

Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852) was by far the most significant Finnish linguist of the 19th century. Not only was he a linguist but also a multidisciplinary scholar, equally versatile in the fields of ethnography, folklore, mythology, archaeology, history, and human geography. Castrén collected a huge corpus of field data during his prolonged expeditions to Karelia, Lapland, Arctic Russia, and Siberia between 1838 and 1849. His aim was to find the original homeland of the Finns, and he approached this question with the help of linguistics, comparative mythology, archaeology, and history. During his brief tenure in academia, Castrén had little opportunity to synthesize his collections, a situation aggravated by his rapidly progressing and ultimately fatal illness. Therefore, a major part of his scholarly legacy remained unpublished at the time of his death.

The Mari or Cheremis grammar is one of the few materials Castrén was able to publish himself. He began work on it in Helsinki in late 1844. Castrén's primary sources were two grammars published in Russia in 1775 and 1837, and some religious texts. At that time, the majority of the existing Mari texts were written in Hill Mari, i.e. in the Western dialect of Mari, whose speakers constitute a small minority of the Mari people. Castrén discovered that there was a Mari soldier serving in the Russian troops in Helsinki. The Mari in question, whose identity is unknown, did not know Russian or any other languages, so working with him was difficult. Castrén concentrated on the study of Mari for some weeks. He was soon to set off on a second expedition, which would take him to Siberia. The itinerary included passing through Kazan'. Since Mari settlements were located in the Kazan' area, Castrén planned on improving the grammar manuscript there.

Castrén arrived in Kazan' on 10th April 1845. It was, however, difficult to find Maris in Kazan', because they mainly lived in the countryside. At last, a young native Mari working as a clerk was found. He proved to be witty and brisk, so the work started going fast. There is no definite information about the name of this informant either, but, in the manuscript, there is a note "Cheremis from the Governorate of Kazan', Kusma Jemjänskij, Bolšoj Junjskoj (Больше-Юнь[ин]ский) Uezd". This is assumed to have been the language informant.

Castrén sent the ready grammar manuscript to Finland in early May and continued his journey to Siberia. The *Elementa grammatices Tscheremissæ* grammar, dated 1st May 1845, Kazan', appeared in the autumn of 1845 in Helsinki. The book consists of a sketchy grammar and a wordlist of approx. 700 words. This critical edition of *Elementa grammatices Tscheremissæ* is a translation from the Latin into English with editor's comments.



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M. A. Castrén

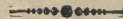
ELEMENTA

GRAMMATICES TSCHEREMISSÆ

CONSCRIPSIT

Dr. M. A. CASTRÉN.

Docens.



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TSCHEREMISSICA

Edited by Sirkka Saarinen

MANUSCRIPTA CASTRENIANA
LINGUISTICA III

M.A. Castrén's Visits to the Mari area

- M.A. Castrén's stops
in the Mari area and Kazan'
- ✧ (Other) major cities and
settlements in the region
- Eastern Mari
- Meadow Mari
- Hill Mari
- Northwestern Mari





N 70°

Barents Sea

✧ PUSTOZĚRSK

ARCTIC CIRCLE

✧ MEZEN'

White Sea

✧ ARXANGEL'SK

Northern Dvina

Vyčegda

✧ UST'-SYSOL'SK
(SYKTYVKAR)

Pečora

Ural Mountains

Ob'

N 60°

✧ VJATKA (KIROV)

CAREVOKOKŠAJSK
(JOŠKAR-OLA)

Malmyz District

Koz'modem'jansk

✧ NIŽNIJ NOVGOROD

Volga

Čeboksary

Kazan'

Kama

✧ MOSCOW

Tscheremissica

Manuscripta Castréniana
Linguistica III

Matthias Alexander Castrén

TSCHEREMISSICA

Edited by Sirkka Saarinen

Finno-Ugrian Society

Helsinki 2022

Matthias Alexander Castrén
Tscheremissica

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Linguistica III

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Editorial comments by
Sirkka Saarinen

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Helsinki 2022

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Mari areas on the front endpaper map
Rantanen et al. 2021 & 2022 (see References)
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Bookstore Tiedekirja
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Manuscripta Castréniana: A General Preface to the Series

Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852) was by far the most significant Finnish linguist of the 19th century. When he died at the young age of 38, he left behind a huge corpus of field data, collected by himself during prolonged expeditions to Karelia, Lapland, Arctic Russia and Siberia from 1838 to 1849. In the short periods of time he spent in an academic environment, he was largely occupied by university teaching and social activities and had little opportunity to synthesize his collections, a situation aggravated by his rapidly progressing and ultimately fatal illness. Therefore, and in spite of his active production of specialized articles, reviews and travel reports during his lifetime, a major part of his scholarly heritage remained unpublished when he died. Ever since, the fate of this legacy has stood in the focus of Finnish linguistics.

In Castrén's lifetime it was said that he had "written the grammars of fourteen languages", but the actual number of separate idioms documented by him is much larger, coming close to thirty. Moreover, although his main focus was the Samoyedic branch of Uralic, he also recorded several Finno-Ugrian idioms, including varieties of Finnic, Saamic, Mari, Komi and Khanty, as well as languages and dialects belonging to the Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic and Yeniseic families. With most of these languages, he was the first to collect any kind of coherent grammatical information, which, moreover, was complemented by lexical collections of varying sizes. Not surprisingly, he is today regarded as the founder of not only Uralic, but also Altaic and Palaeosiberian linguistics. An important feature of his approach was that he worked in the framework of a consistent linguistic theory, close to what is today known as "basic grammar".

It has to be added, however, that Castrén was not only a linguist, but a multidisciplinary scholar equally versatile in the fields of ethnography, folklore, mythology, archaeology, history and human geography. Although he had both predecessors and successors, he is with good reason honoured as the pioneer and foremost representative of the Finnish school of linguistic anthropology, a tradition that was formed several decades before the international breakthrough of the field. Using a more modern term, his way of looking into languages in their overall extra-linguistic context, would correspond to the concept of "rich grammar". Considering his work on mythology, especially the study of shamanism, he was also the founding figure of the so-called "Northern Paradigm" of mythological studies, a branch of comparative religion whose significance has only recently been fully understood.

Folklore and mythology were discussed by Castrén in a number of public lectures he gave at the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki. Linguistic topics were treated by him in a series of academic dissertations, presented between 1839 and 1850. In addition, he authored grammatical sketches with vocabularies on Ižma Komi and Hill Mari, published in Latin in 1844 and 1845, respectively. After his last expedition he started working on a new series of German-language academic grammars to which he gave the general title *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*. The series was authorized and financed by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg, and the first volume, on Khanty, appeared in 1849. In his remaining two years, Castrén managed to complete the manuscript for a second volume, on Samoyedic.

With Castrén's death, however, the future of his grammars was in danger, and the series would have been discontinued had it not been taken up by his colleague Anton Schiefner (1817–1879). From 1852 to 1861, Schiefner rapidly completed the project by editing and publishing, not only the Samoyedic volume, but also five other volumes of Castrén's linguistic field data, as well as a reissue of the Khanty volume. To these, he added the German editions of five volumes of Castrén's lectures and earlier publications, including letters and travelogues, which were also being made available in parallel Swedish versions under the name *Nordiska resor och forskningar*, published between 1852 and 1870. This 12-volume international series immediately consolidated Castrén's reputation and has been used as a basic tool of reference ever since—even for languages for which more extensive descriptions have subsequently become available.

In spite of the extremely valuable contribution made by Schiefner to Castrén's legacy, it was almost immediately realized that even more needed to be done. For one thing, there remained important parts of Castrén's materials that were not included in the series published by Schiefner. Moreover, Schiefner, who was not a field linguist, occasionally made mistakes when reading and interpreting Castrén's handwritten materials, which were not always in an accessible format. The idea of republishing Castrén's data in a more complete and correct form was first suggested as early as the 19th century, and this became one of the long-term objectives of the Finno-Ugrian Society, which was founded in Helsinki in 1883 with the specific goal of continuing Castrén's work in the field of Uralic and Altaic linguistics and ethnography.

During the almost 140 years of its existence (as of 2021), the Finno-Ugrian Society has, indeed, cultivated Castrén's legacy by both financing new field work by many generations of scholars and by publishing the results of their work. However, the full publication of Castrén's manuscript materials has not been realized until now. After the idea had once again been mentioned in connection with the 110th anniversary of the

Society in 1993, the plan of opening a new series of publications under the name *Manuscripta Castreniana* gradually ripened. This series is scheduled to contain a critical edition of all relevant parts of Castrén's manuscripts, including both linguistic descriptions and non-linguistic materials. The series will consist of both printed volumes and digital materials available on the website of the project.

In accordance with the original agreement with the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences, Castrén's manuscripts were placed in the library of the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki, where Schiefner sent them after completing his work on them. For unknown reasons, however, a small part of the materials remained in the archives of the Academy in St Petersburg. The academy also received Castrén's important ethnographic collections from Siberia. The materials kept in Helsinki have been bound into 33 mainly folio-sized volumes, which, over the years, have been preliminarily catalogued and microfilmed. Unfortunately, the work has never been professionally completed, which is why the volumes still offer surprises to those delving into them.

For the new series of publications, the Finno-Ugrian Society has mobilized a representative team of experts. The volumes, published in a free order, are divided into three sections: *Linguistica*, *Realia* and *Personalia*. The *Linguistica* section will contain Castrén's grammatical and lexical data on all the languages he documented. The *Realia* section will contain his notes on extralinguistic realities, including ethnography, folklore, mythology, archaeology, history and geography. Finally, the *Personalia* section will contain his letters and travelogues, as well as a biography with a full bibliography of his works. The contents of all the volumes are annotated on the basis of today's level of scholarship. In this connection, it may be recalled that large parts of Castrén's materials, including, in particular, those dealing with subsequently extinct languages, are the only extant documents on the topics they deal with.

English was chosen as the language of this series in order to give Castrén's oeuvre the visibility it deserves among the international and Anglo-Saxon readership for whom English is the first language of scholarly communication. The Swedish and German editions, published in the 19th century, will, of course, retain their historical value, but they are inevitably losing their relevance as sources of primary data. For practical reasons, though perhaps unfortunate for some readers, certain parts of the primary material in our new series are made available only in the original languages, that is, mainly Swedish. This is particularly the case with Castrén's letters and travelogues. Even so, the present series will provide a basis for the future translation of these materials into other languages, including English.

Juha Janhunen

Editor's Foreword

Birth of the Mari Grammar

In his letter to Johan Vilhelm Snellman 18th October 1844, Matthias Alexander Castrén explains the life's work he has chosen: "There is only one thing that has moved me deeply, and it is the only thing to devote my life to, all other things are mere secondary to me. I have decided to show the people of Finland that we are not devoid of connections to the world and world history, an orphan nation from the swamp, but instead we represent, at least through our kinship relations, one sixth of mankind. The grammars do not embody my most important aim, but without grammars I cannot reach my goal." (*Epistulae* 1: 369.) Linguistic kinship cannot be proven without knowledge of the language structures to be compared, and grammar is the description of language structure. By drafting grammars, Castrén wanted to prove the kinship between the Uralic languages.

Castrén began work on his Mari or Cheremis grammar in Helsinki, in the autumn of 1844. The first, laconic mention of this work can be found in his letter to Adolf Edvard Arppe, dated 25th December 1844. In the long letter, he tells of his recovery with the help of the cod liver oil Arppe had given him, and that he intended to set out on his journey for Siberia in a couple months' time, a place he called his promised land. After this he states in passing that he is now working with "Cheremis and various other small matters". (*Epistulae* 1: 381.)

As Castrén mentions in the preface of this grammar, he had heard in the autumn of 1844 that there was "a certain Cheremis born in the Koz'modem'jansk Okrug, Principality of Kazan" serving among the Russian soldiers gathered in Helsinki. The man's identity is unknown. The Mari in question did not know Russian or any other languages, so working with him was very difficult. Castrén's primary sources were two grammars published earlier in Russia: *Сочиненія принадлежащія къ грамматикѣ черемискаго языка*, Saint Petersburg 1775, and Andrej Al'binskij's grammar *Черемисская грамматика*, published in Kazan' 1837, and he went through these with his informant. In addition, he also had a few texts, mainly religious ones, such as Gospels, which he lists in his preface. Castrén describes the books as seen from the perspective of the language as "totally worthless".

The grammar of 1775 is often ascribed to the Archbishop Venjamin Pucek-Grigorovič, as are the grammars of Udmurt and Chuvash published at the same time. Thomas Sebeok and Alo Raun (1956: 12–13) have shown that they are not the product of the same author.

- 1 The first comparative presentation of Mari dialects and their phonetic differences was first published in 1889 by the Estonian linguist Mihkel Veske when he worked at the University of Kazan'.

Archbishop Pucek-Grigorovič, who was actively devoted to the conversion of the peoples of the Volga region, may have indirectly influenced the drafting of the Mari grammar. The dialect basis of the grammar has been contemplated at an early stage: József Budenz (1867: 191–212) stated that it represented a meadow dialect, but he also saw many deviant features. Sebeok and Raun (1956: 13–17) arrive at the same conclusion, but they demonstrate the anomalies suggest the dialectal influence of Northwestern Mari. Ivan Ivanov (1975: 16–17), on the other hand, considers the language form to represent the Meadow Mari dialect of Joškar-Ola, which shows features of Hill and Northwestern Mari. For Castrén, this was a problematic source, because in addition to the non-established orthography, the dialect base is clearly different from that of Hill Mari, and this, for example, was the source of reflections in Castrén's work on irregularities in the vowels. He correctly suspected that there might be dialect differences behind them.¹

Al'binskij's grammar was intended as a reader for Mari-language classes in the Kazan' Uezd and Čeboksary. The author himself states in the beginning of the book that it teaches one to read, write and understand the Mari language correctly. The grammar is based on Hill Mari. It has been applauded for being the first time to attempt to give one character, oftentimes character combinations, to represent each sound, even those that were not found in Russian. 39 characters were needed to describe the sounds of Hill Mari. (Ivanov 1975: 22–23.) The verbal description of the sounds is quite unsatisfactory, but in any case the work showed the Mari-language students how the language could be written. For a foreign speaker, for example, it does not give enough basis for perceiving the quality of different vowels. The description of grammatical elements in both the grammar of 1775 and 1837 follows the Russian model, for example in terms of the number of cases.

In the preface of his own grammar of Mari, Castrén tells of having concentrated on the study of Mari for some weeks and having written down observations for later work. He intended to set off on a second expedition, which would take him as far as Siberia in the beginning of 1845. The itinerary included passing through Kazan' and over the Ural Mountains. Since Mari settlements were located in the Kazan' area, Castrén had planned on improving the grammar manuscript there.

Castrén set off eastward from Helsinki on 27th February 1845 accompanied by Johan Reinhold Bergstadi. At first, the trip progressed slowly, with a group of friends and a farewell party in Porvoo as well. On 6th March, the troika arrived in St Petersburg. (Bergstadi 1884: LVIII–LXII, 1, 8.) The journey could not be resumed until more than two weeks later, on 24th March, when the documents were finally in

order and the travel money had been received. The itinerary included Moscow, Vladimir and Nižnij Novgorod on the way to Kazan', where the travellers arrived on 10th April. (*Epistulae* 1: 391.)

They met the first Maris on the journey along the Volga in Koz'-modem'jansk and Čeboksary (Bergstadi 1884: 15). According to Castrén, the number of Maris at that time was "somewhat over 200,000 souls", and only 67,657 lived in the Kazan' Governorate (*Itineraria* 2: 711.)

In his letter to Anders Johan Sjögren on 12th April 1845, Castrén complains that there is a dearth of Maris in Kazan'. The Active State Councillor Karl Fuchs suggested that Castrén travel to his own farm, which was located 72 versts from Kazan', in the middle of a dense Mari area. Castrén, however, rejected the idea, as travelling would be difficult and time consuming. He considered the study of the Samoyed to be his main goal and chose not to take the State Councillor's offer, although he admitted that a stay in the Mari territory would have provided him with a deeper understanding of the language. (*Epistulae* 1: 391.) The decision was undoubtedly influenced by Castrén's poor condition and constant illness, of which he reports in many of his letters.

Bergstadi (1884: 18) described the situation: "It has been difficult for Castrén to find Mari people to help, as they do not live in cities, nor do the Chuvash either, but in the countryside. Many willing speculators have appeared, but they have been half Tatars or Russians who have learned a few words of Mari. At last, Alcenius² found a young native Mari, who is a clerk at an agency. He is very witty and brisk. So the work is going fast." There is no definite information about the name of this informant either, but at the end of the Swedish vocabulary manuscript which is in alphabetical order (p. 236) there is a note "Cheremis from the Governorate of Kazan', Kusma Jemjänskiĭ, Bolšoj Junjskoj (Болше-Юнь[и]нский) Uezd". There are no other names of the persons in the manuscripts, so it can be assumed that this is the language informant.

Work on the grammar actually made quick progress. In a letter to Sjögren from 8th May 1845, Castrén writes that he was sending the grammar manuscript to Helsinki with Alcenius (*Epistulae* 1: 394). In a letter to Frans Johan Rabbe from 11th May 1845, Castrén asks him to submit the Cheremis grammar to Elias Lönnrot, who has promised to see to its printing. In his playful style, he states that he has not left Rabbe without a role either, as he should ask the University Consistory for funds to print it (70 silver rubles would be needed for printing 400 copies). If the university did not take a positive view, Rabbe should turn to the Finnish Literary Society. (*Epistulae* 1: 396.) In his letter to Lönnrot from 11th May, Castrén asks him to go through and

2 Master of Arts Carl Alexander Alcenius studied oriental languages in Kazan'.

check that the orthographies in the grammar and vocabulary sections correspond to one another and to have the quality of the Latin translation checked during printing. (*Epistulae* 1: 400–401.) On 12th May, Castrén and Bergstadi set out to continue their journey through Perm to Tobol'sk (Bergstadi 1884: 21–22).

The *Elementa grammatices Tscheremissæ* grammar, dated 1st May 1845, Kazan', appeared in the autumn of 1845 in the publications of the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki.

The Manuscript

Castrén's manuscript Vol. IV in the Finnish National Library consists of several versions of the grammar and of the vocabulary both in Swedish and in Latin. The grammar section (pp. 1–169) contains a total of 169 small pages. It includes a Latin version of the preface, and both a Latin and Swedish version of the grammar descriptions and inflectional formulas. The vocabulary section (pp. 171–276) is 105 pages long and contains word lists in both Latin and Swedish.

There are two versions of the latter, alphabetical and organized by part of speech. There are also two versions of the Latin word lists, a messy and a handwritten version for printing.

The Latin versions are direct translations of the Swedish originals, meaning that there are few differences to be found. The Latin versions, as well as the printed work, have resulted in incorrect forms of the Mari language due to the work of several copyists. If the original correct form can be found in the Swedish manuscript, I have made a correction and provided a footnote.

The Critical Edition

This critical edition contains an English-translated version of Castrén's Mari grammar published in 1845 with comments marked in the margins. It has double page numbering: running page numbers at the bottom of the page and original page numbers from the printed grammar of 1845 at the top.

The second part consists of Castrén's vocabulary *Index Vocabulorum*. The vocabulary is commented with a special method of its own, and this method is described in the beginning of it (page 87). The same method was used in Castrén's *Ostiacica* (2018).

All references used in the grammar parts and in the vocabulary are presented together at the end of the volume.

The Mari-language materials in both the grammar section and the vocabulary are written for the most part the same way as Castrén wrote them. The greatest deviation from this rule, however, are the two schwa vowels, front and back. They did not have their own character in the orthography, and there was no precise information about their quality. In many cases, Castrén refers to their weaker articulation, but he still indicates them in his writing with full vowels. In terms of the modern language, their correct word form is difficult to identify. If they had been retained as such, virtually every word would have had to be given the correct form in footnotes. Therefore, in this edition the schwa vowels are indicated with their established diacritical marks, the front schwa in *ä* and the back in *ə*. The only exception is the beginning of Castrén's Preface up to point 5 on page VIII. There, for example, he reflects on the quality of vowels, so the examples given had to be left unchanged for the sake of clarity.

In the case of consonants, the same practice has been followed as in the critical edition of Castrén's Zyrian grammar: *c'*, *s'*, *z'* have been replaced by *č*, *š*, *ž*, respectively, as Castrén has clearly stated that it is an issue of one hushing affricate and two shibilants.

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In Turku, August 2022

Sirkka Saarinen

Matthias Alexander Castrén

ELEMENTA GRAMMATICES TSCHEREMISSÆ

FUNDAMENTALS OF CHEREMIS GRAMMAR

*Edited and commentary by
Sirkka Saarinen*

*Elementa grammatices Tscheremissæ
Fundamentals of Cheremis Grammar*

*Prepared by
Doctor M.A. Castrén,
Docent*



Funded by the Imperial Alexander University, Finland



*Kuopio
J. Karsten's Typography
1845*



Imprimatur G. Rein

Preface

Those who have attempted to explain the kinship of the Finnish and Chud without comparing the languages more closely have come to the conclusion that the Cheremis tribe is closely related to the Finnish or *suomi*³. One such person is the gifted, erudite and well-known miŝter Rask⁴, who divides the entire Chud category into three families: the Finnic, Ugric and Bjarmic and notes that the Cheremis, Mordvin, Finnish, Lappish and Estonian languages are only types of the same Finnish family.^{*)} But in my opinion Cheremis together with Mordvin and Chuvash⁵ form their own family by all merits. Considering the external and internal characteristics of the languages, the Finnish family shows much less kinship with the Cheremis than with the Bjarmian languages. As Rask wants to generally define the kinship of languages belonging to the Chudic family, the Finnish family is so far removed from the Bjarmian that not even the Finnish and Ugric families differ so much. According to Rask, peoples geographically very far apart are closely related through

*) The Bjarmian family entails idioms that are slightly distinct from one another and are customarily called Permian, Zyrian and Votyak. The Ugric family includes the Hungarian, Vogul and Ostyak languages.

- 3 Caŝtr n uses the expression (*lingua*) *sumica* to indicate Finnish and more extensively in reference to Finno-Ugric languages. Caŝtr n uses the word *Finnish*, depending on the context, to indicate Finnish alone, or the entire Finno-Ugric language group.
- 4 Rasmus Rask (1787–1832), the well-known Danish linguist, visited Turku in 1818 and urged the Finns to study their kindred languages (Korhonen 1986: 24–25).
- 5 In the time of Caŝtr n, the Chuvash language, which was spoken adjacent to Mari in the Volga region, was thought to be a relative of the Finnish language. It was not until 1857 that August Ahlqvist proved that Chuvash belonged to the Turkic language family (Korhonen 1986: 80).

❖ IV ❖

language. This is not the case. As the settlements of the Finns approach the borders of the Bjarmian tribe in the Arkhangel'sk region, so do the Finnish-speaking languages come very close to those of the Bjarmians. The Bjarmian-speaking tribes spread throughout the area between Karelia, inhabited by Finns, and ancient Bulgaria, where the Chuvash, Cheremis, and Mordvins have settled. So if you look at the location, the inhabitants of Bjarmia are between the Finnish and Bulgar tribes. The languages have adapted to the requirements of their location. Inevitably, therefore, the Bjarmian languages are more closely affiliated with the Finnish and Bulgar languages than the Finnish languages are with those of the Bulgars, or at least with the Cheremis. As for the Ugric family of languages, I would just like to mention here that I have encountered several instances where the Cheremis is consistent with the Ostyak and Samoyed, but I dare not say anything certain about this consistency so far, as it may be due to their mutual past. ^{*)}

^{*)} In order to give clarity to the differences between the Chudic languages, we must observe that the Finnish family has borrowed from the Germanic, the Bjarmia from the Slavic and the Bulgars from the Tatar. Since the Voguls, Ostyaks and Samoyeds are neighbours of the Tatar, it is quite plausible that both the Ugric and Samoyed languages have been exposed to Tatar language influence.



The essence and plan of this booklet require me to say something about its origins. During my stay in Finland for a few months last year, I happened to learn that among the Russian soldiers gathered in Helsinki, there was a Cheremis who had been born in the Koz'modem'jansk Okrug of the Principality of Kazan'. With his help, I hoped to gain a more accurate knowledge of the language of the Cheremis than could be afforded by the completely worthless books written in the language. This Cheremis' lack of a competence in Russian and other languages was such that my use of his help was limited in the study of the grammar ^{*)} of the Cheremis language published in Kazan'. I concentrated on this study for a few weeks and wrote down my observations in

*) This was the only source I could use in Helsinki. Here, however, are all the books dealing with the Cheremis language:

Сочиненія принадлежащія къ Грамматикѣ Черемискаго языка. В Санктпетербургѣ 1775 года.

Мя Осподьнанъ Исусъ Христосанъ святой Евангелъ Матфей-гыць, Марко-гыць, Лука-гыць, Иоаннъ-гыцать Марла сирмяшешъ вазактэма. Питеръ Алашта 1821 и годамъ.

Святой Апостолвянъ Пашавля, нынанатъ сирмяшвя, Святой Иоаннанъ Апокалиписъ-ге. Марла сирмяшешъ вазэктэмавя. Питеръ-Алашта 1827 и-годамъ.

Черемисск. Грамм. Казань 1837.

Начатки Христiанскаго Ученiя или краткая свѣщенная исторiя и краткiй Катихизисъ на Черемискомъ языкѣ. Горнаго нарѣчiя. Казань 1832.

- 6 The correct form of the word is *tər*, i.e. it contains a schwa vowel for which there was no character in use in Castrén's time. See § 1 and the corresponding marginal notes.
- 7 Castrén describes the vowel variation between the dialects in *a ~ o*: *a* appears in Hill Mari, and *o* in Meadow Mari. The majority of the text sources used by Castrén represented Hill Mari, but part of them also came from Meadow Mari or mixed dialects.

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Helsinki. *) Then I travelled through the territory of the Cheremis to Siberia and went through my work with the help of another Cheremis man and made necessary corrections. What I did not want or could not correct in the text itself, let me mention in the following.

1. Upon observing the more precise pronunciation of vowels, I have become convinced that the Cheremis language uses variations such as those in the first paragraph. The variations, or schwas, as they are called, each derive from a short and weightless vowel, and not only in multi-syllable words but also in single-syllable words, e.g. *tör*, or *tr* 'calm'⁶. But I am certain that the variation in stressed vowels is not necessarily dependent on specific consonants; a specific note must be made of variation in the letter *a*. Word-initial *a*, namely, is very much affected by this kind of variation, and, in some individual dialects, it is pronounced approximately as *o*, e.g. *ala* or *ola* 'city'; *alak* or *olak* 'meadow'; *altalem* or *oltalem* 'I cheat'; *amasa* or *omasa* (*omsa*) 'door'; *andžem* or *ondžem* 'I observe'.⁷

The same book: "Лѣснаго нарѣчія." Same place of publication.

Сельскій полицейскій уставъ для государственныхъ крестьянъ, переведенный на Черемискій языкъ горнаго нарѣчія, Михайломъ Кроковскомъ. Санктпетербургъ 1843.

*) It should not be left unmentioned that this grammar, which I wrote in Swedish, has been translated into Latin for the most part by others.

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It often occurs in the first syllable following a consonant, e.g. *jadam* or *jodam* ‘I ask’; *jal* or *jol* ‘foot; leg’; *kajam* or *kojam* ‘salient’⁸; but less frequently it is found in the second syllable, e.g. *kadalam* or *kodolam*⁹ ‘I see smb off’; *agam* or *ogom* ‘I do not want’¹⁰. The second variation of the letter *a* where it is realised as *ä* (*e*) is most often heard at the end of words (see § 1).

2. Paragraph four lists more vowel changes. Oftentimes, this includes not only the variations *a* and *o*, *a* and *ä*, *ä* and *e*, which are described elsewhere, but also the variation *a* and *i*, e.g., *maara*, *maari* ‘Mari’,¹¹ *e* and *i*, e.g. *šeder*, *šidir* ‘star’,¹² *kec*, *kic* (ablative ending),¹³ *o* and *u*, e.g. *koat*, *kuat*¹⁴ ‘power’, etc. Of the consonants, the liquids *l* and *r* readily alternate, e.g. *örtnjel*, *örtnjer* ‘saddle’, etc.¹⁵

3. In paragraph three, the vowels are divided into hard and smooth. Perhaps it would be better to divide them into hard (*a*, *o*, *u*), smooth (*ä*, *ö*, *y*) and light vowels (*e* and *i*),¹⁶ as in Finnish. Upon closer examination of the Cheremis language, I have found that the light vowels are in harmony with the hard and smooth. But the hard and smooth do not go together well. They never occur together in the root itself, but appear in the derived forms of words, which sometimes contain hard and smooth vowels (see § 3).

4. Although consonants usually harden at the ends of words (§ 6), there are some words that also end in soft vowels. In these, the last syllable becomes stressed and somehow lengthens. Lengthened syllables seem to require that subsequent consonants, especially *z* and *ž*, be smooth

- 8 The word in the example, *kajam*, is a verb, meaning ‘I look like smth’.
- 9 This word does not have the *a* ~ *o* variation between dialects in the first syllable, and the second syllable has a schwa. The correct form in both Hill Mari and Meadow Mari is *kodalam* ‘I see smb off’.
- 10 Both forms have a back schwa *ə* in the second syllable. The meaning is simply that of an auxiliary verb of negation for the first person singular without a main verb.
- 11 The word meaning ‘Mari’ ends in a back schwa, and the vowel of the first syllable is not long, but, stressed, and it may be slightly drawn out: *marə*.
- 12 Both syllables have a front schwa vowel *ä*: *šäädär*.
- 13 The correct form is *käc*.
- 14 The Tatar loanword *kuat* is the same in both Hill and most Meadow Mari dialects, and a difference is only notable in stress; the stress falls on the first syllable in Hill Mari and on the second in Meadow Mari.
- 15 The variation *l* ~ *r* is limited to a few words.
- 16 Here Castrén uses the terms *majores*, *minores*, *mediae*, literally ‘big, small, middle ones’ found in older Finnish grammars. Here they have been given the same names *hard*, *smooth*, *light* which Castrén uses further in the text and which are also found in *Ostiacica* (p. 53), according to the original German edition.

- 17 The vowel in the first syllable is a back schwa ə.
- 18 Since this form of negation in the second preterite is a result of a suffixed verb 'to be' *əlam*, the final syllable does not follow vowel harmony, and it should therefore be *əltelam*.
- 19 After *l*, *t* seldom becomes voiced.
- 20 The last variant is Meadow Mari. The second syllable of the first form mentioned should have a schwa in the second syllable: *jaləštem*.
- 21 Henceforth schwas are marked as *ä* and *a*, so that the words would be recognizable from a perspective of the modern language.
- 22 *žə*, *žä* (in the original *z'a*, *z'ä*) is not a nominal derivational ending; it is the third person singular possessive suffix. Adjectives in Mari (as in many other Finno-Ugric languages) can also appear as nouns, identifying qualities, at which time they are marked with a third person singular possessive suffix.
- 23 In the original *oza*, *özä*.
- 24 This derivative suffix has been borrowed from Chuvash (Galkin 1966: 51).
- 25 *žykšä* is an irregular participle form of the verb *žyam* 'I drink', not the verb *žyktem* 'I give something to drink'.

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word-finally. Instead, consonants that begin an accented syllable remain relatively hard, e.g., *tölté* (*toldé*)¹⁷ 'without fire', *oltéläm*¹⁸ 'I wasn't'.¹⁹

5. The double stressing which is dealt with in paragraph eight is not common. Thus, the stress of the two-syllable words falls on the first but more commonly on the second syllable. A first syllable that is accented very often lengthens, but a second syllable only lengthens in words that end in a consonant. A vowel that bears no stress shortens, becomes a schwa vowel, or disappears altogether. Even, the stress in three-syllable words often falls on the last syllable, and the vowel of the previous syllable is elided, e.g. *jalaštem* or *jalštem*, *jolštem*²⁰ 'I bind'. But three-syllable words which are formed from two-syllable words with stress on the second syllable, retain this stress in the second syllable. Roughly the same is true of multi-syllable words.

6. Nominal derivational endings with specific meaning are ones forming:²¹

- a) abstract nouns ending in *žə*, *žä*, e.g. *jažo* 'beautiful', *jažožə* 'beauty'; *kužə* 'long', *kužəžə* 'length'; *kelgä* 'deep', *kelgäžə* 'depth'; *käžgä* 'fat', *käžgäžə* 'fatness'.²²
- b) actor names ending in *əza*, *äzä*²³, e.g. *loktem* 'I enchant', *loktəzə* 'enchanter'; *kätem* 'I herd', *kätäzə* 'herder'.²⁴ But rather frequently the same meaning is indicated with the participle present ending *šə*, e.g. *lošə* 'catcher', *žykšä* 'drunk', which are derived from the words *loem* 'I catch' and *žyktem*²⁵,

IX

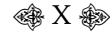
respectively. The same participle ending, added to the inessive form, is used in forming adjectives and especially nouns associated with place, e.g. *solaštəšə* ‘living in a village’ from the word *sola* ‘village’, iness. *solaštə*; *alaštəšə* ‘living in a city’, etc.

