

- 12 Cf. § 6 (and notes).
- 13 Some *w*-initial words were erroneously left in some paragraphs. The editors of this book have changed them to *v*-initial words.
- 14 As seen, Castrén was not satisfied with an apostrophe indicating the hushing of sibilants including affricates, so the editors have changed every instance of apostrophe (') to caron (ˇ) when dealing with these phonemes: *s' > š | c' > č | z' > ž | dz' > dž*.
- 15 In standard Komi-Zyrian, there are 7 vowel phonemes: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/, /j/, /e/. These are also found in the Ižma dialect, though Castrén added one more vowel /ä/ when describing an open /e/ vowel in the Ižma dialect. When using the Cyrillic alphabet, this ä is marked with ə.
- In the Cyrillic alphabet, two additional vowels are used: *i* and *ö*.
- 16 There are 26 consonant phonemes in the Komi alphabet: /p/, /b/, /v/, /m/, /t/, /d/, /s/, /z/, /ž/, /š/, /l/, /r/, /n/, /dž (ž)/, /č/, /tʃ/, /dʃ/, /š/, /ž/, /č/, /dž (ž)/, /lʃ/, /rʃ/, /g/, /k/, in addition, there are 4 consonants borrowed from Russian for Russian loanwords /f/, /x/, /c/, /šč/ (in Cyrillic ф, х, ц and ш). Cf. Punegovna 2016: 25; Rédei 1978: 58.

❖ VIII ❖

When this grammar was in press, we were frequently absent or taken ill and therefore unable even to see to the outward appearance of the publication, an obligation to our readers, ourselves and especially the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg, who honoured this booklet with half of the Demidov Prize and financed its publication. There are scores of misprints in the book, which the reader should be made aware of, so as to avoid misconstructions of the state of matters. Hence, sometimes vowels are followed by the letter *i* when there should be a *j*, e.g. *pojka*, *zej*, *myj*¹²; *w* is also used where there should be a *v*, e.g. *wyy*, *wöölä*, *wöly* etc.¹³ Even more disconcerting is the fact that the sound *cj* is alternately indicated by the letters *c*, *c'* and *cj*, e.g. *sec'äm*, *secedzj*, *secje'* (see § 98), which for matters of consistency should be written in the same way despite the fact that the sound is produced with great variation from one speaker to the next. It is also regrettable that the mark ' has, for lack of anything better, been used to represent the dentals (*s'*, *z'*, *c'*)¹⁴, which has, as a matter of fact, been done in our absence and in contradiction to our wishes. This does not confuse matters, as we have never used the apostrophe immediately following a consonant to indicate elision, use of the apostrophe does, however, make for confusion in context. The lack of letters has partially had the effect that the Russian letters *x* and *u* have been indicated with the letter combinations *ch* and *sc'* in words of foreign origin. Other shortcomings that we have noted will be brought to the reader's attention at a later point in time.

Released in Helsingfors, 2 September 1844

M.A. Castrén



I Phonetics

A. Simple and composite letters

§ 1

The letters of the Zyrian language are as follows:

Vowels

*a, e, i, o, u, y, ä, ö*¹⁵

Consonants¹⁶

Labials: *b, v, m, p*

Linguals: *d, l, t, n*

Palatals: *j, g, k, r*¹⁷

Dentals: *z, ž, s, š, c, č*

and
Sibilants: *dz, dž, ds, dš, dc, dč*¹⁸

17 Here the labials are correct, whereas linguals may be a cover term for the other groups, i.e. palatals, dentals and sibilants (affricates).

18 Cf. § 4, see also the pronunciation of Castrén's dentals and sibilants, which should be classified as sibilants and affricates, respectively. They are spelled in a manner reminiscent of the German transcription used in Sjögren's grammar ("das weiche *s'*" (< *з*), *ds* (дз) etc., cf. Sjögren 1834: 152). The transcription used by Castrén does not correspond to the modern transcription.

