferred and developed.

Vegetables of high quality were essential for the survival of the peoples in southern Siberia during winter. Although the Tatars around the Tom River and the town of Tomsk eagerly went out in the spring to dig up dog’s tooth, they took care to examine the corms which they would eventually dry for their winter stores (Gmelin 1747: 39–40). Rotten or otherwise damaged corms did not keep through the cold season and could destroy other roots and bulbs in the stores as well. This would inevitably lead to a serious lack of vegetables in the diet until the next growing season.

Dog’s tooth was often gathered together with other vegetables and conserved like them. Wilhelm Radloff (1884: I: 355) relates that the Shor gathered dog’s tooth corms with martagon lily bulbs (*Lilium martagon*) and other edible roots such as anomalous peony (*Paeonia anomala*) and ramson (*Allium ursinum*). The roots were dried outside in the sun and then used immediately or stored for the winter. Many Siberian peoples gathered vegetables also from rodent burrows. This required knowledge about the surrounding environment and regular observation of animals and plants. An especially popular food “provider” throughout the year was the root vole, *Microtus oeconomus*. This vole gathers large amounts of high-quality vegetables in its underground stores. The caches could be plundered at any time of the year for fresh products (Ståhlberg & Svanberg 2010).

Technology was as important as knowledge and without the right instruments, reaching the dog's tooth roots could be very difficult. For the purpose of digging out rodent holes or corms from plants in the field, Siberian peoples developed special instruments. According to Pallas (1776: 349), the roots lie very deep in the soil and were often found under sturdy grass. Therefore Siberian peoples used a hoe which had a thin iron piece, "like a small Russian plough", fixed at one end. The wooden part of the hoe was slightly curved so that the digger easily could lift up the heavy soil. The spade had a small piece of wood fixed transversally and the digger could push the iron with his foot into the earth. The instrument was neither heavy nor big and most importantly, women could easily use it. There was in the view of Pallas no better or more comfortable instrument for digging up roots. Several peoples the explorers generally identified as "Tatars" called it *ossuk*. In Oirot, *ozup* was a small round spade which was used especially for dog's tooth. In Teleut, Shor, Sagai and Altai it was called *ozyp*, in Sagai and Khakas also *uzyp* and in Soyot *ozuk* (Räsänen 1969: 367; Radloff 1893: 1147). Similar spades are known also among the Bashkir in the Ural area (Gunda 1949: 377).

5. Preparing and consuming Siberian dog's tooth violet

When they had dug out the roots, the gatherers started to clean and sort their findings. If taken from rodent nests, the roots were already carefully cleaned by the animals. Then the gatherers and their families would consume the roots immediately, either raw or after cooking. Some also dried and then consumed the roots, alternatively dried and stored them for the winter, but most Siberian peoples consumed at least part of the harvest like fresh vegetables, immediately after digging it up from the earth. To conserve and prepare the roots properly, knowledge, techniques, recipes and skilled cooks were needed. The European explorers explain several uses and do not hesitate to suggest some dishes themselves.

According to an early traveller in Siberia, Johann Georg Gmelin (1747: 39–40), the Tatars around Krasnoyarsk and Tomsk were so greedy for the roots that there would be no plants or stores left in the autumn. If anything was to be stored for the winter, the Tatars would grind the dry roots and mix them with milk or cook them with meat soup into porridge. They also used the roots as other peoples cooked or roasted chestnuts. According to Gmelin, dog's tooth could easily and without any loss of taste replace chestnuts when filling roasted geese. It is interesting to note that there was another widely used plant which was gathered in the same areas as dog's tooth and used in a similar way. Ramson (*Allium ursinum*) was especially popular among the Altai, Tofalar, Karagas and local Russians (Potapov 1953: 70; Katanov 1891: 152; Eidlitz 1969: 48).

Sometimes dog's tooth would be cooked and served with meat, more or less like Europeans prepare potatoes today. In the nineteenth century, potatoes began to supplant the use of wild roots in northern Russia and Siberia. Dog's tooth corms could also be cooked in water and then put out to dry or, if eaten at once, cooked and mashed

with milk or meat broth. Then, according to Georgi (1800: 901), they were so delicious that they qualified even “for better tables”. Discussing taste, Gmelin (1747: 39–40) thought the roots were optimally nutritious. After being repeatedly cooked in milk, they were very pleasant to eat. The Sagai, for example, cooked the roots very slowly until soft and ate them with milk or cream. To Pallas’ palate, however, the corms tasted like raw dough of wheat flour, water and eggs, and were “quite indigestible” (Pallas 1776: 349–350; Falck 1786: II: 158).

Like *sarana* bulbs, dog’s tooth corms were often ground into flour after they had been boiled and dried in the sun. *Sarana* roots were used for baking bread, but there is no indication that *E. sibiricum* was used in a similar way (cf. Potapov 1953: 62). Dog’s tooth corms are edible, but not very nutritious. The main reason for their use is probably the large amount of starch they contain, which makes them comparable to potatoes. As far as we know, only the roots were gathered in Siberia, not the parts of the plant above ground. However, the leaves are also edible raw or cooked as a vegetable or in a salad.

The corms of the dog’s tooth can be eaten raw, cooked or dried as the examples above show. The starchy content of the corms provides good flour for noodles and cakes, which are nowadays sometimes produced by amateur gardeners in Europe and North America. In Siberia, dog’s tooth flour was mostly used for porridge. In addition to starch, the corms contain sugars, gum and dextrose, all of which are found in large amounts when the flower blooms, but diminish as the bulb dries up towards autumn (Winter 1897: 333). Interestingly, Ainu women in northern Japan used to corms of *Erythronium japonicum* in late autumn. They cleaned, cooked and mashed them into a pulp and then made cakes, which were dried and eaten during the winter, providing extra starch to the diet (Bachelor 1892: 40). As already mentioned, in Siberia the gathering from the fields took place in spring.

6. Subsistence, supplement, medicine and trade

Winter stores were perhaps the most important reason for gathering roots of any edible kind among all peoples in southern Siberia. Without abundant stores they would suffer from hunger and probably some of the people would not survive until spring. Only a few groups subsisted on dog’s tooth throughout the year. The Uriankhai along the Yenisei consumed dog’s tooth corms during the cold season and also fresh in the warm period. “In summer reindeer milk is the staple diet”, wrote an early twentieth-century visitor (Carruthers 1913: 220), “supplemented by the roots of an herb called *kandic* – a liliaceous plant which they dig up with hoes in the forests. In winter they live on the powdered roots of this herb and on the salted meat of the game they killed in the previous autumn”. Other groups subsisted on dog’s tooth only in winter. The Tatars who lived close to the town of Tomsk and along the lower Tom River survived the cold season by consuming *sarana* (here *Lilium martagon*) and dog’s tooth, which was extremely common in the area (Falck 1786: III: 492).

To most Siberian peoples, however, dog's tooth violet was a vegetable supplement like other roots and bulbs and it was eaten occasionally with their ordinary fish- or meat-based diet. One example is the Baraba Tatars who consumed, according to Georgi (1776: 194), "everything that Muslims are allowed, but also pagan foods they used to eat before converting to Islam". These dietary customs which the fairly recently converted Barabin Tatars still kept included wild birds, fish, wild roots and bulbs such as lilies and onions (especially *sarana*, here *Lilium martagon*), Siberian dog's tooth violet, lady bell (*Adenophora liliifolia*), common sorrel (*Rumex acetosa*), Siberian angelica (*Angelica dahurica*) and common hogweed (*Heracleum sphondylium*), as well as berries, wild plants and leaves. Fish was consumed regularly in soups or dried and dog's tooth was often cooked with fish dishes.

In many cases we do not know if dog's tooth was included in the diet, because it is not explicitly mentioned. The Ostyak groups (probably Khanty, perhaps Selkup) whom Johan Peter Falck (1786: III: 464–465) visited, subsisted on ordinary fish soup, cooked or fried fish, caviar (*tyrim*) and a meal made from crushed small, air-dried fish called *pors*. The crushed fish was eaten sometimes like bread and sometimes cooked. All kinds of meat, grain traded from fur exchange with Russians, eggs, wild roots and bulbs from *Lilium martagon*, called *tagul* (cf. *sarana*), and "many wild fruits" were included in the diet. There is a possibility that dog's tooth was included in the assortment of wild plants together with other roots, but as no source confirms this we cannot be certain. There is of course a possibility that Uralic groups, in the same way as Russians living near Turkic peoples who gathered the plant, collected the same plants.

The Siberian Tatars used dog's tooth not only for food, but they also made an alcoholic drink from the roots. The corms were further used for medicine, especially against tapeworm and colic, another stomach ailment. The roots are reported to have had applications even for epilepsy and as an aphrodisiac (Dragendorff 1878: 7; Gilyarov et al. 1989: 244a). Gmelin (1747: 39–40), who first reported these medicinal and other usages, doubted the healing effect of *Erythronium*. He noticed that eating it in large quantities did not improve the health of the Tatars and it had little effect on the tapeworm which frequently troubled them. *Erythronium japonicum* violet has been used for medicinal purposes in Korea (Johnson 1998: 329).

Dog's tooth was a very popular food item in some areas and an object of trade. The Tatars along the Yenisei and in the Kuznetsk mountain area, who were very poor and lived in small, scattered settlements, were especially fond of the plant. Their main occupation was hunting, but they were also active in gathering vegetables for the winter, mainly *Erythronium sibiricum*. Unfortunately it grew only to a very small size and very sparsely around Abakan. The biggest and most beautiful roots, according to Pallas (1776: 349), were dug up at Mrasa and Kondoma by the local Tatars, who sold the vegetables as far as Abakan. Even fine town dwellers bought the roots because of their delicious taste, and the Tatars could return home with a handsome profit (Falck 1786: II: 158).

7. Comparative perspectives

In Siberia, *Erythronium sibiricum* was used mainly for food and only to a limited extent as medicine or for other purposes. We have no information on the use of the other *Erythronium* species in western Eurasia. *E. japonicum* was gathered, however, in Hokkaido by the Ainu and eaten. It is called *katakuri* (cf. Japanese *katakuriko* 'starch', from *kuri* 'chestnut'). Nowadays starch with the same name is processed from potatoes which is much cheaper (Hosking 1997: 218).

In order to understand the extent and importance of Siberian dog's tooth gathering it is useful to look to the other side of the Pacific Ocean. In North America, several indigenous groups used *Erythronium* for food and medicine just like the Siberian peoples (Coffey 1993: 303–305). Many more *Erythronium* species grow on that continent than in Eurasia. American Indians knew and gathered many of them and often possessed more advanced techniques for gathering and processing than the peoples in Siberia, but there are some striking similarities. Like among Siberian peoples, dog's tooth was dried by Okanagan-Colville and Shuswap Indians for the winter. Winnebago Indians ate the raw plants, digging for them when they were fresh in spring and children were especially fond of the corms (Gilmore 1919: 71; Palmer 1975: 54; Turner et al. 1980: 45).

In contrast to Siberia, many *Erythronium* species were used for food and medicine in the Americas and often the whole plant was utilised. The Thompson Indians used *E. mesochoreum* and yellow dog's tooth (*E. grandiflorum*) for food, considering the last a very important and valuable nutritional source (Turner 1988, Turner et al. 1990: 123–124). Corms of *E. oregonum* were dug up and dried among the Kwakiutl, and *E. revolutum* was eaten by the Southern Kwakiutl. The latter dried the roots in the sun and boiled them. They then mixed the roots with grease and served them during large celebrations. The roots were considered a delicacy of great value (Turner & Bell 1973a: 75; 1973b: 272). *E. americanum* was used among the Cherokee for medicine. They warmed the leaves, crushed them and poured the juice over wounds that would not heal. The Iroquois used the raw plant as a contraceptive, taking everything except the roots. The Montana Indians used *E. grandiflorum*, applying the crushed roots to boils (Moerman 1998: 227).

These short examples show that there was much more variation in the American usages of *Erythronium* plants than in Siberia. Furthermore, Siberian folk plant names, methods of gathering and preparation and tools are very similar to each other, unlike the more diversified American Indian traditions. The comparison leads to the conclusion that probably at least some if not several Siberian peoples borrowed techniques and knowledge from each other. *How, when, who, where and why* are the main questions of a complex discussion, which requires a broad geographical, linguistic and ethnological study. The only contact-induced practice we can clearly identify from the sources is that of the previously mentioned immigrant Russians learning to collect dog's tooth corms from their Turkic neighbours. Another important question is if Siberian and American customs are related, have originated from the same source, have appeared as the result of exchange or have developed separately. Similar

questions need to be asked about all practices that are common to Siberia and North America, such as *sarana* gathering, the practice of plundering rodent burrows for vegetables, etc.

We do not know for how long dog's tooth has been used in the Northern Hemisphere and if the use of the corms is a remnant of ancient gathering practices. How the tradition came into being and how it has developed are questions that involve important topics such as population migration patterns and linguistic, economic and cultural contacts, especially between close neighbours in southern Siberia, and also between more distant Siberians and North American peoples. How do plant gathering techniques and names reflect contacts and exchange? From the examples of *sarana* and the plundering of rodent stores for vegetables, we know that there is a close link between Siberia and North America (Ståhlberg & Svanberg 2006, 2010). What exactly this link might be and how it originated and developed over the centuries are important matters for further study. There is not yet enough research to answer these questions. The comparative study of plant, animal and other natural resources, their uses and traditions could provide a useful key to at least some answers.

8. Conclusion

Various wild plants have been used among different peoples in Siberia for centuries as delicacies, food, spices, emergency food supplies and medicine. Some of these plants possess certain nutritional or medicinal qualities while others contain mainly starch, like dog's tooth. Except when eaten as main dishes, porridge or snacks, dog's tooth corms were often used on the side with meat and fish, just like potatoes are cooked and served today as a supplementary dish (cf. Eidlitz 1969: 41).

The practice of gathering and consuming *Erythronium sibiricum* was not as geographically widespread as *sarana*, which was common among several peoples from the Volga region to Kamchatka. Dog's tooth gathering was limited to the growth area of the plant, in southern Siberia between the Irtysh and Yenisei Rivers. *Sarana* and dog's tooth were mostly gathered together in this region. The distribution of the names for dog's tooth in local languages, *bess/bis* and *kandyk/kandik*, reflects close contacts between some of the groups or points to a common origin. The latter folk name has been in vast use, probably because the word was taken up by Russians in Siberia together with the practice of gathering the roots. The Russians spread the term further and it is possible that at least some of the groups picked up the name from them. A diachronic linguistic analysis is required to solve this question (cf. Ståhlberg & Svanberg 2006: 154).

The historical importance of gathering, preparing and conserving dog's tooth corms can be defined as average for most Siberian peoples. The most typical consumers were the Barabin Tatars, who gathered the roots for side dishes and as supplementary food, but did not subsist on them. For a few others, such as the Tomsk Tatars, the corms played a more important role, and the Yenisei and Kuznetsk Tatars even drew financial profit from gathering and selling the roots in town markets. For

a few peoples such as the Uriankhai, the roots formed a crucial source of food during the winter. However, dog's tooth never played a merely marginal role in Siberia, such as e.g. a spice or a rare delicacy. On the contrary, it was abundant and several groups subsisted periodically and partly or completely on dog's tooth, often throughout the cold seasons, which could mean up to half of the year.

E. sibiricum was mainly a seasonal product in Siberian households. Although many peoples gathered the root from rodent stores in autumn and winter, spring remained the most important season and the corms were often consumed immediately. Whole families would dig up roots together, even though women were the main gatherers. A century ago, Waldemar Bogoras (1904: 199) observed that vegetable food in Siberia was much more used by women and children than by men. This is an important social aspect which requires more study. Also, comparative examples from North America show that Siberian traditions concerning *Erythronium* did not widely vary. The reasons for this and the contacts between Siberia and North America need to be researched further.

Gathering vegetables from the environment as an economic and dietary practice gradually diminished in Siberia during the nineteenth century. Political and economic changes, increasing immigration by Russians and the establishment of new, predominantly agricultural settlements were the main causes. Around the beginning of the twentieth century, only limited gathering of natural resources still prevailed in Russia and Siberia. The extent can be compared with Finland, the Baltic countries, Scandinavia and Eastern Europe. Gathering was often used only as a supplement to the diet or for emergency food supplies (cf. Manninen 1931: 30–31).

The study of the previous diet, human subsistence on wild plants, the use of plants and gathering techniques is important for our understanding of the historical situation, ecology, climate, resources, cultures, languages, economy, politics and changes in a certain region (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1962: 7–15). The gathering and preparation of dog's tooth corms in Siberia reflect a lifestyle based on local resources, a close relationship with nature and a profound knowledge of the environment. Dog's tooth use illuminates several aspects of the complex relationship between humans and nature and also between humans of different ethnic, cultural and linguistic background.

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Wild animals in Russian, Siberian and Central Asian households according to eighteenth-century travel reports

Wild animals, such as mammals, birds and reptiles, have been kept in houses and nomadic tents for various purposes throughout historical times. At the same time, domestic animals such as horses and cattle have roamed freely in the forests and steppes of Russia, Siberia and Central Asia. In the late eighteenth century, European travellers explored the Russian Empire and kept wild animals in cages and baskets for scientific purposes. This comprehensive article discusses in detail the relationships between local peoples, scientists and wild and feral animals. Various functions of the animal resources are explored, especially the use of animals as tax payment, trade goods, food supply, pets and pest controllers, and for entertainment.

I. Introduction

During his extensive journeys in Russia and Siberia, the explorer Johan Peter Falck (1732–1774) observed a peculiar habit. Besides “ordinary” domestic animals, the local peoples kept various kinds of wild animals in their cottages and yurts. Hunters and herdsman caught wild animals or brought home animal young and bird nestlings which became family pets. Some of these animals would end up as food or furs, while others lived for several years in human surroundings (cf. Svanberg 2001: 11–13). Falck noted also another interesting aspect of human-animal relationships among Central Asian and Siberian nomads: their domestic animals roamed freely. Horses, cattle, goats and sheep wandered on the steppe or in the taiga throughout the year with little attention from humans. Although not tame, the animals could nonetheless be defined as a kind of domestic animals, because humans claimed ownership over them and used them. Naturally, some of these free-roaming animals became feral (that is, they turned wild).

Customs of keeping free-roaming domestic animals and bringing wild animals into homes were common at least until the nineteenth century and still exist in some rural and nomadic areas. In the eighteenth century, these customs were very widespread in Russia, Siberia and Central Asia. They were recorded for the first time by European explorers of natural history around 1770. Among the first observers were Falck and two of his colleagues sent out by the Imperial Academy in St. Petersburg, Peter Simon Pallas (1741–1811) and Johann Gottlieb Georgi (1729–1802) (cf. Svanberg 1987).

During the reign of Catherine II, the Imperial Academy of Arts and Sciences in St. Petersburg launched several expeditions to explore the vast new areas of the Russian Empire. Western Siberia was conquered at the end of the sixteenth century, and over the following centuries Russia expanded to the Pacific Rim. The St. Petersburg

Academy was founded by Peter I in 1724, following the model of European centres for higher learning. One of the most important sources for inspiration was the Prussian Academy of Sciences with its president, philosopher and mathematician Gottfried Leibniz (1646–1716), whose ideas deeply influenced the formation of the Russian Academy. During its first century, the Imperial Academy in St. Petersburg (later renamed several times) was dominated by Germans such as the mathematician Leonhard Euler (1707–1783), botanist Johann Georg Gmelin (1709–1755) and historian Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705–1783). Other famous researchers included French astronomer and geographer Joseph-Nicolas Delisle (1688–1768) and the Dutch-Swiss family of mathematicians, Bernoulli. Only around the beginning of the nineteenth century did Russians come to constitute a majority in this international academy.

The Academy and its researchers represented the new European tendencies in science which grew in importance throughout the eighteenth century. Research generally developed towards an encyclopaedic science, which took interest in both humans and nature and emphasised the observation, exploration, documentation and classification of the natural environment, peoples, economy, languages, etc. In Russia, the government of the expanding empire required information about natural resources, demography and possibilities to open up new areas for e.g. agriculture and mining. Siberia was being heavily colonised by peasants, miners, criminals and exiles from Russia, settlers from Germany and Swedish prisoners of war. Little was known about the new regions and even less about the Central Asian nomads and other peoples who did not belong to the Russian Empire at this time. The government needed information in order to control the empire and its borders, the indigenous peoples and the economy.

Therefore, in order to map, explore and describe these regions the Academy was commissioned by Peter I and later monarchs to send out expeditions. Early explorers included the famous Danish seafarer Vitus Bering (1681–1741), who between 1725 and 1741 discovered Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, and German natural scientists Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt (1685–1735), who journeyed extensively through Siberia between 1720 and 1728, and Georg Wilhelm Steller (1709–1746), who researched flora and fauna around the Bering Strait.

These and all later expeditions show impressive and pioneering work. They laid the foundations for early North and Central Asian research, especially Siberian studies, and won international acclaim already during their first journeys. Several of the Academy researchers have achieved worldwide fame. Bering had geographical areas named after him and Pallas and Steller are still considered important figures in zoology and botany because of their many discoveries. The expeditions, studies and publications of the Academy continue to have a great impact on Russian and Asian studies today. They provide abundant materials for researchers in many fields from natural sciences such as hydrology, biology, mineralogy, meteorology and medicine, to human and social sciences such as linguistics, ethnology, economics and demography (about the Academy, see e.g. Osipov 1999).

The expeditions relevant to our study started out in 1768–1769 and returned during the 1770s. Some of the explorers never came back, but their materials and travel journals found their way to St. Petersburg. The Academy explorers were interested in all natural and human-made materials they could find. They regularly sent boxes with findings, anything from mineral samples to dried plants and ethnographic objects back to St. Petersburg where their more settled academic colleagues analysed and carried out further observations and physical, chemical and other experiments on the samples. The expeditions were headed by an international team of prominent natural scientists: the German scholars Peter Simon Pallas, Samuel Gottlieb Gmelin (1744–1774) and Johann Anton Gmelin (1745–1781), Russian scholars Ivan Ivanovich Lepekhin (1740–1802) and Nikolai Petrovich Rychkov (1746–1784), and the Swedish scholar Johan Peter Falck. Johann Gottlieb Georgi first participated in Falck's expedition, but later was sent to work for Pallas (for further details see Berg 1954: 258–262).

Although descriptions of wild animals in homes and free-roaming domestic animals occupy only a small part of the work of the Academy explorers, the topic is important for the study of folk traditions, the economy and human-animal relationships. In all regions visited by the expeditions, local peoples and the explorers themselves had intense contact with wild or feral animals. The expeditions depended on horses and camels for transport and wild animals for observation and not least for food. However, the local peoples and the explorers had very different reasons for keeping wild animals. Peasants and nomads depended on wild or feral animals for their livelihood, but sometimes they also caught animals for entertainment or medicinal use. The explorers had a scientific goal and collected both live and dead animals during their journeys for further study. Small live animals were put in jars, cages or baskets and carried with the caravan. Some were killed later, dissected for scientific purposes and ultimately fed to other cage animals. Dead animals were prepared for conservation by the expedition assistants.

The animals kept in Russian, Siberian and Central Asian households mostly coincide with the animals transported in the travellers' cages and baskets, because the explorers often bought the animals from the locals. The explorers also bought hides of interesting animal species and hunted wild game when possible. Sometimes they performed experiments on the animals with chemical substances, different kinds of water (e.g. salt water or fresh water) or tried to cross-breed related species. In other cases, when for instance a certain animal was not present or difficult to obtain, the explorers interviewed local persons or migrants, such as Bukharan traders in Siberia, and noted all facts they could find including folk beliefs and customs. Complex research was carried out in order to describe the animals and compare them with already published material. If the animal was unknown, the aim was to describe and name the species (see Falck 1785: 9, 14; 1786: 449–450).

Although domestic or domesticated animals have had a close relationship with human society and have shared human dwellings since prehistoric times, very few studies to date have focused on this interaction (cf. Kruse 2002; Grier 2006). The phenomenon of keeping wild animals in households has not been studied previously

in the case of Russia, Siberia and Central Asia as far as we know. There has been research on Europe and North America, as well as some other regions of the world for several decades now (see Moore 1937; Gunda 1969; Serpell 1989: 10–11; Svanberg 2007b; Way 2008; for non-Western examples, see Gilmore 1950; Layton 1991; Serpell 1996: 60–72; Erikson 2000; Drews 2001; Newsom & Wing 2004: 204–208, Rea 2007: 52–57).

This article deals with two intertwined aspects of the relationship between humans and wild and feral animals. The first is animal-keeping among peasants and nomads in Russia, Siberia and Central Asia in the late eighteenth century, while the second is the habit of the scientific explorers to carry local wildlife as travel companions. Within this context we discuss also the animals that local amateur scientists and town dwellers possessed or studied. We must limit our study only to live animals that were present in households or carried with the expeditions. Hides and furs bought on the way, legends, concepts, folklore, myths, religious uses of animals, etc. are closely related to this topic and highly interesting, but will be only briefly touched upon. They require a separate study due to the great quantity of material.

2. Purpose and Sources

Wild animals in Russian and Siberian households, free-roaming Central Asian and Siberian animals and the explorers' animal companions are the focus of this ethno-biological study. Geographically it covers an area stretching from Moscow in the west to eastern Siberia and from the northern regions of Russia and Siberia south into Central Asia. We ask why domestic animals roamed freely and why certain wild animals were present in homes. Did they have an economic or a social function or both? Were they used as pest control or merely as pets? Ultimately the question is what the relationship between humans and animals was. The purpose of this study is to discuss the variety and reasons for the presence of wild and feral animals in households, the benefits and some costs. We view the relationship between humans and animals from different aspects in a pre-modern context, including not only peasant and nomad practices and concepts, but also the eighteenth-century scientists' relations and attitudes to animals and local peoples. In this way, the viewer (scientist) becomes also the viewed, which enables us to enlarge our source analysis.

Studies of human practices such as hunting, fishing and animal husbandry are part of the field of ethnobiology. Human concepts about animals, e.g. their place in the symbolic realm, also belong to this area of study. However, there have been few studies of wild animals as pets and helpers to humans, despite the fact that the keeping of animals is an ancient habit and known in most cultures. Even before the spread of agriculture, several kinds of animals accompanied humans and lived in or around human settlements. For instance, foxes and hedgehogs were supposedly kept by semi-sedentary hunters in Scandinavia about seven thousand years ago (cf. Brusewitz 2001; Jonsson 2001: 105; Serpell 1989: 10).

As a general characteristic of human-animal relationships, researchers emphasise the human need for dominance. Affection for domestic and tame animals is inseparable from dominance (Yi 1984). Humans keep animals for their own use or amusement. It is the beauty, behaviour, songs or the commodities one can extract from the animal that matter. This dominance does not, however, only mean keeping animals in captivity and forcing them to adapt to human conditions and eat the food we offer. It comprises conscious breeding to create cultural forms which satisfy human nutritional, instrumental, aesthetic or other needs and wishes. Both economically useful domestic animals and animals kept for entertainment have been bred in this way (cf. Serpell 1989; Roth & Merz 1996).

Historian Keith Thomas (1983) suggests several traits that distinguish companion animals from domestic animals. The latter are mainly kept for production (milk, meat, furs) and work (transport, pulling, ploughing, etc.) outside the living quarters of humans. Unlike domestic animals, companion animals are allowed into the house, spending nights and winters in relatively cosy and safe surroundings (from a human perspective). Humans are devoted to their care and food management. The livestock of farmers and nomads, which can be brought indoors in severe weather, never reach this degree of proximity and care. Another difference between domestic animals and companion animals is that the latter seldom end up as food. There are of course mixed forms, such as pigs that are kept as pets when small and then eaten when they become full-grown.

An important distinction must be made between domesticated animals and *domesticates* (Van Gelder 1969: 151). This is crucial, especially in the case of Russia, Siberia and Central Asia. Domesticated animals have been subjected for thousands of years to micro-evolutionary processes and cultural influences. They have changed genetically so that they differ to some degree from the original wild form and generally cannot survive without human help. Examples of such animals are cattle, dogs, horses and common sheep. Domesticates are wild animals that are brought into human settlements, such as birds, bear cubs, weasels and reptiles. Some reproduce in captivity over a few generations, but most domesticates are caught wild and must adapt to captivity. Many such animals do not prosper in human surroundings (Moore 1937).

As ethnobiologists analysing older data, we cannot pretend to be as precise and detailed as modern fieldworkers who personally gather information. The explorers of the Imperial Academy provide an additional filter which must be taken into account and we can only hope that our observers were somewhat accurate when gathering information. We must scrutinise how they gathered the data and why they chose to present some data and not others, and of course we also need to interpret their notes correctly. The material is fragmentary and scarce, often based on hearsay and second- or third-hand information which further complicates the analysis. Consequently, we apply source criticism and a comparative approach to the data, checking the validity, reliability and relevance of the information (cf. Ståhlberg 1996: 23; Svanberg 2000; Ståhlberg & Svanberg 2006).

Our main source is the three-volume publication of Johan Peter Falck's travel report which contains the most detailed descriptions of wild animals in homes and explorers' baskets. Falck was more interested in the topic of wild and feral animals than any of the other explorers and kept the largest travelling zoo in his expedition. The reason for this interest lies very probably in his Linnean education. Falck was born in 1732 in Broddetorp, Västergötland in southern Sweden and came to Uppsala University in 1751. There he began to study medicine, but soon became a pupil of the famous natural scientist Carl Linnaeus and also worked as a private tutor to Linnaeus' son. In 1760, Falck intended to travel with his colleague Peter Forsskål (born in Helsinki in 1732) to Arab countries, but he was refused participation by the Danish government. Forsskål's expedition reached its goal, but most of its members died within a few years, including Forsskål himself (1763). Falck returned to Uppsala where he defended his thesis on botany in 1762.

Being poor and receiving no financial support from his family, Falck had to find work after graduating. Linnaeus recommended him to colleagues in Russia, and in 1763 Falck travelled to St. Petersburg to take up a position as curator of a private natural history cabinet. Later he taught medicine and botany at the Collegium Medicum. When the Imperial Academy planned a new set of expeditions in 1768, Falck was recommended by colleagues and appointed leader of one of the so-called Orenburg expeditions, which departed for Moscow in September of the same year. During the next few years Falck and his team, including Johann Georgi, assistants, students and military escort travelled in the south Volga area, southern Urals, parts of the Kazakh steppe and western Siberia. In March 1774, Falck committed suicide in Kazan after a long illness. His travel report was published in 1785–1786 by Georgi.

When analysing the materials, one must consider that Falck and Georgi were students of Linnaeus. Their particular training explains the differences in attitude, structure, questions asked and working methods compared to other travel reports. Linnaeus provided his students with questionnaires and this also inspired the Imperial Academy's agenda, but only Falck and Georgi kept strictly to Linnaeus' programme.

Here we also find the answer to why Falck was so keen on carrying wild animals around for thousands of kilometres. He studied the animals and their feeding, sleeping and other habits on the road. Perhaps he also wanted to bring the animals back to St. Petersburg for the use of the Academy. He had the task of providing material for scientific purposes and regularly sent live animals and taxidermic (mostly stuffed) specimens to the Academy. He naturally also wanted to create a menagerie of his own for further study of the animals. Carl Linnaeus had kept several species of animals and birds in his so-called *vivarium* at the Academic Garden in Uppsala since the late 1750s. His collection included monkeys, raccoons, guinea-pigs, agouti, parrots, peacocks, a curassow and spoonbills. Linnaeus was very fond of watching and studying caged animals and wrote extensively about his observations. He also taught his students various methods of keeping wild animals and studying them (Linnaeus 1740, 1754a, 1754b, 1768; Svanberg 2007a).

Although the Academy banned export of all scientific materials (with limited success, as Pallas for instance traded in rare goods from Siberia), it is possible that Falck wished to send at least some of the animals to Linnaeus. When Falck left for Russia, Linnaeus presented a list of plants and animals he wished to obtain, among them a **wolverine** (*Gulo gulo*). All students of Linnaeus received such lists when leaving Sweden and several were indeed able to provide their teacher with materials for observation (Broberg 1971). They gathered live animals and sent or travelled back with them to Uppsala. When Linnaeus received a gift he was usually grateful, but only if it was exotic and in some way useful to him. Falck's Finnish colleague Pehr Kalm (1715–1779) brought wild animals back from North America in 1751, but Linnaeus declined that gift; probably these animals did not interest him sufficiently. The opossum, some guinea-pigs and a turtle travelled with Kalm to Turku when he was installed there as a professor. The nocturnal opossum used to disturb his sleep, running around the room at night. Pehr Osbeck (1723–1805) tried in vain to bring back various animals from China, including a small parrot (Osbeck 1757: 101). Clas Alströmer (1736–1794) sent birds from Spain, and Pehr af Bjerkén (1731–1774) sent goldfish from England to Uppsala. Carl Peter Thunberg (1743–1828) was asked to bring birds from Southeast Asia, but none of his animals survived the long trip (Svanberg 2007: 40–41, 76). The tradition did not end with the death of Linnaeus: Carl Fredrik Hornstedt (1758–1809) tried unsuccessfully to bring apes, parrots, squirrels and turtles with him from Java, possibly as an intended gift or scientific contribution to Carl Peter Thunberg, who succeeded Linnaeus as professor in Uppsala (Hornstedt 2008: 278).

We have used as much as possible the modern scientific names for the species mentioned in order to facilitate identification of the animals, but the local plant or animal names noted by Falck are unchanged. For several reasons we also retain the eighteenth-century names of regions and peoples, indicating the modern ethnic name in brackets when possible. In the first case, Bukhara, Khiva, the Kazakh and Kalmyk Hordes were independent or semi-independent states at the time. Bukhara and Khiva make up most of present Uzbekistan. The Kazakh steppe belongs to Kazakhstan and the Kalmyk live mainly in Kalmykia, a republic within the Russian Federation. The present borders, however, differ greatly from their state in the eighteenth century.