- c) adjectives ending in *n* (*an*, *än*, *ən*, *än*²⁶) that are in character possessives (§ 10, B), e.g. *lävrä* ‘filth’, *lävrän* ‘filthy’ or ‘of filth (gen.)’; *i* ‘ice’, *iän* ‘icy’ (gen. *in*); *koat*²⁷ ‘power’, *koatan* ‘powerful’, *naaməs* ‘shame’, *naaməsan* ‘shamed, of shame’;²⁸ *vət* ‘water’, *vədän* ‘watery’.
- d) adjectives ending in *də*, *də*²⁹, e.g. *šuldə* ‘inexpensive’, *nəgədə* ‘thick’, *paškudə* ‘nearby’³⁰, *pingədə* ‘voracious’³¹, *pəčkədə* ‘dusky’. This adjectival ending is common in Samoyedic languages, too.
- e) adjectives ending in *tämä*, *dämä*³², Fin. *toin*, *ton* (*ttoma*), Lapp. *taebme*, *tebme*, *teme*, Zyr. *täm*, *töm*, e.g. *naaməs* ‘shame’, *naaməstämə*³³ ‘brazen, shameless’, *päläš* ‘ear’, *päläštämä* ‘deaf’, *jälmä* ‘tongue’, *jälmätämä* ‘mute’, *šur* ‘horn’, *šurdämä* ‘polled, hornless’.

There are also some adjectives ending in *la*, e.g. *totlə* ‘sweet’, *Soasla Maarə*³⁴ ‘Chuvash’. In Zyrian this ending is a case ending, and it is not beyond belief that the ending in Cheremis is of the same origin, which is why it is often used adverbially, e.g. *Rušla* ‘in a Russian way’ (*no Pycckiü*), *Marla* ‘in a Cheremis way’).³⁵

- 26 In EGT *en*, *in*.
- 27 In modern Hill Mari *kuat*.
- 28 This should be *naməs* and *naməsan*.
- 29 In the original *da*, *dä*.
- 30 The basic meaning of the word is ‘neighbour’, and it is a Chuvash loanword (Räsänen 1920: 181).
- 31 The basic meaning of the word is ‘hard, firm’ and figuratively ‘stingy’.
- 32 In the original *temä*, *demä*.
- 33 See marginal note 28.
- 34 In modern Hill Mari *suasla marə*.
- 35 Here Castrén assumes a single suffix where two Chuvash loan suffixes are at issue, one with a reduced vowel and the other with *a ~ ä*. *Totlə* is a Chuvash loan in Mari (Räsänen 1920: 228). The forms *rušla* etc. are translated as both ‘Russian, in a Russian way’ and ‘in Russian’. The Chuvash suffix *la* is defined as an adverb derivational suffix. Its usages are identical in both Mari and Chuvash, but in Mari it is called the modal-comparative case. (Fedotov 1965: 34, 40; Saarinen 1993: 148–150.)

- 36 In the original *tidä*, cf. § 24, marginal note 110.
- 37 The second and third person singular pronouns in Finnish, Saami, Mordvin and Mari have not developed from the same stems. In fact, the Finnish *se* and Mari *tädä* derive from two distinct demonstrative pronoun stems. (UEW 1988: 33–34, 453, 526–527, 539.)



In addition, there are numerous nominal endings whose meanings still evade me, e.g. *ž*, *š*, *k*, *kə*, *gə*, *ngə*, etc. I have not observed diminutive or augmentative nouns in this language.

7. The third person pronoun *tädä*³⁶ is derived from the root *tä*, which is also present in the language as such, this can be compared with the derivation of *puda* ‘that’ from the root *pu*, found in the Samoyed language. It should also be noted that the second and third person pronouns (*tänj* and *tädä*) do not come from one and the same root in Cheremis, but this distinction is also found in the Finnish language (*sinä*, earlier *tenä*, *te*, *tu*, *se* ‘it’), Lappish and Mordvin (*ton* ‘you (sg.)’, *son* ‘he/she/it’), Samoyedic (*pudar* ‘you (sg.)’, *pu* ‘that’) etc.³⁷

8. Regarding suffixes, I will merely point out that, after re-examining the Cheremis language, I have not found all the suffix forms I mentioned in the grammar under the authority of the soldier I mentioned above.

9. The vowel *e* of the present participle ending (*še*) and the ordinal ending (*mše*) is close to *a*, almost *ä*, as the author of the Kazan’ grammar writes here *a* instead of its smooth variant. This spelling, however, is incorrect, because *a* does not follow smooth vowels in the root. This suffix, however, can follow any vowels. But when the sound is so vague that it can hardly be expressed consistently with a single character, I have opted


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to use the letter *ä* in this instance and similar ones, and I do not think it is far from the correct pronunciation.³⁸

It is sufficiently clear from the points raised that my book, which only deals with the elementary grammar, is lame in that respect, too. I have not had the opportunity to study the matter more closely. If all goes according to my wishes, I will present the elementary grammar of Cheremis in more depth the second time around.

Given in Kazan', 1st May MDCCCXLV.

38 This is again an issue of schwa vowels in the suffixes mentioned that did not have their own symbols and whose quality was influenced by the surrounding vowels. In reality, both suffixes have two variants with a front schwa *ä* or back schwa *ə* depending on vowel harmony (cf. § 1 and its marginal notes).



I. Litteræ.

Vocales.

1. Lingua Tscheremissa vocales, quæ propriæ vocari possunt, has octo habet: a, e, i, o, u, y, ä, ö, quæ similiter atque in Finnica, Russica et compluribus aliis linguis enuntiantur; præterea multas vocalium variationes. Ad has pertinent: 1:o Schevata seu semi-vocales; 2:o vocales empahcticæ. Illæ pronuntiantur sono celeri, aures paene præterlabente, confuso, harum vero sonus plenior, latior, gravior est, quam ipsarum earum, quæ proprio nomine vocales appellantur. Schevata nisi in brevibus et accentu carentibus syllabis non inveniuntur et ei in primis rei inserviunt, ut pronuntiari possint plures consonantes concurrentes. Præterea syllabæ accentu carentes in fine verborum naturam schevatum frequenter assumunt, ac tum plerumque ejici solent et ante verba et ante terminationes, ex. gr. *kodaz'e*, qui, Dativus *kodaz'lan*, cui. Pronunciatio vocalium, quæ emphaticæ dicuntur, ex quibusdam et antecedentibus et sequentibus consonantibus pendere videtur, in primis e litteris *l, m, n* et *x*. Quando cum his concurrat, sonum suum in similitudinem litteræ *o*

I Phonetics

Vowels

§ 1 The Cheremis language has eight proper vowels: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *y*³⁹, *ä*, *ö*, which are pronounced in the same manner as in Finnish, Russian and most other languages; furthermore it has many vowel variations. These include: 1. schwa or semi-vowels⁴⁰; 2. emphatic vowels. The former ones are pronounced fast, almost passing the ear, unclearly, whereas the sound of the latter vowels is fuller, stronger, more emphatic, and they are called proper vowels. The schwas are found only in short syllables lacking stress and they serve especially in making the pronunciation of consonant clusters possible. Moreover, syllables lacking stress adopt a schwa nature more often at the end of words, and then they are often apocopated both before words and suffixes, e.g., *kədəžə* 'which', dative *kədəžlan* 'to which'. The pronunciation of the so-called emphatic vowels seems to be dependent both on the preceding and following consonants, especially *l*, *m*, *n* and *χ*. In contact with these, *a* starts to resemble *o*, *i* and becomes similar to the Russian *υ*⁴¹; others (*e*, *u*) do not differ in weight and sharpness from the corresponding vowels in German. Further, *a* has a strange variation where it nearly approaches *ä*, and often especially at the end of words whose last syllable lacks stress.⁴² The vowel *u* also has a smoother

- 39 Castrén used the letter *y* to indicate *ü*.
- 40 Hill Mari schwas are of shorter duration than the full vowels. They can, however, also occur in stressed syllables. Mari phoneticians consider the two schwas to be close-mid, but their quality varies and is dependent on the surrounding full vowels (Gruzov 1964: 31–34; Vikström – Zorina 2007: 41, 45, 79–82). In the first half of the 19th century, the orthography used for Mari was based on the Cyrillic script. In the two grammars and some biblical texts published before *Elementa*, Mari sounds not existing in Russian were written with vowel signs found in the Russian orthography or with their combinations. As such, the schwas could not be distinguished from full vowels in writing. Special signs for Mari sounds not existing in the Cyrillic orthography were not introduced until the second half of the 19th century by the Translation Committee working under St. Gurij's brotherhood in Kazan', and they are still in use today (Ivanov 1975: 27–28). Using Mari informants Castrén was able to distinguish the sounds *ä*, *ö* and *ü*. His description of the schwas shows that he, to some extent, understood the quality of these vowels, but he was not able to mark them in a distinct way. Instead, he used full vowels. In this edition, the schwas are indicated

with the signs *a* (back) and *ä* (front).

- 41 In the case of vowels Castrén calls *a* and *i*, he is actually describing the variation of the schwas.
- 42 This, again, concerns the schwas.
- 43 In the printed book erroneously *s* which is later corrected in the appendix *Corrigenda* and in its longer version attached to EGS.
- 44 Castrén uses the signs *s'*, *z'* and *c'* for *š*, *ž*, *č*.
- 45 I.e. *β*, *γ*, *δ* in the Finno-Ugric Transcription.
- 46 In the Swedish manuscript: Tenues have the same pronunciation as in all other languages but regarding liquids one has to notice that, after *k*, *l* turns into a strange, guttural sound influenced by *k*.



variant, which can sometimes be heard after *j*⁴³ and which, no doubt, has been borrowed from the Russian language.

N.B. As individual changes in vowels are probably dependant either on the following consonants or on the stress or perhaps on other matters, I neither want nor dare to introduce any new letters for them, especially as experience has taught me that in less cultivated languages the pronunciation of vowels by one individual cannot be fully trusted in every respect. One must, however, observe that the vowel variations noticed by me in the Cheremis language also occur in Samoyed.

Consonants

§ 2 The consonants in the Cheremis language are: *b*, *d*, *g*, *f*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *z*, *c*, *š*, *ž*, *č*, *t*, *χ*, *v*.⁴⁴ The faint sound *h* is not used at all, *f* rarely. The spirant *χ* sounds like the Russian *x*. When the sounds *b*, *g*, *d* occur between two vowels they are pronounced like spirants, thus *b* resembles *v* whereas *g* and *d* become fricatives like the ones in Lappish and other known languages.⁴⁵ Otherwise they are usually pronounced like half-voiced plosives and often appear after a preceding *m* or *n*. Tenues have the same pronunciation as in the German language with the exceptions of *k* and *l*; the former is pronounced like *q* in Tatar and the latter sometimes like *l* in Russian.⁴⁶ Of the sibilants, *s* sometimes gets



a smooth, slightly aspirated pronunciation close to the Finnish aspirated *t*. The other sibilants are pronounced almost in the same way as in Russian: *z* like *з*, *c* like *ц* (*ts*), *ž* like *ж*, *š* like *ш*, *č* like *ч*. The consonants *ž*, *š* and *č*, however, do not have the same sharp sound as the ones in Russian, instead, they come close to the composed sounds *zj*, *sj*, *cj*. *)⁴⁷

Vowel alternations

§ 3 As in the Finnish⁴⁸ languages in general, the vowels in the word stem do not vary, but in the suffixes, on the contrary, they vary and are dependant on the vowels in the stem; in the same way in Cheremis, the vowels in the suffixes adapt to the immutable ones of the stem. This law⁴⁹ so prevalent and widely used in the Finnish language has started to lose its power and meaning in Cheremis, therefore some suffixes have already acquired fixed vowels such as *ko* ‘wave’, pl. *kovälä* or *kovlä*⁵⁰; *pört* ‘room’, instr. *pörtän*⁵¹. In the Finnish language, *ä* always occurs in smooth suffixes, *a* in hard ones.⁵² Likewise, in Cheremis, the hard suffixes take the hard *a*, but in the smooth suffixes *ä* and *e* alternate. In Cheremis, a hard vowel in the suffix is always triggered by *a*, *o*, *u* in the word stem, while a smooth vowel is triggered by all other vowels. As it sometimes happens that the stem contains both hard and

*) The letter *c* compiled of the letters *t* and *s* is sometimes expressed in this book with the compound letters *ts* in order to make its formation clearer.

- 47 Castrén often writes *č* with *dc*, too. In this edition *dč* is used to represent instances of *dč*.
- 48 “Finnish” in this context is equivalent to the later term *Finno-Ugric*, which refers to both languages and peoples (cf. *Ostiacica* 2018: 41).
- 49 I.e. vowel harmony.
- 50 The plural ending (with its vowel) in Hill Mari goes back to an independent word of Turkic origin and it does not adapt to vowel harmony (cf. Luutonen 1997: 56–57).
- 51 Instead of the front schwa, *ä*, Castrén writes an *o* in *pörton* (see marginal note 40), where it, of course, would be counter to vowel harmony.
- 52 See marginal note 16.

- 53 Castrén writes the palatalized sounds *ń*, *l'*, *t'* etc. with *nj*, *lj*, *tj*.
- 54 In the first or *am* conjugation the present tense forms 1SG and 2SG have an *a* in the personal suffix and an *e* in the 3SG; these vowels belong to the suffixes.
- 55 In the second or *em* conjugation the present tense forms 1SG and 2SG have an *e* in the personal suffix and *a*, *ä* in the personal suffixes of the third persons.
- 56 The change *a* > *u*- (Castrén: *o*- > *u*-) occurs in this word alone.



smooth or medium vowels *e* and *i*, the suffix can have either of the two vowels (*a* or *ä*), though most often the choice depends on the last vowel of the stem; e.g. *loenäm*, less frequently *loenam* 'I caught'. The Cheremis language, in the same way as Samoyed, often joins adjacent words, if this is possible within the laws of euphonia. But in this conjunction or composition, it often happens that the vowels in the second word adapt according to the nature of the vowels in the first, e.g., *kogarnja* 'Friday' from *kogo* 'big' and *ärnjä* 'week'⁵³; *tagadčä* 'today' from *ta* 'this' and *kedčä* 'day'; *nällä* 'fourty' from *näl* 'four' and *lu* 'ten'; *agäl* 'is not' from *ak* 'not' and *äl* 'be'. But this law is as vague as the one concerning word suffixes.

§ 4 Although it may be said that according to the law mentioned above the Finnish languages like to keep the vowels of the stem immutable, the Cheremis language has nevertheless, in this respect, deviated from its original nature. It allows not only the final vowels of the stem to change in many ways, but, even in the vowels of the stem itself, it tolerates certain transformations which do not depend on the vowels of the directly preceding word. The most common transformations are *a*, *ä* to *e*, e.g., *lädäm* 'I read', *lädeš* 's/he reads'; *käčäläm* 'I search', *käčäleš* 's/he searches'⁵⁴; *e* to *a*, *ä*, e.g., *šalgem* 'I stand', *šalga* 's/he stands'; *särem* 'I turn', *särä* 's/he turns'⁵⁵; *a* to *u*, e.g., *alam* 'I am', *ulä* '(there) is'⁵⁶. The word-final vowel is often dropped, especially if the next word begins with a vowel, e.g., *ves edem* 'another person' (*vesä* 'another').



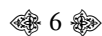
Consonant alternations

§ 5 Mošt, if not all, languages of Finnish origin have traces of an important law according to which two consonants cannot follow each other in one syllable. In Cheremis, this law is modified in so far as liquids and among them first and foremost *l* and *r* and also sibilants can easily occur in the same syllable. Cheremis, as well as Zyrian, even place a pleonaſtic *d* before a sibilant, e.g., *pörtländžä* (actually *pörtlänžä*) ‘for his room’, *imnidondžä* (actually *imnidonžä*)⁵⁷ ‘with his horse’.⁵⁸ Sometimes even three consonants can occur in the same syllable, if two of them are liquids or sibilants, e.g., *šträš* ‘cloth’⁵⁹. – In order to avoid a futile sound as a result of two or more dissimilar consonants interfering with one another the language uses two ways; namely either 1) it omits one consonant, e.g., *šolštam* ‘I steal’, opt. *šolšnem*; or 2) adds a semi-vowel between them, e.g., *jalštem* ‘I bind’, ptc. *jalštäšä* (actually *jalštšä* or *jalščä*).⁶⁰

§ 6 Like vowels, consonants can also be divided into hard and smooth. Hard ones are: *k, p, t, s, š, c, č*; smooth ones: *b, d, g, j, l, m, n, r, z, ž, v, x*.⁶¹ Mošt consonant alternations depend on the general tendency that the hard consonants match up with hard ones and the smooth with smooth ones. This law can be expressed simply: a hard consonant cannot follow a smooth consonant of the same speech organ. Therefore, they change: *k* into *g*, *p* into *b* (*v*), *t* into *d*, *s* into *z*, *š* into *ž*, *c* into *dz*; and these changes occur not only in

- 57 Castrén regards *don(o)* as a case suffix. In modern grammars it is classified as a post-position.
- 58 In the Swedish manuscript Castrén mentions that “The same *d* also occurs sometimes before *r* in the beginning of words, although otherwise neither *d*, *b* nor *g* can be pronounced in word-initial position”. He may be referring here to (rare) words starting with the sequence *t(ə/ä)r-*, to a few new Russian loanwords or to cases of progressive assimilation caused by the preceding word (as presented under § 6).
- 59 In Hill Mari dictionaries, this word is usually presented in the form *äštäräš*, but, in the dialects, forms without the schwa also exist.
- 60 According to the present-day orthography, the verbs *šoləštam* and *jaləštem* both have a schwa in the second syllable. It can be assumed that schwaless forms may exist in dialects and idiolects.
- 61 Here, Castrén uses the terms “hard” and “smooth” to indicate voiceless and voiced, respectively.

- 62 Cf. marginal note 57.
 63 This should be *säpton*. Stressed vowels are pronounced with a longer duration, which has led Castrén to occasionally write them with two letters.
 64 Sometimes but inconsistently, Castrén writes the fricative *v* with the letter *w*, which would actually express the phonetic value of this bilabial fricative better than *v*.
 65 This should be *žava*.



the same word but also in the beginning of the following word, e.g., *kəmbadčəš* ‘triple’ (*padčəš*), *pajan bört* ‘a rich house’ (*pört*), *iän dər* ‘frozen coast’ (*tər*), *iän zəkər* ‘frozen bread’ (*səkər*), *ašan žümbel* ‘a clever brother’ (*šümbel*), *kəm dzəbä* ‘three chickens’ (*cəbä*), *šəm džuda* ‘seven miracles’ (*čuda*). In addition, hard consonants often become smoother after a vowel, especially in word-final position, e.g., *kogäc* ‘out of the wave’, cf. *kitkäc* ‘from hand’, *kəzədon*⁶² ‘with a knife’, cf. *sääpton*⁶³ ‘with a rein’. In contrast, the smooth consonants following hard ones change into corresponding hard consonants, and in word-final position a smooth consonant often, though not always, transforms into a hard one, e.g., *kit* ‘hand’, illat. *kidäš*, *vəzät* ‘five’ or *vəc* ‘five’, etc. If a word-final hard consonant is preceded by a smooth consonant, this preceding consonant changes into a hard one, e.g., *imnižə* ‘his horse’, *imništ* (instead of *imnižt*) ‘their horse’. The smooth consonants seldom occur word-initially in a single word, but if a word is combined with others, the first sound of the second word is smoothened. According to this, a smooth consonant in word-initial position should also become hardened after a hard consonant at the end of the preceding word, which sometimes happens, but because of the strong preference of the language to smooth sounds, often after a hard ending of the preceding word a schwa or an *n* (*ən*) is added and thus the following consonant naturally stays unchanged, e.g., *wicə*⁶⁴ *žaava*⁶⁵ ‘five frogs’ (instead of *wic* or



wit šaava)⁶⁶. For the same reason, the suffixes *c* and *căn*, *kăc* (*găc*) and *kăcăn* (*găcăn*) alternate, e.g., *saic* or *saicăn*⁶⁷ ‘from behind’, *mănjăc* or *mănjăcăn*⁶⁸ ‘from me’.⁶⁹ Presumably, increasing smoothness can also be seen in cases where the same or related consonant closes the preceding and starts the following word or syllable; here the word-final consonant is omitted, e.g., *văt sydă* ‘500’ (instead of *văc šydă*), *kăndăx šydă* ‘800’ (instead of *kăndăxš šydă*)⁷⁰, *ikănă* ‘once’ (instead of *ik kănă*), *kəmăton* ‘in sixes’ (instead of *kəmăt-ton*), etc.

§ 7 Apart from the consonant alternations that we presented in the paragraph above, there also occur various others, but they depend on laws that are even less common. So *m* followed by *g* often changes into *n*, e.g., *kənan gănjăt* ‘sometime’ (instead of *kənam gănjăt*). Furthermore, sometimes *p* changes into *v* and *v* preceded by *m* into *b*, e.g., *pad* ‘pot’, *toi vad* ‘a copper pot’, *kəm baž* ‘three roots’ (*văž* ‘root’). Additionally, one has to note the change of *č* to *rt*, which occasionally occurs, e.g. *kadčkam* ‘I eat’, opt. *kartnem*, *padčam* ‘I open’, opt. *partnem*, etc.⁷¹

N.B. What has been told about consonant alternations above is neither a full nor a definite list of them, but it gives a general idea of the laws which consonants follow, and they show astonishing similarities between Cheremis and Samoyed languages.

66 The word for ‘frog’ in Hill Mari is usually given in the form *žawa*. It is, however, more obvious that the word would, in some dialects, have a word-initial schwa (as, e.g., in the north-western dialect). In that case, it should read *wič əžava*. In the Swedish manuscript, Castrén gives another example *koka drāmäs* ‘two women’, which should definitely read *kok ədărāmäs*. Thus, in both cases, Castrén has segmented the words incorrectly.

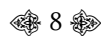
67 In present-day Hill Mari *šajəc(ən)*.

68 Castrén writes *n* with *nj* but not consistently.

69 Castrén regards the postposition *găc(ən)* a case suffix of the elative/ablative. The word *găc* has its origins in the noun *körgă* ‘inside’ and the Uralic separative case suffix **-tA > -c*. The unproductive case ending *c* is used with adverbial and postpositional stems. (*ə/ă*)*n* is an adverbial suffix, etymologically identical with the suffix *n* of the genitive-instructive case. Its use is optional. (Bereczki 2002: 40–43.)

70 In the Swedish manuscript, Castrén writes *kăndănχ* and *kăndănχš*, respectively. In dialects, forms like *kăndăkʷš* and *kăndănχš* are also attested.

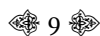
71 On rhotacism in Hill Mari, see Wichmann 1909: 114–119.



II Accent and Quantity

Accent

§ 8 Word stress in the Cheremis language is not definite enough regarding syllables. In two-syllable stems, it often falls on the first syllable, e.g., *Jámə* ‘God’, *kédčə* ‘day’, *tálzə* ‘month’, but often enough also on the second, e.g., *mardéz* ‘wind’, *šymbél* ‘brother’, *kandém* ‘I carry’. If the first syllable is stressed, however, the non-initial syllable rather often takes a light stress in Cheremis as well as in Zyrian, its own stress which causes a weakening in the stress of the first syllable and sometimes even leads to its loss. The stress described can even be disregarded, but in such cases the vowel of the suffix usually either drops or it changes into a schwa. If the real word stress lies on a non-initial syllable, the short vowel of the first syllable either disappears or it changes into a schwa, e.g., *älém* or *lém* ‘I live’, *äštém* or *štém* ‘I do’, *ərgém* or *rgém* ‘I sew’, *ädärämäs* or *drämäs* ‘woman’, *äläštäs* or *läštäs* ‘leaf’, etc. In words with three or more syllables either the first syllable is stressed, as in *mómoca* ‘sauna’, *kädärcə* ‘thunder’, or the second syllable, as in *kavāštə* ‘skin’, *savála* ‘spoon’, *tärwänem* ‘I get ready’. Words with many syllables are usually derived from stems with two syllables, and the stress most often remains

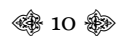


on the same syllable as in the original stem. But this stress is lighter than the one described above. Furthermore, it can easily be moved onto the suffix. – In compounds, both words tend to keep their stress. But if the first word has only one syllable, the stress falls usually on the second word or its first syllable, e.g., *kokánja*⁷² ‘twice’, *kambádčāš* ‘three-layered’.

Quantity

§ 9 Quantity in Cheremis cannot be marked accurately enough, because in many cases it seems to depend on the stress and is generally speaking very unstable and volatile. Rather often a stressed syllable can be pronounced both long and short. Words with one syllable ending in a vowel always sound long, but, if more syllables are added to it, the length disappears, e.g. *pyy* ‘tooth’, *pyem* ‘my tooth’, *ii* ‘ice’, *iān* ‘icy’, etc. This also concerns some one-syllable words, which end in the consonants *z* or *ž*. In particular, one has to notice that in two-syllable words the final syllable often seems to get longer if it has stress. – In this opusculum a long vowel is written with two vowel signs but only in those cases where length seems essential.

- 73 The Mari genitive always has the suffix *n*. In phrases cited by Castrén either the nominative or genitive can be used in the modifier position (only pronouns are obligatorily in the genitive, cf. *kyn ergä*).
- 74 In Southern Saami the Proto-Uralic accusative ending **m* appears as a labial stop *b* as well (cf. Korhonen 1981: 214).
- 75 The consecutive is given as a separate case (причинный падеж) in Savatkova's (2002: 102) Hill Mari grammar with the suffix vowel-harmony variants *lanen*, *länen*.
- 76 Both *š* in Mari and *h* in Karelian originate in the Finno-Volgaic **s*. All three Proto-Finno-Ugric sibilants (*s*, *ś*, *š*) have become *š* in Mari. Castrén calls Karelian a dialect, in the Swedish manuscript he speaks of "Karelian Finnish".
- 77 The element **k* is the suffix of the old Finno-Ugric lative. It functions (without *š*) in adverbs and postpositions as the so-called unproductive illative. (Alhoniemi 1993: 62–63.) This element is, however, not identical to the one in the ablative (G) and superlative (H).
- 78 A misprint *aijäge* was in the printed version, the correct form is found in the Swedish manuscript.
- 79 Neither of the mentioned comitative suffixes are cognates of the Mari *ge*. The Estonian *ga* originates in the postposition *kanssa* 'with', and the Northern Saami *guim* (in the comitative plural) can



III Nominals

A. Nouns

Case

§ 10 Cheremis nouns lack gender as in all Finnish languages; furthermore, they lack the dual number which exists in some Finnish languages and also many cases that occur in Finnish and other related languages.

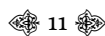
Cheremis only has the following cases:

A. The *nominative* has no suffix.

B. The *genitive*, which is either identical to the nominative, e.g., *kek šaldər* 'bird's wing' (bird-wing), *pört-leväš* 'ceiling of the room' (room-ceiling), or ends in *n* as in Finnish, e.g., *äštäräš* or *äštäräšän mǝžär* 'kaftan of (home-made) linen', *kyn ergä* 'whose son', *in (iin) dār* 'edge of the ice'.⁷³ The suffix *n* also occurs in *possessive adjectives*, which cannot always be distinguished from the genitive.

C. The *accusative* ends in *m* as in Samoyed, e.g., *ätjäm* 'father', *ergäm* 'son'. The Lappish language has a related suffix *b*.⁷⁴

D. The *dative*, which in Finnish ends in *llen* (*lle*) has a related suffix in Cheremis: *lan*, *län*,



e.g., *Ĵaməlan* ‘to God’, *ätjälän* ‘to father’. Sometimes the dative is used to replace the *consecutive* case and then it easily takes the suffix *länen*, e.g., *ergälän* or *ergälänen kejem* ‘I go to (fetch) one’s son’.⁷⁵ (See § 47 Letter I.)

E. The *illative* expresses movement into a place and ends in *škə*, *škä*, *š*, but in adverbs and postpositions it ends in *kə*, *kä*, *k*, e.g., *alaškə (alaš) pəren* ‘s/he went into town’, *šərgäškə kejen* ‘s/he went into the forest’. Its original form is undoubtedly *š*, which corresponds to the suffix *h* of the illative in the Karelian dialect.⁷⁶ The syllable *kə*, *kä* occurs also in the ablative and superlative;⁷⁷ it may have its origin in the particle *ke*, which sometimes functions as a comitative case, e.g., *ätjäge*⁷⁸ ‘father too, with father’. Confer the Estonian instructive in *ga* and Lappish instructive in *guim*.⁷⁹

F. The *inessive*, which denotes being inside a space, ends in *štə*, *štä*, *št*, e.g., *alaštə* ‘in town’, *šərgäštə* ‘in the forest’. The suffix of the inessive in Finnish is *ssa*, *ssä*, in Lappish *št*, in Estonian *s*.⁸⁰

G. The *ablative* or *elative* ends in *käc* (*gäc*), but in some adverbs and postpositions as well as nouns ending in *k* or *g* the suffix is *əc*, *äc*, *c*, e.g., *vətkäc* ‘out of the water’, *šymbelgäc* ‘from a/the brother’.⁸¹ The suffix in *c* (*ts*) can most likely be considered original and it corresponds to the Finnish elative in *sta*, *stä*, the Lappish and Estonian elatives in *st*, the Zyrian *s* (*ys*)⁸², etc.⁸³ The meaning of the ablative refers especially to inner space⁸⁴, but it is often used in the same sense as the ablative in other Finnish languages.

be traced back to the Baltic loanword *guoibmi* ‘companion’. (SSA1: 276, 301.)

80 The Finnish and Estonian inessive suffixes are etymologically identical to Mari *štə* < **snA*; the Northern Saami *s(t)* goes back to the old elative suffix **stA* (but it has the meanings of both inessive and elative, because the two suffixes have merged, see Korhonen 1981: 222–224).

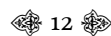
81 *käc* is a postposition, although it has been presented in some early grammars as a case ending because of its lack of stress. It originates in the noun *körgä* ‘inside(s)’ and ends in the unproductive elative suffix *c*, which goes back to the Proto-Uralic ablative **tA*. The unproductive elative suffix is used – as Castrén also notes – with adverbial and postpositional stems. *käc* does not adapt to vowel harmony, as it is not a case ending. See marginal note 69.

82 The Zyrian sibilants should have a palatalized *ś*.

83 The suffix *c* (< **tA*) can be found as the second segment in the Finnish, Estonian and Northern Saami suffixes mentioned above. The Komi *ś*, also found in Udmurt, is not of the same origin, but a Permic innovation (Rédei 1988: 380–381).

84 I.e. ‘from inside’.

- 85 According to present-day theory, *gač* is a postposition. It lacks stress but does not adjust to vowel harmony. The stem *väl-* can function both as an adverb and as a postposition.
- 86 All the caritive suffixes listed by Castrén originate in the common Finno-Ugric caritive suffix **ptAk* (Korhonen 1981: 226–227).
- 87 According to present-day knowledge *don(o)* is a postposition originating in the Finno-Ugric stem **tar3* ‘vicinity’ (UEW 512); *no* is the ending of the unproductive inessive.
- 88 Depending on the context, several cases can be used instead of essive in Hill Mari e.g., lative, inessive, genitive. The postposition *dono* cannot function as an essive. (Saarinen 2017: 261–281.)

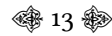


The Cheremis ablative case sometimes also functions like the Zyrian *prosecutive*, which expresses movement along a surface, e.g., *vätkäc* ‘along water’, *lämgäc* ‘along snow’.