We may give an actual categorization here based on the manner of articulation:

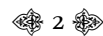
Fricatives: /*s/*, /*ś/*, /*š/*, /*z/*, /*ž/*, /*ʒ/*. Using Cyrillic letters: voiceless *c*, *сь* (or *c* + *и*, *e*, *ë*, *ю*, *я*), *ш*, and voiced *з*, *зь* (or *з* + *и*, *e*, *ë*, *ю*, *я*), *ж*.

Affricates: /*č/*, /*č' /*, /*ž/*, /*ž' /*, /*c/*, which are represented by the Cyrillic letters: *тч*, *ч*, *дж*, *дз*, *ц*. The native Komi researchers, e.g. Punegova, use *č'* and *ž'* (2016: 25), some others, e.g. Rédei, use *ć* and *ž* (1978: 58–59).

The editors have changed the apostrophe (') to caron (ˇ) when dealing with these phonemes: *s', c', z'* and *dz'* in Castrén's text, such that the fricatives are: *s, sj, š, z, zj, ž* and the affricates: *c, cj, č, dzj, dž*.

In their own comments the editors of this book have used *s, ś, š, z, ž, ž* and *c, ć, č, dž, dž*.

- 19 Here the comparison between present first-person and preterite third-person singular is problematic. It is unclear what Castrén intended to say, as there is no aspiration marked in the preterite forms in § 69.

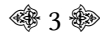


§ 2

The letters *ch* (Ru x) and *šč* (Ru ш) only occur in Russian loan words, *f* occurs in one word alone: *fetelj* ‘hoop net’ (Ru мережа), *h* is heard at the end of the illative and sometimes in nominatives after the final vowel especially in two-syllable words, which sometimes with this aspiration differ from the verb form of the act. ind. present first-person sg., e.g. *pemdah* ‘into the darkness’, *pemda* [1SG < *pemdyny* ‘to become dark’]. The same distinction is found between the indicative present first person and the aspirated third person in the ind. pret. The language, however, does not allow for a special letter in these positions, because there is no reflex of the aspiration in declined forms, e.g. *pemda*’, illat. *pemdaä*’; *sjyli*’, third-person pl. *sjylinys*, not *pemdahäh*, *sjylihnys*, as consistency may call for.¹⁹

§ 3

The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u* are pronounced as in the Finnish language; *y* is pronounced in the Ižma dialect as *υ* in Russian, often changing to *e*; *ö* is a very low sound, this especially applies the long *ö*; *ä* is pronounced as in the Finnish language, it is often confused with *e* in declension, where in other dialects it is written as *ö*.



§ 4

In Zyrian the labial, lingual and palatal consonants are pronounced as in German with the exception of the letter *l*, which is pronounced hard as in Russian, before *j* it is pronounced in a very palatal way. The sibilants are pronounced as in Russian: *z* as *з*, *ž* as *ж*, *s* as *с*, *š* as *ш*, *c* as *ц*, *č* as *ч*, *dz* as *дз*, *dž* as *дж* etc. It is worth noting, however, that a word-initial sibilant *s* in short syllables sounds like *ss*, e.g. *ssjom* 'scale', Fi *suomu*; *ssjornita* 'I speak', Fi *saarnaan*; *ssjo* 'hundred', Fi *sata*; *ssya* 'it', Fi *se*; but in this connection the Ižma dialect is not quite stable.²⁰

N.B. The sibilants *c*, *č*, *dz*, *dž*, *ds*, *dš*, *dc*, *dč*²¹ consist of two sounds attributed to different articulatory organs, and it must be stated that at least all digraph sibilants containing the letter *d* are originally formed through combination. It is known that other Finnic languages are not only fond of sibilants but are completely lacking voiced plosives. The Lappish language does in fact have voiced plosives, but their value in relation to voiceless plosives is obscure. They are pronounced voiced where they originally were not part of the root but have subsequently come into being and strengthened the other consonants. Thus, the letters *s* and *š* in the Lappish language have strengthened to *ds* and *dš*. The fact that the Zyrian language has gained its voiced sibilants with the *d* sound can be observed in 1) comparison of related languages,