In the second case, the peoples cannot always be identified precisely. The greatest difficulty is provided by the term *Tatar*. Today Tatar is an ethnonym, used for Volga or Kazan Tatars, Crimean Tatars, etc., but in the eighteenth century “Tatar” signified more or less any Turkic-speaking person in Russia and Siberia, Muslim or pagan, except Bashkirs and a few others who are mentioned by specific names. Tatars were usually designated and identified by their geographical position or a local name in addition to the generic “Tatar”. This creates a confusion which we have attempted to solve by providing modern identifications in brackets, but in some cases it is impossible and we have left the term *Tatar* as it occurs in the sources, in the general meaning of ‘Turkic-speaker’.

3. Free-roaming animals

The most important animal in Central Asia and northern Eurasia is undoubtedly the **horse** (*Equus caballus*) (cf. Sinor 1972). Enormous herds of wild and feral horses still roamed the steppes and forests in the 1700s, but their numbers decreased greatly in the following century. The main reason for this was probably increasing colonisation, which limited the habitats of the horses. Today none of the original wild horses are left and only feral and free-roaming horses are present in Central Asia.

The Academy explorers singled out the Kazakh and Dzhungarian steppes (now broadly Kazakhstan and northern Xinjiang), the Ob area and the Baraba steppe in western Siberia as the main regions for wild and feral horses around 1770. Georgi noted (1799: 1024–1025) that the best animal breeders were the Kachin, Baraba and other Tatar [Siberian Turkic] groups. He notes also that these Turkic peoples owned not only horses but also all the domestic animals that Russians kept (cattle, pigs, dogs, cats, poultry, geese, ducks, etc., see Falck 1785: 155). The only exceptions were pigs and dogs among Muslims due to dietary and religious considerations. There was a difference, however. Russian peasants kept their animals near the settlements and cared intensely for them. Non-Russian peasants and nomads such as the Mongol, Buryat, Kalmyk, Kazakh, Bashkir, Nogai, Kachin, Barabin, Horse Tungus (southern Evenki) and many Caucasian peoples let not only their horses, but also sheep, goats and cattle wander freely throughout the year (Georgi 1799: 1078; 1800: 1474). The free-roaming, or as Falck (1786: 289–290) calls them, “half-wild” horses, satisfied most of the local peoples’ needs. Food and drink such as meat, milk, cheese and *kumys* (fermented mare’s milk), hides, clothes, sinew for sewing and other materials came from the horses. The local peoples would also ride and keep horses as draught animals.

Although humans claimed ownership and used the free-roaming horses in different ways, they did little for the welfare of the animals. The products and benefits from horses required almost no effort. Bashkirs, according to explorer Peter Simon Pallas (1773: 76), never made any hay for the winter “due to their inborn laziness”. Georgi (1799: 1025) observes that some nomads made hay only for the basic survival of the animals in winter or for emergency situations. Apparently there was enough food available in the environment that horses could roam freely even during the cold season. Naturally many horses died of hunger and cold or were consumed by predators, but because of the great number of horses, these losses had little significance. The horses generally guaranteed their own safety. One chief stallion protected each herd, raised an alarm when danger approached and was reported to bravely fight wolves and other predators (Falck 1786: 289–290).

The reasons for leaving horses to roam freely can be found in the local economy and living conditions. Few peoples, especially nomads, had the ability to keep such great herds under a roof. This hands-off tradition of animal herding originated probably from the adaptation of humans to existing natural and economic conditions in which the abundance of horses was an important element. The attitude of respect and admiration towards horses and their freedom – which exists among all nomad

peoples with horses – certainly played a role as well, but an educated guess would be that it followed such an adaptation. The same hands-off attitude existed also for other animals. Despite annual losses, the nomads profited greatly from their free-roaming animals. Although it seemed to the explorers that they were completely indifferent about their ownership, Nogai, Kazakh, Kalmyk and different Siberian nomads did pay attention to their horses. In order to secure the growth of their herds and advance economic interests, they killed only stallions and cared for weak foals in wintertime (Georgi 1800: 1658; Pallas 1773: 641–642). On the other hand, Falck (1786: 289–290) noted that care was not important. Russian peasant horses in Siberia were in the same rugged condition as the nomad horses, despite differences in physical structure and the more intense care they received. The nomad horses were not as beautiful as European horses, but they were lively (an important characteristic in the eighteenth century), endured harsh conditions and did not need much human attention or good fodder to thrive. Thus, leaving the animals to roam freely was a better economic and labour investment than keeping them at home. Falck even recommended a transfer of the practice to other areas and species of animals (e.g. yaks, see below).

A close relative of the half-domesticated or feral horse was the actual wild horse (cf. Grubb 2005: 630–631). Falck did not observe a **tarpan** (*Equus ferus ferus*) himself, but his assistant Christoph Bardanes saw tarpan groups daily during his journey through the Kazakh steppe. Falck's colleague Samuel Gmelin even received a wild horse as a gift (Falck 1786: 290–291; Gmelin 1770: 415). Johann Schiltberger (1879: 139), who served as a slave-soldier to several Mongol and Turkish chiefs, is believed to have observed wild horses already in the fifteenth century. The tarpan is usually regarded as the last remnant of the herds of wild horses that once roamed the Eurasian forest and steppe landscapes. It is now extinct. Another wild relative is **Przewalsky's horse** (*Equus ferus przewalskii*) which was not acknowledged and described in detail until the 1870s. Explorer Nikolay Przewalsky's (Przhewal'skii 1876: 249–250) name is now used for this last surviving wild horse. Wild Przewalsky's horses no longer exist. The herds in Mongolia today belong to a programme that returns horses from captivity to their natural environment.

The Kazakhs held the view that the tarpans, locally known as *taga*, were in fact not originally wild, but feral horses. A legend tells of an old man named Boyan Bay, who roamed with his horses and turned wild himself. After he died, the herd became the ancestors of the wild horse. Falck and Pallas also were of the opinion that the wild horses were not a separate subspecies, but originated from feral and runaway horses. Falck noted that the herds of the Kazakhs and other nomads were so large that horses could easily run away without being noticed (Falck 1786: 291; Pallas 1776: 510–511). It is difficult to know today which explanation is correct, wild or feral, as tarpans no longer exist and the situation and numbers of horses are very different. Tarpans roamed the open areas in small groups of five or more horses. Their main habitats were the Kuban and Kipchak steppes (southern Russia), Kalmyk areas and the Baraba steppe in western Siberia. Falck (1786: 291) was told that wild horses were previously very common in Baraba, but because of an epidemic they almost died out together

with a majority of the free-roaming horses of the Barabin Tatars. In the Kazakh and Dzhungarian steppes, tarpans could be seen in larger groups of up to twenty horses. Pallas (1771: 272) saw huge herds of wild horses and wild asses, sometimes mixed, in the Southern Ural. The Kazakhs would organise wild horse hunts (tarpan meat was a great delicacy), but they were seldom successful, as the tarpan was too quick. The Tatars chased wild horses around Samara, often shooting a stallion which had been lured by a mare tied to a tree (Falck 1786: 291; Pallas 1771: 211).

Local people tried to domesticate wild horses without success. Wild horses could not be kept at home or left in the steppe or forest with the free-roaming horses. Informants told Falck that all efforts to tame them were in vain. The wild horses would starve to death in captivity or flee at the first opportunity. At the Russian-Kazakh border, guards caught a tarpan foal which was “very wild”. Pallas (1771: 272), who saw the foal, was later informed that the young stallion had fled and led some mares away. Tarpan stallions would sometimes “kidnap” mares which became feral and never returned to their herds. This, according to Georgi (1800: 1660), contributed to the survival of the species, which otherwise would have died out because of frequent hunting. Pallas (1776: 510–511) noted that if a very young foal was successfully tamed, it was stronger than ordinary horses. He also observed (1776: 175) wild horses used as draught animals among the Buryat.

The **Asian wild ass** (*Equus hemionus*), known in Kazakh and Kalmyk as *kulan*, is a small, strong and swift animal. It was never seen by Falck personally, but according to his informants, it lived in the Kazakh steppe and in even greater numbers in the Dzhungarian steppe, Bukhara and south towards Afghanistan and Persia (Falck 1786: 291–292). It ran faster than a horse and looked like a cross between a donkey and the Mongolian ass called *dschiggetei* ‘long ear’ (Pallas 1776: 217–219, 511–512). The Mongolian “long-eared” donkey is defined as *Equus hemionus* by Georgi (1800: 1662), but it probably refers to the subspecies *Equus hemionus luteus* (cf. Clark & Duncan 1992; Grubb 2005: 632). This donkey, in contrast to the wild ass, was said to be easy to tame, ride and use as a draught animal. When tame, it would return by itself to human settlements. The only trouble was the animal’s obstinacy. According to Georgi, it could halt and stand still “like a rock” until its mood changed and it decided to move forward again.

The kulan had many characteristics in common with the wild horse. Asses stayed together in herds of between ten and fifty. The strongest stallion was the leader and fought other stallions for supremacy. In the summer, the wild asses moved to the Aral, Balkhash and other lakes in the desert and fed on saxaul bushes (*Haloxylon ammodendron*). The kulan was not phlegmatic and easy-going like the domestic donkey, but savage and avoided humans. Local peoples caught it by chasing it into deep sand where it got stuck. The meat was considered a delicacy, especially among nomads, and hides were used for leather or sold as cold-weather clothes in Tashkent. Young foals were according to Falck (1786: 292) easily tamed and could be kept like domestic donkeys, but older animals never adjusted to living with humans. A contradictory piece of information was provided to Pallas (1776: 219) by a Cossack who

tried to keep a foal. The young wild ass was impossible to tame and later the explorer was told that this foal had killed itself by jumping from a height. Both versions show that there were domestic donkeys to which sometimes wild asses were added.

Domesticated **camels**, one-humped (*Camelus dromedarius*) and two-humped (*Camelus bactrianus*), were common in the southern Siberian steppes and Central Asia. They were fewer in number than horses, but very important to Mongol, Kalmyk and Kazakh nomads (cf. Menges 1935 for Kazakh camel taxonomy). The wild and feral dromedary (one-hump camel) roamed the Dzhungarian and Kazakh steppes, the Ili area and the Siberian-Mongolian border (Falck 1786: 292–293). Already in the eighteenth century there were not many wild camels left and today there are practically only feral camels in Mongolia and Xinjiang (Hare 1997). Like the wild asses, camels were chased into an area where they got stuck. They were killed for meat and hides which were often sold to Tashkent. The young camels were tamed, but remained wilder than their relatives born in human settlements. Food, milk and wool were taken from camels and they were also used as load and draught animals (Georgi 1800: 1604–1606). Camels were not as abundant as horses or sheep, thus among many peoples the ownership of this costly animal gave prestige and the camels were treated with more care than horses. Rich Bashkirs allowed their two-humped camels, called *tya*, to roam freely during winter, but used to cover them with a felt coat to protect them from the cold (Falck 1786: 529). Kazakhs tied a piece of fabric over the genitals of female camels after conception so that the males would not disturb them any more. They also castrated male camels in order to keep peace in the herds. Camel males could otherwise be very aggressive (Falck 1786: 544; compare with goats below).

Reindeer (*Rangifer tarandus*) roamed freely in the Arctic and eastern Siberia, but humans claimed ownership over the herds. Reindeer-herding is well-known and still practised and need not be detailed here (cf. Lindin & Svanberg 1986; Nellemann 1961). Georgi noted that the Saami, northern Finns and Tungus (referring to several peoples in eastern Siberia), Koryak, Chukchi and others kept reindeer in the eighteenth century. The Siberian peoples received hides, food and drink (blood), thread for sewing and many other products from the reindeer, and used them as draught animals and beasts of burden (Georgi 1776: 5, 17; 1799: 1079; 1800: 1612–4).

The domestic (*Bos grunniens*) and wild **yak** (*B. mutus*) or “Tangut cattle” as they were called previously, are found today mainly in Tibet and Mongolia, but in the eighteenth century there were wild yaks in great amounts also in the Tianshan and other mountains bordering China, in the state of Bukhara and the Kalmyk areas (cf. Bonnemaire 1984). The wild yak calves were, according to Falck (1786: 293–294), easily tamed and kept with other cattle and they did not run away once domesticated. The yaks were used for their delicious meat, fat and milk. Inspired by Linnaean ideas of economic benefit, Falck suggested that the yak could become a free-roaming domestic animal on the Terek and Don and in other parts of southern Russia.

Crucial for the economy and subsistence of both nomads and peasants were **sheep**. These roamed freely like the horses and were cared for only incidentally (Pallas 1771: 114; Georgi 1800: 1627–1628). For Kalmyks, Kazakhs, Nogai and Barabin Tatars,

Mongols, Bashkirs and Bukharans sheep meant survival, materials, food and prosperity. Pallas (1771: 234) mentions that Kazakh merchants brought 40,000–60,000 sheep and tens of thousands of horses to Russian border markets every summer. The sheep were mostly domesticated common sheep (*Ovis aries*), but there were also several of the distinctive fat-tailed breed.

The wild sheep, or **argali** (*Ovis ammon*), existed in the steppe but was more common in the mountains. Falck's assistant Bardanes saw many wild sheep on the border between Russia and China. The argali was described as larger than the Kazakh fat-tailed sheep and more similar to wild goats. Falck was told (1786: 294) that it jumps from cliff to cliff and falls from the heights on its horns, landing unscathed. The wild sheep was so wild that it could be caught only with great difficulty. The lambs could be tamed if young enough, according to Pallas (1776: 232). Georgi (1800: 1637) contradicts this, claiming that argali do not eat and eventually die of hunger in captivity (compare similar stories above). Falck was told that the governor of Tobolsk tried to send a few wild sheep to St. Petersburg, but they all died on the way. The wild sheep was almost extinct around 1770 because of heavy hunting by the Kazakhs, who were keen to obtain its hide due to its value as a prestige symbol (Falck 1786: 294). Domestic sheep still remain the most important animal in Central Asia, although populations and herd sizes have decreased since the days of the explorers.

Finally **goats** (*Capra aegagrus hircus*) should be mentioned. They wandered together with the other “half-wild” animals but destroyed forests and gardens by feeding on everything. Many became feral and disappeared forever from human surroundings (Georgi 1800: 1619–1620). This piece of information would indicate that goats were usually kept near settlements. The Kazakhs used to tie bits of textiles on both rams and he-goats in order to keep them from mating early, delaying the birth of the lambs and kids until warmer weather in spring and thus securing the survival of the next generation of animals (Falck 1786: 545–546).

4. Pets and fur animals

In almost all cultures, people keep dogs as pets, protective animals and helpers in hunting (cf. Kroeber 1941; Serpell 1989: 10; Clutton-Brock 1999: 49–60). Many Kazakhs used to hunt with dogs, especially with a kind of greyhound which Falck identified, following Linnaeus, as a *Canis grajus* (or *graius*, Falck 1786: 546). Siberian domestic **dogs** (*Canis familiaris*) were used to keep guard and as work animals and also for transportation such as pulling sleighs. However, they were more or less wild and could easily become feral in areas with little human habitation. Many dogs were said to be of mixed heritage. Georgi (1800: 1500–1502) identifies a specific *Canis sibiricus*, which in his opinion was a breed that included wolf and feral dog ancestry. This dog was common in eastern Siberia, among the Russians and Tatars around Tobolsk, the Cheremiss (Mari), the Votyak (Udmurt) and several nomadic peoples. In summer, these dogs would become very wild because of their diet of predominantly fresh meat

and fish. They had to be kept busy with hunting or else they would attack other domestic animals and even people. In the winter, the dogs had a less fresh diet, became more sedate and were not as dangerous. An unidentifiable subspecies called “steppe wolf” by Georgi (1800: 1507) was said to be very similar to the dogs of the Kamchadal (Itelmen) and other Siberian peoples, as well as the dogs kept by Siberian Russians.

Wild relatives of the dog were caught and domesticated in several areas. For instance the **golden jackal** (*Canis aureus*) was tamed like a dog in the Caucasus Mountains, Terek, Bukhara and by the Azeri (Georgi 1800: 1510). Dogs were not, however, kept only as protectors or draught animals. Throughout Siberia and Russia, dog furs were sold for several centuries together with many other kinds of furs and hides. The Siberian and Central Asian fur trade was famous already in medieval times. During the eighteenth century furs and hides were collected as tax from many non-Russian peoples (cf. Martin 2004).

Typical for Siberia is the combination of pet and fur animal. Few animals were kept only as pets in the sense that we keep pets today. Most animals had a function such as providing furs or food or controlling vermin populations. Among the dog's relatives, **wolf** (*Canis lupus*) cubs were taken when very young and kept in homes like dog puppies. When grown, they were killed for their furs (Pallas 1773: 203). The **fox** (*Vulpes vulpes*), which occurs in most of Eurasia, was another popular pet and fur animal. Besides hunting foxes and selling the fur like all other peoples in Siberia, the Ostyak (probably Khanty, possibly Selkup) men used to collect the young in spring, tame them and let the women feed the fox babies at their breasts. A few days before butchering the already grown foxes, the men would break the legs of the animals. The pain caused the foxes to stop eating and they lost weight quickly. This gave a better fur with less fat on the inside, which saved time in preparing the hide and made it more valuable (Falck 1786: 324; Georgi 1800: 1513).

Rodents were a hugely popular group of pet and fur animals in Russia and Siberia. They were often kept as pets for amusement, similar to how we keep guinea-pigs and hamsters today, but in the end they provided furs. Instead of living outside like the free-roaming animals or dogs, they shared human dwellings. Squirrels were especially great favourites. The **long-tailed ground squirrel** (*Spermophilus undulatus*), which occurs in the southern regions of Siberia and Russia, was kept in many houses. Falck (1786: 304–305) thought it was a mouse and kept a couple in a cage with water mice and pearl mice to see if they would reproduce. They did not. Although the genetic experiment failed, their value as entertainment remained great. “It is a lively creature, easily tamed and eats out of one's hand,” Falck wrote enthusiastically. The males gnawed on wood like rats. When the cold set in, their sleep was so deep that the researcher could open their eyes or even break their legs without any reaction from the animals. When placed in a warm environment, they started eating and fell asleep again with full cheeks. In warm cottages the squirrels were awake all winter, but remained sluggish and almost looked ill. In Falck's cage the animals were fed with vegetables and reproduced, but all the young died. He sent some adult squirrels to St. Petersburg and they reached the Academy alive (cf. Georgi 1800: 1583).

Other common pet and fur animals were small predators of the Mustelidae family. Today martens of different kinds can still be found as pets in Eastern Europe, including the Balkans, Russia and Ukraine. For instance, the **stone marten** (*Martes foina*) was caught and kept as a pet, but it was like a squirrel, quick and wild and ran away as soon as it had a chance (Georgi 1800: 1530). The **weasel** (*Mustela nivalis*) was a common visitor in and around houses and yurts. Especially in winter it sought human company because of the warmth that settlements provided (Georgi 1800: 1541). The weasel was caught for its fur, kept in a cage and fed with meat, mice, birds and other animal products. It lived for a long time and reproduced in captivity, but it could not be tamed. Weasel furs were often sold as fake **stoat** or **ermine** (*Mustela erminea*), although their real price was only half that of stoat fur (Falck 1786: 318).

Falck (1786: 311) had a couple of striped **eastern chipmunks** (*Tamias striatus*, Fig. 1) which were very beautiful but sensitive to weather. According to popular belief in Siberia, the chipmunk whistled when rain was coming. The chipmunks followed the Falck expedition for a couple of years and were fed with seeds and cedar nuts (actually from **Swiss stone pine**, *Pinus cembra*). They were very easy to keep and reproduced quickly. The chipmunks that Falck sent to the Academy arrived in St. Petersburg without any difficulties. Georgi (1800: 1589–1590) noted that even old chipmunks could be tamed and were often kept by local peoples in Siberia. However, chipmunks gnawed on the house and clothes and disappeared if not watched. Pallas (1773: 209) adds that chipmunks were mostly caught young, but they did not live long in captivity. Like squirrels and weasels, they were popular as pets because of their furs.

The most famous Siberian fur animal is certainly **sable** (*Martes zibellina*). It has been extensively hunted for its fine coat for centuries and is now almost extinct. The furs were sold throughout Asia and Europe in great quantities already in medieval times, but today the furs have become expensive luxury goods. Sable was a common household animal in Siberia in the eighteenth century. The sable could, according to Pallas (1773: 209), be kept at home if it was captured very young, but old sables would not adapt. Georgi (1800: 1534) noted that while the sable could be tamed, it was not very easy to keep. It hunted mice, an activity which was considered positive for human inhabitants who shared the house, but it also attacked household birds, fought constantly with the cats, smelled bad and slept most of the day, being active and disturbing human sleep during the night.

The **steppe marmot** (*Marmota bobak*) was common in an area extending from the Oka and Don Rivers in Russia to western China. It was sympathetic, easily domesticated and not difficult to keep. It fed on all kinds of rubbish of vegetable origin, bread, grain, etc. Around 1770, a sack of marmot furs gave a solid profit of 2–3 Russian roubles in Orenburg. The Kazakhs shot them with arrows, but otherwise marmots were hunted with snares or by filling their nests with water. In the winter, pet marmots slept in a cool place inside the houses. If they were moved into a warm room, they remained sleepy and did not eat much. Besides the dirt and smell, the European explorers noted that they gnawed on things in the house, including furniture and clothes, but it seems that local peoples did not mind, as marmots were very

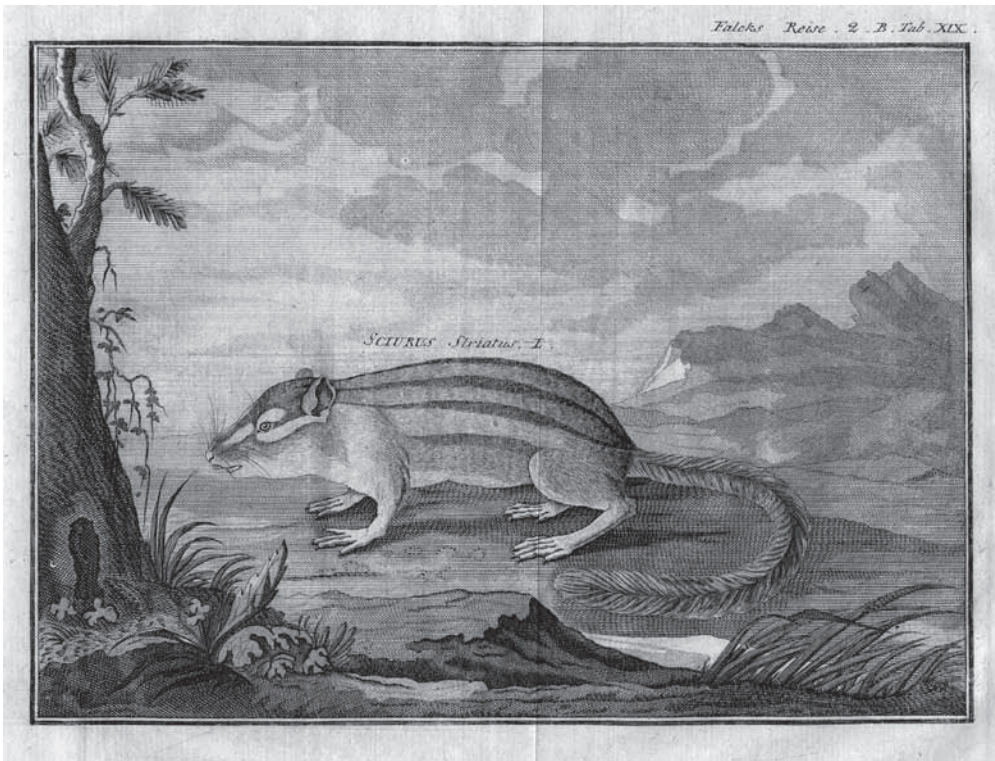


Figure 1. Eastern chipmunk (*Tamias striatus*) (Falck 1786).

common pets and fur animals in homes throughout Russia and Siberia (Falck 1786: 302; Georgi 1800: 1580–1581). Probably their easy domestication influenced the choice of marmots over other fur animals. Several Mongolian peoples used marmots, especially the **tarbagan** (*Marmota sibirica*) and **black-capped marmot** (*Marmota camtschatica*) for furs, meat and medical purposes (Badmaev et al. 2009).

The list of fur animals would not be complete without hares and rabbits. In Siberian homes, both wild and domesticated **rabbits** (*Lepus cuniculus*) were popular. Their popularity was mostly due to their furs, but also their meat was eaten. Being a pharmacist, Georgi was extremely careful about hygiene and noted that rabbits were terribly dirty when kept within the house (Georgi 1800: 1599; cf. Jusupov 1968: 194 on the hare among the Tatars and other Turkic peoples). A few **steppe pika** (*Ochotona pusilla*), which is similar to the common hare but smaller, accompanied Falck on his journey for several weeks. He fed them with seeds, herbs, roots, bread and milk, but their favourite foods were tulip bulbs and other wild roots. During the day they would not move and only at night did they eat, but in all other aspects they co-existed peacefully in their cage with other animals. Falck sent them to St. Petersburg, but they died on the way (Falck 1786: 301; Georgi 1800: 1600).

5. Pest controllers and other useful animals

The habit of keeping wild animals in homes for pest control is known from different parts of the world (cf. Ståhlberg & Svanberg, forthcoming). Houses and yurts were usually infested with many kinds of vermin such as mice, rats and insects. In Russia, Siberia and Central Asia house cats were common, but there were other possibilities to control vermin populations. Local peoples caught wild animals and kept them in houses, leaving them to feed on pests until the uninvited guests were destroyed or their numbers decreased to tolerable limits. Interestingly, there is only one wild relative of the domestic **cat** (*Felis catus*) in our records. Georgi (1800: 1523) mentions the Persian and Caucasian **caracal** (*Caracal caracal*). In Volga Tatar and several other Turkic languages it is called *karakulak* ‘black ear’. It could be tamed if caught young and it performed the functions of a house cat (cf. Masetti 2009).

Instead of cats, in the Caucasus and Caspian areas it was common to catch young **mongoose**, probably Indian grey mongoose (*Herpestes edwardsi*), and keep them at home. The species is now extinct in these areas, but can still be found in remote regions of Iran, southern Iraq and Afghanistan (Harrison 1968). Erik Laxman (1737–1796), originally from Finland but working as a mining expert for the Russian government, kept one in his home in St. Petersburg. Laxman was very satisfied with this pet and pest controller, as it devoured rats and mice and was more efficient than an ordinary cat (Georgi 1800: 1526).

Cossacks in Siberia often had **Daurian hedgehogs** (*Mesechinus dauuricus*) at home for the same purpose. While efficient, they were dirty, stank and often ran away by digging a tunnel under the threshold (Georgi 1800: 1552; cf. Taube 1991). Falck (1786: 288–289) kept a hedgehog for several months in a cage. It was fed with mice, small birds and the viscera of birds prepared for conservation. “Easy to keep,” wrote Falck, “but when it gets out of the cage it hides, and if the room is not tightly shut, it disappears.” There were different opinions about the animal. Some of Falck’s travel companions did not mind its smell, but others found it abominable. The **Indian crested porcupine** (*Hystrix indica*) was also kept in Russian homes for pest control. Its young adapted quickly to human settlements (Georgi 1800: 1554; cf. Dupree 1956).

Falck kept a couple of colourful **marbled polecats** (*Vormela peregusna*, Fig. 2) in a cage during his journey in the Volga region. Despite its name, this animal belongs to the Mustelidae family. Falck was told that during the day the wild polecat slept or kept to its burrow. At night it hunted hares and voles, plundered bird nests and even dared to enter chicken sheds in the villages. Falck’s caged polecats were fed with meat and the innards of preserved birds. They ate well and seemed to thrive, but remained very ferocious (Falck 1786: 314). Polecats as pest controllers are known also from other parts of Asia. Afghan shopkeepers in the 1940s kept marbled polecats in their shops in order to exterminate rodents (Akhtar 1945).

Flying pests were caught and consumed by **starlings** (*Sturnus vulgaris*). This bird feeds on insects and is especially tough on locusts, but around human settlements it is often an omnivore. It was not kept at home but encouraged to live around houses.

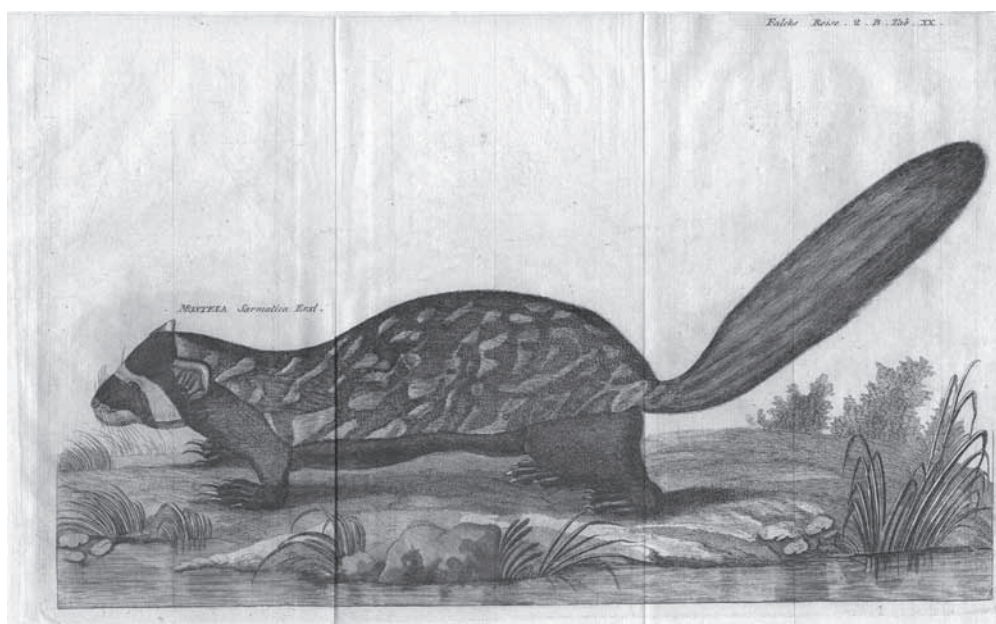


Figure 2. Marbled polecat (*Vormela peregusna*) (Falck 1786).

In southern Russia, people hung old pots and casseroles from the roofs so that the useful birds would stay and nest. In Bukhara and Khiva the starling enjoyed great respect, because it was believed to consume locusts which every few years destroyed crops in Central Asia and southern Siberia. Informants told Falck (1786: 393) that one could see the locust clouds diminish when the birds attacked. The locusts in turn would, according to popular belief, gnaw on the birds so that they lost their feathers and were unable to fly.

Vermin were also not uncommon as pets in Eurasia. The same animal could be both pest and pet depending on the circumstances. Rats and mice still today fulfil this double function of cellar or barn pest and cute cage animal. Uninvited, but present in all homes were **rats** (*Rattus rattus*) and **house mice** (*Mus musculus*). Russia, Siberia and Central Asia were infested with these rodents which lived mostly in cellars and in or around human settlements. The Ural Cossacks believed rats to have nearly human minds and had many proofs for this fact. Other peoples were not impressed when the rats gnawed on everything, clothes, furniture, food and the house in general (Falck 1786: 307; Georgi 1800: 1559). In eastern Siberia, also the **grey rat** (*Rattus norvegicus caraco*) infested houses, and all over Siberia the **wood mouse** (*Apodemus sylvaticus*) and house mouse destroyed crops.

Despite the destructive tendencies of these vermin, many peoples kept different kinds of mice at home. The **Northern birch mouse** (*Sicista betulina*) was easy to tame but sensitive to cold. A white house mouse was a popular pet both in Siberia

and upper class homes in St. Petersburg (Georgi 1800: 1557, 1560–1561, 1564; cf. Clutton-Brock 1999: 109; see also Svanberg 2006: 133–138 for eighteenth-century Swedish examples). Other mice in human surroundings were the **striped field-mouse** (*Apodemus agrarius*), **harvest mouse** (*Micromys minutus*) and **southern birch mouse** (*Sicista subtilis*). These entered grain stores and were not always popular, but they were caught and played with (Falck 1786: 309).

One animal was kept as a pet and used for medicine. Especially tame and easy to keep was the **great jerboa** (*Allactaga major*), a rat-size jumping rodent from the southern fringes of Siberia and the Central Asian steppes. Falck kept a couple of jerboas in a cage for some months. They ate roots, fruit and fresh branches from trees, gnawing at the bark. They eventually became very fat and Falck sent them to St. Petersburg where they arrived alive. The Kazakhs and Barabin Tatars dried these jumping mice and ground them to powder, giving the medicine to women during difficult births (Falck 1786: 309–310; Georgi 1800: 1593).

6. Entertainment

Peasants and nomads were not the only keepers of wild animals in the eighteenth century. Town dwellers also longed for the company of animals. The differences between keeping animals in rural areas and towns included a larger distance to nature from the town dwellings, more limited possibilities to keep animals, questions of hygiene, living space and above all, the economy. Town dwellers had other means to survive and prosper such as trade, and were therefore less interested in keeping animals for economic reasons, food or furs. Their animals were mostly kept for entertainment. The richest urban citizens kept wild animals in parks or gardens for their own enjoyment and to show off to guests. The upper class in Russia commonly had parks with **red deer** (*Cervus elaphus*) in their country estates (Georgi 1800: 1609).