H. The *superlative* expresses movement over a space and ends in *kadč*, *gadč*, e.g., *vätkadč* ‘over water’, *lämgadč* ‘over snow’. The superlative can be taken for a case with the same reason as the illative, inessive and ablative. The suffix *kadč* can not be considered a postposition, as it cannot take any case endings like the other postpositions; on the contrary, this suffix can be attached to them like any other case endings, e.g., *välgadč* ‘over the upper part’.⁸⁵

I. The *caritive*, which expresses lack and deficiency, ends in Cheremis in *te*, *de*, e.g., *ypte* ‘without hair’, *imde* ‘without a needle’. In Finnish and Estonian the caritive ends in *tta* (*tä*), *ta* (*tä*), in Lappish in *tag^oa*, in Zyrian in *täg*, etc.⁸⁶

K. The *instructive* which expresses an instrument with which something is made ends in *ton*, *don*, e.g., *päläšton* ‘with an ear’, *käzädon* ‘with a knife’. This ending seems to be composed in some way; because the usual suffix of the instructive in Finnish is the mere letter *n*.⁸⁷ The same suffix also occurs in Cheremis, especially in adverbs; because of its similarity with the genitive it has not been fully preserved. This is also the reason why the instructive singular in Finnish has mostly disappeared. As in Russian, the factive or essive in Cheremis are also expressed with the help of the instructive.⁸⁸

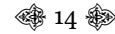


§ 11 The *allative*, *adessive* and even *ablative*, which in Finnish and other related languages express external relations, are translated into Cheremis with postpositions. Characteristic of the mentioned cases in other Finnish languages is the liquid *l*. The same characteristic *l* occurs in Cheremis in the dative and, in dialects, also in the ablative, which according to the Kazan' grammar ends in *lec*.⁸⁹ Traces of the missing *essive* are manifest in various postpositions and adverbs ending in *nə*, *nä*, which bear the meaning of inessive, a meaning which the *essive* not infrequently has in other Finnish languages, too.⁹⁰ – The Finnish languages usually lack *vocative*. The case proposed for Cheremis as such in the Kazan' grammar is nothing other than a nominative with the suffix of the first person singular.⁹¹

§ 12 The *plural* sign is *välä* (*vlä*)⁹² and it takes the same case endings as the singular. Other Finnish languages do not have anything that would correspond to *välä*; unless the Finnish suffix *löt*, *lötä* is not comparable to it.⁹³

- 89 The ablative *leč*, *lec* is found in some of the eastern dialects and also in the north-western dialect (Sebeok – Raun 1956:14). *c* at the end is the unproductive elative < **tA* (see marginal note 83).
- 90 The suffix *nə*, *nä* is that of the unproductive inessive, which occurs in a couple dozen adverbs and postpositions, and it goes back to Finno-Ugric **nA*.
- 91 Some Mari dialects have vocative suffixes *j*, *kaj* borrowed from the Turkic languages; they usually occur in kinship terms and names of close relatives (Bereczki 2002: 42).
- 92 In standard Hill Mari the form *wlä* is used, but in the dialects two-syllable forms with a schwa are also found.
- 93 Mari (as the Permic languages) has lost the original Finno-Ugric plural sign *t* in nouns. Mari has adopted new plural suffixes from neighbouring languages, among them *wlä* in Hill Mari and *wlak* in the eastern dialects, which both trace back to a Turkic word meaning 'group; herd'. (Cf. Luutonen 1997: 56–57.)

- 94 According to modern grammars, Hill Mari has 10 cases: in addition to the nominative, genitive, accusative, dative, illative, inessive and caritive described by Cast-rén, there are also the lative (suffix *eš*), modal-comparative (*la*, *lä* borrowed from the Turkic languages) and comitative (*ge*, *ke*) (cf. Alho-niemi 1993: 48; Vikström – Zorina 2010). Savatkova (2002: 94) adds an additional causative (*lanen*, *länen*) to these (see D. above).
- 95 In the original “can be either *a* or *ä*, *e*”.
- 96 In the original *ʃumavylä*. According to Ramstedt’s texts (1902) the first vowel of the plural suffix is always a front schwa regardless of the quality of the preceding vowel.



14

Declension

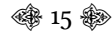
§ 13 Thus substantives follow this paradigm in the Cheremis language:⁹⁴

Nominative	–
Genitive	– or <i>n</i>
Accusative	<i>m</i>
Dative	<i>lan</i> , <i>län</i>
Illative	<i>škə</i> , <i>škä</i>
Inessive	<i>štə</i> , <i>štä</i>
Ablative	<i>käc</i> , <i>gäc</i>
Superlative	<i>kadč</i> , <i>gadč</i>
Caritive	<i>te</i> , <i>de</i>
Instructive	<i>ton</i> , <i>don</i> or <i>n</i>

N.B. If the stem ends in a consonant, the suffix can not be directly attached to it and an extra vowel has to be added, which can be either *ə* or *ä* depending on the hard or smooth vowel of the stem.⁹⁵

§ 14 In order to illustrate the above scheme which applies to all nouns, some examples are now given.

1.			
Singular		Plural	
Nom.	<i>ʃəmə</i> 'God'	Nom.	<i>ʃəməvələ</i> ⁹⁶
Gen.	<i>ʃəmə</i> , <i>ʃəmən</i>	Gen.	<i>ʃəməvələ</i> or <i>ʃəməvəlän</i>
Acc.	<i>ʃəməm</i>	Acc.	<i>ʃəməvələm</i>
Dat.	<i>ʃəməlan</i>	Dat.	<i>ʃəməvələlän</i>



Illat.	<i>Ĵamāškā</i>	Illat.	<i>Ĵamāvēlāškā</i>
Iness.	<i>Ĵamāštā</i>	Iness.	<i>Ĵamāvēlāštā</i>
Abl.	<i>Ĵamāgāc</i>	Abl.	<i>Ĵamāvēlāgāc</i>
Superl.	<i>Ĵamāgadč</i>	Superl.	<i>Ĵamāvēlāgadč</i>
Carit.	<i>Ĵamāde</i>	Carit.	<i>Ĵamāvēlāde</i>
Instr.	<i>Ĵamādon</i>	Instr.	<i>Ĵamāvēlādon</i>

2.

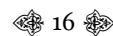
Singular		Plural	
Nom.	<i>Pört</i> 'house'	Nom.	<i>Pörtvālā</i>
Gen.	<i>Pört, Pörtān</i>	Gen.	<i>Pörtvālā</i> or <i>-vālān</i>
Acc.	<i>Pörtām</i>	Acc.	<i>Pörtvālām</i>
Dat.	<i>Pörtlān</i>	Dat.	<i>Pörtvālālān</i>
Illat.	<i>Pörtāškā</i>	Illat.	<i>Pörtvālāškā</i>
Iness.	<i>Pörtāštā</i>	Iness.	<i>Pörtvālāštā</i>
Abl.	<i>Pörtkāc</i>	Abl.	<i>Pörtvālāgāc</i>
Superl.	<i>Pörtkadč</i>	Superl.	<i>Pörtvālāgadč</i>
Carit.	<i>Pörte</i> (instead of <i>pörtte</i>)	Carit.	<i>Pörtvālāde</i>
Instr.	<i>Pörtton</i> (instead of <i>pörtton</i>)	Instr.	<i>Pörtvālādon</i>

3.

Singular		Plural	
Nom.	<i>Šymbel</i> 'brother'	Nom.	<i>Šymbelvālā</i>
Gen.	<i>Šymbel,</i> <i>Šymbelān</i>	Gen.	<i>Šymbelvālā</i> or <i>-vālān</i>
Acc.	<i>Šymbelām</i> ⁹⁷	Acc.	<i>Šymbelvālām</i>
Dat.	<i>Šymbelān</i> ⁹⁸	Dat.	<i>Šymbelvālālān</i>
Illat.	<i>Šymbelškā</i>	Illat.	<i>Šymbelvālāškā</i>
Iness.	<i>Šymbelštā</i>	Iness.	<i>Šymbelvālāštā</i>
Abl.	<i>Šymbelkāc</i>	Abl.	<i>Šymbelvālāgāc</i>
Superl.	<i>Šymbelkadč</i>	Superl.	<i>Šymbelvālāgadč</i>
Carit.	<i>Šymbelde</i>	Carit.	<i>Šymbelvālāde</i>
Instr.	<i>Šymbeldon</i>	Instr.	<i>Šymbelvālādon</i>

- 97 In the original *Šymbelm*.
98 Should be *Šymbellān*.

- 99 The suffix *rak*, *räk* has been borrowed from the neighbouring Turkic languages, where it has the function of comparative (cf. Bereczki 2002: 60–61).
- 100 Usually in Hill Mari *purə* ‘good’.



16

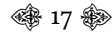
B. Adjectives

Declension

§ 15 The adjectives in Cheremis are declined in the same way as substantives, e.g., *jažo* ‘excellent’, acc. *jažom*, dat. *jažolan*, abl. *jažogäc*, pl. *jažovälä*. But if they occur as attributes to nouns they are not declined, e.g., *jažo edem* ‘an excellent person’, dat. *jažo edemlän*, pl. *jažo edemvälä*.

Degree of comparison

§ 16 The comparison in Cheremis, as in many other Finnish languages, is incomplete. If the adjective is used alone, i.e. without mentioning the standard of comparison, then the comparative is expressed with the diminutive⁹⁹ ending *rak*, *räk*, e.g., *kužərak šymbel* ‘taller brother’ or ‘tallish (Ru. *долговатый*) brother’, *pingädäräk edem* ‘stingier, a bit stingy person’. But if the diminutives with *rak*, *räk* are joined with another component part of sentence in the ablative case, then they get both the meaning of comparative and diminutive, e.g., *mänjgäcem kogorak* ‘a little taller than me’, *šymbelgäc pingädäräk* ‘a little stronger than the brother’. Furthermore, a positive degree constructed in the same way with the ablative can take the function of comparative, e.g., *mänjgäcem bur¹⁰⁰* ‘better than me’, *šymbelgäc kogo* ‘bigger than the brother’. – In Cheremis the superlative is expressed periphrastically with the adverbs *piš* or *proc* ‘very’, or with a pronoun borrowed from Russian *samoj*, e.g., *piš, proc, samoj jažo* ‘most excellent’.



C. Numerals

Cardinals

§ 17 Some cardinals in Cheremis have two endings: one long, the other short. The long one is used when the numeral stands alone, i.e. without a noun in the sentence; but if a noun follows it, the shorter form is used.

The double forms are found in cardinals 1, 2, etc. until 7, which are the original cardinals, both here and in other Finnish languages. The Cheremis cardinals are:

1.	<i>Iktät (iktä)</i>	<i>Ik</i>
2.	<i>Koktät (kaktä)</i>	<i>Kok</i>
3.	<i>Kämät</i>	<i>Käm</i>
4.	<i>Nälät</i>	<i>Näl</i>
5.	<i>Vězät</i>	<i>Vēc</i>
6.	<i>Kudät</i>	<i>Kut</i>
7.	<i>Šämät</i>	<i>Šäm</i>
8.	<i>Kändäχšä</i>	
9.	<i>Əndəχšä</i>	
10.	<i>Lu</i>	<i>Luat¹⁰¹</i>
11.	<i>Luat iktät</i>	<i>Luat ik</i>
12.	<i>Luat koktät</i>	<i>Luat kok</i>
13.	<i>Luat kämät</i>	<i>Luat kām</i>
14.	<i>Luat nälät</i>	<i>Luat näl</i>
15.	<i>Luat vězät (Luckä)</i>	<i>Luat vēc</i>
16.	<i>Luat kudät</i>	<i>Luat ut</i>
17.	<i>Luat šämät</i>	<i>Luat šäm</i>
18.	<i>Luat kändäχšä</i>	
19.	<i>Luat əndəχšä</i>	

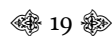
101 The form *luat* is a misprint or an error: *lu* does not have a longer form. The *at* which can be seen in the names of the numbers 11–19 is a clitic denoting ‘and’.

- 102 The word for kopeck is *ər*
 < *ur* ‘squirrel’.

❖ 18 ❖

20.	<i>Koklə</i>
30.	<i>Kəmlə</i>
40.	<i>Nəllə (Nəllu)</i>
50.	<i>Vəzlə (Vəzlu)</i>
60.	<i>Kutlu</i>
70.	<i>Šəmlu</i>
80.	<i>Kändäχšlu</i>
90.	<i>Əndexšlu</i>
100.	<i>Šydä</i>
200.	<i>Kok šydä</i>
300.	<i>Kəm šydä</i>
400.	<i>Nəl šydä</i>
500.	<i>Vät šydä</i>
600.	<i>Kut šydä</i>
700.	<i>Šəm šydä</i>
800.	<i>Kändäχ šydä</i>
900.	<i>Əndex šydä</i>
1000.	<i>Täžem</i>

N.B. The Kazan' Grammar mentions that in money counting instead of *lu šydär* ‘10 roubles’ (i.e. ten hundred kopecks¹⁰²) people prefer saying *täžem ur* ‘thousand kopecks’; and instead of *šydä šydär* ‘hundred roubles’ they say *mešak oksa* ‘a sack of money’.



§ 18 Cardinals without an accompanying substantive are declined regularly, e.g., *iktä*, dat. *iktälän*, *koktalan*, *kəmətlan*, *nälälän*, *lulan*, acc. *vəzätäm*, *kudätäm*, *šämätäm*, pl. *iktävälä*, *koktävälä*, *kəmətvälä*, etc. Combined with a noun, cardinals are regarded as adjectives and therefore they are not declined.

Ordinals

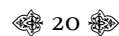
§ 19 Ordinals are formed in various ways. Namely, the two first ordinal numbers are expressed with independent words as in most languages: *pärtäri* or *pärtärišä* 'first', *vesä* 'second'. The ordinals from three to seven are formed from cardinals by using the ending *mšä*¹⁰³, e.g., *kəməšä* 'third', *nälämšä* 'fourth', *vəzämšä* 'fifth', *kudämšä* 'sixth', *šämšä* 'seventh'¹⁰⁴. To other ordinals the suffix *žä* (*šä*)¹⁰⁵ is attached directly after the cardinal, e.g., *kändäχšäžä* 'eighth', *lužä* 'tenth', *luat iktätšä* 'eleventh', etc.

Collectives and distributives

§ 20 Collectives and distributives are formed as in Finnish, Zyrian and other languages by adding the case ending of instructive *n*, *ən*, *än* to cardinals, e.g., *koktən* 'the two of us', *kəmətən* 'in a group of three', *nälätən*, *kändäχšən*, *lun*, etc.

- 103 The ending has two variants according to vowel harmony: *mšä* and *mšə*.
 104 The forms *kəməšä* and *šämšä* have a shorter variant of the suffix, which can also be used with the numbers 1 and 2: *ikšä* 'first' and *kokšä* 'second' (Savatkova 2002: 151–152).
 105 And *žä*, *šä*, respectively.

- 106 'layer'.
 107 Castrén's etymology is incorrect: both words are of Finno-Ugric origin but not related to each other (UEW 353, 412).
 108 '(one) time'.
 109 The clitic *ak*, *äk*, borrowed from Chuvash, functions as a coordinating element, when attached to paired members of an expression (cf. Fedotov 1965: 39; Saari-
 nen 1986: 42–46).



Multiplicatives

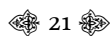
§ 21 Multiplicatives are formed by combining cardinals with *padčas*¹⁰⁶ (from *padč* 'tail, end')¹⁰⁷, e.g., *kokpadčas* 'twofold', *kəmbadčas* 'threefold', *nəlbadčas* 'fourfold', *lubadčas* 'tenfold', etc. According to the Kazan' Grammar, multiplicatives can also be expressed with the genitive of cardinals, e.g., *koktən* 'twofold', *luən* 'tenfold', etc.

Iteratives and temporals

§ 22 Both iteratives and temporals take the ending *kana* (*kanak*), *gana* (*ganak*), *känä* (*känäk*), *gänä*, (*gänäk*)¹⁰⁸. Iteratives attach this ending to cardinals and temporals to ordinals, e.g. *ikänä* or *ikänäk* 'once', *pərtärigänä* or *-gänäk* 'first time', *kokana* or *kokanak* 'twice', *weskänä* or *-känäk* 'second time', *kəmgana* or *kəmganak* 'three times', *kəmsəgana* or *-ganak* 'third time'.

Fractions

§ 23 The following words are used for expressing fractions (fractional numbers): *pelä*, *peläk* 'half' and *pai* 'part', e.g., *pelä* 'half', *iktäk peläk*¹⁰⁹ 'one and a half', *koktak peläk* 'two and a half', *nəlätäk peläk* 'three and a half', *kəm bai* 'one third', *nəl bai* 'one fourth', *vəc pai* 'one fifth', etc.



D. Pronouns

Personal pronouns

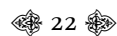
§ 24 The personal pronouns are: *mäj* 'I' (Fi. *minä*), pl. *mä* 'we' (Fi. *me*), *täj* 'you' (sg.) (Fi. *sinä*, or, if the original form is considered: *tinä*), pl. *tä* 'you' (Fi. *te*), *tidä* (*tädä*) 'this' (Fi. *tämä*), pl. *ninä* (*nänä*) 'those' (Fi. *nämä*).¹¹⁰ In the plural, personal pronouns can also take the plural ending *välä*. The declension of personal pronouns, especially of the first and second persons is both incomplete and irregular, and it deviates from the general paradigmatic declension; the pronouns *mäj* and *täj*, however, do take some of the normal case suffixes. They are declined as follows:

Singular			
Nom.	<i>Mäj</i> 'I'	<i>Täj</i> 'you'	<i>Tädä</i> 's/he'
Gen.	<i>Mäjän</i>	<i>Täjän</i>	<i>Tädän</i>
Acc.	<i>Mänäm</i>	<i>Tänäm</i> ¹¹¹	<i>Tädäm</i>
Dat.	<i>Mälän</i>	<i>Tälät</i>	<i>Tädälän</i>
Abl.	<i>Mäjgäcem</i>	<i>Täjgäcet</i>	<i>Tädägäc</i>
Superl.	<i>Mäjgadčem</i>	<i>Täjgadčet</i>	<i>Tädägadč</i>
Instr.	<i>Mäjdonem</i>	<i>Täjdonet</i>	<i>Tädädon</i>
Plural			
Nom.	<i>Mä</i> or <i>mävälä</i>	<i>Tä</i> or <i>tävälä</i>	<i>Nänä</i> or <i>nänävälä</i>
Gen.	<i>Mämnän</i> or <i>mänmän</i>	<i>Tämdän</i> or <i>tändän</i>	<i>Nänän</i>
Acc.	<i>Mämnäm</i> or <i>mänmäm</i>	<i>Tämdäm</i> or <i>tändäm</i>	<i>Nänäm</i>
Dat.	<i>Mälänä</i>	<i>Täländä</i>	<i>Nänälän</i>
Abl.	<i>Mägäcnä</i>	<i>Tägäctä</i>	<i>Nänägäc</i>
Superl.	<i>Mägadčna</i>	<i>Tägadčta</i>	<i>Nänägadč</i>
Instr.	<i>Mädonna</i>	<i>Tädonda</i>	<i>Nänädon</i>

110 Castrén gives two forms as variants of both the third person singular and plural. They are, however, in both cases two different demonstrative pronouns with different etymologies: his *tidä* (*tidä* < Uralic **tä* 'this') is 'this', *tedä* (*tädä* < Uralic **to* 'that') 'that; it, s/he', and *ninä* (*ninä* < Finno-Permic **nä* 'this') 'these', *nenä* (*nänä* < Finno-Volgaic **no* 'that') 'those; they' (UEW 300, 306, 513, 526–527).

111 For some reason Castrén omits the sign of palatalization in the accusative of the first and second persons plural; in the original as well as in the Swedish manuscript: *minim*, *tinim* (cf. the genitive).

- 112 Mari allows for double case marking with the genitive: another case ending (often that of a local case) can be added after the genitive suffix. In this instance, the genitive-form modifier assumes the noun phrase head position and the subsequent case suffix is attached directly to it. (Cf. Alhoniemi 1993: 51, 79–80.)



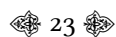
N.B. The other cases are formed with postpositions, e.g., *mānj vākem* ‘to me’, *mānj vālnem* ‘in me’, *tānj vāket*, *vālnet* ‘to you, in you’, *mānjgācem basna* ‘without me’, *tāgāctā basna* ‘without you (pl.)’, etc.

Possessives

§ 25 Possessive pronouns are expressed with personal pronouns in the genitive case. Thus they are: *mānjān* ‘my’, *tānjān* ‘your’, *tādān* ‘his/her’, *mānmān* ‘our’, *tāndān* ‘your’, *nānān* ‘their’. Their inflection follows totally that of other nouns. E.g., *mānjān*, gen. *mānjānān*, acc. *mānjānām*, dat. *mānjānlān*, pl. *mānjānvälā*, etc.¹¹²

Reflexives

§ 26 The reflexive pronoun *ške* ‘self’ (Fi. *itse*) adapts the declension of personal pronouns in the following way:



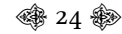
Singular			
	1.	2.	3.
Nom.	<i>Mānj ške</i> 'myself'	<i>Tānj ške</i> 'yourself'	<i>Tādā ške</i> 'him/herself'
Gen.	<i>Škāmān</i>	<i>Škāmedān</i>	<i>Škāmāžān</i>
Acc.	<i>Škāmām</i>	<i>Škāmedām</i>	<i>Škāmdžām</i> *) 113
Dat.	{ <i>Šlānem</i> **) { <i>Škālānem</i>	{ <i>Šlānet</i> { <i>Škālānet</i>	{ <i>Šlāndžā</i> { <i>Škālāndžā</i>
Abl.	<i>Škāgācem</i>	<i>Škāgācet</i>	<i>Škāgācāžā</i>
Superl.	<i>Škāgadčem</i>	<i>Škāgadčet</i>	<i>Škāgadčāžā</i>
Instr.	<i>Škādonem</i>	<i>Škādonet</i>	<i>Škādon džā</i>
Plural			
Nom.	{ <i>Mā ške</i> { <i>Mā škevālā</i>	{ <i>Tā ške</i> { <i>Tā škevālā</i>	{ <i>Nānā ške</i> { <i>Nānā škevālā</i>
Gen.	<i>Škāmnān</i>	<i>Škāmdān</i>	<i>Škā māštān</i>
Acc.	<i>Škāmnām</i>	<i>Škāmdām</i>	<i>Škā māštām</i>
Dat.	{ <i>Šlānā</i> { <i>Škāvālānā</i>	{ <i>Šlāndā</i> { <i>Škāvālāndā</i>	{ <i>Šlānāšt</i> { <i>Škāvālānāšt</i>
Abl.	{ <i>Škāgācnā</i> { <i>Škāvālāgācnā</i>	{ <i>Škāgāctā</i> { <i>Škāvālāgāctā</i>	{ <i>Škāgācāšt</i> { <i>Škāvālāgācāšt</i>
Instr.	{ <i>Škādonna</i> { <i>Škāvālādonna</i>	{ <i>Škādon da</i> { <i>Škāvālādon da</i>	{ <i>Škādon āšt</i> { <i>Škāvālādon āšt</i>

*) This is formed from the second person.

**) The singular forms of dative *šlānem*, *šlānet* and plural *šlānā* are shortened forms of *škālānem*, *škālānet*, *škālānā*, respectively.

- 113 Castrén explains this form as influence from the 2nd person. However, here the *d* is a pleonastic consonant which emerges between a nasal and a sibilant, see above under § 5. *Consonant alternations*.

- 114 In § 28 and § 29 “suffixes” refer to possessive suffixes.
 115 Here Castrén uses “personal suffixes” to indicate possessive suffixes.
 116 I.e. a schwa: ə or ä



24

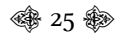
§ 27 The substantive *ške* is the origin of the reflexive adjectives: *škämä* or *škämemän*, *škämedän*, *škämäžän*, *škänän*, *škämdän*, *škämäštän* ‘mine, yours, his/hers’, etc. All that was said about possessive adjectives in § 25 applies to these, too.

Suffixes¹¹⁴

§ 28 Neither possessive nor reflexive adjectives are Cheremis in origin, as they are missing from other Finnish languages, too. Instead, either the genitive of personal pronouns is used, or the so-called personal suffixes¹¹⁵. They also exist in Cheremis and can be used either with or without a preceding personal pronoun, substantive or adjective. E.g., *ätjäm*, *mänj ätjäm*, *mänjän ätjäm* ‘my father’. The suffixes in Cheremis are:

	1	2	3
Sing.	<i>m</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>žə</i>
Plur.	<i>na (nä)</i>	<i>da (dä)</i>	<i>št</i>

In the first and second person singular, an *e* is added to the noun before the suffix irrespective of whether the stem ends in a vowel or a consonant. In the latter case the *e* is obligatory for pronunciation, but in the former case it is pleonastic and can be omitted, e.g., *ätjäem* or *ätjäm* ‘my father’, *ätjäet* or *ätjät* ‘your father’. In the suffixes of all other persons, the linking vowel always vanishes, when pronunciation allows it. In nouns ending in *e*¹¹⁶, this vowel is prolonged in the first- and

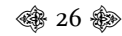


second-person singular forms. If the last vowel of the stem lacks stress and is a schwa, it is omitted in the first and second persons, but it remains in other persons. E.g., *kornə* ‘road’, *kornem* ‘my road’, *kornet* ‘your road’, *kornəžə* ‘his/her road’. In general, nouns ending in consonants always add an extra vowel to suffixes where several consonants would otherwise collide.

§ 29 The suffixes in Cheremis can be attached both to nominal stems and case endings. In the nominative and accusative singular, they are attached to the stem, but in all other cases in singular they can be attached to both. In the plural, however, the suffixes can be attached 1. to the stem, 2. to the plural marker, 3. to the case suffix except for nominative and accusative in a way that can be seen in the following examples:¹¹⁷

- 117 The order of morphemes in Mari is rather free, especially in the plural (cf. Luutonen 1997), however, Castrén’s tables of possible combinations exceed those of any other grammar.

- 118 Examples: *imni* ‘horse’, *pört* ‘house, hut’.
- 119 In the printed version of EGT, stress is marked in only a couple of forms. Here the accent mark is given according to the Swedish manuscript. Castrén always writes *imni*, even though the *n* is palatalized (*ñ*).

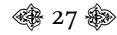


26

Nouns in Singular¹¹⁸

With personal suffix in singular

	1.	2.	3.
Nominative	{ <i>Imniém¹¹⁹</i> <i>Imnim</i> <i>Pörtem</i>	{ <i>Imníet</i> <i>Imnit</i> <i>Pörtet</i>	<i>Imnížä</i> <i>Imnížä</i> <i>Pörtšä</i>
Genitive	{ <i>Imniémän</i> <i>Imnimän</i> <i>Imnínem</i>	{ <i>Imniédän</i> <i>Imnidän</i> <i>Imnínet</i>	{ <i>Imnížän</i> <i>Imníndžä</i> <i>Imníndžä</i>
	{ <i>Pörtémän</i> <i>Pörtänem</i>	{ <i>Pörtédän</i> <i>Pörtänet</i>	{ <i>Pörtšän</i> <i>Pörtändžä</i>
Accusative	{ <i>Imniémäm</i> <i>Imnimäm</i> <i>Pörtémäm</i>	{ <i>Imniédäm</i> <i>Imnidäm</i> <i>Pörtédäm</i>	<i>Imnížäm</i> <i>Imnížäm</i> <i>Pörtšäm</i>
Dative	{ <i>Imniémlän</i> <i>Imnimlän</i> <i>Imnilänem</i>	{ <i>Imniétlän</i> <i>Imnitlän</i> <i>Imnilänet</i>	{ <i>Imnížlän</i> <i>Imniländžä</i> <i>Imniländžä</i>
	{ <i>Pörtemplän</i> <i>Pörtlänem</i>	{ <i>Pörtetlän</i> <i>Pörtlänet</i>	<i>Pörtšälän</i> <i>Pörtländžä</i>
Illative	{ <i>Imniemäškä</i> <i>Imnimeškä</i> <i>Imniškem</i>	{ <i>Imnietäškä</i> <i>Imnitäškä</i> <i>Imnišket</i>	{ <i>Imnížäškä</i> <i>Imniškäžä</i> <i>Imniškäžä</i>
	{ <i>Pörtemäškä</i> <i>Pörtäškem</i>	{ <i>Pörtetäškä</i> <i>Pörtäšket</i>	{ <i>Pörtšäškä</i> <i>Pörtäškäžä</i>



[Nouns in Singular]

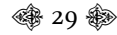
With personal suffix in plural

1.	2.	3.
<i>Imnínä</i>	<i>Imnídä</i>	<i>Imništ</i>
<i>Pörtnä</i>	<i>Pörtä</i> ¹²⁰	<i>Pörtäšt</i>
<i>Imnínän</i>	{ <i>Imnídän</i> <i>Imnínä</i>	{ <i>Imništän</i> <i>Imnínäšt</i>
<i>Pörtnän</i>	{ <i>Pörtän</i> <i>Pörtändä</i>	{ <i>Pörtäštän</i> <i>Pörtänäšt</i>
<i>Imnínäm</i>	<i>Imnídäm</i>	<i>Imništäm</i>
<i>Pörtnäm</i>	<i>Pörtäm</i>	<i>Pörtäštäm</i>
{ <i>Imninälän</i> <i>Imnilänä</i> ¹²¹	{ <i>Imnidälän</i> <i>Imniländä</i>	{ <i>Imništlän</i> <i>Imnilänäšt</i>
{ <i>Pörtnälän</i> <i>Pörtlänä</i>	{ <i>Pörtälän</i> <i>Pörtländä</i>	{ <i>Pörtäštlän</i> <i>Pörtlänäšt</i>
{ <i>Imninäškä</i> <i>Imniškänä</i>	{ <i>Imnidäškä</i> <i>Imniškädä</i>	{ <i>Imništäškä</i> <i>Imniškäšt</i>
{ <i>Pörtnäškä</i> <i>Pörtäškänä</i>	{ <i>Pörtäškä</i> <i>Pörtäškädä</i>	{ <i>Pörtäštäškä</i> <i>Pörtäškäšt</i>

120 A shortened form: *pörttä* > *pörtä*. Similar contracted forms often appear in this paradigm.

121 A shortened form of *imni-lännä*.

Inessive	{	Imniemäštä Imnimeštä Imništem	}	{	Imnietäštä Imnitäštä Imnišet	}	{	Imnižäštä Imništäžžä
	{	Pörtemäštä Pörtäštem	}	{	Pörtetäštä Pörtäšet	}	{	Pörtšäštä Pörtäštäžžä
Ablative	{	Imniemgäc Imnimgäc Imnigäcem	}	{	Imnietgäc Imnitgäc Imnigäcet	}	{	Imnižgäc Imnigäcäžžä
	{	Pörtemgäc Pörtkäcem	}	{	Pörtetgäc Pörtkäcet	}	{	Pörtšägäc Pörtkäcäžžä
Superlative	{	Imniemgadč Imnimgadč Imnigadčem	}	{	Imnietkadč Imnitkadč Imnigadčet	}	{	Imnižgadč Imnigadčäžžä
	{	Pörtemgadč Pörtkadčem	}	{	Pörtetkadč Pörtkadčet	}	{	Pörtšägadč Pörtkadčäžžä
Instructive	{	Imniemdon Imnimdon Imnidonem	}	{	Imnieton Imniton Imnidonet	}	{	Imniždon Imnidondžä
	{	Pörtemdon Pörtonem	}	{	Pörteton Pörtonet	}	{	Pörtšädon Pörtondžä
Caritive	{	Imniemde Imnimde Imnidem	}	{	Imniete Imnite Imnidet	}	{	Imnižde Imnidežžä
		Pörtemde			Pörtete			Pörtšäde



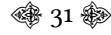
{ <i>Imninäštä</i> <i>Imništänä</i>	{ <i>Imnidäštä</i> <i>Imništädä</i>	{ <i>Imništäštä</i> <i>Imništäšt</i>
{ <i>Pörtnäštä</i> <i>Pörtäštänä</i>	{ <i>Pörtäštä</i> <i>Pörtäštädä</i>	{ <i>Pörtäštäštä</i> <i>Pörtäštäšt</i>
{ <i>Imninägäc</i> <i>Imnigäcnä</i>	{ <i>Imnidägäc</i> <i>Imnigäctä</i>	<i>Imništäkäc</i> <i>Imnigäcäšt</i>
{ <i>Pörtnägäc</i> <i>Pörtkäcnä</i>	{ <i>Pörtägäc</i> <i>Pörtkäctä</i>	<i>Pörtäštäkäc</i> <i>Pörtkäcäšt</i>
{ <i>Imninägadč</i> <i>Imnigadčna</i>	{ <i>Imnidägadč</i> <i>Imnigadčtä</i>	<i>Imništkač</i> <i>Imnigadčäšt</i>
{ <i>Pörtnägadč</i> <i>Pörtkadčna</i>	{ <i>Pörtägadč</i> <i>Pörtkadčtä</i>	<i>Pörtäštkač</i> <i>Pörtkadčäšt</i>
{ <i>Imninädon</i> <i>Imnidonəna</i> ¹²²	{ <i>Imnidädon</i> <i>Imnidonədə</i>	{ <i>Imništon</i> <i>Imnidonəšt</i>
{ <i>Pörtnädon</i> <i>Pörtonəna</i>	{ <i>Pörtädon</i> <i>Pörtonədə</i>	{ <i>Pörtäšton</i> <i>Pörtonəšt</i>
{ <i>Imninäde</i> <i>Imnidenä</i>	{ <i>Imnidäde</i> <i>Imnidedä</i>	{ <i>Imnište</i> <i>Imnidešt</i>
{ <i>Pörtnäde</i> <i>Pörtenä</i>	{ <i>Pörtäde</i> <i>Pörtedä</i>	{ <i>Pörtäštä</i> <i>Pörtedäšt</i>

122 These instructive forms, which Castrén writes *imni-donana*, *pörtonada*, etc., show the longer variant of the original postposition (cf. § 10. K. above and marginal note 87).

