

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.

M.A. 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 Therefore, a major part of his scholarly legacy remained unpublished at the time of his death.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 Komi grammar is one of the few materials Castrén was able to publish himself. He collected the material during his third expedition in 1843 – he spent a period of five months near the Arctic Circle in what is today known as the Komi Republic, but which at that time belonged to the Governorate of Arxangel'sk. The actual content of the grammar took shape in Ižma and nearby villages, and the Latin manuscript was completed in Kolva. *Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae* is, despite its name, not a grammar of the entire Zyr-ian language but one singular dialect, the Ižma dialect. This was the first of the published grammars by Castrén. The book consists of a grammar and a vocabulary of about 1,100 words with a sample dialect text: four chapters of the Gospel of St. Matthew, translated into the Ižma dialect.

In only five weeks after returning to Helsinki in May 1844, Castrén defended his licentiate (doctor's) dissertation at the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki and was awarded his doctorate in philosophy. The 22-page dissertation *De nominum declinatione in lingua Syrjaena* is included with minimal editing in the grammar published in the autumn of 1844 (III Nominals, A. Nouns, § 24–31).

*Syrjaenica* is a critical edition of *Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae* and seven wedding laments collected by Castrén, translated into English with editors' comments.

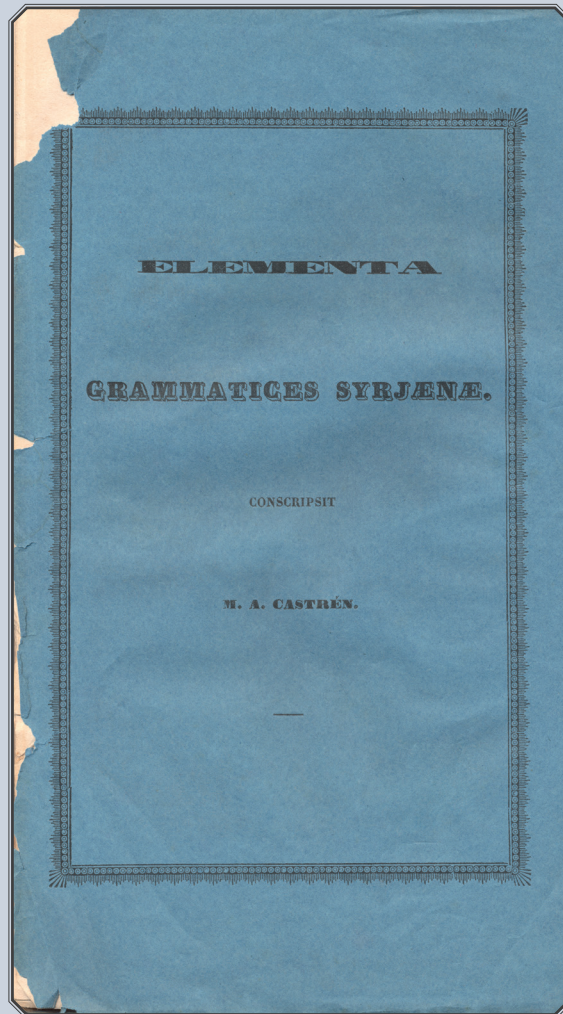


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*M. A. Castrén*



SYRJAENICA

*Edited by Paula Kokkonen & Jack Rueter*

MANUSCRIPTA CASTRENIANA  
LINGUISTICA IV

## M.A. Castrén's Visits to the Komi area

- M.A. Castrén's stops  
in the Komi area
- ✦ (Other) major cities and  
settlements in the region



This memorial plaque dedicated to M.A. Castrén was on a Syktyvkar State University wall. It has since been removed without a trace, but a similar one is still in the former village museum in Kolva with the same text:

*To the Finnish Professor, Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852), researcher in Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic ethnography and languages, a man of undying fervor, by the people living in Komi, with sincerity*

*The expedition of  
The Komi Travellers Centre "Biarmia" in August 1991*

HELSINGFORS  
HELSINKI

REVAL  
TALLINN

ST PETERSBURG

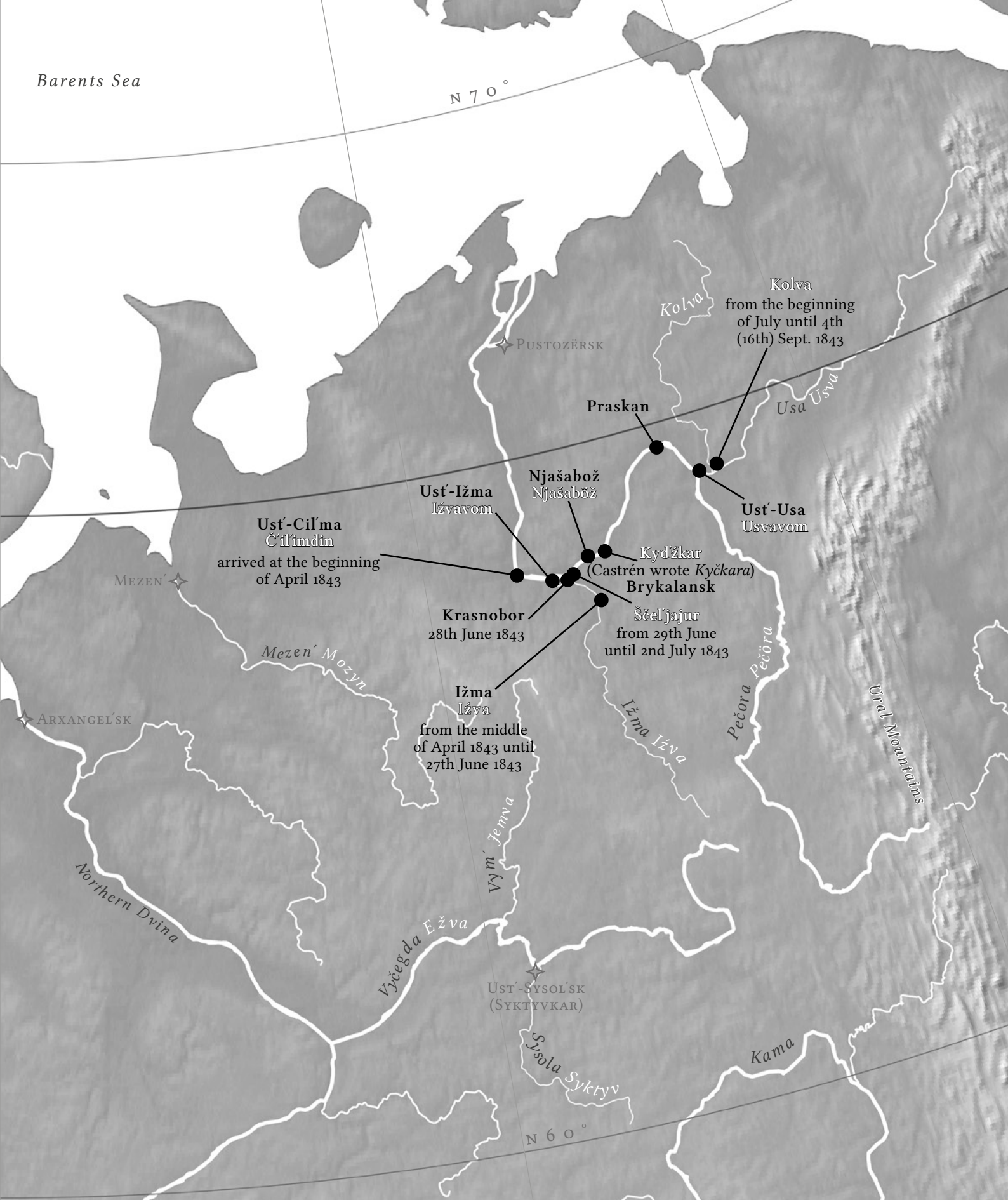
PETROZAVODSK

Svir

White Sea

ARCTIC CIRCLE  
ROVANIEMI





Barents Sea

N 70°

PUSTOŽĚRSK

Kolva  
from the beginning  
of July until 4th  
(16th) Sept. 1843

Praskan

Usa  
Usva

Ust'-Usa  
Usvavom

Njašabož  
Njašabož

Ust'-Ižma  
Ižvavom

Ust'-Cil'ma  
Čil'mdin  
arrived at the beginning  
of April 1843

MEZEN'

Kyčžkar  
(Castrén wrote Kyčkara)  
Brykalansk

Krasnobor  
28th June 1843

Ščel'jajur  
from 29th June  
until 2nd July 1843

Ižma  
Ižva  
from the middle  
of April 1843 until  
27th June 1843

ARXANGEL'SK

Mezen' Mozyń

Ižma Ižva

Pečora Pečora

Ural Mountains

Northern Dvina

UST'-SYSOL'SK  
(SYKTYVKAR)

N 60°

Ssola Syktyv

Kama



*Syrjaenica*

Manuscripta Castréniana  
Linguistica IV

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Matthias Alexander Castrén

SYRJAENICA

*Edited by Paula Kokkonen & Jack Rueter*

Finno-Ugrian Society

Helsinki 2022

*Matthias Alexander Castrén*

*Syrjaenica*

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*Linguistica IV*

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*Karina Lukin, Timo Salminen*

*Photograph on the cover*

*Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae*

*(conscripsit M.A. Castrén, Helsingforsiae,  
ex officina typographica heredum Simelii, 1844)*

*Map on the front endpaper*

*Anna Kurvinen, Timo Salminen, Paula Kokkonen*

*Photograph on the front endpaper*

*M.A. Castrén Society*

*Map on the back endpaper*

*Anna Kurvinen, Timo Salminen, Juha Janhunen*

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Collected by Matthias Alexander Castrén  
*Edited and commentary by*  
*Paula Kokkonen & Jack Rueter*

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## Manuscripta Castréniana: A General Preface to the Series

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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 Izhma 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

---

### *M.A. Castrén's third expedition and Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae*

Matthias Alexander Castrén set off on his third expedition as a 27-year-old with a master's degree in 1841 in the company of Elias Lönnrot, doctor and collector of folk poetry. Their travels began 25th June in Helsinki with the destination of Russian Lapland. These travels, however, took them initially to Finnish and Norwegian Lapland before finally in March of 1842 they continued on to the Kola Peninsula. From Kola they continued on to Kandalakša and then onward to Kem' on the White Sea and from there across the White Sea to Arxangel'sk, where they arrived in the end of July 1842. Here the travellers went their separate ways: Lönnrot set off for the Olonec Governorate, but Castrén set out to realise his plans for researching the Samoyeds. In Arxangel'sk, Castrén was informed that he had been granted a scholarship with state funding for this research that would last until the end of 1843.

As early as January 1842, Castrén had learned in a letter he had received from A.J. Sjögren, researcher in history, linguistics, folklore and folk poetry (academic extraordinaire), that the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg had made a principle decision to inaugurate an extensive expedition to the lands of the Siberian indigenous peoples. Sjögren, who planned Castrén's expeditions to Siberia and served as his mentor, advised Castrén to head for Arxangel'sk, where he would have the possibility to begin research on the Yurak or Yurak Samoyed language. With Lönnrot heading for Karelia, Castrén first made an attempt to reach the Kola Coast, but, when he was unsuccessful at that, he began his work in the summer of 1842 with the help of Nenets living in Arxangel'sk. In the end of November, Castrén left Arxangel'sk and headed for Xolmogory, Pinega and through Mezen' to Pustozërsk at the mouth of the Pečora River. He arrived there in February of 1843. From Pustozërsk he continued along the Pečora and headed for what are nowadays Komi areas, and first of all, to Ust'-Cil'ma, a village of old believers, where Castrén arrived in April of 1843. Indeed, he was compelled to leave this place almost forthwith, as the residents began to behave suspiciously and even became aggressive towards him.

Castrén continued at this point from Pečora along the Ižma River to Ižma (in Komi *Ižva*), which was an old secluded village, mentioned as early as the 16th century. Rumors of a strange traveler had preceded him to the village, and on arrival Castrén was seen as odd and received with feelings of suspicion. He could, however, in his own words, carry out the study of the Komi-Zyrian language, or actually the Ižma dialect,



without interruption for the duration of the thaw, albeit overlapping with Samoyed studies. The local police chief Jagubovič provided Castrén with support, safety and lodging (*Itineraria* 1: 492–495; 2: 1118). Castrén tells of progress in his work in a letter from Ižma sent to Elias Lönnrot, in which he outlined the body of his grammar. The letter is dated 23 June 1843, and it ends with the knowledge that the next day Castrén would be heading to Kolva (*Epistulae* 1: 300–303), located at the 66th parallel in northern Komi, just like Castrén's hometown of Tervola in northern Finland.

In the northern part of the present-day Komi Republic, which at that time belonged to the Governorate of Arxangel'sk, Castrén spent a period of five months: he had arrived in April 1843 and remained there until the beginning of September. Perhaps an initial sense of the Zyrian Ižma dialect and culture had already been acquired at Ust'-Cil'ma, but the actual content of the grammar took shape in a couple of months in Ižma and nearby villages and the completion of the manuscript in Kolva – this too took a couple of months. *Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae*, born near the Arctic Circle, in villages along four rivers, is, despite its name, not a grammar of the entire Zyrian language but one singular dialect, the Ižma dialect; it consists of a grammar and vocabulary with a sample dialect text.

The grammars published before Castrén were also dialect grammars (even though the name of the language 'Zyrian' appears in their names); after all, the Komi literary language was not standardized until 1920. Castrén cites three grammars as his main sources: A.F. Flërov's grammar of the Udora dialect (*Зырянская грамматика*, 1813); A.J. Sjögren's grammar of the (Ust'-)Sysola dialect (*Ueber den Grammatischen Bau der Sürjänischen Sprache mit Rücksicht auf die Finnische*, 1830), and H.C. von der Gabelentz's grammar of the Udora dialect (*Grundzüge der syrjänischen Grammatik*, 1841). In addition, Castrén had a Komi translation of the booklet *Наставление о прививании предохранительной оспы* ('Advice on vaccination against smallpox') printed in St Petersburg in 1815.

The booklet had been translated into Komi by the Komi teacher A.V. Šergin; he was the same one who had translated the Gospel of Matthew in 1823. Castrén had dealt with the Gospel vocabulary, which had been translated into the (Upper) Vyčegda dialect, and had made extensive notes in his manuscripts. He then translated four chapters of Matthew into the Ižma dialect and incorporated it into his grammar as an accompanying text, which, in turn, forms the basis for a vocabulary of about 1,100 words at the end of the grammar. It should be mentioned that in Ižma Castrén had recorded 7 wedding songs (laments) in the Ižma dialect and subsequently translated them into Russian and partly into Swedish. These, however, he did not include in his grammar. We therefore include those wedding laments now with comments and translations into English in the latter part of *Syrjaenica*, see pp. 249–277.

The linguist T.G. Aminoff published the laments as a 29-page booklet of Zyrian wedding songs with Finnish and German translations (*Häälau-luja* 1878). Two of the wedding songs have been translated into Swedish in Castrén's travel journal (*Itineraria* 1: 496–499).

Castrén rebuked the oldest of his sources, Flërov's grammar (known to have been compiled by Filipp Kozlov), because it had been drafted with such rigorous adherence to the Russian grammar (with only 6 cases, for instance). Gabelentz's grammar (of 13 cases) was, in Castrén's eyes, incomplete rather than incorrect, but when it came to Sjögren's grammar (of 13 cases), he considered it to indicate the right direction to take when describing the Komi language.

Admittedly, that grammar was written in German, which, in Castrén's own words, was not one of his strongest languages, and in particular, Sjögren's German transcription contributed to some of the misinterpretations in Castrén's Latin-language grammar. The inadequate marking of palatalization causes quite a problem, which is then augmented by the use of Cyrillic letters for marking sibilants and affricates. In fact, Castrén had initially used Cyrillic letters in his notes (and even his dissertation). The orthography remained volatile even after converting entirely to a Latin base. It appears that some of the mistakes were introduced when the manuscript was taken to press, and Castrén, in fact, makes reference to this in his preface.

Before Castrén, A.J. Sjögren had conducted research of the Zyrian, travelling nearly the same route from St Petersburg to Arxangel'sk, but he had then continued further south to Vologda and then to Ust'-Sysol'sk (present-day Syktyvkar). There he spent five weeks among the Zyrians in the summer of 1827. With him, he had the same aids as Castrén: the grammar of Flërov, the Gospel of Matthew and a vaccination guide, which had been translated into Komi by Aleksandr Šergin, an acquaintance of Sjögren's through previous correspondence. Using these aids, Sjögren had published his own grammar of the Udora dialect in 1834. (Branch, 1973: 141–148.) Castrén had received the same aids as well as Sjögren's grammar and certainly additional thorough advice for the trip from Sjögren, who had also suggested Castrén as a replacement for himself on an expedition planned for Western Siberia in St Petersburg. Sjögren was highly esteemed by Castrén, as evidenced by their correspondence. From Ižma, Castrén sent a letter to Sjögren, to the "esteemed Mr. Councillor of State", dated 18/30 May 1843 (18 May according to Old Calendar, 30 May according to New Calendar), in which he recounts the journey travelled so far and describes the grammatical body and his morphological observations of the Ižma dialect; he also sheds light on his future travel plans, even the expedition to Kolva.

(Cf. Castrén's travel descriptions: Castrén 1967: 177–190; *Itineraria* 1: 316–691, especially the Komi areas pp. 492–577, and *Epistulae* 1: 300–311.)

***Development of the grammar  
in Ižma – the final stage in Kolva***

After leaving Ižma for Kolva on 27 June 1843, Castrén was to travel four rivers: the Ižma, Pečora, Usa and Kolva. In the first part of his journey, he made short stops in a few Ižma villages along the rivers: Krasnobor (28.6.), Ust'-Ižma, Ščel'ajur (29.6.–2.7.) and Njašabož; and toward the end of the journey: Kydžkar [Кыдзкар] (Castrén wrote *Kyčkara*), Praskan and Ust'-Usa. The journey, 400 versts, was completed in 15 days on a fishing boat whose mast happened to break in the wind and deal Castrén an awful blow to the head, which threatened to untimely sever his very thread of life “– – hotade att i förtid afskärä min lifstråd” (*Itineraria* 1: 501).

The village of Kolva, located near the Arctic Circle, the most important Komi village for the completion of Castrén's grammar manuscript, was actually a Samoyed village – its inhabitants were Samoyeds who had become Zyrian speakers. Castrén says the village had a church built for the Samoyeds in 1831 with dwellings for priests, and nine other shacks, one of which he was given to live in. There, in the basement, he compiled and finalized his manuscript – thus trading a bustle of noisy children and blood sucking vermin for the nuisance of mice and rats. Research in Samoyed, on the other hand, had to be conducted above ground in the living floor of his shack because, for Samoyed informants, working underground was an abomination and totally out of the question. (Castrén 1967: 186–188; *Itineraria* 1: 61, 500–506.)

As Castrén finalized his grammar in Kolva, Vasilij Nikolaevič Latkin (1809/1810–1867), a Komi industrialist and scholar of Siberia and northern socio-economic development, arrived there; Latkin too was on his own third expedition. He wrote in his diary about a surprising encounter with the 29-year-old Castrén:

Yesterday [18 July 1843] my arrival dumbfounded the people of Kolva; the entire small population came to meet me at the landing. They were even more baffled when I spoke to them in Zyrian; the local Samoyeds can speak this language. ... As I chatted with the residents, one of the younger local priests came to invite me for tea. ... At the honorable host's home, I met a senior clergyman from the Pečora Parish, Father Innokentii, and a Mr. Castrén, a learned man from Finland. ... Father Innokentii has been living here for twelve years, almost since the founding of the parish. When he arrived, there had been no one but a few church servants. ... Evening arrived unnoticed as we talked. We had a lively discussion. There was talk of the kinship between Finnish and Zyrian but also of a kinship with Samoyed. In order to investigate this kinship, Mr. Castrén, the learned Finn, had voluntarily set off for the northern tundra. He says that more than a hundred Finnish words can be found in the Samoyed language, and

no wonder: the Samoyeds are in constant contact with the descendants of the Finns; the Zyrians are, no doubt, the birth brothers of the inhabitants of Finland.

Latkin met Castrén on his day of departure, too:

On the second day [19 July] I arrived at Mr. Castrén's dwelling with the priests. He stood at a make-shift office desk consisting of two tables, immersed in his philological thoughts; there was also his interpreter the Kolva sexton, a native Samoyed. As a child, his mother had surrendered him up to the Ižmans for nine paper rubles, but, after some time, learning that the child was passing their pastoral camp, she rushed to the travelers and reclaimed him. A few years passed, the boy was found in the tundra again, his abilities were noticed, and the mother was happy to barter him off for a reindeer. See here, an example of Samoyed motherly love! The young Samoyed learned to read well, and he became a sexton of the Kolva church; now he serves as Mr. Castrén's interpreter. (Latkin 1853: 89–90.)

Latkin's diary reveals that Castrén's interpreter in Kolva had been a Zyrian-speaking Samoyed, whose name, however, is not mentioned. In Castrén's own diary, three names (in Castrén's spelling) appear as fleeting mentions: Adrian Sosonoff, Ivan Wasiljeff Istomin and Ivan Artejeff. The surnames are very typical Ižman surnames, so they may have been Castrén's language informants in Ižma (cf. *Itineraria* 1: 647). There is no mention in Castrén's travelogues of meeting Latkin, but he does mention meeting three Zyrian brethren, "tre Syrjån-Bröderna Latkin" in September of 1847 in Krasnojarsk (*Itineraria* 2: 1421), one of whom was most likely Vasilij Latkin, whom he had met in Kolva in 1843.

### ***The manuscript's journey from Kolva to Helsinki via Arxangel'sk and Saint Petersburg***

After sending the manuscript of his grammar (whose name at the time was *Elementa linguæ Syrjenicæ*) from Kolva to Sjögren by post, Castrén headed for Siberia, but he was unable to cross the Urals until 22 October (according to Old Calendar) / 3 November 1843 (according to New Calendar). His fieldwork in Zyrian had come to a completion, and on the Siberian side Castrén became engrossed in Khanty and Samoyed research.

Sjögren had been waiting all autumn for a manuscript of the Zyrian grammar sent by Castrén from Kolva. It had not arrived in December either. He was to present the grammar to the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg as a demonstration of Castrén's scientific abilities in view of the planned Siberian expedition. Castrén informed Sjögren that he had sent the grammar manuscript in care of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS). The package had been given to the scribe of the Samoyed governorate on 1 September 1843, and sent as a free letter,

number 7. Castrén urged SKS to inquire about the fate of the parcel from the Governor of Arxangel'sk. (Estlander 1929: 113.)

Even though nothing had been heard of the grammar, Sjögren presented Castrén's case to the Imperial Academy 24th January 1844. The grammar arrived at last for the following meeting in February unblemished after travelling for half a year from Kolva to St Petersburg. Sjögren obtained scientific approval for Castrén's grammar. The Latin name of the grammar then received its final form: *Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae* (EGS).

Castrén, who had been diagnosed with lung disease, returned to his homeland from his third expedition on 15 May 1844. The grammar manuscript had taken its own meandering path from Kolva to Helsinki and arrived earlier, but only now, during the summer, was Castrén reunited with the manuscript he had posted almost 9 months before. The section on nominal inflection was completed first, and it was what Castrén used to defend his dissertation in June 1844. This was followed by the printing of the entire grammar *Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae*; its preface is dated Helsinki, 2 September 1844. The summer of 1844 had Castrén bustling with work. In addition to caring for his health and the dissertation process, he had to focus on university lectures that would begin come autumn; in addition, time was swallowed up by the preparation of the Cheremis grammar and a fourth expedition. It can easily be concluded from the above that the processing of the EGS into publication condition took place in the midst of greatest rush and strain. – And Castrén himself was not entirely satisfied with the result, which he expresses in the preface to the grammar as follows (p. II.):

Quod de lingua Syrjaena duorum mensium intervallo disce-re potuimus, postea sub itinere in cymbis, tuguriis, tentoriis conscripsimus. In re ipsa positum, libellum nostrum, in his temporis atque loci angustiis ortum, nihil perfecti, nihil consummati offerre. Nos juvabit subsidium quoddam litteris Syrjaenis tulisse aliisque hujus linguae studiosis ansam ulterius progrediendi praebuisse.

'What we had been able to learn of the Zyrian language during our two-month stay, we wrote in notes on our journey – on boat rides, in cabins and in *chum* [cone-shaped] tents. In light of these facts, our booklet, which was born in haste and under difficult conditions, will not provide anything complete or final. But we are satisfied that we have at least been able to provide some kind of additional aids for Zyrian literature and that we have smoothed the path for those who will later be able to make even further reaching studies.'

*Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae* was published in Helsinki at the printing house of the Simelius legacy. The manuscript materials and notes concerning them are preserved in the manuscript collections of the National Library of Finland (KK Coll. 539 M.A. Castrén's collection; Manuscripta Castreniana Vol. IV.). The material is on microfilm.



***Castrén's dissertation *De nominum declinatione in lingua Syrjaena****

Castrén had defended his master's degree in 1836 on Finnish, Estonian and Saami nominal declension; the dissertation *De affinitate declinationum in lingua Fennica, Esthonica et Lapponica* was published in 1839. The next step in his academic career was a licentiate examination. After returning to Helsinki in May 1844, Castrén defended his dissertation at a brisk pace: a month later, on 17 June, he defended his licentiate (doctor's) dissertation at the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki, and on 21 June 1844 he was awarded his doctorate in philosophy. The 22-page section *De nominum declinatione in lingua Syrjaena* of his grammar *Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae* had been accepted as a dissertation, and the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg awarded him, on Sjögren's recommendation, half of the prestigious Demidov Prize and funds for printing the grammar. It should be noted that Castrén's dissertation is also part of the EGS grammar, where it is titled *De Nomine. A. Nomen Substantivum*, § 24–31 (pp. 16–34). His dissertation dealt with nouns without possessive declension and denominal derivation. In his examples, Castrén has used Cyrillic sibilants and the central vowel ы, which in the grammar have been replaced with Latin-based transcriptions.

***Castrén introduced the Ižma dialect as an object of scientific research***

Castrén is one of the first scholars of the Komi language and the first scientific researcher of the Ižma dialect. His grammar has been the source material for many of the later Komi grammars. F.J. Wiedemann often refers to Castrén in his own grammar *Grammatik der Syrjänischen Sprache* (1884) and gives examples from Castrén's dialect vocabulary in his dictionary (SDW). Of the Komi scholars, Castrén's grammar was utilized in particular by G.S. Lytkin in his grammar of the Zyrian language *Грамматика зырянского языка* (1889), which was the first grammar of the Komi language in Komi. There are systematic references to Castrén's grammar in this work, and the associated 2,000-word Zyrian–Russian dictionary also uses Castrén's grammar vocabulary as a source (Lytkin 1889). Even the comparative dictionary of the Komi–Zyrian dialects (SSKD 1961) indicates Castrén's Ižma–Latin vocabulary and grammar among its sources. The Ižma dialect monograph (ID 1976) contains some reference to Castrén's grammar, but e.g. the sources of the Komi etymological dictionary (KESKJa 1999) do not mention EGS, nor does the Komi dialect dictionary (KSK 1–2 (2012, 2014)). Several non-fiction books in Komi also mention Castrén's grammar, for example, it is found in the encyclopedia *Кomi язык* (KJa 1998: 179): “Castrén's grammar and vocabulary are of great importance for the study of the history and dialects of the Komi language, despite its various shortcomings.”

### *The Ižmans and the Ižma dialect*

As an ethnic group, the Ižmans (endonym *ižvatas* [изъватас]) are a mixture of the Komi / Zyrian people who moved north from the Yemva and Udora regions beginning in the 16th century, the Nenets of the North, and the Russians from Novgorod, Arxangel'sk and Ust'-Cil'ma. The Zyrian component of the Ižma dialect comes from the Yemva and Udora dialects, and the regional component comes from the northern dialects of Russian as well as the Nenets (especially in the reindeer herding vocabulary). The hunting and fishing population that moved north soon adopted reindeer husbandry from the Nenets in the tundra, and became the leading reindeer herding group in northern Komi, from where they spread to the Urals and the Kola Peninsula, and are thus the most widespread group of Komi. At a maximum, they have numbered to around 55,000. But when the Ižmans were registered as a separate group in the Komi Republic in the 2002 census, they were 12,689, and in the census of 2010, this number was only 5,725 (Census). The population of the Komi Republic has fallen to less than a million in the 21st century, and about 25% of the population is ethnically Komi. Komi is the mother tongue of about 230,000 speakers, and the literary language is based on the dialect spoken in the capital, Syktyvkar.

The Ižma dialect belongs to the so-called northwestern dialects and is the northernmost of the ten Komi dialects. The Ižma dialect represents the so-called *l : Ø* dialect. This feature provides the Ižma dialect with its well-known long vowels, which are not found in the literary language.

— All vowels (with the exception of *e* and *i*) can be lengthened in all syllables when the *l* sound disappears, for example the noun *kyy* (< *kyl*, *kyv*) 'word; tongue; language'; the verbs *oony* (< *olny*, *ovny*) 'to live'; *buroony* (< *buralny*, *buravny*) 'to heal'; the adjective *tuusoo* (< *tulsol*, *tuvsov*) 'spring'. After the vowel *e*, *l/v* becomes *j*, e.g. *zej* (< *zel*, *zev*) 'very', likewise the vowel *i* becomes *j*, e.g. *pij* (< *pil*, *piv*) 'cloud'.

Admittedly, Castrén has indicated long vowels in a few single-syllable words ending in voiced consonants, e.g. *iiz* (< *iz*) 'rock, stone', *kooz* (< *koz*) 'spruce' and *kyyz* (< *kyz*) 'thick'. According to the Dialect monograph (ID: 13–14) these words might take a semi-long or long vowel if the word is given emphasis. The Komi Dialect dictionary (KSK 1–2) indicates short vowels in all cases.

— The vowel /*e*/ [ɛ] appears in place of the mid vowel /*ö*/ [ö] found in the literary language, especially in non-first open syllables; Castrén indicates this vowel with /*ä*/ (later researchers have marked this same vowel with /*ɛ*/).

— The basic morpheme *dj* (*d'*) found in word endings in the literary language appears in Ižma as both *dj* and *jd* (*badj* 'willow'; *sajda* 'wise'; *te kojda* 'like you'); its voiceless counterpart *tj* (*t'*) is attested in the form *jt* (*kvajt* 'six'), which is the same as in the literary language.

— There are four affricates in the Komi language: the voiced [дж] and [дз], and the voiceless [тш] and [ч] (Castrén: *dž*, *dzj*, *č* and *cj*). They appear in the the Ižma dialect too but softer, and deaffrication is also found as well as *tsokanye*, e.g. Castrén indicates *cj* [ц'] where other dialects use *č* [ч] for soft and [ц] *c* for hard marking. In contrast, however, affricates in Russian loanwords [ч] (soft) frequently appear as [тш] (hard).

— The Ižma dialect uses phonemes borrowed from Russian much more frequently than the literary language, e.g. /f/, /h/, /c/ and /šč/ [ф, х, ц, ш].

— The accusative case is marked with *-es* (in Castrén's transcription *-äs*); the accusative can also be unmarked.

— The dative also appears as an object case (*-ly*).

— The personal pronouns 1st and 2nd plural both take the accusative ending *-te* [-тэ] (which is *-ös* [-öc] in the literary language).

— In some morphemes *u* [y] replaces the literary *y* [ы], for example, the possessive marker of the first person singular and plural in the dative singular *menum* (literary *menym*) 'to me' and the dative plural *aslunum* (literary *aslynym*) 'to ourselves'

— Features typical of the Ižma verbs are the *vyjym* existential copula 'to be' (literary *em*); the pres., fut. and pret. pl. 3. personal ending *-nys* (literary *-ny*); a verb of negation with an *i*-stem in the preterite and imperative forms (literary *e-*).

— Words and features typical of the dialect include, for example, *vöjpnj* 'to say, to tell', *öbes* 'door', *solanteg* 'salt vessel', *mada* 'dear, darling' and the conjunction *yšta* 'that'.

### *Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae – editorial principles for the critical edition*

This book is the translation of the printed grammar with comments presented as notes in the margin. It has double page numbering: running page numbers at the bottom of the page and original page numbers from the printed grammar of 1844 at the top. Original page numbers are used in the comments.

After the grammar, come chapters 4–7 from the Gospel of St. Matthew (with some notes). The same chapters in A. Šergin's translation (in the (Upper) Vyčegda dialect) are also given (see Appendix pp. 235–246); this had been the source for Castrén when translating into the Ižma dialect. There is no translation in English; the editors believe that the reader will easily find a translation if necessary.

The final part of the EGS consists of an Ižma–Latin vocabulary (approximately 1,100 words) including some etymological notes (Finnish and Saami). Castren's Latin has been translated into English.

The Corrigenda page is at the end of the book. In some examples of the printed grammars there are two Corrigenda pages. The last one belongs to Castrén's *Elementa grammatices Tschermisæ*. Why it is in EGS, is not known.

In the preface to his grammar, Castrén writes the following (pp. VII–VIII):

In Grammatica nostra imprimenda saepe absentes et aegrotantes, ne in formam quidem operis tantam curam conferre potuimus, quantam et leŕtori debuissimus, et nobismet ipsis et in primis Imperiali Academiae Petropolitanae, quae hunc libellum dimidio praemii Demidoffiani coronavit suoque sumtu in lucem edidit. Multa occurrunt heic vitia, quae a leŕtore observanda sunt, ne in errorem ducatur.

‘When this grammar was in press, we were frequently absent or taken ill and therefore unable even to see to the outward appearance of the publication, an obligation to our readers, ourselves and especially the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg, who honoured this booklet with half of the Demidov Prize and financed its publication. There are scores of misprints in the book, which the reader should be made aware of, so as to avoid misconstruals of the state of matters.’

The shortcomings mentioned by Castrén in his preface have been commented on and corrected by the editors of this book, and the notation has been harmonized with Castrén's instructions. Grammatical forms have been retrieved from the monograph of the Iŕma dialect (ID) and compared to the Komi literary language based on the ‘Modern Komi Language’ (ÖKK, 2000). When a word from the Iŕma dialect has been needed, it has been retrieved from the Komi Dialect Dictionary (KSK); literary words have been taken from the Komi–Russian dictionary (K RK). The Finnish and Saami words in the grammar are in the original form, often dialectal, written by Castrén, and no corrections have been made to them.

Additions made by the editors are given in square brackets.

It is quite apparent that Castrén has had to contemplate the transcription of **sibilants** and **affricates** a great deal. In the manuscript material and even in his dissertation, he uses Cyrillic letters (з, ж, ш, even the mid vowel ы) – and in the names of Komi rivers he applies the German notation wielded by Sjögren: Ishma (sometimes Ischma), Petschora, Vytschegda. In the latter of his two grammar manuscripts, Castrén has converted the Cyrillic characters to Latin (even the Cyrillic part of the dissertation included in the grammar). The sign indicating hushed sibilants became an apostrophe (in the printing stage?), and Castrén expresses his dissatisfaction with this at the end of his preface.

In this edition of the grammar, the apostrophe has been changed to a caron (*s', z', c' > š, ž, č*), which the editors believe was Castrén's intention (cf. p. VIII). Castrén's digraph *dž* (< *dz'*) has been retained but with a caron to indicate hushing, and the trigraph *dzj* as is, both indicating voiced affricates (cf. e.g. *ž* and *ž* used by Rédei). Let us mention that the manuscript Sirjänska bröllopsqwäden has Cyrillic letters for marking sibilants, affricates and the central vowel (ы). In the booklet of Zyrian wedding songs, Aminoff has converted the Cyrillic characters to Latin. He has also used carons instead of apostrophes as used by Castrén in his grammar. (See *Häälauluja* 1878.)

In a few places in the grammar the letter *w* has been retained (originating in Sjögren's German-language grammar); this has been corrected everywhere to *v* as noted in the preface (cf. VIII). In Castrén's treatment of the etymologies of words in the grammars of Khanty and Mari, the Komi words still show his older use of *w* in the transcription (see *Ostiacica* and *Elementa grammatices Tscheremissae*). Castrén uses the letters *y* and *ö* to indicate the central vowels, admittedly, the latter has become more open in non-initial syllables of the Ižma dialect, and here Castrén used the vowel *ä* (in ID the Cyrillic form is [э]). There are no diphthongs in the Komi language. All of the *i*-final vowel combinations ("diphthongs") that Castrén used have been changed to *j*-final. In this way the change referenced in his preface (cf. VIII) has been fulfilled. In the manuscript, the same words may have variant forms ending in *-Vj* and *-Vi*.

In places, Castrén has not shown consistency in **marking for palatalization**, or it has been lacking; this reflects the grammars of Sjögren (1834) and Gabelentz (1841), which were his sources. Castrén has used the letter *j* as a palatalization marker in *dj, dzj, lj, nj, tj, sj, zj, cj*, but oftentimes the marker is missing. In Komi, palatalization is a distinctive feature for 8 consonant pairs, i.e. there are 16 consonants all together, 8 palatalized and 8 non-palatalized or hard, and failure to mark palatalization can change the meaning of a word. In this edition, Castrén's transcriptions are unified: the missing palatalization is marked in the word or its inflectional form in square brackets [*j*]. In particular, the lack of palatal marking interferes with the recognition of the elative and ablative cases, even where it is etymologically expected. Castrén's elat. *-ys* and abl. *-lys* are presented in this publication as *-ys[j]* and *-lys[j]*, respectively. Castrén gives the case he calls ablative *z* in the form of *-sänj*. The modern name for this case is the egressive, and the ending should be *-sjänj* in Castrén's transcription (cf. literal *-sänj* [-сянь]). Castrén's transcription has been retained. In the grammars that appeared shortly after Castrén's (Savvaitov 1849, Wiedemann 1847 and 1884, G. Lytkin 1889), palatal marking in the separation cases are already in place. Starting with P.I. Savvaitov, palatal marking corresponds almost directly with that of Komi today.

The **case system** in Castrén's grammar corresponds, with the exception of the comitative case, to the modern understanding: 16 cases, while Sjögren had 13 and Flërov 6. Castrén had extended the case system with two *l* cases: the consecutive (*consecutivus*) [-ла] and the allative (*allativus*) [-лань], which is called the approximative in present grammars. The comitative is addressed in Castrén's treatment of postpositions (see § 90), but all instances show the comitative as a part of dependent morphology; it is Wiedemann, Savvaitov and G. Lytkin who then classify the comitative as a case. Although Castrén abandoned the vocative of Sjögren's grammar, Savvaitov and G. Lytkin reintroduced it to the Komi case system. Over time, the names of the cases have changed, and their numbers have risen to 26, which includes the double cases built on the approximative base (see ÖKK: 61).

Castrén gives **verbs** in first person singular present, which was typical of the time but entirely foreign to Komi dictionaries. In this edition, Cyrillic forms have been added to the glossary, and the base form of verbs in the Cyrillics is infinitive, which should make it easier for the reader to use other dictionaries. Castrén distinguishes two conjugations in Komi, as did his predecessors; the quality of the stem vowel served as a distinguishing criterion. According to the current understanding, the Komi language only has a single conjugation.

Castrén distinguished two tenses, actually three, as he recorded the future forms next to the present forms (which are distinct in the 3rd person). Castrén posited that the preterite also expressed the perfect and the past perfect. Although he did not include analytic forms of the past in his grammar, examples are to be found in the translation of the Gospel of Matthew. Castrén interpreted the imperfect *l*-terminus of Gabelentz's grammar as a deverbal derivation marker, not a tense marker (§ 83–85). The main categories are active and passive, which is passive-reflexive and has borrowed its marker from Russian (§ 74). Castrén has few verb participles and gerunds. Of the moods, Castrén mentions the indicative and the imperative. He concludes that Komi has no subjunctive or optative moods. Admittedly, Castrén introduces the subjunctive formed with a particle in § 73. Likewise, optatives formed with a particle can also be found among the imperative forms.

The **vocabulary** (pp. 137–166) consists of approx. 1,100 lexemes.

Four chapters from **the Gospel of St. Matthew** form the dialect text sample, of which more is told in the beginning of the foreword. The vocabulary accompanying the grammar is, to a large extent, a list of words used in the translation of the Gospel text.



### *The Manuscript*

M.A. Castren's manuscript Vol. IV in the Finnish National Library consists of two manuscripts of *Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae*, Ms. lat., pp. 277–360, one of which is written in Latin, and the other consists of grammatical notes to the grammar (*Anmärkningar till Syrjänska språkets Grammatik*, pp. 361–408), which is written in Swedish (and Russian), including an abundance of paradigms not used in the published grammar. The manuscript contains an Ižma–Latin vocabulary (*Syrjänsk Vocabularium*, pp. 409–651), seven wedding laments (*Sirjänska bröllopsqwäden*, pp. 653–680), the translation of the chapters 4–7 of the Gospel of St. Matthew, vocabulary and notes concerning the whole Gospel of St. Matthew (*Anmärkningar till Matthaeus*, pp. 681–737) and *Fragmenta* (pp. 739–746), which gives information about the Ižma people. Castrén has written his translations and notes using four languages, mixed: Swedish, Finnish, Latin and Russian. In many places, he has rendered the Ižma dialect, using Cyrillics and German-type transcription that derive from the German-language grammars of Zyrian written by Sjögren and Gabelentz. Castrén always wrote *Ishma* (in his travel descriptions also *Ischma*), thus following the German transcription conventions: his *-sh-* means the sound ж (ž). The editors have changed Castrén's *Ishma* to Ižma everywhere.

### *Acknowledgements*

I wish to thank two researchers who have given extensive help during this work.

The specialist in Latin, M.A. Antti Ijäs (Helsinki) has often translated and deciphered Castrén's sometimes cryptic Latin which was too complicated for me to understand. With the curiosities of the Ižma dialect Kand. Phil. Galina Punegova (Syktyvkar) has given her selfless help. Thanks to both of these specialists for good and fruitful collaboration.

I thank the Finno-Ugrian Society for inviting me to join the Manuscripta Castreniana project and for permitting me to invite Ph.D. Jack Rueter to be a fellow editor of this book. His knowledge of the Komi language has been very important when processing this publication; he is also responsible for the English translation.

Finally, I wish to thank the publishing editor of the Manuscripta Castreniana series, MA Anna Kurvinen, for her patience and sharp eye in detecting mistakes of the editors and for the elegant layout she has created for the series.

In Kirkkonummi, October 2021

Paula Kokkonen

Matthias Alexander Castrén

ELEMENTA GRAMMATICES SYRJAENAE

FUNDAMENTALS OF ZYRIAN GRAMMAR

*Edited and commentary by  
Paula Kokkonen & Jack Rueter*

*Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae*  
*Fundamentals of Zyrian Grammar*

*Compiled by*  
*M.A. Castrén*

*Helsingfors*  
*Printed by heirs of Simelius*  
*1844*



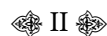
*Approved by N.A. Gylgén*



## Preface

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During our travels in the land of the Samoyed, Arxangel'sk, for the purpose of clarifying how close the connections were between the Finnic and Samoyedic peoples, we quickly observed that those connections were, indeed, quite distant, and that only by researching the different branches of Finnish-related languages could one distinguish and verify them. For many reasons we had considered that [knowledge of] the Zyrian and Ostyak languages would advance our studies markedly, and therefore we set as our goal the acquisition of a familiarity with these languages. We were afforded an optimal opportunity for learning Zyrian as we found bountiful settlements of Zyrians on the border of the Samoyedic areas. Everyone living on the upper Petschora [Pečora] speaks Zyrian. The most well-to-do settlement has been erected on the banks of the River Ishma or Ishva [Ižma or Ižva], which is a tributary of the Petschora [Pečora]. Here we were allowed to rest during the spring of last year [1843], as the melting of the snow and the flooding rivers in the land of the Samoyed hinder all possibilities of departure. Otherwise the country is virtually uninhabited, since the inhabitants leave for the distant sea shore at the earliest point in the year as is possible. With the arrival of summer, we were



forced to leave the Zyrian people, as we were compelled to hasten onward to contend with other pressing responsibilities. What we had been able to learn of the Zyrian language during our two-month stay, we wrote in notes on our journey – during boat rides, in cabins and in *chum* [cone-shaped] tents. In light of these facts, our booklet, which was born in haste and under difficult conditions, will not provide anything complete or final. But we are satisfied that we have at least been able to provide some kind of additional aids for Zyrian literature and that we have smoothed the path for those who will later be able to make even further reaching studies. This could be achieved with as little work as can be seen here, due to the regrettably poor state of Zyrian literature today. The following books contain all texts in the Zyrian language:

1. Зырянская Грамматика. Сочинилъ А. Флѣровъ. Въ Санктпетербургѣ 1813. 44 pp. (in 8:o).
2. Translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, titled: Мѣанъ Господьлѣнъ Исусъ Христосъ-лѣнъ сватѣй Евангеліе Матѣйсанъ. Санктпетербургъ 1823. 92 pp. (in 8:o).
3. Translation of the booklet: Наставленіе о прививаніи предохранительной оспы. Petrop. 1815. 16 pp. (in 8:o).
4. Ueber den Grammatischen Bau der Sürjänschen Sprache mit Rücksicht auf die Finnische, von A. J. Sjögrén. 21 pp. (in 4:o). This study was published in Mémoires de l'Académie [Impériale des Sciences] de St.-Pétersbourg in 1830.

III

5. Gründzüge der Sürjänischen Grammatik von H.C. v. d. Gabelentz. Altenburg 1841. 78 pp. (in 8:o).

Of the books mentioned, the grammar published in Flërov's<sup>1</sup> name is incomplete, riddled with mistakes and so contrary to the character of the language that it might be regarded as more confusing than enlightening. Sjögrén<sup>2</sup> was the first to demonstrate the real nature of the language and it was he who indicated what direction would be taken when dealing with Zyrian grammar. Following this lead, Gabelentz<sup>3</sup> too writes his "elementaries of the Zyrian language", where he has compiled all of what was good in previous works, especially the translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew. This translation has been duly extolled for its excellence in form, but it is, in fact, a product of haste. The spirit characteristic of the language has often suffered because the translator has striven to adhere to the formulations of the original Slavic text to the letter. In turn these mistakes have inevitably been transferred to the book by Gabelentz. Gabelentz's grammar, however, is more lacking than erroneous, unless of course dearth of information is considered a comparable flaw. This, naturally, is not a flaw we should criticize, as our booklet as well would be subject to the very same criticism. Where possible, we have treated matters with greater perspective, and we have striven to formulate our rules such that they are characteristic of the language and we have attempted to retain everything in its original form. As to how much we developed this field, this is left for others to decide.

- 1 Aleksey Fëdorovich Flërov (his lifetime not known) was a Komi physician and teacher who published the first grammar of the Komi language (Udora dialect) in 1813. Actually, the grammar was written by his student, Filipp Kozlov, in 1808.
- 2 Anders Johan Sjögren (1794–1855) was a Finnish linguist and ethnologist, an Academician of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg and Collegiate Councillor; he published a grammar of the Komi language (Ust'-Sysola dialect) in 1830 (newer versions: 1832 and 1834). (His name should be written: Sjögren, not Sjögrén as Castrén did.)
- 3 Hans Conon von der Gabelentz (1807–1874) was a German linguist and politician, who published a grammar of the Komi language (comparing some dialects) in 1841.