There were also many amateur scientists among the educated or rich. They sought to make observations and gather scientific information through experiments. A nobleman kept a couple of **steppe fox** (*Canis corsac*) in his garden in Moscow around 1770. He tried to make it cross-breed with an ordinary fox or a dog, but without success (Falck 1786: 324). A **pond-turtle** (*Emys orbicularis*) was observed by Falck (1786: 411) in Tsaritsyn (now Volgograd). It was common around the Don, Volga and Ural Rivers and in the Kazakh and other steppe lakes. The *protopop* (Russian *npo-monon*) or archpriest of Tsaritsyn kept a few big turtles in his garden. They could go without food for fourteen days, becoming significantly lighter, but had to be watered and fed after that. The priest told Falck that he had seen turtles eat crabs on a beach by the Volga River. This is very possible, because the turtle feeds on invertebrates, amphibians and plants.

Animals were often trained or kept in chains as active entertainers. Georgi (1800: 1546) mentions a nobleman in St. Petersburg who kept two **polar bears** (*Ursus maritimus*) in chains which were long enough to enable the animals to swim in a pond.

They wandered about in the courtyard to the pleasure of spectators and were fed with raw meat. Bears were trained by villagers and brought to towns where they earned money by providing entertainment for the public. In Russia and Poland, the **brown bear** (*Ursus arctos*) was caught and taught to dance by local people, acting as a kind of living animal show and a source of income for its owner (Georgi 1800: 1544). The tradition has lived on in Russia where dancing and skating bears became part of circus shows (now illegal in Europe). Some Roma in Anatolia and the Balkans keep bears as attractions to the present day, taking bear cubs and training them to make simple dancing steps (Berg 1968; Gunda 1989: 252–253; Svanberg 1994).

Birds continue to be the main entertainers among animals, both in number and distribution. The importance of animal music is reflected in science: songbirds formed a separate category of birds in the eighteenth century. They were kept only for amusement when most other birds were eaten or used as hunting assistants. All over Europe and Asia there were songbirds available in specialised bird markets (Robbins 2002; Kinzelbach 2004). In Russia, the greatest variety of songbirds was sold at the bird market in Moscow. Falck (1785: 53) described it as a large market with huge amounts of wild animals of all kinds: “It can be visited often and at different times, and one can see more variety here than one can hope to observe during any journey.”

Among the songbirds sold in Moscow, Falck noted the **Eurasian jay** (*Garrulus glandarius*). This bird was common in nature from Moscow to Orenburg, in the steppe areas and western Siberia. Its capability to imitate other birds brought it into captivity and it was sold for an average of 40–50 kopeks in the market (Falck 1786: 336). The **rose-coloured starling** (*Sturnus roseus*), a pink-black bird from the lower Volga, was another caged singer which Falck (1786: 394–395) heard himself. The **blackbird** (*Turdus merula*), also heard by Falck, cost between 80 kopeks and 1.50 roubles, but trained blackbirds were expensive, 5–6 roubles. A similar price was set for the **goldfinch** (*Carduelis carduelis*), but the **siskin** (*Carduelis spinus*), which also sang beautifully, cost only 1 rouble (Falck 1786: 400). The “Swedish nightingale” or **bluethroat** (*Luscinia svecica*) was very popular in Moscow. At the cheap price of 15–40 kopeks the **common crossbill** (*Loxia curvirostra*) could be bought. It whistled and could be trained to imitate other birds (Falck 1786: 403, 396). This detail is interesting, because usually the crossbill is not known for the ability to imitate. Many of these songbirds – especially the goldfinch and siskin – have been popular as cage birds in northern and western Eurasia since at least medieval times (Gessner 1600: 56; Yapp 1982; Kinzelbach 2004; Svanberg 2008).

Singing was not the only reason that birds were kept at home. Solely for their beauty, **golden oriole** (*Oriolus oriolus*) males were caught and sold for 30 kopeks or more, but the uglier females did not exist on the market (Falck 1786: 337). Because of its stunning blue beak, the **white-headed duck** (*Oxyura leucocephala*) was a common house animal. It can hardly fly, so it keeps to a limited region in southern Siberia. When angry or afraid, or when humans touched it or a cat was present in the room, its impressive blue beak turned grey. The blue colour returned when the bird calmed down. When tamed, the bird became phlegmatic and was not easily scared (Falck

1786: 349–350). The **red-backed shrike** (*Lanius collurio*) was kept as a kind of cruel entertainment provider in many homes from Moscow to western Siberia. With its strong beak the shrike captured smaller birds and tore them apart without killing them first. Falck heard that people kept the birds free-flying in the house with smaller birds just to see such hunting. He himself (1786: 333) kept a **great grey shrike** (*Lanius excubitor*) for several months in a cage, feeding it with meat and smaller birds. It was a lively and happy companion to the explorer who regularly suffered from illness and depression.

Two other birds, the pheasant and the chukar partridge, locally known as *kakelik*, were kept for amusement. The pheasant was also kept for meat in Bukhara, Khiva, the Caspian steppes and Chinese Central Asia. Pheasants are still popular decorative birds in gardens and cages in Europe and Asia. According to folk belief in Central Asia, the **common pheasant** (*Phasianus colchicus*) always walked the same path and could be easily caught with snares. In Bukhara it was a popular courtyard bird (Falck 1786: 387). Falck never saw the strange **chukar partridge** (*Alectoris kakelik*), but described it from hearsay and noted its strange call, *kakelik*, *kakelik* (Mlíkovský 2006). It was kept in cages in Bukhara (Falck 1786: 390; cf. Svanberg 2007b).

7. Household and hunting birds

Several birds were caught and used for food in Russia, Siberia and Central Asia. Before being consumed, they lived as pets or household birds in human settlements. Georgi (1799: 1024) observed that young wild geese and ducks of different species were taken in spring from their nests. When they were fat enough in the autumn, the birds were killed and eaten. New nestlings were taken again the next spring. This saved expenses, because there was no need to feed the birds during the winter and there was always the risk that they would not survive (Falck 1786: 344). However, some birds like the **greater scaup** (*Aythya marila*) could not thrive in houses or reproduce, or even become as beautiful as wild adults, despite human efforts to accommodate them (Pallas 1771: 169).

A common household bird was the **swan goose** (*Anser cygnoides*) which occurs in China but also around the Ob and Yenisei Rivers and in eastern Siberia. It was kept in or around many homes (Falck 1786: 339). The **ruddy shelduck** (*Casarca ferruginea*) and **greylag goose** (*Anser anser*) could be tamed if taken when young. Especially Cossacks and Russians either caught the ducklings or took the bird's eggs. Geese sat on the eggs for a month, but then wandered off and another bird had to be found to finish the brooding. These birds, according to Falck (1786: 343–344), could be good household birds because of their size and endurance, but they reproduced too slowly around humans and died out within two or three generations. The custom of raising wild ducklings and other sea birds at home is also described from Finland and northern Scandinavia (Wright 1857: 70–71; Storå 1968: 144; Svanberg & Ægisson 2005).

Animals as hunting assistants are mostly limited to birds in Central Asia (compare dogs, above). At least Kazakh, Mongol and Kalmyk nomads hunted with birds. Hunting with birds of prey (eagles, falcons, hawks) was widespread in the Eurasian steppes and is mentioned already by medieval travellers like William of Rubruck (Rubrouck 1997: 86). It is still practised in Mongolia, Kazakhstan and China as a pastime. Previously it was a hobby only for the noble and wealthy due to the costs and time involved (Le Coq 1913; Svanberg 1988; Simakov 1989). Among the most important hunting birds is the **imperial eagle** (*Aquila melanaetus*). This eagle is common around the Volga and the Ural and feeds on fox, hare, lamb, geese and other animals. Falck (1786: 326) saw one eagle which consumed about two kilograms of meat daily. The **white-headed sea eagle** (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*) was even more important for the prestige of the Kazakhs. It was very rare and called *ak saltan* 'white prince' by Kazakhs and Kalmyks. An eater of foxes and fierce fighter, this eagle was frequently bought by rich Kazakhs at the Russian-Kazakh border markets. They taught the bird to hunt, but noblemen would also use the wing quills like all eagle feathers for their arrows. When a Kalmyk saw the eagle flying, he made a deep bow, because in popular belief the Buddha had journeyed the world on the back of it (Falck 1786: 326–327).

South European golden eagles (*Aquila chrysaethus fulva*) were carried off as nestlings by the Bashkirs in the Ural region. They fed the birds until they were grown and then sold them to Russian and Tatar buyers who transported the eagles down to Kazakh border markets. Kazakh noblemen preferred this bird for hunting, training it and paying one good horse per bird and two or three horses for an already trained eagle. When an old bird was caught, it was not tied with a string like the more dangerous young hunter birds, even though it, according to Falck, "with visible pride" tore up a hare or any small animal. The trained bird hunted hares, foxes, antelopes and even pigs or wolves, sticking its long claws into their necks and eyes and holding the prey fast until the human hunters arrived. The Kazakh and Kalmyk nobility considered such hunting to be their greatest pastime (Falck 1786: 327). Also the steppe wolf was hunted with the help of this eagle (Georgi 1800: 1508). **Golden eagle** (*Aquila chrysaëtus*) nestlings were taken near Samara and sold for high prices to Kazakhs, who trained them to hunt (Pallas 1771: 213–214).

A more difficult bird to hunt with was the **gyrfalcon** (*Falco gyrfalco*) which existed previously in the Ural area. Rich Kazakhs trained it, but let it take down only other birds and falcons (Falck 1786: 331). A *birkut*, identified by Falck as a **ring-tailed eagle** (*Falco fulvus*), posed the biggest risk. Skilled Kazakh hunters used to buy the bird in Orenburg for 6–7 roubles and train it to hunt. An already trained falcon cost two camels. However, if the owner was not extremely careful, he could be killed by the bird, of which Falck (1786: 546–547) had heard at least one example. The bird remained an active hunter for about ten years, which made it a good investment.

Among the birds of prey, the **eagle owl** (*Bubo bubo*) played a special role as a lucky bird for the Kazakhs. In Europe, the owl is often considered a harbinger of bad tidings, probably because it is nocturnal and has a hollow voice. However, Kazakh men brought it along on hunting trips and ordinary journeys, mainly for protection

against magic and as a bringer of luck for the hunt. A legend tells that the brave hero (Kazakh *batyr*) Bay Tibet was defeated by a magician who turned him into an owl. This owl still complains about its misfortune but, at the same time, it brings luck to those who carry it (Falck 1786: 332; cf. Castagné 1930: 67; Boyle 1979).

8. Uninvited guests

Reptiles and insects enjoy some popularity as pets today, but in Russia, Siberia and Central Asia they were not welcome in homes or around human settlements. They were seen as pests or dangerous to have around, even the bees which were also considered useful. Folk tradition is rich in negative attitudes. An example from Central Asia is the **agama** (*Phrynocephalus helioscopus*), a lizard common in the Caspian and Kazakh steppes and Bukhara. The Bukharans believed it crept on sleeping humans and sucked blood until the victim was poisoned and died. Then the lizard had to be cut from the skin (Falck 1786: 413). Falck was less prejudiced against lizards and kept in his ambulatory zoo a **green sand lizard** (*Lacerta agilis*) in a large glass jar. It refused to eat even though Falck fed it with the kind of insects that he had observed wild lizards consume. When he let it go, out of compassion after it had starved for a month, it ran away quickly as if it had never gone hungry.

Insects form a special group of animals in human surroundings. There are of course useful insects such as bees, but most insects are still considered bad for humans. Only the honey-making bees were encouraged to live in certain places for the convenience of gathering their products. The Bashkirs were known as the best beekeepers, but also the Votyak (Udmurt) and Tatars around the Volga and near the Bashkirs had beehives in their courtyards. Tree trunks were hollowed for this purpose (Pallas 1776: 499; Falck 1786: 458; cf. Tryjarski 1970). **Honeybees** (*Apis mellifera*) in the Ural area were often wild or feral and some possibly originated from swarms lost by the Bashkirs. In the Kazakh steppe and its forests there were bees as well, but in Bukhara wild bees nested in trees. Their bite was considered so poisonous that humans refrained from taking honey from them (Falck 1786: 438).

Most other insects in human settlements are considered uninvited guests, but for centuries humans have co-existed with them. Some insects were both pests, pest controllers and pets (compare rats and mice). For instance, **house crickets** (*Acheta domesticus*) lived in the warm stove walls in Russia and parts of Siberia. They were pests, but people did not mind them. Crickets are popular pets in China and elsewhere in Asia (Falck 1786: 112).

Russian and Siberian houses were greatly infested with insects in the eighteenth century. In Saratov on the Volga, the new German colonists were very healthy and their recently built houses still free from cockroaches, but **bedbugs** (*Cimex lectularius*) invaded immediately. This was an insect that most people detested, and whole families had to move elsewhere in the summer because they could not endure them. They were combated with magic and practical methods. At Tara, a dead snake was put

into the skull of a horse or other animal together with hot ashes and left for a long time in the house. The smell allegedly made the bedbugs disappear. Erik Laxman in Barnaul attested himself the effect of this technique which, however, lasted only for some time before the procedure had to be repeated. Another possibility was to collect the **knight bug** (*Lygaeus equestris*) which, according to folk belief, ate the smaller bedbugs. Sometimes the predators became almost as difficult to get rid of as the prey. Falck (1786: 112, 434–437) observed that if several knight bugs were put into a glass, they would devour each other. Also Pallas (1773: 425) mentioned that a certain kind of ant was encouraged to live in houses in western Siberia to clear out bedbugs. The consequences are not known.

Probably the most common animal in Eurasian homes was and still is the **Oriental cockroach** (*Blatta orientalis*). Cockroaches invaded especially wooden houses and the so-called “black cottages” or living, cooking and eating spaces (“white cottages” or rooms were for guests only), which were heated by means of a baking oven instead of a stove. Cockroaches lived in the moss insulation of the walls, in warm, dark corners and among fur clothes. They consumed “everything dirty that could be eaten”, including fur and leather. Falck (1786: 434–435) was told that in the Bukharan steppes cockroaches were even more numerous than inside houses. Among several peoples such as the Udmurt, combinations of practical and magical methods similar to those for bedbugs were employed: the house would not be heated in winter and the people moved out, the walls were washed with herbal water and ceremonies performed (Popova 2005: 95).

Sometimes even a zoologist can become tired of animals. “When I lived for more than fourteen days in a house,” Falck wrote (1786: 434–435), “the cockroaches would occupy it almost completely.” He decided on an experiment, putting breadcrumbs on benches and closing the windows so that the room fell dark. Then he sent the locals into the room armed with a candle and a small wooden plank, a shoe or another flat object. They found the benches covered with cockroaches and could kill many in one blow, though naturally most insects fled. When breadcrumbs were again strewn about, they returned. After a couple of days of such massacres there were no cockroaches left in the cottage, a fact which caused some upheaval among the inhabitants. Falck was not aware of the fact that his hosts, like many other Russians, believed that the disappearance of the cockroaches was a sign of bad luck. After a few cultural clashes Falck resorted to keeping lights burning during the night. This kept the cockroaches away and he found that the candles standing before the Orthodox icons fulfilled the same purpose.

Russians generally thought that the **German cockroach** (*Blattella germanica*) arrived from Prussia with the returning army during one of the wars of the eighteenth century. Falck and several other zoologists pointed out that it was an Asiatic insect which had wandered westwards from China, possibly with trade caravans. Such invading insects are not uncommon and there are several historical and modern examples. Today we have, for instance, the tiger mosquito (*Aedes (Stegomyia) albopictus*) and the well-known ticks (*Ixodida*) which have spread throughout Europe. The German

cockroach is a very troublesome inhabitant in human settlements. It reproduces rapidly, eats up the house, clothes and food and spreads filth. Falck (1786: 435–436) was shocked about the lack of hygiene and the amount of cockroaches in food during his travels in Siberia. “Many people do not worry about filth in food and eat with a good appetite,” he wrote. Yet when the *prussak* (Russian *прусак*) grew too large in number, people reacted. In cold winter days, the house was left open until most of the insects died, but some cockroaches always survived in the wooden cottages. According to popular belief, cleaning the house and various magical methods helped, as did smoking tobacco.

The poisonous **wolf spider** (*Lycosa singoriensis*) was a real threat to human well-being. It was common in the southern regions, especially the steppe area and around settlements. According to Falck (1786: 443–444), his informants said that sheep liked the spider for food, so it avoided them and anything that had to do with sheep. The local peoples therefore slept on sheep pelts or with sheep wool blankets. When the spider bites, the skin becomes irritated. According to popular belief, if the bite was not cured with magic, sucking the poison out or burning with a hot iron, the patient faced certain death. The wound could also be covered with crushed wolf spiders or sour milk in which the spider had been dipped. Several Kalmyk said, however, that the wolf spider was not especially dangerous. Falck’s friend, a certain doctor Wier in the German colony of Sarepta, experimented by putting five wolf spiders on a slice of bread and feeding them to a dog, which did not show any reaction. Then he put five small spiders in a jar with one large spider which consumed the little ones. Falck received two large spiders as a gift and they fought in his glass jar until one of them lost and was devoured. He then put live flies in the jar, but the spider would not touch them until they were dead. Then it sucked them out so that only the shell was left. Another large spider Falck received in Syzran carried about sixty small ones on its back. When the jar stood in the shadow they were calm, but in the sun when it became too hot, the small ones fell off and the mother became agitated. When Falck threw a handful of sand into the glass, she tried to hide in it without success.

9. Parasites

Nowadays in developed countries people tend to forget that previously – and in many regions of the world to this day – humans involuntarily keep many animals on or inside their bodies. It is important to discuss this topic, even though it is not an especially agreeable one. Parasites are probably the only animals except insects and reptiles that humans fear or avoid. They belong to the category of vermin in the human environment, but they can simultaneously and somewhat ironically be classified as the animals closest to humans. Some are transmitted from human to human, while others are contracted from the outside world. In eighteenth-century Russia and Siberia, parasites were not considered as terrible as today and some were even encouraged to live on humans.

One of the most common parasites on humans is the **head-louse** (*Pediculus humanus capitis*). Falck (1786: 439, 570) observed that it was very common among the Russians and poor Tatars in Russia and Siberia, but from the middle class upwards prosperous Tatars were spared. Regular bathing and thin hair growth were identified as the main reasons. Personal hygiene was not important for most people in the countryside, but in towns and among Volga Tatars bathing was common. The Kalmyks, Ostyaks and other poor peoples also carried this insect in their clothes. Falck observed that their clothes and furs were alive with insects. Probably he meant the **body louse** (*Pediculus humanus humanus* or *corporis*). Also **pubic lice** (*Phthirus pubis*) were very common.

An animal that has nearly disappeared in Central Asia but which thrives in the human body is the **Guinea worm** (*Dracunculus medinensis*). It was erroneously identified by Falck and others as the harmless *Gordius aquaticus*. Such a misidentification was made already by Linnaeus (1746: 363). As a trained medical doctor, Falck (1786: 446–447) was interested in all kinds of illnesses and received in western Siberia a Guinea worm which was 50–60 cm long. Falck cut it up in six pieces and the segments lived independently for several days in a jar filled with river water. When he added salt the segments died very soon. The Guinea worm lives on river beaches and was a common parasite for centuries in various parts of Southern Europe, Asia and Africa. In Central Asia it was common until the 1930s, when it was exterminated. The species is now rare except in parts of Sub-Saharan Africa (Ashford & Crewe 1998: 76). A Bukharan interviewed by Falck (1786: 447) told that he had seen the worm even in a person's eye and in babies and that sometimes people had several worms in their bodies. The worm was taken in with drinking water from the river. When the worm's head appeared through the skin, it was wound around a stick. About 2–3 cm of the worm came out every day and the healing procedure took a long time. Some people held several worms in their bodies and had to undertake the painful process of slowly pulling them out ten or even more times during their lifetime.

Finally we should mention a useful parasite known also in traditional medicine in northern Europe: the **medicinal leech** (*Hirudo medicinalis*). The Russians, Tatars, Armenians and many others filled old pots with leeches and water. Falck (1786: 447) observed a local “quack doctor” in the Siberian town of Barnaul preparing these animals. When the water froze, he let the leeches freeze with it. When he needed the animals he took up as many as required. The frozen medicinal leech sucked better than those that lived in marsh water in a warm room and moved around all winter. Leeches were used for medicinal purposes just as they are used today in Russia, Finland and many other regions (Linnaeus 1764; Whitaker et al. 2004).

10. Conclusion

We can discern a long history of keeping wild animals for various purposes and reasons in and around human dwellings in Russia, Siberia and Central Asia. Economic reasons dictated in some way or another most of the human-animal relationships. Fur and free-roaming animals formed the largest part of the income and subsistence for the rural population and provided means for survival for nomads and peasants. Not only the local peoples, but also Russians and other immigrants kept these animals. Furthermore, the human desire or need for animal company, an active interest and close relationship with the surrounding wildlife and the challenge, especially for men, to domesticate wild animals or hunt with their assistance, can be identified as additional motivations for catching and keeping animals.

Some animals were left to roam freely in the forest or steppe. These were large mammals with mainly economic purposes such as horses, sheep, reindeer and cattle. They existed in great numbers and were used for food, drink, hides and clothes, as prey when hunting, and for riding, pulling and carrying items and people or even yurts. They were multi-purpose animals which could survive without much effort or care from humans, who despite the distance claimed property rights over them.

Smaller mammals were mostly kept as pets and fur animals. The two functions were usually combined in one animal. Furs formed a considerable part of the most developed and broadest trade in Russia and Siberia and were part of the tax system. Furs were also exported to other countries, a practice which travellers like Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta attested already in the thirteenth century (cf. Martin 2004: 30; Lincoln 2007: 60). It was often easier to keep a couple of fur animals at home and fatten them up than to hunt. They could provide company and pets for the children as well. Many of the animals killed for furs were kept as pets when small, in spite of the consequences such as dirt, smell and destruction of furniture, food and clothes. Some of the smaller predatory mammals were also used as a kind of pest control against rats and mice.

Urban residents and noblemen in Russia often owned gardens and parks with wild animals. These animals were kept only for entertainment, like songbirds which were commonly bought in cities for their beauty or their voices. A singing bird was as pleasant to peasants in Siberia as it was to Carl Linnaeus in Uppsala or a professor or nobleman in St. Petersburg (cf. Svanberg 2007a). Nomads kept mainly hunting birds, falcons, eagles and hawks, but this was an entertainment limited to the rich. The European habit of keeping birds in houses as pest control is nowhere mentioned and we do not know if this efficient method of keeping vermin under control existed in Russia and Siberia (Ståhlberg & Svanberg, forthcoming).

The insects in and around human dwellings were mostly unwanted, but sometimes they could be played against one another. Supposedly also wild birds and other animals entered houses and yurts in summer when the doors and windows or smoke holes were open. These animals were probably not kept as pets, but left to come and go freely. In and on human bodies parasites thrived, mostly unwanted, but if not seri-

ously disturbing, the local peoples in Russia, Siberia and Central Asia did not greatly mind, accepting their presence as normal.

Our knowledge about companion animals, domestic animals and other animals in close relationship with human beings in older times is scant. In this study we show that several common and also unusual wild species were kept in captivity in houses in Russia and Siberia. Several other species were feral or not tame and roamed freely in Siberia and Central Asia until the nineteenth century, when the growing human population limited and destroyed their habitats and through hunting diminished their numbers. The task of the explorers from the Imperial Academy in St. Petersburg was to observe, describe and analyse all animals they could find. When they returned (or in the case of Falck, died on the road) they had few successors who would be interested in the aspects of free-roaming domestic animals and domesticated wild animals. Not until the German zoologist Alfred Brehm undertook a journey to Central Asia and southern Siberia in the 1870s did the focus on relations between humans and animals receive renewed attention (Brehm 1982).

Today, various wild birds and mammals are kept as pets in urban and rural surroundings in Eastern Europe, Russia, Siberia and Central Asia, e.g. the chukar partridge and hunting eagles, but there has still been little research on the subject. This study can hopefully serve as a basis for further research. It is further important to study the practice of keeping wild or feral animals from a religious, ritual and conceptual point of view (cf. Ilomäki & Lauhakangas 2002). Magic, beliefs and traditions played a significant role in the relationship between humans and animals. For the protection and prosperity of the animals humans performed certain actions. These traditions require a deeper analysis and could yield much new information.

Another important aspect for study is the diet and the influence of religion, traditions and local ecological knowledge on the human-animal relationship. Among the Kalmyk, devout Buddhists who believed in reincarnation would not kill any animal. They even picked up lice and put them back into their fur clothes. Many believers also bought live animals which were on sale for meat and set them free, and consumed only animals that had died from a natural cause. In Tsaritsyn (now Volgograd) several cattle owners had fixed prices for such animals, knowing that the Kalmyk would buy the carcasses (Falck 1786: 570).

Gender questions should also be taken into consideration, as male and female social roles especially among nomads were clearly distinguished and influenced their relationship with animals. Among the Kazakhs, for example, the men were responsible for the herds in general but women milked the animals, cooked food and took care of most other tasks in animal-keeping (Falck 1786: 574). Traditions concerning butchering, preparation of food, hides and skins and the sacrifice of animals, as well as concepts and attitudes relating to these practices also require further study. The analysis of local ecological knowledge, which is a dynamic complex of information and data about the natural environment, is needed to illustrate the human-animal relationships in Russia, Siberia and Central Asia. Future research will hopefully focus on this important issue and bring forth more information and new perspectives.

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Double encoding of nominal and adjectival predicates: A study of the nominative–translative switch in Erzya

In Erzya the nominal and adjectival predicates of ‘be’ copula constructions display double encoding, which takes the form of a nominative-oblique case opposition. The universal tendency is for this opposition to be conditioned by time-stability: encoding in the nominative is used in referring to situations which are relatively stable in time since the oblique encoding – in Erzya the translative – emphasizes the temporary nature of the situation. In some constructions, however, the Erzya translative seems to be in free variation with the nominative. Also clauses referring to stable states, such as identificational statements, may display the translative. Consequently, time-stability is not the only factor constraining the employment of the Erzya translative.

1. Introduction

The present study focuses on case variation between the nominative and translative in Erzya. The Erzya translative is a label for non-spatial cases carrying the meaning of a temporary state of being or function, often equivalent to English ‘as N’ (‘as a child’, ‘as a doctor’). Many Erzya verbs have a valency pattern including a translative. In this paper, the focus is, however, not on these verbs, but on the construction “being an N”, in which N is either in the nominative or translative. Importantly, the construction types that receive attention in the present study bear only vaguely or not at all the semantic content “being as an N”. This construction type is referred to as nominal predication, proper inclusion (see discussion in Turunen 2009) or like Creissels (2011), identificational predication. The use of a marked case form or adposition with the noun phrase in predicate function is relatively uncommon in the languages of the world (Creissels *ibid.*), Erzya being one of the languages that makes an exception to the general tendency.

In the present paper those language-specific cases that are descriptive categories are exceptionally written with lower case, and not capitalized letters, see Haspelmath (2010). Thus, for example, the Erzya translative, Finnic *essive* and Russian *instrumental* are language-specific terms. These cases encode partly similar semantic contents and fall under the definition of *functive* (Creissels *ibid.*). *Functive* serves as a cross-linguistic comparative concept: in specific languages the case may have other labels such as the ones described above. Creissels uses the label *functive* for a comparative concept defined as ‘a possible role for noun phrases in predicative constructions headed by verbs encoding events in which participants are involved’. Further characteristics of *functive* encoded nouns, including the Erzya translative are, in Creissels’ words, that a noun phrase N in *functive* role does not represent an entity involved in the event, but it attributes the property of being an N to a participant represented by

another noun phrase included in the construction. Thus, it is actually the whole construction “N was/will be N/A-TRA that must be studied, specifying the relationship between the copula and other elements.

In the present study the functions of the Erzya translative are investigated especially in clauses that contain a semantically empty copula. Consequently, in Erzya a translative encoded noun may function as the main semantic predicate of the clause, and as such it is not dependent on the verb ‘be’ in static expressions. The general aim of this study is to reveal those factors that affect the occurrence of the translative in *ul’(h)ems* ‘be’ copula constructions. The reasons behind the choice of the translative instead of the nominative appear to be complicated, and therefore, the present paper serves only as a starting point for a wider study that will hopefully be done in the future. The study takes also the first steps in the investigation of possible contact-induced change in Erzya. To shed light on the possible influence of Russian, I shall compare the occurrence of the translative in Standard Erzya, folklore, spoken data and translations from Russian, see Section 2.

The structure of this study is as follows. After introducing the data in Sections 2 and 3, the key examples of Erzya constructions are given in Section 4. In Section 5, the theory of time-stability is discussed, and the patterns of the Finnic languages as well as Russian are briefly discussed in light of the time-stability factor. In Section 6 the basic semantic contents of the translative in copula constructions are defined. Section 7 pays particular attention to those constructions in which the Erzya translative seems to be in free variation with the nominative, and the term *semantically vague translative* is introduced. Especially discussed are those factors effecting the nominative-translative switch, such as tense and time-stability, lexical class and negation. In Section 8 the occurrence of the translative in different genres in Erzya is briefly examined in light of data collected by the author. Section 8 compares original Russian sentences to sentences translated by Erzya students, aiming to illustrate the extent to which patterns are (dis)similar in Erzya and Russian. My working hypothesis is that if the expansion of the translative is (at least partly) explainable on the basis of Russian influence, it would be more likely to occur in translations from Russian than in other genres. However, in order to answer questions concerning the role of language-internal and contact-induced mechanisms in the development of the NP + *ul’hems* + NP + TRA construction, further investigation will certainly be necessary. As a conclusion, there is a brief summary of the findings of the study.

2. Data

In order to obtain the most far-reaching and reliable results possible, many types of data were employed in this study, which actually forms part of a larger project. The data collected from all three types of written sources in Erzya contains about 5000 nonverbal nominal, adjectival and locational predicate constructions. Among these constructions, translative encoding occurs in only 145 clauses, and consequently the

results of the present paper must be regarded as preliminary, since it is certain that a larger database will be necessary for any detailed study.

The written material has mainly been collected from the Volga server of the Research Unit for Volgaic Languages, University of Turku. The part of the corpus used for the purposes of the present study consists of unanalysed texts collected from the Erzya journal *Siatko*, namely issues 2, 3, 4, 7 and 10 from 2003. The sources are referred to by the number of the journal. Because the corpus is electronic, page numbers are not shown. The advantage of using *Siatko* is that the texts were written by many different authors and thus represent many idiolects. Furthermore, they represent different genres: there are short stories, poetry, and articles on literature and history as well. For the second type of written data, three novels by different authors and two books consisting of prose written by several authors were chosen. A list of these works is included at the end of this paper. This material is referred to using the name of the author and the novel's publication date.

Further folklore material has been taken from *Mordwinische Volksdichtung I–III*, collected by Heikki Paasonen at the close of the 19th century. The genre of this material is mainly folkloric poetry. This data is basically vernacular, but when referred to in the present study, it is labelled as folklore data in comparison to the real vernacular data, described in more detail below.

Conversations with 16 Erzya women were recorded in Mordovia during the summer of 2005 by Svetlana Motorkina for the purposes of this study. The author recorded three conversations in Hungary in which two Erzya and three Moksha informants participated. All the data on tape was then analysed by the author. During the conversations, the informants were asked to speak about themselves, their family and childhood, as well as the surroundings in which they lived. The total length of the conversations is about five hours. All informants were women between 17 and 57 years of age, and 11 of them had studied at the Department of Finno-Ugric and Comparative Linguistics of Saransk University. A detailed background of the informants is not provided, as the data displays homogeneous predication patterns regardless of possible sociolinguistic factors.¹ If examples are taken from spoken data, the initials of the informant are mentioned after the spoken phrase.

Questionnaires were also employed especially in order to gather data. The questionnaire data unexpectedly offered additional information on the nominative-translative switch. In the autumn of 2006 Svetlana Motorkina, an Erzya speaker and teacher at the University of Saransk, kindly gathered data intended for this study. The research was carried out at the Department of Finno-Ugric and Comparative Linguistics of Saransk University. The first questionnaire was completed by 19 Erzya and seven Moksha students, then 23 questionnaires were completed by Erzya and 15 by Moksha students. Erzya and Moksha students translated Russian sentences with nonverbal predicates into their respective mother tongues. Both questionnaires, planned by the

¹ The data does, however, offer interesting material for the study of other phenomena more influenced by sociolinguistic factors.

author, consisted of 15 different kinds of nonverbal predicate clauses. The students were asked to fill in the questionnaires in their own dialect. One of the questionnaires was incomplete, suggesting that the informants' skills in Erzya were not good enough for translating the sentences. Presumably all the informants are bilingual in Erzya or Moksha and Russian. The aim of the study assisted by the questionnaires was to collect comparative data in order to obtain more information concerning the present-day language. Although the translation method of collecting data has many disadvantages, as reported in Turunen (2010), this method does reveal significant differences between Erzya and Moksha. Most importantly, the differences between the two Mordvin languages demonstrated that even when the data is based on translations, predication patterns similar to Russian were not attested in Moksha. The fact that they were attested frequently in Erzya can therefore not be explained simply by the fact that the informants produced translations from Russian.

In order to obtain as informative a picture as possible of the nominative-translative switch, native speakers with a good knowledge of Erzya grammar have cooperated with the author during this study. Important partners have been the two Erzya lecturers at the University of Szeged, now at the University of Saransk, Svetlana Motorkina and Nina Kazaeva. The clauses containing the translative were all checked by Kazaeva and Motorkina. The author asked several questions concerning the switch and the possible factors behind it. The reasons for choosing the translative instead of the nominative were often very hard to specify even for Kazaeva and Motorkina,² which must be due not to their linguistic competence, but rather to the fact that the factors are complicated and manifold.