- 20 The words with a word-initial double *s* seem to come from Sjögren's grammar, where *s* means voiced *s* and *ss* voiceless (see 1834: 152, 156). Elsewhere Castrén has changed them to a single *s*, e.g. *ssya*, which appears as *sya* in § 57.
- 21 These combinations are all sibilants, more specifically they are affricates. Cf. § 1, notes 17 and 18. In contrast to later researchers, Castrén appears to consider semi-voiced affricates as their own graphemes, disregarding digraph sibilant components that assimilate in voicing to the *d* component. See Vocabulary: *vodsasja* 'I resist', cf. KSK 1: водзсасьны 'to resist'; the *ds* and *dš* digraphs might also be a retention of Sjögren's German-style transcription.

- 22 As corrected in the Corrigenda.
- 23 The etymological comparison is incorrect for all three words.
- 24 When Castrén speaks of the pronunciation of the consonant *j*, he is making reference to the palatalization of the preceding consonant. Palatalization is expressed in the Cyrillic orthography with the vowels *e, ë, и, ю* and *я* or the soft sign *ь*. Komi has what is called consonant palatal correlation, i.e. palatal and non-palatal consonant pairs. The meanings of the words mentioned in § 5 are given in the vocabulary.
- 25 There are no diphthongs in the Ižma dialect, nor are there in the standard Komi written language. There are only vowel sequences. Castrén mentions, erroneously, on the basis of the Finnish language, that these 21 diphthongs occur in the Ižma dialect. (Cf. ID: 6). Likewise, Castrén has erroneously posited 21 diphthongs for the Khanty language (cf. *Ostiacica*, p. 47).



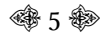
e.g. *ydžyd* ‘big’, Fi *iso*; *vodecja* ‘opposite’, Fi *vaštaan*; *džudžyd*²² ‘deep; high’, Fi *syvä*²³, 2) and the fact that the *d* sound, when it comes into contact with several other consonants, is easily lost, e.g. *udžjeza* ‘debtor’, *užda* ‘I owe’; *jedžyd* ‘white’, *ježda* ‘I bleach, whitewash’, *vidzjeda* ‘I watch’, *vizla* ‘I glance, look through (quickly)’.

§ 5

In the same way as the letter *d* is added in front of dentals to strengthen their articulation, and contrary to the primary principles of the language, which disallow the conjoining of several consonants, the letter *j* is added to linguals and dentals to indicate the softening of their articulation; e.g. *djin*, *tjös*, *ljok*, *njanj*, *kuzj*, *sjöd*, *važja*, *cjunj*, *dzjölja*, *udžjes* etc. The pronunciation of the consonant *j* in this formulation is so quick and at times so unnoticeable that it is heard mixed with the preceding consonant, especially the letter *l*.²⁴

§ 6

All in all, there are many diphthongs in the Finnish language and in the Zyrian language. Although some diphthongs have, apparently, been lost due to Russian influence, there remain at least the following sequences: *ai, ei, oi, ui, yi, öi, ae, ie, ea, ia, oa, ua, ya, aä, iä, oä, uä, yä, uo, io* and *uö*.²⁵



B. Alternations of sounds

a. Alternations in vowels

§ 7

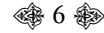
In the description of variation in Zyrian vowels, the following notes should be made:

1) In general, word-internal vowels do not exhibit variation in the Finnic languages. Instead, all change happens in the end, as is demonstrated in the examples: *menen* 'I go', *menin* 'I went', *menevä* 'going'; *meno* 'going, course', gen. *menon*, adess. *menolla*, iness. *menossa*; *lähden* 'I leave', *lähdin* 'I left', *lähtevä* 'leaving', *lähtö* 'leaving, departure', gen. *lähdön*, adess. *lähdöllä*, iness. *lähdössä*. In contrast, the situation in languages of Sarmatian derivation shows word-internal vowel variation while word endings remain unchanged, e.g. *sprechen*, *sprach*, *gesprochen* 'to speak'; *nehmen*, *nahm*, *genommen* 'to take'; *der Mann* 'man', pl. *die Männer*; *das Buch* 'book', pl. *die Bücher*; *gut* 'good', *die Güte* 'goodness, quality'. Variation of this type is avoided in the Finnic languages, which tend to change only stem-final vowels, e.g. *jalka* 'foot', instr. pl. *jaloin*; *kynttilä* 'candle', inf.²⁶ pl. *kynttilöitä*; *kivi* 'stone', gen. *kiven* etc.

2) In the Sarmatian languages stem-internal vowel variation depends on the vowel in the suffix, which always goes unchanged. In Finnish itself, where stem-internal vowels are unchanging,

26 Inf. = Infinitivus (La). Cast-rén used this old term for the modern Finnish partitive case. In the Komi language there is no case called partitive.

27 Here Castrén is dealing with Finnish vowel harmony, a phenomenon not found in the Komi language.



the stem vowels govern the suffix with regard to the hardness (*a, o, u*) or softness (*ä, ö, y*) of the vowel. Hard vowels presuppose a hard suffix and soft vowels a soft suffix; e.g. *katto* ‘roof’, adess. *katolla*; *pöytä* ‘table’, adess. *pöydällä*.²⁷ This rule was undoubtedly in place originally in the Zyrian language, and it is still said to be maintained in other dialects to some extent. In the Ižma dialect it no longer exists. In the Ižma dialect the internal part of the stem usually remains unchanged. This is also the situation in suffixes that consist of the soft letters *ä* (*ö*, sometimes *e*) and *y*. The stem-final vowel in both Zyrian and Finnish is the most prone to change (see § 7:1).

3) In Zyrian, as in Finnish to a great extent, possibly all words ending in consonants originally had word-final vowels. In the examination of rules applied to vowel change, it is inevitable that we acknowledge not only a missing vowel but also actual vowels in the suffixes that have changed considerably (see § 7:2). Since these changes cannot be studied on the basis of one dialect alone, we will attempt to indicate how and in which important positions the vowels change according to characteristics of the modern language taking the Ižma dialect into consideration.



§ 8

Therefore, these alternations of vowels are most frequent:

A) The letter *a* changes to *ä* 1) in effective²⁸ forms of the verbs, e.g. *sad[j]ma* ‘I wake up’, *sad[j]mäda* ‘I wake (tr.)’; *kusa* ‘I become extinguished, go out’²⁹, *kusäda* ‘I turn, switch off, extinguish’; *vöjpa* ‘I say’, *vöjpäda* ‘I assure’; *töda* ‘I know’, *tödäda* ‘I let know’; 2) in 3rd person sg. and pl. indicative pres., in 2nd person pl. imperative and passive participle and *nomen acti*; e.g. *karä* ‘he/she makes’, *karänys* ‘they make’, *karä* ‘make (pl)!’, *karäma* ‘made’, *karäm* ‘act, making’, from the root *kara* ‘I make’; 3) in some nouns, which no doubt have originally been derived from verbs with final *ä*: e.g. *pöta* ‘I am full’, *pötäsa* ‘full, satisfying’; *murtala* (from a lost root *murta*) ‘I measure’, *murtäs* ‘measure’, *murtäsa* ‘that can be measured’. The other similar nouns include *a*, e.g. *majta* ‘I grease, smear’, *majtas* ‘grease, liniment’; *doma* ‘I repair’, *domas* ‘patch’; the conclusion can be reached that *a* originally belongs to the verb.³⁰

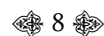
B) The vowel *a* has changed to *i* in ind. pret. e.g. *muna* ‘I go’, *muni* ‘I went’.³¹

C) The vowel *a* changes to *y* in imperat. 2nd person sg., in the infinitive, gerund and participle.