- 4 There are ten dialects in the Komi language. They are territorially divided into two groups: the north-western group: Ižma, Vym', Udora and Lower Vyčegda dialects, and the southern group: Luza-Letka, Upper Sysola and Middle Sysola dialects. Dialects that have emerged later include the Pečora, Upper Vyčegda and the mixed Syktyvkar dialect, which is the foundation of the literary language. Phonetically, according to variation in the *l*-phoneme, these ten dialects form their own groups (see § 31). Cf. KJa: 36, 70, 98–99, 292, 578; Bartens 2000: 48–49; Popova – Sažina 2014: 61–67.
- 5 There is no Jarensk dialect in the Komi language.

#### ❖ IV ❖

We also hope that the new Ižma dialect we are treating will advance the knowledge of the Zyrian language. Sjögrén divides the Zyrian language into four dialects: Udora, Ušt'-Sysola, Upper Vyčegda and Jarensk<sup>4</sup>, of which the last three belong to the same category. According to Sjögrén, the Ižma dialect is reminiscent of the Udora dialect. Evidence provided by the Zyrians themselves, however, proves Ižma to have a character of its own, and that it resembles the Jarensk dialect<sup>5</sup>, especially the variety spoken along the River Glotovo, the place where the first settlers of the River Ishma [Ižma] come from. All of these dialects differ more on the basis of usage (vocabulary) than in structure (grammar), which, on the basis of previous literature, one can conclude are based on suffixation. At first, inflectional endings in all Finnic languages provided a possibility for a duality in their realisation dependent upon the quality of the vowels in the word stem. In Zyrian, however, the endings have stabilized throughout with either the vowel *ö* (*ä*) or *y* (*i*). The Udora dialect has a preference for *ö*, whereas the Ušt'-Sysola dialect and undoubtedly its adjacent dialects has *ö* in some places and *ä* in others. The Ižma dialect, it will be observed, advocates an *ä* word finally and in the inflections. In the indicative preterite the Udora and Ižma dialects both use *i* instead of *y*. Setting aside dialect differences, which are of little moment in an abstract of the grammar, the Ižma dialect presents itself as a very interesting point of study; it has retained much which has disappeared in the other dialects. The Ižma dialect retains an entire system of personal suffixes,



various forms of verbs and nominals that are not attested in other languages or that grammarians have not as yet made note of. Additionally, many elements which are uncertain in other dialects can be clarified on the basis of the Ižma dialect and established as universals. In fact, it was this quality of the Ižma dialect which compelled us to write this book.

In the preceding we have inspected the relationship of Zyrian to Finnish and Lappish, which had previously been refuted but which since has been established by the honourworthy Sjögrén on the basis of structure, general formation and principles of the languages. This relationship, however, is not limited to the mere general form or principles of the languages: it can be observed in practice as well; in words resembling each other, in similar nominal and verbal endings as well as derived forms and elsewhere. We have also attempted to make reference to this actual kinship between the languages and for this special reason a minute word list has been provided in the appendix. We have adapted four chapters of the Gospel of St. Matthew<sup>6</sup> mentioned above to the Ižma dialect so as to provide a clearer representation of special characteristics of the dialect. From these we can observe the modern state of the language, the terrible degradation of its syntactic structure, for it was this portion of the grammar we were obliged to leave unaddressed.

Upon completion of our little book, we are still inclined to make a number of comments on the Zyrian language and its relationship to Finnish, the most noteworthy of which are<sup>7</sup>:

- 6 Castrén's translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew into the Ižma dialect was based on the translation of the Gospel (1823) in the Vyčegda dialect made by Aleksandr Šergin (1789–1837), who was a Komi teacher and translator (see Ploskov – Cypanov 2002: 32–36). According to Gabelentz (1841: 1), the translation was in the Ust'-Sysola dialect, but according to G. Lytkin (1889: 230–232), it was in the Vyčegda dialect. (According to G. Pune-gova (p.c.), the dialect seems to be the Upper Vyčegda dialect.)
- 7 The major part of these comments is found in Bihang till företalet ('appendix to the preface') in a letter to Sjögren, cf. *Epistulae* 1, pp. 323–324.

- 8 The meaning of the question mark here is not known. Perhaps, Castrén himself was not quite certain. Cf. KSK 2, 849: эты, KSK 2, 856: эны. The plural form is correct.
- 9 The terminative ending in *-öd'ž* [-ödž] is assumed to be a reflex of \*ć, from which the Finnish prolativ ending *-itse* appears to have been derived (Bartens 2000: 87).

❖ VI ❖

1. The Zyrian language has a dental sound that is realised phonetically between the Russian sibilants *c* [s] and *з* [z], and it is quite similar to the soft *s* found in the Uusimaa dialect of Finnish, e.g. *messä* 'forest', gen. *mesän*; *vissa* 'switch', gen. *visan*. Examples from the Zyrian language can be found in: *doos* 'basket' and *kosa* 'I return'. This sound has nearly been lost, however, in the Zyrian language, in favor of *z* and *s*.
2. Demonstrative pronoun relations are represented by *sya* 'it/that' and *etaja* or *taja* 'this' as shown in § 62. In addition, there is also the demonstrative pronoun *etya* 'that', pl. *enya* (?)<sup>8</sup>, which is used to indicate a very distant object and which declines similarly to *etaja*, e.g. dat. *etyly*, illat. *etyä*, abl. 1 *etylys[j]* etc.
3. The following additions should be made to matters of case formation and the relation of these cases to their Finnish counterparts should be:
  - a. The terminative suffix *edzj* has a cognate in the Finnish particle *asti*.<sup>9</sup>
  - b. The Finnish allative also bears the function of the consecutive, e.g. *meni veelle* '(he/she/it) went to (the) water' in other words '(he/she/it) went to get water'. From this we can conclude that either the allative and consecutive cases in Finnish have assimilated to one form due to their close similarity, or a new consecutive case has been formed from the dative case in Zyrian.

❖ VII ❖

- c. The *lanj* allative and *sānj* second ablative can best be derived from the consecutive and elative cases. These cases have been derived with the suffix *ni*, which undoubtedly is of the same origin as the *ni* particle in the Estonian language and the *ne* ending in the Finnish, e.g. *kunne* 'whither', *tänne* 'thither' etc.
4. The transition of the letter *l* to *u* in the Finnish language (cf. § 12) can be attested in the Savo dialect, e.g. *ei ouk* instead of *ei ole* 'is not'. The letters *u* and *v* are pronounced in both languages in approximately the same manner, whereas the *k* of thick Savo speech represents aspiration alone.
5. Although syllable length is generally distinguished clearly in the Zyrian language, we have noted that, at times, the letter *z* requires a preceding vowel be pronounced long regardless of whether that vowel is short or not.
6. The plural originally ended in *äs*, which is demonstrated by the ending *äs<sup>10</sup>*, where the letter *j* is in contradiction to the actual nature of the language, the nominative noun *purtäs<sup>11</sup>* 'scissors', which is the plural form of the word *purt* 'knife', is formed in the same way as the Russian ножницы 'scissors' and ножъ 'knife'.
7. The *ä* vowel in the *tägja* ending of the caritive does not change to *e*, this exception to the rule happens in many other places as well, where the vowel is followed by two consonants that can be split into two separate syllables.

- 10 See plural suffixes: § 26 and § 44.
- 11 *purtäs* (in the literary language *purtös* [пуртöc]) has no plural suffix but a nominal suffix -ös [-öc], cf. § 37; Rédei 1978: 88.

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

## ❖ VIII ❖

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

Released in Helsingfors, 2 September 1844

M.A. Castrén



# I Phonetics

### A. Simple and composite letters

## § 1

The letters of the Zyrian language are as follows:

## Vowels

*a, e, i, o, u, y, ä, ö*<sup>15</sup>

## Consonants<sup>16</sup>

Labials:  $b, v, m, p$

Linguals:  $d, l, t, n$

Palatals:  $j, g, k, r^{17}$

Dentals: { z, ž, s, š, c, č

and  
Sibilants:  $\begin{cases} z, \check{z}, s, \check{s}, c, \check{c} \\ dz, d\check{z}, ds, d\check{s}, dc, d\check{c}^{18} \end{cases}$

- 17 Here the labials are correct, whereas linguals may be a cover term for the other groups, i.e. palatals, dentals and sibilants (affricates).
- 18 Cf. § 4, see also the pronunciation of Castrén's dentals and sibilants, which should be classified as sibilants and affricates, respectively. They are spelled in a manner reminiscent of the German transcription used in Sjögren's grammar ("das weiche *s*" (< ʒ), *ds* (ɖʒ) etc., cf. Sjögren 1834: 152). The transcription used by Castrén does not correspond to the modern transcription.

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

Fricatives: /s/, /ś/, /š/, /z/, /ž/, /ž/. Using Cyrillic letters: voiceless с, съ (or с + и, е, ё, ю, я), ш, and voiced з, зь (or з + и, е, ё, ю, я), ж.

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

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

In their own comments the editors of this book have used s, ś, š, z, ź, ž and c, ć, dź, dż.



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



## § 2

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

## § 3

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



## § 4

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

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

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

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



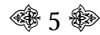
e.g. *ydžyd* ‘big’, Fi *iso*; *vodecja* ‘opposite’, Fi *vaštaan*; *džudžyd*<sup>22</sup> ‘deep; high’, Fi *syvä*<sup>23</sup>, 2) and the fact that the *d* sound, when it comes into contact with several other consonants, is easily lost, e.g. *udžjeza* ‘debtor’, *užda* ‘I owe’; *jedžyd* ‘white’, *ježda*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

## § 5

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

## § 6

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



## B. Alternations of sounds

### a. Alternations in vowels

#### § 7

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

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

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

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

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



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

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



## § 8

Therefore, these alternations of vowels are most frequent:

A) The letter *a* changes to *ä* 1) in effective<sup>28</sup> forms of the verbs, e.g. *sad[j]ma* 'I wake up', *sad[j]mäda* 'I wake (tr.)'; *kusa* 'I become extinguished, go out'<sup>29</sup>, *kusäda* 'I turn, switch off, extinguish'; *vöjpa* 'I say', *vöjpäda* 'I assure'; *töda* 'I know', *tödäda* 'I let know'; 2) in 3rd person sg. and pl. indicative pres., in 2nd person pl. imperative and passive participle and *nomen aeti*; e.g. *karä* 'he/she makes', *karänys* 'they make', *karä* 'make (pl)!', *karäma* 'made', *karäm* 'act, making', from the root *kara* 'I make'; 3) in some nouns, which no doubt have originally been derived from verbs with final *ä*: e.g. *pöta* 'I am full', *pötäsa* 'full, satisfying'; *murtala* (from a lost root *murta*) 'I measure', *murtäs* 'measure', *murtäsa* 'that can be measured'. The other similar nouns include *a*, e.g. *majta* 'I grease, smear', *majtas* 'grease, liniment'; *doma* 'I repair', *domas* 'patch'; the conclusion can be reached that *a* originally belongs to the verb.<sup>30</sup>

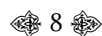
B) The vowel *a* has changed to *i* in ind. pret. e.g. *muna* 'I go', *muni* 'I went'.<sup>31</sup>

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

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

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

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



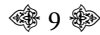
illat. *kerkajasä*; instr. *kinam* 'with my hand', *purtnad* 'with your knife', from nom. *ki*, *purt*, instr. *kiän*, *purtän*.

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

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

G) Contrary to the spirit of the language, *i* changes to *e* in the words *vit* 'five', *vetyymyn* 'fifty' (*vitōmys*, Flërov<sup>34</sup>), and also *o* and *e* as in the Russian language in *njolj* 'four', *njeljaamyn* 'forty'.





H) Sometimes *y* and *i* are in alternation, e.g. *koknyd* or *koknid* 'easy', *vösnyd* or *vösnid*<sup>35</sup> 'thin' etc.

I) Sometimes *j* changes to *y*, e.g. *vidzja* 'I take care of, pass. *vicysja*<sup>36</sup> (see below) and on the contrary *y* to *j*, e.g. *asy* 'in the morning', *asja* 'morning (adj.)'; *ködzyd* 'cold', *köjdoo* 'cool' (*ködzydoo*<sup>37</sup>, *ködzjdoo* and due to consonant clustering the digraph letter *dz* is dropped: *köjdoo*).

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

## § 9

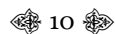
The vowels often disappear not only at the end of the word but also in the middle, e.g. *gogyn* 'scrap-er', *gognala* 'I scrape'; *toman* 'lock', *tomnala* 'I lock'; *vugyr* 'hook', *vugrala* 'I fish' (see § 84); *sjökyd* 'heavy, difficult', *sjökydaa* or *sjöktaa* 'heavily, with difficulty'; *myykyd* 'wise', *myykydaa* or *myyktaa* 'skilfully'; *ydžyd* 'big', *ydžydoo* or *yždoo* 'rather big'; *dženyd* 'short', *džendoo*<sup>38</sup> 'rather short'.

## § 10

The syllable-final diphthong tends to become a long vowel from *oä* to *oo*, e.g. *voä* or *voo* 'I come'; *loä* or *loo* 'I become', *voänys* or *voonys* 'they come'<sup>39</sup>.

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

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



10

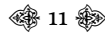
### *b. Alternations in consonants*

#### § 11

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

#### § 12

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



‘under, beneath’, Fi *ala*; *uusa* or *ulysa* ‘low(er), nether’, Fi *alanen*; *vyysa* or *vylysa* ‘upper’, Fi *ylinen*; *tuusoo* (orig. *tulysoy*) ‘spring’, dim. from *tulys* ‘spring’. When the vowel *a* precedes the consonant *v*, they merge into *oo*, e.g. *vištala* ‘I tell’, imperat. *vištoo* ‘tell!’ (orig. *vištaly*, *vištäl*, *vištäv*)<sup>42</sup>; *lögala* ‘I am angry’, imperat. *lögoo* (orig. *lögaly*, *lögal*, *lögav*) etc. The letter *l* does not undergo such a development after a long vowel, e.g. *vööla* ‘I often am’, imperat. *vööly*, not *vöö’ö*.

## § 13

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

- 42 The verb is *vistoony* > *visj-toony* ‘to tell’, its stem is palatalized: *visj-*; in the literary language *visjtavny* [вись-тавны].

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

❧ 12 ❧

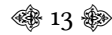
In the same way, consonant changes can be explained in the words: *usja* ‘I fall down, stumble’, *uskäda* ‘I attack’; *oška* ‘I praise’, *ošjysja*<sup>\*)</sup> (formed from the imperat. *ošky*<sup>43</sup>) ‘I boast’, where the letter *k* has either disappeared or *j* has been added for eased pronunciation,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

§ 14

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

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



13

## § 15

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

## § 16

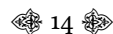
A sharp aspiration is at times heard at the end of nominals with word-final vowels. As can be discerned through comparative methods, the source of the aspiration can be found in the letter *s*, e.g. *vo*' (*voh*) 'year', Fi *wuosi*; *ma*' 'honey', Fi *mesi*; *va*' 'water', Fi *vesi*; *ki*' 'hand', Fi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

## § 17

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

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

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



14

## § 18

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

## § 19

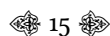
As in Lappish, the letters *j* and *v* are sometimes used pleonastically in the beginning of vowel-initial Zyrian words, e.g. *jyy* or *vyy* 'high, upper, top'; *yy* or *yly*, which means something remote, Fi *yli*; Lapp.<sup>49</sup> *jem* 'needle', Fi *äimä*; *voj* 'night', Fi *yö*; *vodzj* 'early',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

## § 20

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

## § 21

Letters can also be interchangeable, e.g. *arkma* instead of *karma* 'I do, make'; *jubirtny* or *jurbitny* 'to pray', *vejt* 'roof', *vetja* 'I cover' (cf. § 60, Obs. 1<sup>50</sup>).



## II Accent and Quantity

### § 22

Accent in Zyrian, as in other languages of the same origin, falls on odd-numbered syllables, i.e. the first, third, fifth, etc. On the first syllable it falls with more force, and on others it falls much more softly and is scarcely discernible to the human ear. In some two-syllable nominals that end in vowels, the accent on the first syllable is lost due to the extremely sharp aspiration in the second syllable. These words are only distinguished from the first-person present indicative forms of verbs by the aspiration, e.g. *pemda* 'darkness', *pemda*, [1SG < *pemdyny* 'to become dark']; *jugda* 'brightness', *jugda* [1SG < *jedždyny*<sup>51</sup> 'to clear (up)']; *sjökta* 'heaviness, weight', *sjökta* 'I get pregnant' (cf. § 2).

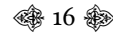
### § 23

In Zyrian, quantity is not as minimal and unclear as it is in Lappish but clear and distinct, as it is in Finnish. Most frequently, it appears in the first syllable, and when it is found sometimes in other syllables, it appears to be the result of a contraction. This is also the case in the Finnish language.

- 51 The verbs (given here in literary form) *jugdö* [югдö] 'it is clearing (up)', *pemdö* [пемдö] 'it is getting dark' are impersonal verbs often referring to meteorological expressions and only occur in the third-person singular.



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



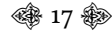
### III Nominals

#### A. *Nouns*

##### § 24

All languages of Finnic origin are entirely lacking in gender, but they are full of case form complexity. Cases are not only used for the expression of activity, which is found in the Zyrian cases nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, infinitive<sup>52</sup>, ablative 2, instructive, including space as expressed by the essive, factive and caritive. In fact, cases are also used to address various spatial relations, which, in other languages, are expressed by prepositions, but, in the Finnic languages and especially in Zyrian, they are expressed by the allative and illative, adessive and inessive, ablative 1, elative, consecutive and prosecutive.

N.B. There is a lack of prepositions in Finnish, but since cases are never sufficient for addressing a myriad of spatial relationships, additional postpositions have developed in the language to cover the needs of a more cultivated means of expression. Many postpositions have lost their concrete meaning, and they are used just as abstractly as prepositions in other



languages. In their specific meanings, however, postpositions always serve as the cases of nominals, and they may be derived from any noun for expressing the situation in an intuitive manner. Thus, for example, the [Latin] expression: *sedet ad mensam* is expressed using the following circumlocution: *sedet ad marginem mensae*, Fi ‘istuu pöydän vieressä’, Zyr. *pysan*<sup>53</sup> *doryn*<sup>54</sup>. – Due to the intuitive character of postpositions, they serve as an exceptional means of expressing spatial relations. There are, of course, postpositions that express relations between abstract concepts, but these are always derived from nouns, and they have a certain specific meaning not found in prepositions.

## § 25

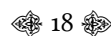
Zyrian has the following cases:

1. The nominative includes the stem of the noun, which originally ended in a vowel but has subsequently undergone many changes.

2. The genitive does not have its own ending, it is expressed either by the nominative, e.g. *pu kyrs* ‘tree bark’ or by the adessive, e.g. *adzja pulän kyrs*<sup>55</sup> ‘I see the bark of the tree’ ([La] *ad arborem*) or by elative, e.g. *pulys[j] kyrs kulji* ‘I peeled bark off the tree’ ([La] *ab arbore*). The actual genitive suffix is also missing in Lappish and Estonian, but there are traces left, which indicate that these languages have once had genitives with the very *-n* ending

- 53 Should be *pyzan* (see Vocabulary).
- 54 Both the Finnish and the Komi would translate as ‘next to the table’. The translation ‘at the table’, in contrast, would be *pöydän ääressä* in Finnish and *pyzan sajyn* in Komi.
- 55 *adzja pulän kyrs* ‘I see the bark of the tree’. This should be: *adzja pulysj kyrs*. The noun modifier of an object should be in the ablative case *-lys*, or as Castrén calls it, the “elative”.

- 56 The term adessive has subsequently been abandoned, and the *-lön* case in modern grammars is now called the genitive. The ending has developed from the combination of an *l* element and the *\*nA* locative (Bartens 2000: 82). Cf. § 25:9, note 71.
- 57 Inf. = Infinitivus (La). Castrén used this old term for the modern Finnish partitive case.
- 58 The accusative does not necessarily take an ending, or the suffix for marking it is *-ös* [-öc] in both the singular and plural. The sibilant is interpreted originally as the SG3PX marker, and the suffix-initial vowel is considered a hold over from the old accusative ending in *\*m*, after being lost the case was emphasized with a possessive suffix. The vowel-final forms SG3PX *-sö* [-cö] and SG2PX *-tö* [-tö] can evidence the loss of a final consonant (perhaps *\*m*). (Bartens 2000: 80–82.) Marking of the object in Komi is defined by definiteness and animacy. A definite object takes the accusative case. In general, when the object is definite and animate, the case marking is *-ös*, if it is definite but inanimate, it is *-sö*. Dative objects are also found in the dialects. (Bartens 2000: 80, 92, 333; Baker 1985: 117–; Klumpp 2008: 167–216; Popova – Sažina 2014: 103–105, 246.)
- 59 Castrén merely uses the word suffix when speaking of possessive suffixes.



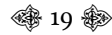
found in the Finnish language. It is possible that this case existed a long time ago in Zyrian, too, and we find it credible that the adessive has been derived from the *la* or *lä* ending (as in the Finnish adessive) and the same genitive ending *-n*. The language has discarded its original genitive, as it was identical to the instructive; a fact of why Finnish has nearly lost all use of its own instructive case in the singular.<sup>56</sup>

3. The accusative does not have its own ending in Finnish or Lappish, rather the object function is expressed with either the nominative or the genitive (in the singular) or the infinitive<sup>57</sup>. In Zyrian the accusative tends to be replaced by the nominative. Nominals indicating living being names that end in consonants take their own ending in *-äs* (*\*-ös*) *†*) in the singular and plural. This ending has without doubt developed from the accusative first-person singular possessive suffix, which sounds the same *\*)*.<sup>58</sup>

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*†*) We use the *\** mark to indicate differences in various dialects.

*\*)* The [px] suffix<sup>59</sup> is often used in the Ižma dialect. The third-person suffix<sup>60</sup> is frequently missing from other cases, in the accusative, however, it is retained. If the suffix is sometimes left out, the accusative is used unrestrictedly, e.g. *adzja mortäs* ‘I see the man’. It is also used in the first person: *adzja meam*<sup>61</sup> *mortäs* ‘I see my man’; one cannot, however, say: *adzja tead*<sup>62</sup> *mortäs* (rather *morttä*) ‘I see your man’, *bos[j]ti sya*<sup>63</sup>



4. The instructive ends in *-än* (\*-ön)<sup>64</sup>, e.g. *mortän* ‘as a man’, *purtän* ‘with a knife’. The same instructive suffix is found in Finnish and Lappish but without any onset vowel/letter, which in Zyrian is clear and non-volatile. In Finnish and Lappish, the quality of the onset letter depends on the last stem vowel. The instructive is used to replace the essive, as in Russian.

5. The caritive comes with the ending *-täg* (\*-tög) or *-tägja*<sup>65</sup>, Lapp. *tagha*, Fi *-tta*, *-tah*, *-tak*, Est *ta*; e.g. *njanjtäg* or *njanjtägja* ‘without bread’; *kerkatäg* or *kerkatägja* ‘without a house’.

6. No doubt, the dative ending *ly* was originally an allative, and still it is sometimes used instead of the illative<sup>66</sup>, although it only expresses the meaning of dative, e.g. *jenly* ‘to God’, *mortly* ‘to the man’. The suffix *-ly* corresponds to the allative suffix *-le* not only in Finnish but in Estonian and Lappish, as well. The letter *l* is known in all outer local cases (allative, adessive, ablative, consecutive); the final *e* changes into *y* in Zyrian.<sup>67</sup>

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*purtäs* (rather *purtsä*) ‘I took his/her knife’, which clearly indicates that the *-äs* ending stems originally from the first-person singular ending. It is readily observed that the language has used the suffix for expressing the accusative meaning, as suffixes in Zyrian have lost their real meanings and now only indicate a specific form of the noun.

- 60 Could this be a mistake? Castrén is referring to *-äs*, which is the first-person singular suffix.
- 61 These are genitive attributes that should be in the form abl. 1 (see pp. 51–53 and § 58).
- 62 These are genitive attributes that should be in the form abl. 1 (see pp. 51–53 and § 58).
- 63 Mistake: *sya* in nominative; should be in the form abl. 1 (see pp. 52–53).
- 64 Nowadays, the term instrumental is generally used for the instructive, it ends in *-ön* [-өн]. Just as in the genitive and inessive, this form derives from the old locative case in \**nA* (Bartens 2000: 83–84).
- 65 The caritive ending *-tög* [-tör] contains a caritive element \**ktV* and a lative \**k* (Bartens 2000: 84). Hamari (2011: 37–) uses the term *abessive* and reserves the term *caritive* for *-töm*, the denominal adjective and negative participle suffix.
- 66 Could this be a mistake? Castrén only discusses the dative and allative here.
- 67 The dative ending *-ly* [-лы] contains an *l* element followed by a reflex of the lative \**k*, which has subsequently disappeared (as in the illative). The dative, genitive and ablative 1 represent what appears in the Balto-Finnic languages as an *l* series of cases. In Komi, however, these are not external local cases. They express functions associated with animate entities: habitive, dative and abductive. (Bartens 2000: 82–83.)

68 Should be *dilanj* (*di* ‘island’ instead of *ti*, which was probably confused with *ty* ‘lung; lake’, see Vocabulary).

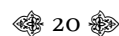
69 The *l* element of the Komi allative is a reflex of the same element found in the Balto-Finnic local cases. In modern terminology, it is known as the approximative case, with the ending *-lañ* [-лань]. It is also used as a coaffix with all of the Komi local cases, which has meant the emergence of 7 new local cases consisting of two case constituents: *-lañyn*, *-lañyś*, *-lañö*, *-lañsañ*, *-lañöd*, *-lañti*, *-lañöd’ž* [-ланьын, -ланьысь, -ланьö, -ланьсаñ, -ланьöd, -ланьти, -ланьöd’ž]. (ÖKK: 60–61.)

The allative (or approximative) does not appear in the grammars by Sjögren and Gabelentz.

70 The “aspiration” found in the illative is presumably a reflex of *\*k* in the lative ending. After the loss of the lative *\*k*, the illative function is borne only by the vowel *ö* (Bartens 2000: 85). Castrén writes the Ižma illative with the vowel *ä*, which is represented by [-э] in the dialect monograph (ID: 44), the literary norm is [-ö], i.e. there is no aspiration identified.

71 In his adessive, Castrén distinguishes the functions of the habeo-construction and the owner attribute.

Here, it would appear Castrén means the adessive in Komi does not have the function of an external spatial case marker, as it does in Finnish, and he accurately indicates

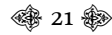


7. The allative means movement to or towards a place, it is expressed with the ending *-lanj*, which is commonly used in Zyrian, e.g. *jaglanj* ‘towards the forest’ (къ лѣсу), *morjelanj* ‘towards the sea’, *tilanj*<sup>68</sup> ‘towards the island’, *mortlanj* ‘towards the person’. After the change of meaning to the primary allative, a new case seems to be born from the consecutive in *-la*<sup>69</sup>.

8. The illative, which expresses movement into a space (inner part), ends in *-ä* (*\*-ö*); e.g. *mortä* ‘into a man’, *kerkaä* ‘into a house’. The aspiration at the end, which has a sharpness that might be expressed with *h*<sup>70</sup>, is used in the formation of the Finnish illative, which ends in *hVn*, originally *-h*, and which even today is found in the Karelian dialects of Russia, e.g. *kulkku* ‘throat’, illat. *kulkkuh*; *wenehe* ‘boat’, illat. *weneheh*. In Zyrian the illative replaces the factive [construction], e.g. *kiä* ‘*karis* ‘he/she made (it) into a hand’, Fi *teki kädeksi*.

9. The adessive ends in *-län* (*\*-lön*), expressing:

1. Stationary external local case, e.g. *pulän vyjym kyrs* ‘a tree has bark’; *mortlän vyjym kerka* ‘a person has a house’. The adessive in Finnish also has this habeo sense, e.g. *puulla on kuori*, *ihmisellä on huonet*; but the Zyrian adessive is scarcely used in its pure meaning, instead this function is generally expressed with a postposition.<sup>71</sup>



2. The genitive expresses the owner, e.g. *kučlän poz* 'nest of eagle', *kerkalän vejt* 'roof of a/the house' (see earlier).

10. The inessive uses the ending *-yn*, which is a good equivalent to the essive *-na* in the Finnish and Estonian languages, and is still a better equivalent to the essive ending *-n* in Lappish. The final *-a* has dropped away and *-y* is a connecting letter<sup>72</sup>. The essive often bears the meaning of the inessive as well, that is, it indicates stationary in place (inside), e.g. *ištuu kotona* l. *koissa* 'he/she sits at home', in Zyrian *gortyn pukalä*.

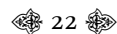
11. Ablative 1 ends in *-lys[j]* (Fi *-lta*, Ešt *-lt*, Lapp. *-ld*), here we once again observe the consonant typifying external locative cases. *y* is a connecting vowel, *s*, however, is a reflex of *t*, as in the nominative plural (cf. § 3). Ablative 1 is called the possessive by others, because sometimes it is used to replace the genitive. Its meaning, however, is not possessive, rather, to the contrary, it is privative, e.g. *pulys[j]* *uu kerali* 'I cut a branch from the tree' ([La] *ab arbore*); *vokälys[j]* *paskäm bošti*<sup>73</sup> 'I took the cloth(es) from my brother' ([La] *a fratre meo*). What Gabelentz says about the same meaning of ablative 1 and the adessive, is not true in the Ižma dialect, even though the genuine ablative meaning is no longer to be found except in a few individual expressions, e.g. *korny ajlys[j]* 'to ask from the father, Fi *pyytää isältä*; *jualis nylys[j]* 'he/she asked from them', Fi *kysy[i]* *niiltä* (see Gab[elentz], p. 56).<sup>74</sup>

the external spatial case in Komi is expressed with postpositions. Since Castrén's time, the *-lön* [-лөн] case has generally been called the genitive. The term *adessive* instead of *genitive*, however, has been used since by scholars, e.g. Uotila (1938: 46).

- 72 The inessive ending in the literary language *-yn* [-ын] is the reflex of the *\*nA* locative case (Bartens 2000: 84–85).
- 73 Should be *pasjkäm bosjti*, cf. KSK 2: паськем; KSK 1: босьны.
- 74 The ablative is not an external local case in Komi, instead it serves as an abductive case for animate entities; in the literary language, the suffix is *-lys* [-лысь]. The ablative is derived from a combination of the *l* element and the proto-Permic *Vs* source case. Castrén has left the palatalization of the sibilant unspecified, so have Sjögren (1834: 156) and Gabelentz (1841: 8–11) before him, but Savvaitov (1849: 8–10) no longer does this, according to the dialect monograph, the ending [-лысь] has a palatal sibilant (II: 43–44). Komi has a complementary genitive-ablative distribution in the possessor attribute position: the ablative attribute must be used, when its head is object in the clause, elsewhere a genitive attribute is used (Bartens 2000: 82–83). The ablative case is also called the genitive-ablative (Rédei 1978: 75). Here the editors have corrected all instances of the ablative 1 to *-lys[j]*.



- 75 Nowadays, ablative 2 (in Castrén's notes *privativus*) is called the egressive, and its ending in the literary language is *-sañ* [-сянь]. This ending has the same *-ś* element as that found in the elative. Castrén leaves the palatalization of the sibilant unmarked, according to the dialect monograph the palatal sibilant is part of the ending [-c'аһ'] (ID: 44). The egressive has an abductive function, as does the *-lys* ablative. The editors note that *s* followed by *ä* in *-sänj* must indicate a palatalized *-ś*.
- 76 The elative ending is *-ys* [-ысь], and it has an unclear history (Bartens 2000: 85). Here as well Castrén has originally left the palatalization of the case-final sibilant unmarked; so have Sjögren (1834: 156) and Gabelentz (1841: 8–11), but Savvaitov (1849) has no longer done this. The editors have corrected all instances of the elative to *-ys[j]*.
- 77 In the literary language: *kerös* [керöс]) 'hill(side)'. Castrén's Latin translation for *keräs* (KSK 1: керес) is *vicus* 'village', which might be a mistake or may have an extended meaning 'village on hillside'.
- 78 The consecutive does not appear in the grammars by Sjögren and Gabelentz, hence Castrén has enriched the description of the Komi declension system by recognising the final character of this case, which ends in *-la* [-ла]. The suffix-final lative *\*k* has been lost.
- 79 The consonant elements of the endings are deemed to be reflexes of the same ending,



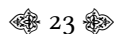
12. Ablative 2 is generally used for the expression of cause and origin, without specifying an internal-external dichotomy. Ablative 2 ends in *-sänj* (*-seänj*, *-sjanj*) and appears to be a reflex of the elative, in approximately the same way as the allative is a reflex of the consecutive<sup>75</sup>. E.g. *Jensänj* 'from God'; *voksänj* 'from a brother'; *musänj* 'from the land/country'.

13. The elative, which expresses motion from a location (internal), ends in *-ys[j]*<sup>76</sup>, and its relation to the elative in Finnish (*-sta*) and Lappish (*-stl*) is evident from the rule that does not allow two consonants at the end of a syllable. E.g. *vays[j]* 'from the water'; *juys[j]* 'from a/the river'; *keräsys[j]*<sup>77</sup> 'from a/the village'.

14. The consecutive *-la*, which is characteristic of Zyrian, is a reflex of the external locative cases with both the presence of the letter *l* and the meaning in *tačt*<sup>78</sup>. Namely, it indicates motion towards a place for the procurement of something to be brought back, e.g. *vala muni* 'he/she went for water', Ru за водою.

15. The prosecutive, which expressed motion up to or past, ends in either *-äd* (*\*-öd*) or in postpositions and adverbs mainly in *-ti*<sup>79</sup>. The same case occurs in Finnish and ends in *-tte*, *-tteh*, *-tse*. This, undoubtedly, was the original transitive<sup>80</sup> ending in Zyrian, as well, but *e* has changed into either *i* or, after vowel change, into *ä*, e.g. *muäd* 'along the land', *vomäd* 'along the mouth'.





16. The terminative ending *-edzj*<sup>81</sup> expresses movement to the end or edge of a place, e.g. *karedzj muni* 'I went all the way to town'.

N.B. 1. The vocative was presumed by Sjögren to be indicated by the ending *-ö* (*-e*), Gabelentz, however, abandoned this, considering it merely an exclamation. The Ižma dialect shows the vowel *-ö* (here *-ä*) to be the first-person nominative suffix.<sup>82</sup>

N.B. 2. From what has been briefly discussed in the preceding paragraphs on case forms, it appears they are quite closely related in Finnish and Zyrian. The thought and character of the cases, as well as their meaning and even their endings could not be more similar despite their representing different languages.<sup>83</sup>

## § 26

The plural in the nominative ends in *-jas*, originally *-äs*, where the meaning of the letter *ä* in the ending is merely that of a connective vowel, *s*, on the contrary, is equivalent to that of Lappish in the plural *h*, and Finnish *t*. Other cases are formed after the same fashion in the singular and plural.<sup>84</sup>

reflexes of the Uralic source case *\*tA*. (Bartens 2000: 87.) Chrestomathies written after Castrén (SChr., p. 48; Rédei 1978: 77–79) mention two prolativ cases: the prosecutive *-öd* and the transitive *-ti*, but the dialect monograph only presents one case Ru переходный (ID: 44). ÖKK (p. 61) mentions two case forms: 1 *vudžan* [–öd] and 2 *vudžan* [–ri]. Many Komi readers, however, only mention one case, as did Castrén, the prosecutive (Ru переходный, Komi вуджан), which, however, has two endings *-öd* [–öd] and *-ti* [–ri] (cf. Цыпанов 2015: 216; Punegova 2015: 262).

80 This is a mistake: transitive should be prosecutive (see Corrigenda).

81 The terminative ending in *-ödž* [–ödž] is assumed to be a reflex of *\*č*, from which the Finnish prolativ ending *-itse* appears to be derived (Bartens 2000: 87).

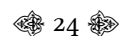
82 The vocative case in Sjögren's grammar (1834), which was abandoned by Gabelentz (1841), was abandoned in Castrén's declension, as well. He regarded the *-ö* suffix as marking the first-person singular possessor, which is indicated by the *-öj* suffix in the standard language.

83 The only case missing from the Komi case system outlined by Castren is the comitative, which is indicated by *-köd* [–köd] in the standard language, and [–кэд] in the Ižma dialect (ID: 43). More recent grammars (i.a. ÖKK) include the preclusive/comparative

(Komi *ötkodjalan*) *-ša* [-сә], which is found in the dialects with usage as a standard of comparison. Cases have been enumerated in different grammars of Komi over time as 6–25. Castrén presents 16 here, which as a number (with little variation) has been retained for approximately 150 years, until ÖKK, the first descriptive grammar written in Komi (2000: 61) extended the case system with two-layered cases, after which the number of cases in Komi has risen to 25. In the sources used by Castrén, the number of cases were: Flërov 6, Sjögren 13 and Gabelentz 13 cases.

84 Body parts that occur in pairs as well as clothing used to cover them are generally referred to in the singular. The Komi additive plural, in *jas*, can also be as an associative plural with kinship terms and proper nouns, a group indicated by the noun mentioned includes associates as well, e.g. *Ivanjas* ‘Ivan and his associates’. The plural suffix *-jas* [-яс] has grammaticalized from the substantive *jöz* [jöz] ‘people’. The etymological comparison with Finnish and Saami is incorrect. (Bartens 2000: 73. 76.)

85 Nowadays, only one declension is posited. Some nouns and adjectives have allomorphic alternation between stems ending in 1 or 2 consonants. This is word specific and does not require the



24

### *a) Declension of nouns*

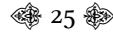
#### § 27

We have already noted that nominals in Zyrian, as in Finnish, Lappish and Estonian, have lost the final vowel of their stems. Most frequently, the missing vowel is *i*, which has either been dropped directly or after an intermittent change to *j* (Ь), which, in fact, often returns to soften a subsequent *ä* to *e*. The final vowel in many nominals has also been dropped after two consonants, which has in turn resulted in the dropping of the second consonant in the nominative. – Many nominals have, in addition to this, also lost the consonant *l* in the nominative. In this way, two declensions are born, a regular and an irregular declension. In the former, the stem remains unchanged in all cases, where it bears the form of the nominative singular; in the latter, some of the cases take an extra consonant.<sup>85</sup>

N.B. Those familiar with Finnish readily understand that this dichotomy is nothing other than the division between words with even and odd-numbered syllables found in the grammar of Finnish by Vhael<sup>86</sup>, where nominals in odd-numbered syllables have one or more letters missing in the nominative.<sup>87</sup>

#### § 28

Here is the common model for both declensions:<sup>88</sup>



Singular		Plural	
Nom.	vowel or cons.	Nom.	- <i>jas</i>
Gen.	– or - <i>län</i> (* <i>-lön</i> ), - <i>lys</i> [ <i>j</i> ] <sup>89</sup>	Gen.	– or - <i>jaslän</i> (* <i>-jaslön</i> ), - <i>jaslys</i> [ <i>j</i> ]
Accus.	– or - <i>äs</i> (* <i>-ös</i> )	Accus.	– or - <i>jasäs</i>
Instr.	- <i>än</i> (* <i>-ön</i> )	Instr.	- <i>jasän</i> (* <i>-jasön</i> )
Carit.	- <i>täg</i> or (* <i>-tög</i> ), - <i>tägja</i>	Carit.	- <i>jastäg</i> or (* <i>-jastög</i> ), - <i>jastägja</i>
Dat.	- <i>ly</i>	Dat.	- <i>jasly</i>
Allat.	- <i>lanj</i>	Allat.	- <i>jaslanj</i>
Illat.	- <i>ä</i> ’ (* <i>-ö</i> )	Illat.	- <i>jasä</i> ’ (* <i>-jasö</i> )
Adess.	- <i>län</i> (* <i>-lön</i> )	Adess.	- <i>jaslän</i> (* <i>-jaslön</i> )
Iness.	- <i>yn</i>	Iness.	- <i>jasyn</i>
Abl. 1.	- <i>lys</i> [ <i>j</i> ]	Abl. 1.	- <i>jaslys</i> [ <i>j</i> ]
Abl. 2.	- <i>sänj</i>	Abl. 2.	- <i>jassänj</i>
Elat.	- <i>ys</i> [ <i>j</i> ]	Elat.	- <i>jasys</i> [ <i>j</i> ]
Consec.	- <i>la</i>	Consec.	- <i>jasla</i>
Prosec.	- <i>äd</i> (* <i>-öd</i> )	Prosec.	- <i>jasäd</i> (* <i>-jasöd</i> )
Term.	- <i>edzj</i>	Term.	- <i>jasedzj</i>

### § 29

Some nominals decline regularly and some irregularly, or use different words: when a consonant is lost in the nominative, it cannot be described according to rules of the grammar, rather it must be learned along with the word itself. Regular nominals, both those ending in vowels and consonants, decline in the same way with the distinction that animate nouns ending in consonants form the accusative with the ending -*äs*.

existence of a second declension.

86 Vhael, Bartholdus: *Grammatica Fennica*, 1733.

87 The concept of stems with an even vs. an odd number of syllables is found in the third declension class of Latin, *ars* : *artis* vs. *vulpes* : *vulpis*. (Antti Ijäs, p.c.)

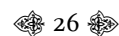
88 According to the Ižma dialect monograph (ID: 43–44) the case endings in the dialect are:

NOM	–	INE	–ЫН
GEN	–ЛЭН	POSS	–ЛЫС’
ACC	–ӘС, –	EGR	–С’АН’
INSTR	–ӘН	ELA	–ЫС’
ABE	–ТӘГ	CONSEC	–ЛА
	–ТӘГҢА	PROSEC	–ТИ
DAT	–ЛЫ		–ӘД
APPR	–ЛАН’	TERM	–ӘДЗ
ILL	–Ә	COM	–КӘД

The comitative case is lacking in Castrén’s grammar.

89 In his examples, Castrén also presents the ablative ending among the genitive endings, which can be seen as an indication of its use for marking the object attribute in a transitive clause (see § 25:11). N.B. Castrén uses the \* mark to indicate differences in various dialects.

- 90 Castrén used an illative ending *-h* in singular and plural in his notes (cf. *Anmärkingar till Syrjänska språkets Grammatik*), but has changed it to an apostrophe as seen in the tables § 30–31. Cf. § 2 and § 25:8.
- 91 See note 90.



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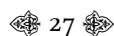
## I Regular declension

## § 30

Singular		Plural	
Nom.	<i>mort</i> 'man; person'	Nom.	<i>mortjas</i>
Gen.	<i>mort, mortlän,</i> <i>mortlys[j]</i>	Gen.	<i>mortjas, mortjaslän,</i> <i>mortjaslys[j]</i>
Accus.	<i>mortäs</i>	Accus.	<i>mortjasäs</i>
Instr.	<i>mortän</i>	Instr.	<i>mortjasän</i>
Carit.	<i>morttäg or</i> <i>-tägja</i>	Carit.	<i>mortjastäg or</i> <i>-tägja</i>
Dat.	<i>mortly</i>	Dat.	<i>mortjasly</i>
Allat.	<i>mortlanj</i>	Allat.	<i>mortjaslanj</i>
Illat.	<i>mortä</i> <sup>90</sup>	Illat.	<i>mortjasä</i> '
Adess.	<i>mortlän</i>	Adess.	<i>mortjaslän</i>
Iness.	<i>mortyn</i>	Iness.	<i>mortjasyn</i>
Abl. 1.	<i>mortlys[j]</i>	Abl. 1.	<i>mortjaslys[j]</i>
Abl. 2.	<i>mortsänj</i>	Abl. 2.	<i>mortjassänj</i>
Elat.	<i>mortys[j]</i>	Elat.	<i>mortjasys[j]</i>
Consec.	<i>mortla</i>	Consec.	<i>mortjasla</i>
Prosec.	<i>mortäd</i>	Prosec.	<i>mortjasäd</i>
Term.	<i>mortedzj</i>	Term.	<i>mortjasedzj</i>

Singular		Plural	
Nom.	<i>ki</i> 'hand; arm'	Nom.	<i>kijas</i>
Gen.	<i>ki, kilän,</i> <i>kily[s[j]</i>	Gen.	<i>kijas, kijaslän,</i> <i>kijaslys[j]</i>
Accus.	<i>ki</i>	Accus.	<i>kijas</i>
Instr.	<i>kiän</i>	Instr.	<i>kijasän</i>
Carit.	<i>kitäg or -tägja</i>	Carit.	<i>kijastäg or -tägja</i>
Dat.	<i>kily</i>	Dat.	<i>kijasly</i>
Allat.	<i>kilanj</i>	Allat.	<i>kijaslanj</i>
Illat.	<i>kiä</i> <sup>91</sup>	Illat.	<i>kijasä</i> '
Adess.	<i>kilän</i>	Adess.	<i>kijaslän</i>
Iness.	<i>kiyn</i>	Iness.	<i>kijasyn</i>



Abl. 1.	<i>kilys[j]</i>	Abl. 1.	<i>kijaslys[j]</i>
Abl. 2.	<i>kisänj</i>	Abl. 2.	<i>kijassänj</i>
Elat.	<i>kiys[j]</i>	Elat.	<i>kijasys[j]</i>
Consec.	<i>kila</i>	Consec.	<i>kijasla</i>
Prosec.	<i>kiäd</i>	Prosec.	<i>kijasäd</i>
Term.	<i>kiedzj</i>	Term.	<i>kijasedzj</i>

## II Irregular declension

## § 31

This is for nominals:

a) That have lost the letter *l*, which has been lost through contraction in the nominative, but regain it before other case endings beginning in vowels, i.e. in the instructive, illative, inessive, elative, prosecutive and terminative.<sup>92</sup>

Singular	
Nom.	<i>nyy</i> 'girl; daughter'
Gen.	<i>nyy, nyylän, nyyls[j]</i>
Accus.	<i>nyy</i> <sup>93</sup>
Instr.	<i>nylän</i>
Carit.	<i>nyytäg</i>
Dat.	<i>nyyly</i>
Allat.	<i>nyylanj</i>
Illat.	<i>nylä'</i>
Adess.	<i>nyylän</i>
Iness.	<i>nylyn</i>
Abl. 1.	<i>nyyls[j]</i>
Abl. 2.	<i>nyysänj</i>
Elat.	<i>nylys[j]</i>
Consec.	<i>nyyla</i>
Prosec.	<i>nyläd</i>
Term.	<i>nyledzj</i>

- 92 The Ižma dialect represents the so-called *l* :  $\emptyset$  type. In syllable-final position, the consonant *l* is lost and the preceding vowel is lengthened. In this manner, the Ižma dialect has gained a long vowel, the like of which is unknown in the literary standard. When the vowel is *e*, no lengthening occurs, instead *l* becomes *j* (*zel/zev* > *zej* 'very').