3. Occurrence of the translative in the Siatko data

The following table summarises those constructions in which translative encoding occurred in NP that function as a semantic predicate. In the written data collected from prose and from *Siatko*, in 145 past tense copula clauses the predicate nominal was inflected in the translative. In 278 *ul'(n)ems* copula constructions the predicate noun or adjective was in the nominative. In 581 past tense nominal and adjectival predicate clauses the predication pattern was the predicative suffix construction, in which translative encoding is not possible. The clauses often contained more than one translative encoded noun, and consequently the table contains a total of 150 clauses. By *specific construction types* are meant those constructions in which the translative occurs obligatorily. These constructions are presented in Section 6 and include both the translative of similarity and the translative of clear non-inherent relationship.

2 I am deeply grateful for Nina Kazaeva and Svetlana Motorkina for their patience and help. In addition I wish to thank Ágnes Felföldi for helping me in practical concerns. I would also like to express my gratitude to Riho Grünthal, Jussi Ylikoski and the two anonymous referees for their comments on this paper.

Those constructions in which the noun denotes occupation, function or status may contain a noun or a present tense participle as their predicate. Those clauses in which predicates of these kinds occurred often – but not necessarily – contained a reference to a specific point in time. Also, other types of class-membership clauses with translative coded nouns occurred. In identificational clauses the translative was quite rare. The translative was chosen more often if the predicate was a noun than if it was an adjective. The adjectival pronouns *l'ija*, *iš'tamo* and *kodamo* were, however, encoded relatively often in the translative.

Noun in specific constructions	23
Noun of occupation	52
Present participle	17
Other noun	37
Identificational clause	4
Adjective	5
Adjectival pronoun (<i>l'ija</i> , <i>iš'tamo</i> , <i>kodamo</i>)	10
Quantifier	2
Total	150

Table 1. The occurrence of the translative in standard written data collected from *Siatko*.

In the material collected from the Erzya parts of Mordwinische Volksdichtung, the translative was rarely employed in nonverbal predicate clauses containing a copula inflected in the present or past tense, see Example (1).

- (1) *vaš'na ul'h-i-ń* *šece-nk* *šedej-orm'i-ńe-ks*
 earlier be-1PST-1SG heart.INE-2PL heart-ache-DIM-TRA
p'ira-so-nk *p'ira-orm'i-ńe-ks* (MV II 477)
 head-INE-2PL head-ache-DIM-TRA
 'Earlier I was in your heart as a heartache, in your head as a headache.'

In Example (1) the translative encoding is motivated, and it encodes the similarity between the subject referent and translative encoded referent.

4. Key examples of Erzya nominative-translative switch

The encoding of nominal and adjectival predicate clauses in Erzya displays morpho-syntactic variation. There are two predication patterns in the present tense. Either the nonverbal predicate is conjugated with the predicative suffix, as illustrated in Example (2), or the subject and predicate are juxtaposed without inflectional person markers, as illustrated in Example (3). In Example (2), the subject is in the second person singular, which is encoded with the free pronoun *ton* as well as synthetically with the nominal

predicate *komissarat*. In Example (3), the subject *ton* and the predicate noun *pisatél'* are simply juxtaposed, and the predicate is not inflected in the second person singular.

Subject NP + Predicate Adjective/Noun + person

- (2) *Ton komissara-t, šeks téve-ś=kak té – toń.* (Siatko 2003: 4)
 2SG commissar-2SG therefore thing-DEF=too this – 2SG.GEN
 'You are a commissar, therefore this is your business.'

Subject NP + Predicate Adjective/Noun

- (3) *Aś-i-ńek, ton pisatél'.* (Siatko 2003: 2)
 think-1PST-1PL 2SG author
 'We thought you are an author.'

In these constructions, the predicate nouns and adjectives are in the nominative case. The predicate nouns of class-membership predication are indefinite, as definite nouns occur in identificational clauses (these two types are semantically and morphologically distinguished in Erzya, see Turunen 2009 and 2010a). In Standard Erzya, the main pattern is the predicative suffix construction. In the third person singular, juxtaposition is the only pattern. Simple juxtaposition may be employed in the case of 1st and 2nd person subjects as well, which is more typical of nominal than adjectival predication (for a detailed discussion see Turunen 2009).

The past tense nominal and adjectival predications are encoded in two patterns. Firstly, Erzya differentiates between the so-called 1st and 2nd past tense in verbal predication. Verbal predicates are inflected in the 2nd past tense to encode usual or continuous actions, which precede some other action (Cygankin et al. 2000: 163). The opposition between the 1st and 2nd past tense is neutralized in the case of nonverbal predicates: there is no semantic difference between the synthetic 2nd past tense form and the analytic construction built with the *ul'(ń)ems* copula (see Turunen 2010a). In the synthetic pattern, the nonverbal predicate is inflected in tense and person with the past tense predicative suffix, as illustrated in the first clause of Example (4). In this clause, the nominal predicate *lomańel'* is in the nominative, and it is conjugated in the past tense of the nonverbal conjugation. (The second clause in Example (4), which is also a nominal predicate construction, will be of greater relevance to the discussion below.) The other possible predication pattern is to employ the *ul'ńems* copula illustrated in Example (5). The auxiliary is inflected in tense and person and the nominal predicate is in the nominative. The nominal predicate agrees in number with the subject, like *jalgat* in Example (5).

Subject NP + Predicate Adjective/Noun + PST + PERSON

- (4) *Lařionov řorma-s-gramota-s sod-ića lomań-el'*
 Larionov writing-ILL-reading-ILL know-PTCP.PRS human-2PST.3SG
ve řka-sto ul'he-ř pisaře-ks. (Siatko 2003: 7)
 one time-ELA be-1PST.3SG clerk-TRA
 'Larionov was a person that could read and write, who had once been a clerk.'

Subject NP + *ul'(ń)ems* copula + Predicate Noun/Adjective in Nominative

- (5) *Siń ul'he-ř-t' a javoviks jalga-t.* (Erkay 1991: 17)
 3PL be-1PST-3PL NEG separable friend-PL
 'They were inseparable friends.'

There are two different types of copula constructions for encoding the predicate noun or adjective. In the first type, the nonverbal predicate is in the nominative as illustrated in Example (5). In the second type, the noun or adjective is declined in the translatable, as is the noun *pisařeks* in the second clause of Example (4). A similar construction is presented in Example (6), in which the noun *jalgaks* is in the translatable.

Subject NP + *ul'(ń)ems* copula + Predicate Noun/Adjective + Translatable

- (6) *Vašeńće-ř – Łudmila Viktorovna marto*
 first-DEF Lyudmila Viktorovna with
miń ul'ń-i-ńek student jalga-ks. (Siatko 2003: 2)
 1PL be-1PST-1PL student friend-TRA
 'The first thing: Lyudmila Viktorovna and I were fellow students.'

Encoding in the translatable could be replaced by nominative encoding in Examples (4) and (6); the denotation would be similar even if the predicate were in the nominative. If it were in the nominative, it would agree in number: *jalga-t*. Indefinite nouns inflect in the plural only in the nominative, and most case suffixes can be attached to definite plural stems. The Erzya translatable suffix cannot, however, be added to definite plural stems. The lack of a singular-plural opposition in the translatable makes it specific with reference to other Erzya case suffixes. (Bartens 1999: 99.)

The translatable case also switches with the nominative case in nominal and adjectival predicate constructions in which the *ul'ems* copula is inflected in the present tense. These clauses refer to the future (Cygankin et al. 2000: 164; Koliadenkov 1954: 187). They report either a dynamic relation of *becoming* something, or a stative relation of *being* something in the future. Translatable encoding is illustrated in Example (7).

Subject NP + *ul'ems* copula + Predicate Noun Translatable

- (7) *Ñej ton ul'-at moń kořajka-ks.* (Siatko 2003: 7)
 now 2SG be-2SG my wife-TRA
 'Now you shall be my wife.'

The present treatise concentrates on describing the translative-nominative switch in clauses such as (4), (5) and (6), and to a lesser extent, in those clauses denoting the future, as illustrated in Example (7). Stassen's (1997: 188–193; 2001) cross-linguistic data suggests that a lower degree of time-stability is connected to the employment of the oblique case, such as the Erzya translative. The working hypothesis is that the nominative case occurs in time-stable constructions (5), since the construction in (6) makes reference to a more temporary relationship. The relative time-stability factor must, nevertheless, be studied taking into account the whole construction, and not only the encoding of the predicate NP. In Erzya, the translative also has other semantically clearer functions in constructions with an *ul'(h)ems* copula. These will be discussed in Section 6.

It is noteworthy that the occurrence of the translative case depends on the predication pattern, since nominal and adjectival predicates may be encoded in either the nominative or translative case when predication is made using the *ul'(h)ems* copula (however see below for constructions without a copula). In the present treatise only *ul'(h)ems* copula constructions are investigated. The domain of Erzya nominal and adjectival predication displays considerable morphosyntactic variation described in other studies such as Turunen (2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2011).

5. The nominative-oblique switch and time-stability

Stassen (2001; 1997: 188–193) demonstrates that there are languages that display double encoding of nonverbal predicates, which takes the form of a nominative-oblique case opposition. In most languages this double encoding mirrors a semantic distinction which can be stated in terms of *relative time-stability*. Encoding in the nominative refers to situations which are relatively stable in time and unlikely to change, since oblique encoding emphasises the fleeting or temporary nature of the situation. The nominative-oblique switch is typical of north-eastern Europe and is one of the features of the Circum-Baltic languages (also referred to as the Baltic Sprachbund, Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 624). The Erzya nominal and adjectival predicates of 'be' copula constructions display such double encoding taking the form of a nominative-oblique case opposition, and in Erzya this oblique case is the transitive.

Stassen (2001) summarises that in the Circum-Baltic languages the employment of the nominative indicates class membership which is in some way an essential and permanent feature of the subject. Temporary, contingent or non-essential properties or class membership are encoded with the translative and essive cases (Finnic languages) or instrumental (Lithuanian, Russian, Polish). In the Slavic languages of the area, however, time-stability does not play a major role, but rather the switch is conditioned by many formal, semantic and stylistic factors (see below Section 5.2). The Mordvin languages are not included in Stassen's study of the nominative-oblique switch.

A kind of nominative-oblique switch similar to that occurring in Erzya in class membership and property predication is characteristic of Russian. It has been sug-

gested that the extension of the translative into *ul'(n)ems copula* constructions is due to Russian influence (Bartens 1996: 29). A reanalysis and extension of case suffixes based on language contact has occurred in Southern Veps and Livonian, as Grünthal (2003: 204–205) suggests. This contact-induced change was based on morphosyntactic similarities between the inflectional cases of Southern Veps and Russian, and Livonian and Latvian respectively. In the following, my aim is to place the Erzya patterns among the patterns of the other languages in the area. Finally, I will also compare Erzya and Russian data in order to reveal the similarities and differences between the constructions of the two languages.

5.1. The Finnic nominative-translative-essive switch

As regards the encoding of class membership and property predication suggested by Kont (1955), Finnic can be divided into northern and southern groups. Similarly to the Mordvin languages, the southern group, to which most Estonian dialects, Livonian and Veps belong, displays a nominative-translative switch. The nominative refers to the permanent or time-stable nature of the reference, since the translative emphasises the temporary nature of the situation. The translative case is employed to encode both dynamic and stative functions (see also Riese 1993). Figure 1 illustrates this switch, with examples from Estonian cited from Pai (2001: 243, 239).³

Stative verb + Nominative	Stative verb + Translative	Dynamic verb + Translative
<i>Mart on arst.</i>	<i>Mart on (laagr-is) arsti-ks.</i>	<i>Mari kasva-b tubli-ks tüdruk-ks.</i>
Mart be.3SG doctor	Mart be.3SG camp-INE doctor-TRA	Mari grow-3SG decent-TRA girl-TRA
'Mari is a doctor.'	'Mart is a doctor (in the camp).'	'Mari is growing into a decent girl.'
Time-stable	Less time-stable	

Figure 1. Time-stability constraining the switch between the nominative and the translative with examples from Estonian.

In the northern group of the Finnic languages (as defined by Kont),⁴ which consists of Finnish, Karelian, Ingrian and Votic (as well as, to some extent, Standard Estonian) the translative and essive cases switch with the nominative case. The translative occurs in constructions that are employed to encode dynamic relations, while the essive occurs in those encoding stative relations which are prone to change or temporary.

3 The whole system of Estonian is more complex, since the essive case switches with the translative case in stative relation clauses. However, the essive is a relatively new case in Standard Estonian and its use is restricted (Erelt & Metslang 2003; Pai 2001).

4 It should be observed that a division of this kind into northern and southern groups is relevant only with regard to the encoding of the nouns and adjectives in these clause types.

The clauses in which the essive occurs contain the time dimension, since the state is valid at the particular moment. The nominative encoding makes reference without the time dimension. (See ISK 1206–1208 for Finnish.) Figure 2 illustrates the switch using Finnish examples.

Stative verb + Nominative	Stative verb + Essive	Dynamic verb + Translative
<i>Ole-n opettaja.</i>	<i>Ole-n opettaja-na.</i>	<i>Tule-n iloise-ksi.</i>
be-1SG teacher	be-1SG teacher-ESS	become-1SG glad-TRA
‘I am a teacher.’	‘I am a teacher (now).’	‘I become glad.’
without time dimension	contemporary state	change of state

Figure 2. The nominative-essive-translative switch in Finnish

In Finnish the stative copula verb *olla* is cognate with the Erzya *ul(ń)ems* copula that etymologically bears the frequentative suffix *-ńe-*. The Finnish copula occurs together with a nominal predicate inflected in the essive case, and the Finnish translative does not occur in copula constructions.⁵ Furthermore, the essive case does not occur with dynamic verbs, but in dynamic constructions the translative case is employed. It is not accidental that in Figure 2 the dynamic construction has, as an example, a clause with the translative encoded adjective *iloinen* ‘glad’ instead of the noun *opettaja* ‘teacher’. Another construction type would be used in the dynamic expression ‘I become a teacher’. It is not in the scope of the present study to illuminate the factors in operation in Finnish, for further information see ISK (860–861).

The translative case **-kse* is of common origin in the Finnic and Mordvin languages. There are two theories regarding the origin of the suffix (Zaicz 1998: 193–194). First, it has been suggested that the translative arose from two old lative suffixes **-k* and **-s* (e.g. Bereczki 1988: 323; Riese 1993: 5). Creissels (2011) suggests, on the basis of cross-linguistic data, two possible grammaticalization paths from participant role markers to functive markers (among which the Finnic-Mordvin translative belongs, see above). The first path is *locative* > *functive*, and the second is *lative* > *transformative* > *functive*. He states correctly that a grammaticalization path *locative* > *functive* can be safely reconstructed for Finnish in the case of the grammaticalization of the essive *-na*. He includes also the grammaticalization of **-kse* in this type. However, the grammaticalization path *lative* > *transformative* > *functive* cannot be safely reconstructed for Mordvin. Namely, the development of the translative case might rather be related to a denominal derivational suffix that is exactly identical in form (Saarinen 2001: 245). This derivational suffix occurs in the Finnic, Mordvin, Saami and Samoyed languages and therefore is of ancient origin (Aikio & Ylikoski 2007: 58; Janhunen 1989: 301). According to Janhunen (ibid.) it is even possible that

5 Except for some specific construction types, see (ISK 1207).

the translative case existed already in Proto-Uralic. The developmental path *derivational suffix* > *inflectional suffix* is plausible also in the light of the fact that the difference between derivational and inflectional suffixes in the Finno-Ugric languages may be quantitative rather than qualitative, and there are examples of derivational suffixes having become inflectional (e.g. Janhunen *ibid.*; Laakso 2005: 102). Furthermore, as Kont (1955: 164) notes, the Mordvin translative *-ks* has neither lative nor locational functions, and as illustrated above, in many Finnic languages the translative encodes also stative relations.

5.2. Nominative-instrumental switch in Russian

Russian displays double encoding of nominal and adjectival predicates in the form of a nominative-instrumental switch. This switch differs in many respects from that attested in the Finnic languages. Unfortunately, it is not within the scope of this study to examine the Russian switch in depth, but readers interested in it should look to the excellent description made by Johanna Nichols (1981). In brief, in Russian the switch is generally not attested in present tense clauses, in which the predication pattern is a zero strategy (juxtaposition without any copulative elements) and the predicate nouns and adjectives are encoded in the nominative. This kind of nominal predicate construction is identical with those attested in many Finno-Ugric languages, see Turunen (2010b). When the predicate nouns and adjectives occur in a construction with the copula verb *byl* 'be' in tenses other than the present, both nominative and instrumental encoding become possible. The choice between the nominal and instrumental cases is governed by various formal, semantic, lexical, constructional and stylistic factors. Among these factors, for example, the lexico-semantic class of the predicate affects encoding. Predicate nouns of occupation are usually inflected in the instrumental, as illustrated in Example (8). (Nichols 1981: 85–86, 140–182.)

- Russian (Nichols 1981: 152)
- (8) *On byl učitel-em*
 he be.PST.MASC teacher-INSTR
 'He was a teacher.'

Stassen (2001: 588) concludes on the basis of Nichols (*ibid.*) that, unlike the Finnic languages, time-stability does not play a major role in Russian. Timberlake (2004: 288) summarises the issue by writing, "...with nouns, the instrumental is used when there is any hint of limiting the state in time-worlds or any concern with defining an individual – of indicating that this individual, not others, fits into a certain definition." More examples from Russian are provided below when a comparison is made between the original Russian sentences and their Erzya translations.

6. Functions of the Erzya translative in Subject NP + 'be'-copula + NP constructions

The Erzya translative is employed to refer to *being something, similarity to something, change to something or mood of doing something* (Cygankin et al. 2000: 86–87; Koliadenkov 1954: 153–154; Bartens 1999: 98–99). Translative encoded nouns do occur in constructions with full semantic verbs, but the present treatise concentrates on the semantics of the Erzya translative only in constructions which denote the stative relationship of *being*. In these constructions the translative encoded noun expresses *being similar to something*, as illustrated in Example (9), and *being good/suitable for something*, as illustrated in Example (10). The translative also occurs in stative expressions in the function of *to be in language X*, as illustrated in Example (11).

- (9) *Mon varma-ks, bodaj.* (Kliuchagin 1997: 53)

1SG wind-TRA grandfather
'I am like the wind, grandfather.'

- (10) *T'e kocto-ś platija-ks.* (Svetlana Motorkina, p.c.)

this material-DEF cloth-TRA
'This material is good for a cloth.'

- (11) *Ruz-ks eli erža-ks siñ?* (Siatko 2003: 10)

Russian-TRA or Erzya-TRA 3PL
'Are they [books] in Russian or Erzya?'

These constructions resemble clauses denoting class membership or property in that they are coded in the present tense zero, as illustrated in Examples 8–10. They differ from the nonverbal predicate clauses illustrated in Examples (1–6) above in that the translative encoding cannot be omitted without considerable change in the denotation of the clause. Translative encoding prevents the employment of the predicative suffix construction, which occurs in nominal and adjectival predication in 1st and 2nd person subject constructions. The encoding of the clause in Example (9) could thus not be made using the inflectional first person marker. A translative coded noun expressing the point of comparison may also occur as a free complement in a nominal predicate construction, like *umařinaks* in Example (12). In Example (12) the predicates, namely the noun *cveřat* and the adjective *odat*, are encoded using the predicative suffix construction.

- (12) *Umařina-ks ton cveřa-t, od-at.* (Siatko 2003: 4)

apple.tree-TRA 2SG flower-2SG young-2SG
'Like an apple tree you are a flower, you are young.'

As with the present tense clauses illustrated in Examples (8–11), in the following past tense clauses, Examples (12–15), the translative function is also quite obvious, and it cannot be omitted without a radical change in the semantics of the construction. In this instance the relationship between the subject NP and the translative encoded NP differs from those clauses in which both NPs are in the nominative. When the predicate NP is in the translative, the referents of the two NPs are similar to each other, as in Examples (13) and (14). In Example (14) the first clause is structured with an *ul(ń)ems* copula and similarity is expressed using the translative, while the second clause contains the dynamic verb *téjevems* ‘change into something’, which triggers the translative.

- (13) *T'etá-nzo marto vasto-vo-ma-ś*
 father-3SG with meet-REFL-VN-DEF
ulńe-ś té-nze íneči-ks. (Siatko 2003: 4)
 be-1PST.3SG ALL-3SG Easter-TRA
 ‘Meeting his father was like Easter to him.’

- (14) *Ulń-i-ńek kolmo-će Rime-ks, téje-v-i-ńek*
 be-1PST-1PL three-ORD Rome-TRA change-REFL-1PST-1PL
Sodomo-ks di Gomorra-ks... (Doronin 1996: 239)
 Sodom-TRA and Gomorrah-TRA
 ‘We were like the Third Rome, we changed into Sodom and Gomorrah.’

The translative encoding also occurs in a quite different function in clauses such as Example (15). The employment of the translative emphasises a non-literal reading.

- (15) *Pařak, son ulńe-ś=kak*
 maybe (s)he be-1PST.3SG=too
eřamo-ń vašeńće eskelķse-ks? (Siatko 2003: 3)
 life-GEN first step-TRA
 ‘Was it perhaps the first step of his life?’

Example (16) contains two clauses with translative encoding. The first clause in Example (16) expresses the status of the subject, which lasted for a long time. This example illustrates the function of the translative, which is to express *being something temporarily*. Also, Example (17) refers to a temporary relationship, but a temporary relationship more obvious than in (16). The function of the translative in the constructions presented in the second clause of Examples (16), Example (18) and (19) is either that of similarity, or a temporary relationship. Omission of the translative is not possible in (18) and (19) without a radical change in meaning. Similar constructions are employed in Estonian, as illustrated in Example (20).

- (16) *Kuvať ul'ne-ś mastoro-ń vet'-ije-ks di*
 long.time be-1PST.3SG country-GEN lead-PTCP.PRS-TRA and
Paz-ńeń ozń-ića-t'ńe-ń teta-ks. (Doronin 1996: 437)
 God-ALL pray-PTCP.PRS-PL-DEF-GEN father-TRA
 'He was the leader of the country for a long time and like a father to those who pray to God.'

- (17) *Ošo-ń-t' ńevt'-ića jalga-ks ul'ne-ś*
 town-GEN-DEF show-PTCP.PRS friend-TRA be-1PST.3SG
eřza-ń sodaviks poet. (Siatko 2003: 2)
 Erzya-GEN famous poet
 'A famous Erzya poet was used as a guide to show the town.'

- (18) *miń tink turtov ul'ń-i-ńek*
 1PL 2PL.GEN for be-1PST-1PL
teta-ks=kak, ava-ks-kak. (Paltin & al. 1997: 32)
 father-TRA=too mother-TRA=too
 'for you we were also a father and mother.'

- (19) ..., *teta-ks ul'ń-i-t' moń-eń.* (Kliuchagin 1997: 76)
 father-TRA be-1PST-2SG 1SG-ALL
 'You were like a father to me.'

Estonian

- (20) *Ta ol-i mei-le ema-ks.* (Pai 2001: 244)
 3SG be-PST.3SG 1PL-ALL mother-TRA
 'She was a mother to us.'

The basic function of the Erzya translative in copula constructions is to encode similarity with the referent of the subject NP, or temporary relationship. As similarity is not encoded in the constructions by any other formal means than translative encoding in the predicate adverbial, the temporality of the relationship is often manifested by adverbs of time such as in Example (16) *kuvať* 'long time'. It is plausible that in these cases the whole construction bears the semantic content of unstability.

7. Factors conditioning the employment of the semantically vague translative

In the construction types directly illustrated in Examples (8–18) the translative encoding has a clear semantic function. In most cases, if it was replaced by the nominative, the meaning of the clause would change, or the reading of the clause would depend more on the context. As stated in the Introduction, the translative encoding in the con-

struction type occurring in Example (6) does not seem to bear clear semantic content and could be omitted. Consequently, there are constructions in Erzya of the type subject NP + *ul'(ń)ems* copula + predicate NP which express stative relations and in which the noun functioning as the semantic predicate of the clause can be encoded either in the nominative or the translative. In the following, I examine those clauses which resemble the one illustrated in Example (6). From now on, to distinguish these semantically more vague translatives from the translative expressing *similarity*, *being good for something* or *being in language X*, I shall use the term *semantically vague translative*. It is assumed that the translative encoding is dependent on the time-stability factor, but because there may also be other factors, I have chosen this as a cover term. In the following, my aim is to clarify the semantics and functions of translative encoding in those construction types in which translative encoding is less easily explained.

7.1. Tense and time-stability

As the examples in Section 4 illustrate, the semantically vague translative occurs in nominal and adjectival predicate constructions which contain the copula verb *ul'(ń)ems*. These constructions refer to the past or future, and express relations such as class membership and property. Importantly, non-present tense constructions express relations that are no longer valid, or not yet valid, that is, the state of the referent of the subject NP has either changed or will change. In referring to the past tense, inflection with the copula is sufficient and translative encoding is unnecessary, as illustrated in Example (5). The employment of an inflected copula in the present tense on its own also refers to the future, and translative encoding of the noun is not obligatory.

Even though the semantically vague translative usually does not otherwise occur in nonverbal predicate constructions, which refer to a state which is valid in the present tense, there was, however, one exception in my database, illustrated in Example (21). In this clause, the noun expressing the status of the subject is declined in the translative. Importantly, the clause does not in the first place identify Yeleozar with the leader of place X, but rather reports that there has been a change in leadership, and at the moment (perhaps also temporarily), the leader is *Jeleoazar*. When Example (21) was discussed with Nina Kazaeva and Svetlana Motorkina, they found that the employment of the translative is related to the presence of *ńej* 'now'.

- (21) *To-so-ń p'ravto-ks ńej Jeleoazar shimńike-ś.* (Doronin 1996: 71)
 that-INE-GEN director-TRA now Jeleoazar Skhimnik-DEF
 'The leader of that place is now Jeleoazar, the Skhimnik.'⁶

Stassen's universal (see Section 5) suggests that the nominative-oblique switch is related to time-stability. This universal predicts that the translative encoding in these

6 The highest monastic order, Monk of the Great Schema, in Russian *Skhimnik*.

clause types should refer to less time-table, temporary or contingent relations. Thus it is to be expected that the translative will not occur in clauses referring to general truths without a dimension in time. The occurrence of the translative in Example (21) may be related to the difference between identificational statements and class-membership predications. Identificational statements do not usually make reference to time (as identity is a rather stable feature), whereas class-membership predication may report a state that is more prone to change. Example (22) illustrates that the translative is possible in Erzya even though a past tense construction refers to a relatively stable state, as the expression *pingenze peřt* ‘all his life’ implies.

- (22) *Ivan Nikolaevič pinge-nze peřt ul'he-ś romańtike-ks.* (Siatko 2003: 3)
 Ivan Nikolaevich time-3SG round be-1PST.3SG romantic-TRA
 ‘All his life, Ivan Nikolaevich was a romantic.’

In Erzya there are also morphological constraints which prevent the translative in identificational sentences. The predicate nouns of identificational sentences are usually definite, while also being morphologically marked for definiteness. The definite declension of Erzya nouns does not contain a translative, neither can the translative attach to possessive suffixes. A further reason for neglecting the translative in identificational statements may be that the translative has the function of referring to *being similar to something* which semantically conflicts with identificational predication (‘someone is like something’ vs. ‘someone is something’).

Nevertheless, translative encoding is also possible in identificational statements, as Examples (22–24) illustrate. Identificational statements usually report stable states. As translative encoding in identificational statements is possible in Erzya too, time-stability seems not to be a decisive factor constraining the nominative-translative switch in Erzya. This makes Erzya a counterexample to Stassen’s hypothesis presented above. Thus, I think it possible that the choice of the translative is not dependent on time-stability, but other complex factors such as word order and the number of optional arguments. In order to study the other factors, more data should be collected. In Example (23) the second clause is identificational and the nominal predicate *ejkakšoks* is inflected in the translative. Then, Example (24) presents an identificational statement in which the translative-inflected predicate is a name. The second phrase in Example (25) is also identificational. According to Svetlana Motorkina (p.c.), translative encoding is obligatory in (24) because the subject is the third person pronoun *son*.

- (23) *Ańśak vejke zijano-ś: ćora-ś ul'he-ś*
 only one problem-DEF man-DEF be-1PST.3SG
veď-azoro-ń vejke-ińe ejkakšo-ks. (Siatko 2003: 10)
 water lord-GEN one-DIM child-TRA
 ‘There was only one problem: the man was the only child of the lord of the waters.’

- (24) *Son Viraska-ks ul'ne-ś.* (Siatko 2003: 3)
 3SG Viryaska-TRA be-1PST.3SG
 'He was Viryaska.'
- (25) *Vaśna, kela, son ul'ne-ś prostoj lomañe-ks –*
 first reputedly 3SG be-1PST.3SG simple human-TRA
đeva Marija-ñ ćora-ks. (Doronin 1996: 55)
 virgin Mary-GEN son-TRA
 'They say that first he was just a simple human being, the son of the Virgin Mary.'

Above, Example (7) shows the copula verb *ul'ems* referring to the future (Cygankin et al. 2000: 164). Kangasmaa-Minn (1993: 76–77) discusses the Permic languages and Hungarian, noting that when a copula verb of existence is employed to refer to the future, it has a double function: as a copula of static nominal predications it places the situation in the future, but in dynamic sentences it indicates a change. Similarly, in Erzya *ul'ems* has the stative rendering 'be something in the future' and the dynamic rendering 'become'. The employment of the translative emphasises the dynamic nature of the relationship. In this respect these constructions resemble those in which there occur other semantically full dynamic verbs expressing changes in state, such as *velavtovoms* 'change', *tejevems* 'change' or *arams* 'become, change'. Further, these verbs trigger the translative. The presence of the translative in *ul'ems* copula constructions is not obligatory, but translative encoding does occur in most of the clauses in my data from standard written Erzya. Some of these clauses are illustrated in (25–27), in which the nonverbal predicates *ćoraks*, *kilejñeks* and *proštaze-ks* are in the translative. In Example (29) the adjective *vačo* is in the nominative.

- (26) *Buti meke-v velavt-i,*
 if back-LAT return-3SG
ton uš pokš ćora-ks ul'-at. (Siatko 2003: 4)
 2SG already big man-TRA be-2SG
 'When she comes back, you will already be a big man.'
- (27) *Mon- ś ara-n jutkozo-nk,*
 1SG-REFL will.be-1SG among-2PL
ul'-an kilej-ñe-ks, ... (Siatko 2003: 10)
 will.be-1SG birch-DIM-TRA
 'I will be among you, I shall be a birch.'
- (28) *S'este proštaze-ks ul'-an.* (Siatko 2003: 10)
 then forgiving-TRA be-1SG
 'Then I shall be forgiving.'

- (29) *Sonze marto vačo a ul'-at.* (Siatko 2003: 4)
 3SG.GEN with hungry NEG be-2SG
 'With him/her you will not be hungry.'

7.2. Differences between nominal and adjectival predicates

In Standard Erzya there is variation between the nominative and translative in nominal predicates especially, but adjectival predicates are more often found in the nominative in my data. Thus the part of speech affects the employment of the translative: it rarely occurs when the predicate is an adjective. In the written data, the translative was used in past tense adjectival predicate clauses structured with the *ul'(n)ems* copula four times, as illustrated in Examples (29–31). In comparison, the nominative occurred in 77 of a total of 91 constructions.

Most probably there are factors other than time-stability that influence the case marking. These factors may be related to the structure of the clauses, such as the number of optional arguments. The translative could simply be omitted from (30) and (31) and replaced by the definite marking as in (32). The clause in (30) refers to a specific situation and exemplifies a temporary state, but the clauses in (31) and (32) do not make reference to the time dimension. If the reading makes reference to the age of the referent of the subject NP, there is no possibility at all of a change.

- (30) *Kandolaz-t-ne-se purna-ž-seřna-ž*
 coffin-PL-DEF-INE gather-PTCP.PST-prepare-PTCP.PST
Ola baba ul'ne-š pek mazije-ks (Kliuchagin 1997: 77).
 Olya granny be-1PST.3SG very beautiful-TRA
 'Dressed up in the coffin, grandma Olya was very beautiful.'
- (31) *saldirkse-š ava-n turtov*
 saltcellar-DEF mother-GEN for
ul'ne-š pek pitņeje-ks. (Paltin & al. 1997: 60)
 be-1PST.3SG very precious-TRA
 'The salt cellar was very precious to mother.'
- (32) *Maksim ul'ne-š šemija-so-ńt' šehte pokšo-ks,..* (Siatko 2003: 4)
 Maksim be-1PST.3SG family-INE-DEF SUP big-TRA
 'Maksim was the biggest in the family.'

The data of the present study presents many genres, and there are also recorded discussions, see Section 2. In the discussions, the adjectival predicates were never encoded in the translative in corresponding constructions. The questionnaire data, which consisted of translations from Russian to Erzya, provided some examples in which adjectives were inflected in the translative, but mostly the adjectives were in the nominative

case in the questionnaires too. In the original Russian sentence of Example (33), the predicate NP is an adjective in the nominative. All of the Erzya sentences contained an adjective encoded in the nominative as well, as illustrated in Example (34).

Russian (questionnaires)

- (33) *Pogoda byla khorosh-aia.*
 weather be.PST-FEM good-FEM
 ‘The weather was good.’