Nouns in plural

With personal suffix in singular

	1.	2.	3.
Nominative	{ <i>Imniemvälä</i> } { <i>Imnimvälä</i> } { <i>Imniväläm</i> } { <i>Pörtēmvälä</i> } { <i>Pörtväläm</i> }	{ <i>Imnietvälä</i> } { <i>Imnitvälä</i> } { <i>Imnivälät</i> } { <i>Pörtetvälä</i> } { <i>Pörtvälät</i> }	{ <i>Imnižävälä</i> } { <i>Imniväläžä</i> } { <i>Pörtšävälä</i> } { <i>Pörtväläžä</i> }
Genitive	{ <i>Imniemvälän</i> } { <i>Imnimvälän</i> } { <i>Imnivälämän</i> } { <i>Imnivälänem</i> } { <i>Pörtēmvälän</i> } { <i>Pörtvälämän</i> } { <i>Pörtvälänem</i> }	{ <i>Imnietvälän</i> } { <i>Imnitvälän</i> } { <i>Imnivälädän</i> } { <i>Imnivälänet</i> } { <i>Pörtetvälän</i> } { <i>Pörtvälädän</i> } { <i>Pörtvälänet</i> }	{ <i>Imnižävälän</i> } { <i>Imniväläžän</i> } { <i>Imniväländžä</i> } { <i>Pörtšävälän</i> } { <i>Pörtväläžän</i> } { <i>Pörtväländžä</i> }
Accusative	{ <i>Imniemväläm</i> } { <i>Imnimväläm</i> } { <i>Imnivälämäm</i> } { <i>Pörtēmväläm</i> } { <i>Pörtvälämäm</i> }	{ <i>Imnietväläm</i> } { <i>Imnitväläm</i> } { <i>Imnivälädäm</i> } { <i>Pörtetväläm</i> } { <i>Pörtvälädäm</i> }	{ <i>Imnižäväläm</i> } { <i>Imniväläžäm</i> } { <i>Pörtšäväläm</i> } { <i>Pörtväläžäm</i> }
Dative	{ <i>Imniemvälälän</i> } { <i>Imnimvälälän</i> } { <i>Imnivälämlän</i> } { <i>Imnivälälänem</i> } { <i>Pörtēmvälälän</i> } { <i>Pörtvälämlän</i> } { <i>Pörtvälälänem</i> }	{ <i>Imnietvälälän</i> } { <i>Imnitvälälän</i> } { <i>Imnivälätlän</i> } { <i>Imnivälälänet</i> } { <i>Pörtetvälälän</i> } { <i>Pörtvälätlän</i> } { <i>Pörtvälälänet</i> }	{ <i>Imnižvälälän</i> } { <i>Imniväläžlän</i> } { <i>Imniväläländžä</i> } { <i>Pörtšävälälän</i> } { <i>Pörtväläžlän</i> } { <i>Pörtväläländžä</i> }
Illative	{ <i>Imniemväläškä</i> } { <i>Imnimväläškä</i> } { <i>Imnivälämäškä</i> } { <i>Imniväläškem</i> }	{ <i>Imnietväläškä</i> } { <i>Imnitväläškä</i> } { <i>Imnivälädäškä</i> } { <i>Imniväläšket</i> }	{ <i>Imnižväläškä</i> } { <i>Imniväläžäškä</i> } { <i>Imniväläškäžä</i> }
	etc. etc.		



[Nouns in plural]

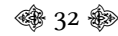
With personal suffix in plural

1.	2.	3.
{ <i>Imninävälä</i> <i>Imnivälänä</i>	{ <i>Imnidävälä</i> <i>Imnivälädä</i>	{ <i>Imništvälä</i> <i>Imniväläšt</i>
{ <i>Pörtnävälä</i> <i>Pörtvälänä</i>	{ <i>Pörtävälä</i> <i>Pörtvälädä</i>	{ <i>Pörtäštvälä</i> <i>Pörtväläšt</i>
{ <i>Imninävälän</i> <i>Imnivälänän</i> <i>Imnivälänä</i>	{ <i>Imnidävälän</i> <i>Imnivälädän</i> <i>Imniväländä</i>	{ <i>Imništvälän</i> <i>Imniväläštän</i> <i>Imnivälänäšt</i>
{ <i>Pörtnävälän</i> <i>Pörtvälänän</i> <i>Pörtvälänä</i>	{ <i>Pörtävälän</i> <i>Pörtvälädän</i> <i>Pörtväländä</i>	{ <i>Pörtäštvälän</i> <i>Pörtväläštän</i> <i>Pörtvälänäšt</i>
{ <i>Imninäväläm</i> <i>Imnivälänäm</i>	{ <i>Imnidäväläm</i> <i>Imnivälädäm</i>	{ <i>Imništväläm</i> <i>Imniväläštän</i>
{ <i>Pörtnäväläm</i> <i>Pörtvälänäm</i>	{ <i>Pörtäväläm</i> <i>Pörtvälädäm</i>	{ <i>Pörtäštväläm</i> <i>Pörtväläštäm</i>
{ <i>Imninävälälän</i> <i>Imnivälänälän</i> <i>Imnivälälänä</i>	{ <i>Imnidävälälän</i> <i>Imnivälädälän</i> <i>Imniväläländä</i>	{ <i>Imništvälälän</i> <i>Imniväläštlän</i> <i>Imnivälälänäšt</i>
{ <i>Pörtnävälälän</i> <i>Pörtvälänälän</i> <i>Pörtvälälänä</i>	{ <i>Pörtävälälän</i> <i>Pörtvälädälän</i> <i>Pörtväläländä</i>	{ <i>Pörtäštvälälän</i> <i>Pörtväläštlän</i> <i>Pörtvälälänäšt</i>
{ <i>Imninäväläškä</i> <i>Imnivälänäškä</i> <i>Imniväläškänä</i>	{ <i>Imnidäväläškä</i> <i>Imnivälädäškä</i> <i>Imniväläškädä</i>	{ <i>Imništväläškä</i> <i>Imniväläštäškä</i> <i>Imniväläškäšt</i>
etc. etc.		

123 The plural suffix *mət* is more widely used in Meadow-Eastern Mari, where it expresses group plural, i.e. a qualitatively heterogeneous group of people bound by some spatial or family relations (Alhoniemi 1993: 70). According to Savatkova (2002: 90), in Hill Mari *mət* is used as a normal plural marker without semantic restrictions but only in some of the dialects spoken on the left bank of the River Volga. It does not follow vowel harmony.

124 As can be seen in the following paradigms, the suffix *mət* is placed between the possessive suffix and the case ending.

125 The *m* of the first-person-singular possessive suffix is elided with the initial *m* of the plural ending *mət*.



N.B. In order to avoid unnecessary minuteness, the rest of the cases can be left out, as their inflection can be understood on the basis of the given paradigms. It must be stated here that in the plural case forms with suffixes, *mət* can also be used instead of *välä*.¹²³ It is always placed between the stem with personal suffix and the case ending. Otherwise its declension is regular.¹²⁴

	1.	2.	3.
Nominative (Sing. suff.) (Plur. suff.)	{ <i>Imniemət</i> ¹²⁵ <i>Imnimət</i> <i>Imninämət</i>	{ <i>Imnietmət</i> <i>Imnitmət</i> <i>Imnidämət</i>	<i>Imnižmət</i> <i>Imništəm</i>
Genitive (Sing. suff.) (Plur. suff.)	{ <i>Imniemətən</i> <i>Imnimətən</i> <i>Imninämətən</i>	{ <i>Imnietmätən</i> <i>Imnitmätən</i> <i>Imnidämätən</i>	<i>Imnižmätən</i> <i>Imništəmätən</i>
Accusative (Sing. suff.) (Plur. suff.)	{ <i>Imniemətəm</i> <i>Imnimətəm</i> <i>Imninämətəm</i>	{ <i>Imnietmätəm</i> <i>Imnitmätəm</i> <i>Imnidämätəm</i>	<i>Imnižmätəm</i> <i>Imništəmätəm</i>
Dative (Sing. suff.)	{ <i>Imniemätlän</i> <i>Imnimätlän</i>	{ <i>Imnietmätlän</i> <i>Imnitmätlän</i>	
	etc.	etc.	

Furthermore, even the usual plural marker *välä* can take the ending *mət* in forms with personal suffixes. In such instances the suffix is attached directly after *välä*, e.g., *imnivälämət*, *imnivälätmät*, etc.

❖ 33 ❖

Demonstratives

§ 30 The demonstrative pronouns are: *sedä* ‘that, it’ (Fi. *se*), Pl. *sedävälä*, and *tidä* (*ti*) ‘that, s/he’¹²⁶. They can be used both as personal and as demonstrative pronouns. They can be inflected quite regularly, but they lack the same cases as personal pronouns.

Interrogatives

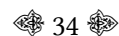
§ 31 The original interrogative pronouns in the language are: *kü* ‘who’ (Fi. *ku*, *ke*)¹²⁷, pl. *küvälä*; *ma* ‘what’ (Fi. *mi*), pl. *mavälä*, which are inflected in the following way:

Singular		
Nom.	<i>Ky</i>	<i>Ma</i>
Gen.	<i>Kyn</i>	<i>Man</i>
Acc.	<i>Kym</i>	<i>Mam</i>
Dat.	<i>Kylän</i>	<i>Malan</i>
Abl.	<i>Kygäc</i> or <i>kyngäc</i>	<i>Magäc</i> or <i>mangäc</i>
Superl.	<i>Kygadč</i> or <i>kyngadč</i>	<i>Magadč</i> or <i>mangadč</i>
Instr.	<i>Kydon</i> or <i>kyndon</i>	<i>Madon</i> or <i>mandon</i>
Plural		
Nom.	<i>Kyvälä</i>	<i>Mavälä</i>
Gen.	<i>Kyvälän</i>	<i>Mavälän</i>
Acc.	<i>Kyväläm</i>	<i>Maväläm</i>
Dat.	<i>Kyvälälän</i>	<i>Mavälälän</i>
Abl.	<i>Kyvälägäc</i>	<i>Mavälägäc</i>
Superl.	<i>Kyvälägadč</i>	<i>Mavälägadč</i>
Instr.	<i>Kyvälädon</i>	<i>Mavälädon</i>

126 Should read ‘this’.

127 *Ky* is related to Finnish *ke(n)*, not *ku* (SSA 1: 342).

- 128 This form does not seem to exist in modern Mari.
- 129 In modern Hill Mari *nigyät*. The form *nigy* also appears in the same meaning but without the clitic *ät*.
- 130 In modern grammars, this mood is called the desiderative, and it expresses desire to do something.
- 131 Actually, Hill Mari has two simple preterites: of these, the first one expresses self experienced action, and the second, among others, evidentiality. As Castrén mainly used biblical texts, he very seldom came across forms of the first preterite. Thus the past tense he describes in his grammar is the second preterite. Castrén interprets the forms of the first preterite found in the Kazan' grammar as dialectal variants. Mari also has four compound past tenses, but they are not mentioned in EGT.
- 132 'to be, to become'.



Derived pronouns

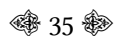
§ 32 Of these other interrogative, relative, indefinite, negative pronouns are formed by means of derivation and composition, such as: *kədə*, *kədəžə* 'who, which', *mada*¹²⁸ 'which', *mazarə*, *manjarə* 'which in order; how big', *maganjə* 'what kind of', *tegenjə* 'this kind of', *kü gänjät*, *kədə gänjät*, *kədəžə gänjät* 'somebody', *ma gänjät*, *mada gänjät* 'something', *nigyat*¹²⁹ 'nobody', *nimat* 'nothing', etc. In pronouns formed with *gänjät*, the main word is declined, whereas the clitic *gänjät* remains undeclined. In the negative *nigyat*, *nimat* pronouns, *nigy* and *nima* are declined and *at* or *ät* are attached to the case ending, e.g., dat. *nigylänät*, *nimalanat*, acc. *nigymät*, *nimamat*, and so forth.

IV

Verbs

General characteristics

§ 33 The general characteristics of the verb in Cheremis include: 1. a double inflexion, *affirmative* and *negative*; 2. six moods, namely, *indicative*, *optative*¹³⁰, *imperative*, *infinitive*, *gerund*, *participle*; 3. two tenses: *present* and *preterite*;¹³¹ 4. *two numbers* and *three persons*. *Passive forms* do not exist, *conjunctive* is expressed with conjunctive particles, *future tense* is expressed with either the *present* or the auxiliary verb *liäm*¹³². Only the infinitive has a special future form derived from the present infinitive. The preterite only occurs in



the indicative, gerund and participle. The Kazan' grammar gives some verbs two preterites; but perhaps one of them is based on some dialectal variation, which is unknown to me. The *participle forms* can also be used as verbal nouns, present as *ačor*, preterite as *ačl*.

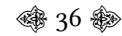
Conjugation

§ 34 The first person singular in Cheremis verbs ends either in *am*, *ām* or in *em*. In this respect they are divided into two conjugations: 1. those which have a stem ending in *a*, *ā*; 2. the ones whose stem ends in *e*. The former ones preserve *a* and *ā* in the indicative present tense and preterite.¹³³ In other moods the last vowel of the stem is omitted, unless, by chance, the clash of several consonants requires it to remain. The stem-final vowel is also omitted in verbs ending in a diphthong in the whole ind. preterite and in the ind. present plural; these forms are derived from the 2nd person imperative.¹³⁴ In the second conjugation the final vowel of the stem is always preserved as such in indicative present and preterite, often also in the second person singular of the imperative.¹³⁵ The most essential differences between the two conjugations are: 1. the 3rd person singular of the indicative present tense ends in *eš* in the first conjugation, but in the second in *a*, *ā*; 2. the consonant clusters in the first conjugation are avoided by omitting the last consonant, whereas in the second by adding an auxiliary vowel, etc.

§ 35 The general scheme of verbal conjugation is as follows:

- 133 Actually, the *a* or *ā* is preserved only in 1SG and 2SG of the present tense; in the other forms of the present and in the preterite the vowel changes into a schwa: *a* or *ä*.
- 134 The form of the 2nd person imperative is the pure consonant stem. The first or so-called *am* conjugation uses both vowel and consonant stems, whereas in the second conjugation only vowel stems are possible.
- 135 The stem vowel is *a* or *ā* also in 3PL of the present tense, whereas in the imperative it is a schwa.

- 136 Both variants *žə* and *žä* are used according to vowel harmony.
- 137 According to Hill Mari vowel harmony rules, after *e* the following syllables should have front vowels. As the (second) preterite is originally a compound form of the gerund ending in *ə/ən* and *əlam* 'be', the variation mentioned in Castrén's footnote might have historical roots.



1st Conjugation		2nd Conjugation	
1. Indicative			
Present tense			
Sing. 1.	-am, äm	Sing. 1.	-em
2.	-at, ät	2.	-et
3.	-eš	3.	-a, ä
Plur. 1.	-əna (na), ənä (nä)	Plur. 1.	-enä
2.	-əda (da), ədä (dä)	2.	-edä
3.	-ət, ät, t	3.	-at, ät
Preterite			
Sing. 1.	-ənam (nam), ənäṁ (näṁ)	Sing. 1.	-enäm **)
2.	-ənat (nat), ənät (nät)	2.	-enät
3.	-ən, ən, n	3.	-en
Plur. 1.	-ənəna *) (nəna), ənäṁ *) (näṁ)	Plur. 1.	-enänä ***)
2.	-ənəda *) (nəda), ənädä *) (nädä)	2.	-enädä ***)
3.	-ənət (nət), ənät (nät)	3.	-enät
2. Optative			
Sing. 1.	-nem	Sing. 1.	-nem
2.	-net	2.	-net
3.	-nežä	3.	-nežä
Plur. 1.	-nenä	Plur. 1.	-nenä
2.	-nedä	2.	-nedä
3.	-nešt	3.	-nešt
3. Imperative			
Sing. 2.	-	Sing. 2.	-
3.	-žä	3.	-žä ¹³⁶
Plur. 2.	-da, dä	Plur. 2.	-da, dä
3.	-št	3.	-št

*) These endings are usually shortened to *ənṁ*, *änṁ*, *ənda*, *ändä* because of a sharp last syllable.

**) We have also heard endings: *enam*, *enat*, *en*, *ənəna*, *enəda*, *enät*.¹³⁷

***) Or: *ennä*, *endä*.

❖ 37 ❖

4. Infinitive

Pres.	<i>aš, āš</i>	Pres.	<i>aš, āš</i>
Fut.	<i>šaš, šāš</i>	Fut.	<i>šaš, šāš</i> ¹³⁸

5. Gerund

Pres.	<i>māla, mālā</i> <i>mākə (māngə),</i> <i>mäkə (māngä)</i>	Pres.	<i>māla, mālā</i> ¹³⁹ <i>mākə (māngə),</i> <i>mäkə (māngä)</i> ¹⁴⁰
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6. Participle

Pres. Act.	<i>šä</i>	Pres. Act.	<i>šä</i> ¹⁴¹
Pret. Pass.	<i>mə, mǎ</i>	Pret. Pass.	<i>mə, mǎ</i>

N.B. 1. The last vowel *a* in the 3rd person pl. pres. and pret. indicative and in the imperative comes near to a variety of *ä*; as for *ā*, it is pronounced in almost the same places as an *e*. It is only this which distinguishes 3rd person pl. pres. *ē* pret. indicat. from the 2nd person sg.¹⁴²

2. The second person imperative is marked with the sign * because of its undefinable ending.¹⁴³ In the first conjugation, as was already stated, the imperative can be shortened and end in a vowel or a consonant; but in the second conjugation the imperative always ends in a vowel. In addition to the short ending of the second person imperative, a longer form is also used: *ma, mǎ*, pl. *mada, mādä*, which is attached to the same stem.¹⁴⁴ The clitic *ok* can also be added to the second persons of the imperative sing. and pl. This ending corresponds in meaning with the Russian enclitic particle *ko*, e.g., *puok, puemǎ*, Ru. *даўко*¹⁴⁵.

138 The “future infinitive” is nowadays classified as a future-necessive participle expressing action that will happen or has to happen. The suffix goes back to *š* of the active participle and *aš* of the infinitive or identical nominal derivative suffix. A future participle with the same meaning and fairly similar appearance is found in the neighbouring Turkic languages, too. (Bereczki 2002: 116.)

139 The gerund expresses simultaneous action with the predicate. The necessive infinitive found in Hill Mari (but not included in EGT) has the same form.

140 The gerund expresses action preceding that of the predicate. It is derived from the passive participle and a postposition *münkö* ‘after’. (Bereczki 2002: 128.)

141 The active participle has two variants according to vowel harmony: *ša, šä*.

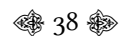
142 The last vowel in the 3rd person plural of present and preterite is a schwa, and in this edition it has been written with the *ə* and *ǎ* characters, accordingly. In the 2nd person singular, the last vowel is *a, ā*, i.e. a full vowel.

143 In the printed version, the asterisk found in the Swedish manuscript has been replaced with a hyphen.

144 The clitic *ma, mǎ* gives the imperative a persuasive tone (cf. Savatkova 2002: 189–190).

145 ‘give!’.

- 146 In the Swedish manuscript, Castrén gives paradigms of four verbs: apart from the verbs in EGT also *kəralam* ‘I plough’, *kəralat*, *kəraleš*, *kəralna*, *kəralda*, *kəralət*, pret. *kəralnam*, *kəralnat*, *kəraln*, *kəralnəna*, *kəralnəda*, *kəralnət*, opt. *kəralnem*, *kəralnet*, *kəralnežä*, *kəralnenä*, *kəralnedä*, *kəralnešt*, imp. 2SG *kəral*, *kəraləma*, *kəralok*, 3SG *kəralžə*, 2PL *kəralda*, *kəralməda*, *kəraldaok*, 3PL *kəraləšt*; inf. pres. *kəralaš*, fut. *kəralšaš*, ger. pres. *kəralməla*, pret. *kəralməkə* (*kəralməngə*), part. pres. *kəralšə*, pret. *kəralmə*.



38

§ 36 In order to get a clearer picture of the most important differences in the conjugation of verbs, some paradigms are given:

First conjugation¹⁴⁶

Indicative Present tense

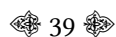
1.		2.		3.	
Sing. 1.	<i>Lədam</i> ‘I read’	Sing. 1.	<i>Ləktäm</i> ‘I go’	Sing. 1.	<i>ʃyəm</i> ‘I drink’
2.	<i>Lədat</i>	2.	<i>Ləktät</i>	2.	<i>ʃyät</i>
3.	<i>Lədeš</i>	3.	<i>Ləkteš</i>	3.	<i>ʃyeš</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Lədəna</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Ləktənä</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>ʃynä</i>
2.	<i>Lədəda</i>	2.	<i>Ləktədä</i>	2.	<i>ʃydä</i>
3.	<i>Lədət</i>	3.	<i>Ləktät</i>	3.	<i>ʃyt</i>

Preterite

Sing. 1.	<i>Lədənam</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Ləktənäm</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>ʃynäm</i>
2.	<i>Lədənat</i>	2.	<i>Ləktənät</i>	2.	<i>ʃynät</i>
3.	<i>Lədən</i>	3.	<i>Ləktən</i>	3.	<i>ʃyn</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Lədə-nəna</i> *)	Plur. 1.	<i>Ləktə-nənä</i> *)	Plur. 1.	<i>ʃynä-nä</i> *)
2.	<i>Lədə-nəda</i> **)	2.	<i>Ləktə-nədä</i> **)	2.	<i>ʃynä-dä</i> **)
3.	<i>Lədənət</i>	3.	<i>Ləktənät</i>	3.	<i>ʃynät</i>

*) Or: *Lədənna*, *Ləktənnä*, *ʃynnä*.

**) Or: *Lədənda*, *Ləktəndä*, *ʃyndä*



Optative

Sing. 1.	<i>Lətnem</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Läkнем</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Ĵynem</i>
2.	<i>Lətnet</i>	2.	<i>Läknet</i>	2.	<i>Ĵynet</i>
3.	<i>Lətněžä</i>	3.	<i>Läknežä</i>	3.	<i>Ĵynežä</i> ¹⁴⁷
Plur. 1.	<i>Lətnenä</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Läknenä</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Ĵynenä</i>
2.	<i>Lətnedä</i>	2.	<i>Läknedä</i>	2.	<i>Ĵynedä</i>
3.	<i>Lətnest</i>	3.	<i>Läknešt</i>	3.	<i>Ĵynešt</i>

Imperative

Sing. 2.	<i>Lət</i> ^{*)}	Sing. 2.	<i>Läk</i> ^{*)}	Sing. 2.	<i>Ĵy</i> ^{*)}
3.	<i>Lətsə</i>	3.	<i>Läkšä</i>	3.	<i>Ĵyžä</i>
Plur. 2.	<i>Lətta</i> ^{**)}	Plur. 2.	<i>Läktä</i> ^{**)}	Plur. 2.	<i>Ĵydä</i> ^{**)}
3.	<i>Lədašt</i>	3.	<i>Läktäšt</i>	3.	<i>Ĵyšt</i>

Infinitive

Pres.	<i>Lədaš</i>	Pres.	<i>Läktäš</i>	Pres.	<i>Ĵyäš</i>
Fut.	<i>Lətsaš</i>	Fut.	<i>Läkšäš</i>	Fut.	<i>Ĵyšäš</i>

Gerund

Pres.	<i>Lətməla</i>	Pres.	<i>Läkmälä</i>	Pres.	<i>Ĵytmälä</i>
Pret.	<i>Lətməkä</i> ^{***)}	Pret.	<i>Läkmäkä</i> ^{***)}	Pret.	<i>Ĵytmäkä</i> ^{***)}

Participle

Pres. act.	<i>Lətsə</i>	Pres. act.	<i>Läkšä</i>	Pres. act.	<i>Ĵyšä</i>
Pret. pass.	<i>Lətmə</i>	Pret. pass.	<i>Läkmä</i>	Pret. pass.	<i>Ĵymä</i>

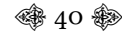
^{*)} Or: *Lədəma*, *Lətok*; *Läktämä*, *Läkok*; *Ĵymä*, *Ĵyok*.

^{**)} Or: *Lədəmada*, *Ləttaok*; *Läktämädä*, *Läktäok*; *Ĵymädä*, *Ĵydäok*.

^{***)} Or: *Lətməngə*, *Läkməngä*, *Ĵüməngä*.

147 In the third persons of the optative and imperative, the personal endings trace back to possessive suffixes.

- 148 According to Hill Mari vowel harmony, front vowels should always follow *e*, even if the stem has back vowels, cf. marginal note 137.
- 149 Here, Castrén gives alternative forms even for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons plural.



Second conjugation

Indicative
Present tense

1.		2.		3.	
Sing. 1.	<i>Loem</i> 'I grasp'	Sing. 1.	<i>Tylem</i> 'I pay'	Sing. 1.	<i>Ĵalštem</i> 'I tie'
2.	<i>Loet</i>	2.	<i>Tylet</i>	2.	<i>Ĵalštet</i>
3.	<i>Loa</i>	3.	<i>Tylä</i>	3.	<i>Ĵalšta</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Loenä</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Tylenä</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Ĵalštenä</i>
2.	<i>Loedä</i>	2.	<i>Tyledä</i>	2.	<i>Ĵalštedä</i>
3.	<i>Loat</i>	3.	<i>Tylät</i>	3.	<i>Ĵalštat</i>

Preterite

Sing. 1.	<i>Loenä^{*)}</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Tylenä^{*)}</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Ĵalštenäm^{*)}</i>
2.	<i>Loenät</i>	2.	<i>Tylenät</i>	2.	<i>Ĵalštenät</i>
3.	<i>Loen</i>	3.	<i>Tylen</i>	3.	<i>Ĵalšten</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Loenänä^{**)}</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Tylenänä^{**)}</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Ĵalštenänä^{**)}</i>
2.	<i>Loenädä^{***)}</i>	2.	<i>Tylenädä^{***)}</i>	2.	<i>Ĵalštenänä^{***)}</i>
3.	<i>Loenät</i>	3.	<i>Tylenät</i>	3.	<i>Ĵalštenät</i>

^{*)} Or: *Loenam*, *Tylenam*, *Ĵalštenam*; *Loenat*, *Tylenat*, *Ĵalštenat*,¹⁴⁸ *Loenäna*, *Tylenäna*, *Ĵalštenäna*; *Loenäda*, *Tylenäda*, *Ĵalštenäda*; *Loenät*, *Tylenät*, *Ĵalštenät*.¹⁴⁹

^{**) Or: *Loennä* (*Loenna*), *Tylennä* (*Tylenna*), *Ĵalštennä* (*Ĵalštenna*).}

^{***) Or: *Loendä* (*Loenda*), *Tylendä* (*Tylenda*), *Ĵalštendä* (*Ĵalštenda*).}

Optative

Sing. 1.	<i>Lonem</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Tylnem</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Ĵalštānem</i>
2.	<i>Lonet</i>	2.	<i>Tylnet</i>	2.	<i>Ĵalštānem</i>
3.	<i>Lonežā</i>	3.	<i>Tylnežā</i>	3.	<i>Ĵalštānežā</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Lonenā</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Tylnenā</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Ĵalštānenā</i>
2.	<i>Lonedā</i>	2.	<i>Tylnedā</i>	2.	<i>Ĵalštānedā</i>
3.	<i>Lonešt</i>	3.	<i>Tylnešt</i>	3.	<i>Ĵalštānešt</i>

Imperative

Sing. 2.	<i>Lo</i> *)	Sing. 2.	<i>Tylā (Tyl)</i> *)	Sing. 2.	<i>Ĵalštā</i> *)
3.	<i>Ložā</i>	3.	<i>Tylžā</i>	3.	<i>Ĵalštāžā</i>
Plur. 2.	<i>Loda</i> **)	Plur. 2.	<i>Tylādā</i> (<i>Tyldā</i>) **)	Plur. 2.	<i>Ĵalštādā</i> **)
3.	<i>Lošt</i>	3.	<i>Tylāšt (Tylšt)</i>	3.	<i>Ĵalštāšt</i>

Infinitive

Pres.	<i>Loaš</i>	Pres.	<i>Tylāš</i>	Pres.	<i>Ĵalštaš</i>
Fut.	<i>Lošaš</i>	Fut.	<i>Tylšāš</i>	Fut.	<i>Ĵalštāšaš</i>

Gerund

Pres.	<i>Lomāla</i>	Pres.	<i>Tylmālā</i>	Pres.	<i>Ĵalštāmāla</i>
Pret.	<i>Lomākā</i> ***)	Pret.	<i>Tylmākā</i> ***)	Pret.	<i>Ĵalštāmākā</i> ***)

Participle

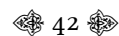
Pres. act.	<i>Lošā</i>	Pres. act.	<i>Tylšā</i>	Pres. act.	<i>Ĵalštāšā</i>
Pret. pass.	<i>Lomā</i>	Pret. pass.	<i>Tylmā</i>	Pret. pass.	<i>Ĵalštāmā</i>

*) Or: *Loemā*, *Lo'ok*; *Tylemā*, *Tylāok*; *Ĵalstemā*, *Ĵalštāok* (*Ĵalštok*).

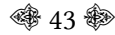
**) Or: *Loemādā*, *Lodaok*; *Tylemādā*, *Tylādāok* (*Tūldāok*); *Ĵalstemādā*, *Ĵalštādāok*.

***) Or: *Lomāngā*, *Tylmāngā*, *Ĵalštāmāngā*.

- 150 For more about the conditional mood in Hill Mari, see Alhoniemi 1993: 116–118.



§ 37 The particle *əljə* (*iljə*, *əljə*) is used for expressing the conjunctive, which most likely is of the same origin as the auxiliary verb *əlam*, just as the particle *бы* in Russian, which, without doubt, is derived from the same root as the auxiliary *быть*. The particle *əljə* can be added to both the indicative and optative, e.g., *tolam əljə* ‘I may come’, *tolnam əljə* ‘I would come’. The enclitic particle *əlgēc* ‘if’ is formed from the same root *əljə*, e.g., *tolam əlgēc* ‘if I come’, *tolnam əlgēc* ‘if I had come’, *tolnem əlgēc* ‘if I want to come’. Instead of these forms, one can, in daily speech, often hear contracted forms derived by eliminating the suffixes of mood and person of the verb and the first syllable of the particle *əlgēc*. Combined in this way, the combined and shortened form is inflected here only in the usual optative; e.g., *tolgecem* ‘if I were to come’, *tolgecet*, *tolgečəžə*, pl. *tolgečänä*, *tolgečädä*, *tolgečəšt*; further: *užgecem* ‘if I were to see’, etc. According to the Kazan’ grammar these forms are common in all tenses. The word *əlnežə* can also be added to the indicative and optative, it has the meaning of a conjunctive particle and is actually the third person singular of the optative of the auxiliary verb *əlam*, e.g. *tolam, tolat əlnežə* ‘I, you may come’, *tolnem əlnežə* ‘I would come’, *tolnam əlnežə* ‘I would have come’, etc.¹⁵⁰



§ 38 Instead of the usual ending *nat*, *nät* in the third person plural of the indicative preterite, the ending *ebä* occurs rather often attached to the second person imperative, e.g., *užebä* 'they saw', *tylebä* 'they sold', *jyebä* 'they drank'.¹⁵¹ The characteristic letter *b* occurs in the negative conjugation, too, e.g., *ak kodäleb* 'they don't accompany', and, according to the Kazan' grammar, it also occurs in the third person plural of the present tense in the auxiliary verb *liäm*. Undoubtedly, this *b* in the Cheremis language is of the same origin as the paragogic ending *pi* (*vi*) in the third person in the Finnish language.

N.B. The narrow limits that we have set for this booklet, prevent us from making a more extensive interpretation of the correspondences which prevail in the verbs and their inflexions between the Finnish and Cheremis languages. Here, we only draw attention to the fact that both languages have an optative with the same marker *ne*¹⁵²; the Finnish *nomen açti* also ends in *ma* (*mä*); the endings of the 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural are related, and in both languages they coincide with the personal pronouns.

151 Mari has two simple past tenses, the 1st and 2nd preterite. The former is said to describe self-evidenced or experienced action, whereas the latter would bear the meaning of evidentiality. In the early grammars, especially in the ones by Castrén and F.J. Wiedemann, only the second preterite is presented, as the first preterite seldom occurred in the text material they used. The suffix *ebä* is the regular ending of the third person plural in the 1st preterite.

152 I.e. the potential mood in Finnish.

Auxiliary verbs

§ 39 The auxiliary verbs *əlam* ‘I am’ and *liäm* ‘I shall be’ do not diverge from the general conjugation scheme.