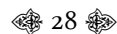
Traditionally the division of Komi dialects has been based on the reflex of the Proto-Permic *\*l*; there are four different reflexes:

1. *l* is retained in all positions, as is the case in the southern dialects of Komi-Zyrian in particular.
  2. *l* : *v* (when *l* does not begin a syllable, it changes into *v*), e.g. in the Middle Vyčegda dialect, the basis of the Komi literary language.
  3. *l* :  $\emptyset$  (when *l* has not begun a syllable, it has been lost with a simultaneous lengthening of the preceding vowel), this is the dialect type Ižma represents.
  4. *l* has disappeared leaving a reflex in a denti-labial *v* or a bilabial *w*. This type is found in the southern dialects of Komi-Permyak. (Bartens 2000: 48–49.)
- 93 Could be *nyläs*. Nominals indicating names of living beings tend to take their own ending in *-äs* [-öc] in the singular and plural (see § 25:3 and note 58).

94 Mistake: should be *cjöö*, as in Vocabulary. See KSK 2: [čöö].

95 In Komi some words have stem variation, the matter at issue is one of allomorphic variation in certain noun stems. The main stem type where this occurs ends in a single consonant in the nominative singular. The second allomorph occurs when followed by a grammatical morpheme beginning with a vowel, and the word stem then shows a consonant cluster ending in *k*, *t* or *m* or *j*. The two-consonant stem often represents a more original type (e.g. *šin* : *šinm-* 'eye' < \**nm* < \**lm* < \**šilmä*). There are also secondary allomorphs, and the two-stem type has analogically spread. (Bartens 2000: 69–70.)

On the next few pages you will find example paradigms of stems with two-consonant clusters. The stems are lengthened with *-m-*, *-k-* and *-t-*; Castrén treats stems in *-j-* as a separate phenomenon (see § 31:c).



The plural is declined regularly: nom. *nyyjas*, instr. *nyyjasän*, illat. *nyyjasä*, iness. *nyyjasyn* etc.

N.B. 1. Most of the nouns with nominatives in a long vowel quantity originating from the contraction of the letters *l* or *v* with the preceding vowel are declined in a similar way, e.g. *kyy* 'language; tongue', *yy* 'remote', *vyy* 'up(per)' and compounds: *asyvyy* 'east', *rätoovyy* 'west', *lunvyy* 'south', *vojvyy* 'north'; *köö* 'rope', *töö* 'wind; winter', *jöö* 'milk', *vöö* 'horse', *čöö*<sup>94</sup> 'silent', *pöö* 'side', *uu* 'lower part' and compounds: *kodzjuu* 'star', *kotkodzjuu* 'ant', *dzjodzjuu* 'worm', *peljuu* 'pillow', *kokuu* 'footstool; pasture', *loo* 'spirit', *soo* 'salt' and all diminutives in *-oo*, e.g. *rätoo* 'west', *panoo* 'pearl barley', *seroo* 'nit', *jumoo* '(malted) food made of flour and water' ([La] *cibus e farina et aqua praeparatus*) (Ru сусло) and diminutive adjectives, e.g. *tölöö* 'winter (adj.)', *tuusoo* 'spring (adj.)', *džendoo* 'rather short', *pemdoo* 'rather dark', *gögräsoo* 'roundish', *kuzjoo* 'longish', *vežoo* 'holy', *arsjoo* 'autumnal'.

N.B. 2. When the letter *l* returns to the declension, the previous vowel shortens, and the latter disappears, e.g. *nylä*, not *nylyä*, nom. *nyly*.

N.B. 3. Sometimes the contracted form is used, even though the suffix starts with a vowel, e.g. illat. *nyyä*, iness. *nyy'yn*, elat. *nyy'ys[j]*.

b) Monosyllabic words, which have originally been two-syllable words, have lost a vowel in the end of the nominative. Of two final consonants, the last consonant (*m*, *k*, *t*) drops away except in cases which start with a vowel.<sup>95</sup>

## ❖ 29 ❖

## 1.

Nom.	<i>jen</i> ‘God’
Gen.	<i>jen, jenlän, jenlys[j]</i>
Accus.	<i>jenmäs</i>
Instr.	<i>jenmän</i>
Carit.	<i>jentäg or -tägja</i>
Dat.	<i>jenly</i>
Allat.	<i>jenlanj</i>
Illat.	<i>jenmä’</i>
Adess.	<i>jenlän</i>
Iness.	<i>jenmyn</i>
Abl. 1.	<i>jenlys[j]</i>
Abl. 2.	<i>jensänj</i>
Elat.	<i>jenmys[j]</i>
Consec.	<i>jenla</i>
Prosec.	<i>jenmäd</i>
Term.	<i>jenmedzj</i>

## 2.

Nom.	<i>muös</i> <sup>96</sup> ‘cow’
Gen.	<i>muös, muöslän, muösllys[j]</i>
Accus.	<i>muös</i> <sup>97</sup>
Instr.	<i>muöskän</i>
Carit.	<i>muöstäg or -tägja</i>
Dat.	<i>muöslly</i>
Allat.	<i>muöslanj</i>
Illat.	<i>muöskä’</i>
Adess.	<i>muöslän</i>
Iness.	<i>muöskyn</i>
Abl. 1.	<i>muösllys[j]</i>
Abl. 2.	<i>muössänj</i>
Elat.	<i>muöskys[j]</i>
Consec.	<i>muösla</i>
Prosec.	<i>muöskäd</i>
Term.	<i>muöskedzj</i>

96 Castrén must have heard something and added an intermittent *u* between the word-initial *m* and a subsequent mid central vowel *ö*: *muös*, in the modern orthography, however, this is *mös* [möc]. There are four such words in the vocabulary.

97 Could also be *muöskös*. Nominals indicating living being names tend to take their own ending in *-äs* [-öc] in the singular and plural (see § 25:3 and note 58).



- 98 The 3rd group need not be a separate group; it has the same stem consonant *-k-* and the same declension as the 2nd group.
- 99 Could also be *oškäs*. Referential nominals indicating living being names tend to take their own ending in *-äs* [-öc] in the singular and plural (see § 25:3 and note 58).

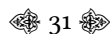
## ❖ 30 ❖

3.<sup>98</sup>

Nom.	oš 'bear'
Gen.	oš, ošlän, ošlys[j]
Accus.	oš <sup>99</sup>
Instr.	oškän
Carit.	oštäg or -tägja
Dat.	ošly
Allat.	ošlanj
Illat.	oškä'
Adess.	ošlän
Iness.	oškyn
Abl. 1.	ošlys[j]
Abl. 2.	ošsänj
Elat.	oškys[j]
Consec.	ošla
Prosec.	oškäd
Term.	oškedzj

4.

Nom.	šep 'spike, ear'
Gen.	šep, šeplän, šeplys[j]
Accus.	šep
Instr.	šeptän
Carit.	šeptäg or -tägja
Dat.	šeply
Allat.	šepplanj
Illat.	šeptä'
Adess.	šeplän
Iness.	šeptyn
Abl. 1.	šeplys[j]
Abl. 2.	šepsänj
Elat.	šeptys[j]
Consec.	šepła
Prosec.	šeptäd
Term.	šeptedzj



N.B. 1. The words declined according to the first paradigm are: *sin*<sup>100</sup> 'eye', *un* 'sleep', *pon* 'dog', *anj*<sup>101</sup> 'wife', *zon* 'boy; son', *kun* 'lye'; the ones declined according to the second are: *is* 'smell', *pes* 'firewood', *vos* 'vomit', *lys* 'branch of an evergreen tree', *pos* 'bridge', *tes*<sup>102</sup> 'oat flour', *tjös* 'board of the roof', *mus* 'liver'; the ones declined according to the third are: *myš* 'back', *oš* 'ox, bull', *toš* 'beard'; and there is one declined according to the fourth: *zep*<sup>103</sup> 'pocket'.

N.B. 2. The nouns *muös*, *oš*, *öš*, in contrast to this rule, do not take the accusative suffix *äs*, at least in the Ižma dialect.<sup>104</sup>

c) The letter *j* is taken before the final vowel:

- 1) In many single-syllable words, which undoubtedly have originally consisted of two syllables ending in *i*.<sup>105</sup>
- 2) In single-syllable words which end in either a long vowel or a diphthong.

The first [group] includes the words: *zib* 'pole, stick', instr. *zibjen*, *id* 'barley', illat. *idje*, *kyd* 'chaff', iness. *kydjyn*, *zud* 'grindstone', elat. *zudjys*[*j*], *byg* 'foam', prosec. *bygjed*, *gög* 'navel', term. *gögjedzj*, *gag* 'insect', *tug* 'brush, broom', *cjag* 'chip', *val* 'wave', *džyn* 'half', *gyr* 'mortar', *gör* 'plough', *pur* 'raft', *ker* 'log', *kor* 'leaf', *tor* 'piece', *myr* 'stump', *dar* 'ladle', *dooz*<sup>106</sup> 'vessel, dish', *gez* 'rope',

100 The word *šjin* is palatalized in the literary language and in the Ižma dialect, too. (See KSK 2: сйн).

101 *anj* does not belong to this group; it has no *-m*-stem.

102 The word *tesj* is palatalized in the literary language and in the Ižma dialect, too. (See KSK 2: тэсь).

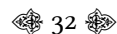
103 The word *zjeb* is palatalized in the literary language and in the Ižma dialect, too. (See KSK 1: зеп).

104 These animal names *m(u)ös* 'cow', *oš* 'bear' and *öš* 'ox, bull' (in the literary language: мөс, ош and öш) generally take accusative endings, as is also the case with other animate entities.

105 This is a fourth group of two-stem words where the stem is lengthened by a subsequent *-j-*. Cf. § 31:b), note 95. Originally most of the words given in this first group have had two stems, but the quality of the final vowel is not specifically limited to *i*, as seen in KESKJa.

106 In these one-syllable words ending in voiced consonants, Castrén gives a long vowel that is not the result of a dropped letter *l*. ID (pp. 13–14) views this as being the result of emphatic stress, and Castrén has carefully only given a few example words, even though there would have been numerous words available. Some single-syllable words might have long-vowel or semi-long-vowel variants in certain contexts. Cf. KSK 1: *doz* [доз], no long-vowel variant.

- 107 KSK 1: *iz* [из], no long-vowel variant.
- 108 KSK 1: *koz* [коз], no long-vowel variant.
- 109 KSK 1: *vez* [вез], no long-vowel variant.
- 110 The word *jus* > *jusj/juś* [юсь] is palatalized in the literary language and in the Ižma dialect, too. So, *juś* does not belong to this group. (See KSK 2).
- 111 The word *rys* > *rysj/ryś* [рысь] is palatalized in the literary language and in the Ižma dialect, too. So, *ryś* does not belong to this group. It does, however, have an extended stem *ryś* : *ryśk-*. (See KSK 2).
- 112 The words: *pai*, *toi*, *tui* have no diphthongs but a vowel + *j* (> *paj*, *toj*, *tuj*). Before case endings there is no extra *j*, e.g. INSTR: *pajön*, *tojön*, *tujön*. But *pei* (< *pel*) has a *j*-stem, e.g. INSTR *pejjön*. So does *pii* (< *pil*), too, e.g. INSTR *pijjön*. Ižma belongs to the *l* :  $\emptyset$  dialect type, and thus *l* has been lost to a lengthening of the preceding vowel, but not *e* and *i*; *l* > *j* after these two vowels, cf. also KSK 2: *pij* [пий], SW: *pii*.
- Long vowels in the Ižma dialect have emerged in single-syllable words ending in *v* or *l*, and they have two stems. The consonant clusters lengthened in *-m-*, *-k-*, *-t-* and even *-j-* are seen in the standard language, e.g. *pev* : *pevj-* ; *piv* : *pivj-*.
- 113 In speech, *j* and *v* are known to be used to avoid hiatus, but they are not used in the

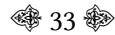


*poz* ‘nest’, *iiz*<sup>107</sup> ‘stone’, *kooz*<sup>108</sup> ‘spruce’, *veez*<sup>109</sup> ‘tendon, string’, *jus*<sup>110</sup> ‘swan’, *pors* ‘pig’, *rys*<sup>111</sup> ‘[cottage] cheese’, *mež* ‘ram’, *vudž* ‘arch’, *vuž* ‘root’, *yž* ‘sheep’ etc. It may be that these and other nominals in other dialects actually end in *j*, as may be ascertained from the research of the structure of the Zyrian language edited by Sjögren.

The second group contains: 1) *pai* ‘part’, *pei* ‘thumb’, *toi* ‘louse’, *tui* ‘road’; instr. *paijen*, *toijen*, illat. *paije*, *toije*’ etc. 2) *pii* ‘cloud’, *syy* (*syli*) ‘lap, arms, fathom’, *tuu* ‘nail’, *uu* ‘branch’, *puu* ‘lingonberry’ (*vaccinium vitis idaea*); instr. *piijen*, *syjjen*, *uujen*; elat. *tuujys[j]*, *puujys[j]*, *uujys[j]* etc.<sup>112</sup>

N.B. 1. For a more fluent pronunciation, nominals ending in *i* are sometimes pronounced with a *j* before the onset vowel of a case form, e.g. *ki* ‘hand’, instr. *kiän* or *kijen*, *bi* ‘fire’, instr. *biän* or *bijen* etc.<sup>113</sup> The consonant *j* is used in Finnish in the same way to separate two vowels, e.g. *meiän* or *meijän*, *niien* or *niijen*, *veän* or *vejän* etc.

N.B. 2. Some single-syllable words ending in *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, or other such diphthongs change their *i* to *j* and move it into the subsequent syllable. These words have undoubtedly been two syllables long where the second syllable has begun with *j*. When the word-final *i* in the nominative dropped, the *j* has formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel. For this reason, such nominals are written correctly as: *voj* ‘night’, *jaj* ‘meat, flesh’, *jöj* ‘mad, fool’, *aj* ‘father’ (Fi *äijä*); illat. *voje*, *jöje*, *aje*; instr. *vojen*, *jöjen*, *ajen*.<sup>114</sup>



N.B. 3. The nouns *pii*<sup>115</sup>, Fi *pilvi*; *syy*, Fi *syli*; *sjuu*, Fi *suoli*; *puu*, Fi *puola* and other such words indicate the loss of the letter *l* in comparisons between Zyrian and Finnish. This consonant, however, does not return in declension, and thus there are other words in different cases that sound the same, e.g. *pulys*[*j*] ‘from the tree’, *sylys*[*j*] ‘from him/her/it’, *pilys*[*j*] ‘from the son/boy’ etc.

N.B. 4. Sjögren and Gabelentz believe that the change *ä* to *e* after *j* is due to a rule found in Finnish for hard and soft vowels. The letter *j*, in their opinion, was actually *i* in origin, but they have arrived at this conclusion erroneously, as they saw *i* presupposes *e* in the ending for the sake of softness. It must be mentioned that the letter *ä* is itself soft, and the preceding *i* in Finnish actually presupposes an *ä* in the ending, not an *e*. By the same merit *ä* in Zyrian is retained after *i*, as is indicated in the example *ki*. In our opinion, Zyrian appears to follow a Russian lead in this vein, where the sound *jä*, which at times is indicated with *ѣ*, is to be pronounced *je*.<sup>116</sup>

d) The noun *pi* ‘son, boy’, Fi *pojka* always takes the final *j* and is declined irregularly in the plural and takes *-an* instead of *-jas*, *seldom -anjas*, and even more seldom *-jas*.

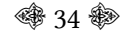
standard orthography (Bartens 2000: 68). Cf. § 18.

114 There is no diphthong in the received literary language or in the Ižma dialect (see § 6, note 25). Nor are these vowel + *j* combinations considered diphthongs.

115 Ižma belongs to the *l* :  $\emptyset$  dialect type, and thus *l* has been lost to a lengthening of the preceding vowel, but not *e* and *i*; *l* > *j* after these two vowels. This should not be *pii* but *pij* (cf. § 31, note 112), thus it cannot be confused with *pi* ‘son, boy’.

116 Cf. § 8:E). The grapheme *ä* does not appear as such in the Komi language. Cast-rén writes *ä* in the Ižma dialect in non-first syllables where the literary standard calls for *ö*. In the Finno-Ug-ric transcription system the *ä* used by Castrén can be equated with the mid front vowel *ɛ*, which in the Cyrillic rendition of the Ižma dialect is written with [э]. Cast-rén also uses the letter *ä* preceded by *s* in his rendition of ablative *z -sänj* [-сянь], which might indicate fronting to the underlying *a*.

- 117 Could also be *pijanäs*. Nominals indicating living being names tend to take their object marking in *-äs* [-öc] in the singular and plural (see § 25:3 and note 58).



34

## Plural

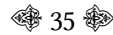
Nom.	<i>pijan</i> ‘sons; youngsters, pups’
Gen.	<i>pijan, pijanlän, pijanlys[j]</i>
Accus.	<i>pijan</i> <sup>117</sup>
Instr.	<i>pijanän</i>
Carit.	<i>pijantäg</i>
Dat.	<i>pijanly</i>
Allat.	<i>pijanlanj</i>
Illat.	<i>pijanä’</i>
Adess.	<i>pijanlän</i>
Iness.	<i>pijanyn</i>
Abl. 1.	<i>pijanlys[j]</i>
Abl. 2.	<i>pijansänj</i>
Elat.	<i>pijanys[j]</i>
Consec.	<i>pijanla</i>
Prosec.	<i>pijanäd</i>
Term.	<i>pijanedzj</i>

The word *byd* ‘all’, is declined in the same way: pl. *bydän*, accus. *bydänäs*, elat. *bydänys[j]* etc.

## b) Declension of derived nouns

## § 32

The Zyrian language does not enjoy the luxury of an extensive quantity of derivations, neither in denominal nor in deverbal form, as is present in other Finnic languages. With regard to derived nominals, this language is quite poor, because all meanings that by nature presuppose a derived form, such as abstract nominals, are expressed with Russian words. But words that in some manner



may be indicated as derivations are to be listed here, with the exception of deverbal nouns expressing agent, action or act, which will be addressed later.

### § 33

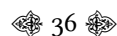
The diminutive nouns ending in *-öj* and *-ly* only appear in the nominative, and in general they do not appear in the standard language but in poetry. The ones ending in *-öj* appear to be derived from the homonymous interjection<sup>118</sup>. They have a sense of pity in their use, diminutives in *-ly* are used for praise. Examples of both varieties: *mamöj*, from the nominative *mam* ‘mother’; *äjöj* from *äj*<sup>119</sup> ‘father’; *voköj* from *vok* ‘brother’; *olemöj* from *olem* ‘life’ ([Fi] *elo*<sup>120</sup>); *kujlemaöj* from *kujlema*, pass. part[iciple] of *kujla* ‘I lie’; *pysanly* from *pysan*<sup>121</sup> ‘table’; *burly* from *bur* ‘good’; *juanly* from *juan* ‘drink’; *lunly* from *lun* ‘day’; *pööly* from *pöö* ‘side, board’ etc.<sup>122</sup> The disappearance of *l* following a vowel should be noted in diminutives ending in *oo*, e.g. *rätöö*, *panoo*, *jumoo* etc. See § 31, N.B. 1.

### § 34

The nouns with a *-ka* ending have been derived from other nouns, the relevance of this derivation type is growing, e.g. *kerka* ‘house’ (*ker* ‘log’), *ajka* ‘father-in-law’ (*aj* ‘father, male’), *inka*<sup>123</sup> ‘mother-in-law’ (*inj* ‘female’).<sup>124</sup>

- 118 In standard Komi, *-öj* [-öй] indicates the 1SG possessor. It is used in a word of address as a diminutive or marker of endearment.
- 119 Should be *ajöj*, *aj* (see Vocabulary).
- 120 The correct etymological comparison is Fi *elämä* (in Komi literary language *olöm*).
- 121 Should be *pyzan* [пызан] (see KSK 2).
- 122 Examples of the *-ly* suffix are found in 7 laments (published in *Häälauļuja* 1878), where the *-ly* suffix appears to be a dative object, the type of which is mentioned in ID (pp. 66–67) and found in a few Komi dialects. Komi researchers do not consider the *-ly* suffix to be a diminutive marker. In his presentation of the Finnish *-le* suffix, Castrén makes reference to a correlating suffix in Komi, see *Fennica*, pp. 714, 724. See § 25 and more about the dative object in Bartens 2000: 333–334; Baker 1985: 202–221; Klumpp 2008: 167–216; Popova – Sažina 2014: 102–105.
- 123 Should be *injka* [инька] (see KSK 1).
- 124 These examples are lexicalizations, but the *-ka* suffix is used generally as a diminutive suffix or as a sign of endearment.

- 125 Should be *koräsĵ* [коресъ] (see KSK 1).  
 126 Misprint: should be *šomäs* [шомес] (see KSK 2).  
 127 Misprint: should be *šom* [шом] (see KSK 2).  
 128 Should be *amäsĵ* [амесъ] (see KSK 1).  
 129 Should be *šijes* [сиес] (see KSK 2).  
 130 Some suffixes are mixed. Should be *-ysĵ*: *tölysj* [тöлысь], *kölysj* [кöлысь], *ezysĵ* [эзысь] and *vurdysĵ* [вурдысь] (see KSK 1, 2; KRK); *votys* has a deverbal suffix *-ös* in the literary language, *votös* [вотöс] < *votny* [вотны] ‘to pick’ (see KRK).



36

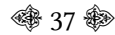
## § 35

Nominals ending in *-as* and *-äs* (*-es*) that are derived from either verbs or other nominals allow for many kinds of meanings. The ones that are derived from verbs often bear a meaning of medium or instrument, e.g. *majtas* ‘cream’ from *majta* ‘I grease’; *domas* ‘patch’ from *doma* ‘I patch’; *sartas* ‘shake, shingle’; *murtäs* ‘measure’ from *murtala* ‘I measure’. Others, especially those derived from nominals, cannot be derived from a general meaning, as is demonstrated in the following examples: *koljas* ‘trash, remainder’, (*kolja* ‘I leave (tr., intr.)’); *idzjas* ‘straw’, (*id* ‘barley’); *peljes* ‘corner’, (*pelj* ‘ear’); *keräs* ‘slope’, (*ker* ‘hill’); *koräs*<sup>125</sup> ‘birch whisk’, (*kor* ‘leaf’); *somäs*<sup>126</sup> ‘fermentation’, (*som*<sup>127</sup> ‘sour’). Some are simple word forms without derivation, e.g. *pydäs* or *pyd* ‘bottom, ground’, *pidzjes* ‘knee’, *kymäs* ‘forehead’, *veräs* ‘husband’; *moräs* ‘chešt, breast’; *tagäs* ‘threshold’, *amäs*<sup>128</sup> ‘plough’, *voljes* ‘insole’; *sijes*<sup>129</sup> ‘horse collar’; *pyčkäs* ‘inside’ (Fi *sisä*) etc.

## § 36

Nominals that end in *-ys* [/-ysĵ], ones derived from nominals or ones lacking any root, are just as unclear in meaning as the previous, e.g. *tölyys* ‘month’, (*töö* ‘wind’), *kölyys* ‘wedding’ (*köö* ‘rope’); *tulyys* ‘spring’; *votys* ‘berry’; *esys* ‘silver’; *uutys* ‘lining’ (подкладка, *uu* ‘under’), *šjumys* ‘birch bark’; *vurdys* ‘mole’ etc.<sup>130</sup>





37

§ 37

Deverbal nouns ending in *-äd* that specifically indicate a medium, e.g. *körtäd* ‘bandage, ligament’ from *körtala* (a lost root: *körta*) ‘I tie, bind’; *sodtäd* ‘addition’ from *sodta* ‘I add, increase’; *ortsäd*<sup>131</sup> ‘help’ from *ortsala* (*ortsa*) ‘I help’; *soräd* ‘mixture’ from *sora* ‘I mix’; *tupräd* ‘roll, bundle’ from *tuprala* ‘I wrap, roll’ etc.<sup>132</sup>

§ 38

Nominals are formed from these that end in *-äda*, which are actually adjectives, even though they are generally used as nouns, e.g. *körtäda* ‘bound’; *tupräda* ‘roll, scroll, bundle’; *soräda*, mixture; *sodtäda* ‘addition, growth’.

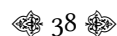
§ 39

The nouns ending in *-a* (*ah*) are derived from adjectives and are abstract, the quality of which is expressed, e.g. *jugda* ‘brightness’, (*jugyd* ‘bright, light’); *pemda* ‘darkness’ (*pemyd* ‘dark’); *kurda* ‘bitterness’ (*kuryd* ‘bitter’), *kyyza* ‘thickness’ (*kyyz* ‘thick’); *kuzja* ‘length’ (*kuzj* ‘long’).

- 131 Also in the form *ортсэг*, from the verb *ортсооны* (KSK 1: 1085). In the literary language: *otsög* [отсög], *otsavny* [отсавны] (KPK).
- 132 In the literary language this deverbal ending is *-öd* [-öd]; it is a reflex of Proto-Uralic and is used to form names of results or instruments (Bartens 2000: 127).

133, 134 Cf. § 31, note 107.

135 The compound word *peljuu* is a result of the combination *pelj* ‘ear’ + *uu* ‘underside’, whereas the Finnish analogous form *päänala* comes from the combination *pään* ‘of the head’ + *ala* ‘underside, base’.



38

#### § 40

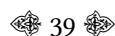
Of the nominals that end in *-äg* (*-eg*) and *-täg*, some are non-derived, e.g. *dzjodzjeg* ‘goose’, *rudzjeg* ‘rye’, and others are derivations that indicate vessels or things that are hollow or have some other latent space, e.g. *susjeg* ‘grain-chest’; *solantäg* ‘salt vessel’, *majeg* ‘pole; post’; *iiztäg*<sup>133</sup> ‘match’.

#### § 41

The nouns with the ending *-in* have the meaning of a place. Some of them are derived from adjectives, e.g. *pemydin* ‘dark place’ from *pemyd* ‘dark’; *jugydin* ‘light place’ from *jugyd* ‘light’; *iizjesin* ‘a stony place, rocky soil’ from *iizjes*<sup>134</sup> ‘stony’. Most of them are derived from verbs with the ending *-an*, e.g. *olanin* or *loozjanin* ‘residence, dwelling’ from *ola*, *loozja* ‘I live’, *olan*, *loozjan* ‘habitation’; *vetlanin* ‘walkway, entrance’ from *vetla* ‘I walk, go’; *puktysjanin* ‘vagina, setting place’ from *puktysjan* ‘position’ (*pukta* ‘I put’, pass. *puktysja*); *juanin* ‘drinking place’ from *jua* ‘I drink’, *juan* ‘drink’ etc.

#### § 42

Nouns often form compounds, e.g. *vador* ‘shore’, literally ‘water side’, *peljdjin* ‘temple (anat.)’, literally ‘ear nearness, end’; *kipydäs* ‘palm’, literally ‘hand bottom’; *peljuu*<sup>135</sup> ‘pillow’, Fi *päänala*.



39

## B. Adjectives

### § 43

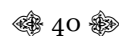
Adjectives, just like nouns, take no specific ending in the nominative, which is the situation in the Finnish and Lappish languages as well. Zyr-ian concurs with Finnish and Lappish in this usage, since many adjectives are simultaneously both nouns and adverbs, e.g. *bur* 'good, goodness, well'; *ljok* 'bad, malevolence, poorly'; *tyr* 'full, fullness, fully'; *kyn* 'cold, coldness, coldly'; *jugyd* 'bright, light, lightness; world', (Ru свѣтъ 'light; world'); *pemyd* 'dark, darkness'; *ödja* 'quick, quickly', etc.<sup>136</sup>

### § 44

The adjective declension is just like that of the noun, when they [adjectives] are nouns by meaning. When used together with nouns, adjectives take no declension, e.g. *tom kerkaä*<sup>137</sup> 'into a new house', *tom kerkayn* 'in a new house', *tom kerkays[j]* 'from a new house'. The plural of adjectives ends in *-jas* or *-äs* (\*-ösj)<sup>138</sup>. The ending *-äs* is always attached to the predicate [predicative], but attributes may take either ending, as adjectives in the nominative singular do before nouns in the plural, e.g. *tom* or *tomjas* or *tomäs* *kerkajas*, *kerkajasly*, *kerkajasys[j]* etc.<sup>139</sup>

- 136 In the Ižma dialect, adverbs are mainly formed from adjectives using the *-a* or *-aa* derivational ending (cf. § 96; ID: 105–106).
- 137 As corrected in the Corrigenda.
- 138 The plural ending for adjectives in the Ižma dialect is *-es* [-эс], in the literary language this is *-ös* [-öсь] (ID: 58; ÖKK: 98). The predicative structure in Komi has number agreement, all nominal predicates adhere to it. The plural ending *-jas* [-яс] may be used when the adjective is used as a noun, e.g. *tomjas* 'the young ones, youth', *tomdžykjas* 'the younger ones'.
- 139 As an adnominal attribute, the adjective does not decline; it does not take a plural ending either (ÖKK: 97). Adjectives are frequently declined in the predicative plural, accusative and instrumental, which only happens when they are in what would be the NP head position. Here, of course, virtually all cases are possible.

- 140 The comparative marker in the literary language is also *-džyk* [-джык]; it operates as an enclitic particle that attaches to words in other word classes as well and affects the intensity of the meaning of the work. The standard of comparison is expressed in the elative or preclusive cases, or it is expressed with the postposition *dorys* [дорыс]. When the standard of comparison is marked, the adjective may occur in the positive form, too. (ÖKK: 80–81, 119, 454; Rédei 1978: 82–84.)
- 141 The superlative construction is formed from the positive form of the adjective either synthetically with the prefix *med-* [мед-] or analytically with the particle *medša* [медся] (in the Ižma dialect [мэд] and [мэт'ча], see ID: 59) or syntactically by preposing the elative form *stavšys* [ставсьыс] / *bydōnyš* [быдōныс] 'of all' before the positive form of the adjective (ÖKK: 117; Rédei 1978: 82–83).
- 142 *zev* [зэв] 'very' (in the Ižma dialect, *zej* [зэй]) is the most common intensifier adverb, other intensifiers are frequently attested in the language, e.g. ideophones are used (cf. ID: 103; ÖKK: § 24).
- 143 See § 44.

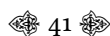


## § 45

[Morphologically] the comparison of adjectives is defective. The ending of the comparative is *-džyk* (\*-čyk)<sup>140</sup>, e.g. *burdžyk* 'better', *donadžyk* 'more expensive', but the superlative has no proper ending of its own. It is compensated 1) by the particle *med*<sup>141</sup>, e.g. *med vodzja* 'first', *med bur* 'best', 2) with the adverb *zej* 'very'<sup>142</sup>, e.g. *zej sjökyd* 'very difficult', 3) with the nominative of adjective *byd* 'all' tai *bydānys[j]* 'of all' (Ru всѣхъ), e.g. *byd tai bydānys[j]* *džjölja* 'the smallest, the smallest of all' (всѣхъ меньшій). The comparative and the superlative are declined as the positive. The comparative, however, has the ending *-äs* in the plural as adjectives.<sup>143</sup>

## § 46

The ending of the comparative in the Ižma dialect does not mutate (*-džyk*, not *-čyk*). If this ending is not possible, according to the nature and rules of the language, it is added directly to the stem, the stem itself changes, e.g. *ljok*, comparat. *ljogdžyk*, (not *ljokčyk*). It is also to be noted that adjectives that end in a vowel sometimes lose it in the comparative, e.g. *una* 'many, much', comparat. *undžyk* or *unadžyk*.



## § 47

Many adverbs and even nouns are compared like adjectives when they are used as adverbs, e.g. *zej* 'very', comparat. *zejdžyk*, superlat. *med zej*; *ylyn* 'faraway', comparat. *ylyndžyk*, superlat. *med ylyn*; *dorä*<sup>144</sup> 'next to, border' ('near' from *dor* 'side'), comparat. *dorädžyk* 'nearer' ('nearer', Fi *vieremmäksi* from *vieri* 'side'); *šörä*<sup>145</sup> 'in the middle' (*šör* 'middle'), comparat. *šörädžyk* 'closer to the middle' (Fi *keskemmälle*, from *keski* 'middle'). The adverbs with *-aa* take the ending of comparative between the stem and the ending of the positive, e.g. *buraa* 'well', comparat. *burdžykaa*<sup>146</sup>, 'worse'<sup>147</sup>.

## § 48

Adjectives are often derived from nouns, and they have numerous endings:

1. *-a* (*-ja*), e.g. *dona* 'expensive, dear' (*don* 'merit, price'), *göna* 'hairy, furry' (*gön* 'hair, fur'); *vema* 'wise' (*vem* 'brain'); *vyna* 'strong' (*vyn* 'power'); *myža* 'guilty' (*myž* 'cause'); *myykyda* 'understanding' (*myykyd* 'mind'); *sjura* 'horn-like' (*sjur* 'horn'). Some adjectives ending in *a* appear to be formed using the elative case, after the last letters have swapped places and *y* has changed to *j*<sup>148</sup>, e.g. *vosja* 'annual' (*vo* 'year', elat. *voys[j]*): *gusja* 'secret' (*gu* 'pit', elat. *guys[j]*).

144, 145 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

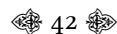
146 The Ižma adverbial derivational ending *-aa* can be seen in the adverb *burdžykaa*; the literary forms are *burdžyka* [бурджыка] and also the infrequent *buradžyka* [бурадждыка].

147 A mistake occurred in the translation from Komi *burdžykaa* to Latin *pejus* ('worse'), the correct translation for *burdžykaa* is 'better'. Actually, one line seen in the manuscript, is missing in the grammar:

*buraa* 'well', comparat. *burdžykaa* ['better'; *ljokaa* 'badly', comparat. *ljokdžykaa* 'worse'.

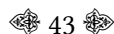
148 Elative *-ysj* ≠ adj. *-sja*.

- 149 The stem-final *-l* of the Ižma dialect is retained in single-syllable words before suffixes with onset vowels (cf. § 31).
- 150 This must be a lost consonant, i.e. the letter *l*.
- 151 The derivational ending *-a* [-a], *nomen possessoris* (propriative), is very productive. The endings *-a* [-a], *-ja* [-я] and *-ša* [-сә] are found in the literary language and the latter is used especially in the derivation of adjectives from temporal nouns (ID: 61; ÖKK: 109). Cf. KSK 2: *pij* [пий], SW: *pii*, note 112.
- 152 Castrén's "intensive" adjectives have a propriative meaning that might be illustrated in the Finnish compounds *iso-sarvinen* 'big-horned', *pitkä-karvainen* 'long-haired'.



Adjectives ending in *a* are seldom derived from vowel-final nouns. When it does happen, however, the consonant *j* is inserted between the stem and the suffix, e.g. *bi* 'fire', *bija* 'fiery, burning'; and *i* and *e* change to *j*, e.g. *asy* 'morning', *asja* 'morning (adj.)'; *öni* 'now', *önja* 'current, present'. Some nouns take the letter *j* after a liquid consonant, e.g. *lun* 'day', *lunja* 'daily'; *šör* 'middle', *šörja* 'middle (adj.)'. Adjectives ending in *a* that are derived from nouns and lose a consonant take this consonant back in derivation, e.g. *jöla* 'milky' (*jöö* 'milk'); *töla* 'windy' (*töö* 'wind'); *sola* 'salty' (*soo* 'salt');<sup>149</sup> *s[j]inma* '-eyed' (*s[j]in* 'eye'); *iska* 'smelly' (*is* 'smell'). Adjectives derived from nouns that do not regain a lost vowel<sup>150</sup> take *j* after the contracted vowel, e.g. *piija* (seldom: *pila*) 'cloudy' (*pii* 'cloud', iness. *piijyn*); *sjuuja* (not *sjula*) 'intestinal' (*sjuu* 'intestine', elat. *sjuujys[j]*); *syyja* 'fathom long' (*Fi sylinen*) etc.<sup>151</sup>

N.B. Finnish actually has adjectives that end in *-a* (*-ä*) or *-ja* (*-jä*), e.g. *korkia*, *laaja*, *surkia*, *valkia*, but these are not derivations, and they have a different meaning. Zyrian adjectives ending in *-a* (*-ja*) are equivalent to the intensifier<sup>152</sup> adjectives of the Finnish language with the ending *-nen*, e.g. *vaivanen*, *sarvinen*, *karvanen*.



2. *-yd* or *-id* is an ending that is affixed especially to primitives; adjectives in this ending also bear the meaning of a noun, e.g. *sjökyd* 'load, heavy', *pemyd*, *jugyd* (see § 43). Some adjectives in *-yd* (*-id*), however, appear to be derived from adverbs, e.g. *kokni* 'easy', *koknid* or *koknyd* 'easy, light'; *vösni* 'thinly', *vösnid* or *vösnyd* 'thin'.<sup>153</sup> It could be that the modern adverb ending was originally that of an adjective, as is the case in the Lappish language, where the genuine vowel-final adjectival ending has at times been extended with the letter *-d*, e.g. *roakkad* 'bold, brave', (Fi *rohkia*), *vuoiggad* 'right', (Fi *oikia*), which undoubtedly have emerged from the lost roots *roakki* and *vuoiggi*, which serve as the actual base for deriving the [adnominal] adjective attribute forms: *roakkis*, *vuiggis*.

3. *-äs* (*-es*) provides the adjectival character power, e.g. *sjuräs* 'horned' (*sjur* 'horn', *sjura* 'horned', *nomräs* 'wormy' (*nomyr* 'worm'), *bygjes* 'foamy' (*byg* 'foam'), *gögräs* 'round' (*gögär* 'surroundings') etc.<sup>154</sup>

4. *-sa*, is a spatial adjective ending, e.g. *gögärsa*<sup>155</sup> 'surrounding', *pydžägsa*<sup>156</sup> 'situated/located in bosom' (*pydžäg* 'bušt, bosom'); *uusa* or *ulysa* 'under (adj.)' (*uu* 'under'): 1 *yysa*, *ylysa* 'distant, remote' (*yy* 'far away'), *vyysa* 1. *vylysa* 'upper, superficial' (*vyy* 'upper part, surface'), *asyvyysa* 'eastern', *lunvyysa* 'southern', *muusa* 'underground' from *mu* 'land, ground' and *uusa* 'under'<sup>157</sup>.

153 The adjective derivational ending *-yd* [-ыд] is unproductive, and it is associated with the Balto-Finnic ending *\*eTA* as well as an even older deverbal derivational ending (Bartens 2000: 141). Some *-yd/-id* adjectives, such as Ižma *koknjid* [кокнид] also have a shorter form in *-i* (*koknji* [кокни]), which might also have an adverbial reading, even though Ižma also has adverbs ending in *-a* (*koknja* [кокния]) (KSK 1: 694–695), and contextual translations into English are always adjectives. See also KSK 1: 272: *vösni*, *vösnid* > *vösnji*, *vösnjid* [вöсни, вöснид].

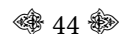
154 The derivational ending in the literary language takes the form *-ös* [-öсь], even though Castrén has left palatalization unmarked here (should be written: *sjuräs*, *nomräs* and *bygjes*); it is used in forming *nomen possessoris* adjectives, whose meaning may indicate excess as well, cf. adjectives in *a*: *vyja nań* 'sandwich (literally: buttery bread)' and *vijös ki* 'greasy hand'. The adjective *gögräs* does not belong to this group; it does not have a palatalized *sj*, in the literary language it is *gögrös* [rörpöc].

155 As corrected in the Corrigenda.  
156 Should be *pidžegsa*, *pidžeg* [пиджерса, пиджер].

157 The derivational ending in *-sa* [-ca] is used for forming adjectives from spatial nouns in the literary language *nomen possessi* and *-ša* [-сә] for analogous adjectives form temporal nouns (ÖKK: 110; Bartens 2000: 141).



- 158 The literary adjectival derivational ending *-ov* [-ов] has an allomorph *-oo* in the Ižma dialect, which is used for forming diminutives, including temporal adjectives that are expressed in the literary language with the ending *-sja* [-ся] (ID: 61–62). The adjectives *tölöö* and *arsjoo* are not diminutives, but adjectives derived from nouns *töö* ‘winter’ and *ar* ‘autumn’ with adjective suffixes *-oo* and *-sjoo*. In the literary language: *tövša* [төвсә] and *arša* [арсә].
- 159 This derivational ending is misplaced, it should be described under numerals, and it is described again in § 51.
- 160 Should be *sjintäm*, *sjin*.
- 161 *-töm* [-төм] (in the Ižma dialect [-тәм]) is a caritive derivational suffix (Hamari 2011: 37). It is used to form the antonym to adjectives in *-ös* and *-a*.
- 162 See Corrigenda: *kos-soj* (?). This must be a mistake.
- 163 The comparison with Finnish is structural, not etymological.



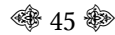
5. *-oo* reduces the intensity of the adjective, thus adjectives in *oo* are called diminutives, e.g. *dzjöljaoo* ‘smallish’, *gögräsoo* (кругловашый) ‘roundish’, *kuzjoo* ‘longish’ (долговатый, *kuzj* ‘long’), *töloo* ‘winter (adj.)’, *arsjoo* ‘autumnal’, *pemdoo* ‘rather dark’ etc.<sup>158</sup>

6. *-ad*, which is the ordinal numeral ending, represents the Finnish ending *-si*, originally *-ti* (cf. § 25:15) and the Lappish *-ad*.<sup>159</sup>

7. *-täm* (\*-töm), Fi *-toin* (-töin), Lapp. *-tebme* (-tem) is the negative ending, used in both denominational and deverbal derivation, e.g. *sintäm*<sup>160</sup> ‘blind’ (*sin* ‘eye’), *peljtäm* ‘deaf’ (*pelj* ‘ear’), *myykydtäm* ‘crazy’ (*myykyd* ‘mind’), *gozjatäm* ‘unpaired’, (*gozja* ‘pair’), *pootäm* ‘fearless’ (*pola* ‘I am afraid’, imperat. *poly* or *poo*), *ottäm* (orig. *otatäm*) ‘narrow’, (*ota* ‘side’) etc.<sup>161</sup>

## § 49

Adjectives are combined 1) with adjectives, e.g. *ydžyd-toša* ‘with a big beard’, Fi *pitkäpartanen*; *ydžyd-koka* ‘with big feet’, Fi *isojalkanen*; 2) with nouns, e.g. *kos-soja*<sup>162</sup> ‘with withered arm(s)’, Fi *kuiva-käsi*; *tujvyysa* ‘travelling, road’, Fi *matkan-alanen*; *muusa* ‘underground’, Fi *maan-alanen*.<sup>163</sup>



## C. Numerals

## § 50

This table is necessary for the illustration of kinship between the cardinal numerals in the Zyrian, Finnish and Lappish languages:<sup>164</sup>

	Zyrian	Finnish	Lappish
1.	<i>ötik</i> [or <i>ötjik</i> ]	<i>yksi</i> (orig. <i>ykte</i> or <i>yhde</i> )	<i>oft</i> (* <i>okt</i> , <i>akt</i> )
2.	<i>kyk</i>	<i>kaksi</i> (orig. <i>kakte</i> or <i>kahde</i> )	<i>guoft</i> (* <i>kuokta</i> , <i>kuokt</i> )
3.	<i>kujim</i> ( <i>kuim</i> )	<i>kolme</i>	<i>golm</i>
4.	<i>njolj</i>	<i>neljä</i>	<i>njälja</i> (* <i>nelje</i> )
5.	<i>vit</i>	<i>viisi</i> (orig. <i>viite</i> )	<i>vitta</i> 1. <i>vit</i>
6.	<i>kvajt</i>	<i>kuusi</i> (orig. <i>kuute</i> )	<i>gutta</i> (* <i>kot</i> , <i>kut</i> )
7.	<i>sizim</i> [ <i>sjizjim</i> ]	<i>seitsemän</i>	<i>čečča</i>
8.	<i>kökjaamys</i> <sup>165</sup>	<i>kahdeksan</i>	<i>gauttse</i> (* <i>kaktse</i> )
9.	<i>okmys</i> (* <i>ökmys</i> )	<i>yhdeksän</i>	<i>ofttse</i> (* <i>oktse</i> )
10.	<i>das</i>	<i>kymmenen</i>	<i>loghe</i> (* <i>lokke</i> )
11.	<i>dasötik</i> [or <i>das ötjik</i> ] <sup>166</sup>	<i>yksi toista kymmentä</i>	<i>oft nubbe lokkai</i>
12.	<i>daskyk</i>	<i>kaksi toista kymmentä</i>	<i>guoft nubbe lokkai</i>
13.	<i>daskujim</i>	<i>kolme toista kymmentä</i>	<i>kolm nubbe lokkai</i>
20.	<i>kyszj</i>	<i>kaksi kymmentä</i>	<i>guoft loghe</i>
30.	<i>komyn</i>	<i>kolme kymmentä</i>	<i>golm loghe</i>
40.	<i>njeljaamyn</i>	<i>neljä kymmentä</i>	<i>njälja loghe</i>
50.	<i>vetyymyn</i>	<i>viisi kymmentä</i>	<i>vit loghe</i>
60.	<i>kvajtyymyn</i>	<i>kuusi kymmentä</i>	<i>gut loghe</i>

- 164 The Finnish and Lappish numerals appear in the forms given by Castrén; they do not correspond entirely with the modern orthographies of the languages.

N.B. Castrén uses the \* mark to indicate differences in various dialects.

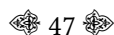
- 165 The Komi dialect dictionary (KSK) gives Ižma dialect forms of the numerals 8, 40–60, 80 with short vowels in the second syllable, e.g. *kökjamys* [көкъямыс] instead of Castrén's *kökjaamys*.
- 166 The compound numerals 11–19 are written in the literary language with white space *das öt'i(k)*, *das kyk*, *das kujim* etc., they are not written as single words in Komi-Zyrian.

- 167 See Corrigenda: *ökmys*, which must be a mistake. Cf. ID: 63 and KSK 1: 1067: *okmys* [ОКМЫС].
- 168 *kökjamys* [көкъямыс] ‘8’ and *ökmis* [өкмыс] ‘9’ are built on the numerals *kyk* ‘2’ and *ötik* ‘1’ with the *mys* element, which has possibly changed into the *myn* element found in the tens (30–60) (Bartens 2000: 143).
- 169 Cf. Sjögren 1834: 158–159.
- 170 Misprint: should be *-haaranen*.
- 171 Should be: ‘one from ten’; in Castrén’s Latin, mistakenly *unum e duo* ‘one from two’.