Erzya (questionnaires)

- (34) *Ušo-ś ul’ne-ś mazij.*
 weather-DEF be-1PST.3SG beautiful
 ‘The weather was beautiful.’

The original Russian sentence shown in Example (35) contained an adjective in the nominative, even though this adjective could have been inflected in the instrumental. The sentence was translated into Erzya with a construction type in which the predicate adjective was in the nominative 14 times. Two informants out of 16 used a construction with the adjective inflected in the translative, as illustrated in Example (36). (Among the Mokshas, seven informants of a total of eight used the nominative and one the translative.)

Russian (questionnaires)

- (35) *Ty tozhe byla krasiv-aia.*
 2SG also be.PST-FEM beautiful-FEM
 ‘You were also beautiful.’

Erzya (questionnaires)

- (36) *Ton=gak ul’n-i-t mazij-ks.*
 2SG =too be-1PST-2SG beautiful-TRA
 ‘You were also beautiful.’

It is relevant to add that even though adjectives were not inflected in the translative during the free conversations (vernacular data, see Section 2), translative-inflected adjectives were used by informants when the interviewer asked the informants to translate from Russian. The informants then produced sentences of the kind illustrated by Example (37).

- (37) *Ton ul’n-i-t odo-ks.* (O. V. K.)
 2SG be-1PST-2SG young-TRA
 ‘You were young.’

Finally, it must be noted that even though adjectival predicates were seldom inflected in the translative in the standard written data, the pro-adjectives *ištamo* ‘like that’ (illustrated in Example 37), *kodamo* ‘like what’ and *līja* ‘other kind’ occurred in the translative relatively more frequently than adjectives. Encoding in the translative may be also related to style, in those cases in which there is a construction with a translative-inflected adjective/pronoun in a close context. In Example (39) the pronoun *kodamoks* could be encoded in the nominative as well, but in the following phrase, *kadovoms* triggers the obligatory encoding of *ištamoks* in the translative, which may have affected the encoding of the previous phrase.

- (38) *Son ikele-jak ul'ne-s ištamo-ks.* (Paltin et al. 1997: 64)
 3SG before=too be-1PST.3SG like.that-TRA
 ‘(S)he was also like that earlier.’

- (39) *Ton kije? Kodamo-ks ul'n-i-t',*
 2SG who like.what-TRA be-1PST-2SG
ištamo-ks kadov-i-t'. (Kliuchagin 1997: 26)
 like.that-TRA stay-1PST-2SG
 ‘Who are you? Whatever you were like, as such you have remained.’

Kangasmaa-Minn (1993: 79) notes that in the Finno-Ugric languages declined adjectives are rather rare, and among the Finnic languages the inflected adjective complement is more conventional in Finnish (see also Pajunen 1999, Section 5.1). As adjectives do not decline to the same extent as nouns generally in the Finno-Ugric languages, it is to be expected that they are not encoded in the translative as extensively as nouns. However, as my data suggests, translative encoding of adjectives is possible in Erzya. Also, a participle may be inflected in the translative in Erzya, see Examples (15a) and (1). As Bartens (1999: 99) illustrates, when the predicate is inflected using the present participle *-i*, the translative case can also occur in clauses which refer to the present, and furthermore, the translative-inflected participle may be inflected according to person. Structures of this kind only occur in my folklore data (see MV II 44).

7.3. Nouns of occupation

In the standard written data, amongst those clauses which denote class membership, translative encoded nouns occurred especially among those nouns denoting occupation. As was noted above, in Russian the lexico-semantic class of occupation nouns is obligatorily inflected in the instrumental in this construction type, as illustrated in Example (8). The following clauses illustrate that lexemes of occupation are often, although not necessarily, borrowed from Russian, as shown in Examples (39–41). In (42), only one of the occupation nouns, *pravt*, is not a Russian loan. Moreover, parti-

ciples functioning as occupation nouns, as illustrated in Example (16) above, as well as derivations of old words such as *právť* illustrated in Examples (41 and 42), occur in the translative case.

- (40) *Son ul'he-ś alukso-ń ribako-ks.* (Erkay 1991: 167)
 3SG be-1PST.3SG real-GEN fisherman-TRA
 'He was a real fisherman.'

- (41) *Minek li'ératura-ń' mala-v veše ušod-íca-t'ńe*
 1PL.GEN literature-DEF.GEN close-LAT all begin-PTCP.PRS-PL-DEF
juta-ś-t' žurnalístika-ń škola: ul'he-ś-t'
 go-1PST-3PL journalism-GEN school be-1PST-3PL
kořrespondeńť-ks, liťsotrudńike-ks, ředaktor-ks. (Siatko 4: 171)
 correspondent-TRA collaborator-TRA redactor-TRA
 'Almost all our beginners in literature went to the school of journalism: they were correspondents, collaborators, editors.'

- (42) *Ul'he-ś kolhoz-oń právťo-ks, zavhozo-ks,*
 be-1PST.3SG kolkhoz-GEN director-TRA leader-TRA
kirpeć-eń teje-ma-ń kořas mašterě-ks,
 brick-GEN make-VN-GEN about master-TRA
škola-so trudo-ń učiteľe-ks, bibliotekaře-ks... (Siatko 2003: 2)
 school-INE work-GEN teacher-TRA librarian-TRA
 'He was the director of a kolkhoz, a manager, a master at making bricks, at school a handicraft teacher, librarian...'

- (43) *Lazař-eń son ikeľ-jak sod-ilĩ-ze, še Romanov oš-so*
 L.-ACC 3SG before=too know-2PST-3SG>3SG it R. town-INE
monastĩre-ń právťo-ks ul'he-ś. (Doronin 1996: 413)
 monastery-GEN director-TRA be-1PST.3SG
 'He knew Lazar even earlier; he was an archimandrite in the town of Romanov.'

The following clauses denoting occupation share the same characteristic: they make reference to a specific point in time. The clause in Example (44) includes the adverb *kuvat'* 'for a long time', while in Example (45) we find the adverb *ikeľ* 'before, earlier', in Example (46) *vojnado ikeľ* 'before the war' and in Example (47) *kodgemeńće ijetńeste* 'in the sixties'. These clauses refer to the temporary nature of the states. In Example (48) the expression *vojnado ikeľejak* makes reference not only to a specific point in the past, but also to the fact that the referent of the subject is still functioning in the same occupation.

- (44) *Kuvat' ul'ne-ś monaho-ks.* (Doronin 1996: 207)
 long.time be-1PST.3SG monk-TRA
 'He was a monk for a long time.'
- (45) *Ikele' son ul'ne-ś patriarho-ks,*
 before 3SG be-1PST.3SG patriarch-TRA
nej –raužo monah. (Doronin 1996: 455)
 now black monk
 'Earlier he was a patriarch, now he is a black monk.'
- (46) *Vojna-do ikele' Kelu vele'-ń vejke ćora*
 war-ABL before Kelu village-GEN one man
ul'ne-ś Moskov-so metro-ń inžeńere-ks. (Siatko 2003: 2)
 be-1PST.3SG MOSCOW-INE metro-GEN engineer-TRA
 'Before the war, a certain man in the village of Kelu was a metro engineer in Moscow.'
- (47) *Kodgemeń-će ije-t'ne-ste te lomańe-ś ul'ne-ś*
 sixty-ORD year-PL-DEF-ELA this man-DEF be-1PST.3SG
Kongo-ń vašeńće mińistra-ks. (Siatko 2: 35)
 Congo-GEN first minister-TRA
 'In the sixties this man was the prime minister of the Congo.'
- (48) ... *sinst diřektor-oś vojna-do ikele'-jak*
 they.GEN director-DEF war-ABL before=too
ul'ne-ś učitele'-ks. (Erkay 1991: 143)
 be-1PST.3SG teacher-TRA
 'Their director was a teacher before the war as well.'

In Example (49) reference is made to a specific place, and thus to the temporary nature of the event. Example (50) contains a temporal adverb, but the expression *sval* 'always' refers to a stable situation. The basic word order in Erzya nominal predicate constructions is Subject NP–Copula–Predicate NP. The word order in Erzya is free, thus the translative inflected predicate noun may precede the copula, as in Examples (48–49).

- (49) ... *ofićeře-ks toso ul'ne-ś.* (Siatko 2003: 2)
 officer-TRA there be-1PST.3SG
 'He was an officer there.'
- (50) *Žurnaliste-ks son sval ul'ne-ś.* (Siatko 2003: 10)
 Journalist-TRA 3SG always be-1PST.3SG
 'She had always been a journalist.'

In my data there are also clauses in which the Russian loanword denoting occupation is in the nominative, as in Example (51). In the clauses presented in Examples (51) and (52), the noun of occupation is in the nominative and the examples do not contain any reference to a specific point in time. If translative encoding is not employed, the predication pattern may also be a synthetic one, as illustrated in the second clause of Example (52), in which the predicate noun *kapitan* ‘captain’ is conjugated in the third person singular of the second past tense.

- (51) *Son túr-ś Zapadnoj front-so,*
 3SG fight-1PST.3SG western front-INE
ul'ne-ś štabs-kapitan. (Kliuchagin 1997: 41)
 be-1PST.3SG headquarter.captain
 ‘He fought on the western front; he was a headquarter captain.’

- (52) *Saŋa l'ela-ś – artil'lerist ul'ne-ś,*
 S. big.brother-DEF gunner be-1PST.3SG
maštov-s Berlin-se maje-ń kavkso-će či-ste,
 die-1PST.3SG Berlin-INE May-GEN eight-ORD day-ELA
kapitan-ol'. (Siatko 2003: 2)
 captain-2PST.3SG
 ‘His/her big brother Sanya was a gunner. He died in Berlin on the 8th of May and was a captain.’

7.4. Translative encoding and negation

The negation of Erzya stative relation clauses is extremely complex (for a summary see Hamari 2007: 247; Turunen 2011). There are two different negators, *a* and *avol'*, in present tense nominal and adjectival predicate constructions. In the past tense one possibility is to inflect the nominal/adjectival predicate using the past tense predicative suffix together with either of the negators *a* or *avol'*. If the copula construction is employed, the negation particles *a* and *avol'* occur as constituent negators, as illustrated in Example (53), in which the predicate noun is in the translative.

- (53) .. *kalo-ń kunda-mo-ś soŋenze ul-ńe-ś*
 fish-GEN catch-VN-DEF 3SG.ALL be-1PST.3SG
avol'od i'eve-ks. (Erkay 1991: 11)
 NEG new thing-TRA
 ‘...fishing was nothing new to him.’

It is also possible to use a similar past tense negation pattern with verbal predicates, in which case the negative auxiliary *ež-* occurs with the connegative form of the copula ‘be’. This type was infrequent in my database, and in the database of Hamari (2007:

130) as well. Example (54) illustrates this type with translative encoded present tense participles.

- (54) *Ańśak żardo=jak eż-i-ń ul'he lavg-ića-ks*
 only when=too NEG-PST-1SG be.CNG babble-PTCP.PRS-TRA
di eś mastoro-ń mij-ića-ks. (Doronin 1996: 359)
 and own country-GEN sell-PTCP.PRS-TRA
 'Just that I was neither a babbler, nor a seller of my own country.'

If the noun is inflected in the translative, there will be one further possibility, which is not attested in those constructions where the nominal and adjectival predicates are in the nominative. This would be to employ the locational-existential-possessive negator *araś*. The employment of the negator *araś* connects translative encoded predicates with locational predicates. Use of this construction type (Subject + *araś*-PST-PX + Predicate NP+TRA) is not frequent, since I only found three clauses with this pattern, and in Hamari's data there was just one occurrence (Hamari 2007: 240–241). In (55) the predicate is a noun, in (56) a pronoun inflected in the translative.

- (55) *Uře-ks żardo-jak araś-el'i-ńek di a karma-tano!* (Doronin 1996: 427)
 slave-TRA when=too NEG-2PST-1PL and NEG begin-1PL
 'We were not slaves, and never will be!'

- (56) *Vaj, ava-kaj, di mon od-sto=jak*
 oh mother-VOC and 1SG young-ELA=too
iśtamo-ks araś-el'i-ń! (Doronin 1996: 186)
 like.that-TRA NEG-PST-1SG
 'Oh mother, I was not like that, not even when I was young!'

The questionnaires contained one negative sentence with an adjectival predicate. In the Russian original of this sentence, the adjectival predicate was encoded in the instrumental (as negation triggers the instrumental in Russian), as illustrated in Example (57). The translative occurred in 4 out of 16 Erzya clauses, Examples (58) and (59). In one of these, the negator *araś* was employed, as illustrated in Example (58), and in two clauses the copula verb with the constituent negator *a*, as in Example (59).

Russian (questionnaires)

- (57) *Ia tozhe ne byl-a nekrasiv-ym v molodost-i.*
 1SG also NEG be. PST-FEM.3SG unbeautiful-INSTR in youth- PRP
 'Yet I was not bad looking when I was young.'

Erzya (questionnaires)

- (58) *Od-sto mon araš-eli-ń a mazij-ks.*
 young-ELA 1SG NEG-2PST-1SG NEG beautiful-TRA
 ‘I was not bad looking when I was young.’

- (59) *Mon tožo ul-ń-i-ń a mazij-ks od-sto.*
 1SG also be-1PST.1SG NEG beautiful-TRA young-ELA
 ‘Yet I was not bad looking when I was young.’

Interestingly, the translative occurred in 5 out of 8 Moksha clauses. The relatively frequent occurrence of translative encoding in Moksha could be due to Russian influence, occurring mainly in translations. The effect of collecting data through questionnaires containing translations is discussed in Section 6.

8. Comparison of Erzya translative and Russian instrumental constructions in questionnaire data

The questionnaire data (see Section 2) provides a point of comparison between Erzya and Russian patterns, and it hints that further investigation could be fruitful. Translative encoding was relatively frequent in the questionnaires consisting of translations from Russian to Erzya. There were eight clauses in the questionnaires that had a past denotation. In the first questionnaire there were six clauses translated by 24 Erzya students, while in the second there were two clauses translated by 16 Erzya students. All of these past tense clauses, a total of 170 clauses, were translated with the past tense copula verb, and the other possible predication pattern, the predicative suffix construction illustrated in Example (4) above, was not used. Erzya nominal predicates were almost always inflected in the translative when the original Russian clause contained an instrumental: in only 6 out of 170 clauses did a nominative occur in place of a translative. The questionnaires contained only nouns inflected in the instrumental, and they did not contain Russian sentences in which an adjectival predicate was encoded in the instrumental. As illustrated in Example (36), the adjectives did occur in the translative in the questionnaires in that sentence type where the Russian instrumental would have been possible. As far as adjectives are concerned, this data is naturally insufficient to make a generalization.

The following examples illustrate the correspondence between the Erzya translative and the Russian instrumental encoding. The nominal predicates of Russian sentences are in the instrumental and those in Erzya in the translative. In (61) the predicate noun is *ejkakšoks*, in (63) *lomańeks* and in (65) *aktrisaks*, which is a Russian loan. In corresponding constructions the nominal predicates are more often in the nominative than in the translative in standard written Erzya, and in that case they agree in number (*ejkakš-t*, *lomań-t*).

Russian (questionnaires)

- (1) *My byl-i vesely-mi detishka-mi, vseгда igra-li*
 1PL be.PST-PL glad-INSTR.PL child-INSTR.PL always play-PST.PL
 ‘We were happy kids, we always played.’

Erzya (questionnaires)

- (61) *Miň ulń-i-ńek vešela ejkakšo-ks, pačk nalks-i-ńek.*
 1PL be-1PST-1PL glad child-TRA through play-1PST-1PL
 ‘We were happy kids, we always played.’

Russian (questionnaires)

- (62) *Moj-a babushka i moj dedushka*
 1SG-FEM grandmother and my.MASC grandfather
byl-i bolshi-mi liud-mi v sele.
 be big-INSTR.PL human- INSTR.PL in village.PRP
 ‘My grandmother and grandfather were important people in the village.’

Erzya (questionnaires)

- (63) *Moń baba-m di dēda-m*
 1SG.GEN grandmother-1SG and grandfather-1SG
ulńe-ś-t pokš lomańe-ks vele-se.
 be-1PST-3PL big human-TRA village-INE
 ‘My grandmother and grandfather were important people in the village.’

Russian (questionnaires)

- (64) *Moi-a tetia byl-a izvestn-oj aktris-oj.*
 1SG-FEM aunt be.PST-FEM famous-INSTR actor-INSTR
 ‘My aunt was a famous actress.’

Erzya (questionnaires)

- (65) *Moń paťa-m ulńe-ś sodaviks aktrisa-ks/nalk-ića-ks.*
 1SG.GEN aunt-1SG be-1PST.3SG famous actor-TRA/play-PTCP.PRS-TRA
 ‘My aunt was a famous actress.’

In the spoken-language data, translative encoding rarely occurred in nominal and adjectival predicate clauses. There was one occurrence in which a noun of occupation was in the translative, as illustrated in Example (66). The first clause has a past tense denotation with the nominal predicate *lomań* in the nominative as in the third clause of the same example, and the nominal predicate *traktoristeks* is inflected in the translative.

- (66) *těta-m išt'a žo paro lomań ul'ne-ś,..*
 father-1SG also good human be-1PST.3SG
Son važod-ś kolhoz-so,
 3SG work-1PST.3SG kolhoz-INE
ul'ne-ś traktoriste-ks. (L. A.)
 be-1PST.3SG tractorist-TRA
 'My father was also a good man. He worked in the kolkhoz as a tractor driver.'

On the other hand, as noted above, translative encoding occurred in translations from Russian made during some of the interviews. When the informants were asked to translate Russian clauses, some of them used constructions such as (67), which never occurred in my other types of data.

- (67) *son ul'ne-ś eřza-ks.*
 3SG be-1PST.3SG Erzya-TRA
 '(S)he was an Erzya.'

The parallelism between Erzya and Russian patterns observed in translations is clear. The translative occurs most typically in translations from Russian into Erzya. It also occurs frequently in those constructions in which the lexeme is a Russian loan or, especially, a noun of occupation. Erzya participles which function as occupation nouns are also relatively often encoded in the translative. The semantically vague Erzya translative is frequently used in copula clauses which refer to the past tense or future, but it does not occur in those clauses that refer to the present tense. In this respect, the Erzya nominative-translative switch resembles the Russian nominative-instrumental switch. It is obvious, however, that the employment of the Erzya translative cannot be mapped together with the use of the Russian instrumental in a one-to-one correspondence. As noted above, employment of an oblique case is typical of the Circum-Baltic languages, and as such, an areal phenomenon. Whether the employment of the translative in Erzya in the specific constructions types introduced above (the so-called semantically empty translative) arose through Russian influence is another matter. The similarity as well as the distinctiveness of the Erzya and Russian systems needs to be studied more in greater depth, and hopefully a comprehensive study of this matter will appear in the future.

9. Discussion

In Erzya translative encoding can be replaced with the nominative in some clause types of the structure [Subject NP + *ul'(ń)ems* copula + Predicate Noun/Adjective] without any change in the meaning of the clause. In the present treatise, the clear functions of the Erzya translative such as the one expressing similarity were left outside of the main discussion, and only that translative which switches with the nomina-

tive in the previously mentioned construction type was taken into account. It was observed that this kind of translative encoding is dependent on the time reference of the constructions. The translative tends to occur in those constructions which make reference to a specific point in time in the past. The translative case, which is etymologically the same, is employed in similar constructions in the Finnic languages, especially in Estonian dialects, Livonian and Veps, in which the translative emphasises the temporality of relations. The difference between Finnic in general and Erzya is that in Erzya, translative encoding, when employed to refer to temporary relationships, occurs almost always in clauses which refer to the past tense and future events. This has to do with the fact that the copula occurs only in non-present nonverbal predicate clauses, and the employment of the semantically vague translative is dependent on the presence of the copula.

The future tense clauses in which the *ul'ems* copula is employed do not differentiate between a stative and dynamic interpretation. Consequently, the Erzya *ul'ems* copula construction type refers to a state in the future. In those constructions referring to the future, the noun may be in either the nominative or the translative.

Translative encoding is more frequent when the nonverbal predicate is a noun than when it is an adjective. Adjectival predicates can, however, be in the translative as well. The differences in the encoding of nouns and adjectives in predicate position are related to the discussion on part of speech distinctions in Erzya and the other Finno-Ugric languages. In Erzya, a distinction between nouns and adjectives is also made respecting the employment of predication strategies (see Turunen 2009).

Stated briefly, the Erzya data suggests that Stassen's (2001) generalization concerning time-stability and the nominative-oblique switch may not be as strong as he seems to suggest. Time-stability is definitely not the only factor constraining the occurrence of the translative in copula clauses, and translative encoding may occur also in identificational statements, which are stable in time. As noted above, time-stability is not a very relevant factor in Slavic. In the translations from Russian to Erzya the translative case was employed relatively frequently. It is possible that the same complex semantic, lexical and stylistic factors that affect the nominative-instrumental switch in Russian affect the employment of the semantically vague translative in Erzya. The role of language contacts in the employment of the semantically vague translative ought to be studied in greater detail.

Abbreviations

1	1st person	DIM	diminutive
2	2nd person	ELA	elative
3	3rd person	FEM	feminine
ABL	ablative	GEN	genitive
ACC	accusative	ILL	illative
ALL	allative	INE	inessive
CNG	connegative	INSTR	instrumental
DEF	definite	LAT	lative

MASC	masculine	PTCP	participle
NEG	negative	REFL	reflexive
ORD	ordinal	SG	singular
PL	plural	TRA	transitive
PRP	prepositional	VN	verbal noun
PRS	present	VOC	vocative
PST	past		

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CHRONIQUE
COMMUNICATIONS
ACTIVITÉS

László HONTI (Budapest)

Etsiä ja ansaita

Kirjoitus pohjautuu Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran esimiehen, vararehtori Ulla-Maija Forsbergin 50-vuotisjuhlaseminaarissa Helsingissä 10. syyskuuta 2010 pidettyyn esitelmään.

1. Aluksi

Esitelmässäni haluan käsitellä muutamia sellaisia työntekoon liittyviä ilmaisutapoja, jotka ainakin ensikuulemalta voisivat olla kansanpsykologisten tai kansalliskarakterologisten johtopäätösten lähtökohtana. Aiheeni valinnan perusteena on ensisijaisesti unkarin ilmaisu *pénzt, kenyeret keres* 'ansaita rahaa, leipänsä', mutta osansa on ollut silläkin seikalla, että kollegamme, jubilaarimme, tämän tilaisuuden sankari, on lähtenyt – päässyt tai joutunut – urallaan tielle, joka on itselleni täysin vieras ja joka on aina kammottanut minua, nimittäin korkean viran hoitajan paperisota. Tämä on siis syynä siihen, että nyt pohdiskelen muutamia työntekoon ja toimeentuloon liittyviä suomalais-ugrilaisten ja indoeurooppalaisten kielten ilmaisuja. Minusta tuntuu, että nämä ilmaisutavat voivat omalla tavallaan valaista kaukaisten esivanhempiemme elämäntapaa. Mutta jo alussa haluaisin todeta, etten yllätä kuuntelijoita monilla uusilla havainnoilla – tahdon vain leikkiä aihepiiriin kuuluvilla kieliseikoilla; olen aina leikkinyt ilomielin kielellä, tutkimuksemme aiheella ja välineellä, ja näin siis teen nytkin, kun nuori työtoverimme on täyttänyt ensimmäiset 50 ikävuottaan.

2. Etsiminen ja ansaitseminen

2.1. Unkarin *pénzt, kenyeret keres*, suomen *ansaita rahaa, leipänsä*

Unkaria osaavat tietävät, mitä *pénzt, kenyeret keres* merkitsee. Tämän vastine suomessa on *ansaita rahaa, leipänsä*.

Kielen puhuja ajattelee varmasti melko harvoin analysoiden puhumansa kielen fraseologismeja. Aiemmin en itsekään kiinnittänyt huomiota *kenyeret keres* -ilmauksen sananmukaiseen merkitykseen. Vasta sen jälkeen kun ranskan kielen opettajamme Keszthelyin kymnaasissa oli kiinnittänyt huomionsa sen ranskankieliseen vastineeseen *gagner son pain* 'ansaita leipänsä', sananmukaisesti 'voittaa leipänsä', ja kieliä osaavana ihmisenä samalla maininnut sen saksankielisen vastineen *das/sein Brot verdienen*, rupesin miettimään, mikä voi olla unkarinkielisen ilmauksen takana. Opettaja yritti painaa mieleemme nämä ilmaisut leikkisellä selityksellään, että ranskalaiset kevytmielisenä eteläisenä kansana haluavat käsitellä kaikkea keveämmin, siksi he **v o i t t a v a t** leipää, saksalaiset sen sijaan **u r a s t a v a t** k o v a s t i leipänsä

ja rahansa puolesta, ja me unkarilaiset olemme kahden äärimmäisyyden välillä, emme ole kevytmielisiä mutta emme haluaisi kärsiäkään leipämme puolesta, joten siksi me vain etsimme sitä.

Joka on jo lukenut vogulin- ja ostjakinkielisiä tekstejä, pääasiallisesti kansanomaisia tekstejä, tietää, että nämä sukukansat eivät yleensä ”metsästä” petoja eivätkä ”kalasta” kaloja, s. o. he eivät ”tapa” niitä, vaan he enimmäkseen ”etsivät” niitä, vrt. esim. vog. KL AL P *kinši*, K *kènsi*, P *kinsi*, T *kenš-änt* ’suchen, Jagd machen, jagen’ (MK 213–214), AK KK LO So *kins-* ’jagen, Jagd treiben, suchen, beten’, KK *kinsil-* ’fangen, erbeuten’ (Kannisto et al. 1982: 149), ostj. VVj Trj DN *kěňč-*, Ni *kăš-*, Kaz *kăňš-*, *kăš-*, O *kăš-* ’suchen, durchsuchen (DN), Eichhörnchen aufspüren (Kaz), Jagd und Fischfang treiben (VVj Trj Ni Kaz O)’ (DEWOS 644), V *kěňčă* ’искать’, *wajăy k.* ’охотиться’, *kul k.* ’рыбачить’ (Tereškin 1961: 144), V *kul-kěňčă-ku*, DN *χul-kěňčă-χoj* ’Fischer’ (DEWOS 466, 644), Trj *kěňčă-ko*, DN *kěňčă χoj* ’промышленник’, VVj *kěňčil-*, Trj *kěňčil-*, DN *kěňšit-*, Kaz *kăňšijăl-* ’[= *kěňč-* jne. frekv.] искивать (DN), ловить, промышленяль (V)’ (DEWOS 644). Nämä ilmaisutavat ovat ilmeisesti tabuun palautuvia, sillä jos peto tai kala kuulee, mitä metsästäjä tai kalastaja valmistautuu tekemään, se juoksee piiloon hänen tieltään.

Tästä huolimatta on kuitenkin sellaisiakin ilmaisutapoja, jotka kuvaavat suoraan, mistä on kysymys, vrt. esim. vog. KL AL P K *äli*, P *ali*, T *älänt* ’töten, schlachten; Wild erlegen, Fisch fangen; Jagd treiben, fischen; schlagen, verletzen, peinigen, weh tun’, KL *älili*, P *alili* ’verfolgen, Jagd treiben’, T *älsli*, KL *älišli*, P *alili* ’Jagd, Fischfang treiben’ (MK 33–34), KL *khul alnë ilëm* ’Zeit zum Fischfang’ (MK 118) (*khul* ’Fisch’, *ilëm* ’Wetter, Zeit’) ~ ostj. V *wel-*, Trj *wăl-*, DN C Ni *wet-*, Kaz *wel-*, O *wel-* ’töten, fangen, erbeuten’, Sy *weləm-öt* ’Beute’ (DEWOS 1579) < FU **weđe-* ’töten’ (UEW 566; itse ehdottamani rekonstruktio **wəle-*, vrt. Honti 1992, 2001).

Ilahduin löytäessäni nämä samankaltaiset obinugrilaiset ilmaisut (Honti 1990), mutta pian jouduin toteamaan, että vain harvoin on mitään uutta auringon alla. Kollegani Ferenc A. Molnár kiinnitti huomioni professori Béla Kálmánin (1959) lyhyeen kirjoitukseen, jossa oli jo esitetty tämä ugrilaisten kielten yhteinen fraseologismi. Olin kuitenkin iloinen siitä, että itsekin olin julkaissut artikkelin tästä aiheesta, koska siten aiheeseen oli mahdollisuus tutustua suuremmalla yleisöllä kuin olisi ollut vain Kálmánin *Magyar Nyelvőr* -lehdessä julkaistujen pienten havaintojen joukossa ilmenneen lyhyehkön kirjoituksen perusteella. Kálmánin johtopäätös, jota nyt siteeraan, on täysin yhtäpitävä oman päätelmäni kanssa:

Keres szavunknak tehát mai ‘jövédelmet szerez’ jelentése még az ősi halász-vadász korra nyúlik vissza. E szó jelentésének vizsgálatá is azt bizonyítja, hogy szólásaink, sőt gyakran egyes szavaink is milyen fontos, érdekes művelődéstörténeti emlékeket őriztek meg. (Kálmán 1959: 484)

’Unkarin *keres*-sana ’hankkia toimeentuloa’ on siis peräisin muinaiselta metsästyks- ja kalastusaikakaudelta. Myös tmän sanan merkityksen tutkimus todistaa, että sanontamme ja usein myös eräät sanamme ovat säilyttäneet tärkeitä, mielenkiintoisia kulttuurihistoriallisia muistoja.’

2.2. Suomen *ansaita*

Tietääkseni suomen *ansaita*-sanalla on kaksi erilaista etymologista selitystä: toisen mukaan se on germaaninen laina ja toisen mukaan balttilaisperäisen *ansa*-sanan johdos.

Ansaita-verbin ohella on tai ainakin on ollut olemassa vanhassa kielessä myös *asnata* 'ansaita', joka olisi *ansaita*-verbin metateesin kautta syntynyt variantti. Tämän oletuksen esittäjät vetoavat tavallisesti seuraaviin germaanisiin rinnakkaisuuksiin: goot. *asneis* 'päiväpalkkalainen', mys. *asni*, *esni*, angl. *esne* 'id.', mas. *asna* 'vero, maksu' (SKES 1: 19). SKES pitää samalla mahdollisena myös sitä, että *ansaita* olisi johdos *ansa*-sanasta. SSA:n mukaan kyseessä on ilmeinen germaaninen laina (SSA 1: 77), vrt. kantagerm. **asnē(ja)n-* tai **aznē(ja)n-*. SSA mainitsee SKES:n siteeraamien germaanisten tietojen ohella seuraavatkin: mys. *arnēn* 'ansaita' ja *arnar* 'päiväpalkkalainen', jotka olisivat muodon **asnē(ja)n-* johdoksia, ja täten *ansaita* kuuluisi englannin verbin *earn* 'ansaita rahaa' ja saksan substantiiviin *Ernte* 'sato' kaukaisiin sukulaisiin (Onions 1998: 297, Kluge 1989: 186). **asnē(ja)n*-verbin edustajia on mm. slaavissakin, vrt. ven. *осень* 'syksy' (Vasmer 1955: 281; 1971: 158, Černyh 2004: 607).

Thomsen (1870: 112) selitti tämän suomen verbin germaaniseksi, ja tähän on yhtynyt Koivulehto (1974: 113, v. 2), joka on samalla torjunut ajatuksen, että *ansaita* ja *asnata* olisivat *ansa*-sananjohdoksia. Hofstran kannanotto on samankaltainen: ”*ansaita* (*ansaitzen*) ‘verdienen’ ~ germ. **asnē(ja)n* oder **aznē(ja)n* (> z. B. ahd. *arnēn* ‘verdienen’)” (Hofstra 1985: 196, ks. myös s. 231, 348). Vaihtoehto *ansa* > *ansaita* (> *asnata*) ei kuitenkaan ole unohtunut (Itkonen 1968: 489, Hakulinen 1968: 233; 2000: 284, alav. 414, ja vaihtoehtoisesti SKES 1: 19).

SSA (1: 77) hyväksyy varauksetta Thomsenin ja Koivulehdon ajatuksen huolimatta siitä, että SSA:n ensimmäisen osan päätoimittaja oli Erkki Itkonen, joka aikaisemmin oli arvellut näin:

Johd:ia *ansa*-sanasta ovat mahd. *ansaita* ja *ansio*, jotka siinä tapauksessa kuuluisivat vanhaan eränkäyntisanastoon; edellisen alkumerk. olisi ollut 'pyytää ansalla' ja jälkimmäisen 'ansalla pyydetty (saalis)'. Main. sanoja on pidetty myös germ. lainoina, mikä selitys on kuitenkin äänteell. syistä heikompi. (Itkonen 1968: 489)

Vastaavasti arveli myös Hakulinen (1968: 233, alav. 414; 2000: 284, alav. 414):

Thomsenin etymologia, jonka mukaan *ansaitzen* on vanha germ. laina, on hylättävä, jos k-s:ksi edellytetään pyydyksen nimi *ansa* ja verbin alkup. merkitykseksi 'pyydystän ansalla'.

Ellen erehdy, viimeisimmän käsityksen tästä sanaperheestä on esittänyt Kylstran ja hänen työtoveriansa laatima sanakirja:

ANSAITA (*ansaitse-*), *asnata* (*asnaa-*) (aWb.) ‘verdienen’; karel. *asnita*.¹

**ansa-* / **asna-* / **asni-*

~ urgerm. **asnē(ja)n-* > **aznē(ja)n-* (, urn. **aRnēn*); vgl. ahd. (*gi-*)*arnēn* ‘verdien, gewinnen’;

~ urgerm. **asnō(ja)n-* > **aznō(ja)n-*, urn. **aRnōn*; vgl. aschwed. *anna* ‘verdien’, ae. *earnian* ‘verdien, gewinnen’ (Kylstra et al. 1991: 27).