Indicative
Present tense

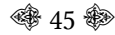
Sing. 1.	<i>Əlam</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Liäm</i>
2.	<i>Əlat</i>	2.	<i>Liät</i>
3.	<i>Əleş</i>	3.	<i>Lieš</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Əlna (ələna)</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Linä</i>
2.	<i>Əlda (ələda)</i>	2.	<i>Lidä</i>
3.	<i>Əlät</i>	3.	<i>Lit</i>

Preterite

Sing. 1.	<i>Əlnam</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Linäm</i>
2.	<i>Əlnat</i>	2.	<i>Linät</i>
3.	<i>Ələn</i>	3.	<i>Lin</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Əlnəna (ələnəna or ələnnəna)</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Linənä</i>
2.	<i>Əlnəda (ələnəda or ələndäda)</i>	2.	<i>Linädä</i>
3.	<i>Əlnət</i>	3.	<i>Linät</i>

Optative

Sing. 1.	<i>Əlnem</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Linem</i>
2.	<i>Əlnet</i>	2.	<i>Linet</i>
3.	<i>Əlnežä</i>	3.	<i>Linežä</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Əlnenä</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Linenä</i>
2.	<i>Əlnedä</i>	2.	<i>Linedä</i>
3.	<i>Əlnešt</i>	3.	<i>Linešt</i>

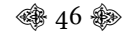


Imperative			
Sing. 2.	<i>Əl⁵³</i>	Sing. 2.	<i>Li</i>
3.	<i>Əlžə</i>	3.	<i>Ližə</i>
Plur. 2.	<i>Əlda</i>	Plur. 2.	<i>Lidä</i>
3.	<i>Ələšt</i>	3.	<i>Lišt</i>
Infinitive			
Pres.	<i>Əlaš</i>	Pres.	<i>Liäš</i>
Fut.	<i>Ələšä</i>	Fut.	<i>Lišäš</i>
Gerund			
Pres.	<i>Əlməla</i>	Pres.	<i>Limälä</i>
Pret.	<i>Əlməkə</i> (<i>Əlməngə</i>)	Pret.	<i>Liməkä</i> (<i>Liməngä</i>)
Participle			
Pres.	<i>Ələ</i>	Pres.	<i>Lišə</i>
Pret.	<i>Əlmə</i>	Pret.	<i>Limə</i>

N.B. The auxiliary verb *əlam* in common speech is often pronounced as *elam*, *ilam* (*eläm*, *iläm*). If the noun at times functions as a predicate, then the auxiliary loses its first vowel as in the Samoyed language. E.g., *ätjäläm* 'I am a father', *ätjälät*, *ätjä*, *ätjälnä*, *ätjöldä*, *ätjälät*, *ätjälnam*, *ätjälnem*, etc.; *ukelam*, *ukelnam*, *ukelnem*,¹⁵⁴ etc.

- 153 According to modern grammars, the imperative can only be formed from the stem *li-*.
- 154 Castrén does not give a translation for these forms. They can be translated as 'I am not, I was not, I did not want to be'. *Uke* is, however, the negative existential '(there) is not', i.e. the given forms can literally be read as 'there is no me, etc.' (cf. Moisio – Inaba 2014: 236–238).

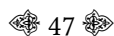
- 155 The form of the second person singular of the imperative is the plain verb stem.



§ 40 As observed above, *liām*, which may originally have been a conjunctive form corresponding to the Finnish *lienen* (*lien*), is used as an auxiliary for future tense, e.g., *äštäš liām* 'I am going to make', *jyāš liām* 'I am going to drink'. Furthermore, the whole passive form in Cheremis is composed from the auxiliary *alam* and the passive participle, e.g., *kodālamā alam* 'I am accompanied', *kodālamā alnam* 'I was accompanied', *kodālamā alnem* 'I may be accompanied' (pres., conj.), *kodālamā liām* (fut.), etc.

Negative conjugation

§ 41 The Finnish languages generally lack negative particles and express negation with a special form of conjugation, in such a way that the negative is inflected, whereas the main verb usually remains unchanged. In the Cheremis language, the negative is inflected in the indicative, optative and imperative. The second person singular affirmative form of the imperative¹⁵⁵ is added unchanged to these, except for the 3rd person plural of the present tense, which in all these moods takes the ending *b*. It is to be noted, however, that, in the present tense, the negative is always placed before the affirmative verb, whereas in the preterite the positions are reversed. In other moods, the affirmative verbs are inflected according to the general rule, and negation is expressed with the word *agāl* placed after the verb; this form consists of the negative verb of the 3rd person indicative present tense joined with the auxiliary verb. The paradigm of negation is the following:



47

Indicative	
Present tense	Preterite
Sing. 1. <i>Am</i>	Sing. 1. <i>-telam, -delam</i> ¹⁵⁶
2. <i>At</i>	2. <i>-telat, -delat</i>
3. <i>Ak</i>	3. <i>-te, -de</i>
Plur. 1. <i>Ana</i>	Plur. 1. <i>-telna, -delna</i>
2. <i>Ada</i>	2. <i>-telda, -delda</i>
3. <i>Ak</i>	3. <i>-telət, -delət</i>

Optative	
Sing. 1.	<i>Ėnem</i>
2.	<i>Ėnet</i>
3.	<i>Ėnežä</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Ėnenä</i>
2.	<i>Ėnedä</i>
3.	<i>Ėnešt</i>

Imperative	
Sing. 2.	<i>It</i>
3.	<i>Ėndžä</i>
Plur. 2.	<i>Ida (Idä)</i>
3.	<i>Ėnešt</i>

§ 42 When connected to affirmative verbs, the negative inflection is mostly regular. In the indicative preterite of the verbs of the second conjugation, however, the final vowel of the imperative¹⁵⁷ is often omitted if the nearby consonants allow it. The verbs *wazam* 'I fall' and *tylem* 'I pay' are given as examples of both conjugations.

- 156 According to modern grammars, the personal ending always has *a* in the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural even though it follows a syllable with *e* (cf. Alhoniemi 1993: 114; Savatkova 2002: 202). In EGT all the four forms are written with an *ä*, but in the original Swedish manuscript the correct forms with *a* are given (as in this publication, too). This form is based on the negative gerund in *-te* followed by the auxiliary *alam*.
- 157 I.e. of the stem.

- 158 Some old words have the alternation -z- : -c-.
- 159 In EGT *änešt tylä* (*äneš tylä*), but in the Swedish manuscript (and in this edition) correctly.

❖ 48 ❖

Indicative
Present

1		2	
Sing. 1.	<i>Am vac</i> ¹⁵⁸	Sing. 1.	<i>Am dylä</i>
2.	<i>At vac</i>	2.	<i>At tylä (a tylä)</i>
3.	<i>Ak vac</i>	3.	<i>Ak tylä</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Ana vac</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Ana dylä</i>
2.	<i>Ada vac</i>	2.	<i>Ada tylä</i>
3.	<i>Ak vazeb (vaceb)</i>	3.	<i>Ak tyleb</i>

Preterite

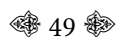
Sing. 1.	<i>Vactelam</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Tyldelam (tylädelam)</i>
2.	<i>Vactelat</i>	2.	<i>Tyldelat (tylädelat)</i>
3.	<i>Vacte</i>	3.	<i>Tylde (tyläde)</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Vactelna</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Tyldelna (tylädelna)</i>
2.	<i>Vactelda</i>	2.	<i>Tyldelda (tylädelda)</i>
3.	<i>Vactelät</i>	3.	<i>Tyldelät (tylädelät)</i>

Optative

Sing. 1.	<i>Änem vac</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Änem dylä</i>
2.	<i>Änet vac</i>	2.	<i>Änet tylä (Änä tylä)</i>
3.	<i>Änežä vac</i>	3.	<i>Änežä dylä</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Änenä vac</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Änenä dylä</i>
2.	<i>Änedä vac</i>	2.	<i>Änedä dylä</i>
3.	<i>Änešt vazeb (vaceb)</i>	3.	<i>Änešt tyleb (Äneš tyleb)¹⁵⁹</i>

Imperative

Sing. 2.	<i>It vac</i>	Sing. 2.	<i>It tylä (I tylä)</i>
3.	<i>Ändžä vac</i>	3.	<i>Ändžä dylä</i>
Plur. 2.	<i>Ida vac</i>	Plur. 2.	<i>Idä dylä</i>
3.	<i>Änešt vazeb (vaceb)</i>	3.	<i>Änešt tyleb (Äneš tyleb)</i>



Infinitive

Pres.	<i>Vazaš (vacas) agəl</i>	Pres.	<i>Tyläš agəl</i>
Fut.	<i>Vacšaš agəl</i>	Fut.	<i>Tylšäs agəl</i>

Gerund

Pres.	<i>Vacmälä agəl</i>	Pres.	<i>Tylmälä agəl</i>
Pret.	<i>Vacmākə</i>	Pret.	<i>Tylmäkə</i>
	<i>(-mängə) agəl</i>		<i>(-mängə) agəl</i>

Participle

Pres.	<i>Vacšə agəl</i>	Pres.	<i>Tylšə agəl</i>
Pret.	<i>Vacmə agəl</i>	Pret.	<i>Tylmə agəl</i>

N.B. Apart from the above given forms, the indicative preterite has the following paradigm originating in the Tatar language.¹⁶⁰

Preterite

Sing. 1.	<i>Šäm vac</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Šäm dylä</i>
2.	<i>Šäc vac</i>	2.	<i>Šäc tylä</i>
3.	<i>Š vac (Əš vac)</i>	3.	<i>Š tylä (Əš tylä)</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Šnä vac</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Šnä dylä</i>
2.	<i>Štä vac</i>	2.	<i>Štä dylä</i>
3.	<i>Š vazeb (vaceb),</i> <i>(Əš vazeb or vaceb)</i>	3.	<i>Š tyleb (Əš tyleb)</i>

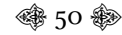
§ 43 The auxiliary verbs *alam* and *liäm* are also inflected regularly in the negative forms, except for the indicative present where the stem *al* of the verb *alam* changes into *al*¹⁶¹ when connected to the negative auxiliary.

Both auxiliaries follow here, inflected in the negative forms:

160 This is the normal paradigm of the first preterite (cf. marginal notes 131 and 151). It is not of Tatar origin. The stem vowel is *ä*- in the preterite, which can only be seen in the forms (in parentheses) of the 3rd persons. In other persons it has been lost. *š* is originally the past tense marker.

161 The form *al* is only found in 1PL and 2PL. The schwa is preserved in all the singular forms and 3PL.

- 162 'I shall not be/become'.
 163 In EGT all the personal endings have a front vowel, but, in the Swedish manuscript (and here), the correct forms with back vowels are given (cf. marginal note 137).



Indicative
Present

Sing. 1.	<i>Aməl</i> 'I am not'	Sing. 1.	<i>Am li</i> ¹⁶²
2.	<i>Atəl</i>	2.	<i>At li</i>
3.	<i>Agəl</i>	3.	<i>Ak li</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Anal</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Ana li</i>
2.	<i>Adal</i>	2.	<i>Ada li</i>
3.	<i>Agəleb</i>	3.	<i>Ak lieb</i>

Preterite

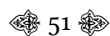
Sing. 1.	<i>Əltelam</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Litelam</i> ¹⁶³
2.	<i>Ətelat</i>	2.	<i>Litelat</i>
3.	<i>Əlte</i>	3.	<i>Lite</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Ətelna</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Litelna</i>
2.	<i>Ətelda</i>	2.	<i>Litelda</i>
3.	<i>Ətelət</i>	3.	<i>Litelət</i>

or:

Sing. 1.	<i>Šäm əl</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Šäm li</i>
2.	<i>Šəc əl</i>	2.	<i>Šəc li</i>
3.	<i>Əš əl</i>	3.	<i>Əš li</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Šnä əl</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Šnä li</i>
2.	<i>Štä əl</i>	2.	<i>Štä li</i>
3.	<i>Əš əleb</i>	3.	<i>Əš lieb</i>

Optative

Sing. 1.	<i>Ənem əl</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>Ənem li</i>
2.	<i>Ənet əl</i>	2.	<i>Ənet li</i>
3.	<i>Ənežə əl</i>	3.	<i>Ənežə li</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>Ənenä əl</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>Ənenä li</i>
2.	<i>Ənedä əl</i>	2.	<i>Ənedä li</i>
3.	<i>Ənešt əleb</i>	3.	<i>Ənešt lieb</i>



Imperative

Sing. 2.	<i>It əl</i>	Sing. 2.	<i>It li</i>
3.	<i>Əndžə əl</i>	3.	<i>Əndžə li</i>
Plur. 2.	<i>Ida əl</i>	Plur. 2.	<i>Idä li</i>
3.	<i>Ənešt əleb</i>	3.	<i>Ənešt lieb</i>

Infinitive

Pres.	<i>Əlaš agəl</i>	Pres.	<i>Liäš agəl</i>
Fut.	<i>Əläš agəl</i>	Fut.	<i>Lišäš agəl</i>

Gerund

Pres.	<i>Əlməla agəl</i>	Pres.	<i>Limälä agəl</i>
Pret.	<i>Əlməkə</i> (-məngə) agəl	Pret.	<i>Limäkə</i> (-mängə) agəl

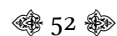
Participle

Pres.	<i>Əlšə agəl</i>	Pres.	<i>Lišə agəl</i>
Pret.	<i>Əlmə agəl</i>	Pret.	<i>Limə agəl</i>

§ 44 Further, in the Cheremis language, the negation word *uke* occurs, which corresponds to the Zyrian *abu* ‘there is not’ and the Russian *нѣтъ*.¹⁶⁴ This negation is inflected so that the ending of the auxiliary *əlam* is suffixed to it (see under § 39 N.B.) in all moods and persons except the 3rd person singular of the indicative present tense, where nothing is added to this *uke*. Examples are indicative present tense: *ukelam* ‘I am not’, *ukelat*, *uke*, *ukelna*, *ukelda*, *ukelət*; pret. *ukelnam* etc.; optative: *ukelnem*; imperat. *ukel*; gerund *ukelməla*, *ukelməkə*; part. *ukelšə*, *ukelmə*.

164 *uke* is the negative existential ‘there is not’. However, it has many different functions, and it can be used as an adjective, a noun, an adverb and a particle. (Moisio – Inaba 2014: 231–239.)

- 165 In present-day grammars, Castrén's negative adjective is classified as a negative participle.
- 166 The denominal derivative suffix is found in nearly all Uralic languages. The Finnish *-nen* is, however, not a cognate (Galkin 1966: 74–76; Lehtisalo 1936: 110–113).
- 167 The causative derivative suffix *-t* is of Finno-Ugric origin. In Mari it is both denominal and deverbal. (Galkin 1966: 106–109.)



§ 45 The negative form of the passive consists of the combination of the participle in *mə* and the negative auxiliary *aməl*, e.g., *käčälmə aməl* 'I have not been searched for'; or by using the negative adjective form *təmă, dămă* *)¹⁶⁵ and the affirmative form of the auxiliary, e.g., *käčältəmă əlam*.

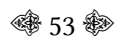
Derived verbs

§ 46 Verbs can be derived from both nouns and verbs. The most common ones are:

1) *Factives* in *-emäm*, Zyr. *ma* (*mam*), Fi. *-nen*,¹⁶⁶ e.g., *yštă* 'cold', *yštemäm* 'I get cold', *šoxšă* 'hot', *šoxšemäm* 'I get hot', *nezer* 'poor', *nezeremäm* 'I become poor', *paremäm* 'I get better', etc.

2) *Effectives* in *-tem*, Zyr. *da, ta* (*dam, tam*), Fi. *tan* (*tän*), Lapp. *tam*,¹⁶⁷ e.g., *jörem* 'I go out (of fire, etc.)', *jörtem* 'I put out, extinguish', *pərem* 'I go in', *pərtem* 'I let (somebody) in', *jəlem* 'I burn', *jəlatem* 'I set on fire'. Some effective verbs with a stem ending in a vowel add the letter *k* to the suffix, e.g. *jyäm* 'I drink', *jyktem* 'I let somebody drink', *šoam* 'I come', *šoktem* 'I bring'.

*) The syllable *tă* (*dă*) in this adjective is nothing but the case ending of the caritive *te, de* (see § 10: I) connected with the ending of the preterite participle. The syllable *te* in the preterite of the negative verb (*əltelam, litelam*) is of the same origin.



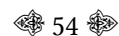
3) *Diminutives* in *-lam*, *-lām* (*alam*, *älām*), Lapp. *-lam*, Zyr. *-la* (*-lam*), Fi. *-len*, e.g., *kaštam* 'I go', *kaštalam* 'I walk a bit', *poktem* 'I chase', *poktalam* 'I chase a bit'. Combining the diminutive suffix with the effective one forms *diminutive-effectives* in *ltem*, e.g., *šagalam* 'I get up', dim.-eff. *šagaltem* 'I lift', *sirem* 'I write', dim.-eff. *sirältem*.¹⁶⁸

4) *Frequentatives* in *kalem*, *kälem*, e.g., *kaštam* 'I go', *kaštākalem* 'I walk around', *sirem* 'I write', *sirkälem* 'I often write', *kodālam* 'I accompany', *kodālkalem* 'I often accompany'.¹⁶⁹

There are also some other verb forms, e.g., *-štam*, *-štām*, *-štem*, but their real meaning is not known to me.¹⁷⁰

- 168 The diminutive-momentaneous suffix *al* is of Uralic origin. (Galkin 1966: 122–126.)
- 169 The frequentative suffix *kal* is of Turkic origin (Fedotov 1965: 48; Galkin 1966: 104–105).
- 170 The (mostly) frequentative suffix *št* produces verbs of the first conjugation, but there are some exceptions, where the derived verb belongs to the second conjugation.

- 171 The Mari stem *väl* as well as its above-mentioned cognates in Finnish and Komi-Zyrian all go back to FU *wülä* (UEW 573–574). The suffixes (illative *-kä*, inessive *-nā* and elative *-ec*) are the so-called unproductive local-case endings, which are used with ca. 40 adverb and postposition stems (Alhoniemi 1993: 62–63).
- 172 A Finno-Volgaic stem, cf. Fi. *loma* ‘middle’ (UEW 692).
- 173 Cognates for the Mari and Komi-Zyrian postposition stem are also found in Udmurt and Mansi (UEW 512).
- 174 The postposition is not of Russian origin. The stem is the same *tor-* as in D; *r* disappears before the unproductive illative case ending (cf. A).



V Postpositions

§ 47 The postpositions, which correspond to prepositions in other languages, are mostly case forms of nouns, the nominal stem of which is still often preserved. The most common postpositions are:

A) *Välkä* (*välk*) or *väkä* (*väk*) ‘(allative), into, onto’, Ru. *на*, Fi. *päälle*; *välñä* (adessive), Ru. *на*, Fi. *päällä*; *välec* ‘(ablative) from’, Ru. *отъ*, Fi. *päältä*. All these denote an *exterior* place and represent a root lost in the Cheremis language but easily recognizable in Zyrian *vyy* and Finnish *yli*.¹⁷¹

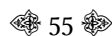
B) *Lävākä* (*lävāk*) and *nämākä* (*nämāk*) ‘(allative), under’, Ru. *подъ*, Fi. *alle*; *lävälñä* or *nämälñä* ‘(adessive), under’, Ru. *подъ*, Fi. *alla*; *lävāc* or *nämāc* ‘(ablative), from under’, Ru. *изъ подъ*, Fi. *alta*. The stem of these postpositions has disappeared.

C) *Loškä* ‘(illative), between’, Fi. *välihin*; *loštä* ‘(inessive), between’, Fi. *välissä*; *logäc* ‘(ablative), from between’, Fi. *välistä*. The root is *lo* ‘middle’.¹⁷²

D) *Toräc* or *torc* (*dorc*) ‘from’, Ru. *отъ*, corresponds to the Zyrian *dorys* (from the root *dor* ‘edge’).¹⁷³

E) *Tok* (*dok*) or *tokä* (*dokä*) ‘towards’, Ru. *къ*. The origin of the stem is most likely the Russian preposition *до*.¹⁷⁴

F) *Ture* (*dure*) ‘opposite, at’, Ru. *противъ*, *надъ*, Fi. *vasŕaan*.



G) *Anzəkə* ‘(allative), ahead’, Ru. *впередъ*, Fi. *edelle*; *anzələnə* ‘(adessive), ahead’, Ru. *впереду*, Fi. *edellä*; *anzəc* ‘(ablative), ahead’, Ru. *впереду*, Fi. *edeltä*. The root *anzə* has disappeared, Fi. *esi*, *ensi*.¹⁷⁵

H) *Šaikə* ‘(allative), behind’, Fi. *taka*, *taaksi*; *šailnə*¹⁷⁶ ‘(adessive), behind’, Fi. *takana*; *šaic* ‘(ablative), from behind’, Fi. *takaa*. Its root is the Russian preposition *за*.¹⁷⁷

I) *Pašteḱ* ‘behind, in order to (fetch, search something)’, e.g., *imni bašteḱ tolnam* ‘I came in order to (take) the horse’. The postposition can also be replaced by the dative case *lən* or *lənin*, e.g., *ätjälən* or *ätjälənin kejen* ‘s/he went to (fetch) father’.

K) *Jakte* ‘up to where’, Ru. *до*, Fi. *ašti*. Instead of *jakte*, especially in adverbs the postposition *-äbäk* is added to the illative case, e.g., *vädäškäbäk* ‘all the way to the water’, *sedäškäbäk* ‘until there’.¹⁷⁸

L) *Vašt* ‘through’, Ru. *сквозъ*, Fi. *läpi*.

M) *Jär* ‘round, around’, Ru. *кругомъ*, *около*, Zyr. *gögär*, *jörgäc* ‘from around’, Fi. *ympäri*.

N) *Peräc*¹⁷⁹ or *veräc* ‘because of, for’, Ru. *для*, Fi. *tähden*.

O) *Mučkə* ‘along’, Ru. *вдоль*.

P) *Pasna* ‘without, except for’; originates probably from the Russian preposition *безъ*.¹⁸⁰

Q) *Saga* ‘beside’.

N.B. The postpositions in Cheremis are joined straight to the noun stem except for the postposition *-äväk* (cf. K above) and for *pasna* that governs the ablative case, e.g., *ḵumägäc pasna* ‘except for God, without God’.

- 175 The stem *anzə-* is of Finno-Permic origin and it occurs mainly in adverbs and postpositions with the exception of Finnic (cf. Fi. *otsa* ‘forehead’) (UEW 339). Thus, it is not related to Fi. *esi*.
- 176 In the Swedish manuscript, Castrén also gives the variant *šajələnə*, which corresponds to present-day orthographic practices.
- 177 The Russian etymology is false. The same stem is also found in the Permic languages. (Cf. UEW 748–749.)
- 178 See § 47: A, above, and marginal note 171 (*väk* ~ *bäk*).
- 179 The Mari *v* is bilabial. Therefore it can be interpreted as *p* (cf. the previous marginal note).
- 180 The given etymology is false: *pasna* is of Chuvash origin (Räsänen 1920: 181).

181 Many of the stems given below and in the previous § 47 can function as both adverbs and postpositions.

182 The forms with *u* in the first syllable, which Castrén gives in his footnote represent a Meadow Mari dialect. The materials Castrén used when compiling his grammar were not exclusively Hill Mari, e.g., the grammar of 1775 shows traits of transitory Meadow dialects. (Sebeok – Raun 1956: 13–17.)

183 *Kə-škə* with the illative and *kə-štə* with the inessive ending.

184 *Kəš-ec* ‘from where’ with the unproductive elative suffix.

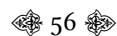
185 In the printed version of Castrén’s grammar, the forms with *tä-* ‘that’ are given in parentheses, as if they were variants of the pronoun *ti-* ‘this’. Here they are presented in the same way as in the Swedish manuscript, where both paradigms are given separately with their correct meanings.

186 The same stem is presented in § 47: D–E, marginal notes 173–174.

187 EGT had a misprint (*mindirk*) instead of the last form, but this was corrected in the second list of corrections printed in a later edition of *Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae*.

188 Lit. in every place.

189 The last two forms with the unproductive inessive and elative are missing from EGT, but they exist in the



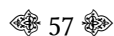
VI

Adverbs

§ 48 Like postpositions, many adverbs are also case forms of nouns, and they have been formed from substantives and adjectives as well as from numerals and pronouns.¹⁸¹ Many adverbs are primitives in Cheremis, but several of them have been borrowed from Russian. Among these are:

A) Of place: *kəškə* ‘where to’^{*182}, *kəštə* ‘where’¹⁸³, *kəšec* ‘from where’¹⁸⁴, *kəškəbək* ‘up to where’, Ru. *докуда*; *tiškə* ‘toward here’, *tištə* ‘here’, *tišec* ‘from here’, *tiškəbək* ‘up to here’; *təškə* (‘toward there’, *təštə* ‘there’, *təšec* ‘from there’, *təškəbək* ‘up to there’¹⁸⁵, *sedəškə* ‘to over there’, *sedəštə* ‘over there’, *sedəšec* ‘from over there’, *sedəškəbək* ‘all the way over there’; *tygə* ‘out’, *tynə* ‘outside’, *tyc* ‘from outside’; *tokə*, *tokəžə* ‘home’, *tonə*, *tondžə* ‘at home’, *torəc* or *torc* ‘from home’¹⁸⁶, *mändärkə* ‘to far away’, *mändärnə* ‘far away’, *mändörc* ‘from afar’¹⁸⁷, *liškə* ‘nearby’, Ru. *близь*, *lišnə* ‘nearby’, *близко*, *lišəc* ‘from nearby’, *сблизь*, *cilä väre* ‘everywhere’¹⁸⁸, *šäpšälä* ‘scattered’; *nigəštät* ‘nowhere’; *anzəkə* ‘forwards’, *anzəlnə* ‘in front, before’, *anzəc* ‘from in front’; *šaikə* ‘behind to’, *šailnə* ‘behind’, *šaic* ‘from behind’; *mängeš* ‘back’; *ördəškə* ‘sideways’, *ördəštə* ‘at the side’, *ördəšgəc* ‘from the side’; *vaštareš* ‘towards’; *kyškə* ‘upwards’, *kyšnə* ‘up’, *kyšəc* ‘from above’¹⁸⁹; *ylkə* ‘down’, *ylnə* ‘down’, *yləc* ‘from below’¹⁹⁰, *toresš* ‘transverse, across’; *pokšək* ‘into the middle’, *pokšəlnə*

*) Or: *kuškə*, *kuštə*, *kušec* etc.



‘in the middle’, *pokšec* ‘from the middle’, *pak* or *wak* ‘away’, *palnə* ‘far away’, *pac* (*vac*) ‘from far away’.

N.B. Most of these and following adverbs can take the diminutive ending *rak* (*räk*).¹⁹¹

B) Of time: *kənam* ‘when’, *kənan*¹⁹² *gənjät* ‘sometime’; *tənäm* ‘then’, *tənän*¹⁹³ *gənjät* ‘around that time’;¹⁹⁴ *kəzät* ‘now’; *ižə* ‘at last’; *pervi* ‘earlier’; *vara* ‘later’; *šukerdə* ‘long ago’; *edče* (*euče*) ‘still’;¹⁹⁵ *jäle* ‘soon’; *ryšt* ‘suddenly’; *južnam* ‘sometime’; *šären* ‘often’; *tagadčə* ‘today’; *irgodəm* ‘tomorrow’; *kəmsəštə* ‘day after tomorrow’; *tengedčə* ‘yesterday’; *anzəlgedčə* ‘the day before yesterday’; *kedčən* ‘in the day’; *jədən* ‘in the night’;¹⁹⁶ *vatnə* ‘in the evening’; *padč* or *padčkəc* ‘late’.

C) Of quantity: *manjarə* ‘how much’; *tinärə* ‘so much’; *velə* ‘only’; *šukə*, *šukən* ‘much’; *iziš*, *izin* ‘a little’; *šagal* ‘a little’;¹⁹⁷ *sitə* ‘enough’;¹⁹⁸ *cic* or *cicok* ‘full’; *utla* ‘too much, excessively’.

D) Of quality: *jažon* ‘well’; *xudan* (*xyðo*) ‘badly’; *takeš* ‘in vain’; *toko* ‘barely’; *proc*, *so*, *piš* ‘very’; *šətkədə* ‘especially’; *təxälə* ‘completely’.

E) Of relation: *kəce* or *kəceok* ‘how’; *kəce* *gənjät* ‘somehow’; *tenge* or *tengeok* ‘so, like that’; *tenge* *gənjät* ‘even like that’; *kanjə* or *kanjok*¹⁹⁹ (encl.) ‘like’; *ladč* (encl.) ‘suitably’; *tidäləm*²⁰⁰ ‘therefore’; *žə*, *vet* ‘ever’.

F) Interrogatives: *malan* ‘why, what for’; *li* (*ли*) ‘whether’.

G) Negatives: *nimat* ‘nothing’, *nigəce* or *nigəceät* ‘not in any way’; *nigənam* or *nigənamat* ‘never’;²⁰¹ *nigəškat* ‘nowhere (illative)’; *nigəštat* ‘nowhere (inessive)’²⁰².

Swedish manuscript and have thus been added here.

190 The stem is found in most Uralic languages, cf. Fi. *ala-* ‘lower, under’ (UEW 6).

191 See § 16, Comparison.

192 This should be *kənam*.

193 This should be *tənäm*.

194 This kind of indefinite pronoun does not seem to exist in Mari. Even the Russian translation given in the Swedish manuscript *могда* *нубыдѣ* seems incorrect.

195 The Mari word is borrowed from the Russian form given in parentheses.

196 Both *kedčən* and *jədən* are missing from EGT. They have been added here according to the Swedish manuscript.

197 This is a Meadow Mari form. In Hill Mari it should read *šəxäl*.

198 The given form is actually the third person singular of the verb *sitem* ‘to be enough’. It can be used like an adverb.

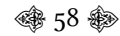
199 This form is taken from the Swedish manuscript. The form *kanjəok* appears in EGT, which is phonetically impossible.

200 Probably a typographical misprint: the dative ending should end in an *n*.

201 In EGT *ä* in the final syllables. Correct forms are quoted from the Swedish manuscript.

202 In EGT *ä* instead of the correct *a*.

- 203 They are placed at the end of the subordinate sentence and they lack stress.
- 204 *ke* is actually the case ending of the comitative (not presented as a case in EGT) and has the meaning ‘with, and’.
- 205 *älgečä* is the uninflected auxiliary used for expressing the conditional mood, which has by now become almost obsolete (Alhoniemi 1993: 116–118). See § 37.
- 206 *äljə* is originally the first preterite of the verb *alam* ‘to be’. This fossil form is used as an auxiliary in expressing, e.g., compound tenses and moods (not included in EGT).
- 207 The enclitic *ok* has an emphatic function, whereas *at*, *ät* means ‘and’.



VII Conjunctions

§ 49 Like all other Finnish languages, Cheremis also has very few conjunctions. Most of them have been borrowed from the Russian language, e.g., *štə* (что) ‘that’, *ali* or *äli* (или) ‘or’, *li* (ли) ‘if, whether’, *i* (и) ‘and’, *atnakə* (однако) ‘nevertheless’, *indželi* (ежели) ‘if’; *žä*, *vet* (ведь) ‘after all’; *da*, *dä* (да) ‘and’; *xotj* (хоть) ‘although’, etc. The conjunctions characteristic of the Cheremis language are mostly enclitic²⁰³: *ke* (Fi. *ki*) ‘and’;²⁰⁴ *känj* ‘if’; *älgeč* ‘if’;²⁰⁵ *äljə* (sign of the conjunctive) ‘if only’;²⁰⁶ *gänjät* ‘although’; *ok*, *at*, *ät* ‘and’;²⁰⁷ etc.

VIII Interjections

§ 50 The most often used interjections in Chere-mis are the following:

Pain: *oi, ai ai ai, öi öi* ‘ow!’.

Amazement: *oo, aa* ‘ooh!’

Showing: *tebe* ‘look!’

Fear: *ai, ai* ‘oh!’

Silence: *šš* ‘shh!’

Addressing: *ei* ‘hey!’

Exhortatory: *nu* ‘well!’

Laughter: *xa xa, xi xi*.

Index Vocabulorum.

A.

Agam, nolo.
Ajar, sol, clarus, serenus
dies. Sam. *hajar*, sol.
Ajarem, splendo, luceo.
Ajerem, sejungo. Tat. ^{o)}
Aks'ak, claudus. Tat.
Aks'aktem, claudico. Tat.
Ala, urbs. F. *kylä*. (Tat.
kala),
Alak, pratum. Tat.
Alanga, perca fluviatilis.
Tat.
Altalem, mentior, decipio.
Tat.
Amalem, dormio.
Amasa, janua.
Andz'em, intueor, conspicio.
Syrj. *adz'ja*, video. F. *kat-*
son.
Andz'ektem, ostendo.
Ang, vesica.
Anga, tabula, assis.
Ar, sobrius.
Ara, strues, cumulus.
Arangas' (*ärängäs'*), innu-
ptus.
Arras'engä, musca.
Arava, rota, carrus, plau-
strum. Tat.
Arz'a, juba. F. *harja*
As'kedäm, gradior. F. *as-*
tun.

D. E. I.

Dc'onges'lem, volo, vo-
lito.
Edem, homo, qui non est
Tscheremissus. Tat.
Edemén, peregrinus.
Eder (*idir*), filia, puella.
F. *tytär*.
Ederämäs', uxor juvenis.
Eselem, spiro.
Elem, vivo. F. *elän*
Emetkä, umbra.
Enges'ä, humerus, pars hu-
meri ad collum proxi-
ma. Tat.
Frdä, medulla arboris. F.
ydin.
Ergä, filius, puer. F. *yrkä*.
Exelä, glans. Germ. *Äichel*.
I, (*ü*), annus.
I, (*ii*) glacies. *Iän*, glacia-
tus, glacie plenus.
Im, (*üm*), acus. F. *äimä*,
Syrj. *jem*.
Ianni, equus.
Ingiz' (*enges'*), rubus fru-
ticosus.
Injänem, credo, spero. Tat.
Ir, mane, tempus matuti-
num. Tat.
Ir, ripa. Tat.
Ire, purus. *Irektem*, purgo,
mundo.