## ❖ 46 ❖

70.	<i>sizimdas</i> [sjizjimdas]	<i>seitsemän</i> <i>kymmentä</i>	<i>čečča</i> <i>loghe</i>
80.	<i>kökjaamysdas</i>	<i>kahdeksan</i> <i>kymmentä</i>	<i>gauttse</i> <i>loghe</i>
90.	<i>okmysdas</i>	<i>yhdeksän</i> <i>kymmentä</i>	<i>oftse</i> <i>loghe</i>
100.	<i>sjo</i>	<i>sata</i>	<i>čuotte</i>
1000.	<i>tiisacja</i> (* <i>sjurs</i> )	<i>tuhat</i>	<i>duhat</i>

N.B. 1. Most evidently, the cardinal numerals correspond until seven. Sjögren has attempted to prove the kinship of the numerals eight and nine, and he has shown that in the three languages mentioned the numbers are derived from the numerals one and two, thus *kökjaamys* and *okmys*<sup>167</sup> derive from the numerals *kyk* ‘two’ and *ötik* or *ök* ‘one’, connected with the elative form from the lost numeral *jaam* ‘ten’ (*jang*, *jong* in the Ostyak language), thus two or one from ten, rendering eight and nine.<sup>168</sup> He believes the same formulation is used in Finnish, where the ending *san* (*sän*) is assumed in the numerals *kahdeksan* and *yhdeksän* to be a reflex of a since disappeared ablative *san* (*sän*), *sänj* in Zyrian, the preceding letter *k* must be a reflex of the numeral-nominal *kymmenen* ‘ten’.<sup>169</sup> We are, however, more pleased with the opinion held of the numeral-nominals *seitsemän*, *kahdeksan*, *yhdeksän*, *kymmenen* representing a genitive reading of the nominatives *seitsen*, *kahdeksa*, *yhdeksä*, *kymmen*, which are still used in compound words e.g. *seitsen-sarvi*, *kahdeksa-jalka*, *yhdeksä-kaaranen*<sup>170</sup>, *kymmen-sorminen*. In the formulation of cardinals in Zyrian *kökjaamys* and *okmys* from *kyk*, *ök* and *jaam*, it should be noted that the elision of the long vowel [in the number] *ökmys* is both difficult to comprehend and limited. In addition, *ötik* is not the



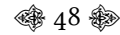
source of *ök*, but rather *ötk*, which is realised in a consonant conglomeration *öt*, which is in use as an abbreviated form. *Ökmys* is easily derived from *ötik* and *kym* (Fi *kymmenen*), elat. *ötikkymys*[j], etc. *ötikkymys*[j] or *ötkymys*[j] one from two<sup>171</sup>. According to § 9 *y* is dropped from the middle of the word, which leaves *ötkmys*. Here two consonants have combined in the word-final syllable, with the first of the two being dropped, but without the stem *kym* being affected too much. – *Kökjaamys* is probably more suitably derived from *kök* and *jaam*, thus the origin of this is in the cardinal numerals, not only *njeljaamyn*, but probably also *vetyymyn* and *kvajtyymyn*.<sup>172</sup>

N.B. 2. Cardinal numerals between ten and twenty are formed in many ways in Zyrian and Finnish: by adding the words 'one' and 'two' to 'ten' (ten one, ten two etc.) thus arriving at one, two of the second ten.<sup>173</sup> The same holds for a majority of the remaining numerals. Clearly the numerals in Zyrian, Finnish and Lappish correlate with each other up to the number seven, which at the same time ends the series of original primitive numerals.<sup>174</sup> Hence it is suitable to suggest that the Finnic peoples have at some time only counted this far, because the number seven was considered holy. The number *ten* is also a reflex of a primitive word, the name for it varies from language to language, whence we can conclude that the number is of a later origin. The word *das*<sup>175</sup> in Zyrian comes from the Russian word *десять*. The word for hundred *sjo*, [Fi] *sata*, [Lapp.] *čuotte* is also originally Russian (*сто*) and therefore formed from two consonants running together<sup>176</sup>.

N.B. 3. Cardinal numerals have regular declension, but they occur less frequently in the plural.

- 172 The literary written forms are: *komyn* [комын] '30', *nel'amyn* [нелямын] '40', *vetumyn* [ветымын] '50' and *kvajtyumyn* [квайтымын] '60'. These tens are constructed according to the pattern 3/4/5/6 + 10. The *-myn* element, which is found in Hungarian and Mansi, is posited to be a reflex of the Finno-Ugric proto language *\*mVnV* '10'. (Honti 1993: 117; Bartens 2000: 144.)
- 173 The compound numerals 11–19 are formed according to the principle 10 + 1 > *das öti(k)* [дас öти(к)].
- 174 *šizim* [сизим] is a reflex from the Finno-Permic proto-language; *öt'ik* [öти(к)], *ku(j)im* [куим], *ñol'* [нёль] and *kvajt* [квajt] are reflexes from the Finno-Ugric proto-language, while *kyk* [кык] and *vit* [вит] are reflexes from the Uralic proto-language. (Bartens 2000: 142.)
- 175 *das* [дас] '10' is an Iranian loan in the Permic languages; *šizimdas* [сизимдас], *kökjamysdas* [көкъямысдас] and *ökmysdas* [өкмысдас] '70–90' follow the structure '7/8/9 + 10'; *kyž* [кызь] '20' is proto-Permic, a correlating numeral is also found in the Ugric side. The compound numerals 21–29 are formed according to the principle 20 + 1 > *kyž öti(k)* [кызь öти(к)]. The same principle is followed by the other tens as well. (Bartens 2000: 143–144.)

- 176 *šo* [cě] ‘100’ and *šurs* [сюрс] ‘1000’ are Indo-Iranian loans (Bartens 2000: 144).
- 177 The Ižma derivational ending *-äd* [-әд] is *-öd* [-өд] in the literary language, which correlates with *-nte-* in Finnish. The point at issue is apparently *\*ntV*, which was present in the Finno-Ugric proto-language. (Bartens 2000: 145–146.)
- 178 The literary language form is *möd* [мөд], the form *kyköd* [кыкөд] is also possible, especially in combination with preceding tens.



48

## § 51

The ordinal numerals are formed from the cardinal numerals with addition of the final *-äd*<sup>77</sup>, which is the same suffix as *-ad* in Lappish and *-ti* or *-si* in Finnish, cf. § 48:6. The ordinal numeral *medvodzja* ‘first’ is a superlative from the positive *vodzja* ‘in front’, a stem *vodzy* ‘before’, Fi *esi*, from which *esimäinen* ‘first’, Lapp. *vuostas*. The ordinal numeral *muöd* ‘second, other’ is used as in Finnish *muu*, Lapp. *mubbe*, *mubbad*, *nubbe* ‘other, second’. The conformity in the rest of the ordinalia of these three languages is seen in this figure:

	Zyrian	Finnish	Lappish
1.	<i>medvodzja</i>	<i>esimäinen</i>	<i>vuostas</i>
2.	<i>muöd</i> <sup>78</sup>	<i>toinen</i>	<i>mubbe</i> or <i>nubbe</i>
3.	<i>kojmäd</i>	<i>kolmas</i>	<i>goalmad</i> or <i>kolmad</i>
4.	<i>njoljed</i>	<i>neljäs</i>	<i>njäljad</i> or <i>neljad</i>
5.	<i>vitäd</i>	<i>viides</i>	<i>vidhad</i> or <i>vitad</i>
6.	<i>kvajtäd</i>	<i>kuudes</i>	<i>gudhad</i> or <i>kotad</i>
7.	<i>sizimäd</i> [ <i>sjizjimäd</i> ]	<i>seitsemäs</i>	<i>čečad</i>
8.	<i>kökjaamysäd</i>	<i>kahdeksas</i>	<i>gavtsad</i> or <i>kaktsad</i>
9.	<i>okmysäd</i>	<i>yhdeksäs</i>	<i>oftsad</i> or <i>oktsad</i>
10.	<i>dasäd</i>	<i>kymmenes</i>	<i>loghad</i> or <i>lokkad</i>

❖ 49 ❖

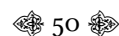
11.	<i>dasötikäd</i>	<i>yhdes toista vuostas nubbe</i>
	[or <i>das ötjikäd</i> ] <sup>179</sup>	<i>kymmentä lokkai</i>
12.	<i>daskykäd</i>	<i>kahdes toista mubbad</i>
		<i>kymmentä (or nubbe)</i>
		<i>nubbe lokkai</i>
13.	<i>kuimkykäd</i> <sup>180</sup>	<i>kolmas toista goalmad</i>
		<i>kymmentä nubbe lokkai</i>
20.	<i>kyzjed</i>	<i>kahdes guoft loghad</i>
		<i>kymmenes or lokkad</i>
30.	<i>komynäd</i>	<i>kolmes golm loghad</i>
		<i>kymmenes or lokkad</i>
100.	<i>sjoäd</i>	<i>sadas čuodhad</i>

§ 52

Distributive numerals in the Zyrian and Finnish languages are formed from cardinals in the instructive case, e.g. *kykän* ‘two each’, Fi *kaksin*; *kuimän* ‘three each’, Fi *kolmin*; *njoljen*<sup>181</sup> ‘four each’, Fi *neljin*; *vitän* ‘five each’, Fi *viisin*; *kökjaamysän* ‘eight each’, Fi *kahdeksin*; *dasän* ‘ten each’, Fi *kymmenin*, pl. *dasjasän*, Fi *kymmenittäin*; *sjoän* ‘hundred each’, Fi *sadoin*, pl. *sjojasän*, Fi *sadottain* etc.<sup>182</sup> It should be noted that in the [Balto-]Finnic languages, where the instructive sg. is not used much, distributives are formed with the instr. pl. In the Zyrian language, distributives are often connected with [possessive] suffixes, e.g. *ötnan*<sup>183</sup>, *ötnad*, *ötnas* ‘I, you, he/she/it alone’, *ötnanum*, *ötnanyd*, *ötnanys* ‘we, you, they alone’, *kyknanum*, *kyknanyd*, *kyknanys* ‘we, you, they two together’, *kuimnanum* etc.<sup>184</sup>

- 179 The ordinal numerals 11–19 are written with a space between words as in the cardinal numerals as well, cf. note 166.
- 180 *kuimkykäd* must be a mistake, it should be *daskojmäd* [дас коймөд] (cf. § 50: the cardinal numeral 13).
- 181 As corrected in the Corrigenda.
- 182 The instrumental-case numerals are modal quantifying adverbs (Bartens 2000: 145; ÖKK: 153–154). Castrén used the case name instructive, modern researchers use instrumental (cf. § 25:4 and note 59).
- 183 Mistake? Cf. ID: 64: *ötnam*.
- 184 When the morpheme *nan* is added to a cardinal numeral, a collective quantifier expression is formed. In this form, it serves as an adnominal attribute. It then takes a possessive marker to indicate whether the collective is associated with us, you or he/she/it, them. For this reason, the expression is often regarded as a pronoun. The numeral 1 (*öt’ik* > *öt-*) is abbreviated and takes a shorter morpheme *na* followed by a PX: *ötnam* [отнам] ‘I alone’ etc. (Bartens 2000: 146–147; ÖKK: 146, 150–151, 158.)

- 185 This is a matter of adverbs expressing repetition or quantifier adverbs, which are numerals in the elative case (Bartens 2000: 145; ÖKK: 153–155). Rédei refers to these with the term multiplicative (1978: 86).
- 186 In the dialect dictionary, these words are presented as adjectives: *ötpövsä* [от-пöвса] ‘in one row, one-layered’ and *ötkyza* [откыза] ‘of the same thickness’ (KSK 2: 34, 39). Cf. § 56.
- The comparison with Finnish is structural, not etymological.
- 187 The literary form is *džyn* [джын] ‘half’, *öt’i da džyn* [оти да джын] or using the instrumental case *öt’iön džynjön* [отиөн-джынийөн] ‘one and a half’.



## § 53

Iteratives and temporals too are formed in the same way in both Finnish and Zyrian, namely, with the elative case of cardinal and ordinal numerals; an exception is the iterative *ötpir* ‘once’, not *ötikys*[j]. The others are: *kykys*[j] ‘twice’, [Fi] *kahdešti*, orig. *kahdešta*; *kujimys*[j] ‘three times’, Fi *kolmašti*; *sizimys* [> *sjizjimys*] ‘seven times’, Fi *seitsemmäšti*; *kökjaamysys*[j] ‘eight times’, Fi *kahdeksästi*. The temporals are formed in the same way: *medvodzjays*[j] ‘for the first time’, Fi *esimäisešti*; *muödys*[j] ‘for the second time’, Fi *toisešti*; *kojmädys*[j] ‘for the third time’, Fi *kolmannešti*; *njoljedys*[j] ‘for the fourth time’, Fi *neljännešti*.<sup>185</sup>

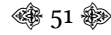
## § 54

Multiplicatives are derived as composites from cardinals and the [words] *pöösa* or *kyyza*, e.g. *ötpöösa* or *ötkeyza* ‘single, simple’, Fi *yksinkertanen*; *kykpöösa* or *kykkyyza* ‘double’, Fi *kaksinkertanen*; *kujimpöösa* or *kujimkyyza* ‘triple’ etc. The noun *kyyza* specifically means ‘thickness, density’; the adjective *pöösa* is not used by itself; it is derived from the noun *pöö* (see Vocabulary).<sup>186</sup>

## § 55

Fractions, the expression of halves is described in this way: *džyn* ‘half’, *muödys*[j] *džyn*<sup>187</sup> ‘half of the second, one and a half’, *kojmädys*[j] *džyn* ‘half of the third, two and a half’. Other parts are constructed with the noun *paj* ‘part’ e.g. *kojmäd paj* ‘third part’, *njoljed paj* ‘fourth part’.





51

## § 56

In the Zyrian language, there are also adjective [like] numerals, which consist of a cardinal expressing how many things there are in itself, as in *kyka*, *kuima*, *kyszja*, *dasötika*, *sjoja*, e.g. *sjoja lis* ([La] *rubelos*) ‘(bank)note of 100 rubles’.<sup>188</sup>

*D. Pronouns*

## § 57

The personal pronouns are: *me* ‘I’, Fi *minä*, Lapp. *mon*; pl. *mi* ‘we’, Fi *me*, Lapp. *mi*; *te* ‘you (sg.)’, Fi *sinä* (orig. *tinä*), Lapp. *don* (*ton*); pl. *ti* ‘you’, Fi *te*, Lapp. *di* (*ti*); *sya* ‘he, she, it’, Fi *hän*, *se*, Lapp. *son*; pl. *nya* ‘they’, Fi *he*, *ne*, Lapp. *si*. Pronouns for the third person form their cases from irregular nominative case forms sg. *sy* (Fi *se*) and pl. *ny*. In addition, the declension of personal pronouns, especially the first and second person, is always subject to many exceptions, which can be seen in the paradigm:

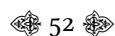
Singular<sup>189</sup>

Nom.	<i>me</i> ‘I’	Nom.	<i>te</i> ‘you (sg.)’
Gen.	<i>menam</i> , <i>mejam</i> , <i>meam</i>	Gen.	<i>tenad</i> , <i>tejad</i> , <i>tead</i>
Accus.	<i>menä</i>	Accus.	<i>tenä</i>
Instr.	<i>menam</i> , (* <i>meön</i> )	Instr.	<i>tenad</i> (* <i>teön</i> )
Carit.	<i>metägä</i> or <i>metäjä</i>	Carit.	<i>tetägyd</i> , <i>tetäjäyd</i>
Dat.	<i>men</i> , <i>menum</i> (* <i>menym</i> )	Dat.	<i>ten</i> , <i>tenyd</i> (* <i>ted</i> )
Allat.	<i>melanje</i>	Allat.	<i>telanjyd</i>

188 This proprietive as apparent in the example indicates monetary notes that have the numerals *kyk* ‘2’ → *kyka* ‘having 2’, *sjo* ‘100’ → *sjoa* ‘having 100’ printed on them. (Cf. Guillaume 2017: 30–40.)

189 Cf. paradigm given in the dialect monograph: ID: 64, literary language: ÖKK: 163.

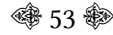
- 190 Mistake: it should be Consec. In his letter to Elias Lönnrot (11/23 June 1843, cf. *Epistulae* 1, 302) and in his dissertation (cf. Castrén 1844: 10) Castrén has used the case name *Secutivus*, but later has changed it to *Consecutivus* ‘consecutive’.
- 191 Mistake: it should be Prosec. Castrén has used the case name *Praeteritivus* instead of *Prosecutivus* ‘prosecutive’ in his letter to Lönnrot (11/23 June 1843, cf. *Epistulae* 1, 302).
- 192 Castrén uses the ’ mark in the terminative forms to indicate the morpheme boundary.
- 193 Cf. paradigm given in the dialect monograph: ID: 65, literary language: ÖKK: 163.
- 194, 195 The accusative forms of the Ižma 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns can also take the ending *-te*, cf. Castrén’s *-tā* [-tə], the literary language, however, only uses the accusative suffix *-ös* [-öc] (ID: 66; Bartens 2000: 151–152).



Illat.	<i>meam</i>	Illat.	<i>tead</i>
Adess.	<i>mejam, menam</i>	Adess.	<i>tejad, tenad</i>
Iness.	<i>meam</i>	Iness.	<i>tead</i>
Abl. 1.	<i>mencjum</i> (* <i>mens[j]im</i> )	Abl. 1.	<i>tencjyd</i> (* <i>tens[j]id</i> )
Abl. 2.	<i>mesänje</i>	Abl. 2.	<i>tesänjyd</i>
Elat.	<i>mesjum</i> (* <i>meys[j]</i> )	Elat.	<i>tesjyd</i> (* <i>teys[j]</i> )
Consec.	<i>melaä</i>	Secut. <sup>190</sup>	<i>telayd</i>
Prosec.	<i>Meädä</i>	Praet. <sup>191</sup>	<i>teädjyd</i>
Term.	<i>me’edzje</i>	Term.	<i>te’edzjyd</i> <sup>192</sup>

Plural<sup>193</sup>

Nom.	<i>mi</i> ‘we’	Nom.	<i>ti</i> ‘you (pl.)’
Gen.	<i>mijan, mian</i>	Gen.	<i>tijan</i> or <i>tian</i>
Accus.	<i>mijantä, miantä</i> (* <i>miandö</i> , <i>mijanös</i> ) <sup>194</sup>	Accus.	<i>tijantä, tiantä</i> (* <i>tiandö</i> , <i>tijanös</i> ) <sup>195</sup>
Instr.	<i>minanum</i> (* <i>mianön</i> )	Instr.	<i>tinanyd</i> (* <i>tianön</i> )
Carit.	<i>mitägnum</i> , <i>mitägjanum</i>	Carit.	<i>titägnyd</i> , <i>titägjanjyd</i>
Dat.	<i>mijan</i> (* <i>mijanly</i> )	Dat.	<i>tijan</i> (* <i>tijanly</i> )
Allat.	<i>milanjnum</i>	Allat.	<i>tilanjnyd</i>
Illat.	<i>mianum</i>	Illat.	<i>tianyd</i> (* <i>tijanö</i> )
Adess.	<i>mijan</i>	Adess.	<i>tijan</i>
Iness.	<i>mianum</i>	Iness.	<i>tianyd</i> (* <i>tijanyn</i> )
Abl. 1.	<i>mijancjunum</i> (* <i>mijancjumys[j]</i> )	Abl. 1.	<i>tijancjynyd</i>
Abl. 2.	<i>misänjnum</i>	Abl. 2.	<i>tisänjnyd</i>
Elat.	<i>misjunum</i>	Elat.	<i>tisjynyd</i> (* <i>tijanys[j]</i> )
Consec.	<i>milanum</i>	Consec.	<i>tilanyd</i>
Prosec.	<i>miednum</i>	Prosec.	<i>tiednyd</i>
Term.	<i>miedzjnum</i> (* <i>mijanödzej</i> )	Term.	<i>tiedzjnyd</i> (* <i>tijanödzej</i> )



Singular		Plural	
Nom.	<i>sy</i> <sup>196</sup> 'he, she, it'	Nom.	<i>nya</i> (* <i>nyja</i> , <i>naja</i> , <i>syjajös</i> ) <sup>197</sup> 'they'
Gen.	<i>sy</i> , <i>sylän</i> , <i>syls[j]</i>	Gen.	<i>ny</i> , <i>nylän</i> , <i>nylys[j]</i> (* <i>najalön</i> , <i>nalön</i> , <i>syjöslön</i> )
Accus.	<i>syje</i> , <i>syä</i> (* <i>syjes</i> )	Accus.	<i>nyje</i> <sup>198</sup> (* <i>najaös</i> , <i>nyjaös</i> , <i>syjajasös</i> , <i>syjöstö</i> )
Instr.	<i>syjen</i> , <i>syän</i>	Instr.	<i>nyän</i> (* <i>najaön</i> , <i>syjejasön</i> )
Carit.	<i>sytäg</i> , <i>sytägja</i>	Carit.	<i>nytäg</i> , <i>nytägja</i>
Dat.	<i>syly</i>	Dat.	<i>nyly</i> (* <i>najaly</i> , <i>naly</i> , <i>syjöslly</i> )
Allat.	<i>sylanje</i>	Allat.	<i>nylanje</i>
Illat.	<i>syä'</i>	Illat.	<i>nyä'</i>
Adess.	<i>sylän</i>	Adess.	<i>nylän</i>
Iness.	<i>sy'yn</i>	Iness.	<i>ny'yn</i> <sup>199</sup>
Abl. 1.	<i>syls[j]</i>	Abl. 1.	<i>nylys[j]</i>
Abl. 2.	<i>sysänj</i>	Abl. 2.	<i>nysänj</i>
Elat.	<i>sy'ys[j]</i>	Elat.	<i>ny'ys[j]</i> (* <i>najays[j]</i> ) <sup>200</sup>
Consec.	<i>syla</i>	Consec.	<i>nyla</i>
Prosec.	<i>syäd</i>	Prosec.	<i>nyäd</i>
Term.	<i>syedzj</i>	Term.	<i>nyedzj</i> (* <i>najaedzj</i> )

N.B. 1. In the pronouns, the third person deviates from the rule: 1) in the nominative sg. and pl. there is an *a* added to the end; 2) the accusative and allative in both numbers drop the *ä*, which renders the first person as the original form.

N.B. 2. Much of what appears to be irregular in the personal pronouns *me* and *te* is due to their suffix use and is regular. Thus, the illative and inessive forms *meam*, *tead* as well as the adessive

196 In the literary language, the 3rd person sg. is *sijö* [cijö], the case endings are added to the stem *sy-* [сы-], as shown in the Ižma dialect paradigm. The accusative form *syje* [сийэ] deviates from the literary form *sijös* [cijöc]. Cf. paradigm given in the dialect monograph: ID: 64, literary language: ÖKK: 163.

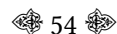
197 In Ižma, there are two 3rd persons pl. variants in use *nya* [nya] and *naja* [найа], the single-syllable stem *ny-* [ны-] is the base for all oblique case forms. *naja* is deictically a "proximate" pronoun, it points to visible or more proximate, familiar persons, *nya* on the other hand is deictically "distal". (ID: 64–65; Bartens 2000: 155.) Cf. paradigm given in the dialect monograph: ID: 65, literary language: ÖKK: 165.

198 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

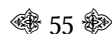
199 Castrén uses an apostrophe ' to indicate the morpheme boundary in the inessive and elative forms.

200 Castrén uses the ' mark in the elative forms to indicate the morpheme boundary.

- 201 1st and 2nd person pronouns sg. *me* [ме] and *te* [тэ] are abbreviated from the proto-Permic forms *\*mVn*, *\*tVn* and the consonant *n* appears in the grammatical cases (acc., gen., dat. and abl.), other cases build upon the nominative stem (Bartens 2000: 149–151; ÖKK: 162–165).
- 202 Misprint: should be *tijanys*[j].
- 203 The plural paradigms of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns *mi* [ми] and *ti* [ті] are entirely based on the genitive forms *mijan* [миян] and *tijan* [тіян] (Bartens 2000: 153; ÖKK: 163).



*mejam*, *tejad* are regularly formed from one and the same illative: *meä'*, *teä'* (cf. § 59, N.B. 1).<sup>201</sup> Here we will note that these are personal pronouns, and that personal pronouns take the letter *j* in the sg. adessive and pl. dative, adessive and ablative 1. to distinguish external and internal locative cases, and that in the dative and adessive, the pl. possessive suffixes are left off. – The instructive sg. *menam*, *tenad* comes from the absolute pronoun stem: *meyn*, *teyn*; the ablative 1. *mencjum*, *tencjyd* cannot be derived from anything other than [the words] *menys*[j], *tenys*[j], where *n* is superfluous. The pronouns *me* and *te* in the elative are *meys*[j], *teys*[j], from which the forms with [possessive] suffixes *mesjum*, *tesjyd* are formed. In the same way the pl. dative and adessive forms *mijan*, *tijan* have been derived from the absolute illative forms *miä'*, *tiä'* with a sg. ending. The illative and inessive, which are of the same origin, are: *mianum*, *tianyd*, with a pl. [possessive] ending. The instructive forms *minanum*, *tinanyd* are regularly formed from the simple forms *miyn*, *tiyn*; the same can be said of the elative *misjunum*, *tisjynyd* [from the forms] *miys*[j], *tiys*[j]. The ablative 1 *mijancjunum*, *tijancjynyd* require *mijanys*[j], *tianys*[j]<sup>202</sup> in the absolute position; they are irregularly formed from the dative. The whimsical ablative form *mijancjums*[j] has come from [the form] *mianys*[j] with a sg. ending (*mijancjum*), to which the new elative ending has been added.<sup>203</sup> – With complete deviation from the rule come:



55

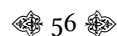
1) the accusative sg. *menä*, *tenä*; 2) dative sg. *men*, *ten*, 3) accusative pl. *mijantä*, *tijantä*. The dative and accusative sg. are undoubtedly reflexes of an old form that contains the letter *n*, which has been retained in the personal pronouns of kindred languages. The *ä* vowel of the latter accusative sg. is the suffix of the first person, which the second person has required for reasons of symmetry. Since *ä* is also the illative ending, it suits to present the dative forms *men* and *ten* as having their origins in the illative, which has lost its vowel, in order to avoid ambiguity between the dative and accusative forms. – The accusative pl. appears to have derived from the genitive and the second-person [possessive] ending. The remaining cases are regular.<sup>204</sup>

## § 58

Personal suffixes<sup>205</sup> are characteristic of all Finnic languages. In Zyrian they have changed to such an extent that they only express the finite form of the nominal with no regard for the person indicated in the ending. This explains both the accusative ending *-äs* for nouns and the special formulation of personal pronouns with [possessive] suffixes. Since the characteristics of the endings have changed so much, a nominal with a [possessive] suffix requires a possessive pronoun, which presents itself as a personal pronoun in the genitive or as the adjectival pronoun *as*<sup>206</sup> or before an object in the ablative 1. of a personal pronoun.

- 204 What Castrén has provided here in the N.B. on the etymologies of the case forms of personal pronouns is quite complex and for the most part erroneous in light of modern research (cf. Barts 2000: 149–156).
- 205 i.e. possessive suffixes; Castrén uses the simple term suffix for possessive suffixes. Possessive suffixes and possessive declension are presented in modern grammars together with nouns, Castrén presents them in his grammar under pronouns.
- 206 Cf. § 61: Reflexive pronoun *as*.

- 207 See note 205.
- 208 The *px* suffixes of the literary language are: sg.: 1st -*öj* [-*öй*] and -*ym* [-*ым*] (mainly complementary distribution), 2nd -*yd* [-*ыд*], 3rd -*ys* [-*ыс*]; pl.: 1st -*num* [-*ным*], 2nd -*nyd* [-*ныд*], 3rd -*nys* [-*ныс*]. In Komi, *px* suffixes are used not only for the expression of possessive relations but also demonstrative relations, especially the 2nd and 3rd sg. *px*, which can be attached to nearly all word classes (ÖKK: 54–57, 61). In addition to possession they can be used to express identifiability, concreteness, familiarity, in certain situations also specificity and emphasis (cf. Leinonen 2006: 111–112).
- 209 As corrected in the Corrigenda.
- 210 The accusative *px* forms of the literary language are (ÖKK: 61, 69–74):  
 sg.: 1st -*ös* [-*öс*], Ø, 2nd -*tö* [-*тö*], 3rd -*sö* [-*cö*]  
 pl.: 1st -*numös* [-*нымöс*], 2nd -*nydtö* [-*ныдтö*], 3rd -*nysö* [-*нысö*]
- 211 Misprint: the illative form should be *putä*’.
- 212 The proto-Permic source case \**yś* has a reflex in the Komi elative, ablative and egressive. Castrén does not indicate palatalization in these case endings, which he expresses otherwise with the consonant *j*. In this example, the connective consonant *j* can mean the palatalization of the source case.



## § 59

The suffixes<sup>207</sup> in the Zyrian language are<sup>208</sup>:

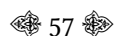
[*px*] suff. sing.: 1. *ä* or *m* (*um*, \**im*) 2. *d* (*yd*) 3. *s* (*ys*)  
 [*px*] suff. plur.: 1. *num* (\**nym*) 2. *nyd* 3. *nys*

of which the suffix *m* of the first-person sg. is only added to the inner local cases (illative, inessive, elative) and the instructive; all other case suffixes take *ä*. The accusative [possessive] suffixes have been taken from the formula below:

Sing.: 1. *äs* 2. *tä* 3. *sä*  
 Plur.: 1. *numäs* 2. *nydtä*<sup>209</sup> or *nydä* 3. *nysä*

which are attached regularly to the end of the nominative. The suffix of the accusative pl. is a combination of the suffixes for sg. and pl., from which it becomes apparent that not only -*äs* but also -*tä* and -*sä* are used as the ending for the case.<sup>210</sup>

N.B. 1. It must be repeated here what has been said earlier about letter variation in nominals undergoing suffixation (see § 8). In the illative the suffix *ä* changes to *a* before an ending (*putä*<sup>211</sup>, [*px*] suff. *putam*), in the instructive the final letters switch places and *ä* changes to *a* (*putän*, suff. *putnam*). The elative also changes letters and in the Ižma dialect *s* changes to *c* after *d* and *t*, *y* changes to *u* before the first-person ending, and in all persons a connective consonant *j* is attached before a vowel (*putys*[*j*], suff. *putcjum*)<sup>212</sup>. The Ižma dialect also changes the *y* in the first-person plural to *u*. Due to the analogical formation of the instructive and elative, the inessive would not be distinguishable from the nominative with a plural possessive affix (*putyn*, suff. *putnum*), which is where the illative



57

suff. is used to compensate for it. At this point, it should also be noted that the dative, adessive and ablative<sup>213</sup> are attached between the stem and the [possessive] ending. The caritive and allative can take a [possessive] ending both word-finally and internally, except in the regular declension of the caritive sg. of the first person.<sup>214</sup>

N.B. 2. Nominals that lose the consonant *l* or some other letter in the nominative, but get it back in the absolute declension, also take their [PX] suffixes according to the same rule.

N.B. 3. As in other languages, the [possessive] endings in Zyrian have a close kinship with the personal pronouns. Thus, the pronoun *me* contains the letters *m* and *ä* with minimal differences, which form the [possessive] suffix for the first-person singular. The second-person suffix *d* is like the pronoun *te*; the third-person *s* is apparent in *sya*. These correlate to a greater extent with the endings in Lappish: *m* (*mon*), *t* (*don*), *s* (*son*) and to a lesser extent with those in Finnish: *ni*, *si*, *nsa* or *nsä*. In the pl. endings: *num* (*nym*), *nyd*, *nys* appear with the same letters in the end; *y* is an auxiliary letter and *n* is added [and *n*] can be observed in the singular and plural possessive suffixes<sup>215</sup>.

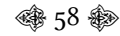
## § 60

In order to present the study of suffixes, it is inevitable that we present some paradigms of the [possessive] suffix declension of nouns: two regular, two irregular, two ending in vowels and two ending in consonants, i.e. *purt* 'knife', *kerka* 'house'; *muös* 'cow', *nyy* 'girl, daughter'.

- 213 Should be: ablative 1 and consecutive (see Corrigenda).
- 214 The ordering of possession and case markers: PX + CX: gen., abl., dat., com., consec., acc., instr. and CX + PX especially in cases indicating spatial relations. In some instances both orders are possible. (cf. ÖKK: 60–62; Bartsens 2000: 117.)
- 215 In Komi the *n* element expresses plural in both the possessive declension and in conjugation.



- 216 The inessive is missing from all possessive declension tables in § 60. The inessive is identical to the illative (cf. ID: 50–51). According to ID, the inessive, illative and transitive cases plural become apparent in postpositional constructions, (pp. 49–53, example word *mam* ‘mother’). In the manuscript Castrén has noted: Inessivus = Illativus (cf. Anmärkningar till Syrjänska språkets Grammatik).



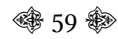
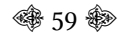
58

I Regular declension<sup>216</sup>

## Singular

				1
Nominative	<i>purt</i> ‘knife’ <i>kerka</i> ‘house’	<i>purt-</i> <i>kerka-</i>	}	<i>ä</i>
Accusative	<i>purt</i> <i>kerka</i>	<i>purt-</i> <i>kerka-</i>	}	<i>äs</i>
Instructive	<i>purtän</i> <i>kerkaän</i>	<i>purtna-</i> <i>kerkana-</i>	}	<i>m</i>
Caritive	<i>purttäg</i> <i>kerkatäg</i> or <i>purttägja</i> <i>kerkatägja</i>	<i>purttäg-</i> <i>kerkatäg-</i> or <i>purttägja-</i> <i>kerkatägja-</i>	}	<i>ä</i>
Dative	<i>purtly</i> <i>kerkaly</i>	<i>purt-</i> <i>kerka-</i>	}	<i>äly</i>
Allative	<i>purtlanj</i> <i>kerkalanj</i>	<i>purtlanj-</i> <i>kerkalanj-</i>	}	<i>e</i> *)
Illative	<i>purtä’</i> <i>kerkaä’</i>	<i>purta-</i> <i>kerka’a-</i>	}	<i>m</i>
Adessive	<i>purtlän</i> <i>kerkalän</i>	<i>purt-</i> <i>kerka-</i>	}	<i>älän</i>
Ablative 1.	<i>purtlys[j]</i> <i>kerkalys[j]</i>	<i>purt-</i> <i>kerka-</i>	}	<i>älys[j]</i>

\*) or: *purtälanj*, *kerkaälanj*, *-ydlanj*, *-yslanj* etc.

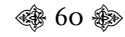


[Singular]				
2	3	1	2	3
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>tä</i>	<i>sä</i>	<i>numäs</i>	<i>nydtä</i> or <i>nydä</i>	<i>nysä</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>yd</i> <sup>*)</sup>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>yd</i> <sup>**) </sup>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>ydly</i>	<i>ysly</i>	<i>numly</i>	<i>nydly</i>	<i>nysly</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>ydlän</i>	<i>yslän</i>	<i>numlän</i>	<i>nydlän</i>	<i>nyslän</i>
<i>ydlys[j]</i>	<i>yslys[j]</i>	<i>numlys[j]</i>	<i>nydlys[j]</i>	<i>nyslys[j]</i>

<sup>\*)</sup> or: *purtydtäg*, *kerkaydtäd*<sup>217</sup>, *-ysläg*, *-numtäg* etc.

<sup>\*\*)</sup>  or: *purtydtägja*, *kerkaydtägja*, *-yslägja*, *-numtägja* etc.

217 Misprint: should be *kerkaydtäg*.



60

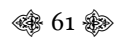
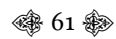
## [I] Regular declension

## Singular

				1
Ablative 2.	<i>purtsänj</i>	<i>purtsänj-</i>	}	<i>e</i>
	<i>kerkasänj</i>	<i>kerkasänj-</i>		
Elativ	<i>purty[s]</i>	<i>purtsj-</i>	}	<i>(u)m</i>
	<i>kerkays[s]</i>	<i>kerkasj-</i>		
Consecutive	<i>pur̄tla</i>	<i>pur̄t-</i>	}	<i>äla</i>
	<i>kerkala</i>	<i>kerka-</i>		
Prosecutive	<i>pur̄täd</i>	<i>pur̄täd-</i>	}	<i>ä</i>
	<i>kerkaäd</i>	<i>kerkaäd-</i>		
Terminative	<i>pur̄tedzj</i>	<i>pur̄tedzj-</i>	}	<i>e</i>
	<i>kerkaedzj</i>	<i>kerkaedzj-</i>		

## Plural

Nominative	<i>pur̄tjas</i>	<i>pur̄tjas-</i>	}	<i>ä</i>
	<i>kerkajas</i>	<i>kerkajas-</i>		
Accusative	<i>pur̄tjas</i>	<i>pur̄tjas-</i>	}	<i>äs</i>
	<i>kerkajas</i>	<i>kerkajas-</i>		
Instructive	<i>pur̄tjasän</i>	<i>pur̄tjasna-</i>	}	<i>m</i>
	<i>kerkajasän</i>	<i>kerkajasna-</i>		
Caritive	<i>pur̄tjastäg</i>	<i>pur̄tjastäg-</i>	}	<i>ä</i>
	<i>kerkajastäg</i>	<i>kerkajastäg-</i>		



[Singular]				
2	3	1	2	3
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>(y)d</i>	<i>(y)s</i>	<i>(u)num</i>	<i>(y)nyd</i>	<i>(y)nys</i>
<i>ydla</i>	<i>ysla</i>	<i>numla</i>	<i>nydla</i>	<i>nysla</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
[Plural]				
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>tä</i>	<i>sä</i>	<i>numäs</i>	<i>nydtä</i> or <i>nydä</i>	<i>nysä</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>yd</i> *)	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>

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\*) or: *purtjasydtäg*, *kerkajasydtäg*, *-yštäg*, *-numtäg* etc.

## [I] Regular declension

## Plural

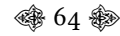
			1
[Caritive]	<i>putjastägja</i> <i>kerkajastägja</i>	<i>putjastägja-</i> <i>kerkajastägja-</i>	} <i>ä</i>
Dative	<i>putjasly</i> <i>kerkajasly</i>	<i>putjas-</i> <i>kerkajas-</i>	} <i>äly</i>
Allative	<i>putjaslanj</i> <i>kerkajaslanj</i>	<i>putjaslanj-</i> <i>kerkajaslanj-</i>	} <i>e</i> *)
Illative	<i>putjasä'</i> <i>kerkajasä'</i>	<i>putjasa-</i> <i>kerkajasa-</i>	} <i>m</i>
Adessive	<i>putjaslän</i> <i>kerkajaslän</i>	<i>putjas-</i> <i>kerkajas-</i>	} <i>älän</i>
Ablative 1.	<i>putjaslys[j]</i> <i>kerkajaslys[j]</i>	<i>putjas-</i> <i>kerkajas</i>	} <i>älys[j]</i>
Ablative 2.	<i>putjassänj</i> <i>kerkajassänj</i>	<i>putjassänj-</i> <i>kerkajassänj-</i>	} <i>e</i>
Elicative	<i>putjasys[j]</i> <i>kerkajasys[j]</i>	<i>putjasj-</i> <i>kerkajasj-</i>	} <i>(u)m</i>
Consecutive	<i>putjasla</i> <i>kerkajasla</i>	<i>putjas-</i> <i>kerkajas-</i>	} <i>äla</i>
Prosecutive	<i>putjasäd</i> <i>kerkajasäd</i>	<i>putjasäd-</i> <i>kerkajasäd-</i>	} <i>ä</i>
Terminative	<i>putjasedzj</i> <i>kerkajasedzj</i>	<i>putjasedzj-</i> <i>kerkajasedzj-</i>	} <i>e</i>

\*) or: *putjasälanj*, *kerkajasälanj*, *-ydlanj*, *-yslanj* etc.

[Plural]				
2	3	1	2	3
<i>yd</i> *)	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>ydly</i>	<i>ysly</i>	<i>numly</i>	<i>nydly</i>	<i>nysly</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>ydlä</i>	<i>yslä</i>	<i>numlä</i>	<i>nydlä</i>	<i>nyslä</i>
<i>ydlys[j]</i>	<i>yslys[j]</i>	<i>numlys[j]</i>	<i>nydlys[j]</i>	<i>nyslys[j]</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>(y)d</i>	<i>(y)s</i>	<i>(u)num</i>	<i>(y)nyd</i>	<i>(y)nys</i>
<i>ydla</i>	<i>ysla</i>	<i>numla</i>	<i>nydla</i>	<i>nysla</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>

\*) or: *putjasydtägja*, *kerkajasydtägja*, *-yštägja*, *-numtägja* etc.

- 218 Cf. § 31.  
 219 In words beginning with *m*,  
 Castrén has written the let-  
 ter *u* before *ö*: *muös* ‘cow’,  
 the literary form is *mös*  
 [mök] (see Vocabulary).  
 220 As corrected in the Corri-  
 genda.



64

II Irregular declension<sup>218</sup>

## Singular

			1
Nominative	<i>nyy</i> <i>muös</i> <sup>219</sup>	<i>nyl-</i> <i>muösk-</i>	} <i>ä</i>
Accusative	<i>nyy</i> <i>muös</i>	<i>nyl-</i> <i>muösk-</i>	} <i>äs</i>
Instructive	<i>nylän</i> <i>muöskän</i>	<i>nyyna-</i> <i>muösna-</i>	} <i>m</i>
Caritive	<i>nyytäg</i> <i>muöstäg</i>	<i>nyytäg-</i> <i>muöstäg-</i>	} <i>ä</i> *)
Dative	<i>nyyly</i> <i>muösly</i>	<i>nyl-</i> <i>muösk-</i>	} <i>äly</i>
Allative	<i>nyylanj</i> <i>muöslanj</i>	<i>nyylanj-</i> <i>muöslanj-</i>	} <i>e</i> **)
Illative	<i>nylä’</i> <i>muöskä’</i>	<i>nyla-</i> <i>muöska-</i>	} <i>m</i>
Adessive	<i>nyylän</i> <i>muöslän</i>	<i>nyl-</i> <i>muösk-</i>	} <i>älän</i>
Ablative 1.	<i>nyyllys[j]</i> <i>muöslylys[j]</i>	<i>nyl-</i> <i>muösk-</i>	} <i>älys[j]</i>
Ablative 2.	<i>nyysänj</i> <i>muössänj</i>	<i>nyysänj-</i> <i>muössänj-</i>	} <i>e</i>

\*) or: *nylätäg*, *muöskätäg*<sup>220</sup>; *nyytägiaä*, *muöstägiaä*;  
*nylätägia*, *muöskätägia* etc.

\*\*) or: *nylälanj*, *muöskälanj*, *-ydlanj*, *-yslanj* etc.



[Singular]					
2	3	1		2	3
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>nyy-</i> <i>muös-</i> }	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>nyy-</i> <i>muös-</i> }	<i>tä</i>	<i>sä</i>	<i>numäs</i>	<i>nydtä</i> or <i>nydä</i>	<i>nysä</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>num</i>		<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>		<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>ydly</i>	<i>ysly</i>	<i>nyy-</i> <i>muös-</i> }	<i>numly</i>	<i>nydly</i>	<i>nysly</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>		<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>num</i>		<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>ydlä</i>	<i>yslä</i>	<i>nyy-</i> <i>muös-</i> }	<i>numlä</i>	<i>nydlä</i>	<i>nyslä</i>
<i>ydlys[j]</i>	<i>yslys[j]</i>	<i>nyy-</i> <i>muös-</i> }	<i>numlys[j]</i>	<i>nydlys[j]</i>	<i>nyslys[j]</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>		<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>

## [II] Irregular declension

## Singular

			1
Elativ	<i>nylys[j]</i>	<i>nyysj-</i>	} (u)m
	<i>muöskys[j]</i>	<i>muösj-</i>	
Consecutive	<i>nyyla</i>	<i>nyl-</i>	} äla
	<i>muösla</i>	<i>muös-</i>	
Prosecutive	<i>nyläd</i>	<i>nyläd-</i>	} ä
	<i>muöskäd</i>	<i>muöskäd-</i>	
Terminative	<i>nyledzj</i>	<i>nyledzj-</i>	} e
	<i>muöskedzj</i>	<i>myöskedzj-</i>	

## Plural

Nominative	<i>nyyjas</i>	<i>nyyjas-</i>	} ä
	<i>muösjas</i>	<i>muösjas-</i>	
Accusative	<i>nyyjas</i>	<i>nyyjas-</i>	} äs
	<i>muösjas</i>	<i>muösjas-</i>	
Instruative	<i>nyyjasän</i>	<i>nyyjasna-</i>	} m
	<i>muösjasän</i>	<i>muösjasna</i>	
Caritive	<i>nyyyjastäg</i>	<i>nyyyjastäg-</i>	} ä *)
	<i>muösjastäg</i>	<i>muösjastäg-</i>	
Dative	<i>nyyyjasly</i>	<i>nyyyjas-</i>	} äly
	<i>muösjasly</i>	<i>muösjas-</i>	

\*) or: *nyyyjastägjaä*, *muösjastägjaä* etc.

[Singular]				
2	3	1	2	3
(y) <i>d</i>	(y) <i>s</i>	(u) <i>num</i>	(y) <i>nyd</i>	(y) <i>nys</i>
<i>ydla</i>	<i>ysla</i>	<i>numla</i>	<i>nydla</i>	<i>nysla</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
[Plural]				
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>tä</i>	<i>sä</i>	<i>numäs</i>	<i>nydtä</i> or <i>nydä</i>	<i>nysä</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>ydly</i>	<i>ysly</i>	<i>numly</i>	<i>nydly</i>	<i>nysly</i>

## [II] Irregular declension

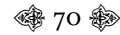
## Plural

			1
Allative	<i>nyyyjaslanj</i> <i>muösjaslanj</i>	<i>nyyyjaslanj-</i> <i>muösjaslanj-</i>	} <i>e</i> *)
Illative	<i>nyyyjasä'</i> <i>muösjasä'</i>	<i>nyyyjasa-</i> <i>muösjasa-</i>	} <i>m</i>
Adessive	<i>nyyyjaslän</i> <i>muösjaslän</i>	<i>nyyyjas-</i> <i>muösjas-</i>	} <i>älän</i>
Ablative 1.	<i>nyyyjaslys[j]</i> <i>muösjaslys[j]</i>	<i>nyyyjas-</i> <i>muösjas-</i>	} <i>älys[j]</i>
Ablative 2.	<i>nyyyjassänj</i> <i>muösjassänj</i>	<i>nyyyjassänj-</i> <i>muösjassänj-</i>	} <i>e</i>
Elativ	<i>nyyyjasys[j]</i> <i>muösjasys[j]</i>	<i>nyyyjasj-</i> <i>muösjasj-</i>	} <i>(u)m</i>
Consecutive	<i>nyyyjasla</i> <i>muösjasla</i>	<i>nyyyjas-</i> <i>muösjas-</i>	} <i>äla</i>
Prosecutive	<i>nyyyjasäd</i> <i>muösjasäd</i>	<i>nyyyjasäd-</i> <i>muösjasäd-</i>	} <i>ä</i>
Terminative	<i>nyyyjasedzj</i> <i>muösjasedzj</i>	<i>nyyyjasedzj-</i> <i>muösjasedzj-</i>	} <i>e</i>

\*) or: *nyyyjasälanj*, *muösjasälanj*, *-ydlanj*, *-yslanj* etc.