Eri kielistä esitettyjen tietojen ja eri etymologioiden näkemysten luetteloa seuraa johtopäätös:

Es dürften sowohl die Herleitung aus dem Germ. wie auch die Deutung als eigene Ableitung aus *ansa* möglich sein. Ein Nebeneinander von *sn* und *ns* liegt auch vor beim einheimischen *käsnä* / *känsä* ‘Schwiele, Baumschwamm’. Nicht auszuschließen ist, daß *ansaita* und *asnata* unterschiedlicher Herkunft sind. Falls *ansaita* ein germ. LW ist, muß das Original frühurgerm. **asnē(ja)n-*, nicht späturgerm. **aznē(ja)n-* sein; sonst wäre eher **ahnaita* zu erwarten. (Kylstra et al. 1991: 27)

Näyttää siis siltä, että *ansaita*-verbin germaanista taustaa ei voi pitää yleisesti hyväksyttynä.

Toisen tulkinnan mukaan *ansaita*-verbi on substantiivin *ansa* ‘paula, rihmanen; silmukka’ johdos, ”jolloin *ansaita* alkuaan olisi merkinnyt ‘pyytää, hankkia saalista ansoilla’, *ansio* ‘ansoilla pyydetty’ tjs. (vrt. *ansamies* ‘pauloilla linnustava metsämies...’); *asnata* voisi silloin olla metateettinen (vrt. *känsä* ~ *käsnä*...)” (SKES 1: 19). Sana *ansa* on peräisin balttilaisesta lähteestä, ”vrt. liett. *qsa* ‘sanka, kahva; silmukka’, lat. *ūsua* id., mprs. *ansis* ‘patakoukku’” (loc. cit., ks. myös Kalima 1936: 91). Samaa suuntaa viittaa myös SSA (1: 77), joka siteeraa vastineita myös kaukaisemmista indoerooppalaisista kielistä – ”lat *ānsa* ‘kahva, sanko’, mn *æs* (< **ansjō*), kas *ōse* ‘pyöreä kahva, silmukka’ (ieur. **ansā*, **ansi-* ‘silmukka, kahva’ – ja lisää, että suomen *ansaita*-sanaa ”on pidetty myös *ansa* sanan johdokseksi; ainakin metateesi (*asna-* > *ansa-*) voi olla tämän läheisen sanan vaikutusta” (SSA 1: 77). Substantiivi *ansio* on Hakulisen mielestä deverbainen nomen acti (Hakulinen 1968: 167; 2000: 203). Häkkinen (1990: 12) epäilee, ettei suomen vanha kirjakieli tue oletusta tällaisesta semanttisesta kehityksestä (mutta vrt. myös Häkkinen 2007: 56).

Tutustuttuani sanueen alkuperää käsitteleviin tutkielmiin voin esittää seuraavat johtopäätökset:

1. Sanat *ansa* ja *ansaita* kuuluvat etymologisesti ilmeisesti samaan sanueeseen, mutta verbin semantiikkaan on vaikuttanut yllä lueteltujen germaanisten verbien merkitys.
2. Näin ollen *ansaita*-verbillä on kaksoisetymologia, toisaalta leksikaalisesti, toisaalta semanttisesti.

1 ”*asnita*... *ansaita*” (Virtaranta 1968: 78).

3. Suomen vanha *asnata* ja karjalan *asnita* on ehkä voinut syntyä *ns* > *sn* meta-teesin kautta (tämän hypoteesin tueksi mainittu yksi ainoa paralleeli *känsä* ~ *käsnä* 'Schwiele, Warze; Geschwulst am Baum' on todistusvoimaltaan heikohko, mutta ei kuitenkaan täysin vähäpätöinen, onhan olemassa muitakin, joskin vähälukuisia sporadisia äänteenmuutoksia). Minusta kuitenkin tuntuu todennäköisemmältä verbien *asnata* ja *asnita* germaanisiperäisyys – lainautuminen olisi voinut tapahtua juuri niihin aikoihin, kun *ansa*-sanana johdokseksi ilmestyi *ansaita*, ja germaanisiperäinen verbi olisi voinut vaikuttaa johdoksen merkitykseen. Näin siis hyväksyn Kylstran sanakirjan näkökannan, että *ansaita* on syntynyt *ansa*-substantiivista, ja suomen *asnata* ja karjalan *asnita* ovat todella lainoja germaanista.

4. Sanat *ansa* ~ *ansaita* voivat olla tekemisissä metsästämiseen liittyvän sanavaraston kanssa kuten ugrilaisten kielten ilmaisutyyppi 'etsiä eläintä, kalaa', jota sitten on seurannut unkarin *kenyeret keres* > *pénzt keres*.

Suomen ja unkarin ilmaisutapojen selitystä voi tukea sekin seikka, että näiden kielten puhujien päätoimeentulon perustana kaukaisessa menneisyydessä oli metsästys ja kalastus. Halusin selvittää myös, onko muissakin uralilaisissa kielissä jälkiä tämän-tyyppisistä ansaitsemiseen liittyvistä fraseologismeista. Käytössäni olleena lyhyenä aikana en löytänyt mitään samankaltaisuuksia. Kun kielisukulaistemme metsästävät, he käyttävät enimmäkseen 'ottaa (kiinni), tarttua, tappaa' merkityksisiä verbejä, ja kun he ansaitsevat rahaa, he käyttävät usein lainasanoja.

2.3. Muut kielet

Palaan nyt romaanisten kielten puhujien ansaitsemissanastoon. Ranskalais-italialaisen 'ansaita rahaa' sanan voi ymmärtää leikillisesti vain ransk. *gagner* ja ital. *guadagnare*-verbien nykyisten päämerkitysten perusteella. Näiden taustalla on rakenne, joka muistuttaa merkitykseltään saksan ilmaisua *Geld verdienen*. Verbit *gagner* ja *guadagnare* ovat frankkilaisia, siis germaanisiperäisiä lainoja, vrt. **waidanjan* 'chercher de la nourriture, etsiä ruokaa; lavorare, tehdä työtä' > ransk. (12. vuosisata) *gaaaignier*, *guaaignier* 'faire paître, paimentaa' > nykyransk. *gagner* 'etsiä; voittaa', joka on sitten levinnyt italiaan: *guadagnare* 'id.' ja Iberian niemimaan romaanisiin kieliin: esp. *guadañar* 'faucher; niittää, leikata', kat. *guanyar*, port. *ganhar* 'voittaa jne.' (Dauzat 1938: 350, Picoche 1992: 231, Bloch & von Wartburg 2002: 284, Cortelazzo & Zolli 2008: 698, Nocentini 2010: 531).

Nykyisten germaanisten kielten joukossa saksa ja hollanti ovat säilyttäneet tämän sanan: saks. *Weide* 'laidun, rehu; laiduntaminen, paimennus', holl. *weide* 'niitty, aho, laidun; heinikko', vrt. muinaisyläs. *weida* 'Nahrungsgewinn (auch vom Menschen und nicht nur in bezug auf Pflanzenkost); ruoka (myös ihmisen, eikä vain kasviruoka)' (Pfeifer 1997: 1548).

weide ... onfrank. *weitha* ... 'weide', mhd. *weide* ... 'voer, voedsel, weide', ohd. *weida*... 'voer, weide, het voedsel zoeken'. Het wordt gewoonlijk gelijkgesteld met ohd. *weida* 'jacht, visvangst', on. *veiðir* ... 'jacht, vangst' < germ. **waiþiō* naast oe. *wāð* ... 'jacht, het rond zwerven' < germ. **waiþō*. (De Vries 1987: 825)

'*weide* ... muinaisalafrankk. *weitha* ... 'laidun', keskiyläs. *weide* ... 'ruoka, laidun', muinaisyläs. *weida* ... 'ruoka, laidun; etsiä ruokaa'. Tämä sana yhdistetään yleensä seuraaviin sanoihin: muinaisyläs. 'metsästys, kalastus' ja muinaisnorjan *veiðir* ... 'metsästys, pyynti, saalis' < germ. **waiþiō*, muinaisengl. *wāð* ... 'metsästys, kuljeskeleminen, vaeltelu' < germ. **waiþō*.'

Toisaalta olen löytänyt muitakin näiden sanojen muunnoksia: muinaisengl. *wāþ* 'Jagd, das Umherstreifen', muinaisnorjan *veiðr* 'Jagd' (Pfeifer 1997: 1548). Näyttää siis siltä, että ranskalais-italialainen rahan ansaitseminenkin oli sidoksissa metsästyksen ja metsästettyjen petojen syömiseen, ainakin germaanisissa kielissä. Saaliseläimet saattoivat olla myös tasangon villieläimiä, ja näin laidun ja metsästys kuuluivat yhteen samassa mielessä kuin suomen *metsä* ja *metsästää*. Jos yrittäisin havainnollistaa näiden germaanisten sanojen semanttista suhdetta, sanoisin: *laidun* > *laiduntaa* 'metsästää [laitumella]'. Tämän oletuksen vahvistanee se, että toisen käyttämäni italian etymologisen sanakirjan mukaan (Nocentini 2010: 531) muinaisyläs. verbillä *weidenōn* on merkitykset 'pascolare' j a 'cacciare', s. o. 'laiduntaa' j a 'metsästää'.

3. Unkarin *munka*

On tunnettua, että unk. *munka* 'työ' on slaavilainen laina. Sanan historialliset merkitykset ovat seuraavat:

1. cruciatus; Qual; gyötrelem, kín (1200: HB, ebben: *munkás világ* 'gyötrelmes világ'; a mondat értelmézése ezt az értelmézést kívánja); – 2. labor; lassitudo; Mühe; fáradság ...; – 3. labor, praxis, negotium; Arbeit ...; – 4. opus; Werk; mű ...; – 5. operis fructus, merces; Lohn; jutalom, bér ... (Kniezsa 1974: 347)

'1. cruciatus; Qual; tuska, vaiva (1200: HB, tässä: *munkás világ* 'maailma täynnä tuskia'; lauseen merkitys vaatii tämän tulkinnan); – 2. labor; lassitudo; Mühe; väsymys...; – 3. labor, praxis, negotium; työ...; – 4. opus; Werk; teos...; – 5. operis fructus, merces; Lohn; palkinto, palkka...'

Sanan lähde oli **mōka*-asuinen slaavilainen sana, vrt. kirkkosl. *mōka* 'cruciatus, tormentum, punitio, supplitium, dolor', puol. *męka* 'Pein, Marter', ven. *му́ка* 'Marter, Qual, Pein' (Kniezsa 1974: 347), tähän vrt. myös ven. *хождение по мукам* 'kärsimystie'. Asiaan perehtymättömät tuntenevat vain tämän alkuperäisen merkityksen, kuten erään oppineen maallikon kirjasta käy ilmi: professori Mario Alinein (2003:

213; 2005: 224) mielestä unk. *munka* merkitsee 'tortura; gyötrelem; kärsimys, tuska'. Jos näkisin vain sanan vanhimman merkityksen, voisin ajatella, että työnteke oli esi-isillemme runsas tuhat vuotta sitten *t u n t e m a t o n t a*, "pelkkää tuskaa". Mutta merkityksenkehitys 'kärsimys' > 'työ' ei ole ainutlaatuinen, vain unkarissa todettua muutos, vrt. "Zur Bed 1 [Qual, Marter, Folter] und 2 [Arbeit] vgl: gr. *πόνοϛ* '(schwierige) Arbeit; Qual; usw.); lat. *labor* 'Leid, Mühe, Not; Arbeit'" (EWUng 2: 1004), ransk. *travail* 'työ' < vulgaarilat. *tripalium* 'kinzóeszköz; kidutuskeino, -väline', saks. *Arbeit* 'munka; työ' < keskiyläsaksan *arebeit* 'väsymys, tuskallisuus' (TESz 2: 977).

4. Venäjän *неделя*

Sanan *неделя* merkitys nykyvenäjässä on 'viikko', muinaisvenäjässä *недѣля* merkitsi vielä 'воскресенье; sunnuntai' ja 'сѣдмица; viikko'. Tämä oli alun perin yhdyssana: *не* 'älä; ei' + *дѣл-* (*дѣло* 'asia', *дѣлати* 'tehdä') (Vasmer 1955: 208; 1971: 57, Černyh 2004: 566), ja merkitys oli alkuaan 'воскресный, нерабочий день; sunnuntainen, työtön päivä' (Vasmer 1955: 208; 1971: 57), ja merkityksessä 'viikko' oli käytössä *сѣдмица* (Černyh 2004: 566). Mutta *недѣля*-sanalla oli jo muinaiskirkkoslaavissa molemmat merkitykset, s. o. 'воскресенье, sunnuntai' ja 'неделя, viikko'. Tämä viimeksi mainittu merkitys esiintyy vieläkin silloin tällöin tšekissä ja sanan monikko-muodossa yläsorbissa (Černyh 2004: 566). Myös venäjän *понедельник* 'maanantai' viittaa juuri tähän, se on nimittäin lepopäivää seuraavan päivän l. viikon ensimmäisen työpäivän nimi. Sanan *неделя* alkuperäisen merkityksen voisi todeta huvittavaksi kansankarakterologiseksi merkiksi siitä, että slaavit muinoin käyttivät koko viikon leppäämiseen, mutta tällä merkityksen laajennuksella on hyvin yksinkertainen arkipäiväinen syy:

Die Übertragung vom Sonntag auf die mit Sonntag beginnende Woche erfolgte infolge der Doppelbedeutung von griech. τὰ σάββατα (woher lat. *sabbatum*), da der Sabbat als Merkzeichen der Woche galt ... (Vasmer 1955: 208)

Перенос знач. с воскресенья на неделю, начинающуюся с воскресенья, произошел ввиду наличия двойного знач. греч. τὰ σάββατα (откуда лат. *sabbatum*), поскольку суббота считалась символом недели ... (Vasmer 1971: 57)

5. Lopuksi

Luulen, että jubilaari *etsii*, *etsiskelee* ahkerasti yliopistobyrokratian metsästä saalista ja varmasti *voittaa* *kin ansaan* eksyneen saaliinsa, ja samalla haluaisin toivoa, että hän ei tunne elävänsä maailmassa, joka on *t ä y n n ä t u s k a a*, vaan tämä uusi työnteke on hänelle pelkkää nautintoa, ikään kuin koko *viikon*

ajan hänen tehtävänään olisi vain *s u n n u n t a* ipäivän suloinen *j o u t i l a i s u u s*, s. o. *dolce farniente*. Toivon, että Ulla-Maijalla on menestyksellisen työnteon elämys myös uudessa tehtävässään. Olkoon hänen menestyksensä koko yliopiston hyväksi, ja ajakoon hän mitä parhaimmalla tavalla myös meidän tieteenalamme etuja!

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Permistiikan symposiumit

Ennen Syktyvkarin fennougristikongressia vuonna 1985 permiläisistä kielitieteilijöistä hyvin harva pystyi osallistumaan kongresseihin. Nuoremman polven tutkijat eivät yleensä pystyneet osallistumaan, koska heidän matkojensa rahoitusta tasavallat eivät halunneet tukea. Muutenkin kongresseihin lähetetyt ilmoittautumiset ja esitelmien abstraktit kävivät läpi neuvostoliittolaisen fennougristien komitean tarkastuksen ja aina tarkastuksen läpäisseetkään eivät suljetuissa tasavalloissa saaneet viisumeita ulkomaille. Siksi alettiin harkita suppeampien kielitieteellisten tapahtumien pitoa.

Ensimmäinen yritys järjestää pienimuotoisia permiläisten kielten tutkimuksen symposiumeja oli vuonna 1985 Iževskissä. Silloin järjestettiin symposiumi ”Unkarilaiset tutkijat ja permiläinen filologia” Udmurtian valtionyliopistossa. Symposiumi oli tuolloin omistettu virallisesti ”Unkarin vapauttamisen ja fasisisesta Saksasta saadun voiton 40-vuotisjuhlalle”. Symposiumin nimelle oli tosin myös politiikan suhdanteista riippumaton syy: Bernát Munkácsin (1860–1937) syntymästä oli kulunut 125 vuotta ja hänen tulostaan udmurttien maille kenttätöihin 100 vuotta.

Permistiikan symposiumien tradition syntyaikoina Udmurtian valtionyliopiston udmurtin kielen osaston udmurtin kielen ja kirjallisuuden laitoksen vakituinen johtaja oli Ivan Tarakanov, mutta tuolloin sijaisjohtajana toimi kolme vuotta (1984–1986) Valentin Kelmakov. Johtaja-aikanaan hän ryhtyi ajamaan symposiumien järjestämistä. Tuolloisessa Neuvostoliitossa se vaati kahden vuoden viralliset neuvottelut sekä paperityön. Symposiumille mietittiin mahdollisimman laaja-alainen nimi: ”permiläisten kielten murteet ja historia vuorovaikutuksessa muiden kielten kanssa”. Tämä mahdollisti kaikkien permiläisiin kieliin liittyvien tutkimusten liittämisen symposiumiohjelmaan.

Ensimmäiseen vuonna 1986 Udmurtian valtionyliopistossa Iževskissä (vuosina 1984–1987 nimeltään virallisesti Ustinov neuvostoliittolaisen marsalkan mukaan) järjestettyyn symposiumiin saapui kielitieteilijöitä Syktyvkarista, mutta komipermjakkien alueelta, Permistä ja Kudymkarista ei valitettavasti ensimmäisiin symposiumeihin saapunut ketään. Permistiikan symposiumeille oli määritelty seuraavat tehtävät: 1. tarkastella kolmen permiläisen lähisukukielen (udmurtin, komisyrjäänin ja komipermjakin) tutkimuksen nykyistä tilaa, 2. saada selville tutkimuksen ensisijaiset kehittämiskohteet, 3. kartoittaa permiläisen historiallis-vertailevan ja typologisen kielentutkimuksen tulevaisuudennäkymät, 4. yrittää saada käyttöön ja koordinoida eri alueiden ja yliopistojen permiläisiä kieliä koskeva tutkimus, myös muualla kuin permiläisillä alueilla.

Symposiumeja päätettiin järjestää jatkossa joka toinen vuosi eli parillisina vuosina. Tämä perinne onkin säilynyt katkeamattomana. Aluksi symposiumeja järjestivät Syktyvkarin ja Iževskin permistit vuorotellen, mutta varsin epätavallisen käytännön mukaisesti niin, että symposiumi oli kaksi kertaa peräkkäin yhdessä paikassa. Toisen,

vuonna 1988 Udmurtian valtionyliopistossa järjestetyn symposiumin teema oli Yrjö Wichmann ja hänen tutkimusmatkansa permiläisten kansojen alueille sekä hänen tutkimusaiheensa. Osaltaan tämä symposiumi toimi impulssina Suomen-suhteiden syntymiselle.

Kolmas symposiumi pidettiin vuorostaan vuonna 1990 Syktyvkarissa kielen ja kirjallisuuden tutkimuksen instituutissa. Se oli omistettu tunnetun fennougristin, Pietarin yliopiston suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten laitoksen professorin ja johtajan Dmitri Bubrihin syntymän satavuotisjuhlalle. Osa esitelmistä käsitteli luonnollisesti juuri hänen panostaan permiläisten kielten tutkimuksessa.

Kahden vuoden päästä symposiumi oli jälleen Syktyvkarissa, mutta tällä kertaa järjestäjä oli Syktyvkarin valtionyliopisto. Tämä symposiumi muutti tähänastista perinnettä joiltain osin. Ensinnäkin perinteisen nimityksen ”Permiläisten kielten murteet ja historia vuorovaikutuksessa muiden kielten kanssa” sijaan järjestäjät pitivät parempana nimitystä ”Permiläisen filologian symposiumi”. Toiseksi symposiumi laajeni kattamaan kielitieteen lisäksi myös mm. kirjallisuustieteen, folkloristiikan, kansatieteen, arkeologian ja kulttuurintutkimuksen. Lisäksi symposiumin järjestäjät julkaisivat ainoastaan symposiumin abstraktit ennen symposiumia, mutta vuonna 1997 Udmurtian valtionyliopiston suomalais-ugrilaisen ja yleisen kielitieteen laitos julkaisi myös tämän symposiumin kielitiedettä koskevat esitelmät teoksessa *Permistika* 4, koska muistakin symposiumeista oli aina julkaistu esitelmät *Permistika*-nimellä. Myös tämän jälleen *Permistika*-sarjan julkaisuperinne on jatkunut. Jo kahdessa ensimmäisessä symposiumissa oli ollut Viron ja Unkarin yksittäisiä edustajia, mutta neljännessä oli ensi kertaa esitelmöitsijä Suomesta.

Viides symposiumi oli jälleen Iževskissä, ja se oli omistettu Vasili Lytkinin satavuotisjuhlalle. Oikeastaan sen luonnollisempi järjestämispaikka olisi ollut Syktyvkar, koska Lytkin itse oli komi, mutta toisaalta hän on erittäin merkittävä tutkija myös yleisen permistiikan ja koko fennougristiikan kannalta. Koska symposiumi kiinnosti yhä enemmän ulkomaalaisia fennougristeja, julistettiin kuudes symposiumi vuonna 1996 ensimmäiseksi kansainväliseksi permistiikan symposiumiksi. Sitä ei poikkeuksellisesti omistettu kellekään tunnetulle permistille, vaan Udmurtian pedagogisen instituutin (1931) sekä tämän jatkajan Udmurtian valtionyliopiston (1972) perustamisen 65-vuotisjuhlalle. Tähän teemaan sopien osa esitelmistä käsitteli yliopiston udmurttilaisen osaston historiaa sekä suomalais-ugrilaisten oppiaineiden opetusta yliopistossa. (Kelmakov 1998: 20–30.)

Seitsemäs ja kahdeksas symposiumi pidettiin jo vakiintuneen kaavan mukaisesti Syktyvkarissa. Ne oli omistettu tunnetuille komilaisille fennougristeille Jevgeni Guljajeville ja Adolf Turkinille. Vuoden 2002 yhdeksännessä symposiumissa alkoi sellainen perinne, että symposiumeja alettiin omistaa myös elossa oleville ja edelleen tutkimustyötä tekeville ansioituneille permiläisten kielten tutkijoille. Yhdeksäs symposiumi pidettiin Udmurtian valtionyliopiston suomalais-ugrilaisen ja yleisen kielitieteen laitoksen professorin ja johtajan Kelmakovin 60-vuotispäivän kunniaksi. *Permistika* 9, joka sisältää runsaasti Kelmakovin uraa koskevaa materiaalia muiden artikkeleiden lisäksi, julkaistiin jo symposiumin alussa.

Kymmenes symposiumi pidettiin myös Udmurtian valtionyliopistossa Tamara Tepljašinan 80-vuotispäivän kunniaksi. Viime vuodet hän on työskennellyt Moskovassa Venäjän akatemian uralilaisen osaston kielentutkimuksen instituutissa.

Kymmenennen symposiumin jälkeen vuorottelurytmi Iževskin ja Syktyvkarin välillä katkesi, koska vihdoinkin komipermjakkilaisen kielentutkimuksen tärkeä tyyssija, Permin valtiollisen pedagogisen yliopiston komipermjakkilais-venäläinen osasto otti symposiumin järjestääkseen. Se oli omistettu tunnetun komipermjakkilaisen kielitieteilijän, vuonna 1995 kuolleen Antonina Krivoštšokova-Gantmanin 85-vuotispäivän kunniaksi. Hän on ensimmäinen komipermjakkii, joka on tehnyt filologian kandidaatin väitöskirjan komipermjakin kielestä.

Seuraava symposiumi pidettiin jälleen Iževskissä vuonna 2008, koska se osui udmurtin kielen ja opetuksen metodiikan laitoksen professorin Ivan Tarakanovin 80-vuotisjuhlavuodeksi. Sen järjesti suomalais-ugrilaisen ja yleisen kielitieteen laitos. Udmurtiassa symposiumeja on järjestänyt myös mainittu udmurtin kielen ja sen opetuksen metodiikan laitos. Symposiumeja suunnitellaan järjestettäväksi myös yliopiston kielilaboratoriossa.

Viimeisin, vuoden 2010 symposiumi pidettiin Syktyvkarissa. Se oli omistettu Pavel Savvaitoville (1815–1895), joka oli venäläinen kansa- ja kielitieteilijä, jonka syntymästä tuli kuluneeksi 195 vuotta. Hän tutustui Vologdassa opettajana toimissaan komin kieleen ja teki Komiin kaksi matkaa, joiden tuloksena oli aapinen sekä kielioppi ja sanakirja. Esitelmiä kuultiin hänestä ja mm. udmurtin ortografian historiasta ja komin kielioppien syntaksin kuvauksista. Ilmeisesti ensi kertaa symposiumissa kiinnitettiin erityistä huomiota permistiikan symposiumien historiaan, josta oli laadittu kuvakooste, jota esitettiin PowerPoint-esityksenä. Jo neljännesvuosisadan katkeamatta jatkuneeseen symposiumiperinteeseen onkin korkea aika kiinnittää huomiota, että historia ei pääse unohtumaan. Seuraavaa symposiumia vuonna 2012 isännöivät komipermjakit. (Kokkonen 2011: 6.)

Symposiumi on onnistunut melko hyvin tehtävässään saada myös uransa alussa olevat permiläiset lingvistit mukaan tieteellisille foorumeille. Symposiumeihin osallistuu usein jatko-opiskelijoita sekä lupaavia opiskelijoita. *Permistika*-sarja antaa hyvän läpileikkauksen siitä, mitä permistiikan alalla milläkin hetkellä tutkitaan, vaikka varsinainen tutkimus olisikin muualla esitetty paremmin kuin suppeissa symposiumiesitelmissä ja -artikkeleissa. Jokaisessa symposiumissa läsnä olevan henkilöhistorian kautta kirjoitetaan jatkuvasti permistiikan tutkimushistoriaa ylös. Tällainen helpottaa uusien sukupolvien ryhtymistä permiläisten kielten ja kulttuurien tutkijoiksi.

I	1986	Iževsk (Ustinov)
II	1988	Iževsk: Yrjö Wichmann (1868–1932) 120 vuotta
III	1990	Syktyvkar: Dmitri Bubrih (1890–1949) 100 vuotta
IV	1992	Syktyvkar: Aleksei Sidorov (1892–1952) 100 vuotta
V	1994	Iževsk: Vasili Lytkin (1895–1981) 100 vuotta
VI	1996	Iževsk: Udmurtian pedagoginen instituutti, Udmurtian valtionyliopisto 65 vuotta
VII	1998	Syktyvkar: Jevgeni Guljajev (1928–1977)
VIII	2000	Syktyvkar: Adolf Turkin (1936–1996)
IX	2002	Iževsk: Valentin Kelmakov (1941–) 60 vuotta
X	2004	Iževsk: Tamara Tepljašina (1924–) 80 vuotta
XI	2006	Perm: Antonina Krivoštšokova-Gantman (1921–1996) 85 vuotta
XII	2008	Iževsk: Ivan Tarakanov (1928–) 80 vuotta
XIII	2010	Syktyvkar: Pavel Savvaitov (1815–1895) 195 vuotta

Taulukko 1. Permistiikan symposiumien historia.

Lähteet

Painamattomat lähteet

Valentin Kelmakovin ja Paula Kokkosen kertomat tiedot.

Muut lähteet

Кельмаков, Валентин 1998: *Факультет удмуртской филологии как организатор научных совещаний по языкознанию: Материалы к спецкурсам*. Ижевск: Издательство Удмуртского университета.

Kokkonen, Paula 2011: Permistit koolla Syktyvkarissa. – *M. A. Castrénin seura. Jäsentiedote* 1/2011.

Permistika I–XII.

Esa-Jussi Salminen <e-j.salminen@suomi24.fi>

ACTIVITÉS

SUOMALAIS-UGRILAISEN SEURAN VUOSIKERTOMUS TOIMINTAVUODELTA 2009

Päättävä vuosi 2009 on Seuran 126. toimivuosi. Vuonna 2008 Seura vietti 125-vuotisjuhliaan järjestämällä kaksi seminaaria. Niistä toinen, *Suomalais-ugrilaisen kieliyhteisön verkosto*, pidettiin Helsingin yliopiston pienessä juhlasalissa vuosikokouspäivänä 2.12.2008. Viisituntista juhlaseminaaria seurasi noin sadan hengen kuulijakunta. Seminaarissa kuultiin seuraavat kahdeksan esitelmää:

- prof. Johanna Laakso (Wienin yliopisto): *Fennougristiikan verkostot*,
- prof. M.M.Jocelyne Fernandez-Vest (Université Paris III): *Typological evolution of Northern Sami: spatial cognition and the Information Structuring*,
- prof. Anneli Sarhimaa (Mainzin yliopisto): *Kalahan se etšiy verkkuo, ei verkko kaloa: karjalaisia näkökulmia kielitieteelliseen verkostotutkimukseen*,
- prof. Karl Pajusalu (Tarton yliopisto): *Itämerensuomen eteläisen kielikentän uudelleenjärjestymisestä*,
- prof. Janne Saarikivi (Helsingin yliopisto): *Itämerensuomalais-slaavilaisten kontaktien tutkimuksen nykytilasta*,
- filol. tri Jevgeni Tsypanov (Komin tiedekeskus): *Permiläisten kielten nykytilasta*,
- prof. Márta Csepregi (Budapestin yliopisto): *Obinugrilaiset kielet: puhujien, tutkijoiden ja muistiinpanojen verkostoa*,
- prof. Juha Janhunen (Helsingin yliopisto): *Kantauralilaiset kieliyhteisönä*.

Juhlailallisia vietettiin Hotel Kämpin Peilisalissa. Seuraa onniteltiin monin tavoin. Mainittakoon Tieteellisten seuran valtuuskunnan onnittelut, jotka toiminnanjohtaja, dosentti Aura Korppi-Tommola esitti luovuttaen Seuralle valtuuskunnan sata-vuotismitalin.

Kulttuurien museossa 15.11.2008 avattu näyttely *Castréninsaappaissa. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura 125 vuotta* oli esillä 9.3.2009 saakka. Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran ja Kulttuurien museon yhteishankkeena toteutetun näyttelyn runkona oli 10 alumiini-profiililla kehystettyä paneelia, joissa kuvataan Seuran tehtäväkenttään liittyviä toimintoja, tutkimusmatkoja ja aineistonkeruuta. Paneeleihin on tulostettu näyttelyn ja myös Seuran toiminnan kannalta keskeisiä ajatuksia sekä valokuvia Museoviraston kuva-arkiston kokoelmista. Kulttuurien museo on luovuttanut kyseiset näyttelypaneelit ja Kai Donnerin, Ildikó Lehtisen, G. J. Ramstedtin, E. N. Setälän ja U. T. Sireliuksen matkakertomukset sekä valokuvia sisältävät dvd-levyt Seuran käyttöön.

Vuoden 2007 vuosikokouksen hyväksymät uudistetut säännöt on julkaistu suomen- ja englanninkielisenä Aikakauskirjassa 92.

Vuoden aikana Seura on järjestänyt vuosikokouksen sekä kahdeksan kuukausikokousta. Kaikki päättävän toimikauden kuukausikokoukset on järjestetty Tieteiden talossa. Vuosikokouksessa 2.12.2008, joka pidettiin Helsingin yliopiston pienessä juhlasalissa heti juhlaseminaarin jälkeen, esimies, prof. Ulla-Maija Kulonen esitti katsauksen Seuran tulevaisuuden haasteisiin.

Vuoden 2009 kuukausikokouksissa esitelmöivät:

- 16.1.2009 maist. Lotta Jalava (Helsingin yliopisto): *Tundranenetsin verbimodusten käyttöä: tarkastelussa probabiliteetit ja approksimaatiivit*,
- 20.2.2009 dos. Eino Koponen (KKTK, Helsinki): *Unohtuneita ja uusia etymologioita*,
- 20.3.2009 maist. Irja Seurujärvi-Kari (Helsingin yliopisto): *”Otimme kielen takaisin” – Saamelaisen identiteetin rakentaminen saamelaisliikkeessä ja saamen kielen rooli 1960-luvulta vuoteen 2008*,
- 17.4.2009 fil. tri Antti Lahelma (Helsingin yliopisto): *Historiallisen ajan folkloresta esihistoriallisen kalliotaiteen tulkinnan lähdeaineistona – aineiston ongelmista ja mahdollisuuksista*,
- 15.5.2009 filol. kand. Natalja Kondratjeva (Udmurtian yliopisto): *Udmurtin kielen käyttö koulutusjärjestelmän puitteissa ennen ja nyt*,
- 18.9.2009 fil. tri Pia Olsson (Helsingin yliopisto): *Naisten muistot kansatieteellisen tutkimuksen lähteenä*,
- 16.10.2009 fil. tri Jukka Kokkonen (Joensuun yliopisto): *Rajan ylipaikalliset kontaktipinnat. Ruotsin ja Venäjän pohjoinen rajaseutu 1600- ja 1700-luvuilla*,
- 20.11.2009 prof. Riho Grünthal ja maist. Ulriikka Puura (Helsingin yliopisto): *Variaatio vepsän taivutusmorfologiassa*.

Kokouksissa on ollut läsnä yhteensä 294 henkeä. Johtokunta on kokoontunut kaikkina yllä mainittuina päivinä, yhteensä 9 kertaa.

Seuran kokoukset ja julkaisut sekä uutuusjulkaisuista kannet ja lyhyt luonnehdinta ovat nähtävillä verkko-osoitteessa <<http://www.sgr.fi>>. Kotisivuja ylläpitää julkaisusihteeri.