^{o)} Vocabula Tataricae originis ita denotavimus,

Foreword to the Vocabulary

The vocabulary has been realphabetized, rewritten, translated and commented on according to the following principles:

The lemma is transcribed from Castrén's Latin script according to the same rules as in the grammatical part. Castrén has sometimes given two phonetic alternatives of a word, as he has not been sure of the exact quality of the vowels. As the reduced vowels in this volume have been marked with *ä* (front) and *ə* (back), the alternative forms have been left out. The lemma is followed in square brackets [] by the form given in A.A. Savatkova's (1981, 2008) dictionaries of the Hill dialect of the Mari language and L.P. Vasikova's (1994) Hill Mari orthographic dictionary. Savatkova's (1981) forms, however, have been corrected according to the modern Cyrillic orthography, the rules of which are described in Vasikova (1994: 525–589). If no present-day orthographic form is given, the word is not found in the dictionaries of literary Hill Mari.

The translation is given according to Castrén's original translation, taking into account the semantics of the modern Mari word: if there is a significant difference, the actual, modern meaning is given in square brackets. As a general rule, all the comments in square brackets are produced by the editor, whereas parentheses originate with Castrén. The translations of words in other languages come from Castrén. He has, however, often left them untranslated.

The correspondences in the Uralic languages are marked with [≠] (no etymological correspondence) or [=] (reliable comparison) or [?=] (dubious comparison) separately for each language. References to other languages are given according to Castrén, either with a comma or semicolon only, or with "cf." ("Cfr."). Castrén probably has not meant all these references to be etymological cognates, but, to be on the safe side, they too have been marked with the signs of positive or negative etymological correspondence.

The same marking is used for loanwords from the Turkic languages Chuvash and Tatar. Castrén marks almost all Turkic loanwords with the label "Tat.", although most of them are of Chuvash origin. This is understandable, as in Castrén's time Chuvash was assumed to be related to Finno-Ugric languages. Thus it could not be considered as a donor language.

The references to etymological sources are provided at the end of each lemma. These are: Károly Rédei & al. *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (= UEW), Gábor Bereczki's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Tscheremissischen (Mari)*. *Der einheimische Wortschatz* (= GB), *Suomen*

sanojen alkuperä (SSA₁₋₃), Martti Räsänen's monographies *Die tschuwassischen Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen* (= R₁) and *Die tatarischen Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen* (= R₂), M.R. Fedotov's *Исторические связи чувашского языка с языками угро-финнов Поволжья и Перми. Ч. I. Чувашско-марийские связи* (= Fed.), N.I. Isanbaev's *Марийско-тюркские языковые контакты* (= Is.), Aulis J. Joki's *Uralier und Indogermanen* (= Joki) and A.A. Savatkova's *Русские заимствования в марийском языке* (= Sav.). The correct present-day etymology is given in brackets at the end of the entry. In the case of two competing etymologies, both are given separated with a tilde (~). There are some cases where the reference with [≠] is given but no etymology. These are words of unknown origin which Castrén has incorrectly interpreted as belonging to inherited or borrowed vocabulary.

If the word in question belongs to inherited lexicon, instead of listing all cognate languages, a letter code is given of the distribution. The codes given in UEW (FU for Finno-Ugric or U for Uralic or FV for Finno-Volgaic, etc.) are used when possible. However, if a word with the marking FP in UEW is not found, e.g., in the Finno-Saamic branch but only in the Volgaic and Permic languages, it is marked with VP; or if it occurs only in Mari and in the Permic and Ugric branches, it is marked with MU, etc. (see the abbreviations at the end of the vocabulary).

Finally, after the full stop at the end of the entry, the corresponding form in the Meadow-Eastern Mari literary language is given, if it exists. No correspondence is shown with a dash (–).

The words from languages other than Mari are given in Castrén's spelling. Some Finnish words have dialectal forms (e.g., *mae* for *made* 'burbot' or *kaarnet* for *kaarne* 'raven').

The binomial Latin names of animals and plants come from Castrén. They do not always correspond to the modern ones.

If Castrén gives the stem and its derivation as separate lemmas, they are left as such.

The translations of verbs are mostly given in the first person singular. It is the form traditionally used for Mari lemmas, because it distinguishes the two conjugations from each other (unlike the infinitive).

In editing the vocabulary, four different manuscripts of Castrén have been used: The earliest of them with Swedish translations lists the words mainly according to word classes but without alphabetical order. The second Swedish manuscript is organized in alphabetical order. The first manuscript in Latin is sketchy with many corrections and insertions partly in Swedish. The final Latin manuscript has served as the basis for the printed version but with some insertions.

Judging by the handwriting, the Swedish manuscripts are both made by Castrén, but the Latin manuscripts definitely originate from someone else's pen (probably the translator's). Unfortunately, we do not know who translated Castrén's texts into Latin. During the organization and translation processes, some writing and typing errors or misinterpretations have occurred. They have been corrected in this edition and marked respectively in the footnotes.

The alphabetical order is as follows: a, ä, c (dc), č (dč), e, g, χ, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, ö, p, r, s, š, z, ž, t, u, v, y, ð, ə.

Vocabulary

A

- agət* [агым] ‘I am not, I do not’; [= FU] UEW 68. [= огым]
- ajar* [аяр] ‘sun, clear, bright day’; [≠] Saa. *hajar*; [< Chuv.] R1 158. [= ояр]
- ajaret* [аярем] ‘I shine’ [‘to clear (of weather)’]; [< Chuv.] R1 158. [= оярем]
- ajərem* [айырем] ‘I separate’; [≠] Tat. *; [< Chuv.] R1 159. [= ойырем]
- akšak* [акшак] ‘limping’; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 160. [= оксак]
- akšaklem* [акшаклем] ‘I limp’; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 160. [= оксаклем]
- ala* [ала] ‘town’; [≠] Fi. *kylä*, [≠] (Tat. *kala*); [< Chuv.] R1 160. [= ола]
- alangə* [алангы] ‘*Perca fluviatilis*, perch’; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 161. [= оланге]
- alək* [алык] ‘meadow’; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 161. [= олык]
- altalem* [алталем] ‘I lie, I betray’; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 163. [= ондалем]
- amalem* [амалем] ‘I sleep’. [= малем]
- amasa* [амаса] ‘door’. [= омса]

*) We mark the words of Tatar origin in this way.

- andžem* [анжем] 'I look, I notice'; [=] Ko. *adzja* 'I see',
[≠] Fi. *katson*; [?= MP] UEW 607, GB 173. [= ончем]
andžaktem [анжыктем] 'I show'; [?= MP] UEW 607, GB
173. [= ончыктем]
ang [ханг] 'bladder'. –
anga [анга] 'board'; [< Chuv.] R1 166. [= онга]
ar [ары] 'sober'; [< Chuv.] R1 167. –
ara [ара] 'pile, stack'; [< Chuv.] R1 167. [= ора]
arangəž (*ärängəž*) [арангыж] 'unmarried (young man)'
[‘bridegroom’]. –
arrašəngä [арашынгä] 'fly'; [< Chuv.] R1 167, 207. [= ора-
шынга]
arava [арава] 'cart, hansom'; [≠] Tat. [< Chuv.] R1 168.
[= орава]
arža [аржа] 'mane'; [≠] Fi. *harja*, [? < Iran.] Joki 251.
[= оржа]
aškedäm [ашкедäm] 'I walk'; [?=] Fi. *aštua*; [= FU] UEW
19, GB 177. [= ошкедам]

Ä

- äk* [äk] 'price'; [=] Tat.; [< Tat.] R2 19. [= ак]
äkä [äkä] 'older sister'; [< Chuv.] R1 112. [= ака]
ängär [ängыр] 'river'; [≠] Fi. *onki*. [= энер]
ängərem [ängырем] 'I angle'; [< Iran.] Joki 254. [= энгы-
рем]
ängəsär [ängысыр] 'narrow'; [< Chuv.] R1 113. [= аңысыр]
äpšät [äпшат] 'blacksmith'. [= апшат]
ärdä [äрдä] 'thigh'; [= FP] GB 16, UEW 625. [= эрде]

208 The correct spelling of this word is uncertain, since it is not found in the literary language.

ärem [ärem] 'I borrow, I lend'. [= арем]
ärnjä [ärня] 'week'; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 114. [= арня]
äšändärem [äшӓндӓрем] 'I remember'; [< Chuv.] R1 116. –
äzä [äzä] 'child'; [< Chuv.] R1 111. [= аза]
ätjä [ätя] 'father'; [≠] Saa. *attje*; [< Chuv.] R1 239, Fed. 73. [= ача]
ävä [ävä] 'mother'; [< Chuv.] R1 109. [= ава]

C

*calko*²⁰⁸ 'feather' (see *pən*); [≠] Fi. *sulka*; [< Tat.] R2 75. –
canga [цӓнгӓ] 'Corvus monedula, jackdaw'; [< Chuv.] R1 229. [= чаӓга]
cärem [цӓрем] 'I interrupt', caus. *cäräktēm*; [< Chuv.] R1 229. [= чарем]
cärnem [цӓрнем] 'I cease (doing)'; [< Chuv.] R1 229. [= чарнем]
cer [цер] 'illness, disease'; [< Tat.] R2 77. [= чер]
cever [цевер] 'happy' ['beautiful']; [< Tat.] R2 76. [= че-вер]
cic [циц] 'full'. [= тич]
cilä [цилӓ] 'all (цӓлӓй)'; [= MP] UEW 613, GB 5. [= чыла]
curejem [цуреем] 'I swear' ['I suffer']. –
cäbä [цӓбӓ] 'chicken'; [< Chuv.] R1 230. [= чыве]
cäre [цӓре] 'face' ['colour of the face']; [< Tat.] R2 81. [= чурий]
cäzä [цӓзӓ] 'breast, teat'. [= чызе]

Č, DČ

čiem [чиэм] ‘I get dressed’; [≠] Tat. [= чиєм]
dčongeštem [чонгештем] ‘I fly’. [= чонгештем]
čučäm [чүчäm] ‘I close’. [= түчам]

E

edem [едем] ‘a person who is not Mari’; [≠] Tat. [< Chuv.]
 R1 111. [= айдеме]
*edemän*²⁰⁹ [едемән] ‘stranger’; [≠] Tat. [< Chuv.] R1 111.
eχelä [эхельй] ‘acorn’; [≠] Germ. *Eichel*. –
ergä [эргй] ‘son, boy’; [=] Fi. *yrkä*; [= FU] UEW 84, GB
 17. [= эрге]

X

χalək [халык] ‘people (not Cheremis)’; [=] Tat.; [< Tat.]
 R2 32. [= калык]
χəna (χna) [хына] ‘guest; stranger’; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1
 235. [= уна]

I

i₁ (ii) ‘year’; [= FU] UEW 98, GB 21, SSA1 223. [= ий]
i₂ (ii) ‘ice’, *iän* [иән] ‘icy, full of ice’; [= FU] UEW 93, GB
 21, SSA1 260. [= ий, иян]
iäm [иäm] ‘I swim’; [=] Fi. *uin*; [= U] UEW 542, GB 21,
 SSA3 368. [= иям]
im (iim) ‘needle’; [=] Fi. *äimä*, [=] Ko. *jem*; [= U] UEW 22,
 GB 25, SSA3 495. [= име]
imni [имни] ‘horse’. [= имне]

209 *edemän* has the derivative suffix *än*, which is identical with the genitive ending.

ingǝž (ǝngǝž) [ингкыж, ынгыж] ‘Rubus fruticosus, blackberry’ [‘raspberry’]; [= VU] UEW 26, GB 16. [= ɛнгыж]

ir [ир] ‘(in the) morning, early’; [≠] Tat. [< Chuv.] R1 126. [= ɛр]

irǝ [иры] ‘clean’, *irǝktem* [ирыктем] ‘I clean’; [< Chuv.] R1 126. [= ɛре, ɛрыктем]

izärnjä (iziärnjä) [изярня] ‘Thursday [lit. small week]’; [< Chuv.] R1 114. [= изарня]

izi [изи] ‘little’; [≠] Tat. [= FU]; UEW 78, GB 27. [= изи]

iträ [итыра] ‘clean’. *iträjem* ‘I clean’. [= йытыра, йытыраем]

itän [итын] ‘flax’; [=] Tat.; [< Tat.] R2 30. [= йытын]

җ

jadam [ядам] ‘I ask’; [= VP] UEW 632, GB 32. [= йодам]

jaklaka [яклака] ‘slippery; smooth, plain’; [< Chuv.] Fed. 158, R1 240. [= яклака]

jakšargə [якшаргы] ‘red’, *jakšargem* [якшаргем] ‘I red-
den’. [= йошкарге, йошкаргем]

jal (*jaal*) [ял] ‘foot’; [=] Fi. *jalka*; [= FU] UEW 88, GB 34, SSA1 234. [= йол]

jalaχai [ялахай] ‘lazy, lazybones’; [< Chuv.] R1 134. [= йо-
лагай]

jalaš [ялаш] ‘trousers, pants’; [= FU] UEW 88, GB 34, SSA1 234. [= йолаш]

jaldaš [ялташ] ‘slave’ [‘friend’]; [< Chuv.] R1 135. [= йол-
таш]

jalštem (*jalaštem*) [ялштем] ‘I bind, I tie up’. [= йо-
лыштем]

- jamak* [ямак] 'fairytale'; [≠] Tat. [< Chuv.] R1 135. [= йомак]
- jamam* [ямам] 'I vanish, I perish'; [≠] Ko. *jama* 'I weaken', *jamdem* [ямдем] 'I lose'; [= U] UEW 89, GB 34. [= йомам, йомдем]
- jangəlem* [янгылем] 'I get tired, I become exhausted'. [= йонглем]
- jangəstem* [янгыштем] 'I grind'; [=] Fi. *jauhan*; [= FW] UEW 631, GB 35, SSA1 237. [= йонгыштем]
- jaratem* [яратем] 'I love'; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 137. [= йөратем]
- jarem* [ярем] 'I am fit, fine', *jardəmə* [ярдымы] 'unfit'; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 136. [= йөрем, йордымө]
- jažo* [яжо] 'beautiful', *jažožə*²¹⁰ [яжожы] 'beauty'; [≠] Tat. [< Chuv.] R1 131. –
- jäktä* [йәктә] 'Pinus sylvestris, pine'. [= якте]
- jäl* [йәл] '(the Cheremis) people'; [< Chuv.] R1 129. [= ял]
- jämdä* [йәмдә] 'ready', *jämdəlem* [йәмдәлем] 'I prepare'; [< Chuv.] R1 130. [= ямде, ямдылем]
- jäng* [йәнг] 'soul'; [≠] Fi. *henki*. –
- jär* [йәр] 'lake'; [=] Fi. *järvi*; [= FW] UEW 633, GB 29, SSA1 259. [= ер]
- järsem* [йәрсем] 'I am free', (cf. [≠] Fi. *irti*). [= ярсем]
- jiengä* [енгә] 'aunt' ['uncle's wife; daughter-in-law']; [< Tat.] R2 30. [= енга]
- jogem* [йөгем] 'I flow', caus. *joktarem* [йоктарем] 'I pour'; cf. [?=] Fi. *joki*, [?=] Saa. *joga* 'river'; [?= U] UEW 99, SSA1 240 ~ [?< Chuv.] GB 32, R1 133. [= йогем, йоктарем]

210 The suffix *žä*, *žə* attached to an adjective is the possessive suffix of the third person singular, which turns the adjective into a noun.

*jörem*₁ [йөрем] 'I am extinguished', caus. *jörtē* [йөртем] 'I extinguish'. [= йөрем, йөртем]

*jörem*₂ [йөрем] 'I turn, tip over', dem. *jörälām* [йөрәләм] id., caus. *jöräktē* [йөрәктем] 'I overturn'. [= йөрем, йөрләм, йөрәктем]

juk [юк] 'voice, sound'. [= йүк]

juklanē [юкланем] 'I make noise'. [= йүкланем]

jur [юр] 'rain'. [= йүр]

jä [йя] 'I drink', caus. *jyktem* [йүктем] 'I give water', pтср. *jykšä* [йүкшә] 'drunken, drunkard', fact. *jykšēmām* [йүкшемәм] 'I get drunk'; [=] Fi. *juon*; [= FU] UEW 103, GB 38, SSA1 249. [= йя, йүктем, йүшө, йүкшемәм]

jyχšä [йүксә] 'swan'; [=] Fi. *joutsen*; [= FP] UEW 101, GB 39, SSA1 244. [= йүксө]

jäl [йял] 'tongue; language', *jälädämä* [йяләдәмә] 'mute [lit. without tongue]'; [= FU] UEW 313, GB 30. [= йялме, йялмыдыме]

jängäl [йянгәл] 'bell'. [= йянгыр]

järem [йярем] 'I smile'; [< Chuv.] R1 133. –

järgeskä [йяргешкә] 'round', (*jär* [йяр] 'around'); [= VP] UEW 94, GB 31. [= йяр, йяргешке]

jädal [йядал] 'shoes made of lime baš'. [= йядал]

jäl [йял] 'river Volga'. [= юл]

jälätē [йяләтем] 'I burn'; [=] Fi. *poltan*. [= йяләтем]

jät [йят] 'god', [=] Fi. *jumala*; [= FV] UEW 638, GB 36, SSA1 247. [= юмо]

jät [йят] 'night'; [=] Fi. *yö*; [= MS] UEW 99, GB 41. [= йят]

К

- kadčkam* [качка́м] 'I eat', *kartmə* [картмы́] 'eaten, eating'; [= FP] UEW 641, GB 66. [= кочка́м, кочмо́]
- kadčə* [качы́] 'bitter'; [≠] Fi. *karvas* (NB the affinity of *d* and *r*)²¹¹; [= FP] UEW 113, GB 66. [= кочо́]
- kagak* [кагак] 'hook'; [≠] Fi. *koukku*. –
- kagəl* [кагыль] 'cake' ['pašty'] (*nurozə*). [= когыльо́]
- kaχrem* [кахырем] 'I cough', *kaχrətəš* [кахыртыш] 'cough'; [< Tat.] R2 40. [= кокырем, кокыртыш]
- kajam* [каям] 'I am visible, seen'; [?=] Fi. *kajaan*; [= FW] UEW 642, GB 68, SSA1 279. [= коям]
- kajəs* [кайыц] 'scissors'; [≠] Tat. [= каче́]
- kalja* [каля] 'mouse', *kogo kalja* [кого каля] 'Mus decumanus, rat'. [= коля́]
- kataka* [камака] 'oven'; [< Chuv.] R1 147. [= комак]
- kandem* [кандем] 'I carry, I bring'; [=] Fi. *kannan*; [= U] UEW 124, GB 73, SSA1 302. [= кондем]
- kapka* (*kabka*) [капка] 'gate'; [=] Tat., R2 33. [= капка]
- kapšangə* [капшангы] 'beetle'; [< Chuv.] Fed. 89, R1 248. [= копшанге́]
- karak* [карак] 'crow'; (cf. [≠] Fi. *harakka* 'magpie'); [≠] Tat. *karak*; [< Chuv.] R1 148. [= корак]
- karem* [карем] 'valley' ['gorge']; [= FU] GB 74, UEW 221. [= корем]
- karštem* [карштем] 'I ache'. [= корштем]
- kaškə₁* [кашкы́] 'fašt-flowing, rapid', cf. [=] Fi. *koski*; [= FP] UEW 674, GB 45, SSA1 409. [= кашка]
- kaškə₂* [кашкы́] 'sour', *kaškem* [кашке́м] 'I turn sour'; [= VP] UEW 640, GB 46. [= кашке́, кашке́м]

- 212 The correct form of this word is uncertain, since it is not found in any other written sources.

kaštam [каштам] ‘I walk, I go’; cf. [≠] Saa. *vadcam*.
[= коштам]
kaval or *jalgaval* [кавал, ялгавал] ‘heel’. –
kavaštə [кавашты] ‘skin, hide’. [= коваште]
kädä [кәдй] ‘dove’. [= кедә]
känem [кәнем] ‘I rest’; [< Chuv.] R1 140. [= канем]
kängäš [кәнгәш] ‘advice’; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 141.
[= кангаш]
kängäšem [кәнгәшем] ‘I advise’; [< Chuv.] R1 141.
[= кангашем]
kängäž [кәнгәж] ‘summer’; [≠] Fi. *kesä*; [= FW] UEW
659, GB 50, SSA1 352. [= кенгеж]
*käškä*²¹² ‘gall’ (see *šäχš*). –
käškä [кәшкә] ‘log, block’; [< Chuv.] R1 143. [= кашка]
kävän [кәвән] ‘haystack’; [< Chuv.] R1 139. [= каван]
kečem [кечем] ‘I hang’, caus. *kečäktē* [кечйктем]
‘I hang up’; [= FP] UEW 680, GB 48. [= кечем,
кечыктем]
kedčä [кечй] ‘sun, day’, *kedčä vāl* [кечйвәл] ‘noon’;
[= FU] UEW 141, GB 47. [= кече, кечывал]
kejē [кеем] ‘I go’; [?=] Fi. *käyn*; [?= FV] UEW 654, GB
42, SSA1 482 ~ [< Chuv.] Fed. 85. [= каем]
kek [кек] ‘bird’; [≠] Fi. *käki*; [< Chuv.] R1 139. [= кайык]
kelesem [келесәм] ‘I say’; cf. [≠] Fi. *kieli* ‘language’;
[< Chuv.] R1 140. [= каласем]
kelgä [келгй] ‘deer’, *kelgäžä* [келгйжй] ‘depth’. [= кел-
ге]
keleş [келеш] ‘must, it is necessary’; [=] Ko. *kolä*; [= FU]
UEW 145, GB 100. [= күлеш]
kem [кем] ‘shoe’ [‘boot’]; [=] Ko. *kom*, [≠] Fi. *kenkä*;
[= FP] UEW 650, GB 50. [= кем]

keräm [керәм] 'I pull' ['I stick']; [= VU] UEW 139, GB 51.
[= керам]

kerdäm (*kirdäm*) [кердәм] 'I can', cf. [=] Fi. *kärsin*; [= FW] UEW 652, GB 52, SSA1 478. [= кертам]

kerem [керем] 'rope'; [< Tat.] R2 36. [= керем]

kesä [кесй] 'billy goat'; [≠] Ru., [≠] Tat., [≠ Chuv.] R1 144. [= каза]

kiem [киэм] 'I lie', [=] Ko. *kuila*; [= VU] UEW 197, GB 62.
[= кием]

kindä [киндй] 'bread'; [= VP] UEW 681, GB 63. [= кинде]

kir [кир] 'scale weight'; [=] Ru., [=] Tat. [= кир]

*kirok*²¹³ [кирок] 'truth' ['really']; cf. [≠] Fi. *kiroan* 'I curse'. [= кепе]

kiš [киш] 'resin gum'; [≠] Saa. *kasse*. [= киш]

kižem [кижем] 'I am freezing'; [=] Ko. *ködzyd* 'cold';
[= VP] UEW 648, GB 65. –

kit (*kiit*) [кид] 'hand'; [=] Ko. *ki*, [=] Saa. *gietta*, [=] Fi. *käsi*; [= FU] UEW 140, GB 65, SSA1 479. [= кид]

ko [ко] 'wave'; [= FP] UEW 676, GB 78. –

koat (*kuat*) [куат] 'strength', (cf. [≠] Fi. *kova*); [< Tat.] R2 42. [= куат]

koatan [куатан] 'strong'; [< Tat.] R2 42. [= куатан]

kodam [кодам] 'I stay'; [= U] UEW 115, GB 67, SSA1 270.
[= кодам]

kodem [кодем] 'I leave', caus. *kodəktem* [кодыктем] 'I order to leave'; [≠] Fi. *jätän*, [=] Ko. *kolja*; [= U] UEW 115, GB 67, SSA1 270. [= кодем, кодыктем]

kodəlam [кодылам] 'I accompany' ['I run, I ride']; [≠] Ko. *kollja*; [≠ VP] UEW 679, GB 83. [= кудалам]

kogarnja [когарня] 'Friday' (*kogo* 'big' and *ärnjä* 'week').
[= кугарня]

- kogi* [когои] ‘birch, *Betula*’; [=] Fi. *koivu*; [= U] UEW 165, GB 84, SSA1 386. [= кyuэ]
- kogo* [кого] ‘big’; [=] Fi. *koko*; [?= FV] UEW 670, GB 86, SSA1 387. [= кyгу]
- kolam* [колам] ‘I hear’; [=] Fi. *kuulen*; [= FU] UEW 197, GB 69, SSA1 456. [= колам]
- kolem* [колем] ‘I die’; [=] Fi. *kuolen*; [= U] UEW 173, GB 70, SSA1 439. [= колем]
- koljma* [кольмы] ‘spade, hoe’; [= FW] UEW 170, GB 85, SSA1 279. [= кольмо]
- koltem* [колтем] ‘I send’. [= колтем]
- kolāštam* [колыштам] ‘I listen, I obey’; [= FU] UEW 197, GB 69, SSA1 456. [= колыштам]
- kombə* [комбы] ‘goose’. [= комбо]
- korna* [корны] ‘road’; [= FU] UEW 216, GB 76, SSA1 458. [= корно]
- koštan* [костан] ‘bold’ [‘mean, stern’]; [< Tat.] R2 41. [= коштан]
- koškem* [кошкем] ‘I dry’; [=] Ko. *kosma*; caus. *koštem* [коштем] ‘I dry’; [=] Ko. *košta*; [= U] UEW 223, GB 77. [= кошкем, коштем]
- kož* [кож] ‘*Pinus abies*, spruce’; [=] Fi. *kuusi*, [=] Ko. *kooz*; [= U] UEW 222, GB 78, SSA1 460. [= кож]
- koti* [коти] ‘cat’; [< Ru.] Sav. 101. –
- kučkäž* [кучкыж] ‘eagle’; [=] Fi. *kotka*, [=] Ko. *kuč*; [= FP] UEW 668, GB 94, SSA1 412. [= куткыж]
- kudə* [куды] ‘house’, *kudəškə* ‘home (illat.)’; [=] Fi. *kota*, *koti*; [= FU] 190, GB 85, SSA1 411. [= кудо]
- kugižä* [кугижä] ‘ruler, czar’, [*kugi* ‘big’ (see *kogo* above) + -žä ‘king, ruler’] [? < Iran.] Joki 319. [= кугыжа]

kuχšə [күкшы] 'dry'; [=] Ko. *kos*; [≠] Fi. *kuiva*; [= VP] UEW 670, GB 87. [= күкшо]

kuχšə gedčə [күкшыгечы] 'Saturday'. [= күкшыгече]

kuku [күкү] 'cuckoo'. [= күкү]

kup [куп] 'bog'; [≠] Fi. *korpi*. [= куп]

kurtnəž [курныж] 'raven'; [=] Ko. *kyrniš*, [=] Fi. *kaarnet*; [= U] UEW 228, GB 91, SSA1 266. [= курныж]

kuškam [кушкам] 'I grow'; [≠] Fi. *kasvan*; caus. *kuštem* [куштем] 'I raise'; [≠] Fi. *kasvatan*; SSA1 326, UEW 129. [= кушкам, куштем]

kuštem [куштем] 'I dance', dim. *kuštaltē* [кушталтем]; [?= FW] UEW 672, GB 92, SSA1 310. [= куштем, кушталтем]

kuštəlgə [куштылгы] 'light'. [= куштылго]

kuštəltē [куштылтем] 'I lighten'. –

*kuzem*²¹⁴ [кузем] 'I rise', caus. *kuzəktē* [кузыктем]; [= V] GB 102. [= күзем, күзыктем]

kužə [кужы] 'long', *kužəžə* [кужыжы] 'length'; [=] Ko. *kuzj*, [≠] Saa. *kukkes*; [= VS] UEW 180, GB 98. [= кужу]

kužəner [кужынер] 'mosquito [lit. long nose]'. [= кужу-нер]

kykšə [күкшы] 'high', *kykšəžə* [күкшыжы] 'height'. [= күкшө]

kyäm [күәм] 'I ripen, I get cooked'; [≠] Fi. *kypsyä*, [≠] Ko. *kisma*; caus. *kyəštäm* [күэштәм] 'I fry'; [≠] Fi. *kypsytän*; [?= U] UEW 143, GB 98. [= күәм, күэштам]

*kyn*²¹⁵ (*kyyn*) [күн] 'ripe, mature'; cf. [≠] Fi. *kypsi*; [?= U] UEW 143, GB 98, SSA1 338. [= күн]

214 This correct form is found in the Swedish manuscript (in EGT *kužem*).

215 This is the third person singular form of the preceding verb *kyäm* 'I ripen' in the second preterite (and identical with the affirmative instructive gerund).