[Plural]				
2	3	1	2	3
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>ydlä̃n</i>	<i>yslä̃n</i>	<i>numlä̃n</i>	<i>nydlä̃n</i>	<i>nyslä̃n</i>
<i>ydlys[j]</i>	<i>yslys[j]</i>	<i>numlys[j]</i>	<i>nydlys[j]</i>	<i>nyslys[j]</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>(y)d</i>	<i>(y)s</i>	<i>(u)num</i>	<i>(y)nyd</i>	<i>(y)nys</i>
<i>ydla</i>	<i>ysla</i>	<i>numla</i>	<i>nydla</i>	<i>nysla</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>
<i>yd</i>	<i>ys</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>nyd</i>	<i>nys</i>

- 221 Rédei also calls this the reflexive pronoun (1978: 92–94), but Bartens (as ÖKK: 169) calls it an emphatic/intensifying personal pronoun, because it can be used not only as a reflexive pronoun but also as an independent pronoun. It has two stems: *ac-* [aɣ-] with a vowel-initial suffix and its allomorph *aś-* [aɕ-] with a consonant-initial suffix as well as a second stem *as-* [aɕ-]. (Bartens 2000: 158–.)
- 222 Cf. paradigms in the dialect monograph (ID: 72) and that in the standard language (ÖKK: 170); there the stems *aś-* and *as-* are more clearly illustrated than in Castrén's table.

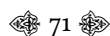


## § 61

Originally, the reflexive pronoun *as*<sup>221</sup> ‘-self, -selves’, was undoubtedly a noun, and one in a declined form at that, with the expressive weight of a noun. Here it undermines its very status as an adjective, such that before nouns it does not decline. When it, at times, appears without a noun, it declines regularly in the singular. The plural *asjas* is never used. In the Ižma dialect *as* appears less often than its suffixed forms: *acjum*, *acjyd*, *acjys*, whose declension is irregular in the singular. The plural *jas* is not even used in [the possessive] declension, instead the singular *as* forms plural with a plural [possessive] ending.

Singular <sup>222</sup>			
	1	2	3
Nom.	<i>acjum</i> [‘myself’]	<i>acjyd</i> [‘yourself’]	<i>acjys</i> [‘himself, herself, itself’]
Accus.	<i>acjumäs</i>	<i>as[j]tä</i>	<i>ass[j]ä</i>
Instr.	<i>asnam</i>	<i>asnad</i>	<i>asnas</i>
Carit.	<i>astägä</i> *)	<i>astägyd</i>	<i>astägys</i>
Dat.	<i>aslum</i>	<i>aslyd</i>	<i>aslys</i>
Allat.	<i>aslanje</i>	<i>aslanjyd</i>	<i>aslanjys</i>
Illat. & Iness.	<i>asam</i>	<i>asad</i>	<i>asas</i>
Adess.	<i>aslam</i>	<i>aslad</i>	<i>aslas</i>
Abl. 1. & Elat.	<i>assjum</i>	<i>assjyd</i>	<i>assjys</i>
Abl. 2.	<i>assänje</i>	<i>assänjyd</i>	<i>assänjys</i>
Consec.	<i>(aslaä</i>	<i>aslayd</i>	<i>aslays)</i>
Prosec.	<i>asädä</i>	<i>asädyd</i>	<i>asädys</i>
Term.	<i>asedzje</i>	<i>asedzjyd</i>	<i>asedzjys</i>

\*) Cf. § 60.

Plural<sup>223</sup>

	1	2	3
Nom.	<i>as[j]num</i> [‘ourselves’]	<i>as[j]nyd</i> [‘yourselves’]	<i>as[j]nys</i> [‘themselves’]
Accus.	<i>as[j]numäs</i>	<i>as[j]nydtä</i> or <i>-dä</i>	<i>as[j]nysä</i>
Instr.	<i>asnanum</i>	<i>asnanyd</i>	<i>asnany</i>
Carit.	<i>astägnum</i> *)	<i>astägnyd</i>	<i>astägnys</i>
Dat.	<i>aslunum</i>	<i>aslynjd</i>	<i>aslynys</i>
Allat.	<i>aslanjnum</i>	<i>aslanjnyd</i>	<i>aslanjnys</i>
Illat.	<i>asanum</i>	<i>asanyd</i>	<i>asany</i>
Adess.	<i>aslanum</i>	<i>aslanyd</i>	<i>aslanys</i>
Abl. 1. & Elat.	<i>assjunum</i>	<i>assjynyd</i>	<i>assjynys</i>
Abl. 2.	<i>assänjnum</i>	<i>assänjnyd</i>	<i>assänjnys</i>
Consec.	( <i>aslanum</i>	<i>aslanyd</i>	<i>aslanys</i> )
Prosec.	<i>asädnum</i>	<i>asädnyd</i>	<i>asädny</i>
Term.	<i>asedzjnum</i>	<i>asedzjnyd</i>	<i>asedzjnys</i>

N.B. The same kind of nominative has been derived from another form, containing the letter *t* (*ats*, *atse*<sup>224</sup>, *Fi itse*). In the singular, the first-person accusative is formed from the nominative *acjum*, but in other persons the suffixes are added to the root *as*. The dative, adessive and consecutive do not take [possessive] suffixes on the stem but on the end, in both the sg. and pl. The adessive, which is used quite seldom, however, changes *ä* to *a* and drops the final *n*.

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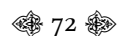
\*) Cf. § 60.

223 Cf. paradigms in the dialectic monograph (ID: 72–73) and those in the standard language (ÖKK: 170); there the stems *as-* and *as-* are more clearly illustrated than in Castrén’s table.

224 See § 61, note 222.



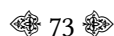
- 225 The demonstrative pronoun *tajō* [тайō] ‘this’ has an emphatic counterpart with the prefix *e-*. The standard form is *etaja* [этайō] ‘this one here, this very’ (the same is seen with pronoun *sijō* [сийō] > *esijō* [эсийō] ‘that one there, that very one’).
- 226 Cf. paradigms in the dialect monograph (ID: 77), declension is given there for the distal deictic pronoun: sg. *etija* [этийа] ‘that one there, that very one’, pl. *enija* [энийа] ‘those there, those very ones’. For the paradigms in standard language, see ÖKK: 185. Cf. Preface, VI, 2.
- 227 See note 226.



## § 62

The demonstrative pronouns in the Zyrian language are: *sya* ‘it’, which is used simultaneously as a personal pronoun (see above), *etaja* or *taja*<sup>225</sup> ‘this’. In the other dialects a demonstrative pronoun *ezda* ‘just this’, pl. *ezdajas* is still found, which is also known in the Ižma dialect but used sometimes only in the nominative. The pronouns *etaja*, pl. *enaja* form their cases from *eta*, pl. *ena*, which are also used in the genitive. *Taja*, having no plural, is declined in the singular as *etaja*, that is as if the nominative stem were *ta*.

Singular <sup>226</sup>		Plural <sup>227</sup>	
Nom.	<i>etaja</i> ‘this here’	Nom.	<i>enaja</i> ‘these here’
Gen.	<i>eta</i> , <i>-län</i> , <i>-lys[j]</i>	Gen.	<i>ena</i> , <i>-län</i> , <i>-lys[j]</i>
Accus.	<i>etaje</i>	Accus.	<i>enaje</i>
Instr.	<i>etaän</i>	Instr.	<i>enaän</i>
Carit.	<i>etatäg</i>	Carit.	<i>enatäg</i>
Dat.	<i>etaly</i>	Dat.	<i>enaly</i>
Allat.	<i>etalanj</i>	Allat.	<i>enalanj</i>
Illat.	<i>etaä’</i>	Illat.	<i>enaä’</i>
Adess.	<i>etalän</i>	Adess.	<i>enalän</i>
Iness.	<i>etayn</i>	Iness.	<i>enayn</i>
Abl. 1.	<i>etalys[j]</i>	Abl. 1.	<i>enalys[j]</i>
Abl. 2.	<i>etasänj</i>	Abl. 2.	<i>enasänj</i>
Elat.	<i>etays[j]</i>	Elat.	<i>enays[j]</i>
Consec.	<i>etala</i>	Consec.	<i>enala</i>
Prosec.	<i>etaäd</i>	Prosec.	<i>enaäd</i>
Term.	<i>etaedzj</i>	Term.	<i>enaedzj</i>



## § 63

The interrogative and relative pronoun: *kod* or *kody* ‘who’, Fi *ku*, *kuka*<sup>228</sup>, Lapp. *gi*, *gutte* are declined regularly in sing. and plur. The interrogative pronoun *myj* ‘what’, Fi *mi*, is also declined regularly in the singular, but in the plural it borrows the cases of the pronoun *kod*.<sup>229</sup>

## Singular

Nom.	<i>kod, kody</i> ‘who’	Nom.	<i>myj</i> ‘what’
Gen.	<i>kodlän,</i> <i>kodlys[j]</i>	Gen.	<i>myjlän,</i> <i>myjllys[j]</i>
Accus.	<i>kodäs</i>	Accus.	<i>myj</i>
Instr.	<i>kodän</i>	Instr.	<i>myjjen</i>
Carit.	<i>kodtäg</i>	Carit.	<i>myjtäg</i>
Dat.	<i>kodly</i>	Dat.	<i>myjly</i>
Allat.	<i>kodlanj</i>	Allat.	<i>myjlanj</i>
Illat.	<i>kodä’</i>	Illat.	<i>myjje’</i>
Adess.	<i>kodordyn</i> <sup>230</sup>	Adess.	<i>myjlän</i>
Iness.	<i>kodyn</i>	Iness.	<i>myjjyn</i>
Abl. 1.	<i>kodlys[j]</i>	Abl. 1.	<i>myjllys[j]</i>
Abl. 2.	<i>kodsänj</i>	Abl. 2.	<i>myjsänj</i>
Elat.	<i>kodys[j]</i>	Elat.	<i>myjjys[j]</i>
Consec.	<i>kodla</i>	Consec.	<i>myjla</i> or <i>myjlja</i>
Prosec.	<i>kodäd</i>	Prosec.	<i>myjjed</i>
Term.	<i>kodedzj</i>	Term.	<i>myjjedzj</i>

228 The comparison is correct, but the Finnish counterpart is not relative, only interrogative.

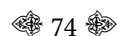
229 Cf. paradigms in the standard language (ÖKK: 187). In the dialect monograph (ID) there are forms *myj* [мый], instr. *myjän* [мыйэн] and pl. nom. *myjjas* [мыййас]; the pronoun *myj*, if needed, takes plural forms, too (cf. ID: 78, 181). The editors, however, use the form *myj*, which is encountered more often in the manuscript.

230 The form *kodordyn* seems to have been formed by joining the words *kod* ‘who’ and a postposition *ordyn* ‘at, by’. See also the plural form, p. 74.

- 231 Cf. ID: 79, where the particle *-ke* [-кә] may seem to alternate with the lexicalized 3sg *-šure* [-с'урә].

For standard paradigms of the indefinite pronouns *kodkō* [кодкō] ‘somebody (indefinite, non-specific)’, *kodšurō* [кодсюрō] ‘somebody (indefinite, specific)’, *myjkō* [мыйкō] ‘something (indefinite, non-specific)’, *myjšurō* [мыйсюрō] ‘something (indefinite, specific)’, see ÖKK: 191–194.

- 232 In this paragraph, Castrén actually offers some indefinite pronouns and interrogative and relative pronouns used like adjectives, in the absence of the quantifier pronouns *stav* [став] ‘all’, *byd* [быд] ‘each’, *mōd* [мōд] and *mukōd* [мукōд] ‘other’ and the reciprocal pronouns *mōda-mōd* [мōда-мōд] ‘one another’, *ōta-mōd* [ōта-мōд] ‘each other’.



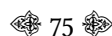
74

## Plural

Nom.	<i>kodjas</i>
Gen.	<i>kodjaslän</i> or <i>-lys[j]</i>
Accus.	<i>kodjasäs</i>
Instr.	<i>kodjasän</i>
Carit.	<i>kodjastäg</i>
Dat.	<i>kodjasly</i>
Allat.	<i>kodjaslanj</i>
Illat.	<i>kodjasä'</i>
Adess.	<i>kodjasordyn</i>
Iness.	<i>kodjasyn</i>
Abl. 1.	<i>kodjaslys[j]</i>
Abl. 2.	<i>kodjassänj</i>
Elat.	<i>kodjasys[j]</i>
Consec.	<i>kodjasla</i>
Prosec.	<i>kodjasäd</i>
Term.	<i>kodjasedzj</i>

## § 64

The pronoun adjectives are born of both derivation and combination: *kučäm* ‘what kind of’, Fi *kummoinen*; *sečäm* ‘such, like that’, Fi *semmoinen*; *tačäm* ‘this kind, Fi *tämmöinen*; *kodkä* or *kodykä* ‘someone’, Fi *joku* (orig. *kuka*); *myjkä* ‘something’, Fi *mikä*; *kučämkä* ‘some kind of’ (Ru *какий ли*); *tačämkä* and *sečämkä* ‘this kind of, that kind of’ (Ru *такий ли*). All of these are regularly declined in both numbers, and they are regarded as indefinite pronouns when followed by the particle *kä* (\**kō*, Fi *ko*, *kō*) ‘if’ (Ru *ли*) in compositions, where case endings are added to the stem before the particle, e.g. *kodkä*<sup>231</sup>, iness. *kodynkä*, elat. *kodys[j]kä*, pl. *kodjaskä*, as in the Finnish language: *kuka*, *kunka*, *kullenka*, pl. *kutka* etc.<sup>232</sup>



## § 65

The negative pronouns are constructed based on the Russian language: *n[j]ikod* ‘no one’ (Ru *никто*), *n[j]ikučäm* ‘no, not anything like’, *n[j]inäm* ‘nothing’ (Ru *ничто*) etc. The Zyrian language, as other Finnic languages, expresses all negative forms of the verb according to their own character and system.<sup>233</sup>

## IV Verbs

## § 66

While Zyrian abounds in declensional endings, it is lacking in conjugational endings (tense and mood). As in other Finnic languages, Zyrian has but two tenses: present and preterite, where the present simultaneously covers for the future, and the preterite – the imperfect, perfect and past perfect<sup>234</sup>. The Zyrian language also lacks the conjunctive and optative, which are used in the Finnish and Lappish languages. Influence of the Russian language, which shows the same construction as Zyrian, is highly suspect. The gerund and some deverbal nouns have been retained.<sup>235</sup> There is also a negative conjugation, characteristic of all Finnic languages. The passive conjugation form has come from Russian. Otherwise, Zyrian has numerous verbal forms with which to compensate for tenses, moods and even the passive.

- 233 The standard forms are: *ñekod* [некод], *ñekučöm* [некутшöm], *ñinöm* [нинöm]. Cf. paradigm of the standard negative indefinite pronoun *ñekod* [некод]: ÖKK: 189.
- 234 According to ÖKK (pp. 237–261), there are nine tenses in Komi: four simple tenses: present, 1st future, 1st past (1st preterite) and 2nd past, which is a quotative past tense (2nd preterite, perfect), as well as five compound tenses: 2nd future, 3rd past (continuative past, imperfect), 4th past (quotative, completed action, past perfect), 5th past (quotative, continuative past) and 6th past (quotative, completed past).
- 235 ÖKK (pp. 231–236, 324–403) presents two moods: the indicative and imperative and a wealth of infinite forms: infinitive, six participles and 21 gerunds. Traditionally (e.g. Bartens 2000: 233, 248; Rédei 1978: 112–115), the enumeration has consisted of four participles and six gerunds (seven in some dialects). The conditional is formed analytically with the help of the particle *eškö(n)* [эськө(н)]; the verb can be in different tenses of the indicative. ÖKK presents the particle *eškö(n)* [эськө(н)] with the indicative (p. 233). In a like manner, the optative is formed analytically with the help of the particle *med* [мед]; the verb can be in the various tenses of the indicative.

## § 67

When it comes to tenses, moods and the formation of numerous verb forms, the following matters should be noted:

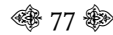
1. Verbs have tended towards shorter stems in much the same way as nominals by eliding the final vowel.

2. The stem vowel which has turned into *y* is elided everywhere when two or more consonants are joined and it is no longer necessary. Verbs ending in [1SG] *-ala* shorten their stems through contraction.

3. The final vowel is retained in the first- and third-person singular of the indicative present and preterite, but the final consonant is dropped, due to which the vowel separates from the stem and forms the ending. This vowel cannot be returned to the stem, because indication of person and not definition is dependent upon it.

4. Let it be said, that when the stem-final vowel is elided or joined to a preceding vowel or it simply expresses person, the vowel no longer belongs to the stem when we consider the present-day language form.

5. But when the issue is tense formation, the vowel must be returned to the stem, since all verb forms have originally been formed from a stem ending in a vowel, which is retained in the first-person singular of the indicative active present. This stem is readily used for deriving tense forms: the active indicative present and preterite, the passive participle,



deverbal nouns, and moreover: the frequentative form of the verb *-ala* and effective *-āda*<sup>236</sup>.

6. The imperative second person is the most important in verbal inflection: the same stem is shared in the derivation of the infinitive, the active present participle and preterite gerund<sup>237</sup>, the verb of negation, passive form of verbs, semelfactive and diminutive verbs in *-la*, which all change the stem-final vowel to *y* and, where possible, elide it.

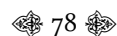
7. The final *y* of the imperative is primary. It is only found in verbs with two consonants at the end, e.g. *tōžda* 'I worry, take care', imperat. *tōždy*; *sjōkta* 'I am pregnant', imperat. *sjōkty*. Likewise, inf. *sjōktyny*, act. part. *sjōktysj*, gerund *sjōktyg* etc. If a verb ends in either one consonant or a diphthong, the *y* is elided, e.g. *kara* 'I do/make', imperat. *kar*; *muna* 'I go', imperat. *mun*; *jua* 'I drink', imperat. *ju*; *voa* 'I arrive', imperat. *vo*. Thus: inf. *karny*, *juny*, pret. gerund *karmys[j]*, *jumys[j]*, etc. Sometimes the *y* is also elided if one of the two stem-final consonants is a liquid or a sibilant followed by *j*, e.g. *tyrta* 'I fulfill', imperat. *tyrt*; *uzja* 'I fall', imperat. *uzj*<sup>238</sup>; *vidzja* 'I keep, care for', imperat. *vidzj*. Verbs in *-šta* lose the stem-final vowel in the second-person singular imperative and elide the final consonant in the Ižma dialect, e.g. *bošta* 'I take', imperat. *bos*<sup>239</sup>, inf. *bosny*<sup>240</sup> etc. Frequentatives ending in *-ala* contract the imperative *aly* to *oo* (see § 12) e.g. *vištala* 'I tell', imperat. *vištoo*, inf. *vištoony*, pret. gerund *vištoomys*<sup>241</sup> etc. The formation of other present-tense indicative- and imperative-based tenses are explained below.

- 236 Cf. § 82 – § 84.  
 237 See verb tables starting in § 69.  
 238 This form of the verb 'to fall' should be *usja* 'I fall', and *usj*, the verb 'to sleep' would be *uzja* 'I sleep' and *uzj*.  
 239 Should be *bosj*. Castrén gives this correction in his letter to Sjögren (2/14 Nov. 1843, cf. *Epistulae* 1, p. 324).  
 240 Should be *bosjny*. In the literary language, the infinitive is *boštny* [босѣтны] and the imperat. second-person singular is *bošt* [босѣт]. This is a basic verb, not a derivation.  
 241 The verb is *vistoony* > *visjtoony*, all forms have the palatalized stem *visj-*; in the literary language *visjtavny* [висѣтавны]; *vistoomys* should be *visjtoomysj*.

242 The Komi language only has one conjugation type, and likewise one declension. (Udmurt has two conjugations.) According to modern research, Komi verb stems either end in a vowel *y* or a consonant. In the time of Castrén, however, the description of verb stems was founded on the first-person singular present form of the verb, hence all verbs were described with vowel stems, and one type also had a consonant stem, which may have caused Castrén – like Sjögren – to advocate a two-conjugation system. For more on verb stems, see ÖKK: 209–210 and Bartens 2000: 178–179.

243 Here Castrén refers to the long vowel in the Ižma dialect: The suffix *-al-* in word-final position or before a consonant becomes *-oo-*, e.g. *sulala* : *sulavny/sulalny* [сулавны, сулалны] ‘to stand’ > in the Ižma dialect *suloony* [сулооны].

244 Two paragraphs have been given the same number 69. On this page, it is now given as § 69 [a] and on page 84 as § 69 [b].



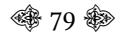
## § 68

Others divide the verbs into two conjugation types, of which one contains a hard vowel and the other a soft vowel at the end of the stem. This division does not work in the Ižma dialect, where the stem-final vowel is always hard – the letter *a*. Here the entire distinction in conjugation is due to vowel elision and contraction, which we have dealt with in the previous paragraph [67:]7. There are two conjugations and likewise two declensions: the first retains the stem-final vowel in all forms, and the second does not<sup>242</sup>. The second conjugation entails three types: 1) verb stems ending in a single consonant whose final vowel is elided; 2) single-syllable stems that end in a diphthong; these do not merely elide the final vowel but also contract the *oä* to *oo* everywhere; 3) the frequentative verbs ending in *ala* that contract the *aly* to *oo*<sup>243</sup>.

§ 69 [a]<sup>244</sup>

Further observations on verbs are: 1) the active form [A], 2) the passive form [B], 3) the negative conjugation [C], 4) the auxiliary verbs [D], 5) many kinds of derived verbs [E]; which all are discussed in different chapters.





### A. Active

#### Types of conjugation

I Conjugation		II Conjugation		
Indicative		1	2	3
Present				
Sing.	1.	-a		
	2.	-an		
	3.	-ä (*-ö) or -as <sup>245</sup>		
Plur.	1.	-am		
	2.	-annyd		
	3.	-änys or -asnys <sup>246</sup> (*-öny or -önys)		
Preterite				
Sing.	1.	-i (*-y)		
	2.	-in (*-yn)		
	3.	-i or is (*-y or -ys)		
Plur.	1.	-im (*-ym)		
	2.	-innyd (*-ynnyd)		
	3.	-inys or -isnys <sup>247</sup> (*yny or -ysny) <sup>248</sup>		
Imperative				
Sing.	1.	med -a <sup>249</sup>		
	2.	-y	cons. vowel	-oo
	3.	med -ä (*-ö) or -as		
Plur.	1.	med -am		
	2.	-ä (*-ö)		
	3.	med -änys or -asnys (*-öny, -asny, -önys)		

<sup>245</sup> Castrén recognizes a future in Komi (cf. § 66), but he does not provide a separate future paradigm, which is only distinct from the present in the 3rd person, here the present suffixes -ä, -änys [-э, -эныс] followed by the future suffixes: -as, -asnys [-ac, -ачныс]. (Cyrillic forms, see ID: 80.)

<sup>246</sup> In the Ižma dialect, the 3rd person plural ending (present, 1st future and 1st past) takes a characteristic s: -nys [-ныс], in the literary language -ny [-ны].

<sup>247</sup> See note 246.

<sup>248</sup> Castrén uses the \* mark to indicate differences in various dialects.

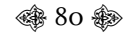
<sup>249</sup> Surprisingly, Castrén presents a sg. 1st person imperative. In fact, it, as is the case of other forms constructed with the *med* particle, is an optative. According to ÖKK (pp. 234–235), the literary language only has imperative forms for the second persons singular and plural, and the first-person plural, e.g. *munny* [мунны] ‘to go’: 2SG *mun* [мун], 2PL *munöj* [мунöй] and 1PL *munam(öj)* [мунам(öй)]. Cf. § 70.

250 Komi only has one infinitive. Here and in the paradigms on subsequent pages, the form ending in *-tedzj* [-тэдз] is a temporal gerund. The literary form is *-töd'ž* [-төдз]. Cf. § 72.

251 Cf. § 71, note 269.

252 Cf. § 72, note 272.

253 For more on these verbal nouns, see § 71.



## Infinitive

	1	2	3
Nom.	-yny	-ny	-ny
Term.	-ytedzj <sup>250</sup>	-tedzj	-tedzj

Participle<sup>251</sup>

Active	-ysj
Passive	-äma (*-öma)

Gerund<sup>252</sup>

## Present

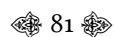
Nom.	-yg
Instr.	-ygän (*-ygön)

## Preterite

Nom.	-ymys[j] (*-ymys[j]t)	-mys[j]	-mys[j]	-oomys[j]
Instr.	-ymys[j]tän (*-ymys[j]tön)	-mys[j]tän	-mys[j]tän	-oomys[j]tän

Verbal noun<sup>253</sup>

Actum	-äm (*-öm)
Agendum	-an



## Paradigms

Indicative  
Present

I		II:1	
Sing. 1.	<i>ysta</i> 'I send'	Sing. 1.	<i>kara</i> 'I do'
2.	<i>ystan</i>	2.	<i>karan</i>
3.	<i>ystä / ystas</i> <sup>254</sup>	3.	<i>karä / karas</i> <sup>255</sup>
Plur. 1.	<i>ystam</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>karam</i>
2.	<i>ystannyd</i>	2.	<i>karannyd</i>
3.	<i>ystänys / ystasnys</i> <sup>256</sup>	3.	<i>karänys / karasnys</i> <sup>257</sup>

## Preterite

Sing. 1.	<i>ysti</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>kari</i>
2.	<i>ystin</i>	2.	<i>karin</i>
3.	<i>(ysti) or ystis</i>	3.	<i>(kari) or karis</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>ystim</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>karim</i>
2.	<i>ystinnyd</i>	2.	<i>karinnyd</i>
3.	<i>ystinys or ystisnys</i>	3.	<i>(karinys) or karisnys</i>

## Imperative

Sing. 1.	<i>med ysta</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>med kara</i>
2.	<i>ysty</i>	2.	<i>kar</i>
3.	<i>med ystä</i> or <i>ystas</i>	3.	<i>med karä</i> or <i>kara</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>med ystam</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>med karam</i>
2.	<i>ystä</i>	2.	<i>karä</i>
3.	<i>med ystänys</i> or <i>ystasnys</i>	3.	<i>med karänys</i> or <i>karasnys</i>

254–257 Here / distinguishes between the present tense (before the slash) and future (after). This distinction is only found in the third-person forms.

## Infinitive

Nom.	<i>ystyny</i>	Nom.	<i>karny</i>
Term.	<i>ystytedzj</i>	Term.	<i>kartedzj</i>

## Participle

Aĉt.	<i>ystysj</i>	Aĉt.	<i>karysj</i>
Pass.	<i>ystäma</i>	Pass.	<i>karäma</i>

## Gerund

## Present

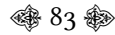
Nom.	<i>ystyg</i>	Nom.	<i>karyg</i>
Inſtr.	<i>ystygän</i>	Inſtr.	<i>karygän</i>

## Preterite

Nom.	<i>ystymys[j]</i>	Nom.	<i>karmys[j]</i>
Inſtr.	<i>ystymys[j]tän</i>	Inſtr.	<i>karmys[j]tän</i>

## Verbal noun

Aĉtum	<i>ystäm</i>	Aĉtum	<i>karäm</i>
Agendum	<i>ystan</i>	Agendum	<i>karan</i>

Indicative  
Present

II:2		II:3	
Sing. 1.	<i>voa</i> <sup>258</sup> 'I come'	Sing. 1.	<i>vistala</i> <sup>259</sup> 'I tell'
2.	<i>voan</i>	2.	<i>vistalan</i>
3.	<i>voä, voo /</i> <i>voas</i> <sup>260</sup>	3.	<i>vistalä /</i> <i>vistalas</i> <sup>261</sup>
Plur. 1.	<i>voam</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>vistalam</i>
2.	<i>voannyd</i>	2.	<i>vistalannyd</i>
3.	<i>voänys, voonys /</i> <i>voasnys</i>	3.	<i>vistalänys /</i> <i>vistalsnys</i>

## Preterite

Sing. 1.	<i>voji</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>vistali</i>
2.	<i>vojin</i>	2.	<i>vistalin</i>
3.	<i>(voji) or vojis</i>	3.	<i>vistali or vistalis</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>vojim</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>vistalim</i>
2.	<i>vojinnyd</i>	2.	<i>vistalinnyd</i>
3.	<i>(vojinys) or</i> <i>vojisnys</i>	3.	<i>vistalinys or</i> <i>vistalsnys</i>

## Imperative

Sing. 1.	<i>med voa</i>	Sing. 1.	<i>med vistala</i>
2.	<i>vo</i>	2.	<i>vistoo</i>
3.	<i>med voä, voo</i> <i>or voas</i>	3.	<i>med vistalä</i> <i>or vistas</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>med voam</i>	Plur. 1.	<i>med vistalam</i>
2.	<i>voä or voo</i>	2.	<i>vistalä</i>
3.	<i>med voänys,</i> <i>voonys or</i> <i>voasnys</i>	3.	<i>med vistalänys</i> <i>or vistasnys</i>

258 The verb *vonny* [вонны] 'to come, to arrive' is found with a word-initial *w* in Castrén's manuscript (the reason for this may be Sjögren's grammar of Komi in German), Castrén has corrected these himself at the time of publication and requested corrections before the publication of the grammar (see p. VIII).

259 *vistoony* > *visjtoony*, all forms have the palatalized stem *visj-*; in the literary language *visjtavny* [вись-тавны].

260, 261 In all third-person forms the diagonal / distinguishes between the present tense (before the slash) and future (after).

262 See note 258.

263 See note 259.

❖ 84 ❖

Infinitive

Nom.	<i>vony</i> <sup>262</sup>	Nom.	<i>vistoon</i> <sup>263</sup>
Term.	<i>votedzj</i>	Term.	<i>vistootedzj</i>

Participle

Act.	<i>voysj</i>	Act.	<i>vistalysj</i>
Pass.	<i>voäma</i>	Pass.	<i>vistaläma</i>

Gerund  
Present

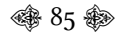
Nom.	<i>voyg</i>	Nom.	<i>vistalyg</i>
Instr.	<i>voygän</i>	Instr.	<i>vistalygän</i>

Preterite

Nom.	<i>vomys[j]</i>	Nom.	<i>vistoomys[j]</i>
Instr.	<i>vomys[j]tän</i>	Instr.	<i>vistoomys[j]tän</i>

Verbal noun

Actum	<i>voäm</i>	Actum	<i>vistaläm</i>
Agendum	<i>voan</i>	Agendum	<i>vistalan</i>

§ 69 [b]<sup>264</sup>

To proceed with the peculiarities of verb forms, it has become apparent from the types of conjugations that the Ižma dialect has required a vowel from the characteristic letter of the indicative present throughout all conjugations. In the first person, the letter *a* simultaneously forms the suffix, from which, indeed, the liquid *m* has been dropped (from the personal pronoun *me*) in distinction from the first-person plural, a suffix that is still retained in the dialect. The letter *m* is the ending indicating the first person in Lappish and originally in Finnish [as well]. The second person ends in *-n* (*an*), which is the consonant appearing in the personal pronoun dative singular: *te*<sup>265</sup>, Fi *sinä*, Lapp. *don*. The third person singular has two suffixes, one being *-ä*, the other *-as*. The change of the characteristic letter *a* of the present tense to *ä* is necessary for distinguishing the third-person form from that of the first. The suffix *-s* comes from the third-person suffix *sya* and also appears in the suffix forms of nouns. – The first person plural ends in *-m*, and it is related to the personal pronoun *mi*; the second person plural is formed from the singular of the same person by means of the suffix *-nyd*, which is the same in verbs and nominals. In the same way, the third person plural arises from the third person singular *ä* or *as* and the nominal suffix *-nys* rendering the third person plural *-änys* or *-asnys*. The characteristic letter of the preterite is *i* in Zyrian, Finnish and Lappish alike, persons are formed in the same way as in the present tense.

- 264 Two paragraphs have been given the same number 69. On this page, it is now given as § 69 [b] and on page 79 as § 69 [a].
- 265 Cf. § 57: The 2nd person singular pronoun *te* and its dative form *ten*.



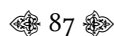
- 266 As corrected in the Corrigenda.
- 267 The actual imperative forms are the second-person forms, the *med* particle is used in the formation of the optatives in all persons (cf. Bartsch 2000: 219–221). Castrén also gives the imperative for first person singular and plural (optative) forms. ID (p. 87) and Rédei (1978: 107) give second person singular and plural as well as first-person-plural forms in the imperative paradigm, third-person forms are *med* optatives. (See also ÖKK: 233–236.)
- 268 Cf. § 45: the same particle *med* is used to form the superlative of some adjectives and adverbs.

❖ 86 ❖

N.B. Other grammarians not only enumerate the indicative present tense and preterite (which they call the imperfect) but also the past perfect and future. The tense they refer to as the past perfect, however, is nothing more than a frequentive preterite, which, as in Russian, sometimes gives the meaning of the past perfect. As for the future, the present *-as*<sup>266</sup> does, in fact, indicate the future, but not necessarily in the Ižma dialect, where some verbs, especially active verbs, favor the suffix *as*, pl. *asnys*, and in the preterite *is*, pl. *isnys*; other verbs, however, take *ä*, pl. *änys*, pret. *i*, pl. *inys*, most often there is no preference. Some verbs allow both forms, where only the suffix *as* forms the future. Otherwise, the use of both forms in the Ižma dialect is very indistinct.

§ 70

The imperative<sup>267</sup> forms its first and third person in sg. and pl. from the present indicative with the help of the particle *med*<sup>268</sup>. The second person pl. the stem *a* into *ä*. We spoke of the second person sg. above; however, it must be added here: 1) the letter *y* in the full form of the imperative is often pronounced as the letter *e*, 2) the last vowel of the imperative is also dropped in corrupt Finnish dialects, and 3) the ending contracts after the liquid letters *l* and *n* have been dropped, e.g. *menen* ‘I go’, imperat. *mene* or *mee*; *tulen* ‘I arrive’, imperat. *tule* or *tuu*; *olen* the ‘I am’, imperat. *ole* or *oo*.

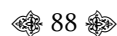


## § 71

The passive preterite participle *äma* is readily formed from the present indicative as are also the verbal nominals *äm* and *an*. The participle *äma* and the deverbal noun in *äm* were originally one and the same form and are still used interchangeably, e.g. *meam karäma* or *karäm* ‘done by me’, *Fi minun tekemä*; *meam sjojäma* ‘eaten by me’, *Fi minun syömä*. Apparently both forms correspond in both meaning and ending to the *nomen acti: ma (mä)* in the Finnish language. The fact that the participle meaning is hardly original becomes apparent since intransitive verbs also use the ending *-äma*. The ending *an*, which some, for no reason, refer to as a gerund, is sometimes used to indicate obligation, frequently, however, it merely has the meaning of a [deverbal] noun, e.g. *sjojan* ‘food’ (‘eating’, *sjoja* ‘I eat’), *Fi syöminen*; *vundan* ‘harvest’ (‘cutting’, *vunda* ‘I cut’); *vorsan* ‘toy, instrument, game’, from *vorsa* ‘I play’; *synan* ‘comb’, from *syna* ‘I comb’; *šyran* ‘scissors’, from *šyra* ‘I cut’; *voštan* ‘key’, from *vošta* ‘I open’; *pečkan* ‘distaff’, from *pečka* ‘I spin’; *gižtan* ‘line’, from *gižta* ‘I carve’ etc.<sup>269</sup>

<sup>269</sup> According to ID (pp. 100–101) there are five participles in the Ižma dialect: *-ыс’*, *-эм/-эма*, *-ан*, *-ана* and *-тэм*. According to Bartens (2000: 233) there are four participles in Komi: a present participle *-ыś* [*-ысь*], and the past participles *-öm* [*-öm*] and *-öma* [*-öma*] and a caritive participle *-töm* [*-töm*], according to ÖKK (p. 325) those four and *-an* [*-ан*], *-ana* [*-ана*]. Bartens (2000: 243) does not accept *-an/-ana* forms to be participles, but Rédei does (1978: 112–113).

- 270 The derivational ending *al/av* changes to *-oo-* in the Ižma dialect when it is followed by a suffix beginning in a consonant.
- 271 The active participle ending in the literary language is *-yś* [-ысь], it indicates an incomplete action and is used in the regular derivation morpheme to indicate the doer – *nomen agentis*.
- 272 Castrén mentions gerunds suffixed with *-ig* [-иг] (pres.) and *-mys* [-мысь(т)] (pret.) with their nominative and instrumental forms (*-sj* should be palatalized: *-mysj*). According to ID (pp. 101–102) there are five participles in the Ižma dialect: *-иг* (-игэн), *-тэдз* (-тэдзйа), *-тэг* (-тэгйа), *-эмэн* and *-са*. According to Bartens (2000: 248–) and Rédei (1978: 113–115) there are six gerunds (seven in some dialects): *-ig* [-иг], *-mön* [-мөн], *-ömön* [-ömön], *-mys(t)* [-мысь(т)], *-töd'ž* [-төдз] and *-tög* [-төг]. According to ÖKK (p. 344–) there are 21 gerunds in Komi. The number here has been attained by counting the separate case forms of the gerunds listed as their own gerund forms. Here the traditional term “gerund” is used to indicate deverbals, which elsewhere and in more recent literature may be referred to as converbs in distinction from deverbals, cf. Ylikoski 2001: 199–.
- 273 Should be *vesjkä*. Komi only has two moods: the



## § 72

The imperative belongs together with the infinitive, the active participle, and the gerund. The infinitive ends in *-ny*, either with or without a connecting vowel (*y* or *oo*<sup>270</sup>), which is the same as in the imperative. After a consonant cluster, the participle retains the stem-final vowel, which has changed to *y*. Just as the passive participle is derived from the verb, so too is the active participle *nomen actoris*, whose original meaning is still evident in many verbs, e.g. *karysj* ‘maker’, *velädysj* ‘teacher’, *korysj* ‘beggar’, etc.<sup>271</sup> Otherwise, this form does not allow for any sense of tense. The gerunds<sup>272</sup> with the suffix *yg* and *mys* (*\*mys(t)*) are seldom found in the nominative. The gerund present always has a connecting vowel, so that consonant clusters are not formed. The preterite leaves the connecting vowel out when it is left out of the imperative.

## § 73

In Zyrian, the conjunctive is expressed with the particle *veskä* (*\*veskö*)<sup>273</sup>. There are no traces of an actual conjunctive, but what is found in Finnish as the conjunctive marker (in other words the syllable *-ne*), is observed in the Zyrian infinitive, whose *y* sounds the same as *e*.

**B. Passive****§ 74**

The ending of the passive is *-sja* or *-cja* (Ru -ся), which is added to the second person of the imperative. Since the passive ending comes from the Russian language, it is often used as a reflexive verb, which is the sense always indicated by the participle. Therefore, the passive is rendered with an auxiliary verb. The conjugation of passive verbs is similar to that of active verbs throughout.<sup>274</sup>

Indicative  
Present

Sing.	1.	<i>ystysja</i> 'I set off [intr.]'	1.	<i>karsja</i> 'I prepare myself'	1.	<i>cjukartcja</i> 'I gather together [intr.]'
	2.	<i>ystysjan</i>	2.	<i>karsjan</i>	2.	<i>cjukartcjan</i>
	3.	<i>ystysje</i> or <i>-jas</i> <sup>275</sup>	3.	<i>karsje</i> or <i>-jas</i>	3.	<i>cjukartcje</i> or <i>-jas</i>
Plur.	1.	<i>ystysjam</i>	1.	<i>karsjam</i>	1.	<i>cjukartcjam</i>
	2.	<i>ystysjannyd</i>	2.	<i>karsjannyd</i>	2.	<i>cjukartcjannd</i>
	3.	<i>ystysjenys</i> or <i>-jasnys</i> <sup>276</sup>	3.	<i>karsjenys</i> or <i>-jasnys</i>	3.	<i>cjukartcenys</i> or <i>-jasnys</i>

## Preterite

Sing.	1.	<i>ystysji</i>	1.	<i>karsji</i>	1.	<i>cjukartcji</i>
	2.	<i>ystysjin</i>	2.	<i>karsjin</i>	2.	<i>cjukartcjin</i>
	3.	<i>(ystysji)</i> or <i>-jis</i> <sup>277</sup>	3.	<i>(karsji)</i> or <i>-jis</i>	3.	<i>(cjukartcji)</i> or <i>-jis</i> <sup>278</sup>
Plur.	1.	<i>ystysjim</i>	1.	<i>karsjim</i>	1.	<i>cjukartcjim</i>
	2.	<i>ystysjinnyd</i>	2.	<i>karsjinnyd</i>	2.	<i>cjukartcjinnyd</i>
	3.	<i>(ystysjinys)</i> or <i>-jisnys</i> <sup>279</sup>	3.	<i>(karsjinys)</i> or <i>-jisnys</i>	3.	<i>(cjukartcjinyys)</i> or <i>-jisnys</i>

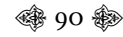
indicative and imperative. Castrén refers to the conjunctive (conditional), which is formed in Komi with the help of the particle *vesjke* [веське] (in the literary language *eskö(n)* [эськө(н)]) and the verb in the indicative mood. In Finnish, the morpheme *-ne-* is the potential marker, which is not a cognate of the infinitive ending *-ny* from proto-Permic; *-ny* is a reflex of the Finno-Ugric deverbal nominal derivation element *\*nV*, maybe with a final lative *\*k* (Bartens 2000: 228).

<sup>274</sup> The Komi reflexive suffix *-ś-* [-сь-] and its affricate sibling *-ć-* [-ч-] (with their infrequent voiced allomorphs *-ž-* [-зь-] and *-d'ž-* [-дз-]), are also used in forming the impersonal construction and passive (ÖKK: 272–283). According to Bartens the *-ś-* derivation can be reflexive, reciprocal, automotive, passive, resultative, continuative and habitual, whereas there are also *-aś-* derivations used as reflexives (2000: 284–285; cf. ID: 94–96).

<sup>275–277</sup> In all 3rd person forms the word *or* distinguishes between present tense (before) and future (after).

<sup>278</sup> As corrected in the Corrigenda.

<sup>279</sup> See note 275.



90

## Imperative

Sing. 2.	<i>ystysj</i>	2.	<i>karsjy</i>	2.	<i>cjukartcjury</i>
Plur. 2.	<i>ystysje</i>	2.	<i>karsje</i>	2.	<i>cjukartcje</i>

## Infinitive

Nom.	<i>ystysjny</i>	<i>karsjyny</i>	<i>cjukartcjyny</i>
Term.	<i>ystysjtedzj</i>	<i>karsjytedzj</i>	<i>cjukartcjytedzj</i>

## Participle

1.	<i>ystysjysj</i>	1.	<i>karsjysj</i>	1.	<i>cjukartcjysj</i>
2.	<i>ystysjemā</i>	2.	<i>karsjemā</i>	2.	<i>cjukartcjemā</i>

Gerund  
Present

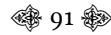
Nom.	<i>ystysjyg</i>	<i>karsjyg</i>	<i>cjukartcjyg</i>
Instr.	<i>ystysjygān</i>	<i>karsjygān</i>	<i>cjukartcjygān</i>

## Preterite

Nom.	<i>ystysjmys[j]</i>	<i>karsjymys[j]</i>	<i>cjukartcjymys[j]</i>
Instr.	<i>ystysjmys[j]tān</i>	<i>karsjymys[j]tān</i>	<i>cjukartcjymys[j]tān</i>

## Verbal noun

Actum	<i>ystysjem</i>	<i>karsjem</i>	<i>cjukartcjem</i>
Agendum	<i>ystysjan</i>	<i>karsjan</i>	<i>cjukartcjan</i>



## § 75

In the paragraphs concerning the change of letters, we have expressed 1) the change of the passive ending *-sja* to *-cja* after *d*, *t* and *j* (§ 15), 2) and after a long vowel to *-zja*, 3) the linking vowel *ä* becomes *-e* before the suffix (§ 8, E).<sup>280</sup>

Here something may be added concerning the formation of the passive:

1. Many passive verbs do not have [correlating] active forms, and all frequentatives lacking simple active forms gain them in the passive, e.g. *gögressja* 'I surround' (*gögräs* 'round'), *kynāmasja* 'I become pregnant' (*kynām* 'stomach'), *bertcja* 'I fight, struggle' (Ru бою[c]ь), *pörtcja* 'I take (my clothes) off', *lōgasja* 'I get mad at' (*lōgala* id.), *pinjasja* 'I fall out (with someone)' (*pinjala*), *čuksasja* 'I keep on shouting at someone' (*čuksala* 'I shout') etc.<sup>281</sup>

2. The frequentatives are always formed from simple active forms by adding *-la* after the passive ending, e.g. *bergāda* 'I turn', frequ. *bergādala*, pass. *bergedcja*, whence frequ. *bergedcjala*; *cjukarta* 'I collect', frequ. *cjukartala*, pass. *cjukartcja*, frequ. *cjukartcjala*.

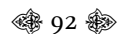
3. The passive may serve as the base for various verbal derivations, e.g. *kulja* 'I skin', *kul[j]sja* 'I take (my clothes) off', *kul[j]sjeda* 'I make somebody take off his/her clothes'; *poozja* 'I am afraid', *poozjeda* 'I frighten'; *sotcja* 'I burn myself', *sotcjyšta* 'I burn myself quickly'.<sup>282</sup>

280 Cf. § 74, note 274.

281 Cf. § 74, note 274. What Castrén calls passive verbs are verbs with reduced argument valency, i.e. reflexive and reciprocal derivations. According to Bartens the meaning of the verbs is contextually defined (2000: 284–285).

282 See note 281.

- 283 The example word *og* is the ind. pres. 1st person sg. of the *o*-stemmed negative auxiliary. *abu* is a word of negation used in existential and possessive negation. It is also used to express negation in the past tenses II, IV and VI. Hamari refers to *abu* as a negative existential word as opposed to the term negative particle forwarded by Rédei and ID. (Cf. Hamari: 2001, 33; Rédei 1978: 107–108; ID: 114–115.)
- 284 The predicate plural suffix should be *-äs<sub>j</sub>*, as with adjectives, see § 44. Sg. *abu*, pl. *abuäs<sub>j</sub>* in the literary language *abu*, *abuös<sub>j</sub>* [абу, абуöсь].



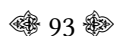
### C. Negative conjugation

#### § 76

Negation is expressed in all Finnic languages with its own auxiliary verb form, and in Zyrian this involves two separate stems: 1) The personal particle *og* ‘pres. 1sg’, 2) and the word *abu*, which serves as the negation for the verb *exist* [*verbum substantivum*]<sup>283</sup>, Ru нѣтъ, e.g. *njanj abu* ‘no bread exists’, (Ru хлѣба нѣтъ). The verb of negation *abu* lacks tense and person, but in the plural it takes the nominal ending *-äs*<sup>284</sup> in all persons, e.g. *mi abuäs* ‘we are not’, Ru насъ нѣтъ, *pujas abuäs* ‘no trees exist’, Ru деревъ нѣтъ. In the Ižma and Udo-ra dialects, *abu* is used as the negative auxiliary for the passive preterite, e.g. *me abu ystäma* ‘I was not sent’. Uncharacteristic of the language, it also appears occasionally before the infinitive, gerunds and participles whose negation is indicated with the form of negation used for nominals.

#### § 77

Negative particles are conjugated in Finnish and Lappish in all sg. and pl. persons, but the verb itself takes a form equivalent to the second person singular imperative and remains unchanged. In the Zyrian language, the negative conjugation of *og* is the same for pl. and sg. [first person], but the verb changes. Singular [forms] are equivalent to the



second person singular imperative; the first and second person pl. take the second person pl. imperative form; the third person pl. derives from the second person sg. imperative, which then takes the additional ending *-nys*.