Seuran tutkimusarkiston ja toiminta-arkiston aineisto, joka on Kansallisarkistossa, on edelleen erillisestä sopimuksesta käytettävissä johtokunnan hyväksymään perusteltuun tutkimustarkoitukseen. Kuluvana vuonna tutustumis- ja käyttöluvia on myönnetty mm. nenetsi- ja hantiaineistoihin. Museovirastossa oleva C. G. E. Mannerheimin Aasian-matkan kuva-aineisto on ollut runsaassa käytössä.

Seura on saanut lahjoituksena Helsingin yliopiston suomalais-ugrilaiselta laitokselta Lauri Kettusen käsikirjoitusarkiston ja muuta, lähinnä Seuran esimiesten peruina laitokselle kertynyttä käsikirjoitus- ja sanastoaineistoa.

Seuran talous on pysynyt vuoden 2009 aikanakin kohtuullisen hyvänä maailmanlaajuisen talouden voimakkaasta lamaan ajautumisesta huolimatta. Lama on kuitenkin vaikuttanut merkittäväällä tavalla sijoitustemme kohteena olevien pörssiyhtiöiden tuloksiin ja arvostuksiin. Varsinaisen toiminnan tuotot eivät toteudu arvioidulla tavalla. Valtion avustus saatiin anotun suuruisena, mutta muut avustukset jäivät lähes kokonaan saamatta. Myös kulut jäivät merkittävästi arvioitua pienemmiksi. Varsinaisen toiminnan tulos tulee aikaisempien vuosien tapaan olemaan alijäämäinen. Sijoitustoiminnan tuotoilla alijäämä pystytään kuitenkin kattamaan. Viime keväänä saadut osinkotuotot olivat merkittävästi pienemmät kuin edellisenä vuonna. Pieneneviin osinkotuottoihin oli varauduttu talousarviota laadittaessa eikä sijoitusten realisointeihin jouduttu turvau-

tumaan. Sijoitustemme kohteena olevat kotimaiset pörssiyhtiöt ovat pitkällä aikavälillä tarjonneet toiminnallemme vuosittain vähintäänkin kohtuullista perustuottoa. Ne ovatkin pystyneet varsin hyvin sopeuttamaan toimintaansa vallitsevaan tilanteeseen. Useimmilla yhtiöillä on lisäksi edellisiltä vuosilta käytettävissä jakamattomia voittovaroja, jotka mahdollistavat pitkäaikaisten osakkeenomistajien palkitsemisen ajankohdan nähten kohtuullisilla osingoilla myös ensi vuonna. Kuluvan vuoden tilinpäätöksessä jouduttaneen uuden tilinpäätöskäytännön takia tekemään arvonalennuskirjauksia joidenkin sijoitusomaisuuteen kuuluvien osakkeiden kohdalla. Samalla myös vaihtomaisuuteen kuuluvien kirjavarojen arvoja tultaneen korottamaan käypään arvoonsa.

Verohallitus on nimennyt Seuran hakemuksesta vuosiksi 2009–2013 sellaiseksi tuloverolain 57 §:n 1 momentin 2 kohdassa tarkoitetuksi yhdistykseksi, jolle tehdyn vähintään 850 euron ja enintään 50 000 euron suuruisen rahalahjoituksen lahjoittava yhteisö saa vähentää tulostaan verotuksessa. Rahalahjoitukset tulee käyttää tieteen tukemiseen.

Seura on saanut avustuksia kahdelta taholta. Tieteellisten seurain valtuuskunnan myöntämä julkaisutuki vuodelle 2009 oli 38 000 euroa. Suomen tiedekustantajien liiton myöntämä avustus laitehankintoihin oli 1 000 euroa. M. A. Castrénin elämäntyön uudelleenarviointi- ja julkaisuhanke *Manuscripta Castreniana* ei saanut Suomen Kulttuurirahastosta eikä myöskään Jenny ja Antti Wihurin rahastosta hakemaansa avustusta.

Seuran hallussa olevista rahastoista sekä yleisistä varoista on myönnetty apurahoja ja palkintoja yhteensä 42 000 euroa.

Seuran 125-vuotisjuhlavuoden apuraha, 18 000 euroa, myönnettiin PhD (Leiden), MA (Helsinki) Petri Kalliolle (Helsingin yliopisto) *post doc* -tutkimukseen *Formation of Proto-Finnic in the vicinity of its Indo-European neighbours*.

August Ahlqvistin, Yrjö Wichmannin, Kai Donnerin ja Artturi Kanniston rahastojen vuoden 2008 tuotosta jaettavissa olleesta 8 000 eurosta päätti Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran ja Kotikielen Seuran yhteisesti asettama lautakunta 20. helmikuuta pitämässään kokouksessa jakaa seuraavat väitöskirjapalkinnot:

- Arja Hamarille 2 000 euron palkinto väitöskirjasta *The negation of stative relation clauses in the Mordvin languages*,
- Kaarina Pitkäselle 2 000 euron palkinto väitöskirjasta *Suomi kasvitieteen kieleksi: Elias Lönnrot termistön kehittäjänä* ja
- Laura Visapäälle 2 000 euron palkinto väitöskirjasta *Infinitiivi ja sen infiniittisyys. Tutkimus suomen kielen itsenäisistä A-infinitiivikonstruktioista*.

Tuoton jäännös 2 000 euroa varattiin myöhempää käyttöä varten.

Minette ja Otto Donnerin, Mikko Korhosen, Julius Markin ja lahjoittajien rahaston tuotosta jaettavasta nuorten tutkijain ja tutkijoiksi aikovien apurahasta johtokunta päätti 15. toukokuuta pitämässään kokouksessa. Käytettävissä ollut summa 6 000 euroa päätettiin myöntää Helsingin yliopiston jatko-opiskelijalle, LLM, MA (Udmurtian valtionyliopisto) Konstantin Zamyatinille väitöskirjatutkimukseen, jonka aihe on *Official languages of minorities: remnant of the past, temporary solution or*

vision for the future? Comparative case studies of Swedish in Finland and Udmurtian in the Udmurt Republic of Russia.

Albert Hämäläisen rahaston tuotosta jaettavissa olleesta 4 000 euron apurahasta myönnettiin 2 200 € HuK Leena Furulle Kansallismuseoon jatkosodan aikana kerättyjä venäläisiä esineitä käsittelevään pro gradu -tutkielmaan ja 1 800 € dos. Ildikó Lehtiselle käytettäväksi kolmen kansatieteen tutkijan (marilainen Dmitri Bajdimirov ja mordvalaiset Nadežda Baulina ja Inna Kudaškina) 11. fennougristikongressiin liittyviin matkakuluihin ja osallistumismaksuihin.

Seuran vastattavana oleva M. A. Castrénin elämäntyön uudelleen julkaisemiseen tähtäävä *Manuscripta Castreniana* -hanke etenee hiljalleen. Hankkeen tavoitteena on julkaista toimitettuina, kommentoituina ja englanniksi käännettyinä Castrénin kieli- ja kansatieteellinen käsikirjoitusaineisto, matkakertomusten ja -kirjeiden täydellinen kokoelma sekä tieteellinen elämäkerta. Hanke jäi vaille haettuja ulkopuolisia avustuksia, mutta sitä on jatkettu edellisvuoden apurahan turvin, josta on maksettu palkkoina MA Florian Sieglille 8 000 € metsäenetsin kieliaineiston käsittelyyn, professori Claus Schönigille 5 000 € koibaalin ja karagassin kieliaineistojen käsittelyyn, professori Stefan Georgille 5 000 € ketin kieliaineiston käsittelyyn ja maisteri Paula Kokkoselle 3 000 € komin kieliopin *Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae* työstön jatkamiseen. Dosentti Timo Salminen jatkoi 6 kk tämän vuoden puolella hankkeessa ei-kielitieteellisen aineiston toimitustyötä viime vuonna maksetun 8 000 €:n apurahan turvin. Opiskelija Niklas Metsäranta on digitoinut tuntitöinä Castrénin kansatieteellistä materiaalia Kansalliskirjaston mikrokorteista. Maisteri Merja Salo on aloittanut hantin kielen painetun kieliopin kriittisen käsittelyn eurooppalaisesta *Ob-Babel*-projektista saamansa rahoituksen (2 kk) turvin. Virkатыönä hanketta ovat edistäneet professorit Juha Janhunen ja Sirkka Saarinen ja dosentti Larisa Leisiö. *Manuscripta Castreniana* -hankkeelle on nimetty toimituskunta, johon kuuluvat prof. Juha Janhunen, dos. Timo Salminen, maist. Lotta Jalava ja Seuran esimies.

Viime vuosikokouksen jälkeen Seuran omissa sarjoissa ovat ilmestyneet:

Vuoden 2008 julkaisuina:

- Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia XXVII,1–2. *Kalmückische Märchen*. Gesammelt und herausgegeben von G. J. Ramstedt. Neudruck/Reimpression. X + 237 sivua.
- Apuneuvoja suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten opintoja varten XIV. Valentin Kel'makov – Sara Hännikäinen: *Udmurtin kielioppia ja harjoituksia*. 335 sivua.

Vuoden 2009 julkaisuina:

- *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja* 92. Toim. Jussi Ylikoski. 339 sivua. Myös verkkojulkaisuna.
- Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia 257. Jussi Ylikoski: *Non-finites in North Saami*. 224 sivua. Myös verkkojulkaisuna.
- Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia 258. *The Quasiquicentennial of the Finno-Ugrian Society*. Edited by Jussi Ylikoski. 271 sivua. Myös verkkojulkaisuna.

- Lexica XXXIII. *Reverse Dictionary of Chuvash – Обратный словарь чувашского языка*. Pavel Zheltov & Eduard Fomin & Jorma Luutonen. 344 sivua.
- Kansatieteellisiä julkaisuja 19. *Valkoisen jumalan tyttäret. Marilainen nainen ja modernisaatio.* / Ош Юмын ўдырышм-влак. Марий ўдырамаш модернизаций корнышто. Toim./Red. Ildikó Lehtinen. 304 sivua, kuvitettu.

Kuluvana kalenterivuonna odotetaan ilmestyväksi vielä

- *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 60. Noin 300 sivua. Chefredakteurin Sirkka Saarinen.

Valmisteilla on kaksi UH-sarjan julkaisua:

- Uralica Helsingiensia 4. *Kenttäretkistä tutkimustiedoksi*. Toim. Paula Kokkonen ja Anna Kurvinen. Noin 250 sivua.
- Uralica Helsingiensia 5. *Ethnic and Linguistic Context of Identity: Finno-Ugric Minorities*. Eds Riho Grünthal & Magdolna Kovács. Noin 300 sivua.

Uudistettavan seinäkartan *Geographical Distribution of the Uralic Languages* toimitustyö jatkuu. Sitä toimittavat fil. tri Jussi Ylikoski ja maist. Anna Kurvinen.

Seuran omissa sarjoissa ilmestyneiden julkaisujen yhteissivumäärä on 2064. Aikakauskirja 92 ja Toimituksia 257 ja 258 ilmestyivät myös sähköisessä muodossa Seuran verkkosivuilla. Karjalan kielen sanakirjan verkkoversio julkistettiin 15.10.2009 osoitteessa <<http://kaino.kotus.fi/kks>>.

Vuoden 2010 julkaisuohjelmassa ovat:

- SUST. *Linguistic Map of Prehistoric North Europe*. Rakvere, Estonia 16–18 October 2008. Eds Riho Grünthal & Petri Kallio.
- SUST. *Networks, Interaction and Emerging Identities in Fennoscandia and Beyond*. (Tromsø, Norway Oct. 13–16 2009.) Eds Charlotte Damm & Janne Saarikivi. Noin 300–350 sivua, kuvitusta.
- SUST. Arja Ahlqvist: *Очерки по субстратной топонимии финно-угорского происхождения центра России*. Väitöskirja, n. 350 sivua + 30 kuvaa/karttaa.
- SUST. Ante Aikio: *The Saami substrate in Finnish I: Loanwords*. Väitöskirjatyö, n. 200 sivua ja n. 70 levikkikarttaa.
- SUST. Nobufumi Inaba: *Suomalais-volgalaisten n-genetiivin arvoitus omistuksen ja hallinnan ilmaisukeinojen valossa*. Väitöskirja, n. 250 sivua + 10–15 kuvaa ja karttaa.
- Lexica XXXIV. *Reverse dictionary of Komi and Komi-Permyak*. Toim./Red. Jorma Luutonen & Vjatšeslav Stepanov. Noin 350 sivua.
- Apuneuvoja X. Alho Alhoniemi: *Marin kielioppi*. 172 sivua. Uusintapainos.

Arviointiin on hyväksytty seuraavat käsikirjoitukset:

- Florian Siegl: *Materials on Forest Enets – an indigenous language of Northern Siberia*. Väitöskirjatyö, n. 450 sivua, valokuvia, karttoja.
- Gerson Klumpp: *Differential Object Marking and Information Structure in Komi Dialects*. Väitöskirjatyö, 266 sivua.
- Pekka Sammallahti: *Láidehus sámegiela cealkkaoahpa dutkamii*. Saamenkielisen lauseopin saksannos. Noin 450 sivua.

Vireillä olevista julkaisuhankkeista mainittakoon seuraavat:

- Maria Barmič & Inna Vëlo & Tapani Salminen: *Metsänenetsin sanakirja*.
- Lauri Harvilahti: *The Eternal Poplar. Studies on Upper Altai Qai Singing*.
- Janne Saarikivi: *Pinegan piirin suomalais-ugrilainen substraattinimistö*.
- Esa-Jussi Salminen: *Udmurtin ja marin kielen kolmannen persoonan possessiivisuffiksin käyttö*. Väitöskirja, n. 250 sivua.
- Robin Baker: *The History of the Moldavian Csangos: from the Earliest Times to 1763*.

Yhteistyössä Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen kanssa jatkuu vogulin kielen sanakirjan toimitustyö.

Tieteellisten seurain valtuuskunnan julkaisukeskuksen hoidossa olevaan Seuran julkaisuvarastoon on vuoden aikana saatu uusia julkaisuja kuusi uutta nimekettä, yhteensä 1702 nidettä. Tiedekirja on myynyt 1.11.08–31.10.09 Seuran julkaisuja 771 nidettä. Seuralla on julkaisujenvaihtokumppaneita 176. Tieteellisen kirjallisuuden vaihtokeskus on lähettänyt näille 425 nidettä. Vastikkeettomia kappaleita (arkistokappaleiden ja johtokunnan kappaleiden lisäksi) on toimitettu 507 arvostelijoille, lahjoiksi, näyttelyihin ja työkappaleiksi.

Seura on lahjoittanut Kansalliskirjastolle Jaakko ja Iisak Fellmanin *Lapponica*-kirjakokoelman täydellä omistus- ja käyttöoikeudella. Seura on esittänyt toivomuksen, että kokoelma pysyisi yhtenäisenä. Kokoelmaan liittyvä pieni arkisto seurasi lahjoituksen mukana (Sophie Capdevillen luettelointityön vaiheita sekä kokoelmasta kirjoitettuja artikkeleita).

Seura on lahjoittanut Karjalan kielen seuralle Karjalaisen kulttuurin edistämissäätiön tiloissa varastoituna olleet Karjalan kielen sanakirjat. Sanakirjan lisäosia KKS on oikeutettu ostamaan Tiedekirjasta jäsenhintaan.

Kirjavarainhoitaja Maire Aho on laatinut selvityksen Seuran kirjavaroista ja julkaisujen arvon laskentaperiaatteista.

Seuran omistuksessa olevat mitalit (Seuran juhlavuosinaan saamia mitaleja sekä E. N. Setälän, Paavo Ravilan ja Pertti ja Helmi Virtarannan muistomitalit) johtokunta on päättänyt deponoida Museovirastoon.

Seura osallistui tammikuussa järjestetyn Tieteiden yön ohjelmaan esittelemällä urallilaisia kieliä, julkaisujaan ja Mannerheimin matkoja. Lisäksi yleisölle järjestettiin mahdollisuus saada sananselityksiä professori Ulla-Maija Kuloselta.

Vuosikokouksessa 2008 valittiin Seuran kunniajäseniksi fil. tri h.c. Harry Halén Helsingistä, professori Valentin Kel'makov Ižkarista ja professori Seppo Suhonen Helsingistä sekä ulkojäseneksi filol. kand. Oleg Sergejev Joškar-Olasta.

Seura on saanut vuoden aikana kahdeksan uutta vakinaista jäsentä, jotka ovat opiskelija Sofia Björklöf Helsingistä, opiskelija Pauliina Hyttinen Turusta, opiskelija Tanja Kajanterä Espoosta, kuvataiteilija Lea Kantonen Mäntsälästä, kustantaja

Aleksei Vladimirovitš Korobeinikov Ižkarista, dosentti Kauko Laitinen Helsingistä, tutkija Esa-Jussi Salminen Vantaalta ja eläkeläinen Jukka Voijola Espoosta.

Viime vuosikokouksessa tehdyn päätöksen mukaisesti on uusilta vakinaisilta jäseniltä peritty kertajäsenmaksuna 40 euroa, opiskelijoilta kuitenkin 20 euroa.

Seura on onnitellut viime vuoden lopussa 90-vuotispäiväänsä viettänyttä kunniajäsentä professori Ants Viirestä Tartosta. Kuluvana vuonna Seura on onnitellut kunniajäsentään professori Jorma Koivulehtoa Helsingistä hänen 75-vuotispäivänsä johdosta sekä ulkojäseniään professori Nikolai Isanbajevia Joškar-Olasta 80-vuotispäivän, professori Paul Koklaa Tallinnasta 80-vuotispäivän ja professori Aleksei Petersonia Tartosta 70-vuotispäivän johdosta. Lisäksi Seura on onnitellut varsinaisia jäseniään professori Tuomo Tuomea Helsingistä hänen 80-vuotispäivänsä ja professori Pirkko Nuolijärveä Helsingistä hänen 60-vuotispäivänsä johdosta.

Seura on menettänyt kuoleman kautta kolme ulkojäsentään: vuoden 2008 joulukuussa professori Maria Mullosen (1930–2008) Petroskoista ja professori Gyula Décsyn (1925–2008) Bloomingtonista ja syyskuussa 2009 professori Georgi Martynovitš Kertin (1923–2009) Petroskoista.

Seuran toimimiehinä ovat päättyvänä kautena olleet seuraavat: esimiehenä prof. Ulla-Maija Kulonen (marraskuusta sukunimeltään Forsberg), 1. varaesimiehenä prof. Sirkka Saarinen, 2. varaesimiehenä prof. Riho Grünthal, sihteerinä fil. maist. Paula Kokkonen, rahanvartijana merkon. Harry Sjöberg, kirjavarainhoitajana fil. maist. Maire Aho ja johtokunnan lisäjäseninä prof. Kaisa Häkkinen, dos. Ildikó Lehtinen ja fil. tri Jussi Ylikoski, yliasiamiehenä fil. maist. Merja Salo, tilintarkastajina kauppat. maist. Mikko Koivusalo ja oikeust. kand. Ralf Sunell sekä heidän varamiehinään prof. Tapani Lehtinen ja kauppat. maisteri Jouko Ahtola.

Seurassa toimii kokopäiväisenä julkaisusihteerinä edelleen maisteri Anna Kurvinen. Maisteri Jack Rueter oli palkattu kuukauden ajaksi taittamaan *Udmurtin kieliooppia ja harjoituksia* -julkaisun korjattua uusintapainosta. Sihteeri, maisteri Paula Kokkonen on palkattu kahdeksi kuukaudeksi (1.11.2009–31.12.2009) toimittamaan *Uralica Helsingiensia* -sarjan neljättä nidettä ja avustamaan loppuvuoden julkaisujen painokuntoon saattamisessa.

Seuran edustajina August Ahlqvistin, Yrjö Wichmannin, Kai Donnerin ja Artturi Kanniston rahastojen tuotosta jaettavista väitöskirjapalkinnoista päättävässä Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran ja Kotikielen Seuran yhteisessä lautakunnassa Seuraa edustamassa ovat olleet 1. varaesimies, prof. Sirkka Saarinen ja 2. varaesimies, prof. Riho Grünthal sekä asemansa perusteella esimies, prof. Ulla-Maija Kulonen.

Seuraa on edustanut Alfred Kordelinin yleisen edistys- ja sivistysrahaston tieteen jaostossa sen puheenjohtajana sekä tieteen jaoston valitsemana jäsenenä hallituksessa prof. Ulla-Maija Kulonen, hänen varamiehenään tieteen jaostossa ja hallituksessa on ollut prof. Sirkka Saarinen, ja he jatkavat hallituksessa vuonna 2007 alkaneen kauden loppuun 6.11.2010 saakka. Tieteen jaostoon uudeksi 7.11.2009 alkaneeksi kolmivuotiskaudeksi (2009–2012) Seuraa edustamaan valittiin prof. Sirkka Saarinen ja varalle prof. Riho Grünthal.

Tieteellisten seurain valtuuskunnan hallituksessa pääsihteeri Tuomas Lehtosen varajäsenenä kauden 2006–2009 toiminut esimies, prof. Ulla-Maija Kulonen valittiin nyt hallituksen jäseneksi ja pääsihteeri Lehtonen hänen varamieheksensä vuosiksi 2009–2012. Seuran esimies on toiminut vuodesta 2008 TSV:n tiedeakatemiajaostossa sen varapuheenjohtajana jatkaen vuoteen 2010. Esimies on toiminut niin ikään julkaisukeskuksen johtokunnan jäsenenä ja sen varapuheenjohtajana. Tieteellisten seurain valtuuskunnan kevätkokouksessa 30. maaliskuuta Seuraa edusti 2. varaesimies, prof. Riho Grünthal ja syyskokouksessa 30. syyskuuta 1. varaesimies, prof. Sirkka Saarinen. Suomen tiedekustantajien liiton sääntömääräisessä vuosikokouksessa 24. huhtikuuta Seuraa edusti sihteeri Paula Kokkonen.

Seuran esimies ja 2. varaesimies edustavat Seuraa Pietari-säätiön valtuuskunnassa. Seura kuuluu säätiön perustajajäseniin.

Rahanvartija Harry Sjöberg on osallistunut Seuran edustajana useiden pörssiyhtiöiden (Alma Media Oyj, Orion Oyj, UPM-Kymmene Oyj, Pohjola Pankki Oyj ja Sanoma Oyj) kevään vuosikokouksiin.

Helsingissä 2. joulukuuta 2009

Paula Kokkonen, sihteeri

Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran tilinpäätös vuodelta 2009

Tuloslaskelma 1.1.–31.12.2009

Varsinainen toiminta

Julkaisutoiminta

Tuotot

Julkaisujen myynti	14 983,99
Tekijänoikeuskorvaukset	4 355,90
Valtion avustus	38 000,00
Muut avustukset	<u>1 000,00</u>

Tuotot yhteensä 58 339,89

Kulut

Henkilöstökulut

Toimihenkilöiden palkat ja palkkiot (julkaisu)	32 421,34
Muut palkat ja palkkiot (julkaisu)	49 011,28
Sosiaalikulut	1 159,24
TyEL-maksut	10 612,16
TaEL-maksut	0,00
Ryhmä-, henki-, tapaturma- ja työttömyysvakuutusmaksut	1 667,87
Päivärahat	528,50
Matkakulut	<u>530,60</u>

Henkilöstökulut yhteensä 95 930,99

Muut kulut

Kirjavaraston vuokra	4 584,92
Painatuskulut	31 639,48
Toimistokulut (julkaisu)	929,27
Postikulut (julkaisu)	1 229,88
Puhelinkulut (julkaisu)	157,38
ATK-kulut (julkaisu)	1 244,04
Vakuutukset (julkaisu)	69,45
Mainokset (julkaisu)	250,00
Materiaalit (julkaisu)	300,00
Muut julkaisutoiminnan kulut	<u>1 574,70</u>

Muut kulut yhteensä 41 979,12

Julkaisutoiminnan kulut yhteensä 137 910,11

Julkaisutoiminnan tuotto-/kulujaämä -79 570,22

*Muu varsinainen toiminta***Tuotot**

Jäsenmaksut 240,00

Tuotot yhteensä

240,00

Kulut

Henkilöstökulut

Palkat ja palkkiot 15 340,00

Sosiaalikulut 252,03

TyEL-maksut 2 581,42

Työttömyys-, ryhmä- ym. vakuutukset 54,24

Päivärahat 0,00

Kilometrikorvaukset 733,50

Muut toimihenkilökulut 106,89

Henkilöstökulut yhteensä 19 068,08

Toimistokulut

Posti 120,35

Toimistotarvikkeet 12,00

Kirjanpito 3 693,00

Puhelinkulut 460,18

Pankkikulut 180,95

Kokouskulut 992,70

Edustuskulut 0,00

Muut toimistokulut 253,82

Toimistokulut yhteensä 5 713,00

Kokous- ja neuvottelukulut

Kokoustilan vuokra 280,00

Matkakorvaukset 1 125,30

Kongressi- ja seminaarikulut 2 245,32

Muut kokous- ja neuvottelukulut 60,30

Kokous- ja neuvottelukulut yhteensä 3 710,92

Edustus ja huomaavaisuus

Onnittelut/huomaavaisuus 0,00

Edustus ja huomaavaisuus yhteensä 0,00

Tieteelliset apurahat

Tieteelliset apurahat 20 844,61

Tieteelliset apurahat yhteensä 20 844,61

Muun varsinaisen toiminnan kulut yhteensä

49 336,61

Muun varsinaisen toiminnan tuotto-/kulujäämä

-49 096,61

Varsinaisen toiminnan tuotto-/kulujäämä

-128 666,83

Sijoitus- ja rahoitustoiminta

Osingot	71 774,20
Korkotuotot	0,00
Arvopapereiden myyntivoitot/-tappiot	23 731,30
Arvonlennukset/kurssitappiot	-94 743,67
Muut sijoitustoiminnan tuotot	0,00
Sijoitustoiminnan kulut	<u>-3 136,81</u>

Sijoitus- ja rahoitustoiminnan tuotto-/kulujäämä -2 374,98

Omakatteiset rahastot

OKR osingot	38 087,11
OKR sijoitusten myyntivoitot/-tappiot	11 293,81
OKR korkotuotot	348,24
Arvonlennukset/kurssitappiot	-93 435,58
OKR tuloksen siirto rahastoille	<u>43 706,42</u>

Omakatteisten rahastojen tuotto-/kulujäämä 0,00

Tilikauden tulos -131 041,81

Tilinpäätössiirrot

Tuloksen siirto yleiseen rahastoon	131 041,81
Jäsenmaksujen siirto pohjarahastoon	240,00
Yli-/alijäämä	<u>131 281,81</u>

Tilikauden jäämä 0,00

Tase 31.12.2009**Vastaavaa**

Pysyvät vastaavat

Käyttöomaisuusosakkeet ja muut pitkäaikaiset sijoitukset

Osakkeet ja osuudet

1 625 542,32

Yhteensä

1 625 542,32

Vaihtuvat vastaavat

Vaihto-omaisuus

Myyntivarasto

16,82

Yhteensä

16,82

Saamiset

Siirtosaamiset

0,00

Yhteensä

0,00

Rahat ja pankkisaamiset

Pankkisaamiset

14 815,49

Yhteensä

14 815,49**Vastaavaa yhteensä****1 640 374,63****Vastattavaa**

Oma pääoma

Pohjarahasto

16 588,96

Yleinen rahasto/yhdistyspääoma

1 555 936,80

Yhteensä

1 572 525,76

Tilikauden voitto/tappio

0,00**Yhteensä****1 572 525,76**

Vieras pääoma

Lyhytaikainen

Ostovelat

20 800,71

Muut lyhytaikaiset velat

47 048,16**Yhteensä****67 848,87****Vastattavaa yhteensä****1 640 374,63**

Tase-erittelyt

Oma pääoma

Pohjarahasto 1.1.	16 348,96
Lisäykset, jäsenmaksut	<u>240,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	16 588,96
Yleinen rahasto 1.1.	1 059 504,45
Tilikauden tappio	<u>-131 281,81</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	928 222,64
Minette ja Otto Donnerin rahasto 1.1.	12 564,83
Rahaston tuotto	1 256,48
Apuraha	<u>-500,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	13 321,31
Lahjoittajien rahasto 1.1.	9 107,56
Rahaston tuotto	910,76
Apuraha	<u>-500,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	9 518,32
August Ahlqvistin rahasto 1.1.	52 255,41
Tilikauden tappio	-3 933,58
Apurahat	<u>-2 250,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	46 071,83
Kai Donnerin rahasto 1.1.	30 014,07
Tilikauden tappio	-2 185,32
Apurahat	<u>-1 750,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	26 078,75
Albert Hämäläisen rahasto 1.1.	165 301,37
Tilikauden tappio	-10 926,60
Apurahat	<u>-4 750,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	149 624,77
Artturi Kanniston rahasto 1.1.	125 122,80
Tilikauden tappio	-10 052,48
Apurahat	<u>-3 000,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	112 070,32
Julius Markin rahasto 1.1.	44 921,08
Tilikauden tappio	-3 496,51
Apurahat	<u>-3 000,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	38 424,57
G. J. Ramstedtin muistorahasto 1.1.	66 532,28
Tilikauden tappio	<u>-3 496,51</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	63 035,77
Yrjö Wichmannin rahasto 1.1.	15 607,69
Tilikauden tappio	-874,14
Apuraha	<u>-500,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	14 233,55
Mikko Korhosen rahasto 1.1.	29 984,62
Tilikauden tappio	-2 185,32
Apurahat	<u>-2 000,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	25 799,30

Kaisi ja Kaino Heikkilän rahasto 1.1.	136 091,63
Tilikauden tappio	-6 555,96
Yhteensä 31.12.	129 535,67

Vieras pääoma

Lyhytaikainen	
Ostovelat, lyhytaikaiset	20 800,71
Ennakonpidätysvelka	3 030,66
Sosiaaliturvamaksuvelka	979,12
Muut lyhytaikaiset velat	6 142,08
Siirtovelat	23 995,79
TyEL-maksuvelka	-680,68
Työnantajan pakolliset vakuutukset (saamiset)	-418,81
Jakamattomat apurahat	14 000,00
Yhteensä	67 848,87

Tilinpäätöksen liitetiedot

Seuran puolesta ei ole annettu pantteja, vakuuksia, takauksia tai muita vastuusitoumuksia. Sijoitusomaisuuden luonteiset arvopaperit on kirjattu hankintahintaan.

Kirjanpitoasiakirjat

Päiväkirja	ATK-tulosteina
Pääkirja	ATK-tulosteina
Palkkakirjanpito	paperitositteina
Tasekirja	erikseen sidottuna
Tase-erittelyt	erikseen sidottuna

Tositelajit ja säilyttämistapa

Pankki-, osto-, myynti- ja muistiotositteet A 358–623 paperitositteina

Helsingissä 15.1.2010

Ulla-Maija Forsberg	Sirkka Saarinen	Riho Grünthal
Maire Aho	Paula Kokkonen	Harry Sjöberg
Kaisa Häkkinen	Ildikó Lehtinen	Jussi Ylikoski

Tilinpäätösmerkintä

Tilinpäätös on laadittu hyvän kirjanpitotavan mukaisesti. Suoritetusta tilintarkastuksesta on tänään annettu kertomus.

Helsingissä 9.2.2010

Ralf Sunell

Mikko Koivusalo

SUOMALAIS-UGRILAISEN SEURAN VUOSIKERTOMUS TOIMINTAVUODELTA 2010

Päättävä vuosi on Seuran 127. toimivuosi. Vuoden aikana Seura on järjestänyt vuosikokouksen sekä kahdeksan kuukausikokousta. Kaikki päättävän toimikauden kuukausikokoukset on järjestetty Tieteiden talossa. Kokouksissa on kuultu seuraavat esitelvät:

- vuosikokouksessa 2.12.2009 esimies, professori Ulla-Maija Forsberg: *Obin-ugrilaiset kielet Euroopan tutkimuskartalla*,
- 15.1.2010 fil. tri Petri Kallio (Helsingin yliopisto): *Itämerensuomen germaaniset lainasanakerrostumat*,
- 19.2.2010 PD Dr. Gerson Klumpp (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München): *Objektin merkintä komin murteissa*,
- 19.3.2010 prof. Helena Sulkala (Oulun yliopisto): *Uudet itämerensuomalaiset vähemmistökielet kirjakieliksi*,
- 16.4.2010 fil. maist. Mari Immonen (Helsingin yliopisto): *Hyvä paha leipä – ruuan merkityksestä marilaisten häiden eri vaiheissa*,
- 21.5.2010 fil. maist. Nobufumi Inaba (Turun yliopisto): *Kielenmuistomerkkien merkitys diakronisessa kielentutkimuksessa*,
- 17.9.2010 prof. Renate Pajusalu (Helsingin yliopisto & Tarton yliopisto): *Viron pronominiin käyttö ja välttäminen*,
- 15.10.2010 fil. tri Yury Shikalov (Itä-Suomen yliopisto): *Uskomukset, moraali-käsitykset ja perhe-elämä Vienan Karjalassa 1800-luvun lopussa*,
- 19.11.2010 PhD Svetlana Jedygarova (Udmurtia): *Possessive Noun Phrases in the Udmurt Language*

Kokouksissa on ollut läsnä yhteensä 233 henkeä. Johtokunta on kokoontunut kaikkina yllä mainittuina päivinä, yhteensä 9 kertaa.

Seuran kokoukset ja julkaisut sekä uutuuksien julkaisusta kannet ja lyhyt luonnehdinta ovat nähtävillä verkko-osoitteessa <<http://www.sgr.fi>>. Kotisivuja ylläpitää kustannustoimittaja Anna Kurvinen.