216 Castrén's forms are not found in present-day Hill Mari, so they have no corresponding forms in the modern orthography. Furthermore, there is a difference in conjugation: Castrén's verb belongs to the 1st conjugation, whereas the modern verb follows the 2nd conjugation.

kysem [күсем] 'I borrow', dim. *kysälem* [күсбӧлем]; [*< Chuv.*] R1 152. –

kysä [күсбӧ] 'loan, debt'; [*< Chuv.*] R1 152. –

куу [кӱ] 'stone'; [=] Fi. *kivi*; *təlgуу* [тылгӱ] 'flint [lit. fire stone]'; [= FU] UEW163, GB 98, SSA1 378. [= кӱ, тулгӱ]

käcem [кӱцем] 'I ask', dem. *käčäläm* [кӱчӧләм] 'I search'; [≠] Fi. *kysyn*, *kyselen*; [= VU] UEW 145, GB 54. [= кӱчам]

kädäl [кӱдӧл] 'waist (поясница)'; [= VU] UEW 163, GB 54. [= кыдал]

kädč [кӱч] 'nail', [=] Ko. *kyzj*, [=] Fi. *kynsi*; [= FU] UEW 157, GB 99, SSA1 464. [= кӱч]

kädär [кӱдӧр] 'Tetrao, black grouse'; [≠ FU] UEW 231, GB 99. [= кӱдыр]

kädär or *kädäržä* [хӱдӧртӧш] 'thunder', *kädärteš* [хӱдӧртӧ] 'it is thundering'.²¹⁶ [= кӱдырчӧ, кӱдырта]

käl [кӱл] 'string, chord'; [≠] Fi. *kieli*; [≠] Tat.; [≠ FU] UEW 135, GB 55 ~ [*< Tat.*] R2 37. [= кыл]

känje [кӱне] 'cannabis'; [= MP *< Iran.*] UEW 651, GB 58. [= кыне]

känjäläm [кӱнӧбӧләм] 'I get up', caus. *känjältem* [кӱнӧбӧлтем] 'I wake sb. up'. [= кынелам, кынелтем]

käpcäk [кӱпцӧк] 'cushion'; [*< Tat.*] R2 43. [= кӱпчык]

kärtnjä [кӱртни] 'iron'; [=] Ko. *kört*; [= VP *< Iran.*] UEW 653, GB 102, Joki 273. [= кӱртнӧ]

käräš [кӱрбӧш] 'Perca cernua, ruffe'; [≠] Ru. –

käškem [кӱшкем] 'I throw'; [=] Ko. *kišta*, [≠] Fi. *viskaan*; [= FP] UEW 667, GB 62. [= кышкем]

käškäläm [кӱшкӧләм] 'I pour'; [=] Ko. *kištala*. [= кышкалам]

- käškä* [кышкы] 'snake'; [≠] Ru. *кишка*; [?= U] UEW 154, GB 64. [= кишке]
- käzä* [кызы] 'knife'; [≠] Fi. *veitsi*; [= VU] UEW 142, GB 103. [= кызö]
- käžgä* [кыжгы] 'thick, dense', *käžgäžä* [кыжгыжы] 'thickness'; [=] Ko. *kyz*, [=] Saa. *kassok*, *kassa*; [= FU] UEW 161, GB 103. [= кыжгö]
- kätäk* or *kätäk* [кытык] 'short'; [≠] Tat. [= кычык]
- kätem* [кытем] 'I tend', *kätözä* [кытöзы] 'shepherd'; [≠] Fi. *kaitsen*; [< Tat.] R2 44. [= кытем, кытöчö]
- kädašam* [кыдашам] 'I undress myself'; [= VU] UEW 165, GB 84. [= кудашам]
- kädčem* [кычем] 'I catch, I hold on to'; [≠] Ko. *kuta*; [= FW] UEW 667, GB 82. [= кычем]
- kəmalam* [кымалам] 'I bow' ['I pray (bowing down)']; [=] Fi. *kumarran*; [= U] UEW 201, GB 89, SSA1 434, 435. [= кумалам]
- kəmda* [кымда] 'broad, wide'; [= FU] UEW 203, GB 88. [= кумда]
- kəməš* [кымыж] 'birchbark'; [?= U] GB 71, UEW 121. [= кумыж]
- kəralam* [кыралам] 'I plough', [≠] Ko. *kara* 'I work'; [?= VU] UEW 221, GB 90. [= куралам]
- kərgəšam* [кыргыжам] 'I run', dim. *kərgəštalām* [кыргыжталам], cf. [?=] Fi. *karkailen*; [= FV] UEW 672, GB 92, SSA1 310. [= куржам, куржталам]
- kərək* [кырык] 'mountain, hill'; [?=] Fi. *korkia*; [?= FV] UEW 672, 677, GB 90, SSA1 403. [= курык]
- kəraska* [кырская] 'son-in-law' ['brother-in-law']; [< Chuv.] R1 151. [= курская]
- kəškedäm* [кышкедäm] 'I tear; I skin'; [= VP] UEW 641, GB 93, SSA1 327. [= кушкедам]

- 217 This correct form is found in the Swedish manuscript (in EGT *koškožam*).

kəškəžam [кышкыжам] 'I ride (a horse)'. [= кушкыжам]
*kəškəžmə*²¹⁷ [кышкыжмы] 'Tuesday'. [= кушкыжмо]
kətkə [кыткы] 'ant'; [= FP] UEW 678, GB 94. [= кутко]

L

laap [лап] 'low, flat'; [=] Saa. *lapta*, Ko. *lɔpkyd*; [?= U] UEW 237, SSA2 48 ~ [< Chuv. < Udm.] GB 107. [= лап]
laksak [лаккак] 'hole, hollow'; [?= FV] UEW 683 ~ [< Chuv.] GB 105. –
lapa [лапа] 'palm, paw'; [< Ru.] Sav. 102. –
lašəš [лашаш] 'flour'. [= ложкаш]
laval [лавал] 'Cyprinus, bream'; [≠] Fi. *lahna*. [= ловал]
läktäm [лэктäm] 'I leave'; [=] Fi. *lähden*; [= FU] UEW 239, GB 109, SSA2 122. [= лектам]
lävrä [лэврä] 'dirt'; [?< Chuv.] Fed. 94, R1 250. [= лавра]
lävärtem [лэвэртэм] 'I dirty, I stain'; [?< Chuv.] Fed. 94, R1 250. [= лавыртэм]
lebäž [левäш] 'roof'; [= FU] UEW 241, GB 110. [= леваш]
lebedäm [леведäm] 'I cover'; cf. [≠] Fi. *levitän*; [= FU] UEW 241, GB 110. [= леведам]
lebkä [лепкä] 'forehead'. –
lelä [лелä] 'heavy'; [=] Fi. *läylä* 'hard'; [= FV] UEW 243, GB 157, SSA2 129. [= неле]
lem [лем] 'soup'; [=] Fi. *liemi*; [= FU] UEW 245, GB 109, SSA2 70. [= лем]
livem [ливем] 'I melt', (see *šəlem*, *šäränem*), caus. *liväktäm*; cf. [≠] Fi. *livet*; [?= FU] UEW 246, GB 111. [= левем, левыктэм]

lo [ло] 'space between something', (see *pokšal*); [= FV] UEW 692, GB 116, SSA2 90. –

loem [лоэм] 'I grasp, I seize'; [< Ru.] Sav. 102. –

logalam [логалам] 'I butt with horns (once)'; [≠] Ko. *lukala*; [= onom.] GB 117, UEW 66. [= логалам]

loger [логер] 'throat'. [= логар]

loktem [локтем] 'I bewitch', *loktəzə* [ЛОКТЫЗЫ] 'sorcerer'. [= ЛОКТЕМ, ЛОКТЫЗО]

lombə [ЛОМБЫ]²¹⁸ 'Prunus padus, bird cherry'; [≠] Fi. *lemmenpuu*; [= U] UEW 65, GB 118, SSA3 329. [= ЛОМБО]

loməž [ЛОМЫЖ] 'ash'; [?= VU] UEW 250, GB 119. [= ЛОМЫЖ]

lu (*luu*) [лу] 'bone'; [=] Fi. *luu*, [=] Ko. *ly*; [= U] UEW 254, GB 121, SSA2 114. [= лу]

luudə [луды] 'grey'. [= лудо]

lydäm [лүдәм] 'I am afraid', caus. *lydäktēm* [лүдәктем] 'I frighten'. [= лүдам, лүдыктем]

lyjem (*lyem*) [лүэм] 'I shoot'; [=] Ko. *lyja*, cf. [=] Fi. *lyön* 'I hit'; [= FU] UEW 247, GB 128, SSA2 121. [= лүем]

lylpä [лүлпә] 'Betula alnus, alder'; [≠] Fi. *leppä*. [= нөлпө]

lyltem [лүлтем] 'I lift' ['I rise (of the sun)']²¹⁹. [= нөлтем]

läm [ләм] 'name'; [=] Fi. *nimi*, [=] Ko. *nim*; *lämtämä*²²⁰ [ЛӘМТӘМӘ] 'nameless', [=] Fi. *nimitöin*; [= U] UEW 305, GB 129, SSA2 222. [= лүм, лүмдымө]

lämdem [ләмдем] 'I call, I name'; dim.-caus. *lämdältem* [ЛӘМДӘЛТЕМ]. [= лүмдем, –]

läpə [ләпә] 'butterfly'; [=] Saa. *lablok*; [?= U] UEW 259, GB 113, SSA2 74. [= лыве]

218 Originally a compound: *lom* 'bird cherry' + *pu* 'tree'.

219 The verbal stem *lylt(ä)*- appears in both conjugations: *lyltäm* 'I rise' and *lyltem* 'I lift'. In EGT the transitive verb has incorrectly been translated as the reflexive one.

220 In EGT a misprint (*limderna*). The correct form is found in the Swedish manuscript.

- 221 The correct form is found in the Swedish manuscript (in EGT *miiz*).

lǝštǝš or *ǝlǝštǝš* [Ылыштǝш] ‘leaf’; [=] Fi. *lehti*; [= FW] UEW 689, GB 112, SSA2 58. [= лышташ]
lǝdam [лыдам] ‘I read, I count’; [=] Fi. *luen*; [= FU] 253, GB 121, SSA2 100. [= лудам]
lǝdǝ [лыды] ‘Anas, duck (утка)’; [?= FU] UEW 254, GB 123, SSA2 80. [= лудо]
lǝktam [лыктам] ‘I carry off’. [= луктам]
lǝm [лым] ‘snow’; [=] Fi. *lumi*, [=] Ko. *lym*; [= U] SSA2 102, UEW 253, GB 125. [= лум]

M

maarǝ [мары] ‘Mari’; [< Aryan] Joki 280. [= марий]
madam [мадам] ‘I play’. [= модам]
matǝk [мамык] ‘feather’; [=] Tat.; [< Tat.] R2 45. [= мамык]
manam [манам] ‘I speak’; GB 136. [= манам]
manar [манар] ‘whetstone’. [= монар]
mardež [мардеж] ‘wind’. [= мардеж]
meǝgǝrem [мǝгǝрем] ‘I cry’; [?< Chuv.] R1 253, Fed. 95. [= магырем]
men (*meen*) [мен] ‘Gadus lota, burbot’; [≠] Fi. *mae*. –
miem [миэм] ‘I come’; [=] Fi. *menen*; [= U] UEW 272, GB 141, SSA2 159. [= мием]
miž (*miiz*)²²¹ [миж] ‘wool’; [= VP < Iran.] Joki 285, UEW 703, GB 138. [= меж]
moam [моам] ‘I find’; [= FU] UEW 284, GB 147, SSA2 174. [= муам]
moχš [мокш] ‘liver’; [=] Fi. *maksa*, [=] Ko. *mus*; [= U] UEW 264, GB 144, SSA2 142. [= мокш]
motoca [момоца] ‘sauna’; [≠] Ru., [?=] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 154. [= монча]

- mondem* [мондем] 'I forget'; cf. [≠] Fi. *menetän*; [< Chuv.] R1 154, Fed. 95. [= мондем]
- moren* [морен] 'Lepus borealis, hare'. [= меран]
- möör* [мөр] 'berry'; [=] Saa. *muorje* (*myörje*), [=] Fi. *marja*; [= FV] GB 147, UEW 264, SSA2 149. [= мөр]
- mörtnjä* [мөртнья] 'spawn, roe'; [= MU] UEW 295 ~ [= FV] GB 147, UEW 264, SSA2 149. [= мөртньö]
- möskä* [мөскя] 'bear'; [≠] Ko. *oš*, [≠] Fi. *ohio*. [= маска]
- mudə* [муды] 'Vaccinium myrtillus, blueberry'; [= MU] UEW 279, GB 143. [= модо]
- mužedäm* [мужедәм] 'I foretell, I predict'; [= MU] UEW 288, GB 152. [= мужедам]
- my* (*myy*) [мӱ] 'honey'; [=] Ko. *ma*, [=] Fi. *mesi*; [= FU < IE] UEW 273, GB 154, SSA2 161. [= мӱй]
- myχš* [мӱкш] 'bee'; [=] Ko. *mazy*, [≠] Fi. *mesiäinen*; [= FU < IE] UEW 271, GB 155, SSA2 156. [= мӱкш]
- myländä* (*my*) [мӱлändig] 'land'; [≠] Ko. *mi*, [=] Fi. *maa*; [≠ U] UEW 264, GB 142, SSA2 133. [= мланде]
- mänjer* [мӱнер] 'linen'. [= вынер]
- mäškär* [мӱшкӱр] 'stomach'; [= VP] UEW 703, GB 156. [= мӱшкыр]
- mäžär* [мӱжӱр] 'kaftan'. [= мыжер]
- mädčäš* [мычаш] 'end; treetop'; [= VU] UEW 283, GB 148. [= мучаш]
- mändära* [мындыра] 'ball'. [= мундыра]
- mändärtäm* [мындыртем] 'I wind'. [= мундыртем]
- mənə* [мыны] 'egg'; [=] Fi. *muna*; [= U] UEW 285, GB 150, SSA2 178. [= муно]
- mərə* [мыры] 'song', *mərem* [мырем] 'I sing'; [≠ VU] UEW 287, GB 150. [= муро, мурем]

- 222 Originally a compound: *nälän kejem* > *nängejem*.

məʃkam [мышкам] 'I wash'; [= U] UEW 289, GB 151.
[= мушкам]

məʃkəndə [мышкынды] 'fiſt'; [= VP] UEW 704, GB 151.
[= мушкындо]

məʃtem [мыштем] 'I can'; [=] Fi. *mahdan*; [= FV] UEW 265, GB 145. [= моштем]

N

naaməs [намыс] 'shame', *naaməsan* [намысан] 'shameful, miserable', *naaməstətmə* [намысдымы] 'shameless'; [< Chuv. ~ Tat.] R1 155, R2 46. [= намыс]

naarənzə [нарынзы] 'golden-yellow'; [< Tat.] R2 46.
[= нарынче]

nadčkə [начкы] 'damp, humid'; [≠] Ko. *njaʃti* 'dirt';
[= FU] UEW 311, GB 162, SSA2 202. [= ночко]

namalam [намалам] 'I carry'. [= нумалам]

näläm [нäläm] 'I take, I buy', *ädöräm näläm* [ädöräm näläm] 'I get married [lit. I take a wife]'. [= налам]

*nängejem*²²² [нängejem] 'I take along'. [= нангаем]

neläm [нелäm] 'I swallow'; [=] Fi. *nielen*; [= U] UEW 315,
GB 157, SSA2 216. [= нелам]

ner (*neer*) [нер] 'nose'; [=] Ko. *nyr*, [≠] Fi. *nenä*; [= U]
UEW 303, GB 158, SSA2 213. [= нер]

nerem [нерем] 'I fall asleep'; [= U] GB 159. [= нерем]

nezer [незер] 'poor', *nezeremäm* [незеремäm] 'I get poorer'; [< Chuv.] R1 156. [= незер]

niemär [немär] 'spelt porridge'. [= немыр]

njänem see *änjänem* [änjänem].

nörem [нөрем] 'I become wet', caus. *nörtem* [нөртем];
[?= FV] GB 164, UEW 709, SSA2 231. [= нөрем,
нөртем]

- nuš* [нуж] 'Esox lucius, pike'; GB 168. [= нуж]
nuž [нуж] 'Urtica, nettle'; GB 168. [= нуж]
nyšmă [нӱшмӓ] 'seed'. [= нӱшмӧ]
nyštäläm [нӱштӓлӓм] 'I wash myself' ['I swim']; [= FV]
 GB 40, UEW 631. [= йӱштылам]
năškă [нӱшкӓ] 'blunt'; [=] Ko. *nyž*; [= VP] UEW 708, GB
 169. [= нӱшкӧ]
năškemäm [нӱшкемӓм] 'I become blunt', caus. *năškem-*
dem [нӱшкемдем]. [= нӱшкемам, нӱшкемдем]
năžäm [нӱжӓм] 'I rub'; GB 170. [= нӱжам]
nəgadə (*nugudə*) [нӱгыды] 'dense, thick'. [= нугыдо]
nəgadəmäm [нӱгыдемӓм] 'I thicken'. [= нугыдемам]
nəlem [нӱлем] 'I lick'; [=] Fi. *nuolen*, [=] Ko. *njula*; [= U]
 UEW 321, GB 166, SSA2 239. [= нулем]
nər [нӱр] 'field'; cf. [≠] Fi. *nurmi*. [= нур]

O

- obtem₁* [оптем] 'I place' (кладу)', (see *pištem*); GB 176,
 UEW 5. [= оптем]
obtem₂ [оптем] 'I bark'; [= FU] UEW 14, GB 176. [= оп-
 тем]
obtəš [оптыш] 'trap'; GB 176, UEW 5. [= опыш]
oxra [охыра] 'Allium, onion'. –
ojxə [ойхы] 'sorrow'; [< Chuv.] R1 159. [= ойго]
ojxərem [ойхырем] 'I mourn'; [< Chuv.] R1 159. [= ой-
 гырем]
oksa [окса] 'money'; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 159. [= окса]
olja [оля] 'meat'; [≠] Fi. *liha*; [< Chuv.] R1 160. –
olm [олым] 'straw'; [≠] Fi. *olki*; [?< Chuv.] R1 162.
 [= олым]

- olma* [олма] ‘apple’; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 162. [= олма]
- olmanga* [олманга] ‘bench’. [= олмонга]
- olmāktēm* [олмыктем] ‘I repair, I put right’. [= олмыктем]
- oltem* [олтем] ‘I heat’, cf. *jālatēm* [йылатем] ‘I set fire to’; [< Chuv.] R1 163. [= олтем]
- om* (*oom*) [ом] ‘sleep’; [≠] Fi. *uni*; [= VU] UEW 335, GB 172. [= омо]
- omeštām* [омештām] ‘I yawn’; [= VU] UEW 335, GB 172. –
- ong* [онг] ‘breast’; [< Chuv.] R1 166. [= онг]
- onjaka* [оняка] ‘husband’s older sister’; [< Chuv.] R1 166. –
- onəškä* [оньыска] ‘father-in-law’; [< Chuv.] R1 166. [= оньыска]
- orodə* [ороды] ‘fool’. [= ораде]
- orolem* [оролем] ‘I guard (каракулю)’; [< Chuv.] R1 170. [= оролем]
- ošə* [ошы] ‘white’; [≠] Ko. *jedžyd*; [?= FU] UEW 3, GB 178, SSA1 124. [= ошо]
- ošemäm* [ошемäm] ‘I become white’, caus. *ošemdem* [ошемдем]; [?= FU] UEW 3, GB 178, SSA1 124. [= ошемам, ошемдем]
- ošta* [ошма] ‘sand’, *ošman* [ошман] ‘sandy’. [= ошма, ошман]
- ožə* [ожы] ‘stallion’; [= MP] UEW 607, GB 179. [= ожо]
- otə* [оты] ‘island’ [‘small grove’]; [< Chuv.] R1 172. [= ото]
- ovəška* [овышка] ‘bridegroom’; [< Chuv.] R1 157. –

Ö

ördäž [өрдѣж] 'side, flank' (бокъ); [= FP] GB 16, UEW 625. [= өрдыж]

örkänem [өркәнем] 'I laze'; [< Chuv.] R1 169. [= өрка-нем]

örtñjel (*örtñjer*) [өртнел, өртнер] 'saddle'; [< Chuv.] R1 170. [= өртньör]

P

paatəl [патыл] 'cream'. –

padč [пач] 'tail; late'; [=] Ko. *böž*; [= MU] UEW 353, GB 190. [= поч]

padčam [пачам] 'I open', dim. *padčalam* [пачалам]; [= FU] UEW 352, GB 191. [= почам]

pai [пай] 'part', *pajəlem* [пайылем] 'I divide'; [=] Ru., [=] Tat.²²³ [< Tat.] R2 49. [= пай]

pajan [паян] 'rich', *pajem* [паем] 'I get rich'; [< Chuv.] R1 178. [= поян, поем]

palšem [палшем] 'I help'; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 180. [= полшем]

pandaš [пандаш] 'beard'; [≠] Fi. *parta*. [= пондаш]

pandə [панды] 'stick'; [= FP] UEW 734, GB 193, SSAz 394. [= понды]

paremäm [паремәм] 'I recover, I get better'; [=] Fi. *paranen*, [=] Saa. *buorranam*, [=] Ko. *burda*; caus. *parem-dem* [паремдем]; [= FP] UEW 724, GB 195, SSAz 313. [= поремам, поремдем]

parnja [парня] 'finger'; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 175. [= парня]

partəš [партыш] 'felted cloth'. [= портыш]

223 According to R2 49 *paj* has been borrowed to both Russian and Mari from Tatar.

- 224 The correct form is found in the Swedish manuscript (in EGT *pistem*).
- 225 The etymology concerns the first part of the compound *ниж-*.

paslæk [паслык] 'halter made of bašt'; [< Tat.] R2 51. –

paškudə [пашкуды] 'neighbour'; [< Chuv.] R1 181.
[= пошкудо]

pat [пад] 'pot'; [= FU] UEW 358, GB 196, SSA2 322.
[= под]

patja [патия] 'lamb'. [= пача]

pälä [пälä] 'sign', *pälem* [пәлем] 'I notice' ['I know'];
[≠ Tat.; < Chuv.] R1 147. [= палем]

pärem [пәрем] 'I hit'; [< Tat.] Is. 116, R2 88. [= перем]

päšä [пәшә] 'action' ['work']; [≠ Fi. *arja*; [= MP] UEW
725. [= паша]

peleştem [пелештем] 'whisper' ['I say']. [= пелештем]

pelä (*peelä*) [пел] 'half'; [=] Saa. *bæle*, [≠ Fi. *puoli*; [= U]
UEW 362, GB 181, SSA2 347. [= пеле]

pi (*pii*) [пи] 'dog'; [=] Fi. *penu*, [=] *bæn*, [=] Ko. *pon*; [= FP]
UEW 371, GB 188, SSA2 335. [= пий]

piäl [пиäl] 'fortune', *piälän* [пиälän] 'happy'; [< Chuv.]
R1 176. [= пиал]

pigär [пигär] 'dish'; [≠ Fi. *pikari*. –

piirä [пирä] 'wolf'; [=] [< Tat.] R2 53. [= пире]

pik (*piik*) 'spear'; [< Ru.] Sav. 109. [= пике]

pingädä [пингäдä] 'stingy'; [= FM] UEW 731, GB 184,
SSA2 368. [= пенгыде]

pištä [пистä] 'Tilia europæa, lime'; [= FV] UEW 726, GB
189. [= писте]

*pištem*²²⁴ [пиштем] 'I put'; [=] Fi. *pištän* 'I put'; [= FV]
UEW 733, GB 186, SSA2 376. [= пыштем]

pižgom [пижгом] 'sleeve' ['mitten']; [= MU]²²⁵ UEW
376, GB 189. [= пижгом]

pitärem [питӱрем] 'I shut, I close' (see *čyčäm*); [< Chuv.] R1 176. [= петырем]

podəlam [подылам] 'I eat with a spoon' ['I slurp']. [= подылам]

pogem [погем] 'I collect'; [< Chuv.] R1 178, Fed. 107. [= погем]

pokšal [покшал] 'centre, middle'. [= покшел]

poktem [поктем] 'I chase'; [= MS] UEW 402, GB 192. [= поктем]

*porəmə*²²⁶ [попем] 'I speak'; [< Chuv.] R1 258, Fed. 106. –
potikä [потикӱ] 'omen; amusement'. –

*pödčəž*²²⁷ [пӱчӱж] 'Vaccinium oxycoccos, cranberry'. [= пӱчыж]

pöken [пӱкен] 'chair'. [= пӱкен]

pört [пӱрт] 'house, hut'; [≠] Ko. *gort*; [< Ru.] SSA2 374. [= пӱрт]

*pörəž*²²⁸ [пӱрӱж] 'husband's younger brother'. [= пӱрыж]

praχem [пырахем] 'I cease, I interrupt'; [< Chuv.] R1 182. –

prežä or *pärezä* [презӱ, пӱрезӱ] 'calf'; [< Chuv.] R1 176, Fed. 101. [= презе]

pu (*puu*) [пу] 'tree, wood'; [=] Fi. *puu*, [=] Ko. *pu*; [= U] UEW 410, GB 198, SSA2 443. [= пу]

pualam [пуалам] 'I swell; I blow';²²⁹ cf. [≠] Fi. *puhallan*; [= VS] UEW 411, GB 199. [= пуалам]

pučə [пучы] 'reindeer'; [=] Saa. *poacco*; [= FU] UEW 387, GB 208. [= пӱчӱ]

puet [пуэм] 'I give'. [= пуэм]

226 The correct form is found in the Swedish manuscript (in EGT *popom*).

227 The correct form is found in the Swedish manuscript (in EGT *pödčez*).

228 The correct form is found in the Swedish manuscript (in EGT *pöresš*) as well as the precise translation.

229 Mari has two verbs that are considered homonyms: *pualam* 'I swell' of unknown origin and *pualam* 'I blow' of Uralic origin. Castrén has considered them as one.

230 The (disputed) etymology concerns the second part of the compound *-шӓнгӓ*.

231 The form given by Castrén is not found in modern Hill Mari; instead, other derivations (*пӓцкемӓш*, *пӓцкӓтӓ*) with the same meaning are used.

pukšem [пукшем] ‘I feed’. [= пукшем]

puləš [пулыш] ‘shoulder’; [= VP] UEW 734, GB 200.
[= пулыш]

pura [пура] ‘case for grain’; [≠] Fi. *purnu*; [< Tat.] R2 55.
[= пура]

pura [пуры] ‘good’; [=] Ko. *bur*, [=] Saa. *buorre*, (cf. [=] Fi. *paras* ‘best’); [= FP] UEW 724, GB 195, SSA2 314.
[= поро]

pušängä [пушӓнгӓ] ‘tree’ (see *pu*); [≠ FV]²³⁰ UEW 756, GB 222, SSA3 239. [= пушенге]

puštam [пуштам] ‘I kill’. [= пуштам]

puštə [пушты] ‘porridge cooked of grains’; [≠] Ru..
[= пушто]

py (*pyu*) [пӓ] ‘tooth’; [=] Ko. *pinj*, [=] Saa. *pane*; [= FU] UEW 382, GB 210, SSA2 352. [= пӓй]

pyergä [пӓэргӓ] ‘man’ (*ergä* ‘son’); [= FU] UEW 84, 390, GB 17, 207, SSA2 385, SSA3 493. –

pygä [пӓгӓ] ‘arc, curved object’; [< Chuv.] R1 183.
[= пӓгӓ]

pyχš [пӓкш] ‘nut’; [=] Fi. *pähkinä*; [= FP] UEW 726, GB 210, SSA2 455. [= пӓкш]

päčkäm [пӓчкӓм] ‘I cut’; [= U] UEW 367, GB 208. [= пӓчкӓм]

päčkemeš [пӓцкемеш] ‘it is darkening’. –

*päčkädä*²³¹ ‘dark’. –

päl [пӓл] ‘cloud’; [=] Fi. *pilvi*; *pälän* [пӓлӓн] ‘cloudy’;
[= FU] UEW 381, GB 185, SSA2 367. [= пӓл]

päläš [пӓлӓш] ‘ear’; [=] Ko. *pelj*, [=] Saa. *bælje*; *päläštämä* [пӓлӓшдӓмӓ] ‘deaf’; [= FU] UEW 370, GB 185.
[= пылыш, пылышдыме]

- päsä* [пӱсӱ] ‘sharp’; (cf. [≠] Fi. *pištän*); [< Chuv.] R1 184. [= пӱсӱ]²³²
- päsälmä* [пӱзӱлмӱ] ‘*Sorbus aucuparia*, rowan’; [=] Fi. *pihlaja*; [= FU] UEW 376, GB 186, SSA2 351. [= пызле]
- päžäž* [пӱжӱш] ‘nest’; [=] Fi. *pesä*, [=] Saa. *bässe*, [=] Ko. *poz*; [= U] UEW 375, GB 187, SSA2 343. [= пыжаш]
- pätärem* [пӱтӱрем] ‘I finish’; [=] [< Tat.] R2 58. [= пытарем]
- päda* [пыда] ‘nail’; [< Chuv.] R1 182. [= пуда]
- pädärgem* [пыдыргем] ‘I break down’, caus. *pädärtäm* [пыдыртӱм]. [= пудыргем, пудыртӱм]
- pälvui* [пылвуй] ‘knee’; [=] Fi. *polvi*; [= U] UEW 393, GB 199, SSA2 392.²³³ [= пулвуй]
- pən* [пын] ‘feather’; [≠] Fi. *kynä*; [= FU] UEW 402, GB 200, SSA2 426. [= пун]
- pärem* [пырем] ‘I enter’; [=] Ko. *pyra*, [≠] Fi. *pyrin*; caus. *pärtem* [пыртӱм]; [=] Ko. *pyrta*; [= FP] UEW 408, GB 202. [= пурем, пуртӱм]
- pärälam* [пырылам] ‘I bite’; [=] Fi. *puren*; [= U] UEW 405, GB 202, SSA2 437. [= пурлам]
- päš₁* [пыш] ‘boat’; [=] Ko. *pyž*; [= MP] UEW 398, GB 205. [= пуш]
- päš₂* [пыш] ‘stink’ (see *ypš*); [< Chuv.] R1 185. [= пуш]
- päškädä* [пышкыды] ‘soft’. [= пушкыдо]
- päžem* [пыжем] ‘I rip off (e.g., a lid)’; [< Tat.] R2 57. [= пужем]

- 232 In Hill Mari *nӱсӱ* has the meanings ‘sharp’ and ‘fast’. Its cognate in Meadow-Eastern Mari has produced two phonologically and semantically distinct forms, initially of dialectal origin: *nӱсӱ* ‘sharp’ and *nuce* ‘fast’.
- 233 The Mari word is a compound: *päl* ‘knee’ + *wuj* ‘head’

R

roem [роэм] ‘I cut, I chop’; [≠] Fi. *raan*; [= MU] UEW 425, GB 217. [= руэм]

rok [рок] ‘land, black soil’ (see *myländä*). [= пок]

rža [ыржа] ‘Secale cereale, rye (рожъ)’; [< Ru.] Sav. 113. [= уржа]

ruš [руш] ‘Russian’; [< Ru.] Sav. 114. [= руш]

rušärnjä [рушәрня] ‘Sunday [lit. Russian week]’. [= руш-арня]

räbžž (*läbžž*) [рйвйж] ‘fox’; [=] Fi. *repo*; [= FU < IE] UEW 423, GB 215, SSA3 65. [= рывыж]

S

saavədc [савыц] ‘scarf, cloth’; [< Chuv.] R1 210. [= шовыц]

sai ‘good, excellent’; [< Tat.] R2 58. [= сай]

sala [сала] ‘whip’; [< Chuv.] R1 194. [= сола]

sanzal [санзал] ‘salt’, *sanzalan* [санзалан] ‘salty’, caus. *sanzaltem* [санзалтем] ‘I salt’; [= FP < IE] UEW 750, GB 235, SSA3 214, Joki 316. [= шинчал, шинчалан, шинчалтем]

sarasem [сарасем] ‘I fit’; [< Chuv.] R1 197. [= сөрасем]

sarta [сарта] ‘candle, light’; [≠] Ko. *sartas*; [< Chuv.] R1 198. [= сорта]

sarvalem [сарвалем] ‘I pray, I beg’ (see *käčem*); [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 197. [= сөрвалем]

saslem [саслем] ‘I send’ [‘I shout’]; [< Chuv.] Fed. 110. –

sasna [сасна] ‘pig’; [< Chuv.] R1 199. [= сөсна]

sava [сава] ‘slap with palm’; [< Chuv.] R2 86. [= сово]

savala [савала] ‘spoon’; [< Chuv.] R1 193. [= совла]

säkem [cäkem] 'I hang (e.g. to dry)', dim.-caus. *säkältem* [cäkältem]; [< Chuv.] R1 186. [= сакем, сакалтем]
sändäläk [cändäläk] 'world'; [< Chuv.] R1 187. [= сандалык]
säp [cäp] 'bridle'; [< Chuv.] R1 188. [= сап]
särem [cärem] 'I turn', *särnäläm* [cärnäläm] id. [refl.]; [< Chuv.] R1 186. [= савырем, савырналам]
sedärä [седырä] 'floor'. –
selmä [селmä] 'frying pan, pot'; [< Chuv.] R1 186. [= салма]
sermäc [сермыц] 'bridle'; [=] Ko. *sermäd*²³⁴. [= шөрмыц]
sevem [севем] 'I hit' (see *pärem*); [< Chuv.] R2 86. [= савем]
*sir*²³⁵ [сир] 'shore, bank'; [≠] Fi. *syrjä*; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 191. [= сеп]
sirem [сирем] 'I write' (cf. [≠] Ko. *ser* 'multicolour' and *seredla* 'I embroider'), frequ. *sirkälem* [сиркәлем], dim.-caus. *sirältem* [сирälтем]; [< Chuv.] R1 191. [= серем, серкалем, сералтем]
sirämäš [сирмаш] 'letter'; [< Chuv.] R1 191. [= серымаш]
sitä [ситä] 'enough'; [< Chuv.] R1 193. [= сита]
*skal*²³⁶ 'weighing pan (scales)'. –
sola [сола] 'village (село)'; [< Ru.] Sav. 115. –
sotä [соты] 'light, bright'; cf. [≠] Ko. *sota* 'I burn', [≠] Fi. *sytyn*; [< Chuv.] R1 203. –
sotemäm [сотемäm] 'I shine', caus. *sotemdem* [сотемдем]; [< Chuv.] R1 203. –
sörem [сöрем] 'I want' ['I promise']; [< Chuv.] R1 197. [= сöрем]
sra [сыра] 'beer'; [≠] Ko. *sur*, [=] Tat. *sra*; [< Tat.] R2 63. [= сыра]

- 234 See Lytkin – Guljaev 1999: 251.
 235 There is a misprint in EGT: instead of *sir* we find *ir* on page 61. According to the Swedish manuscript there is no *ir*. Due to this misprint EGT has both *ir* and *sir* (p. 70), although the former does not exist in the language.
 236 The correct form of this word is uncertain, since it is not found in any other written sources.