D) The vowel *ä* is repelled with the vowel *a* in the illative and instructive cases in [possessive] suffixes, e.g. *kerka’am*, *kerka’ad*, *kerka’as*³² ‘in my, your, his/her house’, the *a* in the nominative *kerka* does not merge with *ä* of the illat. *kerkaä*³³ ‘into the house’; *kerkajasam* ‘in my houses’, nom. pl. *kerkajas*,

- 28 Here Castrén uses the term *effective* for the Komi Ižma *-äd* verbal derivational suffix, i.e. standard Komi *-öd* [-öd]. Rédei uses the term *causative-factive* (1978: 115). Nowadays, Komi grammars use the term *causative* (e.g. ÖKK: 263).
- 29 Use of the first-person singular verb form is symptomatic of the period, whereas a third-person singular ‘it goes out, gets extinguished’ might be more readily understood.
- 30 Here Castrén equates the vowel of the 1st person singular verb ending with the derivational vowel stem, e.g. the causative ending *-äd* (*-öd*), which is typical of his era.
- 31 The vowel change here is part of the morphological paradigm.
- 32 Castrén uses an apostrophe ‘ to mark the morpheme boundary between two adjacent vowels, separating syllables.
- 33 Here, however, Castrén uses an apostrophe ‘ to mark a word-final **h* in illative forms.

- 34 In the grammar of A. Flërov (1813, p. 12) there is a form Витōмысь (*vitōmys*).

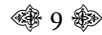


illat. *kerkajasä*; instr. *kinam* 'with my hand', *purtnad* 'with your knife', from nom. *ki*, *purt*, instr. *kiän*, *purtän*.

E) *ä* changes to *e*: 1) before a suffix [deverbal derivation] e.g. *veläda* 'I teach', dim. *veledla*; *kara* 'I make, do', eff. *karäda*, dim. *karedla*; *kypäda* 'I lift, raise', pass. *kypedcja*; *bergäda* 'I turn', pass. *bergedcja*; *gögräs* 'round', *gögressja* 'I surround', 2) after a consonant cluster in *j*, e.g. *adzje* 'he/she/it sees', not *adzjä*; *pinj* 'tooth', instr. *pinjen*; *cjunj* 'finger', illat. *cjunje*'.

F) In the Ižma dialect *y* changes to *u* 1) in forms of the relative case when the final letters change places and the consonant cluster *j* is inserted before *u*; e.g. *kiys[j]* 'from the hand', *kisjum* 'from my hand'; *kijasys[j]* 'from the hands', *kijasjum* 'from my hands'. In other dialects, the forms *kis[j]ym*, *kis[j]im* or *kijass[j]ym*, *kijass[j]im* are used, and in the Ižma dialect itself the *y* vowel is retained in other persons, e.g. *kisjyd*, *kisjys* 'from your (sg.) hand, from his/her hand'. 2) In the same way the Ižma dialect changes *y* to *u* in the first-person plural endings of all cases: e.g. nom. *purtnum* 'our knife', *purtnasnum* 'our knives', illat. *purtanum* 'into our hands', elat. *purtnasjunum* 'from our hands', but in other persons the *y* vowel is retained, e.g. nom. *purtnyd*, *purtnys* 'your (pl.) knife, their knife', illat. *purtanyd*, *purtanys* 'into your (pl.) knife, into their knife' etc.

G) Contrary to the spirit of the language, *i* changes to *e* in the words *vit* 'five', *vetyymyn* 'fifty' (*vitōmys*, Flërov³⁴), and also *o* and *e* as in the Russian language in *njolj* 'four', *njeljaamyn* 'forty'.



H) Sometimes *y* and *i* are in alternation, e.g. *koknyd* or *koknid* ‘easy’, *vösnyd* or *vösniđ*³⁵ ‘thin’ etc.