The verb of negation conjugates as observed in the paradigm:

Indicative Present <sup>285</sup>	
Sing. 1.	<i>og kar</i> 'I do not do/make'
2.	<i>on kar</i>
3.	<i>oz kar</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>og karä</i>
2.	<i>on karä</i>
3.	<i>oz karnys</i> (* <i>karny</i> )
Preterite	
Sing. 1.	<i>ig kar</i> (* <i>eg</i> )
2.	<i>in kar</i> (* <i>en</i> )
3.	<i>iz kar</i> (* <i>ez</i> )
Plur. 1.	<i>ig karä</i> (* <i>eg</i> )
2.	<i>in karä</i> (* <i>en</i> )
3.	<i>iz karnys</i> (* <i>ez karny</i> )
Imperative <sup>286</sup>	
Sing. 1.	<i>med og kar</i>
2.	<i>in kar</i> (* <i>en</i> )
3.	<i>med oz kar</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>med og karä</i>
2.	<i>in karä</i> (* <i>en</i> )
3.	<i>med oz karnys</i>

<sup>285</sup> In the Ižma dialect, the indicative present of the negative auxiliary takes an *o*-stem, identical to that found in the literary language, but the preterite stem is *i*- while its literary counterpart is *e*-. Here Castrén provides literary *e*- forms in parentheses.

<sup>286</sup> Cf. § 70, note 267.



- 287 Apparently, Castrén wants to say *abu karäma* or *kartäg*.  
 288 Cf. § 66, where Castrén speaks of one preterite, which would concord with the views expressed by Sjögren, but the forms he provides here would indicate what today is known as the 2nd past (or perfect).  
 289 The Komi verb is treated here as an auxiliary verb, existential-possessive in nature, with two forms in the present tense: in Ižma and a few other dialects, the form is *vyjym* [ВЫЙЫМ, ВЫЙИМ] and in the literary language *em* [ЭМ].

❖ 94 ❖

Infinitive

*kartäg* or *abu karny*

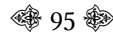
Participle

Act.	<i>kartäm</i> or <i>abu karysj</i>
Pass.	<i>karämtäm</i> or <i>abu karäma</i>

Verbal noun

Actum	<i>karämtäm</i>
Agendum	<i>karantäm</i> or <i>karantäg</i>

- N.B. 1. The gerund is formed with *abu* or the infinitive *kartäg*<sup>287</sup>.  
 N.B. 2. The negative passive forms are conjugated in the same way, with the exception of the preterite<sup>288</sup>, which can be expressed by *abu* and the pass. part. (see § 76, cf. § 78, N.B. 1)



### D. Auxiliary verbs

#### § 78

Thus, we may speak of a copula: *vyjym* (\**em*) ‘is, exists’<sup>289</sup>, pret. *völi* (\**völy*); *loa* ‘I will be’, Ru буду and *kucja*<sup>290</sup> ‘I am going to’, Ru стану. *vyjym* and *völi* are auxiliary verbs in the passive preterite, e.g. *me vjym (völi) yštäma* ‘I was sent’. *loa*, and more often *kucja* make the future forms<sup>291</sup> both in active and in passive. The pass. pres. is expressed both with the passive proper form and with some manner of circumlocution. The verbs *loa* and *kucja* are conjugated regularly, *vyjym* has an irregular inflexion.

Indicative Present	
Sing. 1.	<i>vyjym</i> (* <i>em</i> ) <sup>292</sup>
2.	<i>vyjym</i> (* <i>em</i> )
3.	<i>vyjym</i> (* <i>em</i> )
Plur. 1.	<i>vyjymäs[j]</i> (* <i>vyjymös[j]</i> , <i>emös[j]</i> )
2.	<i>vyjymäs[j]</i> (* <i>vyjymös[j]</i> , <i>emös[j]</i> )
3.	<i>vyjymäs[j]</i> (* <i>vyjymös[j]</i> , <i>emös[j]</i> )
Preterite	
Sing. 1.	<i>völi</i>
2.	<i>völin</i>
3.	<i>völi</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>völim</i>
2.	<i>völinnyd</i>
3.	<i>völinys</i> or <i>-snys</i> (* <i>völynys</i> )
Imperative <sup>293</sup>	
Sing. 2.	<i>vyjym te</i>
Plur. 2.	<i>vyjymäs[j]</i> <i>ti</i> <sup>294</sup>

290 The auxiliary verb used for forming the analytic future in the Ižma dialect is *kučyny* [кучыны], whereas the literary language uses *kutny* [кутны] (ID: 168).

291 The verb ‘to be’ in Komi is suppletive and has future forms in the verb *lony* [лонь] ‘to become, will be’. The 1st future tense only distinguishes forms in the 3rd person. The compound 2nd future tense is formed with the auxiliary verbs *kutny* [кутны], *mödnys* [мөдны] and *pondyny* [пондыны]. (ÖKK: 209, 241–246.)

292 The form *vyjym* appears in Castrén’s manuscript with only a few exceptions in *vyijym*. The “erroneous form” *vyijym* occurs in the published grammar. This has been corrected to *vyjym* throughout. The form in *i* is not attested in ID or KSK. It appears that the form *vyijim* with an extra *-i-* stems from the form *wyjym*, which abounds in the manuscript, and the second upright of the Cyrillic *ы* may have been construed as the letter *i*.

293 The imperative forms would be formed from the verb *lony* [лонь] in the standard language.

294 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

- 295 Mistake? The terminative would have to be *vöötedzj*? Cf. note 250.
- 296 Here Castrén divorces himself from the thoughts of pluperfect and future posited by Gabelentz (1841: 32). Though some pluperfect forms (ÖKK: 256–258, 4th past (or plusquamperfect) can be found in his translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, e.g. in chapter V.

❖ 96 ❖

Infinitive

Nom.	<i>vööny</i>
Term.	<i>vöötäg</i> <sup>295</sup>

Participle

*völysj*

Gerund  
Present

Nom.	<i>völyg</i>
Instr.	<i>völygän</i>

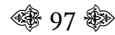
Preterite

Nom.	<i>vöömys[j]</i>
Instr.	<i>vöömys[j]tän</i>

Verbal noun

Actum	<i>völām</i> or <i>völāma</i>
Agentum	<i>völan</i>

- N.B. 1. The present form *völa* (Fi *olen*) and the imperative *völy*, cf. *vöö* (Fi *ole* cf. *oo*) have disappeared from the language being similar to *vöö* ‘horse’ and its consecutive case form *völa*. But the imperat. *vöö* appears sometimes in the negative passive form, e.g. *og vöö yštāma pro abu yštāma*.
- N.B. 2. The frequentative form *vööla* is derived from the verb *völa*, and its preterite form is *vööli* (\**vööly*), which Gabelentz considered to be a pluperfect (cf. § 69, N.B.). The copula *vyjym* ‘to be’ forms its future in *voa*, which, at least in the Ižma dialect, means ‘I arrive’.<sup>296</sup>



### E. Derived verbs

#### § 79

Verbs are derived from other verbs as well as nominals and adverbs. For the most part, verbs retain their transitivity or intransitivity in derivation. Certain types of verb derivations arise from nominals and adverbs, on the one hand, while other types arise from verbs, on the other; many can be formed from both. The main points of the forms of common verb derivations must be mentioned here.

#### § 80

Factitive verbs indicate becoming or changing into something, and are usually formed from nouns. Some are formed by merely adding the letter *a* to the end of the nominative, e.g. *kyyz* 'thick', *kyyza* 'I get fat(ter)'; *sim* 'rušt', *sima* 'I rušt'. Nominals ending in *-yd* elide *y*, e.g. *jugyd* 'light, clear', *jugda* [1SG < *jygdyny* 'to become light']; *pemyd* 'dark', *pemda* [1SG < *pemdyny* 'to become dark']<sup>297</sup>; *jedžyd* 'white', *ježda* [1SG < *jedždyny* 'to clear (up)'], and also *sjökta* 'I become heavy' from *sjökyd* 'heavy; difficult', *läčta* 'I become sharp' from *läčyd* 'sharp'. The actual ending of the factitive is *-ma*, originally *-mam*<sup>298</sup>, which is also the factitive verb marker in the Lappish language. E.g. *kos* 'dry', *kosma* 'I become dry'; *konjär* 'poor', *konjärma* 'I get poorer'; *va* 'water', *vama* 'I become wetter'; *ji* 'ice', *jima* 'I freeze/ice';

297 The verbs (given here in literary form) *jugdö* [югдö] 'it is clearing (up)', *pemdö* [пемдö] 'it is getting dark' are impersonal verbs often referring to meteorological phenomena and only occur in the third person.

298 The denominal factitive derivational suffix *-m* comes from a period before Proto-Permic, according to Bartsens, the suffix has a translocative character in Komi (2000: 282).

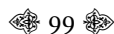
- 299 The stem of these two words is palatalized: *šjer-*.
- 300 As corrected in the Corrigenda.
- 301 The stem of these three words is palatalized: *vösnj-*. See note 153 and Vocabulary.
- 302 The momentaneous derivational morpheme is *t*, which is also found as part of the combinatory morpheme *št*. Its equivalent in Finnish is the *AhtA* morpheme. Komi also has a combinatory derivational morpheme in *ökt*. (Bartens 2000: 287–288, 277–278.)

❖ 98 ❖

*ram* ‘quiet’, *ramma* ‘I become calmer/quieter; *tyr* ‘full’, *tyrma* ‘I am enough [< *tyrmyny* ‘to be enough’]’; *važ* ‘old’, *važma* ‘I grow older’; *gaž* ‘joy’, *gažma* ‘I become happier’; *sera* ‘multi-coloured, varied, mixed’, *sera*<sup>299</sup> ‘I become varied’; *ötik* ‘one’, *ötikma*<sup>300</sup> ‘I become lonelier, more forsaken’. When adjectives with the suffix *-yd* do not allow the formation of a factitive verb with the deletion of *y*, due to the coincidence of several consonants, they are sometimes formed with the suffix *-ma*, e.g. *ydžyd* ‘big’, *ydžydma* ‘I become bigger’. Factitive verbs are seldom derived from adverbial forms, e.g. *vösnyd* ‘thin’, *vösni* ‘thinly’, *vösnima* ‘I become thinner’<sup>301</sup>.

§ 81

Momentaneous verbs are used to express singular or sudden actions. They end in *-šta* (\*-*šta*)<sup>302</sup> and are formed from the second-person imperative with *y*, e.g. *seta* ‘I give’, *setyšta* ‘I give once, quickly’: *juka* ‘I divide’, mom. *jukyšta*; *čapka* ‘I catch’, mom. *čapkyšta*; *jua* ‘I drink’, mom. *juyšta* etc. There are also non-derived momentaneous verbs, e.g. *vešta* ‘I move once’. Momentaneous forms are derived from frequentative verbs in the same way as passives, e.g. *sjölala* ‘I spit’, mom. *sjölyšta* (from a hypothetical root *sjöla*), frequ. *sjölyštala* (see § 75). In the Lappish language, momentaneous verbs are also formed with the suffix *-štam*; some have approximately the same suffix in Finnish, e.g. *valkai-sen* ‘I lighten’, inf. *valai-šta*.



## § 82

Effective verbs<sup>303</sup>, whose meaning indicates making or having made, derive from both nominals and verbs. They are formed in many ways:

1) From the primary stem of the verb, in other words, the first person singular final *a* is changed to *ä* to which the suffix *da* is then added, e.g. *zelda* 'I tighten (intr.)', *zeldäda* 'I make tight'; *dženda* 'I cut off', *džendäda* 'I shorten'; *džömda* 'I stagger', *džömdäda* 'I shake'; *sad[j]ma* 'I wake up', *sad[j]mäda* 'I wake up (tr.)'; *ramma* 'I rest', *rammäda* 'I calm (someone)'; *kusa* 'I go out, get extinguished', *kusäda* 'I extinguish, turn off'; *vöjpa* 'I speak', *vöjpäda* 'I convince'; *töda* 'I know', *tödäda*<sup>304</sup> 'I let know'; *lönja* 'I become/fall quiet', *lönjeda* 'I calm'.

2) Some are formed from the shortened imperative with the ending *ta* <sup>\*</sup>, e.g. *jua* 'I drink', *juta* 'I give to drink'; *ka'a* 'I climb', *kata* 'I take up, bring up'; *pyra* 'I go in', *pyrta* 'I carry in'; *pöda* 'I suffocate, drown', *pödta* 'I suffocate, drown (tr.)'; *voša* 'I disappear', *vošta* 'I lose'.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>\*</sup>) This can, in our view, be regarded as evidence in these and similar words, not all of which, however, are found in the Ižma dialect.

- 303 Nowadays the term *effective* has been replaced by *causative*. In the literary language, the derivational ending is *öd* [öd]. The effectives shown in this paragraph (1 and 2) are further exhibited by Rédei as actual deverbal transitive suffixes, which belong to the group of causative and factive suffixes (1978: 115–116).
- 304 As corrected in the Corrigenda.
- 305 The *d/t* derivative suffix can be traced back to at least Proto-Permic, it is a reflex of the *\*tA* derivational ending, as can also be said of the *öd* suffix, it may well be Uralic (Bartens 2000: 276–280).

306 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

307, 308 In 3 and 4 Castrén presents the *d/t* derivational endings as producing denominals (cf. Rédei 1978: 115–116).

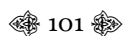


3) Effectives derived from nominals take the ending *ta*, seldom *da*, e.g. *kos* ‘dry’, *košta* ‘I dry’; *tyr* ‘full’, *tyrta* ‘I fill’; *suk* ‘thick’, *sukta* ‘I thicken’; *njukyl[j]* ‘bend’, *njukyl[j]ta* ‘I bend’; *gögär*<sup>306</sup> ‘circle, round’, *gögärta* ‘I surround’; *njaštjiesj* ‘dirty’, *njašt[j]ies[j]ta* ‘I dirty’; *tyrtäm* ‘empty’, *tyrtämta* ‘I empty’; *s[j]intäm* ‘blind’, *s[j]intämta* ‘I blind (something)’; *n[j]im* ‘name’, *n[j]imta* ‘I name, call’; *nyž* ‘blunt’, *nyžda* ‘I become blunt’; *myž* ‘fault’, *myžda* ‘I accuse’.<sup>307</sup>

4) Many effectives are formed on the basis of the root. Ones that are derived from frequentatives always require a simple root, e.g. *ljapkyd* ‘low’, *ljapkäda* ‘I lower’ (from the root *ljapka*); *ves[j]kyd* ‘right’, *ves[j]käda* ‘I straighten’ (root *ves[j]ka*); *lögala* ‘I am angry’, *lögäda* ‘I anger’ (root *löga*); *velala* ‘I get used to’, *veläda* ‘I teach’.<sup>308</sup>

5) Effective verbs whose meaning is pronouncedly transitive, are the basis of further derivations for effective verbs, e.g. *dasjeda* ‘I prepare’, *dasjedäda* ‘I make (someone) prepare’; *öša* ‘I am hanging’, *öšäda* ‘I hang (something)’, *öšädäda* ‘I make someone hang something’; *pöra* ‘I fall’, *pöräda* ‘I fell, cut down’, *pörädäda* ‘I have someone fell/cut down’.

N.B. The endings of effective verbs in Finnish are: [1sg] *tan*, *tän*, inf. *ta*, *tä*, in Lappish: [1sg] *tam*, inf. *tet*. These are in complete correlation with the effective verb endings in Zyrian: *ta*, *da*, originally: *tam*, *dam*.



## § 83

The *-la* ending is used to form both frequentative and diminutive verbs. Frequentative verbs are formed from first-person singular indicative present, e.g. *giža* 'I write', *gižala* 'I write often', *kara* 'I make/do', *karala* 'I often make/do'; diminutives are formed from the second-person [singular] imperative, e.g. *gižla* 'I write a little or seldom', *karla* 'I make/do a little or seldom'.<sup>309</sup> In Finnish, frequentatives are formed with the ending [1SG] *-len*, inf. *-lla*, and in Lappish with the ending [1SG] *-dam*, occasionally *-alam*. Diminutives in Lappish end in [1SG] *-lam*, inf. *let*.

## § 84

Frequentatives are also formed from nominals by adding the ending *la* to the nominative with the linking vowel *a*, e.g. *vyj* 'butter, grease', *vyjala* 'I grease'; *lju* 'spit', *ljuala* 'I spit'; *lām* 'glue', *lāmala* 'I glue'; *med* 'pay, salary', *medala* 'I employ'. Frequentatives formed from two-syllable nominals that end in consonants elide the final vowel in the nominal [stem], e.g. *gogyn* 'scraper', *gognala* 'I scrape'; *vugyr* 'hook', *vugrala* 'I fish'; *toman* 'bolt, lock', *tomnala* 'I bolt, lock'.<sup>310</sup>

N.B. 1. These and in general all frequentatives lacking a verbal root have non-derived definitions [i.e. they do not have frequentative or diminutive meanings].

N.B. 2. No [*la-*] diminutives are derived from nominals, because they cannot be distinguished from nominals in the consecutive case.

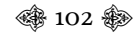
309 *-l-* and *-al/-av-* derivational suffixes indicate not only a frequency of actions but their brevity and boundedness as well (Bartens 2000: 275).

310 No frequentative feature is observable in these examples, as they are derived with the denominal ending *-al/-av-*, which, when in a closed syllable, changes to *oo* in the Ižma dialect. Compare the infinitives of the literary language with those given by Castrén for the Ižma dialect examples:

люавны > люооны,  
медавны > медооны,  
гогнавны > гогнооны,  
вугравны > вугрооны,  
томнавны > томнооны  
(KRK; KSK 1, 2).



- 311 Misprint: should be *gižoo*.  
 312 Misprint: should be *gižooly*.  
 313 In Komi, the frequentative derivational suffix in *l* can also be repeated once or twice. In addition to *-l-*, ID mentions a plethora of others in the Ižma dialect: *-lyll-*, *-lyyl-*, *-yyl-*, *-lyl-* and *-edl-* as well as *-oo-* (< *-al-*), which may also be a reflexive (ID: 89–90, 94).



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## § 85

Both diminutives and frequentatives are formed by adding special sequences/forms to the second-person [singular] imperative forms.

## Diminutive

<i>gižla</i>	imperat. <i>gižly</i>
<i>gižlyla</i>	imperat. <i>gižlyy</i>
<i>gižlyyla</i>	imperat. <i>gižlyyly</i>
<i>gižlyylyla</i>	

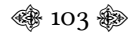
## Frequentative

<i>gižala</i>	imperat. <i>gizoo</i> <sup>311</sup>
<i>gižoola</i>	imperat. <i>gižooly</i> <sup>312</sup>
<i>gižoolyla</i>	

Actually, there is no particular difference in the meaning of the forms. It is seldom that all [combinations] are derived from the same verb; instead each verb preferably forms one frequentative and one diminutive type. Longer types are derived from short roots, and shorter types from long ones.<sup>313</sup>

## § 86

Deverbal derivations are combined in different ways; the forms/sequences used most often are as follows:



1. Factive-effectives, e.g. *burma* 'I get better', *burmäda* 'I heal, cure'; *ramma* 'I calm (down)', *rammäda* 'I calm (tr.)'; *šomma* 'I turn sour', *šommäda* 'I sour'. These are the bases of new effectives, e.g. *rammädäda* 'I make someone become calm', *šommädäda* 'I make (something) go sour'.

2. Factive-momentaneous verbs, e.g. *kosma* 'I dry', *kosmyšta* 'I dry a little'.

3. Factive-frequentatives, e.g. *bydma* 'I grow', frequ. *bydmala*; *sukma* 'I thicken', frequ. *sukmala*.

4. Momentaneous-effective or effective-momentaneous verbs, e.g. *sjölyšta* 'I spit quickly', eff. *sjölyštäda*; *juta* 'I give drink', mom. *jutyšta*.

5. Effective-frequentatives, e.g. *burdäda* 'I heal', frequ. *burdädala*; *käräda*<sup>314</sup> 'I have (something) made', frequ. *karädala*.

6. Diminutive-frequentatives, e.g. *gižla* 'I write a little', frequ. *gižlala*, *gižloola*, *gižloolya*.

## V                      Postpositions

### § 87

Since postpositions are nothing more than nominal cases, there is a large portion of postpositions that take nominal case endings and appear in the nominative as well, at which time we are dealing with a nominal that declines in all cases. Thus, many words have the characteristics of nominals in some cases and postpositions in others. The sense of postposition is found foremost in the cases: illative, inessive, ablative 2 and elative, prosecutive and terminative. Of these the illative, inessive and elative express both internal and external space. Ablative 2 means the same as the elative, [whereas] the prosecutive and terminative usually retain their typical meanings. When case forms do not provide the desired spatial relation, postpositions in the nominative are formed, e.g. *gögär* ‘nearby, approximately’, *öddor* ‘except’. The consecutive is only used in the formation of two postpositions (*pomla*, *pyd[j]l[j]a*), where Russian influence is apparent.

## § 88

Nominals that form postpositions and are used in the nominative are: *bärd* ‘vicinity’; *bör* ‘back(ground)’; *dor* ‘edge’; *gögär* ‘round’; *jyy* ‘top, peak’; *kuzja* ‘length’; *ord* ‘~ someone’s home’ (? Gab.)<sup>315</sup>; *pom* ‘end’; *šör* ‘centre’; *uu* ‘lower part’; *vyy* ‘surface, top’; *vodzj* ‘foreground’; *pyčkäs* ‘inside’; *djin* ‘base’. The noun *djin* is encountered in composites<sup>316</sup>; *pyčkäs* forms postpositions from the abandoned nominative *pyčk*, which has dropped its final vowel. *jyy* and *vyy* have undoubtedly developed from the same stem<sup>317</sup> (cf. § 19). [The word] *ord* is never used in the Ižma dialect, but it does serve as the base for the derived postpositions: *orda*, *ordyn*, *ordys[j]*, in meaning they correlate with *dorä*, *doryn*, *dorys[j]* in every way, from which can be surmised that *ord* is derived from the nominal *dor* by switching the order of the letters<sup>318</sup>.

## § 89

The nominals listed in the preceding paragraph are the bases of the following postpositions<sup>319</sup>:

*bärd* ‘vicinity’, illat. *bärda* ‘near, next to, across from, towards’.

*bör* ‘back(ground)’, Fi *taka*, *perä*, Ru задъ; iness. *böryn* ‘after, behind’, Fi *takana*, Ru на зади; abl. 2. and elat. *börsänj*, *börys[j]* ‘from behind’, Fi *takaa*, Ru съ зади; prosec. *börti* (*böräd*) ‘after, following’, Fi *taatse*, Ru по зади; term. *böredzj* ‘until behind’, Fi *taakse*, Ru до заду.

315 It is unclear as to why Castrén makes reference to Gabelentz here, whose grammar (1841: 37) shows the postposition cluster *ordö*, *ordyn* and *ordys[j]* (‘to’, ‘at’, ‘from’). Perhaps, Castrén is referencing the meaning as being at someone’s place/home with his Latin translation *ord* ‘domus’. The noun *ord*, however, seems to have the meaning ‘family’ not ‘building, house’.

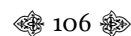
316 In the Ižma dialect, the word *djin* had a palatal initial *dj*, which is contrary to the literary norm in *din* [дин], the cognate of the Finnish word *tyvi*, and it forms its own postposition paradigmatic cluster with many case forms, cf. § 89.

317 The Ižma dialect form *jyy* and literary Komi *jyv* [йыв], can be traced to Proto-Permic, whereas *vyy* and literary *vyv* [выв] are etymological cognates of the Finnish word *ylä* (SSA 3: 490).

318 This is an issue of two distinct words *ord* and *dor*, whose difference in meaning can be observed in *ord* postpositions, which indicate being at someone’s place/home while *dor* postpositions indicate being at, near or next to.

319 Castrén does not present all possible declension forms of the postpositions.

- 320 The postposition clusters on this page and their stems appear in the literary language as: *berd, berdö* [берд, бердö]; *bör, böryn, börsań, börys, börti, börod'z* [бör, бöрын, бöрсянь, бöрысь, бöрти, бöрöдз]; *din, dinö, dinyn, dinti, dinöd'z* [дін, дінö, дінын, дінті, дінöдз]; *dor, dorö, doryn, dorys, dorti, doröd'z* [дор, дорö, дорын, дорысь, дорти, дорöдз]; *ord, ordö, ordyn, ordys* [орд, ордö, ордын, ордысь] (see KRK).



*djin* 'base', Fi *lähi, sivu*, Ru близь; illat. *djinä* 'near', Fi *lähelle*; iness. *djiny*, Fi *lähellä*; prosec. *djinti* (*djinäd*) 'past, by', Fi *lähitse, sivutse*; term. *djinedzj* 'until nearness', Ru близко до.

*dor* or *ord* 'edge, side', Fi *vieri, tykö*, Ru край; illat. *dorä, ordä* '(un)to', Fi *vierelle* or *vierehen*, *tykö*, Ru ко; iness. *doryn, ordyn* 'at, by', Fi *vierellä* or *vieressä, tykönä*, Ru y; elat. *dorys[j], ordys[j]* 'from', Fi *viereltä* or *viereštä, tyköä*, Ru отъ; prosec. *dorti* or *doräd*, Fi *vieritse*; term. *doredzj* 'until to'. It is noteworthy that the postpositions *ordä, ordyn, ordys[j]* can themselves refer to a person.<sup>320</sup>

*gögär* '(all) round, all over'

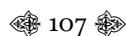
*jyy* 'upper/top part', Fi *yli*, Ru вершина; illat. *jylä* 'up, above', Fi *ylle, päälle, päähän*; iness. *jylyn* 'high up above', Fi *yllä, päällä, päässä*; abl. 2. and elat. *jyysänj, jylys[j]* 'from above', Fi *yltä, päältä, päästä*; prosec. *jyyti* or *jyläd* 'over', Fi *ylitse*; term. *jyledzj* 'until the top'.

*kuzja* (\**kuzä, kusä*) 'length; along'

*pom* 'end', consec. *pomla* (\**ponda, pondas, vösna*) 'for', Fi *tähden, vuoksi*, Ru для, за.

*pyčkäs* 'inside', Fi *sisä*, Ru нутро; illat. *pyčkä* 'in', Fi *sisälle, sisähän*; iness. *pyčkyn* 'in', Fi *sisällä, sisässä*; elat. *pyčkys[j]* 'from inside', Fi *sisältä, sisästä*.

*šör* 'middle, centre', Fi *keski*, Ru середина; illat. *šörä* 'into the middle/centre of', Fi *keskelle*; iness. *šöryn* 'in the middle/centre of', Fi *keskellä*; abl. 2. and elat. *šörys[j], šörsänj* 'from the middle/centre of', Fi *keskeltä*; prosec. *šörti* (*šöräd*) 'along the middle/centre of', Fi *keskitse*; term. *šoredzj* 'until the middle/centre of'.



*uu* ‘lower part, bottom, base’, Fi *ala*, Ru низъ; illat. *ulä* ‘under’, Fi *alle*, Ru внизъ, подъ; iness. *ulyñ* ‘under’, Fi *alle*, Ru внизу; abl. 2. and elat. *uusänj*, *ulyš[j]* ‘from under(neath)’, Fi *alta*, Ru снизу, изъ-подъ; prosec. *uuti* or *uläd* ‘beneath, under(neath)’, Fi *alatse*, Ru по низу; term. *uledzj* ‘until’, Ru до низу.<sup>321</sup>

*vyu* ‘surface, top’, Fi *yli*, *pää*, Ru верхъ; illat. *vylä* ‘onto’, Fi *päälle*, *päähän*, Ru на or на верхъ; iness. *vylyn* ‘on’, Fi *päällä*, *päässä*, Ru на верху; abl. 2. and elat. *vyysänj*, *vylyš[j]* ‘from above’, Fi *päältä*, *päästä*, Ru съ, съ верху; prosec. *vuuti* or *vyläd* ‘along the surface of’, Fi *päälitse*, Ru надъ, по верху; term. *vyledzj* ‘until above’, Ru до верху.

*vodzj* ‘front, foreground’, Fi *esi*, Ru передъ; illat. *vodzjä* ‘in front of’, Fi *etehen*; iness. *vodzjyn* ‘in front of’, Fi *edellä*, *edessä*; elat. *vodzjys[j]* ‘from the front’, Fi *edeltä*, *edestä*.<sup>322</sup>

## § 90

Other postpositions, which either have no nominative or their origin is uncertain, can be found:

*dyrjy* (\**dyri*, *tyri*) ‘in one’s present’, Fi *edessä*, Ru при.

*kežä* ‘for’, (meaning time), Fi *keskelle*, e.g. *me kölys*<sup>323</sup> *kežä voji* ‘I arrived for the wedding’, Fi *keski-häihin* ‘for the mid-wedding’; iness. *kežyn* ‘among’, Fi *kesken*, e.g. *as kežyn* ‘by oneself’, Fi *keskenänsä* ‘among themselves’.<sup>324</sup>

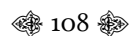
321 The postpositions on this page and their roots appear in the literary language as: *gögör* [rörör]; *jyv*, *jylö*, *jylyn*, *jyvsañ*, *jylyš*, *jyvti*, *jylöd*, *jylöd’ž* [йыв, йылö, йылын, йывсянь, йылысь, йывті, йылöд, йылöдз]; *kuža* [кузя]; *pot*, *ponda* [пом, понда]; *pyčkös*, *pyčkö*, *pyčkun*, *pyčkus* [пытшкös, пытшкö, пытшкын, пытшкысь]; *šör*, *šörö*, *šöryn*, *šörys*, *šörsañ*, *šörti*, *šöröd’ž* [шör, шörö, шöрын, шöрысь, шörсянь, шörtі, шörödз]; *uv*, *ulö*, *ulyñ*, *uvsañ*, *ulyš*, *uvti*, *ulöd*, *ulöd’ž* [ув, улö, улын, увсянь, улысь, увті, улöd, улödз] (KRK; ÖKK: 460–461).

322 The postpositions on this page and their roots appear in the literary language as: *vyv*, *vylö*, *vylyn*, *vyvsañ*, *vylyš*, *vyvti*, *vylöd*, *vylöd’ž* [выв, былö, вылын, вывсянь, вылысь, выvtі, былöd, былödз]; *vod’ž*, *vod’žö*, *vod’žyn*, *vod’žys* [водз, водзö, водзын, водзысь] (KRK).

323 Should be *köllys*.

324 The literary forms are: *dyrji* [дырйи] and *kež(l)ö*, *kežyn* [кеж(л)ö, кежын], which has several declensional forms (cf. KRK).

- 325 The only Komi case Castrén is missing is the comitative, here he considers its ending *köd* [көд] to be a postposition, as did Gabelentz (1841: 36), even though he writes it as a case form integrated into the noun stem, e.g. Matt. 5:25.
- 326 The Komi word *saj* is considered to be a possible cognate of the Finnish word *suoja* (SSA 3: 214).
- 327 These postpositions appear in the literary language as:  
*kost, kosti, kostyn*  
 [кост, костын, кості];  
*pyd'd'i* [пыдди];  
*sajö, sajyn, sajys, sajti*  
 [сайё, сайын, сайысь, сайті];  
*šert'i* [серти];  
*vod'žsa* [водзса];  
*ötdor* [өтдор];  
*pyr* [пыр] (KRK).
- 328 See note 325.
- 329 Postpositions also have possessive declensions as in the examples.



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*käd* (\**köd, köt*) 'with', Fi *kanssa*.<sup>325</sup>

*kos, kosmyn, kosti* (\**kostyn*) 'between'.

*pyd[j]la, pyd[j]lja* (\**pydi*) 'for, on behalf of',  
 Ru для, за.

*sajā*, illat. 'behind', Ru за; iness. *sajyn* 'behind';  
 elat. *sajys[j]* 'from behind', Ru изъ-за;  
 prosec. *sajti* 'along behind', Ru позади. The origin of this postposition is bound with the Russian preposition за.<sup>326</sup>

*sjörti* 'according to', Ru за, ради.

*vodeja* 'against', Fi  *vastaan*.

*öddor* (\**kindzä, kindzi*) 'except, beyond'.

*pyr* or *pyrpyr* 'through'.<sup>327</sup>

## § 91

Postpositions can be linked to other nominals that take genitive government, and they can take endings, e.g. *me djinam* 'to/at my place', *ordad* 'to/at your place', *sy böras* 'after/behind him/her/it', *mikädnum*<sup>328</sup> 'with us', *ti pyrnyd* 'through you', *ny pomlas[j]nys* 'because of them, for them'.<sup>329</sup>

## VI Adverbs

### § 92

As in Finnish and Lappish, adverbs in Zyrian largely stem from nouns, adjectives and pronouns. Some of them are only in the nominative form, but most often they are in the inessive, ablative 2, elative, consecutive, prosecutive as well as the instructive cases. Sometimes adverbs are compiled from a combination of two cases; they either consist of the consecutive with the illative, inessive or elative<sup>330</sup>; or the elative, seldom illative, with the terminative. Consecutives and terminatives formed in this way usually lose their typical meaning, when the former means place, area or region, and the latter illustrates or more specifically indicates the temporal-spatial point of origin. Many adverbs are formed from two words and generally they are a word with a postposition.

### § 93

Adverbs that derive from adjectives are compared like adjectives. There are some derived from nouns with the same character. In addition, an enclitic particle *нын*<sup>331</sup> is often added to the consecutive ending in order to change the comparative meaning to a type of diminutive.

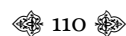
330 According to ÖKK (p. 61) there are seven combinatory cases formed from the approximative case *-lan* [-лань]:

[-ланьын],  
[-ланьысь],  
[-ланьö],  
[-ланьсянь],  
[-ланьöд],  
[-ланьті],  
[-ланьöдз].

331 Castrén is possibly referring to a phenomenon which, according to ID (p. 107), is found in the Ižma dialect, where some adverbs have diminutive comparative suffixes *-in'd'zyk* [-ин'дзык], e.g. *eč'in'd'zyk* [этшин'дзык] 'a smaller amount' < *eča* [этша] 'a little', cf. literary *ečańik* [этшаник].



- 332 Cf. § 31, c), 2), note 106.
- 333 These are question particles. In the literary language, the enclitic question particle *ö* [ö] occurs in *ömöj* [ömöj] ‘..., isn’t that so?’.
- 334 In the literary language the adverbs of this paragraph are: *taj* [тай], *d’ert* [дерт], *dyr* [дыр], *pyr* [пыр], *čöč* [тшöтш], *bara* [бара], *veš* [весь], *veššörö* [весьшöрö], *nin* [нин], *na* [на], *kod’* [кодъ], *moz* [моз] and in some dialects *nyn* [нын] (KRK, KSK). The reader will note that Castrén has not regularly marked palatalization.
- 335 According to KRK, ‘in the morning’ is *asyvnas* [асывнас] (< *asyv* + INSTR.SG3PX), but the short form *asy* also has the meaning ‘in the morning’ (KSK 1: 41).
- 336 According to KRK, ‘in the evening’ is *rytnas* [рытнас] (< *ryt* + INSTR.SG3PX), but in some dialects the basic form *ryt* also has the meaning ‘in the evening’ (KSK 2: 325–326).
- 337 In the literary language these temporal adverbs are: *asyvnas* [асывнас], *rytnas* [рытнас], *talun* [талун], *töryt* [тöрыт], *aski* [аски] (in some dialects *mödasyv* [мöдасув]), *öni*, *önišan*, *ön(i)öd’ž* [öni, önišanь, ön(i)öзд], *vod’ž*, *vod’ždžyk* [водз, водзджык], *vojdör* [войдöр] (KRK, KSK).
- 338 The postposition *vodžj* is *vod’ž* [водз] in the literary language, cf. § 88.



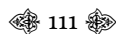
## § 94

A small portion of the adverbs are not derived. Some such are these: *taj* (\**dert*) ‘of course, in fact’, *dyr* ‘for a long time’, *pyr* ‘always’, *čöč* ‘also, together, along with’, *bara* ‘again’, *ves* ‘in vain’, (from which perhaps *vešöra* ‘for nothing, in vain’), and also an enclitic: *nin* ‘already’, *nyn* (see above [§ 93]), *na* ‘still, so far’, *kojd* and *mooz*<sup>332</sup> ‘as, just like, kind of’, *em* (\**ö*), *ämyj* (\**ömyj*)<sup>333</sup> ‘[rhetorical] isn’t it so that’, where the word *ämyj* (abbreviation *äm*), no doubt, is a combination of a particle *ä* (\**ö*) and the interrogative pronoun *myj* ‘what’.<sup>334</sup>

## § 95

Adverbs derived from nouns are temporal and spatial. The latter take the adverb meaning in the nominative, whereas the former occur in other cases, with the exception of the word *bör* (see below). The temporal [adverbs] are: *asy* (\**aski*)<sup>335</sup> ‘in the morning, morning’; (tomorrow), *ryt*<sup>336</sup> ‘in the evening, evening’: *ton* (\**talun*) ‘today’ *töryt* or *tyryt* ‘yesterday’, *muödasy* ‘tomorrow morning’, *öni* ‘now’, elat. and abl. 2. *öniys[j]*, *önišanj* ‘from now on’, elat. and term. *öniys[j]edzj* ‘until now’, *vodžj* ‘early’, comparat. *vodžjdžyk* or *vodžyk* (\**voidar*).<sup>337</sup> Certain local [adverbs] have ambiguous postpositional pairs, and they have been mentioned above, e.g.

*vodžj*, illat. *vodžjä* ‘onward, forward’, Fi *edelle*; iness. *vodžjyn* ‘in front of, before’, Fi *edellä*; elat. *vodžjys[j]* ‘ahead, beforehand’, Fi *edeltä*.<sup>338</sup>



*uu*, illat. *ulä* 'down, downward(s)', Fi *alas*, comparat. *ulädžyk* 'more downward(s)'; iness. *ulyñ* 'below', Fi *alahalla*, comparat. *ulyndžyk* 'lower (down)', Fi *alempana*; elat. and abl. 2. *ulys[j]*, *uusänj* 'from beneath', Fi *alahalta*, comparat. *ulys[j]džyk*, *uusänjdžyk* 'from further down', Fi *alempaa*; *ulanyn* 'somewhat lower'.<sup>339</sup>

*bör* 'back', Fi *taka*, iness. *böryn*, elat. and abl. [= abl. 2.] *börys[j]*, *börsänj* (see § 89), etc.

Here are a few spatial [adverbs], formed from nouns, even though they lack nominative forms<sup>340</sup>:

*yŷ*<sup>341</sup> 'distance', Fi *kauka*, Ru даль; illat. *ylä* 'far away', Fi *kauwas*, comparat. *ylädžyk* 'farther away (target)', Fi *kauwemmaksi*; iness. *ilyn* 'far away [locative]', Fi *kaukana*, comparat. *ilyndžyk* 'farther away', Fi *kauwempaa*; elat. and abl. 2. *ylis[j]*, *yysänj* 'from afar', Fi *kaukaa*, comparat. *ylis[j]džyk*, *yysänjdžyk* or *ylisänjdžyk* 'from farther away', Fi *kauwempaa*.

*matä*, illat. 'near', Fi *lähelle*; iness. *matyn* 'close (by), near(by)', Fi *lähellä*; elat. and abl. 2. *matys[j]*, *matysänj* 'from up close, from nearby', Fi *läheltä*; prosec. *mati* or *matäd* 'by', Fi *lähitse*; *matlanyn* 'somewhat nearer'.

*ortsä*, illat. 'away', Fi *pois*, Ru прочь; iness. *ortsyn*; elat. and abl. 2. *ortsys[j]*, *ortsysänj*.

*ylla* 'outdoors, space outside, yard', Fi *ulko*; illat. *yllä* 'out', Fi *ulos*; iness. *yllayn* 'outside, outdoors', Fi *ulkona*; elat. and abl. 2. *yllays[j]*, *yllasänj* 'from outside', Fi *ulkoa*.<sup>342</sup>

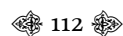
339 The postposition *uu* is *uv* [yв] in the literary language, cf. § 88.

340 In the literary language these spatial adverbs are: *yli*, *ylö*, *ylödžyk*, *ilyn*, *ilyn-džyk*, *ylyś*, *ylišań/ylyśań*, *ylyśdžyk*, *ylišańdžyk*, *ylyśańdžyk* [ылі, ылö, ылöджык, ылын, ылынджык, ылысь, ылісянь/ылысянь, ылысь-джык, ылісяньджык/ылысяньджык]; *matö*, *matyn*, *matyś*, *matyśań*, *mati*, *matiöd* [матö, матын, матысь, матысянь, маті, матöд]; *ortsö*, *ortsyn*, *ortsyś*, *ortsyśań* [ортсö, ортын, ортысь, ортысянь] (Krk).

341 The adverb *yŷ* in the Ižma dialect (*yl-* [ыл-] in the literary language) is an equivalent to the Finnish word *ulko-*. Cf. UEW (p. 803); SSA 3: 370).

342 In the literary language: *yvla*, *yvlaö*, *yvlayn*, *yvlayś*, *yvlaśań* [ывла, ывлаö, ывлаын, ывлаысь, ывласянь] (Krk).

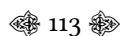
- 343 In the literary language these adverbs are derived from adjectives with the ending *-a*.



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## § 96

Adverbs derived from adjectives often express quality, sometimes quantity and time. Many adjectives and adverbs occur in the nominative case, e.g. *bur* 'good, "well"', comparat. *burdžyk* 'better', superlat. *med bur* 'best'; *ljok* 'bad, "poorly"', comparat. *ljogdžyk* 'worse', superlat. *med ljok* 'worst'; *una* 'a lot of, much', comparat. *unadžyk* or *undžyk* 'more', superlat. *med una* 'most'; *eča* 'a little', comparat. *ečadžyk* 'less', superlat. *med eča* '(the) least'; *zej* 'very', comparat. *zejdžyk* etc. Other adverbs are made as in the Finnish and Lappish languages from adjectives in the instructive case, e.g. *važän* 'long ago', (*važ* 'old'), Fi *ennen*; *völjaän* 'slowly', (from the lost nominative *völja*), Fi *hiljain*; *gusjen* 'in secret', Fi *warkain*, from *gusja* or *gusj* 'secret' etc. Not infrequently, adverbs arise from elatives, a pattern which parallels the Finnish, e.g. *unays[j]* 'often' (from *una* 'many'), Fi *monesti*; *vyljys[j]* 'again' (from *vylj* 'new'), Fi *uudesti* or *uudesta* etc. Local adverbs are formed by adding other cases to the consecutive, they also arise from adjectives, e.g. *bydlaä* (from adj. *byd* 'all') 'to everywhere', *bydlayn* 'everywhere', *bydlays[j]* 'from everywhere'; *mukädlaä* (from *mukäd* 'other'), Fi *muualle*, *mukädlayn* 'elsewhere', Fi *muualla*, *mukädlays[j]* 'from elsewhere', Fi *muualta*; *ötlaä* (from the word *ötik* 'one') 'together (illat.)', Fi *yhtehen*, *ötlayn* 'together (iness.)', Fi *yhdessä*, *ötlays[j]* 'from one place', Fi *yhdestä*. Adverbs with the ending *-aa*<sup>343</sup>, meaning quality, are often made from



adjectives, e.g. *bur* 'good' and *buraa* 'well', comparat. *burdžykaa* 'better', superlat. *med buraa* 'best'; *ljok* 'bad', *ljokaa* 'badly', comparat. *ljogdžykaa* 'worse', superlat. *med ljokaa* 'worst'; *veskyd* 'right', *veskydaa*<sup>344</sup> 'right'; *vyna* 'strong', *vyna'aa* 'strongly' etc. The adjectives with *-id* (*-yd*) make adverbs with *i*, e.g. *koknid* 'easy, light', *kokni* 'easily, lightly'; *vösnid* 'thin', *vösni* 'thinly', and from these come adverbs in *aa*: *kokniaa*, *vösniaa*<sup>345,346</sup>

## § 97

Adverbs arising from compound words are made from two nouns or from an adverb and postposition or from a noun and pronoun, e.g. *ötvyy* 'in the same way' Fi *yhdeštä puolin*, from *öt* (*ötik* 'one') and *vyy* ('surface, side'), *ödorni*, *muödorni* 'one way, another way' from *ötik*, ('one'), *muöd* ('other') and *dor* ('side'); *sypomla*, *sykuzja*, *sysjörti* 'according to, because of that', Fi *sentähden*, Ru *потому*, from *sya* 'he/she/it' and *sjörti*; *pomla*, *kuzja* 'because of'; *börvyyti* 'after; from behind', Ru *позади*, also temporal adverbs: *töryt*, *ton*, *muödasi* (§ 95) and many other [words].<sup>347</sup>

N.B. The ending *-ni* we find only in the examples above *ödorni*, *muödorni* and we think that it originates in the inessive with the change of the letters from *y* to *i*.

- 344 In the literary language *veškyd*, *veškyda* [веськыд, веськыда].
- 345 In the literary language *koknýd*, *kokní* [кокньыд, кокни] and *vösñi*, *vösñyd* [вöснi, вöсньыд] are both adjectives and adverbs, but *kokñia*, *kokñyda* [кокнiа, кокньыда] and *vösñia* [вöснiа] only have an adverbial meaning (KRK). The reader will note that Castrén has not regularly marked palatalization.
- 346 In this paragraph there were many *w*-initial words, which are, however, in the vocabulary as *v*-initial words. Cf. § 68, note 258.
- 347 In the literary language the adverbs of this paragraph are *ötvyyv* [öтвыв], *ödörñi*, *m(u)ödörñi* [öдорнi, мöдорнi] (probably used in the Ižma dialect alone) as well as the postpositional expressions: *sy ponda* [сы понда], *sy kuža* [сы кузя], *sy šert'i* [сы серти] and *börvyvti* [бöрвывтi] (see KRK).

- 348 In the literary language these interrogative temporal adverbs are:

*kodyr* [кодыр],  
*kor* [кор],  
*korkö* [коркө],  
*kodakosti* [кодакості],  
*kymynys* [кымынысь]

and demonstrative adverbs:

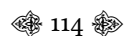
*sek* [сэк],  
*sekyś* [сэкысь],  
*seksań* [сэксянь],  
*sektöd'ž* [сэктөдз],  
*seśša* [сэсся],  
*sek kosti* [сэк кості]  
 (see KRK).

- 349 Pronominal spatial adverbs forming compect series are written in the literary language as:

*kön* [көн],  
*könkö* [көнкө],  
*kytčö* [кытчö],  
*kytčökö* [кытчökö],  
*kytyś* [кытысь],  
*kytyśań* [кытысянь],  
*kytčöd'ž* [кытчөдз];  
*setčö* [сэтчö],  
*setön* [сэтөн],  
*setyś* [сэтысь],  
*setyśań* [сэтысянь],  
*seti* [сәті],  
*setčöd'ž* [сэтчөдз];  
*setčańyn* [сэтчаньын];  
*tatčö* [татчö],  
*tatyś* [татысь],  
*tatyśań* [татысянь],  
*tati* [тәті],  
*tatčańyn* [татчаньын]  
 (see KRK, KSK 1, 2).