Seuran tutkimusarkiston ja toiminta-arkiston aineisto, joka on Kansallisarkistossa, on edelleen erillisestä sopimuksesta käytettävissä johtokunnan hyväksymään perusteltuun tutkimustarkoitukseen. Kuluvana vuonna tutustumis- ja käyttölupia on myönnetty mm. csángó- ja tsuvassiaineistoihin sekä Sakari Pälsin ja Toivo Lehtisaloon aineistoihin. Museovirastossa oleva C. G. E. Mannerheimin Aasian-matkan kuva-aineisto on ollut tänäkin vuonna runsaassa käytössä.

Kansallisarkistoon Seuran kokoelmiin on siirretty kesän aikana Seuran toiminta-arkisto vuosilta 1983–1999, sekä taloudenhoitoon liittyviä asiakirjoja: päiväkirjat (vuoteen 1962) ja kassapäiväkirjat (vuoteen 1945). Myös lahjoituksena saadut tutkimusaineistot on liitetty kokoelmiin: Helsingin yliopiston suomalais-ugrilaisen laitok-

sen luovuttama Lauri Kettusen ja Lauri Postin käsikirjoitusaineisto ja muu, lähinnä Seuran esimiesten peruina laitokselle kertynyt käsikirjoitus- ja sanastoaineisto sekä professori Eugen Helimskin Seuralle osoittama aineisto.

Fil. tri h.c. Harry Halén on laatinut ja luovuttanut Seuralle uudistetun laitoksen luettelosta, johon on merkitty kaikki Kansalliskirjastoon Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran talletuksena deponoitu C. G. E. Mannerheimin Aasian-ratsastuksen aineisto vuosilta 1906–1908. Luetteloa (Coll. 638, luettelo 645) säilytetään Seuran toimitiloissa.

Seuran talous on meneillään olevan tilivuoden 2010 aikana pysynyt hyvänä maailmanlaajuisen talouden taantumana hellitettynä ja kääntynyt hienoiseen kasvuun viime kevään aikana. Seuran sijoitusten tuotot muodostuvatkin merkittävästi ennakoitua suuremmiksi. Sijoitusten kohteena olevat kotimaiset yhtiöt pystyivät edellisen vuoden taantumasta huolimatta jakamaan omistajilleen varsin kohtuulliset osingot. Osinkojen maksun jälkeen keväällä sijoitusten osakepainotusta kevennettiin ja sijoitussalkkuihimme hankittiin korkosijoituksina Suomen valtion obligaatioita n. 500 000 eurolla. Obligaatioiden hankinnat rahoitettiin myymällä osakesijoituksia em. summalla. Osakkeiden myynneistä saadut myyntivoitot kasvattivat sijoitustoiminnan tuottoja n. 180 000 eurolla. Sijoitusten tuotto voi kuitenkin vielä loppuvuodesta heikentyä, mikäli marraskuussa ilmi tulleiden joidenkin euroalueen maiden taloudessa esiintyviin ongelmiin ei löydetä pikaisia ratkaisuja, joilla laajempi ennen kaikkea euroalueen talouden heikkeneminen saadaan estetyksi ja sijoitusmarkkinat rauhoitetuksi. Tällöin on vaarana talouden uusi taantumana ajautuminen, mikä vaikuttaa myös sijoitussalkuissamme olevien yhtiöiden toimintaan, tuloksiin ja osingonmaksukykyyn.

Varsinaisen toiminnan tuotot toteutuvat ennakoitua suurempina. Valtion avustus 30 000 euroa julkaisutoimintaan saatiin anotun suuruisena. Suomen Kulttuurirahastolta saatiin lisäksi 30 000 euron suuruinen avustus *Manuscripta Castreniana* -hankkeeseen ja Suomen tiedekustantajien liitolta 1 300 euron avustus ohjelmapäivitykseen ja koulutukseen. Kulut toteutuvat ennakoitun suuruisina. Varsinaisen toiminnan tulos tulee kuluvanakin vuonna olemaan alijäämäinen. Sijoitustoiminnan tuotoilla katetaan varsinaisen toiminnan alijäämä, ja tilikauden tulos tulee olemaan merkittävästi ylijäämäinen. Tämä antaa mahdollisuuden kasvattaa jaettavien apurahojen määrää vuonna 2011.

Seuran hallussa olevista rahastoista sekä yleisistä varoista on myönnetty kuluvan vuoden aikana apurahoja ja palkintoja yhteensä 16 000 euroa.

August Ahlqvistin, Yrjö Wichmannin, Kai Donnerin ja Artturi Kanniston rahastojen vuoden 2008 tuotosta (viime vuonna vuodelle 2010 varatun) summan 5 000 euroa päätti Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran ja Kotikielen Seuran yhteisesti asettama lautakunta 19. helmikuuta pitämässään kokouksessa jakaa väitöskirjapalkinnoiksi viidelle tohtorille, kullekin 1 000 €. Palkitut ovat:

- Ante Aikio, väitöskirjasta *The Saami Loanwords in Finnish and Karelian*,
- Petteri Laihonon, väitöskirjasta *Language Ideologies in the Romanian Banat. Analysis of Interviews and Academic Writings among the Hungarians and Germans*,

- Hannu Remes, väitöskirjasta *Muodot kontrastissa. Suomen ja viron vertailevaa taivutusmorphologiaa*,
- Johanna Vaattovaara, väitöskirjasta *Mein tapa puhua. Tornionlaakso pellolaisnuorten subjektiivisena paikkana ja murrealueena*,
- Jussi Ylikoski, väitöskirjasta *Non-finites in North Saami*.

Minette ja Otto Donnerin, Mikko Korhosen, Julius Markin ja lahjoittajien rahaston tuotosta jaettavasta nuorten tutkijain ja tutkijoiksi aikovien apurahasta johtokunta päätti 21. toukokuuta pitämässään kokouksessa. Käytettävissä ollut summa 6 000 euroa päätettiin myöntää Helsingin yliopiston suomen kielen, suomalais-ugrilaisten ja pohjoismaisten kielten ja kirjallisuuksien laitoksen jatko-opiskelijalle maisteri Mari Keräselle hänen väitöskirjatyöhönsä, joka käsittelee saamelaiden etnisen identiteetin representaatiota tekstianalyysin keinoin.

Tämä myönnetty apuraha 6 000 euroa koostuu rahastojen sääntöjen mukaisesti lasketusta osuudesta vuoden 2009 tuotosta, 1 700 eurosta, johon johtokunta päätti 15. tammikuuta pitämässään kokouksessa lisätä 4 300 euroa Seuran omista varoista.

Albert Hämäläisen rahaston tuotosta Itä-Venäjällä asuvien suomensukuisten kansojen tutkimukseen myönnettävästä apurahasta päätti Seuran johtokunta 19. marraskuuta. Jaettavissa oli 5 000 euroa varauksena vuoden 2009 tuotosta. Se myönnettiin professori Elena Glavatskayalle (Urals State University, Jekaterinburg) hankkeeseen *Forgotten images of Khanty Shamans: ethnicity and religion in Western Siberia in the late 19th to early 20th century*, jonka tarkoituksena on Venäjän eri museoissa ja arkistoissa olevan hantishamanismia käsittelevän valokuvamateriaalin paikantaminen ja työstiminen kaksikieliseksi hakemistojulkaisuksi.

Seuran hallinnoima M. A. Castrénin elämäntyön uudelleen julkaisemiseen tähtäävä *Manuscripta Castreniana* -hanke on edennyt paitsi virkatöinä myös Suomen Kulttuurirahaston 30 000 euron avustuksen turvin. Hankkeen tavoitteena on julkaista toimitettuina, kommentoituina ja englanniksi käännettyinä Castrénin kieli- ja kansatieteellinen käsikirjoitusaineisto, matkakertomusten ja -kirjeiden täydellinen kokoelma sekä tieteellinen elämäkerta. PD Dr. Gerson Klumppille (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) on myönnetty 5 000 euroa kamassin kieliaineiston käsitteilyyn. Summasta on maksettu puolet kuluvan vuoden aikana. Aineiston skannauksen mikrofilmeiltä suoritti opiskelija Niklas Metsäranta tuntitöinä. Maisteri Elin Björkman palkattiin kolmeksi kuukaudeksi (30 t/vk; loka-joulukuu) tutkimusavustajaksi *Manuscripta Castreniana* -hankkeeseen, jossa hänen tehtävänä on ollut M. A. Castrénin kirjeenvaihdon käsittely prof. Juha Janhusen ohjauksessa. Maisteri Paula Kokkonen on työskennellyt hankkeessa marras- ja joulukuun ajan jatkaen komin kielopin *Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae* työstöä. Pääosa avustuksesta käytetään vasta vuoden 2011 alkupuolella.

Viime vuosikokouksen jälkeen Seuran omissa sarjoissa ovat ilmestyneet:

- *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 60. 405 sivua. Chefredakteurin Sirkka Saarinen. (Vuoden 2009 julkaisu.)
- Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia 259. *Sanoista kirjakieliin. Juhlakirja Kaisa Häkkiselle 17. marraskuuta 2010*. Toimittaneet Sirkka Saarinen, Kirsti Siitonen ja Tanja Vaittinen. 421 + XVIII sivua.
- Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia 260. Anna Idström: *Inarinsaamen käsitetaforat*. Väitöskirjatyö, 276 sivua.
- Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia 261. Jack Rueter: *Adnominal Person in the Morphological System of Erzya*. Väitöskirjatyö, XVI + 236 sivua.
- Apuneuvoja suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten opintoja varten X. Alho Alhoniemi: *Marin kielioppi*. 172 sivua. Uusintapainos.
- Uralica Helsingiensia 4. *Kenttäretkistä tutkimustiedoksi*. Toimittaneet Paula Kokkonen ja Anna Kurvinen. 240 sivua.
- Uralica Helsingiensia 3. *Murros. Suomalais-ugrilaiset kielet ja kulttuurit globalisaation paineissa*. Toimittaneet Sirkka Saarinen ja Eeva Herrala. 199 sivua. Uusintapainos.

Lisäksi painettiin 16-sivuinen julkaisuesite *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran julkaisut 2005–2010*.

Vuoden lopussa otetaan 100 kappaleen uusintapainokset *Suomen kielen etymologisen sanakirjan* osista 3 ja 6 (Lexica XII).

Uudistettavan seinäkartan *Geographical Distribution of the Uralic Languages* toimitustyö jatkuu. Sitä toimittavat fil. tri Jussi Ylikoski ja fil. maist. Anna Kurvinen.

Seuran omissa sarjoissa ilmestyneiden julkaisujen yhteissivumäärä on 1628 (uusintapainokset mukaan lukien 1999).

Vuoden 2011 julkaisuohjelmassa ovat:

- *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja* 93.
- SUST. *Linguistic Map of Prehistoric North Europe*. Rakvere, Estonia 16–18 October 2008. Eds Riho Grünthal & Petri Kallio.
- SUST. *Networks, Interaction and Emerging Identities in Fennoscandia and Beyond*. (Tromsø, Norway Oct. 13–16 2009.) Eds Charlotte Damm & Janne Saarikivi. Noin 300–350 sivua, kuvitusta.
- Uralica Helsingiensia 5. *Ethnic and Linguistic Context of Identity: Finno-Ugric Minorities*. Eds Riho Grünthal & Magdolna Kovács. Noin 300 sivua.
- SUST. Miikul Pahomov: *Etelälyydiläisiä kielennäytteitä*.
- SUST. Arja Ahlqvist: *Очерки по субстратной топонимии финно-угорского происхождения центра России*. Noin 350 sivua + 30 kuvaa/karttaa.
- SUST. Nobufumi Inaba: *Suomalais-volgalaisten n-genetiivin arvoitus omistuksen ja hallinnan ilmaisukeinojen valossa*. Noin 250 sivua + 10–15 kuvaa ja karttaa.
- SUST. Santeri Junttila: *Kantasuomalais-balttilaisten kontaktien tutkimushistoria*. 200–300 sivua.
- SUST. Ante Aikio: *The Saami substrate in Finnish I: Loanwords*. Noin 200 sivua ja noin 70 levikkikarttaa.

- SUST. Janne Saarikivi: *Pinegan piirin suomalais-ugrilainen substraattinimistö*.
- Lexica XXXIV. *Reverse Dictionary of Komi and Komi-Permyak*. Toim./Red. Jorma Luutonen & Vjatšeslav Stepanov. Noin 350 sivua.

Arviointiin on hyväksytty seuraavat käsikirjoitukset:

- Gerson Klumpp: *Differential Object Marking and Information Structure in Komi Dialects*. 266 sivua.
- Florian Siegl: *Materials on Forest Enets – an indigenous language of Northern Siberia*. Noin 450 sivua, valokuvia, karttoja.
- Pekka Sammallahti: *Láidehus sámegiela cealkkaoahpa dutkamii*. Saamenkielisen lauseopin saksannos. Noin 450 sivua.
- Beáta Wagner-Nagy: *Typology of Negation in Ob-Ugric and Samoyedic Languages*. Noin 300 sivua.

Vireillä olevista julkaisuhankkeista mainittakoon seuraavat:

- Robin Baker: *The History of the Moldavian Csangos: from the Earliest Times to 1763*.
- Maria Barmič & Inna Vëllo & Tapani Salminen: *Metsänenetsin sanakirja*.
- Lauri Harvilahti: *The Eternal Poplar. Studies on Upper Altai Qai Singing*.
- Esa-Jussi Salminen: *Udmurtin ja marin kielen kolmannen persoonan possessiivisuffiksin käyttö*. Noin 250 sivua.

Yhteistyössä Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen kanssa jatkuu vogulin kielen sanakirjan toimitustyö.

Seuraavat julkaisut ovat sähköisinä versioina Seuran verkkosivuilla:

- *Online Documentation of Kolyma Yukaghir*. Irina Nikolaevan ja työryhmän laatimaan elektroniseen julkaisuun sisältyy mm. *Yukaghir-English, English-Yukaghir Dictionary*,
- Lexica VII: *Syrjänischer Wortschatz nebst Hauptzügen der Formenlehre*,
- *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja* 91 ja 92,
- *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia* 244, 253, 257 ja 258,
- *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia* 186, 193 ja 202 (= *Syrjänische Texte* osat I–III ilman käännöksiä saksaksi).

Karjalan kielen sanakirjan (Lexica XVI) verkkoversio on osoitteessa <<http://kaino.kotus.fi/kks>>. Kaino-palvelimelle tulee myös verkkoversio SUS:n ja KKTK:n julkaisusta *H. Paasonens Mordwinisches Wörterbuch* (Lexica XXIII) käyttöliittymän valmistuttua. Seuran verkkosivuilta on linkki sanakirjan väliaikaiseen osoitteeseen.

Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungenin artikkeleita on luettavissa Elektra-tietokannassa.

Seura on myöntänyt EuroBABEL-hankkeelle luvan tehdä sähköiset versiot seuraavista hantin kieltä käsittelevistä Toimituksia-sarjan julkaisuista: *Wogulische Volksdichtung* I–VI ja *H. Paasonens surgutostjakische Textsammlungen am Jugan*. Näiden skannatut versiot ja IPA-muunnokset tulisivat kustantajan – siis SUS:n – verkkosivuille; linkityksistä sieltä muualle sovitaan erikseen.

Vuoden 2011 aikana saadaan Seuran verkkosivuille verkkoversiot Marin kieliopista ja SUST 259:stä.

Uralica Helsingiensia -sarjan, jonka julkaisijat ovat Helsingin yliopiston suomen kielen, suomalais-ugrilaisten ja pohjoismaisten kielten ja kirjallisuuksien laitos (ennen Helsingin yliopiston suomalais-ugrilainen laitos) ja Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, päätoimittajat ovat Ulla-Maija Forsberg ja Riho Grünthal. Julkaisun toimitusneuvostoon kuuluvat Márta Csepregi, Cornelius Hasselblatt, Magdolna Kovács, Johanna Laakso, Helle Metslang, Matti Miestamo, Irma Mullonen, Karl Pajusalu, Janne Saarikivi, Anneli Sarhimaa ja Elena Skribnik.

Tieteellisten seurain valtuuskunnan julkaisukeskuksen hoidossa olevaan Seuran julkaisuvarastoon on vuoden aikana saatu uusia julkaisuja kolme uutta nimekettä, yhteensä 946 nidettä. Tiedekirja on myynyt ajalla 1.11.09–31.10.10 Seuran julkaisuja 515 nidettä. Seuralla on julkaisujenvaihtokumppaneita 142 ja vaihtosuhhteita 405. Tieteellisen kirjallisuuden vaihtokeskus on lähettänyt näille 129 nidettä. Vastikkeettomia kappaleita (arkistokappaleiden ja johtokunnan kappaleiden lisäksi) on toimitettu 435 arvostelijoille, lahjoiksi, näyttelyihin ja työkappaleiksi. Poistoja on tehty 271 kappaletta.

Seura on lahjoittanut julkaisujaan mm. Karjalaan Kuujärven Lyydikeskukselle, Unkariin 11. kansainvälisen fennougristikongressin kirjanäyttelyyn Piliscsabaan sekä M. A. Castrénin seuralle XI kansainvälisen suomalais-ugrilaisen kirjallisuuskongressin kirjanäyttelyyn Ouluun.

Vuosikokouksessa 2009 kutsuttiin Seuran ulkojäseneksi filol. kand. Nina Agafonova Saranskista, filol. kand. Sergei Maksimov Izkarista ja fil. tri Zoltán Nagy Pécsistä.

Ehdotuksia kunniajäseniksi ei tehty.

Seura on saanut vuoden aikana seitsemän uutta vakinaista jäsentä, jotka ovat PhD Paul Clayton Utahista, opiskelija Sampsa Holopainen Helsingistä, opiskelija Ninni Jalli Lahdesta, opiskelija Leo Jäppinen Helsingistä, fil. kand. Sirkka Nurmi Lapualta, opiskelija Niko Partanen Helsingistä ja opiskelija Katja Plath Turusta.

Viime vuosikokouksessa tehdyn päätöksen mukaisesti on uusilta vakinaisilta jäseniltä peritty kertajäsenmaksuna 40 euroa, opiskelijoilta kuitenkin 20 euroa.

Kuluvana vuonna Seuran onnittelet ovat saaneet seuraavat merkkipäiväänsä viettäneet ulkojäsenet: 85-vuotispäivän johdosta prof. Juri Jelisejev Moskovasta, prof. István Szatmári Budapestista ja prof. Dmitri Tsygankin Saranskista, 80-vuotispäivän johdosta filol. kand. Aleksandra Stepanova Petroskoista, 75-vuotispäivän johdosta filol. kand. Ivan Gr. Ivanov Joškar-Olasta ja prof. István Bátori Vallendarista, 60-vuotispäivän johdosta prof. Helle Metslang Tallinnasta ja prof. Daniel Abondolo Lontoosta sekä vakinaiset jäsenet: 80-vuotispäivän johdosta prof. emer. Heikki Leskinen Jyväskylästä, 75-vuotispäivän johdosta prof. Ingrid Schellbach-Kopra Münchenistä ja kanslianeuvos Urpo Vento Espoosta, 60-vuotispäivän johdosta arkistonjohtaja Lauri Harvilahti Helsingistä ja prof. Kaisa Häkkinen Turusta ja 50-vuotispäivän johdosta vararehtori Ulla-Maija Forsberg Helsingistä.

Viime vuosikokouksen jälkeen joulukuun lopulla 2009 saapui suruviesti, että Seura oli menettänyt kuoleman kautta kaksi ulkojäsentään professori A(ndries) D(irk) Kylstran (1920–2009) Groningenista ja vakinaisen jäsenensä professori Tamotsu Koizumin (1926–2009) Japanista.

Syyskuussa Seura menetti kunniajäsenensä, entisen esimiehensä, professori Seppo Suhosen (1938–2010) Helsingistä. Suhonen ehti toimia eri tehtävissä Seuran toimihenkilönä neljännesvuosisadan: esimiehenä vuosina 1991–2000, 2. varaesimiehenä 1986–1990 ja sitä ennen sihteerinä vuosina 1975–1983.

Seura menetti neljä ulkojäsentään kuluvaan toimintavuoden aikana: prof. Ivan Stepanovitš Galkinin (1930–2010) Joškar-Olasta, prof. Juri Sergejevitš Jelisejevin (1925–2010) Moskovasta, filol. tohtori Grigori Ivanovitš Jermuškinin (1932–2010) Moskovasta ja prof. Aleksandr Konstantinovitš Matvejevin (1926–2010) Jekaterinburgista.

Seuran toimimiehinä ovat päättävänä kautena olleet seuraavat: esimiehenä prof. Ulla-Maija Forsberg, 1. varaesimiehenä prof. Sirkka Saarinen, 2. varaesimiehenä prof. Riho Grünthal, sihteerinä fil. maist. Paula Kokkonen, rahanvartijana merkon. Harry Sjöberg, kirjavarainhoitajana fil. maist. Maire Aho ja johtokunnan lisäjäseninä prof. Kaisa Häkkinen, dos. Ildikó Lehtinen ja fil. tri Jussi Ylikoski, yliasiamiehenä fil. maist. Merja Salo, tilintarkastajina kauppat. maist. Mikko Koivusalo ja oikeust. kand. Ralf Sunell sekä heidän varamiehinään prof. Tapani Lehtinen ja kauppat. maist. Jouko Ahtola.

Seurassa toimii kokopäiväisenä kustannustoimittajana (30.6. saakka julkaisu-sihteerinä) edelleen maisteri Anna Kurvinen. Kahden kuukauden (joulukuu 2010 ja tammikuu 2011) määräaikaisessa työsuhteessa Seurassa työskentelee maisteri Jack Rueter työstäen pioneerityönä ääni- ja tekstikoodattua digitaalista tiedostoa pari vuotta sitten koodatusta mordvalaisaineistosta. Tiedoston sijoituspaikaksi kaavaillaan Clarin-verkostoa. Sihteeri, maisteri Paula Kokkonen oli tammikuun palkattuna julkaisutoiminnan tehtäviin. Seuran ja Kansallisarkiston yhteisenä korkeakouluharjoittelijana opiskelija Anna-Maria Kangastus järjesteli Seuran arkistoa kolmen kuukauden ajan. Hänen harjoittelustaan Seura maksoi kuukauden osuuden.

Seuran edustajina August Ahlqvistin, Yrjö Wichmannin, Kai Donnerin ja Artturi Kanniston rahastojen tuotosta jaettavista väitöskirjapalkinnoista päättävässä Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran ja Kotikielen Seuran yhteisessä lautakunnassa Seuraa edustamassa ovat olleet 1. varaesimies, prof. Sirkka Saarinen ja 2. varaesimies, prof. Riho Grünthal sekä asemansa perusteella esimies, prof. Ulla-Maija Forsberg.

Seuraa on edustanut Alfred Kordelinin yleisen edistys- ja sivistysrahaston tieteen jaostossa prof. Sirkka Saarinen varamiehenään prof. Riho Grünthal. Tieteen jaoston valitsemana jäsenenä rahaston hallituksessa on ollut 6.11.2010 saakka prof. Ulla-Maija Forsberg, varamiehenään prof. Sirkka Saarinen.

Tieteellisten seurain valtuuskunnan hallituksen jäseneksi kaudeksi 2010–2012 on valittu esimies, prof. Ulla-Maija Forsberg. Esimies Forsberg on toiminut kauden 2008–2010 TSV:n tiedeakatemiajaostossa sen varapuheenjohtajana. Hän on toiminut niin ikään julkaisukeskuksen johtokunnan jäsenenä ja sen varapuheenjohtajana. Tieteellisten seurain valtuuskunnan kevätkokouksessa 26. maaliskuuta Seuraa edusti sihteeri Paula Kokkonen ja syyskokouksessa 4. lokakuuta esimies, prof. Ulla-Maija

Forsberg. Suomen tiedekustantajien liiton sääntömääräisessä vuosikokouksessa 26. huhtikuuta Seuraa edusti sihteeri Paula Kokkonen.

Seuran esimies ja 2. varaesimies edustavat Seuraa Pietari-säätiön valtuuskunnassa. Seura kuuluu säätiön perustajajäseniin.

Rahanvartija Harry Sjöberg on osallistunut Seuran edustajana useiden pörssiyhtiöiden (Stockmann Oyj, Kesko Oyj, Sampo Oyj ja Lemminkäinen Oyj) kevään vuosikouksiin.

Helsingissä 2. joulukuuta 2010

Paula Kokkonen, sihteeri

Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran tilinpäätös vuodelta 2010

Tuloslaskelma 1.1.–31.12.2010

Varsinainen toiminta

Julkaisutoiminta

Tuotot

Julkaisujen myynti	15 009,85
Tekijänoikeuskorvaukset	1 900,00
Valtion avustus	30 000,00
Muut avustukset	<u>37 300,00</u>

Tuotot yhteensä

84 209,85

Kulut

Henkilöstökulut

Toimihenkilöiden palkat ja palkkiot (julkaisu)	44 979,56
Muut palkat ja palkkiot (julkaisu)	5 350,00
Sosiaalikulut	1 166,29
TyEL-maksut	6 991,50
TaEL-maksut	-275,23
Ryhmä-, henki-, tapaturma- ja työttömyysvakuutusmaksut	-423,95
Päivärahat	0,00
Matkakulut	<u>709,80</u>

Henkilöstökulut yhteensä

58 497,97

Muut kulut

Kirjavaraston vuokra	3 875,52
Painatuskulut	23 291,22
Toimistokulut (julkaisu)	1 741,24
Postikulut (julkaisu)	1 791,84
Puhelinkulut (julkaisu)	1 397,55
ATK-kulut (julkaisu)	3 787,64
Vakuutukset (julkaisu)	70,10
Mainokset (julkaisu)	0,00
Materiaalit (julkaisu)	43,00
Muut julkaisutoiminnan kulut	<u>1 413,20</u>

Muut kulut yhteensä

37 411,31

Julkaisutoiminnan kulut yhteensä

95 909,28

Julkaisutoiminnan tuotto-/kulujaämä

-11 699,43

*Muu varsinainen toiminta***Tuotot**

Jäsenmaksut	<u>275,00</u>

Tuotot yhteensä

275,00

Kulut**Henkilöstökulut**

Palkat ja palkkiot	7 316,00

Sosiaalikulut	158,44

TyEL-maksut	1 094,81

Työttömyys-, ryhmä- ym. vakuutukset	16,58

Päivärahat	144,00

Kilometrikorvaukset	486,00

Muut toimihenkilökulut	<u>14,90</u>

Henkilöstökulut yhteensä	9 230,73

Toimistokulut

Posti	18,67

Toimistotarvikkeet	238,18

Kirjanpito	4 025,00

Puhelinkulut	0,00

Pankkikulut	318,10

Kokouskulut	3 718,80

Edustuskulut	50,00

Muut toimistokulut	<u>60,00</u>

Toimistokulut yhteensä	8 428,75

Kokous- ja neuvottelukulut

Kokoustilan vuokra	155,00

Matkakorvaukset	736,85

Kongressi- ja seminaarikulut	0,00

Muut kokous- ja neuvottelukulut	<u>0,00</u>

Kokous- ja neuvottelukulut yhteensä	891,85

Edustus ja huomaavaisuus

Onnittelut/huomaavaisuus	<u>80,00</u>

Edustus ja huomaavaisuus yhteensä	80,00

Tieteelliset apurahat

Tieteelliset apurahat	<u>4 300,00</u>

Tieteelliset apurahat yhteensä	<u>4 300,00</u>

Muun varsinaisen toiminnan kulut yhteensä

22 931,33

Muun varsinaisen toiminnan tuotto-/kulujäämä

-22 656,33

Varsinaisen toiminnan tuotto-/kulujäämä

-34 355,76

Sijoitus- ja rahoitustoiminta

Osingot	79 639,55
Korkotuotot	1 856,43
Arvopapereiden myyntivoitot/-tappiot	128 862,36
Arvonlennukset/kurssitappiot	0,00
Muut sijoitustoiminnan tuotot	276,00
Sijoitustoiminnan kulut	<u>-914,99</u>

Sijoitus- ja rahoitustoiminnan tuotto-/kulujäämä 209 719,35

Omakatteiset rahastot

OKR osingot	48 857,01
OKR sijoitusten myyntivoitot/-tappiot	49 948,06
OKR korkotuotot	1 934,12
Arvonlennukset/kurssitappiot	0,00
OKR tuloksen siirto rahastoille	<u>-100 739,19</u>

Omakatteisten rahastojen tuotto-/kulujäämä 0,00

Tilikauden tulos 175 363,59

Tilinpäätössiirrot

Tuloksen siirto yleiseen rahastoon	175 088,59
Jäsenmaksujen siirto pohjarahastoon	275,00
Yli-/alijäämä	<u>175 363,59</u>

Tilikauden jäämä 0,00

Tase 31.12.2010**Vastaavaa**

Pysyvät vastaavat

Käyttöomaisuusosakkeet ja muut pitkäaikaiset sijoitukset

Osakkeet ja osuudet

1 825 546,13

Yhteensä

1 825 546,13

Vaihtuvat vastaavat

Vaihto-omaisuus

Myyntivarasto

16,82

Yhteensä

16,82

Saamiset

Siirtosaamiset

55 225,80

Yhteensä

55 225,80

Rahat ja pankkisaamiset

Pankkisaamiset

30 882,77

Yhteensä

30 882,77**Vastaavaa yhteensä**1 911 671,52**Vastattavaa**

Oma pääoma

Pohjarahasto

16 863,96

Yleinen rahasto/yhdistyspääoma

1 817 017,08

Yhteensä

1 833 881,04

Tilikauden voitto/tappio

0,00**Yhteensä**1 833 881,04

Vieras pääoma

Lyhytaikainen

Ostovelat

324,72

Muut lyhytaikaiset velat

77 465,76**Yhteensä**77 790,48**Vastattavaa yhteensä**1 911 671,52

Tase-erittelyt

Oma pääoma

Pohjarahasto 1.1.	16 588,96
Lisäykset, jäsenmaksut	<u>275,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	16 863,96
Yleinen rahasto 1.1.	928 222,64
Tuottohyvitykset Minette ja Otto Donnerin ja Lahjoittajien rahastolle	2 258,31
Tilikauden ylijäämä	<u>175 088,59</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	1 101 052,92
Minette ja Otto Donnerin rahasto 1.1.	13 321,31
Rahaston tuotto	1 256,48
Apuraha	<u>-1 000,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	13 577,79
Lahjoittajien rahasto 1.1.	9 518,32
Rahaston tuotto	1 001,83
Apuraha	<u>-700,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	9 820,15
August Ahlqvistin rahasto 1.1.	46 071,83
Rahaston tuotto	9 066,53
Apurahat	<u>0,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	55 138,36
Kai Donnerin rahasto 1.1.	26 078,75
Rahaston tuotto	5 036,96
Apurahat	<u>0,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	31 115,71
Albert Hämäläisen rahasto 1.1.	149 624,77
Rahaston tuotto	25 184,80
Apurahat	<u>-5 000,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	169 809,57
Artturi Kanniston rahasto 1.1.	112 070,32
Rahaston tuotto	23 170,01
Apurahat	<u>0,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	135 240,33
Julius Markin rahasto 1.1.	38 424,57
Rahaston tuotto	8 059,13
Apurahat	<u>0,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	46 483,70
G. J. Ramstedtin muistorahasto 1.1.	63 035,77
Rahaston tuotto	<u>8 059,13</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	71 094,90
Yrjö Wichmannin rahasto 1.1.	14 233,55
Rahaston tuotto	2 014,79
Apuraha	<u>0,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	16 248,34
Mikko Korhosen rahasto 1.1.	25 799,30
Rahaston tuotto	5 036,96
Ulla-Maija Forsbergin 50-vuotisonnittelulahjoitukset	<u>900,00</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	31 736,26

Kaisi ja Kaino Heikkilän rahasto 1.1.	129 535,67
Rahaston tuotto	<u>15 110,88</u>
Yhteensä 31.12.	144 646,55

Vieras pääoma

Lyhytaikainen	
Ostovelat, lyhytaikaiset	324,72
Ennakonpidätysvelka	4 558,38
Sosiaaliturvamaksuvelka	1 432,96
Muut lyhytaikaiset velat	63 852,73
Siirtovelat	3 145,79
TyEL-maksuvelka	-3 369,75
Työnantajan pakolliset vakuutukset (saamiset)	-2 154,35
Jakamattomat apurahat	<u>10 000,00</u>
Yhteensä	77 790,48

Tilinpäätöksen liitetiedot

Seuran puolesta ei ole annettu pantteja, vakuuksia, takauksia tai muita vastuusitoumuksia. Sijoitusomaisuuden luonteiset arvopaperit on kirjattu hankintahintaan.

Kirjanpitoasiakirjat

Päiväkirja	ATK-tulosteina
Pääkirja	ATK-tulosteina
Palkkakirjanpito	paperitositteina
Tasekirja	erikseen sidottuna
Tase-erittelyt	erikseen sidottuna

Tositelajit ja säilyttämistapa

Pankki-, osto-, myynti- ja muistiotositteet A 624–911 paperitositteina

Helsingissä 21.1.2011

Ulla-Maija Forsberg	Sirkka Saarinen	Riho Grünthal
Maire Aho	Paula Kokkonen	Harry Sjöberg
Kaisa Häkkinen	Ildikó Lehtinen	Jussi Ylikoski

Tilinpäätösmerkintä

Tilinpäätös on laadittu hyvän kirjanpitoavan mukaisesti. Suoritetusta tilintarkastuksesta on tänään annettu kertomus.

Helsingissä 16.2.2011

Ralf Sunell Mikko Koivusalo