I) Sometimes *j* changes to *y*, e.g. *vidzja* ‘I take care of, pass. *vicysja*³⁶ (see below) and on the contrary *y* to *j*, e.g. *asy* ‘in the morning’, *asja* ‘morning (adj.)’; *ködzyd* ‘cold’, *köjdoö* ‘cool’ (*ködzydoö*³⁷, *ködzydoö* and due to consonant clustering the digraph letter *dz* is dropped: *köjdoö*).

K) The vowel *i* changes sometimes to consonant *j*, e.g. *öni* ‘now’, *önja* ‘present’.

§ 9

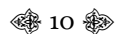
The vowels often disappear not only at the end of the word but also in the middle, e.g. *gogyn* ‘scraper’, *gognala* ‘I scrape’; *toman* ‘lock’, *tomnala* ‘I lock’; *vugyr* ‘hook’, *vugrala* ‘I fish’ (see § 84); *sjökyd* ‘heavy, difficult’, *sjökydaa* or *sjöktaa* ‘heavily, with difficulty’; *myykyd* ‘wise’, *myykydaa* or *myyktaa* ‘skilfully’; *ydzyd* ‘big’, *ydzydoö* or *yždoö* ‘rather big’; *dženyd* ‘short’, *džendoö*³⁸ ‘rather short’.

§ 10

The syllable-final diphthong tends to become a long vowel from *oä* to *oo*, e.g. *voä* or *voö* ‘I come’; *loä* or *loo* ‘I become’, *voänys* or *voönys* ‘they come’³⁹.

- 35 Should be *koknjd*, *koknji* and *vösnyd*, *vösniđ*.
- 36 Should be *vitcysja*, cf. Vocabulary.
- 37 As corrected in the Corrigenda. See Vocabulary for correct affricate: *ködzyd*.
- 38 As corrected in the Corrigenda. See Vocabulary for correct form: *dženjd*.
- 39 The word *voänys* has no diphthong: the two adjacent vowels belong to different syllables.

- 40 In words beginning with *m*, Castrén has written the letter *u* before *ö*: *muös* ‘cow’, the literary form is *mös* [m^höc] (see Vocabulary).
- 41 Castrén’s description appears to require a little enhancement. Perhaps, he was trying to say that when a consonant-initial derivation suffix is added to a stem ending in two consonants, the second of the two stem-final consonants is dropped. In the case of affricates, however, the first of the two stem-final consonants is dropped, i.e. the affricate is simplified to a fricative. Cf. § 31:b.



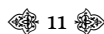
b. Alternations in consonants

§ 11

Common to all Finnic languages, including Zyrrian, there is a law whereby no two consonants can occur in the same syllable. According to this law, the second consonant is elided, e.g. *čapka* ‘I arrest, hold back’, frequ. *čaplala*; *myska* ‘I wash’, pass. *myssja*; *muös*⁴⁰ ‘cow’ (orig. *muöski*), illat. *muöskä*, iness. *muöskyn*; *is* ‘smell’, *iska* ‘smelly’; *jen* ‘God’ (orig. *jenmi*), elat. *jenmys[j]* etc. Sometimes the first consonant is dropped, e.g. *džudžyd* ‘deep; high’, *džužda* ‘depth, height’, *ydžyd* ‘big’, *yžda* ‘size, magnitude’. If one of the consonants in the cluster is a liquid, oftentimes *r*, both consonants tend to be retained, e.g. *bord* ‘wing’, *gort* ‘grave’, *pors* ‘pig’, *görd* ‘red’ etc.⁴¹