- 237 A misprint in EGT (*sunc*). The correct form is found in the Swedish manuscript.
- 238 In EGT the word-initial consonant is *š* – although alphabetized as *s*. In the Swedish manuscript the initial consonant is correctly *s*.
- 239 In the Swedish manuscript the initial consonant is *s*.
- 240 This verb is missing in EGT, although it exists in the Swedish manuscript. Both verbs have an initial *š* in EGT, but in the manuscript *s*. In Hill Mari dialects, both variants occur.

suk [сук] ‘sacrificial offering’; [< Chuv.] R1 201. [= сук]
sukər [сыкыр] ‘bread’; [< Chuv.] R1 202. [= суқыр]
sulək [сулык] ‘sin’; [< Chuv.] R1 202. [= сулык]
*susu*²³⁷ [сусу] ‘cheerful’. –
syän [сүән] ‘wedding’. [= сүән]
syk [сүк] ‘garbage’, *kol syk* [кол сүк] ‘fish scale’. [= шүк]
səgərem [сёгёрем] ‘I shout’; [?< Chuv.] R1 262. [= сигырем]
*sänzä*²³⁸ [сёнзä] ‘eye’; [=] Ko. *sin*, [=] Fi. *silmä*; *sänzädäm*
 [сёнзäдём] ‘blind’; [= U] UEW 479, GB 234, SSA3 181. [= шинча]
*sänzem*²³⁹ [сёнзем] ‘I know, I remember’. [= шинчем]
*sänzem*₂ [шёнзем] ‘I sit’, *sänzäm*²⁴⁰ [шёнзäm] ‘I sit down’; [= FU] UEW 431, GB 236, SSA3 164. [= шинчем, шинчам]
səravadč [сыравач] ‘key, lock’; [< Chuv.] R1 203. [= сравоч]

Š

šaarək [шарык] ‘sheep’; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 213. [= шорык]
šaarəktam [шарыктам] ‘I cry’ [‘I frighten’]. [= шортам]
šaavənj [шавынь] ‘soap’; [≠] Fi. *saipua*; [< Chuv.] R1 200. [= шовын]
šaavər [шавыр] ‘(women’s) short linen kaftan’; [< Chuv.] R1 209. [= шовыр]
šadčam [шачам] ‘I grow up’ [‘I am born’]; [= VS] UEW 52, GB 237. [= шочам]
šadčmə [шачмы] ‘Monday’; [= VS] UEW 52, GB 237. [= шочмо]
šaga [шара] ‘plough (coxa)’; [< Chuv.] R1 210. [= шора]

- šagalam* [шагалам] ‘I get up’, caus. *šagaltem* [шагалтем]; [= MU] UEW 431, GB 239. [= шогалам, шогалтем]
- šagarten* [шагыртен] ‘Pica, magpie’. [= шогертен]
- šaištam* [шайыштам] ‘I speak’; [≠] Fi. *haaſtan*; [< Chuv.] R1 210. [= шойыштам]
- šaja* [шая] ‘talk’; [< Chuv.] R1 210. [= шоя]
- šaja gareṃ* [шаягарем] ‘neck’ (from [≠] Ru. *шея* and *kareṃ*); [< Chuv.] R1 210 + [= FU] GB 74, UEW 221. [= шоягорем]
- šaptar* [шаптыр] ‘Ribes, currant’; [= MP] UEW 751, GB 246. [= шоптыр]
- šapə* [шапы] ‘sour’; [=] Fi. *hapan*; [= FU] UEW 54, GB 245, SSA1 140. [= шопо]
- šardə* [шарды] ‘Cervus alces, elk’; [= VS] UEW 464; GB 247. [= шордо]
- šaršə* [шаршы] ‘berries of Viburnum opulus, European cranberry bush’, *šaršə pu* [шаршыванды] ‘European cranberry bush’. –
- šädängə* [шәдәнгы] ‘Triticum, wheat’; [= MU] UEW 496, GB 227. [= шыдаң]
- šär* [шәр] ‘tendon’ [‘blood vessel’]; [= MU] UEW 437, GB 226. [= шер]
- šärem* [шәрем] ‘I make the bed’; [< Chuv.] R1 206. [= ша-рем]
- šäχš* [шәкш] ‘gall’. [= шекш]
- šeklänem* [шекләнем] ‘I watch out’; [< Tat.] R2 63. [= шекланем]
- šel* (*šeel*) [шел] ‘fat’, *šelän* [шелән] ‘fatty’; [?= U] SSA3 180, UEW 758, GB 223. [= шел]
- šeläm* [шеләм] ‘I split’; [= FU] UEW 470, GB 223, SSA3 238. [= шелам]

241 In EGT *šidä*. This form is not found in other literary sources.

242 A misprint in EGT (*šokse*). The correct form is found in the Swedish manuscript.

šenik [шенъйк] ‘fork’; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 205.
[= шанъйк]

šer [шер] ‘beads’. [= шер]

šerge [шерге] ‘comb’; [= VP] UEW 757, GB 226. [= шерге]

šergä [шergy] ‘expensive’. [= шерге]

šeškä [шешкы] ‘daughter-in-law’; (cf. [≠] Fi. *sisko* ‘sister’). [= шешке]

šiäm [шиäm] ‘I beat’. [= шиям]

*šidä*²⁴¹ [ши, шыя] ‘heartwood’ [‘growth ring’], (see *ärdä*); [= U] UEW 443, GB 233, SSA3 233. [= ший]

šidem [шидем] ‘I forge’. –

šigol [шигол] ‘*Salmo salar*, salmon’ [‘Wels catfish’] (silver fish). [= шийгол]

šii [ши] ‘silver’. [= ший]

šimbadž [шимпач] ‘*Mustela erminea*, stoat’ [lit. black tail]. –

šimä [шимы] ‘black’; [≠] Fi. *himiä* ‘dim’; [= MP] UEW 758, GB 224. [= шеме]

šin (*šiin*) [шин] ‘*Fomes*, tinder fungus’; [= FU] UEW 494, GB 225, SSA3 173. [= шен]

širem [ширем] ‘I harrow the field’; [< Chuv.] R1 217.
[= шүрем]

šižäm [шижäm] ‘I wake up’; [< Tat.] R2 64. [= шижам]

škal [ышкал] ‘cow’; [= MP] UEW 805. [= ушкал]

šma or *šmaraž* [ышма, ышмараж] ‘mouth’. [= умша]

šoam [шоам] ‘I come’ (see *pærem*), caus. *šoktem* [шоктем]; [= FP] UEW 429, GB 250, SSA3 137. [= шуам, шуктем]

šodä [шоды] ‘lungs’; [= FV] UEW 754, GB 238. [= шодо]

šoe [шоэ] ‘scarce’. [= шуэ]

*šokšä*²⁴² [шокшы] ‘warm’. [= шокшо]

- šokšemdem* [шокшемдем] 'I warm up'. [= шокшемдем]
šol [шол] 'intestine'; [= FU] UEW 483, GB 243, SSA3 215.
 [= шоло]
šolja [шолья] 'younger brother'; [< Chuv.] R1 211. [= шольо]
šoltem [шолтем] 'I boil'. [= шолтем]
šola [шолы] 'thief'; cf. [=] Fi. *sala* 'secret'; [= U] UEW 430, GB 241, SSA3 146. –
šolaštam (*šolštam*) [шолыштам] 'I rob'; [= U] UEW 430, GB 241, SSA3 146. [= шолыштам]
šong [шонг] 'foam'; [= V] UEW 621, GB 244. [= шонг]
šongə [шонгы] 'old'; [= MU] UEW 448, GB 244. [= шонго]
šoša [шошым] 'spring'. [= шошо]
šož [шож] 'Hordeum, barley'; [= VP] UEW 622, GB 248.
 [= шож]
šörtnjä [шөртньй] 'gold'; [=] Ko. *zarny*; [< Iran.] Joki 250.
šträš [бштырәш] 'woollen cloth'; [?= MP] GB 18, UEW 827. [= ыштыраш]
*štövär*²⁴³ 'pelvis'. –
šudə [шуды] 'gras'. [= шудо]
šuem [шуэм] 'I throw'; [≠] Fi. *syu'än*, [=] Ko. *šybita*; [?= MP] UEW 777. [= шуэм]
šukš [шукш] 'worm'; [= FV] UEW 764, GB 254. [= шукш]
šuka [шукы] 'much, many'; [=] Ko. *suk*, [=] Fi. *sakia* 'dense'; [= FP] UEW 750, SSA3 145, GB 254. [= шуко]
šulam [шулам] 'I cut'. [= шулам]
šulda [шулды] 'cheap'; [≠] Fi. *halpa*. [= шулдо]
šun [шун] 'clay'; [= FU] UEW 468, GB 256, SSA3 162.
 [= шун]

243 The correct form of this word is uncertain, since it is not found in any other written sources.

244 Castrén gives this and the following word as one lemma with two meanings. They are, however, two Uralic words which have become homonymous in Mari. The latter one (*šyy* ‘pus’) is the same stem as in *šyχšä* (see above).

- šur* [шур] ‘horn’; [=] Ko. *sjur*, [=] Fi. *sarvi*; *šurdəmə* [шурдымы] ‘hornless’. [= шур, шурдымо]
- šurem* [шурем] ‘I štab’, dim.-caus. *šuraltem* [шуралтем] id.; [= FU] UEW 491, GB 258, SSA3 222. [= шурем]
- šursə* [шуршы] ‘Pulex irritans, flea’; [= FU] UEW 39, BG 259, SSA3 199. [= шуршо]
- šušər* [шушыр] ‘sick’; [< Chuv.] R1 200. [= сусыр]
- šušərgem* [шушыргем] ‘I am ill, I become ill’; [< Chuv.] R1 200. [= сусыргем]
- šy* [шӱ] ‘neck (шея)’; [= FU] UEW 473, GB 263, SSA3 169. [= шӱй]
- šydem* [шӱдем] ‘I command’. [= шӱдем]
- šyχšä* [шӱкшы] ‘rotten’; [= U] GB 264, UEW 434. [= шӱк-шӱ]
- šyläš* [шӱлыш] ‘breath’; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] 215. [= шӱлыш]
- šym* [шӱм] ‘heart’; [=] Fi. *syän*; [= U] UEW 477, GB 266, SSA3 228. [= шӱм]
- šymbel* [шӱмбел] ‘older brother’; [= U + U] UEW 362, 477, GB 181, 266, SSA3 228, SSA2 347. [= шӱмбел]
- šyy*²⁴⁴ [шӱ] ‘coal’; [= U] UEW 477, GB 265, SSA3 232. [= шӱй]
- šyy* [шӱ] ‘pus’; [= U] UEW 434, GB 264. [= шӱй]
- šädeškem* [шӱдешкем] ‘I get angry’. [= шыдешкем]
- šädä* [шӱдӱ] ‘hatred’, *šädän* (*šidän*) [шӱдӱн] ‘angry’. [= шыде]
- šädər* [шӱдӱр] ‘star’; [< Chuv.] R1 214. [= шӱдыр]
- šädərem* [шӱдӱрем] ‘I spin’; [= MP] UEW 757, GB 261. [= шӱдырем]
- šäχš* [шӱкш] ‘smoke’. [= шикш]

šäläm [шыләм] 'I run' ['I hide']. [= шылам]
šäl [шыл] 'fathom'; [=] Fi. *sylä*; [= U] SSA3 229, UEW 444, GB 265. [= шүлө]
šälä [шылльи] 'oats'; [< Chuv.] R1 216. [= шүльö]
šäränem [шырәнем] 'I melt', caus. *šärätem* [шырәтем]; [< Chuv.] R1 265, Fed. 154. [= шыранем, шыратем]
šäräs [шырәш] 'grit, groats'; [?= FV] UEW 776, GB 267, SSA3 201. [= шүраш]
šärem [шырем] 'I lubricate, I butter'; [?< Chuv.] R1 216, GB 268, UEW 761. [= шүрем]
*šärgä*²⁴⁵ [шыргй] 'forest'. [= шүгрö]
šärtnjem [шыртнем] 'I hit, I bump into' ['I stumble']. [= шүртнем]
šäšer [шышер] 'milk'. [= шөр]
šäštä [шыштй] 'leash'; [< Balt.] SSA1 161, UEW 786. [= шүштö]
šäžž [шыжй] 'autumn'; [=] Fi. *syys*; [= FU] UEW 443, GB 232, SSA3 229. [= шыже]
šävem [шывем] 'I spit'; [= FU] UEW 479, GB 270, SSA3 229. [= шүвем]
šävär [шывйр] 'bladder'; [< Chuv.] R1 214. [= шүвыр]
šäldar [шылдыр] 'wing'. [= шулдыр]
šälem [шылем] 'I melt'; [=] Fi. *sulaan*; [= FU] UEW 450, GB 254, SSA3 210. [= шулем]
šäpšam [шыпшам] 'I pull; I suck'. [= шупшам]
*šäpštem*²⁴⁶ [шыпштем] 'I transport'. –
šäralam [шыралам] 'I stab'; [= FU] UEW 491, GB 258, SSA3 222. [= шуралам]
šäšar [шыжар] 'younger sister'; [=] Fi. *sisar*; [< Balt.] SSA3 187, UEW 761. [= шужар]

245 This word is not found in EGT. It does, however, exist in the Swedish manuscript.

246 A misprint in EGT (*šopstem*). The correct form is found in the Swedish manuscript.

247 In present-day Hill Mari the word for ‘uncle’ is *kuguza* [кугуза].

248 In EGT all three verbs are written with *šc*, but *šk* is used in the Latin and Swedish manuscripts.

Z

zä [йізә] ‘brother’, *kogo za*²⁴⁷ [кого йізә] ‘uncle’; [≠] Fi. *setä*; [= U] UEW 78, GB 26, SSA1 229. [= иза]

Ž

žargə [ыжаргы] ‘green’; [< FP < Iran.] UEW 823, GB 300, SSA3 436. [= ужарге]

žava [жава] ‘Rana, frog’; [< Ru.] Sav. 95. [= ужава]

žep [жеп] ‘reckoning’ [‘time’]. [= жап]

žeplem [жеплем] ‘I am responsible, I answer for’ [‘I respect’]. [= жаплем]

žga [ыжга] ‘fur coat’; [= FU] UEW 541, GB 301, SSA3 379. [= ужга]

T

tajem [таем] ‘I hide’; [< Tat.] Is. 151. [= тоем]

talašem [талашем] ‘I hurry’, caus. *talaštem* or *talaštarem* [талаштарем] ‘I accelerate’; [< Tat.] Is. 152. [= толашем, толаштарем]

tangəž [тангыж] ‘sea’; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 219. [= теңыз]

*taškem*²⁴⁸ [ташкем] ‘I tread, I stamp’, dim. *taškalam* [ташкалам], dim.-caus. *taškaltem* [ташкалтем]. [= тошкем, тошкалам, тошкалтем]

taškaltəš [ташкалтыш] ‘step, stair’.

taza [таза] ‘fat’, *tazalem* ‘I get fat(ter)’; [=] Tat.; [< Tat.] R2 68. [= таза]

tavar [тавар] ‘axe (топоръ)’. [= товар]

täktä [тәктә] ‘wasp’. [= текте]

täng [täŋg] ‘friend’; [< Chuv.] R1 218. [= таŋ]
tär [täp] ‘price’ (see *äk*); [< Chuv.] R1 219. [= таp]
tärlem [täplem] ‘I employ, I hire’; [< Chuv.] R1 219.
 [= тарлем]
tärvänem [tärvänem] ‘I move’, caus. *tärvätem* [tärvä-
 tem]; [< Chuv.] R1 219. [= тарванем, тарватем]
telä [telä] ‘winter’; [=] Fi. *talvi*; [= FU] UEW 516, GB 271,
 SSA3 265. [= теле]
temäm [temäm] ‘I get satiated’, caus. *temäktem* [temäk-
 tem] ‘I saturate; I satiate’; [= MU] UEW 520, GB 272.
 [= темам, темыктем]
ti [ti] ‘Pediculus, louse’; [=] Fi. *täi*; [= FU] UEW 515, GB
 278, SSA3 353. [= тий]
tir (*tiir*) [tir] ‘sleigh’; [= FU] UEW 517, GB 272, SSA3 356.
 [= тер]
tjotja [tjotja] ‘grandfather on father’s side’. –
toi [toi] ‘orichalcum, brass’. [= той]
tolam [tolam] ‘I come’; [=] Fi. *tulen*; [= U] UEW 535, GB
 278, SSA3 324. [= толам]
top [top] ‘cannon’²⁴⁹; [=] Tat.; [< Tat.] R2 70. [= топ]
tor (*toor*) [tor] ‘cramped, narrow’; [< Chuv.] R1 222. –
tos [tos] ‘friend’; [< Tat.] R2 71. [= тос]
toš [toš] ‘back of axe’; [= FP] UEW 793, GB 281, SSA3
 251. [= тош]
*toštem*²⁵⁰ [toštem] ‘I dare’; [=] Fi. *tohdin*; [= FV] UEW
 799, GB 281, SSA3 303. [= тоштам]
tot [tot] ‘taste’; [< Chuv.] R1 228. [= тут]
totlā [totlā] ‘sweet’; [< Chuv.] R1 228. [= тутло]
tör or *török* (*töör*) [töp, töpök] ‘straight; straightaway’;
 [≠] Fi. *suora*; [< Chuv.] R1 222. [= töp]

- 249 In EGT *top* has been translated as ‘tor-ture’, but in the Swedish manuscript the correct meaning ‘cannon’ is found.
 250 Usually, the verb *toštam* is inflected in the first conjugation, not in the second as in EGT.

251 In EGT *tuuməs*, but the correct form with *š* is found in the manuscripts.

- törgeštem* [төргештем] 'I hop'. [= төрштем]
törlänem [төрләнәм] 'I get well'; [< Chuv.] R1 222. [= төрланәм]
törlem [төрлем] 'I mend, I heal', caus. *törläktem* [төрлйктем] id.; [< Chuv.] R1 222. [= төрлем, төрлыктем]
tum [тум] 'Quercus, oak'; [=] Fi. *tammi*; [= FV] UEW 798, GB 286, SSA3 265. [= тумо]
tup [туп] 'back'; [?= MU] UEW 538, GB 287. [= туп]
*tuuməš*²⁵¹ [тумыш] 'patch'; [= FP] UEW 798, GB 285. [= тумыш]
tuuməštem [тумыштем] 'I patch, I mend'; [= FP] UEW 798, GB 285. [= тумыштем]
tylem [түлем] 'I pay'; [=] Tat.; [< Tat.] R2 72. [= түлем]
tyšäk [түшәк] 'mattress'; [=] Tat.; [< Tat.] R2 72. [= түшак]
täkäläm [тйкәләм] 'I touch'; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] Fed. 130, R1 269. [= тйкалем]
tälzä [тйлзй] 'moon'; [≠] Ko. *tölys*. [= тйлзе]
täng [тйнг] 'base of a tree'; [=] Fi. *tyvi* or *tyen*; [= FU] UEW 523, GB 289, SSA3 350. [= тйнг]
tängäläm [тйнгәләм] 'I start'; [= FU] UEW 523, GB 289. [= тйнгәләм]
tär [тйр] 'edge'; [=] Ko. *dor*; [= MP] UEW 795, GB 290. [= тйр]
tärdäš [тйртйш] 'round'. [= тыртыш]
täredäm [тйредәм] 'I cut, I scythe'; [≠] Tat. [= түредам]
tärvä [тйрвй] 'lip'; [= FP] UEW 801, GB 290, SSA3 336. [= тйрвö]
täränj [тйрйнь] 'aslant'; [= MP] UEW 795, GB 290. [= тйрын]

- tätärä* [тӱтӱрӱ] ‘fog, vapor’; [< Chuv.] R1 228. [= тӱтыра]
tagər [тыгыр] ‘shirt’; [= MP] UEW 797, GB 288. [= тувыр]
təl [тыл] ‘fire’; [=] Fi. *tuli*; [= U] UEW 535, GB 284, SSA3 323. [= тул]
təmbak [тымбак] ‘lead bullet’²⁵² [‘further that way’]. [= тумбак]
təmdem [тымдем] ‘I teach’, caus. *təmdəktəm*; [= VS] UEW 537, GB 286. [= туныктем]
təmenjäm [тыменям] ‘I learn’; [= VS] UEW 537, GB 286. [= тунемам]
*tər*²⁵³ ‘border’; [cf. *tär* above]. [= тӱр]
*tər*²⁵⁴ [тыр] ‘calm, quiet’. –
tərlem [тырлем] ‘I am silent’. –
tərnja [тырня] ‘swan’ (see *jyχšä*) [‘Grus, crane’]; [< Chuv.] R1 228. [= турня]
təšman [тышман] ‘scoundrel, robber’ [‘enemy’]; [=] Tat.; [< Tat.] R2 75. [= тушман]

U

- ua* [ya] ‘Salix arenaria, willow’; [< Chuv.] R1 234. [= ya]
ukš [укш] ‘branch, twig’; [=] Fi. *oksa*, [≠] Ko. *uu*; [= FP] UEW 716, GB 293, SSA2 262. [= укш]
upš [упш] ‘cap’; [= MP] UEW 720, GB 296. [= упш]
ur [ур] ‘Sciurus, squirrel; kopeck’; [=] Ko. *ur*, [=] Fi. *orava*; [= FP] UEW 343, GB 297, SSA2 270. [= ур]
urməžam [урмыжам] ‘I howl’. [= урмыжам]
urəs (*urs*) [вурс] ‘steel’; [≠] Fi. *teräs*; [< Chuv.] R1 124. [= вурс]
uštəš [уштыш] ‘verst, Russian measure of length (верста)’. [= уштыш]

- 252 Castrén’s translation seems incomprehensible, as the word looks like the pronominal adverb translated in square brackets.
 253 In Hill Mari, the word *tär* ~ *tər* has dialectally differentiated into two forms differing in their vowel and meaning.
 254 In EGT *tör*.

255 The noun is only found in the Swedish manuscript, not in EGT.

užam [ужам] ‘I see’; [= V] UEW 809, GB 299. [= ужам]
utə [уты] ‘superfluous’; [< Chuv.] R1 237. [= уто]
uu [y] ‘new’; [=] Fi. *uusi*; [= FU] UEW 587, GB 292, SSA3 380. [= y]

V

vadə [вады] ‘evening’. [= водо]
vaktem or *paktem* ‘I drip’. –
vaktəš or *paktəš*²⁵⁵ [вактыш] ‘water drop’. –
val [вал] ‘trough’; [< Chuv.] R1 122. [= вол]
valem [валем] ‘I go down; I sink’; [= FU] UEW 554, GB 315, SSA3 399. [= волем]
valgənzə [валгынзыш] ‘lightning’; [=] Fi. *valkea*; [= FV] UEW 554, GB 316, SSA3 399. [= волгенче]
vaštalem [вашталтем] ‘I exchange, I swap something for something’; (cf. [≠] Fi. *vaštaan* ‘against, for’); [= FP] UEW 811, GB 307, SSA3 390. [= вашталтем]
vaštar [ваштар] ‘Acer platanoides, maple’; [=] Fi. *vahteri*; [= FV] UEW 812, GB 308, SSA3 382. [= ваштар]
vaštem [ваштем] ‘I translate’; [= FV] UEW 815, GB 308, SSA3 416. [= воштем]
vaštəlam [ваштылам] ‘I laugh’. [= воштылам]
vaštər [ваштыр] ‘twig; broom’. [= воштыр]
vazam (*vaazam*) [вазам] ‘I fall, I sink’; [≠] Ko. *uzja*; [= FP] UEW 808, GB 317. [= возам]
važ [важ] ‘root’; [=] Ko. *vuž*; [= MS] UEW 548, GB 317. [= вож]
važlam [важылам] ‘I feel ashamed’; [= VP] UEW 808, GB 318. [= вожылам]
väks [вӓкш] ‘mill’. [= вакш]

256 The correct form with *c* is found in the manuscripts (in EGT č).

- vär* [вӕр] 'place'; [≠] Tat.; [= FU] UEW 569, GB 310, SSA3 428. [= вер]
- vätä* [вӕтӕ] 'wife'; [≠] Chuv.] R1 120. [= вате]
- vesä* [весӕ] 'other'. [= весе]
- vilem* [вилем] 'I sprinkle'. [= велем]
- vim* [вим] 'medulla, marrow; birch's heartwood', (cf. [≠] Fi. *voima* 'strength'), *vui vim* [вуй вим] 'brain'; [= FU] UEW 572, GB 309, SSA3 488. [= вем]
- vimä* [вимӕ] 'working bee'; [≠] Tat.; [≠] Chuv.] R1 121. [= вӕма]
- visem* [висем] 'I weigh, I measure'; [≠] Chuv.] R1 121. [= висем]
- vitä* [витӕ] 'stable, cowshed'; [≠] Chuv.] R1 122. [= вӕта]
- voljak* [вольяк] 'livestock'; [≠] Chuv.] R1 123. [= вольяк]
- vui* [вуй] 'head'; [≠] Ko. *vuy* 'overhead', [≠] Fi. *yli*; [= U] UEW 336, GB 319, SSA2 261. [= вуй]
- vulnə* [вулны] 'tin'; [= MU] UEW 581, GB 320. [= вулно]
- vurgamla* [вургымла] 'right-hand'. [= пурла]
- väckäžž*²⁵⁶ [вӕцкӕжж] 'thin, skinny'; [= FM] UEW 817, GB 312. [= вичкыжж]
- välä* [вӕлӕ] 'mare'; [=] Ko. *vöö* (*völi*) 'horse', [≠] Tat. *biä*; [= FU] UEW 563, GB 321. [= вӕльӕ]
- vär* [вӕр] 'blood'; [=] Fi. *veri*; [= FU] UEW 576, GB 322, SSA3 427. [= вӕр]
- värgedčä* [вӕргечӕ] 'Wednesday'. [= вӕргече]
- värgenjä* [вӕргеньӕ] 'copper'; [=] Ko. *urgä*; [= MP] UEW 576, GB 322. [= вӕргене]
- vät* [вӕд] 'water'; [=] Fi. *vesi*; *vät sänzä* [вӕдсӕнзӕ] 'spring [lit. eye of the water]'; *vädän* [вӕдӕн] 'wet, damp'; [= U] UEW 570, GB 323, SSA3 429. [= вӕд, вӕдшинча, вӕдан]

- 257 The correct form with a word-final *ž* is found in the Swedish manuscript (in EGT š).
- 258 The correct form with an *ž* is found in the manuscripts (in EGT z).

vadžem [вычем] ‘I wait’; [≠] Fi. *varron* (*vartoa*); [= U] UEW 334, GB 319, SSA2 258. [= вучем]
vargem [выргем] ‘garment, vestment’; [= MU] UEW 584, GB 298. [= вургем]
varsem [вырсем] ‘I scold’; [≠] Tat.; [< Chuv.] R1 125. [= вурсем]
vāšalem [выжалем] ‘I sell’; [=] Ko. *vuzala*; [= FU] UEW 585, GB 299, SSA2 274. [= ужалем]

Y

ydem [үдем] ‘I sow’; [≠ VU] UEW 570, GB 303. [= үдем]
yl [үл] ‘the one that is below’; [= U] UEW 6, GB 304, SSA1 66. [= үл]
yingä [үнгәй] ‘Bubo, eagle-owl’. [= үнгрө]
ypš [үпш] ‘smell’; [=] Ko. *is*, [≠] Tat. *is*; [= U] UEW 83, GB 304. [= үпш]
ypšem [үпшем] ‘I smell’; [= U] UEW 83, GB 304. [= үпшем]
yš [үш] ‘club, cudgel’. [= үш]
*yškyž*²⁵⁷ [үшкүж] ‘ox’; [=] Ko. *öš*; [= MP] UEW 806, GB 305. [= үшкыж]
yštä [үштәй] ‘cold’; [= FU] UEW 90, GB 40, SSA1 260. [= йүштө]
*yžäm*²⁵⁸ [үжәм] ‘I invite’; [= MP] UEW 629, GB 306. [= үжам]
yy [үй] ‘butter’; [=] Ko. *vyi*, [=] Fi. *voi*; [= FU] UEW 578, GB 303, SSA3 467. [= үй]
yyr [үй] ‘hair’; [=] Saa. *yöpt*; [= U] UEW 14, GB 304. [= үп]

Ә

- ädär* [бідәр] ‘daughter, girl’; [≠] Fi. *tytär*. [= үдыр]
ädärämäs [бідәрәмәш] ‘young wife’ [‘woman’]. [= үды-
 рамаш]
äfälem [бифылем] ‘I blow’. [= уфлем]
älem [ылем] ‘I live’; [=] Fi. *elän*; [= U] UEW 73, GB 23,
 SSA1 103. [= илем]
ätälkä [ымылкә] ‘shadow’. [= ымылка]
ängäžä [ынгыжә] ‘shoulder’; [≠] Tat. –
әнjänem [ынянем] ‘I believe, I hope’; [≠] Tat. [< Chuv.]
 R1 127. [= инанем]
ärdä [йрды] ‘heartwood’; [≠] Fi. *ydin*. [= рүдө]
ärvezä (*ärbezä*) [йрвезә] ‘child, young man’; [≠] Tat.
 [?= FV] UEW 722, GB 218. [= рвезе]
äštäläm [ыштәләм] ‘I sweep’. [= ышталам]
ästem [ыштем] ‘I do’; [≠] Tat. [= FP] UEW 626, GB 18.
 [= ыштем]
äštä [ыштә] ‘belt’; [?= FU] UEW 575, GB 305. [= ыштө]

Ә

- ädälam* [ыдылам] ‘I pray’. [= удылам]
ädärem [ыдырем] ‘I comb; I row’. [= удырем]
ätäla (*ätla*) [ымыла] ‘*Humulus lupulus*, hop’; [≠]
 Fi. *humala*; [< Chuv.] R1 235. [= умла]
äraš [ыраж] ‘crack, gap’; [= MU] UEW 418, GB 217.
 [= рож]
ärgem [ыргем] ‘I sew’; [= MU] UEW 584, GB 298. [= ургем]
äš [ыш] ‘intellect; memory’, *äšan* [ышан] ‘wise’; [< Tat.]
 R2 83. [= уш, ушан]

259 This Corrigenda page has been published in some editions of the *Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae*.

The Corrigenda page at the end of the *Elementa grammatices Tscheremissæ* is shorter, with a list extending only to page 17.

Corrigenda²⁵⁹

Page	line	[Castrén's correction]	
IX	26	<i>tofla</i>	<i>totla</i>
X	3	no Рѹсскѣи	по Русскій
	15	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu</i>
XI	3	<i>ä</i>	<i>e</i>
2	1	тѣ	ы
	7	<i>s</i>	<i>j</i>
7	8	<i>wic'e</i>	<i>wice</i>
	9	<i>wits</i>	<i>wic</i>
	11	<i>sai cen</i>	<i>saicen</i>
	28	<i>aperir</i>	<i>aperio</i>
9	10	<i>kumbad-cas'</i>	<i>kumbadcas'</i>
12	1	<i>s'</i>	<i>s</i>
13	17	<i>lets</i>	<i>lec</i>
15	30	<i>S'ymbelde (te.)</i>	<i>S'ymbelde.</i>
16	15	<i>pingärädäk</i>	<i>pingädäräk</i>
	21	<i>s'ymbelgik</i>	<i>s'ymbelgic</i>
17	13	ad 7,	ad 7, nec non cardinale 10,
22	3	<i>minjen</i>	<i>minjin</i>
	4	<i>tinjen</i>	<i>tinjin</i>
26	10	<i>Pörteden</i>	<i>Pörteden</i>
	17	<i>Imnilandže</i>	<i>Imniländže</i>
28	6	<i>Imnietkadč'</i>	<i>Imnietkadč'</i>
29	5	<i>Imništ'kadč</i>	<i>Imništ'kadč'</i>
	11	<i>Pörteston</i>	<i>Pörtes'ton</i>
	14	<i>Imnidest</i>	<i>Imnides't</i>
30	14	<i>Imnitvylälän</i>	<i>Imnitvylälän</i>
32	21	suffixo <i>vylä</i> ,	<i>vylä</i> suffixo,
35	8	<i>Ille</i>	<i>Illa</i>
41	17	<i>Tyläs</i>	<i>Tyläs'</i>
44	11	<i>oläna</i>	<i>olana</i>
45	17	<i>quoqe</i>	<i>quoque</i>
	25	<i>jyäs</i>	<i>jyäs'</i>
47	7	<i>-teldä</i>	<i>-teldä, -deldä</i>
56	15	<i>mindirk</i>	<i>mindirc</i>

Abbreviations

abl.	ablative	MU	Mari-Ugric
carit.	caritive	nom.	nominative
caus.	causative	onom.	onomatopoeic
Chuv.	Chuvash	opt.	optative (desiderative in modern grammars)
dat.	dative	pl.	plural
dim.	diminutive	plur.	plural
Fi.	Finnish	pret.	preterite
fact.	factitive	ptcp.	participle
FM	Finno-Mari	refl.	reflexive
FP	Finno-Permian	Ru.	Russian
FU	Finno-Ugric	Saa.	Saami
FV	Finno-Volgaic	sg.	singular
gen.	genitive	sing.	singular
Germ.	German	suff.	suffix
IE	Indo-European	superl.	superlative (case)
illat.	illative	Tat.	Tatar
imperat.	imperative	U	Uralic
iness.	inessive	V	Volgaic
instr.	instrumental	VP	Volga-Permian
Iran.	Iranian	VS	Volga-Samoyedic
Ko.	Komi	VU	Volga-Ugric
Lapp.	Lappish (Saami)	Zyr.	Zyrian (Komi)
MP	Mari-Permian		
MS	Mari-Samoyedic		

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Coll. 539 M.A. Castrén's collection

Manuscripta Castreniana Vol. IV

- 1 Elementa grammatices Tscheremissae. Ms impr. pagg. 1–68
- 2 Elementa grammatices Tscheremissae. Fragm. pagg. 69–96
- 3 Elementa grammatices Tscheremissae. Conc. praefationes. Die 1 Maji 1845. pagg. 97–103
- 4 Elementa grammatices Tscheremissae. Ms suetiana. pagg. 105–169
- 5 Index Vocabulorum. Ms impr. pagg. 171–208
- 6 Index Vocabulorum. Conc. lat. pagg. 209–220
- 7 Index Vocabulorum. Conc. suet. pagg. 221–236
- 8 Tscheremissisk Vocabularium. pagg. 237–276

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Kildin

Novaja Zemlja

Kara Sea

Helsingfors
Helsinki

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TALLINN

RIGA

St Petersburg

Arxangel'sk

VILNIUS

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Tver'

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Glazov

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Kazan'

Kama

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Ufa

SAMARA

SARATOV

Volga

ROSTOV-ON-DON

Don

EKATERINODAR
(KRASNODAR)

CARICYN
(VOLGOGRAD)

ASTRAXAN

Ural

ČELJABINSK

Ural Mountains

Samarovo
(Xanty-Mansijsk)

Tjumen'

Tobol'sk

Surgut

Omsk

AKMOLINSK
(NUR-SULTAN)

(Star

KRIVO
(NOV

M.A. Castrén's Journeys

- Route of 1838
- Route of 1839
- Route of 1841-44
- Route of 1845-49
- ✧ (Other) major cities and settlements in their region