These adverbs with *ty*-stem are found in the Ižma and Udora dialects:

*tyćce/tytčö* [тычче/тытчö],  
*tyten/tytön* [тытән/тытөн],

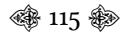


## § 98

Very many adverbs are derived from pronouns: *sya* (sy) 'he, she, it', Fi *se*; *ty* 'that', Fi *tuo*, which occurs in adverbs alone; *ta* (*etaja*) 'this', Fi *tämä* (*tä*); *myj* 'what', *kod* 'who'. All adverbs in this format are divided into the following classes:

Temporal adverbs: *kodyr*, *kor* 'when' *kodyrkä*, *korkä* 'sometimes', *kodkosti* 'at what point in time' (Ru пока); *kymynys[j]* 'how many times'; *sek* 'then, at that time', *sekys[j]*, *sekysänj* 'from then on', *sekys[j]edzj* 'until then', *sesseä* 'subsequently, but then', *sekkosti* 'meanwhile'.<sup>348</sup>

Spatial adverbs: *kön* 'where', Fi *kussa*; *könkä* 'somewhere', Fi *jossa*, *kussa*; *kucje* 'where to', Fi *kuhun*; *kucjegä* 'somewhere', Fi *johon kuhun*; *kytys[j]*, *kytysänj* 'from where', Fi *kušta*; *kycsedzj* (*kydsedzj*) 'until where', Fi *kunne ašti*, Ru докуда; *secje* 'there (to)', Fi *siihen*, *tuohon*; *setän* 'there', Fi *siinä*, *tuossa*; *setys[j]*, *setysänj* 'from there', Fi *sieltä*, *tuosta*; *seti* 'that way, (to) there', Fi *sinne*, *tuonne*; *sec[j]edzj* 'until that', Fi *siihen ašti*, Ru дотуда; *secjanyn* 'more that way', Fi *sinnemmäksi*, *tuonemmaksi*; *tycje* 'here (to)', Fi *taalle*; *tytän* 'here', Fi *taalla*, *tuolla*; *tytys[j]*, *tytysänj* 'from here', Fi *taalta*, *tuolta*; *tyti* 'this way, (to) here', Ru потуда; *tyc[j]edzj* 'until this', Ru дотуда; *tacje* '(to) here', Fi *tähän*; *tatän*, *tan* 'here', Fi *tällä*, *tässä*; *tatys[j]*, *tatysänj* 'from here', Fi *täältä*, *tästä*; *tati* 'this way, (to) here', Fi *tänne*; *tac[j]edzj* 'until this', Ru досюда; *tacjanyn* 'more this way', Fi *tännemäksi*.<sup>349</sup>



Multiplicational adverbs: *kymyn*, *myjttäm*, *myjmuöda* ‘how many, how much’; *symuöda* ‘that much’.<sup>350</sup>

Interrogative adverbs: *kudzj* (\**kydzj*) ‘how’, *Fi kuin*; *myjla* (*myjlja*), *myjpomla* ‘why’.<sup>351</sup>

Affirmative adverbs: *sidzj* ‘so’.<sup>352</sup>

### § 99

The Russian language provides an origin for the adverbs: *nöšta* ‘still, yet’, Ru еще; *toljko* ‘only’, Ru только; *ved*, *da*, *že* (encl.), in fact Ru вѣдь, да, же; *nje*, *n[j]i* ‘no’, Ru не, ни and compoundings with *n[j]i*: *n[j]inäm* ‘nothing’, *n[j]inämän* ‘no way’, Ru ничѣмъ, *n[j]ikudzj* ‘no way’, *n[j]ikor* ‘never’ etc.<sup>353</sup>

*tytyś/tytiś* [тытысь/тытісь],  
*tytyśań/tytiśań*  
 [тытысянь/тытісянь],  
*tyti* [тыті],  
*tytysed’ž/tytised’ž*  
 [тытыседз/тытіседз]  
 (see KSK 2).

- 350 In the literary language these adverbs are:

*kymyn* [кымын],  
*myjta* [мыйта],  
*myjtöm* [мыйтөм],  
*myj mynda* [мый мында],  
*sym(yn)da* [сым(ын)да]  
 (see KRK).

- 351 In the literary language these adverbs are:

*kud’ž* [кыдз],  
*myjla* [мыйла],  
*myj ponda* [мый понда]  
 (see KRK).

- 352 In the literary language this adverb is *sid’ž* [сідз] (see KRK).

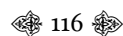
- 353 In the literary language these adverbs are:

*nöšta* [нөшта],  
*tol’kö* [толькө],  
*ved’* [ведь],  
*da* [да],  
*žö* [жө],  
*ńe* [не],  
*ńi* [ни],  
*ńinöm* [нинөм],  
*ńinömön* [нинөмөн],  
*ńekud’ž* [некыдз],  
*ńekor* [некор] (KRK).

The Russian negative particle prefixes *ńe-* and *ńi-* form negative adverbs, e.g. in indefinite pronouns.

- 354 Cf. § 70, note 257, the optative *med*; *med* [мед] is used as a final clause conjunction (e.g. Matt. 7:1).
- 355 Cf. § 73, *vesjke* [веське] in the formation of the conditional, in the literary language *eškō(n)* [эськō(н)].
- 356 ÖKK (pp. 489–497) divides coordinating conjunctions into three traditional categories, and in addition into two special copulative groups:
1. copulative: *i* [и], *da* [да], *ni* [ни];
  2. adversative: *a* [а], *no* [но], *da* [да], *zato* [зато], *žö* [жō];
  3. disjunctive: *al'i* [али], *l'ibö* [либō], *l'i* [ли], *ne to – ne to* [не то... не то], *to – to* [то... то], *to l'i – to l'i* [то ли... то ли];
  4. comparative conjunctions that always consist of two parts: *köt'-no* [кōть-но], *köt'-a* [кōть-а], *köt'-da* [кōть-да], *daröm-a* [дарōм-а], *kud'zi – sid'zi* [кыдзи – сідзи], *ne sid'z – kud'z* [не сідз – кыдз], *ne (ez) sōmyn – no i* [не (эз) сōмын – но и], *ne sy mynda – tuyta* [не сы мында – мыйта];
  5. cumulative conjunctions: *da i* [да и], *daj* [дай], *sid'žžö* [сідзжō], *a sid'žžö* [а сідзжō], *a to i* [а то и], *da i to* [да и то].

ÖKK (pp. 497–501) categorizes subjunctions according to whether they express time (e.g. *tuyjōn* [мыйōн]), causation (e.g. *sy vōsna tuyj* [сы вōсна мый]), condition (e.g. *kō* [кō]), concession (e.g. *köt'* [кōть]), result (e.g. *med* [мед]) or comparison



## VII Conjunctions

### § 100

Almost all conjunctions are borrowed from the Russian language, e.g. *i*, *da* 'and', Ru и, да; *a*, *no* 'but', Ru а, но; *ili*, *libā* 'or', Ru или, либо; *libā*, *libā* 'either – or', Ru либо, либо; *nježeli* 'as would, compared to', Ru нежели; *ōdnakā* 'but, however', Ru однако; *chōtj*, *chōtja* 'although', Ru хоть, хотя; *yštā*, *yštā* 'that, in order to', Ru что. The Zyrian language has its own conjunctions: *myj* 'that, what', as in Ru что, with a likeness to a word of similar origin in the Russian interrogative pronoun, but in the Ižma dialect it is seldom used; *med*, *metkā* in the Ižma dialect is a mark of the imperative<sup>354</sup>, sometimes conjunctive, *med veskā*<sup>355</sup> 'in order to, so that', Ru чтобы; *kodyr*, *kor* 'when, if'; *kā* 'if; an enclite particle'.<sup>356</sup>



## VIII Interjections

## § 101

These interjections are usual:<sup>357</sup>

Exclamation: *öj*

Agreement: *no*

Admiration: *e' ej*

Pain, sorrow: *oj oj*

Joy, delight: *chee*

Silence: *njöž njöž*

(e.g. *byttö* [быттö]). Subjunctions are treated in Rédei (1978: 121) and Barts (2000: 308–320). Russian is the source language for: *byttö* [быттö], *byttökö* [быттökö] ‘as if’, *da* [да], *köt’* [кöt’] ‘although’, *poka* [пока] ‘as long as’, *ödva* [ödva] ‘as soon as’, and conjunctions formed from proto-Uralic pronouns are, e.g. *kö* [кö] ‘if’, *kid’ž* [кыдз], *kid’ži* [кыдзи] ‘when, as’, *kor* [кор], *kodyr* [кодыр] ‘when, if’, *myj* [мый] ‘what’, *myjön* [мыйön] ‘when, as soon as’. Proto-Permic is the source of: *med* [мед], *medym* [медым] ‘in order to’. Newer conjunctions are observed in compounds, e.g. *sy vöсна myj* [сы вöсна мый] ‘because’. Interrogative words (cf. § 98) are common as subjunctors, e.g. *kod* [код], *kodi* [кодi], *kučöm* [кутшöм], *kutun* [кымын], *kön* [кön], *köni* [көнi], *kytön* [кытön], *kyččö* [кытчö].

357 ÖKK (pp. 520–524) divides Komi interjections into three groups: emotive, e.g. *a* [a], *aj* [ай], *ok* [ок], *no* [но], *ek* [эк], *ojja da ojja* [ойя да ойя], *ha-ha-ha* [ха-ха-ха], volitive, e.g. *ej* [эй], *noko* [ноко], *no* [но] and ideophones, e.g. the representation of a dog’s bark (v)uv-uv-uv [(в)ув-ув-ув] and a crow’s call *krav-krav* [крав-крав].



## The Gospel of Matthew, Chapters 4–7

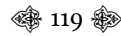
As mentioned above, M.A. Castrén translated four chapters from the Gospel of Matthew into the Ižma dialect and attached them to his grammar as sample texts. Castrén based his Ižma translation on a previous translation by A.V. Šergin into another Komi dialect, the Vyčegda dialect, published in Saint Petersburg in 1823. (Cf. EGS, p. II and p. V, note 6.) The editors refer to this source when commenting Castrén's translation, and therefore these chapters have been appended to *Syrjaenica*, see pp. 236–248.

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### **Quattuor Capita Matthaei.**

#### **Caput quartum (*Njoljed jur*).**

1. Sek Jisus nuädäma völi duchän pustinjää', ylädäm pomla Diavälsänj.
2. I vidzjoomystän njeljaamyn lun i njeljaamyn voi, sybürti c'ygjali.
3. I vomystän sy djinä' ylädysj vöipis: Tekä Jen pi, vöip, med etaja iizjas loänys njanjjas.
4. A sya vöipis vodeja: giz'äm vyl'n vyijym, oz ötik njanj pomlas looja loä mort, a bydejama kyls, kody Jen vomys petä.
5. Sek bostis syje diaväl wez'a karä', suutädis syje vie'ko veit vylä.
6. I vöipis syly: Tekä Jen pi, uskedejy ulä'; giz'äm vyl'n ved vöipä: kudzy Angeljasysly c'öktäma te pomlasyd (vidzjny tenä) i kivylanys bostasnys tenä, med on doid assjyd köktä iiz bärdä'.
7. Jisus vöipis syly: sidzjz'e giz'äma: in yläd assjyd Gospodj Jentä.



## Four Chapters from the Gospel of St. Matthew

### *Njoljed jur* [Matt. 4:1–25]

1. *Sek Jisus nuädäma völi duchän puštinjää',  
ylädäm pomla Diavälsänj.*<sup>358</sup>
2. *I vidzjoomys[j]tän njeljaamyn lun i  
njeljaamyn voj, sybörti*<sup>359</sup> *čygjali.*
3. *I vomys[j]tän sy djinä' ylädysj vöjpis*<sup>360</sup>:  
*Tekä*<sup>361</sup> *Jen pi, vöjp, med etaja iizjas loānys njanjjas.*
4. *A sya vöjpis vodcja: gižām vylyn vyjym,  
oz ötik njanj pomlas[j] looja loā*<sup>362</sup> *mort,  
a bydcjama kyllys[j], kody Jen vomys[j] petä.*
5. *Sek bos[j]tis syje diaväl veža karä',  
suutädis syje vičko*<sup>363</sup> *vejt vylä'*<sup>364</sup>.
6. *I vöjpis syly: Tekä*<sup>365</sup> *Jen pi, uskedcgy ulä';  
gižām vylyn ved vöjpä: kudzy Angeljasysly čöktäma  
te pomlasyd (vidzjny tenä) i kivylanys*<sup>366</sup> *bos[j]tasnys  
tenä, med*<sup>367</sup> *on dojd assjyd koktä iiz bärdä'.*
7. *Jisus vöjpis syly: sidzje gižāma:  
in yläd assjyd Gospodj Jentä.*

358 This sentence contains a passive construction that is rare but typical of translation texts. It contains an agent in the instrumental as in Russian (cf. Ru: Иисус возведен был Духом); cf. Rédei 1978: 100–101. The Russian loan word *diaväl* 'devil' is written in KSK [дявел] *djavel*.

359 The postposition should be written separate: *sy börti* (as in Šergin's translation).

360 In the Ižma dialect there is a special verb *vöjpny* 'to say, to tell', in the literary language these are: *šuny* [шуны] and *visjtavny* [висътавны], respectively. Originally Castrén wrote *vöjpny*, with *i*, pro *j*, cf. KSK 1: 260: вöйпны. Often-times he has been inconsistent in choosing whether to write *-i-* or *-j-* after a vowel. Here, as everywhere, *j* is used to show that there is no diphthong in the Ižma dialect nor in the literary language.

361 The conjunction *kä* 'if' should be written separate: *Te kä*, cf. KSK 1: 653: ке.

362 The negative form *oz...* *loä* 'does not become' should be *oz...* *loo* (?), as written in the Corrigenda; perhaps the question mark added by Castrén tells of some hesitation, or he

did not recognize the negative construction.

363 Cf. Vocabulary.

364 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

365 The conjunction *kā* ‘if’ should be written separate: *Te kā*, cf. KSK 1: 653: ке.

366 The postposition should be written separate: *ki vylanys*. This must be a simple mistake; the *vyl* postpositions are written as separate words throughout the text.

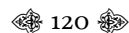
367 Here *med* is a final conjunction (cf. Bartens 2000: 221).

368 The conjunction *kā* ‘if’ should be written separate.

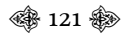
369 *yšta* ‘that’ is a typical conjunction in the Ižma dialect (cf. § 100), it is a synonym to *myj*, see Matt. 5:17.

370 *kutāma vōli* ‘has been arrested’: Castrén has mentioned only one past tense, preterite (see § 66), but here we may see an obvious pluperfect, i.e. IV preterite. Cf. ÖKK (pp. 256–257).

371 As corrected in the Corrigenda, but the correct transcription would be *vossjis* ‘opened’.



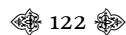
8. *Bara bos[j]tis syje Diavāl (katis) zej džudžyd  
gōra vylā' i petkedlis syly byd carštvasā  
tacjes jugydlys[j] i slava nylys[j].*
9. *I vōjpis syly: bydcān taje Tenyd s[j]eta,  
jubirtankā<sup>368</sup> menum muedzj.*
10. *Sek syly vōjpis Jīsus: mun me djinsjum, Satana;  
gižāma ved vyjym: as Gospodj Jenmydly  
jubirt i syly ōtnasly služit.*
11. *Sek kol[j]is syje Diavāl, i Angeljas vojisnys  
i kucjisnys služitny syly.*
12. *Kylis Jīsus, yšta<sup>369</sup> Joān kutāma vōli<sup>370</sup>,  
muni Galileaā'.*
13. *I kol[j]is Nazaret, vojis i kucjis ooni morjedor  
Kapernaum karyn, Zavulon i Neffalim gōgāryn.*
14. *Med loas Isaia proroklān vōjpāmys, kody vōjpā:*
15. *Mu Zavulonlān i mu Neffalimlān,  
tuj kuzja Jordān sajyn Galilea vojtyrjaslān.*
16. *Pukalysj vojtyrjas pemydinyn adzjisnys  
yžyd jugyd; i pukalys[j]asly pemyd kulan  
štōrānayn vosjis<sup>371</sup> jugyd nyly.*
17. *Sekysānj kucjis Jīsus veledny i vōjpny:  
pōkajtcje, matys[j]tis ved njebesnāj carštva.*



18. *Vetlygän Galilejskāj morje dorti,  
adzjis kyk vokäs, Simonäs, kody šusje Petr,  
i Andrejäs voksä syls[j], tyy cjötygän morjeä',  
nya ved völinys cjeri kyjys[j]jas.*
19. *I vöjpis nyly: me börsänje loktä  
i tijantä me kara mortjasäs kyjys[j]jasän.*
20. *Nya ödja kol[j]isnys tyyjas i sy börsänj muninys.*
21. *I munäm böryn setys[j], adzjis mukäd kyk vokäs,  
Jaakäs Zevedejlys[j] i voksä syls[j] Ioanäs,  
as pyžanys Zevedej ajkäd<sup>372</sup>, vocjlygän  
assjynys tyyjasnysä, i koris nyje.*
22. *Nya ödja kol[j]isnys pyž i assjynys ajnysä,  
muninys sy börsänj.*
23. *I vetlis Jisus bydcän Galilea gögär,  
velädis nyje cjukartcjemjasyn i vis[j]toolis evangelie  
carštvalys[j] i burdädis bydcjama vis[j]äm  
i bydcjama vermytäm vojtyrls[j].*
24. *I peti juor sy pomlas bydcän Siria kuzja i  
vajedlisnys sy dorä' bydcän vis[j]is[j]jasäs,  
kodjas vis[j]isnys bässänj i tölys[j]sänj, i kodjas kiän  
i kokän iz vermynys vörsjyny i burdädis nyje.*
25. *I muninys sy börsänj una vojtyr Galileays[j] i  
daskarys[j], Jerusalemys[j], Judeays[j] i Jordan sajys[j].*

372 *-käd*: in the literary language *-köd* [көд] is the suffix of the comitative case; it is widely used in this text as dependent morphology, though Castrén has not mentioned this case in the declension of nouns (cf. § 25–31) but has as a postposition (cf. § 90).

373–375 Castrén has given the adj. pl. form *maibyräs* here, though it should be *majbyräs*. According to § 44 the editors have added the correct plural suffix *-äs* in Matt. 5:3–11, as it is in 6:16 *gažtämäs*; 6:26 *burdžykäs*; 7:11 *ljokäs*.

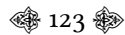


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### *Vitäd jur*

[Matt. 5:1–48]

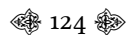
1. *Vojtyrjas adzjymys[j]tän kajis göra vylä', i kor  
puks[j]is, sek vojisnys sy dijnä' veledcjys[j]jas sylän.*
2. *I sya assjys vom voštymys[j]tän,  
velädis nyje, vöjpygän:*
3. *Majbyräs<sup>373</sup> kušjas lolän;  
nylän ved vyjym njebesnä j carštvä.*
4. *Majbyräs j bördys[j]jas;  
nya ved gažmasnys.*
5. *Majbyräs j ramjas;  
nyly ved loas mu.*
6. *Majbyräs<sup>374</sup> čygjalys[j]jas i vatämjas  
ves[j]kyd pydla; nya ved pötasnys.*
7. *Majbyräs j miläs[j]tajas;  
nya ved loasnys milujtämaäs.*
8. *Majbyräs j söstäm-sjölämajas;  
nya ved ženmäs adzjasnys.*
9. *Majbyräs j miritys[j]jas;  
nya ved pijanjas ženlän šusjasnys.*
10. *Majbyräs<sup>375</sup> vötlämajas ves[j]kyd pydla;  
nylän ved vyjym njebesnä j carštvä.*



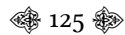
11. *Majbyräsĵ ti, kor juorasnys<sup>376</sup> tijantä  
i vötłasnys i ŝuasnys byd lĵok kyy  
ti vylanyd ves[j]kydtäg me pomłasä.*
12. *Raadujtcje i gažedcje;  
tijan ved una med njebesajasyn;  
sidzj ved vötłisnys prorokjasäs,  
kodjas (völinys) vodzjyn tisjynnyd<sup>377</sup>.*
13. *Ti vyjymäs[j] soo mulän;  
kor soo dubalä, myjjen solasjas?  
sesseä<sup>378</sup> n[j]ikycjen[j]in<sup>379</sup> oz lösĵoo, kudzj  
\*<sup>380</sup> sömyn kis[j]tyny ortsä' i talĵoony mortjasly.*
14. *Ti vyjymäs[j] jugyd vojtyrjasly:  
oz vermy kar dzjebzjyny göra vylyn sulalysj.*
15. *I öztymys[j]tän bi, oz puktnys syje vejť ulä',  
no bividzjan vylä' i jugjalä bydänly,  
kodjas vyjymäs[j] kerkayn.*
16. *Sidzj med jugjalas tijan jugydnyd mortjas vodzjyn,  
med adzjasnys tijancjynyd bur karämnydtä  
i oŝkasnys Ajnydtä tijancjynyd, kod njebesajasyn.*
17. *In dumajtä, myj me voji rözeritny zakon l[j]ibä  
prorokjasäs; me ig vo rözeritny, no tyrtny.*
18. *Ves[j]kydaa ved vöĵpa tijan: nebesa<sup>381</sup> i mu munä;  
n[j]ikučäm med dzjölja gižäm zakonys[j]  
oz mun syťäg, kycedzj bydcän oz tyr.*

- 376 See KSK 2: 867: юорт-ны (*juortny* 'to insult').
- 377 Should be *tisjynyđ*, see § 57: *ti* 'you (pl.)', in elative case. Cf. Matt. 6:27 *tisjynyđ*.
- 378 *sesseä* = *sessja* [сэсся] 'then; after that'; both forms in the manuscript.
- 379 Should be written separate: *n[j]ikycje n[j]in* 'no way anymore'. Cf. Šergin, who in his translation has written this particle as an enclitic, dependent morphology of the previous word. See Appendix.
- 380 The purpose of this asterisk is unknown.
- 381 The Russian loan word *nebesa* 'heaven' should be written *njebesa*, as in Matt. 5:16, 34 beginning with a soft *nje-*, and as it always is in the adjective form *njebesnäĵ* 'heavenly', e.g. Matt. 4:17.

- 382 In the manuscript: *kyyllynnyd*.  
 383 Cf. pluperfect in Matt. 4:12, note 370.  
 384 *vešörä*, in the literary language: *veššörö* [весьшөрö].  
 385–387 *-käd*: in the literary language *-köd* [көд] is the comitative case suffix; it is widely used in this text as dependent morphology, though Castrén has not mentioned this case in the declension of nouns (cf. § 25–31) but has as a postposition (cf. § 90). See more comitatives in Matt. 5:28, 40, 41.



19. *Kod kor razeritas eta dzjölja zapoved[j]jasys[j]  
 ötikäs i velädis sidzj mortjasäs;  
 sya dzjöljadžyk šusjas njebesnäj carštväyn;  
 a kod karas i velädas,  
 sya ydžyd šusjas njebesnäj carštväyn.*
20. *Vöjpa ved me tijan; kor tijan ves[j]kydynydz oz loo  
 ydžydžyk kn[j]ižn[j]ikjasys[j] i Farise[j]jasys[j],  
 on pyrä njebesnäj carštvää’.*
21. *Kylinnydz<sup>382</sup> ti, myj visjtaläma völi<sup>383</sup> važjasly:  
 in vi; kod vias, myža loas sudly.*
22. *A me vöjpa tijan:  
 bydän, kod lögalä as vokys vylä’ vešörä<sup>384</sup>,  
 myža loas sudly;  
 kod vöjpas as vokysly: n[j]inäm mort,  
 myža loas ydžyd sudly;  
 kod vöjpas: myykydtäm mort,  
 myža loas kuslytäm bijyn sotecjyny.*
23. *I sidzj kor vajan assjyd koz[j]in völtar vodzje’  
 i sek myykyd ylad usje,  
 yštä tenad vok lög kutä te vylad.*
24. *Kolj secje’ assjyd koz[j]in völtar vodzjas  
 i mun vodžyk, burasj as vokydkäd<sup>385</sup>,  
 sek lok i vaj koz[j]in assjyd.*
25. *Miritcjury ödjadžyk, kodkäd<sup>386</sup> lög kutan,  
 ky[t]c[j]edzj te vyjym tuj vylyn sykäd<sup>387</sup>,  
 med sya oz s[j]et tenä sudjaly,  
 a sudja med oz s[j]et tenä slugaly,  
 i med oz cjöötynys tenä tjurmaä’.*

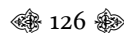


26. *Ves[j]kydaa vis[j]tala<sup>388</sup> tenyd: on pet setys[j],  
ky[t]c[j]edzj on s[j]et med bōr pōluškatā.*
27. *Kylinnyd<sup>389</sup>, myj vis[j]talāma važjasly:  
in preljudājstvujt.*
28. *A me vis[j]tala tijan: bydān, kod vislas<sup>390</sup>  
jōz<sup>391</sup> götyr vylā' ljok dumaān,  
ljubodājstvujt is[n]in<sup>392</sup> sykād as sjölāmas.*
29. *Korže<sup>393</sup> ves[j]kyd s[j]in tenad ylādā tenā,  
kysky syje i šybit as djinsjyd;  
burdžyk ved tenyd, med vošas ōtik tor tenad,  
a nje acjyd bydcān šybitāma loan kuštām bije'.*
30. *I kor ves[j]kyd ki tenad ylādā tenā,  
kysky syje i šybit as djinsjyd,  
burdžyk ved tenyd, med vošas ōtik tor tenad,  
a nje acjyd bydcān šybitāma loan kuštām bije'.*
31. *Vis[j]talāmaže<sup>394</sup> vōli<sup>395</sup>:  
kor kod ledzjas assjys götyr,  
med s[j]etas syly juksjan-gižām.*
32. *A me vis[j]tala tijan: bydān, kod ledzjas  
assjys götyr, preljudājanieys[j] ōddor,  
sya cjōktā syje preljudājstvujtny,  
i kod ledzjemaās bos[j]tas, preljudājstvujtā.*
33. *Bara ti kylinnyd<sup>396</sup>,  
myj vis[j]talāma vōli<sup>397</sup> važjasly:  
vešōrā<sup>398</sup> in bōžitcjin,  
no kar, myjjyn bōžitcjin Gospodj vodzjyn.*

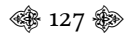
- 388 Castrén has also used the more literary verb *visjtala* < *visjtoony* (< *visjtavny*) 'to tell' alongside the dialectal verb synonym *vōjpny*.
- 389 In the manuscript: *kyyllynnyd*.
- 390 Misprint: should be *vizjlas*, see Vocabulary: *vizla*, cf. KSK 1: 206: ВИЗЬЛЫНЫ.
- 391 As given in the Corrigenda.
- 392 Cf. the particle *n[j]in* in Matt. 5:13.
- 393, 394 The particle *že*, in the literary language *žō* [жō], is not an enclite, it must be written separate everywhere in this text, e.g. here: *Kor že*; *Visjtalāma že*. Cf. Šergin has written this particle separate from the previous word (as has Castrén many times in his manuscript).
- 395 Cf. pluperfect in Matt. 4:12 and 5:21.
- 396 In the manuscript: *kyyllynnyd*.
- 397 Cf. pluperfect in Matt. 4:12, 5:21 and 5:31.
- 398 *vešōrā*, in the literary language: *veššōrō* [весьшōrō].



- 399 Cf. the particle *že* in Matt. 5:29, note 393.
- 400 *ni* is a Russian negative word [ни], in Castrén's transcription it ought to be *nji*. Very often Castrén has dropped his palatalization mark *j* before the vowel *i*. Cf. the Russian negative word *nje* [не], in Matt. 5:29, 30.
- 401, 402 Cf. the particle *že* in Matt. 5:29, note 393.
- 403 Misprint: should be *Ti*.
- 404 In the manuscript: *kyyllynnyd*.
- 405 Cf. pluperfect in Matt. 4:12, 5:21, 5:31 and 5:33.
- 406, 407 As corrected in the Corrigenda, but should be *pydjlja* [пыдья].
- 408, 409 Cf. the particle *že* in Matt. 5:29, note 393.
- 410 This Russian word [щека] 'cheek' is also in Šergin's translation; in the Ižma dialect: *ban bök* [бан бök], see KSK 1: 55.
- 411, 412 *myödä* (present 3sg) < *mödnj* [мөдны] 'to want', see Vocabulary.
- 413 In the manuscript: *kyyllynnyd*.
- 414 Cf. the particle *že* in Matt. 5:29, note 393.



34. *Meže<sup>399</sup> vis[j]tala tijan: n[j]ikudzy in böžicjy  
n[j]i<sup>400</sup> njebesaän, sya ved preštol vyjym Ĵenlän.*
35. *N[j]i muän, sya vyjym kokuu sylän;  
n[j]i Ĵerusalemän, sya vyjym kar ydžyd Carilän.*
36. *N[j]i in böžicjy as jurnad, sy pomla myj on vermy te  
ötik jurs[j]i jedžydäs, l[j]ibä sjödäs karny.*
37. *Medže<sup>401</sup> tijan loas böžicjan kyy: sidzy, sidzy; abu, abu:  
myjže<sup>402</sup> vyyti tays[j], sya vyjym lukaväsänj.*
38. *Te<sup>403</sup> kylinnyd<sup>404</sup>, myj vis[j]taläma völi<sup>405</sup>:  
s[j]in s[j]in pidla<sup>406</sup> i pin[j] pin[j] pidla<sup>407</sup>.*
39. *Meže<sup>408</sup> vis[j]tala tijan: in vodsasje ljokly,  
no korže<sup>409</sup> vocjkas tenyd ves[j]kyd ščökaä<sup>410</sup>,  
bergäd syly i muödortä.*
40. *I kod muödä<sup>411</sup> tekäd sudjicjyny i myrdjyny  
tencjyd vyls pas[j]käm, s[j]et syly i döräm.*
41. *I kod tenä nuädis askädys ötik vers,  
mun sykäd i kykäs.*
42. *Kod tencjyd korä, s[j]et,  
i kod muödä<sup>412</sup> tencjyd uuždyny, in ötkäžit.*
43. *Ti kylinnyd<sup>413</sup>, myj vis[j]taläma:  
ljubit assjyd vöktä i in ljubit assjyd vörägtä.*
44. *Meže<sup>414</sup> vis[j]tala tijan: ljubitä assjynyd vöräjasnydä,  
burkylälä tijantä böžitedys[j]jasäs, buräs karä,*



*kodjas oz ljubitnys tijantä i kejmä tijan ljok  
karys[j]jas i tijantä vötlis[j]jas pydla<sup>415</sup>.*

45. *Med<sup>416</sup> loannyd pijanjas as Ajnydlän,  
kod vyjym njebesajasyn, yšta sya cjöktä as  
šondyyssly ledzjny jugyd ljokjas vylä' i burjas vylä'  
i zerny ves[j]kydjas vylä' i ljokjas vylä'.*

46. *Kor ti kucjannyd ljubitny tijantä ljubitys[j]jasäs,  
kučäm tijan vyjym vitcjyny med?  
i mytarjas ozäm<sup>417</sup> syježe<sup>418</sup> karnys?*

47. *I kor okalannyd assjynynd drugjasnydä \* sömyn,<sup>419</sup>  
myj vyyyti<sup>420</sup> karannyd?  
i väritämjas ozäm<sup>421</sup> syježe<sup>422</sup> karnys?*

48. *Loäže<sup>423</sup> ti sypomla<sup>424</sup> buräsj,  
kudzj i Aj tijan njebesnäj vyjym bur.*

### ***Kvajtäd jur*** [Matt. 6:1–34]

1. *Vitcysje juklyny assjynynd miläs[j]tina vojtyr vodzjyn,  
kor adzjenys nya tijantä; a muödorni tijan oz loo  
n[j]ikučäm myntäm as njebesnäj Ajsänjnyd.*
2. *Korže<sup>425</sup> te juklan miläs[j]tina, in ošjysj asnad, kudzj  
licemärjas karänys vojtyr cjukarjasyn i ulicajajasyn,  
med ves[j]kă oškasnys nyje vojtyr;  
ves[j]kydaa vis[j]tala tijan:  
nya bos[j]tisnysn[j]in<sup>426</sup> aslynys med.*

415 As corrected in the Corrigenda, but should be *pydylja* [пыдыля], see Matt. 5:38.

416 Here *med* is a final conjunction (cf. Bartens 2000: 221).

417 *äm* [эм] is a particle, which ought to be written separate after the negative word: *oz äm*.

418 Cf. the particle *že* in Matt. 5:29, note 393.

419 The purpose of this asterisk is unknown.

420 Misprint: *vyyyti* > *vyyti*, see KSK 1: 301: *выйти*.

421 See note 417.

422, 423 Cf. the particle *že* in Matt. 5:29, note 393.

424 Should be written separate: *sy pomla*, as in Matt. 5:36.

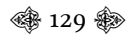
425 Cf. the particle *že* in Matt. 5:29, note 393.

426 Cf. the particle *n[j]in* in Matt. 5:13.

- 427 Cf. the particle *n[j]in* in Matt. 5:13.  
 428 Cf. the particle *že* in Matt. 5:29, note 393.  
 429 In the manuscript: *kyy-lāmaās[j]*.  
 430 *kojd* ‘like’ should be written separate: *ny kojđ*.

## ❖ 128 ❖

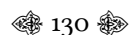
3. *A te sidzj jukly milās[j]tina,  
 med oz tōd tenad šuljga ki,  
 myj karā ves[j]kydyd.*
4. *Med loas milās[j]tina tenad gusjen i Aj tenad,  
 kod adzje gusjen, myntas tenyd javnā.*
5. *I kor kejman, in loo kudzj licemārjas, kodjas  
 jubitānys vojtyr cjukarjasyn i ulicjajasy  
 suutalāmān kejmyny, med adzjasnys nyje vojtyr;  
 ves[j]kydaa vis[j]tala tijan:  
 nya bos[j]tisnysn[j]in<sup>427</sup> aslynys med.*
6. *A te, kor kejman, pyr as kumad i assjyd obās s[j]ipty,  
 kejmy as Ajydy, kod oz tydoo, i Aj tenad,  
 kod adzje gusjen, myntas tenyd javnā.*
7. *Kejmygānže<sup>428</sup>, in vyyti sjornjitā,  
 kudzj vāritāmjas: nya ved dumajtānys,  
 yštā as una sjornjitāmnany loasnys kylāmaās[j]<sup>429</sup>.*
8. *In loā nykojd<sup>430</sup>; tōdā ved tijan Aj,  
 myjjys[j] tijan nužda, kortedzjnyd.*
9. *A ti kejmā sidzj:  
 Aje mijan, kod vyjym njebesajasy,  
 med svjaticjas tenad n[j]imyd.*
10. *Med voas Tenad carštāydy;  
 med loas Tenad vōljaydy,  
 kudzj njebesayn i mu vyllyn.*



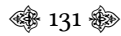
11. *Njanjnumäs mijancjunum vaj mijan talun kežä'.*
12. *I kolj mijancjunum udžjesjasnumäs,  
kudzj i mi koljalam assjunum udžjesajasnumly.*
13. *I in nuäd mijantä yledny, a vidzj lukaväjys[j].  
Tenad ved vyjym carštvä i vyn i slava väkjas kežä'.  
Amin.*
14. *Kor kucjannyd ledzjny mortjaslys[j] grächjas,  
ledzjas i tijancjynyd tijan njebesnä j Ajnyd.*
15. *I kor on kucje ledzjny mortjaslys[j] grächjas,  
oz ledzj i Ajnyd tijan tijancjynyd grächjas.*
16. *Korže<sup>431</sup> vidzjalannyd, in loä gažtämäs j kudzj  
licemärjas: nya ved oolänys sek šog čužämaäs j;  
med adzjasnys vidzjaläm nylys[j] vojtyr.  
Ves[j]kydaa vis[j]tala tijan:  
nya bos[j]tinysn[j]in<sup>432</sup> aslynys med.*
17. *A te vidzjalygad majt assjyd jurtä i  
mys[j]ky assjyd čužämtä.*
18. *Med oz pedkedejy<sup>433</sup> mortjasly vidzjalämyd,  
no as Ajydly, kod oz tydoo: i Aj tenad,  
kod adzje gusjen, myntas tenyd javnä.*
19. *In cjukartä aslynym myj bur mu vylın,  
kön gag i sim sjojä i kön gusjas[j]ys[j]jas  
kodjäny i guäny.*

- 431 Cf. the particle *že* in Matt. 5:29, note 393.
- 432 Cf. the particle *n[j]in* in Matt. 5:13.
- 433 Misprint: the verb stem should be *petked-*.

- 434 The conjunction *kā* ‘if’ should be written separate. Cf. Matt. 4:3, note 361.
- 435 Cf. the particle *že* in Matt. 5:29, note 393.
- 436 Cf. the particle *n[j]in* in Matt. 5:13.
- 437 The postposition should be written separate: *Sy pomla*, as in Matt. 5:36.
- 438 *-ām* [-əM] is a particle, which ought to be written separate after the negative word: *abu ām*.
- 439 Due to palatalization, *tica* ‘bird’ should be written *tjica* [титса < Ру птица], cf. KSK 2: 531.
- 440 *-ām* [-əM] is a particle, which ought to be written separate after the negative word: *abu ām*.



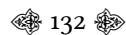
20. *No cjukartā aslynnyd myj bur njebesayn,  
kōn ni gag ni sim oz sjoj,  
i kōn gusjas[j]ys[j]jas oz kodjynys  
i oz gunys.*
21. *Kōn ved bur tijan,  
setān loas i sjölāmnyd tijan.*
22. *Jugdādysj aslyd vyjym s[j]in;  
i sidz s[j]inkä<sup>434</sup> tenad sōštām,  
bydcān acjyd loan jugyd.*
23. *Korže<sup>435</sup> s[j]in tenad ljok,  
sek bydcān acjyd pemyd loan,  
i sidzj kor jugydys te pyčkad vyjym pemyd,  
sek pemydys kučāmn[j]in<sup>436?</sup>*
24. *N[j]ikod oz vermy služitny kyk Gospod[j]inly;  
l[j]ibā ötiksā ljuvenas a muödsā oz:  
ljibā otikys djinā kutcjysjas, a muödsā koljas.  
On vermā služitny jenly i Mamonly.*
25. *Sypomla<sup>437</sup> vis[j]tala tijan:  
in töždysje as loonanyd, myj tijan sjojny  
i myj juny, i myjjen asnydā pas[j]tedny;  
lolyd abuām<sup>438</sup> ydžydžyk sjojanys[j]  
i aštā pas[j]tādāmys[j]?*
26. *Vidzjedā njebesnāj ticajas<sup>439</sup> vylä’;  
nya oz ködzjnys, n[j]i oz vundynys,  
n[j]i oz cjukartnys susjegä’  
i tijan njebesnāj Aj verdā nyje.  
Ti abuām<sup>440</sup> ny’ys[j] burdžykäs.*



27. *Kodže<sup>441</sup> tisjynyd tōždāmān vermas sodtyny as  
bydmāmysly chōtj ōtik gyrdzja kuzja.*
28. *I pas[j]kām pomla myj tōždysjannyd?  
vidzjedā muvyj turynjas vylā,  
kudzj nya bydmānys,  
oz rōbitnys, n[j]i oz pecjkynys.*
29. *Vōjpa me tijan: i Solomon as byd slavanoas  
sidzj iz pas[j]tasjli, kudzj ōtik ny'ys[j].*
30. *Korže<sup>442</sup> muvyj turyn,  
kod ton bydmā,  
i asy šybitāma loas pacje'<sup>443</sup>,  
jen sidzj pas[j]tādā,  
ozāmyj<sup>444</sup> tijantā zejdzjyk,  
eča vāritys[j]jasā!*
31. *In tōždysje, sjornyān:  
myj mijan sjojny, l[j]ibā myj juny,  
l[j]ibā myj pas[j]toony?*
32. *Bydcān ved syje vāritāmjas korsjenys:  
tōdā ved njebesnāj Aj tijan,  
myj taja bydcān tijan kolā.*
33. *Korsje vodžyk<sup>445</sup> carštāvā jenlys[j]  
i ves[j]kyd syls[j],  
i sya bydcān s[j]etcjas tijan.*
34. *I sidzj in tōždysje asja lun pomla;  
asja lun acjys kucjas tōždysny as pomla;  
tyrmas byd lunly aslas tōždysjem.*

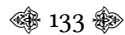
- 441, 442 Cf. the particle *že* in Matt. 5:29, note 393.
- 443 Should be *pāčā* 'into the oven'. See correction, p. 168.
- 444 *āmuj* [эмуй] is a particle, which ought to be written separate after the negative word: *oz āmyj*.
- 445 Mistake? Should be *vodžzyk* 'earlier; rather', cf. KSK 1: 224.

- 446 Here *med* is a final conjunction (cf. Bartsens 2000: 221).  
 447–449 Cf. particle *že* in Matt. 5:29, note 393.  
 450, 451 The verb stem should be *zjiged-* [зигедны] ‘to knock’.  
 452 Should be written separate: *Vyjym äm* ‘could there really be’.  
 453 Mistake: the postposition (+ PX2PL) should be *kostannyd* ‘among you’.



***Sizimäd jur***  
 [Matt. 7:1–29]

1. *In sudjitä, med<sup>446</sup> on loä sud[j]itämaäsj.*
2. *Kučäm sudän ved sud[j]itannyd,  
 sečämän sud[j]itasnys i tijantä;  
 i kučäm murtäsän murtalannyd,  
 sečämänže<sup>447</sup> murtalasnys i tijan.*
3. *Myjže<sup>448</sup> te adzjan as vokyd s[j]inmyn uu,  
 a as s[j]insjyd on adzjy i ker.*
4. *Kudzjže<sup>449</sup> te vis[j]italan as vokydly:  
 vaj me bos[j]ta te s[j]insjyd uu,  
 kor tenad aslad s[j]inmad ker.*
5. *Licemär, bos[j] vodžyk as s[j]insjyd ker,  
 i sek adzjan bos[j]ny as vokyd s[j]inmys[j] uu.*
6. *In s[j]etä vežaäs ponjasly  
 i in šyblalä assjynyd dona iizjas porsjas vodzje’,  
 med oz taljoonys nya as kokjasnanys,  
 i bergedcjymys[j]tän med oz kosjoolynys.*
7. *Korä i s[j]etcjas tijan; korsje i adzjannyd;  
 z[j]ikedcje<sup>450</sup> i vos[j]tasnys tijan.*
8. *Bydän ved, kod korä, bos[j]tas; i kod korsje, adzjas;  
 i z[j]ikedcjys[j]ly<sup>451</sup> vo[s]sjas.*
9. *Vyjymäm<sup>452</sup> ti kosmannyd<sup>453</sup> sečäm mort, kod,  
 kor piys sylän korä syls[j] njanj, s[j]etas syly iiz.*



10. *I kor korā cjeri, s[j]etas syly zmāj.*
11. *I sidzj, kor ti vyjymās[j] ljokās,*  
*kužannyd as pijannydly s[j]etoony burās;*  
*kymyn undžyk bur tijan njebesnāj Aj*  
*s[j]etas korysjas[j]lys[j] sy ordys[j].*
12. *I sidzj bydcān, kudzj tijan kolā,*  
*med karasnys tijan mortjas, sidzj i ti karā nyly;*  
*sy'yn ved i vyjym zakon i prorokjas.*
13. *Pyrā čygām öbāsjasād, sypomla myj<sup>454</sup>*  
*ota öbāsjas i ota tuj nuädānys vošām vylā'*  
*i una vyjym, munys[j]jas seti.*
14. *Kudzj ottām öbāsjas i čygām tuj nuädä olāmā'*  
*i eča nyje adzjys[j]jas.*
15. *Vitcysje pörjalysj prorokjasys[j],*  
*kodjas volasnys ti djinanyd yžku pas[j]kāmān*  
*i pyčkyn vyjymās[j] ljok köinkojdās<sup>455</sup>.*
16. *Ny karāmjas sjörți tödmalannyd nyje;*  
*cjukartānysām liežnög<sup>456</sup> vyls[j] vinograd,*  
*l[j]ibā jōn vyls[j] smokvajas.*
17. *Sidzj byd bur pu vaje bur votys,*  
*a ljok pu vaje ljok votys.*
18. *Oz vermy bur pu vajny ljok votysjas*  
*i ljok pu vajny bur votysjas.*
19. *Byd pu, kod oz vaj bur votysjas,*  
*keralānys syje i šyblalānys bje'.*

- 454 The conjunction *sypomla myj* 'therefore' should be written *sypomla myj*, cf. Matt. 5:36.
- 455 *kojd* should be written separate: *kōin kojdasj* 'like wolves'.
- 456 Cf. Vocabulary: *lježnög* 'thorn'.



457–459 *-ām* [-əM] is a particle, which ought to be written separate after the negative word: *ig ām*.

460 As corrected in the Corrigenda.

461 The postposition should be written separate: *sy sjörti*. Cf. Matt. 7:16, 20.

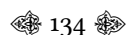
462 *kojd* ‘like’ should be written separate: *mort kojd* ‘like a human being’.

463 Cf. pluperfect in Matt. 4:12, 5:21, 5:31, 5:33 and 5:38.

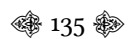
464 Misprint: should be *oz*.

465 The postposition should be written separate: *sy sjörti*. Cf. Matt. 7:16, 20.

466 *kojd* ‘like’ should be written separate: *mort kojd* ‘like a human being’.



20. *I sidzj nyje votysjas sjörti tödmalannyd nyje.*
21. *Oz byd vöjpysj Menum:  
Gospodj! Gospodj!  
pyras njebesnäj carštvää',  
no karysj me Ajelys[j] muödämsä,  
kod vyjym njebesajasy.*
22. *Sy lunä' una vöjpasnys Menum:  
Gospodj! Gospodj!  
igäm<sup>457</sup> Te n[j]imnad mi proročesťvujtā,  
igäm<sup>458</sup> Te n[j]imnad bäsjašäs vötlalä,  
igäm<sup>459</sup> Te n[j]imnad una čudesajasy karlä?*
23. *I sek vis[j]tala nyly:  
Me n[j]ikor ig tödly<sup>460</sup> tiantä;  
munä Me dñinsjum ljokäsj karys[j]jas.*
24. *I sidzj bydän, kod kyyzas taje Mencjum kyyjas  
i karas sysjörti<sup>461</sup>, loas sajda mortkojd<sup>462</sup>,  
kod karis assjys kerkasä iiz vylä'.*
25. *I muni zer, i vyzyytisnys jujas  
i pöljalisnys tööjas i uskedcjsnys sy kerka vylä',  
i iz usj, yštä puktäma völi<sup>463</sup> iiz vylä'.*
26. *I bydän, kod kyyzas taje Mencjum kyyjas  
i og<sup>464</sup> kar sysjörti<sup>465</sup>, loas jöj mortkojd<sup>466</sup>,  
kod karis assjys kerkasä lya vylä'.*
27. *I muni zer i vizyitisnys jujas  
i pöljalisnys tööjas i uskedcjsnys sy kerka vylä'  
i usj, i usjem sylän völi ydžyd.*



28. *Kor Ĵisus pomĵalis sya kyyjas,  
vojtyr divutcĵisnys sy velādām vylā’.*
29. *Sya ved velādis nyje, kudzj vyna mort,  
a abu sidzj, kudzj kn[j]ižn[j]ikjas i Farise[j]jas.*

## Index Vocabulorum \*).

## A.

*Adzja*, video.  
*Agas*, occa. F. *oas*, Gen.  
*okaan* (uncus).  
*Agsala*, agrum occo.  
*Aj*, pater, mas (cameцъ),  
Instr. *ajen*. F. *äijä*,  
senex, avus, L. *aija*,  
*äije*, id.  
*Ajka*, socer.  
*Akanj*, pupa lusoria.  
*Alacjug*, tentorium a velis  
confectum.  
*Amäs*, culter aratri.  
*Anj*, uxor. F. *vaimo*  
(vaim, aim, amj, anj).  
*Anjkyej*, pisum sati-  
vum.  
*Ar*, autumnus.  
*Arja*, autumnus.  
*Arsjoo*, autumnalis.