§ 12

If a syllable ends in *l* (originally *ly*) with any preceding vowel, the letter *l* is retained in some dialects, in others it changes to *v*, which in the Ižma dialect then merges with the preceding vowel forming a long vowel, e.g. *kyy* (originally *kyly*, *kyl*, *kyv*) ‘tongue; language’, Fi *kieli*; *töö* (orig. *töly*, *töl*, *töv*) ‘wind; winter’, Fi *tuuli*, *talvi*; *soo* (orig. *soly*, *sol*, *sov*) ‘salt’, Fi *suola*; *pöö* (orig. *pöly*, *pöl*, *pöv*) ‘side, time’, Fi *puoli*; *uu* (orig. *uly*, *ul*, *uv*)



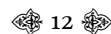
'under, beneath', Fi *ala*; *uusa* or *ulysa* 'low(er), nether', Fi *alanen*; *vyysa* or *vylysa* 'upper', Fi *ylinen*; *tuusoo* (orig. *tulysoy*) 'spring', dim. from *tuly* 'spring'. When the vowel *a* precedes the consonant *v*, they merge into *oo*, e.g. *vištala* 'I tell', imperat. *vištoo* 'tell!' (orig. *vištaly*, *vištal*, *vištav*)⁴²; *lögala* 'I am angry', imperat. *lööoo* (orig. *lögaly*, *lögal*, *lögav*) etc. The letter *l* does not undergo such a development after a long vowel, e.g. *vööla* 'I often am', imperat. *vööly*, not *vööö*.

§ 13

The Finnish language has a certain basic rule, according to which the voiceless consonants *k*, *p*, *t* in a short syllable ending in a consonant either disappear or soften. The same rule can be observed in other Finnic languages, at least in Lappish and Estonian, from which it can be deduced that the rule originally was applied in Zyrian, as well. The character of this rule has changed to such an extent that there are only a few words left that attest to its existence. These are: *peta* 'I go out', *petkäda* 'I carry out'; *pota* 'I split, tear', *potkäda* 'I split, cut', and certain other effective derivational endings, which add the letter *k*. This formulation can only be explained if we posit a stem with the letter *k* (*petka*, *potka*). The *k* has, however, disappeared because the first-person present originally ended in *m* and *k* began the short syllable ending in a consonant.

- 42 The verb is *vistoony* > *visjtoony* 'to tell', its stem is palatalized: *visj-*; in the literary language *visjtavny* [висьтавны].

- 43 As corrected in the Corrigenda.
- 44 In this paragraph Castrén describes consonant gradation (where some words have stem consonant variation), which is known in the Finnish language but not in Komi, see § 31:b) and c).

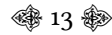


In the same way, consonant changes can be explained in the words: *usja* 'I fall down, stumble', *uskäda* 'I attack'; *oška* 'I praise', *ošjysja*^{*)} (formed from the imperat. *ošky*⁴³) 'I boast', where the letter *k* has either disappeared or *j* has been added for eased pronunciation, or it is softened as in Finnish, e.g. Fi *särkeä* 'to break', *särjen* 'I break'. The examples here are only related to the letter *k*; there are no traces of the letters *t* or *p*.⁴⁴

§ 14

Due to the characteristics of the Zyrian language, voiced plosives cannot follow voiceless plosives. If this happens in the inflection, derivation or joining of words in any change, the voiced plosive tends to lose its voicing, e.g. *sjökyd* 'difficult; hard', *sjökýdaa* or *sjöktaa* 'difficult; hard (adv.)', *sjökta*, (orig. *sjökda*) 'I make difficult, hard'; *metkä*, the imperative marker, combinations of the word *med* and the enclitic *-kä* etc. The same may be said of dentals that have combined with voiceless consonants, e.g. *läčyd* 'sharp', *läčta* (orig. *läčda*) 'I sharpen'. Sometimes the preceding voiceless consonant becomes voiced, e.g. *ljok* 'bad', *ljogdžyk* 'worse'.

^{*)} It should be noted that the voiceless *k* in Finnish is not elided after the letters *s* and *t*. Thus, the kinship of languages already greatly distanced from one another cannot be traced.



§ 15

Among dentals, the letter *s* is especially prone to the following changes: 1) after a long vowel it tends to change into *z*; e.g. *loo* 'spirit', *loozja* 'I revive'; *pola* 'I am afraid' (imperat. *poo*), pass. *poozja*. The passive form elsewhere ends in *-sja*, e.g. *šua* 'I say', pass. *šusja*. 2) After the letters *d*, *t* and sometimes *j*, the letter *s* changes to *c*, e.g. *topäda* 'I press, worry', pass. *topedcja* 'I get anxious'; *dasäda* 'I repair, make', *dasedcja* 'I get ready'; *cjukarta* 'I collect', *cjukartcja* 'I pile up'; *kolja* 'I leave', *koljcja* 'I stay'.

§ 16

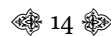
A sharp aspiration is at times heard at the end of nominals with word-final vowels. As can be discerned through comparative methods, the source of the aspiration can be found in the letter *s*, e.g. *vo*' (*voh*) 'year', Fi *wuosi*; *ma*' 'honey', Fi *mesi*; *va*' 'water', Fi *vesi*; *ki*' 'hand', Fi *käsi*⁴⁵, etc. Sometimes the aspiration heard at the end appears to derive from the letter *k*, e.g. *ju*' 'river', Fi *joki*. In the Finnish language itself, the letter *h* is related to *k* and *s*.

§ 17

The comparative method also reveals that the letter *t* has an association with the letter *s* (cf. § 25:11 and § 26), likewise *m* is related to *n*, e.g. *kyn*⁴⁶ 'cold', Fi *kylmä* (*kylm*, *kym*, *kyn*); *sin*⁴⁷ 'eye', Fi *silmä* (*silm*, *sim*, *sin*), *anj* 'wife, woman', Fi *vaimo*⁴⁸ etc.

- 45 These are correct etymologies (cf. UEW, pp. 335, 273, 570 and 140), but in Finnish: *-si* < **-ti* (< **-te*).
- 46 The stem is *kyn* : *kynm-* (Uralic **lm* > Permic **n(m)*).
- 47 The stem is *sjin* : *sjinm-* (Uralic **lm* > Permic **n(m)*).
- 48 The etymological comparison here is incorrect.

- 49 Lapp. is a mistake; *jem* is a Komi word. See the etymology in the vocabulary, and also UEW (p. 22).
 50 There is no Obs. 1 in § 60.



§ 18

It is not infrequent that the consonant-like *j* is used in both Zyrian and Finnish to soften pronunciation: 1) between two vowels, e.g. *uu* 'branch', *uujes* (instead of *uuäs*) 'knotty'; *pi* 'son, boy', plur. *pijan*; *vijin* 'you (sg.) killed' (instead of *vi'in*); 2) after lingual and dental consonants, cf. § 5.

§ 19

As in Lappish, the letters *j* and *v* are sometimes used pleonastically in the beginning of vowel-initial Zyrian words, e.g. *jyy* or *vyy* 'high, upper, top'; *yy* or *yly*, which means something remote, Fi *yli*; Lapp.⁴⁹ *jem* 'needle', Fi *äimä*; *voj* 'night', Fi *yö*; *vodzj* 'early', Fi *esi*; *völi* 'was', Fi *oli*; *völtar* 'altar' etc.

§ 20

Alternation is sometimes found among consonants: 1) *d* and *g*, e.g. *peljdjin* or *peljgin* 'temple (anat.)', 2) *s* and *š*, e.g. *njulyšta* or *njulyšta* 'I lick', 3) *c*, *č*, *cj* (see p. VIII); 4) *dz* and *tc*, e.g. *vidzsja* or *vitcysja* 'I take care, save'.

§ 21

Letters can also be interchangeable, e.g. *arkma* instead of *karma* 'I do, make'; *jubirtny* or *jurbitny* 'to pray', *vejt* 'roof', *vetja* 'I cover' (cf. § 60, Obs. 15^o).