## A. B.

*Arkma* (karma), reddor,  
v. *kara*.  
*Asy*, tempus matutinum,  
mane, oriens.  
*Asja*, matutinus.  
*Asyvyjy*, plaga orientalis.  
*Asyvyysa*, in oriente ha-  
bitans.  
*Badj*, salix. F. *paju*.  
*Baidyk*, perdix.  
*Ban*, gena ori adjacens.  
*Bed*, baculum.  
*Bergala*, vertor. Eff. *ber-  
gäda*, verto.  
*Beroo*, curvus, inflexus.  
F. *väärä*.  
*Bi*, ignis.  
*Bija*, igneus. *Bija üz*,  
silex, F. *pü*.  
*Bord*, ala.

\*) Heic omittuntur pronomina, postpositiones, adverbia,  
conjunctiones, quae in Grammatica jam enumerata sunt.

## Foreword to the Vocabulary

The vocabulary (EGS, pp. 137–166) consists of approx. 1,100 lexemes. It is almost entirely lacking in pronouns, numerals, postpositions, adverbs and conjunctions (this is mentioned at the beginning of the vocabulary, p. 137), but these words do appear in abundance in Castrén’s presentation of the corresponding word classes. Castrén provides the Ižma-dialect words with Latin-language translations. The Latin has been translated and commented in English, where necessary, and each word has been given a Cyrillic spelling in square brackets (for verbs the infinitive is given). The Ižma-dialect form has been taken from the Komi Dialect Dictionary *Кomi сѣрнисикас кывчукӧр* (KSK); some words have been taken from dictionaries including words from the Ižma dialect: *Syrjänischer Wortschatz* (SW) and *Syrjänisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* (SDW). If no form has been available, a hypothetical form has been provided based on dialect rules and in coordination with a professional Komi dialect researcher. If Castrén’s headword form diverges from the word form given in Cyrillics (e.g. it is missing marking for palatalization), a corrected transcription of the word has been provided in square brackets directly following the headword. The need for such additions might be observed in the following example from the vocabulary:

Lex-eme	Cor-rected form	Cyrillic form	English translation	Etymology given by Castrén and a stand on the etymology with a reference to UEW or SSA	
<i>sim</i>		[сiм]	‘rust’.		
<i>sin</i>	[ <i>sjin</i> ]	[син]	‘eye’;	[=] Fi <i>silmä</i> ;	[=] Saa <i>čalbme</i> . UEW 479.
<i>sis</i>	[ <i>sjisj</i> ]	[сисъ]	‘candle’.		
<i>sis</i>	[ <i>sisj</i> ]	[сiсъ]	‘rotten’.		
<i>sjirala</i>		[сирооны]	‘to tar’.		
<i>sjoja</i>		[сѣйны]	‘to eat’;	[=] Fi <i>syön</i> .	UEW 440.
<i>cjer</i>		[чер]	‘axe’;	[≠] Fi <i>kirves</i> .	

In the vocabulary, it will be noted the verbs given by Castrén are in the first-person form (in contrast to the infinitive forms given in square brackets), and Castrén uses the word *effective* instead of *causative* and *passive* instead of *reflexive* or *reciprocal* (see § 8, note 28, § 74–75, § 82). The abbreviations are as Castrén wrote them: *eff.* and *pass.*

Most of the lexemes of the vocabulary are found in the Gospel of St. Matthew, four chapters of which Castrén has taken for his grammar. There are, however, word lists from almost all of the chapters that he has written with Russian translations, as may be seen in the manuscript (Anmärkningar till Matthaeus, pagg. 681–737).

Castrén’s word order has been preserved in the vocabulary.

## Vocabulary (Index Vocabulorum) \*)

### A

*adzja* [addzja] [аддзыны] ‘to see’.

*agas* [arac] ‘harrow’; [≠] Fi *oas* ‘spike, spine’, gen. *okaan*.

*agsala* [arcoоны] ‘to harrow’.

*aj* [ай] ‘father, male’; instr. *ajen*; ([Ru] самець); [=] Fi *äijä* ‘old man, grandfather’; [=] Saa *aija*, *äije*, idem. UEW 609.

*ajka* [айка] ‘father-in-law’.

*akanj* [акань] ‘doll’.

*alacjug* [алачуг] ‘shelter, hut’.

*amäs* [amäsʃ] [амесъ] ‘plow share’.

*anj* [ань] ‘woman; wife’; [≠] Fi *vaimo* (*vaim*, *aim*, *amj*, *anj*). [Development of the word, as seen by Castrén.]

*anjkyčj* [anjkyčʃ] [анькытш] ‘pea’.

*ar* [ap] ‘autumn; year’.

*arja* [аръя] ‘autumnal’. Cf. KSK 1: 34: арся.

*arsjoo* [арсёо] ‘autumnal’.

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\*) Pronouns, postpositions, adverbs and conjunctions have been left out of the vocabulary; they are given in the grammar.

## A, B

*arkma* (*karma*) [аркмыны] ‘to succeed, to be formed from, to turn out, to work’. See *kara* [карны]. [Castrén appears to see metathesis in the words *karma* and *arkma*.]

*asy* [асы] ‘morning; dawn’.

*asja* [асъя] ‘morning (adj)’.

*asyvvyu* [асывыы] ‘east’.

*asyvvyusa* [асывыыса] ‘eastern’.

*badj* [бадь] ‘willow’; Fi *paju*. Cf. [=] UEW 349, [≠] SSA 2: 293.

*baidyk* [*bajdyk*] [байдык] ‘willow grouse, willow ptarmigan’; *Lagopus lagopus*. [Castrén’s translation in Latin is *perdix* ‘hazelhen’. See KSK 1: 50: байдык ‘willow grouse, willow ptarmigan’.]

*ban* [бан] ‘cheek; frontside’.

*bed* [бед] ‘stick; walking-stick, rod, staff’.

*bergala* [бергооны] ‘to circle, to go around’; eff. *bergäda* [бергедны] ‘to turn’.

*beroo* [бероо] ‘turned’; [≠] Fi *väärä*.

*bi* [би] ‘fire’.

*bija* [*bia*] [биа] ‘fire (adj)’. *bija iiz* [биа из] ‘flint’; [≠] Fi *pii*.

*bord* [борд] ‘wing’.

**B**

*borda* [борда] ‘winged’.

*bošta* [*bošja*] [босьны] ‘to take; to receive’; frequ. *boštala* [*bošjala*] [босьтооны]; mom. *boštyšta* [*boštyšta*] [босьтыштны]. [In the literary language: босьтны, босьтавыны, see KKK 53.]

*bur* [бур] ‘good’; [=] Saa *buorre*; [=] Fi *paras* ‘best’. UEW 724.

*buraa* [бураа] ‘well’.

*burala* [бурооны] ‘to heal (intr.); to reconcile’.

*burasja* [бурасьны] ‘to reconcile, to make up; to calm down’.

*burda* [бурдны] ‘to heal, to get well’; Fi *paranen*; Saa *buorranam*. Cf. *bur*.

*burdäda* [бурдэдны] ‘to cure, to care for’; Fi *parannan*; Saa *buorredam*. Cf. *bur*.

*burnja* [бурня] ‘well; pit’.

*bus* [бус] ‘dust’.

*busa* [буса] ‘dusty’.

*busäs* [*busäs*] [бусэсь] ‘(excessively) dusty’.

*busita* [*busjita*] [буситны?], *busešta* [*busesjta*] [бусэсь-тыны] ‘to take dust off’. Cf. KSK 1: 124: бусиччы-ны.

*byd* [быд] ‘all; each’.

*bydcän* [*bytsän*] [бытсән] ‘completely, totally, throughout’; instr. *bydcänän* [*bytsänän*] [бытсәнән] ‘altogether, completely’.

*bydcjata* [*bytjcjata*, *bytjcjeta*] [бытьчама, бытьче-ма] ‘all kinds of’; ([Ru] всячина).

**B, D**

- bydma* [быдмыны] ‘to grow’.  
*bydmala* [быдмооны] ‘to wind, to roll up (intr.)’.  
*byg* [выг] ‘foam’; instr. *bygjen*.  
*bygjes* [*bygjesj*] [быгъесъ] ‘foamy’.  
*byräda* [быредны] ‘to finish, to stop (tr.)’.  
*bärd* [берд] ‘side’.  
*böž* [бөж] ‘tail’.  
*böža* [бөжа] ‘ermine’. [Also (adj.) ‘with a tail’].  
*bör* [бөр] ‘back (adv.)’; [=] Fi *perä*. UEW 373.  
*börda* [бördны] ‘to cry’; [≠] Fi *parun*.  
*dadj* [дадь] ‘sled(ge)’.  
*dar* [дар] ‘spoon; ladle’; instr. *darjen*.  
*das* [дас] ‘ten’; *dasäd* [дасэд] ‘tenth’.  
*dasur* [дас ур] ‘ten kopecks’; ([Ru] десять копѣекъ).  
*dasura* [дас ура] ‘valued at ten kopecks (adj.)’.  
*dasj* [дасъ] ‘ready’.  
*dasjeda* [даседны] ‘to prepare; to provide’. [In the literary language: дасътыны, see KRK 171.]  
*di* [дi] ‘island’.  
*djin* [дин] ‘base; proximity’.  
*doma* [домны] ‘to tie, to fasten’; frequ. *domala* [домоо-ны].  
*don* [дон] ‘price’.  
*dona* [дона] ‘dear, beloved; precious, valuable, expensive’.



## D

*dontäm* [донтэм] ‘cheap, worthless’.

*donsjeda* [донседны] ‘to increase the price’.

*donjasja* [донъясьны] ‘to make a deal, to fix the price’.

*dor* [дор] ‘side; edge; border’.

*dooz* [доз] ‘(birch-bark) vessel’, dish; instr. *doozjen*. [Correction in a letter to Sjögren (2/14 Nov. 1843, cf. *Epistulae* 1, p. 324): *Dooz, vasculum e cortice betulæ confectum*. The word *dooz* is given in the grammar with the Latin definition *corbis* ‘basket’ (§ 31), but Castrén gives a more suitable translation in his manuscript using Swe *rifva* ‘vessel’. In his preface (p. VI), Castrén has written *doos*, which must be a mistake.]

*dzjeba* [дзебны] ‘to hide’; pass. *dzjebzja* [дзебсьыны]; frequ. *dzjebala*, *dzjebłala*.

*dzjodzjuu* [дзодзуу] ‘lizard’

*dzjodsäg* [дзодзэг] ‘goose’.

*dzjonj* [дзонь] ‘whole, complete’.

*dzjölja* [дзöля] ‘little, small’; dim. *dzjöljaoo*.

*dzjöljeda* [дзоледны, дзольдэдны] ‘to make smaller, to reduce, to crush’.

*džagala* [джагооны] ‘to be unable to breathe, to choke, to suffocate’; eff. *džagäda* [джагедны] ‘to suffocate’.

*dženyd* [dženjyd] [дженъыд, дженид] ‘short’; dim. *džendoo*.

*dženda* [dženjda] [дженьдыны] ‘to make short, to shorten (intr.)’; eff. *džendäda* [дженьдэдны] ‘to cut off, to shorten (tr.)’.

*džudžyd* [джуджыд] 1. ‘deep’; 2. ‘high, tall’; [≠] *Fi syvä*.

*džužda* [džužda] [джужда] ‘deepness; height; altitude’.  
[Castrén indicates aspiration with an apostrophe, cf. § 22.]

*D, E, G*

*džydzj* [džydz] [джыдж, джидж] ‘sand martin’; *Riparia riparia*. [Castrén’s translation in Latin is *passer* ‘sparrow’, cf. KSK 1: 416: джыдж ‘sand martin’.]

*džyn* [джын] ‘half’; instr. *džynjen*.

*džömda* [джөмдыны] ‘to totter, to trip, to fall (down)’;  
eff. *džömdäda* [джөмдэдны] ‘to trip’.

*dubala* [дубооны] ‘to become bland (saltless)’.

*dyrja* [дыръя] ‘during’; (*dyr* [дыр] ‘for a long time’),  
*byddyrja* [быддыръя] ‘everlasting, eternal’.

*dyš* [дыш] ‘lazy’.

*döma* [дөмны] ‘to patch, to sew (up)’.

*dömas* [дөмас] ‘patch’.

*dönsja* [dönzja] [дөньзыны] ‘to get bored with’; eff.  
*dönsjeda* [dönzjeda] [дөньзедны] ‘to bore’.

*dör* [дөр] ‘fat (under the skin of reindeer)’.

*döra* [дөра] ‘linen cloth, canvas’.

*döräm* [дөрөм] ‘shirt’.

*esys* [ezyz] [эзысь] ‘silver’.

*ešta* [эштыны] ‘to have/find time (to do something)’;  
([Ru] успѣю).

*eča* [этша] ‘a little/bit, few’; dim. *ečao* [этшаоо].

*gadj* [гадь] ‘bladder; bubble’.

*gag* [gar] ‘insect, moth’; instr. *gagjen*. (NT). [= *Novum Testamentum*; the word *gag* is used in the Gospel of St. Matthew 6:19, 20.]

*garta* [гартны] ‘to wrap’; [≠] *Fi kierrän*, inf. *kiertää*; *Saa gærdom*. Cf. UEW 147–148, SSA 1: 354–355.

*gaž* [гаж] ‘joy, happiness’.

*gažtäm* [гажтэм] ‘boring, unhappy’.

## G

- gažma* [гажмыны] ‘to be(come) happier’.
- gez* [гез] ‘rope’; instr. *gezjen*; [≠] *Fi köysi*. Cf. UEW 135.
- gežäd* [гежед] ‘rare’.
- gid* [гид] ‘barn; [Castrén’s translation: ‘place for watering cows’.]
- giljala* [гилёоны] ‘to tickle’; eff. *giljeda* [гиледны] ‘to tickle (tr.)’.
- giža* [гижны] ‘to write’.
- gižta* [гижтыны] ‘to score, to draw a line’; frequ. *gižtala* [гижтооны].
- gižtan* [гижтас] ‘line, score’. [Cf. ID 142: *гижтас*, in the literary language: *гижта*, *гижтан* ‘drawing stick, score’, see KRK 142.]
- gogyn* [гогын] ‘scraper’.
- gognala* [гогнооны] ‘to scrape’.
- gorza* [горзыны] ‘to shout, to cry, to yell’; eff. *goräda* [горедны] ‘to shout, to cry out’; [?] *Fi karjun*. Cf. SSA 1: 314.
- gort* [горт] ‘pit; a former underground residence of Zyrrians’, from which: *gortyn* [гортын] ‘at home’, *gortä* [гортэ] ‘(to) home’. [Cf. Castrén’s translation in Latin is *fovea*, *domicilium subterraneum priscorum Syrjaenorum*.]
- goryš* [горыш] ‘throat’; [≠] *Fi kurkku*; [≠] *Saa karas, kirs*. Cf. SSA 1: 448. [See *Fi kero*, UEW 660, SSA 1: 347.]
- gozja* [гозъя] ‘couple’.
- gozjatäm* [гозъятэм] ‘unmarried’.
- gožem* [гожем] ‘summer’; [≠] *Fi kesä*. Cf. SSA 1: 351.

## G

- gožsjoo* [гожсѳо] ‘summer (adj.)’.
- gu* [гу] ‘pit, grave’. [In Castrén’s manuscript also Swe *källare* ‘cellar’.]
- gua* [гуны] ‘to steal’.
- gusja* [гуся] ‘secret; hidden’.
- gusjasja* [гусясьны] ‘to steal often’.
- gusjasjysj* [гусясьысь] ‘thief’.
- gudyr* [гудыр] ‘murky; confused’.
- gudrala* [гудрооны] ‘to stir, to whirl, to mix up’.
- gulju* [гулю] ‘pidgeon’.
- gumla* [гумла] ‘cow parsley’; *chærophyllum sylvestre*; \**cumera* ‘box, basket to hold grain’. [It is unknown why Castrén gave the Latin word *cumera* here. Cf. KSK 1: 378: гумла ‘threshing floor’.]
- gumlala* [гумлооны] ‘to dip, to ladle, to scoop’.
- guran* [гуран] ‘pit’.
- gylala* [гылооны] ‘to fall/drop (off/down)’; eff. *gyläda* [гылэдны] ‘to let fall/drop’.
- gym* [гым] ‘thunder’; [≠] Fi *jymy*.
- gymalä* [гымооны] ‘to thunder’.
- gymga* [гымга] ‘fish trap’.
- gyr* [гыр] ‘mortar’; instr. *gyrjen*.
- gyrdzja* [gyrddzja] [гырддза] ‘elbow’.
- gyrk* [гырк] ‘entrails, gut; stomach’.
- gyrnic* [gyrnjicj] [гырнич] ‘pot, vase’.
- gög* [rör] ‘navel’; instr. *gögjen*.

*G, I*

*gögär* [rörep] ‘circle, round; around; approximately’.

*gögräs* [rörpec] ‘round’; dim. *gögräsoo*.

*gögrešta* [rögrestыны] ‘to go around, to circle’.

*gögärta* [rögertны] ‘to circle, to go around’.

*gögärsa* [rögepca] ‘surrounding’.

*gön* [rön] ‘fur, hair; feather’.

*göna* [röna], *gönäs* [gönäsʃ] [rönäsʃ] ‘furry, hairy’.

*göp* [röp] ‘pit’; [=] Fi *kuoppa*. [Cf. SSA 1: 441: “This is merely a chance phonetic coincidence.”]

*gör* [rör] ‘plough, plow’; instr. *görjen*; [≠] Fi *aura*.

*göra* [rörны] ‘to plow’.

*görd* [rörd] ‘red’.

*id* [ид] ‘barley’; instr. *idjen*; [≠] Fi *itu*.

*idzjas* [идзас] ‘(stalk of) straw, hay’.

*inj* [инь] ‘woman; feminine’.

*injka* [инька] ‘mother-in-law’.

*iiz* [из] ‘rock, stone’; instr. *iizjen*; *iizki* [изки] ‘millstone’.  
Cf. KSK 1: 583–584.

*iiza* [изны] ‘to grind’.

*iiztäg* [изтэг] ‘match(es)’. Cf. KSK 1: 595 [истэг] ‘sulfur’.

*is* [ис] ‘smell, reek, stink’; instr. *iskän*.

*iska*, *iskäs* [iskäsʃ] [иска, искесь] ‘smelling, reeky, stinky’.

*iskäsja* [iskässja] [искесьыны] ‘to smell, to reek, to stink’.

*iskäda*, *iskešta* [iskesjta] [искедны, искесьтны] ‘to make a stink’.

## J

*jag* [яг] 'dry plain'. [According to KSK 2: 875: яг 'pinewood forest, pine grove'.]

*jaj* [яй] 'meat, flesh'; instr. *jajen*; *kysjaj* [кыз яй] 'thick flesh, thigh, calf'. See Corrigenda: *kys* should be written *kyyz*, although the correct form is *kyz*.

*jama* [ямны] 'to lower, to sink, to go down, to descend'.

*janda* [яндыны] 'to be ashamed of'; eff. *janāda* [янэдны] 'to disgrace'.

*jansala* [янсооны] 'to separate (intr.), depart, to differ; to divorce'.

*jansāda* [янсэдны] 'to separate, to part, to divide'.

*jansädtäm* [янсэдтэм] 'inseparable, undivided'.

*jem* [ем] 'needle'; [=] Fi *äimä*; [=] Saa *aibme* or *aime*. UEW 22.

*jedžyd* [еджыд] 'white'.

*ježda* [еждыны] 'to become white'.

*ježdäda* [еждэдны] 'to whiten (tr.)'.

*jen* [ен] 'God'; instr. *jenmān*; [≠] Fi *ǰumala*.

*jentäm* [ентэм] 'godless, profane, impious'.

*jy* [ји] [йи] 'belt'; [≠] Fi *vyö*.

*jyala* [jiala] [йиооны] 'to belt, to gird on'.

*jyasja* [jiasja] [йиасьны] 'to gird oneself'.

*ji* [йи] 'ice'; [=] Fi *jää*. UEW 93.

*jima* [йимны] 'to freeze'; Fi *jäädyn*. Cf. *ji*.

*jimäda* [йимедны] 'to freeze, to cover with ice'; Fi *jäädytän*. Cf. *ji*.

*jiäs* [jiäsʃ] [йиэсь] 'icy'; Fi *jäinen*. Cf. *ji*.

## J

*jies̄ta* [*jies̄jta*] [йиэсьтыны] ‘to freeze, to cover with ice’; Fi *jäätǟn*. Cf. *ji*.

*jira* [йирны] ‘to gnaw, to shape’; [=] Fi *jyrsin*. UEW 635.

*jirt* [йирт] ‘ceiling’; ([Ru] потолокъ).

*jog* [ĕr] ‘dirt, filth, trash’.

*jogsja* [*jogzja*] [ĕrззыны] ‘to litter, to dirty’; eff. *jogsjeda* [*jogzjeda*] [ĕrзедны] ‘to defile, to litter’.

*jokuš* [ĕкуш] ‘perch’; *Perca fluviatilis*. [Castrén gives the Latin name *perca major*.]

*jon* [ĕn] ‘strong’; *jonaa* ‘strongly, hard’.

*jora* [ĕpa] ‘willow grove’.

*jort* [ĕрт] ‘friend’.

*ju* [ю] ‘river’; [=] Fi *joki*; [=] Saa *joga*. UEW 99.

*jua* [юны] ‘to drink’; [=] Fi *juon*; [=] Saa *jugam*. UEW 103.

*jula* [юлыны] ‘to drink often’; pass. *jusja* [юсьыны].

*juta* [ютны] ‘to give to drink’; Fi *juotan*; frequ. *jutala*; Fi *juottelen*. Cf. *jua*.

*juysj* [юысь] ‘drinker, drunkard’.

*juanīn* [юанӣн] ‘drinking place’.

*juala* [юооны] ‘to ask (a question)’.

*jubirta* [*jubyrta*] [юбыртны] ‘to bow; to pray’.

*jugyd* [югыз] ‘bright; light’. [Castrén gives in Latin: *lux*, *mundus* ‘light, world’.]

*jugda* [*jugda*] [югда] ‘brightness, lightness’. [Castrén indicates aspiration with an apostrophe, cf. § 22.]

## J

*jugda* [югдыны] ‘to dawn’; eff. *jugdäda* [югдэдны] ‘to light up, to illuminate’.

*jugydin* [югыдин] ‘light place’.

*jugjala* [югъёоны] ‘to shine, to gleam’; *jugjaläm* [югялэм] ‘brightness’.

*juka* [юкны] ‘to divide’; [=] Fi *jaan* (stem: *jaka*); [=] Saa *juogam*. UEW 87.

*juksja* [юксьыни] ‘to divorce’; eff. *juksjeda* [юкседны] ‘to separate’.

*juktäm* [юктэм] ‘undivided’; Fi *jakamatoin*. Cf. *juka*.

*jumoo* [юмоо] ‘wort (for making beer)’; ([Ru] сусло).

*juolj* ‘autumnal salmon without fat’. [This word is not known in Komi dictionaries, nor does it seem to be known in general, but cf. KRK 356: лок and 351: лёль; SW 81: *jol’* ‘gudgeon’, *Gobio fluviatilis*, SW 148: *lol’* ‘old salmon’.]

*juor* [юор] ‘message, information, (piece of) news, rumor’; [≠] Fi *jouru*.

*juora* [юортны] ‘to insult’; [≠] Fi *juoruan*.

*jur* [юр] ‘head’.

*jursi* [*jursji*] [юрси] ‘hair (on the head)’.

*jursitäm* [*jursjitäm*] [юрситэм] ‘hairless, bald’.

*jurnoj* [юрной] ‘headband (worn by bride)’.

*juruu* [юруу] ‘pillow’; (Fi *pään-ala* [Castrén’s translation]).

*jus* [*jusj*] [юсь] ‘swan’; instr. *jusjen*. *Cygnus cygnus*. [Castrén gives the Latin name *Anas cygnus*.] [=] Fi *joutsen*. UEW 101.



## J, K

*juu* [йыы] ‘tip, peak, end’; [≠] Fi *yli*.

*jöö* [йöö] ‘milk’; *jöla* [йöла] ‘milky’.

*jöj* [йöй] ‘stupid’; instr. *jöjen*. Cf. KSK 1: 445 and ID 149: дик ‘stupid’.

*jökta* [йöктыны] ‘to dance’.

*jön* [йөн] ‘thistle, nettle, wild rose’. [It is unknown, why Castrén added \* *cingulus* here.]

*jör* [йөр] ‘garden, yard, fence’.

*jöz* [йöz] ‘strange, foreign, other; people’.

*ka’a* [kaa] [каны] ‘to climb; to go upstream’.

*kata* [катны] ‘to go up (stream, hill etc.)’; frequ. *katala*; eff. *katäda* [катэдны].

\* *kaga* [кага] ‘baby, child’. [The purpose of this asterisk is unknown.]

*kaizta* [kajzta] [казытыны] ‘to remember, to recall, to reminisce’.

*kalja* [каля] ‘(sea)gull’; [≠] Saa *kuolek*; [≠] Fi *kala-sääski*. [Castrén’s Latin translation *Falco milvus* is a mistake. Cf. KSK 1: 631: каля.]

*kar* [кар] ‘town, city’.

*kara* [карны] ‘to do’, (\* *kerä* from *ker*); pass. *karsja* [карсьыны]. [In the literary language: керны, керсьыны, see KRK 269.]

*karala* [карооны] ‘to do often’.

*karäda* [каредны] ‘to get done’.

*kača* [катша] ‘magpie’; *Pica pica*.

*keja* [кейны] ‘to wade’; [=] Fi *kahlaan*. UEW 133.

*keima* [kejma] [кеймыны] ‘to pray’; pass. *keimysja* [кеймьсыны].

## K

- keljyd* [кельыд] ‘pale’; [≠] *Fi keltanen*.
- kelda*’ [*keljda*] [кельда] ‘paleness’. [Castrén indicates aspiration with an apostrophe, cf. § 22.]
- kelda* [*keljda*] [кельдыны] ‘to turn pale, to fade’; eff. *keldäda* [*keljdäda*] [кельдэдны] ‘to make pale’.
- ker* [кер] ‘log’; instr. *kerjen*.
- kerka* [керка] ‘house’.
- kerkatäm* [керкатэм] ‘without a home, homeless’.
- keräs* [керес] ‘hill(side)’. [Here Castrén’s translation in Latin is *vicus* ‘village’.]
- kerala* [кeroоны] ‘to chop (with an axe), to cut’; frequ. *keroola*.
- ki* [ки] ‘hand; arm’; [=] *Fi käsi*. UEW 140.
- kipydäs* [ки пыдэс] ‘palm’, orig. ‘bottom of hand’. [Here Castrén’s translation in Latin is *palma*, orig. *manus fundus*.]
- kisja* [*kissja*] [киссьыны] ‘to spill (intr.), to pour (out)’.
- kišta* [*kisjta*] [кисьтыны] ‘to pour, to sprinkle’; frequ. *kištala* [*kisjtala*] [кисьтооны].
- kisma* [*kisjma*] [кисьмыны] ‘to ripen’; [=] *Fi kypsytän*. UEW 665–666. Cf. [?] SSA 1: 465.
- kismäta* [*kisjtmäta*] [кисьмем, кисьмема] ‘ripe’.
- kismytäm* [*kisjmytäm*] [кисьмытэм] ‘raw’.
- kismäda* [*kisjmäda*] [кисьмедны] ‘to ripen (tr.)’; *Fi kypsytän*. Cf. *kisma*.
- kod* [код] ‘drunk’.
- kodala* [кодооны] ‘to be drunk’.

## K

*kodalysj* [кодалысь] ‘drunkard, boozier’.

*kodja* [koddja] [коддыны] ‘to shovel, to delve, to dig’;  
frequ. *kodjala*.

*kodzjuu* [кодзуу] ‘star’.

*kok* [кок] ‘leg; foot’.

*koklapäs* [? кок лапес] ‘sole’. Cf. KSK 1: 697: кок пыдэс  
[*kok pydes*] ‘sole’.

*kokuu* [кокуу] ‘footstool’, *scabellum sub pedibus*. [Cf. Matt.  
5:35; Gabelentz 1841: 52: *kok-uv* ‘Fussunter, Fuss-  
schemel’; KSK 1: 697: кокуу ‘pasture (for sheep)’.]

*kokala* [кокооны] ‘to pick’; mom. *kokyšta*.

*koknid* (-yd) [*koknjid*] [кокнид] ‘easy, light’; *kokni*, *kokniaa*  
[*koknji*, *koknjiaa*] [кокни, кокниа] ‘easily, lightly’.

*koknjeda* [*koknjiedny*] [кокниэдны] ‘to lighten (tr.)’.

*kolja* [кольны] ‘to remain, to leave behind’; pass. *koljtca*  
[кольтъчыны]. See Corrigenda: *koljcja*, but -t- is  
missing.

*koljas* [коляс] ‘remains, relics’.

*koljta* [кольта] ‘sheaf’.

*kollja* [коллыны] ‘to accompany, to follow, to see off’.

*koljk* [кольк] ‘egg’.

*kolm* ‘three’, *kolmäd* ‘third’. [KSK does not give these  
word forms. See the next page: *kujim*, *kuim*.]

*kolä* [колэ] ‘must’; impers. [Excerpt from a letter to  
Sjögren (2/14 Nov. 1843, cf. *Epistulae* 1, p. 324): *Men*  
*kolä* ‘I must, I want’; [≠] *Fi huolin*. Latin translation:  
*mihi necesse est; volo*.]

*konjär* [конер] ‘poor’. See correction, p. 168: *konjer*.

*konjärma* [конермыны] ‘to become poorer’. See correc-  
tion, p. 168: *konjerma*.

*kor* [кор] ‘leaf’; instr. *korjen*.

## K

- koräs* [koräsʲ] [коресь] 'bath whisk'.  
*kora* [корны] 'to request, to ask for, to beg'.  
*korsja* [корсьны] 'to look for, to seek'.  
*koosz* [коз] 'spruce'; instr. *koosjen*; [=] Fi *kuusi*. UEW 222.  
*kozin* [kozʲin] [козин] 'present', [according to Castrén] orig. 'present given to guests by the bride'.  
*kozjalj* [козяль] 'distaff'.  
*kos* [кос] 'dry'.  
*kosma* [kosʲma] [косьмыны] 'to dry (intr.)'.  
*košta* [kosʲta] [косьтыны] 'to dry (tr.)'; frequ. *koštala* [kosʲtala].  
*kosa* [косны] 'to return'; frequ. *kosala* [косооны] 'to return; to lose' [cf. KSK 1: 715].  
*kosjala* [косеоны] 'to tear (tr.)'; frequ. *kosjoola*.  
*kotkodzjuu* [коткодзюу] 'ant'.  
*ku* (or *kucik* [kucʲik]) [ку, кучик] 'fur, pelt, skin'. [In the literary language: кучик, see KRK 323.]  
*kub* [күб] 'clay pot, vessel'.  
*kuda* [куда] 'basket, box'.  
*kuzj* [кузь] 'long; tall'.  
*kuzja* [kuzja] [кузя] 1) 'length', 2) 'along', ([Ru] по). [Castrén indicates aspiration with an apostrophe, cf. § 22.]  
*kuzjoo* [күзёо] 'rather long'; ([Ru] долговатый).  
*kuila* [kujla] [куйлыны] 'to lie; to be situated'.  
*kujim*, *kuim* [куйим, куим] 'three', *kujmäd* [коймед] 'third'. [Cf. § 51: *kojmäd* and ID 63: *kuim* [куим].]  
*kuimmäda* [куиммедны] 'to triple'.  
*kukanj* [кукань] 'calf (bovine)'.  
*kula* [кууны] 'to die'; [=] Fi *kuolen*. UEW 173.

## K

- kuläm* [кулэм] ‘death’; Fi *kuolema*. Cf. *kula*.  
*kuutäm* [куутэм] ‘immortal’; Fi *kuolematoin*. Cf. *kula*.  
*kulj* [куль] ‘water spirit’, *kuljcjunj* [кульчунь] ‘belemnite’; [Castrén’s translation:] Fi *pirun peukalo*.  
*kulja* [кульны] ‘to skin; to take off (clothes, shoes, skin)’.  
*kulsja* [kuljsja] [кульсьыны] ‘to take off one’s clothes’.  
*kulsjeda* [kuljsjeda] [кульседны] ‘to take off someone else’s clothes’.  
*kum* [кум] ‘barn, storehouse’.  
*kumka* [кумка] ‘bowl’.  
*kun* [кун] ‘lye’; instr. *kunmän*; [=] Saa *kuna* ‘ash(es)’. UEW 672.  
*kurja* [куръя] ‘bay’.  
*kurcja* [kurcjeja] [курччыны] ‘to bite’.  
*kuryd* [курыд] ‘bitter’; [=] Fi *karvas*. UEW 128. Cf. [?] SSA 1: 320.  
*kurda*’ [*kurda*] [курда] ‘bitterness’. [Castrén indicates aspiration with an apostrophe, cf. § 22.]  
*kurda* [курдны] ‘to make bitter’.  
*kuža* [кужны] ‘to be able to, to know how to’.  
*kusa* [кусны] ‘to go (out [of a fire]), to die (down)’; dim. *kusla* [куслыны].  
*kusäda* [кусэдны] ‘to turn off, to put out (of a fire)’.  
*kuslydtäm*, *kušläm* [куслыдтэм, кустэм] ‘inextinguishable, everburning’.  
*kuš* [куш] ‘bare, naked; mere’.  
*kucja* [кучыны] ‘to begin’; auxiliary verb for expressing future tense in the Ižma dialect’. Cf. § 78.  
*kuč* [кутш] ‘eagle’.

## K

- kuta* [кутны] ‘to hold; to catch’; frequ. *kutala* [кутооны].
- kuvarkan* [куваркан] ‘crow’.
- kvait* (*kuait*) [*kvajt*, *kuajt*] [квайт] ‘six’; *kvaitäd* [*kvajtäd*] [квайтэд] ‘sixth’ (see Gram.).
- куу* [кыы] ‘tongue; language; word’; instr. *kylän*; [=] Fi *kieli*; [=] Saa *giela*, *giel*, *kiäl*. UEW 144.
- kyla* [кыыны] ‘to hear; to feel; to smell (intr.)’; [=] Fi *kuulen*; [=] Saa *gullam*. UEW 197.
- кууза* [кыызыны] ‘to listen’; Fi *kuuntelen*. Cf. *kyla*.
- куа* [кыа] ‘dawn’; [=] Fi *koi*. UEW 167.
- күд* [кыд] ‘chaff’; instr. *kydjen*.
- күдзү* [кыдз] ‘birch’.
- күж* [гыж] ‘nail; claw; hoof; talon’; [=] Fi *kynsi*. UEW 157. [Misprint? Castrén also uses *gyž* in his manuscript, cf. also KSK 1: 389: гыж.]
- куја* [кыйны] ‘to weave’; [=] Fi *kudon*. UEW 675. [In the literary language: кыны, see KRK 334.]
- куја* [кыйны] ‘to catch’.
- кужан* [кыян] ‘hunting, trapping, fishing’; participle of the word *күжү* [кыйны].
- күједә* [кыедны] ‘to lurk, to lie in ambush’.
- куута* [кыытны, кытны] ‘to go down stream’; frequ. *куутала* [кыытооны].
- kyläda* [кылэдны] ‘to let float (down stream)’.
- күк* [кык] ‘two’.
- күктәдә* [кыкмедны] ‘to double’
- күкјаамыс* ‘eight’; *күкјаамысäd* [көкъямысэд] ‘eighth’ (see Gram.). [Mistake: should be *kökjaamys* [*kökjamys*] [көкъямыс], cf. § 50–54. Word stress on the second syllable might be the reason for the long vowel in this numeral.]

## K

*kyma* [кымны] ‘to turn upside down’; [=] Fi *kumon*. UEW 201–202.

*kyminj* [кыминь] ‘downwards; upside-down’.

*kymär* [кымер] ‘cloud’.

*kymrasjä* [кымрасьны] ‘to get cloudy’. [This should be *kymrasja* to be consistent with other verbs, but this could actually be a third-person-singular form of the meteorological verb (in the literary language: кымрасьö ‘it is cloudy’).]

*kymäs* [кымес] ‘forehead’.

*kyn* [кын] ‘cold’; [=] Fi *kylmä* (*kylm*, *kym*, *kyn*). [Development of the word, as seen by Castrén.] UEW 663.

*kynma* [кынмыны] ‘to cool down; to feel cold’.

*kynj* [кынь] ‘arctic fox’; *Vulpes lagopus*. [Addition in a letter to Sjögren (2/14 Nov. 1843, cf. *Epistulae* 1, p. 324): *kynj*, Swe *fjällracka*, Ru песецъ.]

*kynäm* [кынэм] ‘stomach’.

*kynämasja* [кынэмасьны] ‘to get pregnant’.

*kypäda* [кыпедны] ‘to lift (up), to erect, to raise; to build’. [In Castrén’s manuscript: *kipäda* = *lepta*, Ru подниму, Swe *lyfta*.]

*kurniš* [кurnyš] [кырныш] ‘raven’; *Corvus corax*.

*kyrum* [кырым] ‘hand; handful’. [In Castrén’s manuscript: Ru рука.]

*kyrmala* [кырымала] [кырымооны] ‘to scratch; to sign’.

*kys* [кырс] [кырсь] ‘bark, crust’.

*kyuz* [кыз] ‘thick’.

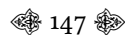
*kyyza* [кыуза] [кыза] ‘thickness’. [Castrén uses the apostrophe to indicate aspiration, cf. § 22.]

## K

- kuuza* [кызны] 'to get fat'.  
*kyza* [кызны] 'to cough'.  
*kyzäm* [кызэм] 'cough'.  
*kyzj* [кызь] 'twenty'; *kyzjed* [кызед] 'twentieth'.  
*kyska* [кыскыны] 'to pull, to drag'; [?] Fi *kiskon*. Cf. UEW 162, SSA 1: 373.  
*kycjan* [кычан] 'puppy'.  
*kyčj* [кытш] 'ring'. [*kyč* should be written without *j*, cf. KSK 1: 803.]  
*kypys* [*kerpysj*] [кепысь, көпысь] 'fur gloves connected to *malica* coat'. [The form *kypys* must be a misprint.]  
*köö* [кöö] 'rope; handle'.  
*ködzja* [көдзны] 'to sew'.  
*köidys* [*köjdys*] [көйдыс] 'seed'  
*ködzjd* [*ködzjyd*] [көдзыд] 'cold'; dim. *köizdoo* [*köjzdoo*] or *köidoo* [*köjdoo*]. Cf. § 8:I.  
*köida* [*köjda*] [көйдны] 'to cool off'; eff. *köidäda* [*köjdäda*] [көйдэдны] 'to cool, to grow cold'.  
*kö'in* [*köin*] [көин] 'wolf'. [Here the apostrophe is used to indicate a syllable break.]  
*kök* [көк] 'cockoo'; [?] Fi *käki*; Saa *giäka*. Cf. SSA 1: 470, but [=] KESKJa 139–140.  
*kölys* [*kölysj*] [көлысь] 'wedding'.  
*köm* [көм] 'pair of shoes'; [≠] Fi *kenkä*.  
*kömkot* [көмкот] 'shoes, footwear'.  
*kömala* [көмооны] 'to put shoes on'; pass. *kömasja* [көмасьны]; [≠] Fi *kengin*.  
*kömtäda* [көмедны] 'to put shoes on someone; [≠] Fi *kengitän*.



467 Cf. KSK 1: 743: көч. In the Ižma dialect the pronunciation of the affricates shows great variation: č [tʃ] is possible instead of cj [tʃ]. See ID (pp. 25–32).



## K, L

- kömädtäm* [көмедтәм] ‘unshod’.  
*kör* [kör] ‘reindeer’; [≠] Fi *poro*.  
*kört* [көрт] ‘iron’.  
*körtala* [көртооны] ‘to tie’; frequ. *körtoola* [көртоолыны]; [?] Saa *karam*. Cf. KESKJa 142.  
*körtäd* [көртэд] ‘band, bandage’; *körtäda* [көртэда] ‘tied up’.  
*köryš* [көрыш] ‘crušt’.  
*kösja* [көсийыны] ‘to promise; to want; to hope’.  
*kötäda* [көтэдны] ‘to moisten, to get wet (tr.), to soak’; frequ. *kötädala*.  
*kötasja* [көтасьны] ‘to become moist, to become damp, to get soaking wet’.  
*köč*<sup>467</sup> [көч] ‘rabbit’.  
*lebala* [лэбооны] ‘to fly’; [≠] Fi *lennän*.  
*ledzja* [лэдзны, лэдьны] ‘to lower, to allow; to publish’; [=] Fi *lasken*. UEW 233–234, cf. SSA 2: 49.  
*lepta* [лэптыны] ‘to lift’; frequ. *leptala* [лэптооны].  
*ljapkyd* [ляпкыд] ‘low’; dim. *ljapkydoo*; [≠] Fi *lakia* ‘flat’.  
*ljapkäda* [ляпкедны] ‘to make low(er), to press down’.  
*ljasni* [ljasjnji] [лясьни] ‘manger, grain trough’.  
*lježnög* [лежнэг] ‘thorn; [also wild rose]’  
*ljok* [лөк] ‘bad; evil’; *ljoka* [лөкаа] ‘poorly’.  
*ljokma* [лөкмыны] ‘to worsen, to get worse’.  
*ljokäda* [лөкедны] ‘to worsen (tr.), to make worse’.

*L*

*lju* [лю] ‘spit’.

*ljuala* [люооны] ‘to spit’.

*ljöb* [льöб] ‘lip’.

*ljötm* [льöм] ‘bird cherry’.

*ljötmri* [льöм пу] ‘bird cherry tree’; [≠] Fi *lemmen puu*.

*loo* [лоо], [according to Castrén] orig. *loly* ‘spirit’; [=] Fi *löyly*. UEW 247.

*looja* [лооя] ‘living’.

*loozja* [лоозыны] ‘to revive’.

*lolala* [лолооны] ‘to breathe’.

*loa* [лоны] ‘to become, to come, to be’; Auxiliary verb for expressing the future tense in the Komi language. See § 78.

*lokta* [локны] ‘to come, to arrive’. [≠] Fi *liki* ‘near’. [[=] Fi *lähteä*; UEW 239–240.]

*lomta* [ломтыны] ‘to warm’; [≠] Fi *lämmitän*.

*ludyk* [*luduk*] [лудук] ‘bug’; [?] Fi *ludet*. Cf. SSA 2: 98.

*lukala* [лукооны] ‘to butt, to ram’; pass. *lukasja* [лукасьны].

*lun* [лун] ‘day’.

*lunja* [лунъя] ‘daily; *bydlunja* [быдлунъя] ‘every day, daily (adj.)’.

*lunja* [лунйыны] ‘to spend a day’.

*lunvuу* [лунвыы] ‘south’.

*lunvuysa* [лунвыыса] ‘southern’.

468, 469 Cf. KSK 1: 879.

In the Ižma dialect the pronunciation of the affricates varies greatly: *č* [tʃ] is possible instead of *cj* [tʃ]. See ID (pp. 25–32).

470 *läčtäda*: in the Ižma dialect there are words, where the affricate loses its fricative element (*č* > *t*). According to Cast-rén's transcription the deaffrication is not seen here, but in KSK 1: 878: лэтьтэд-ны. Also cf. Punego-va 2016: 58.

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## L

*ly* [лы] 'bone'; [=] Fi *luu*. UEW 254.

*lya* [лыа] 'sand'.

*lyd* [лыд] 'number'; [=] Fi *luku*. UEW 253.

*lydja* [lyddja] [лыддыны] 'to count; to read'; frequ. *lydjala*; [=] Fi *luen*. UEW 253.

*lyja* [луйны] 'to shoot'.

*lym* [лым] 'snow'; [=] Fi *lumi*. UEW 253.

*lys* [лыс] 'broom, spruce/fir branches'; instr. *lyskän*; *sinlys* [синлыс] 'eyelash'; *lysya* [лысва] 'dew'.

*lysta* [lysja] [лысьтыны] 'to milk'; [≠] Fi *lypsän*. SSA 2: 119.

*lysta* [lysja] [лысьтыны] 'to dare (intr.)'.

*läbin* [лэбын] 'pitchfork'.

*läm* [лем] 'glue'; [≠] Fi *liima*. Cf. [=] UEW 66: Fi *tymä*.

*lämala* [лемооны] 'to glue'; frequ. *lämoola*; Fi *liimaan*. Cf. *läm*.

*läcj* [лэч] 'trap'.

*läčyd*<sup>468</sup> [лэчыд] 'sharp'.

*läčta*<sup>469</sup> [лэчтыны] 'to sharpen'.

*läčtäda*<sup>470</sup> [letjtēda] [лэтьтэдны] 'to sharpen'; frequ. *läčtädala*.

*läta* [летны] 'to pull (someone's) hair'; frequ. *lätala*.

*löda* [лөдны] 'to lay, to throw'; frequ. *lödala* [лөдооны].

*lög* [лög] 'anger'.

*lögala* [лөгалны, лөгооны] 'to be angry'; pass. *lögasja* [лөгасьны].

**L, M**

- lögäda* [лөгедны] 'to anger, to make angry'.  
*lönj* [лөнъ] 'silence, silent (adj.)'; *lönjaa* [лөнъя] 'silent'.  
*lönja* [лөнъны] 'to quit, to calm (down), to subside'.  
*lönjeda* [лөнедны] 'to calm (tr.)'.  
*löz* [лөз] 'blue'; dim. *lözoo*.  
*lösyd* [lösjyd] [лөсьыд] 'suitable; beautiful'.  
*lösjala* [лөсёоны] 'to suit; to be beautiful'.  
*lösjootäm* [лөсёотэм] 'unfit'.  
*lösjeda* [лөседны] 'to arrange, to prepare, to organize'.  
*ma* [ма] 'honey'; [=] Fi *mesi*. UEW 273, SSA 2:161.  
*maibyr* [majbyr] [майбыр] 'happy; nice'.  
*maita* [majta] [майтны] 'to grease'; frequ. *maitala* [majtala] [майтооны].  
*maitas* [majtas] [майтас] 'ointment, grease'.  
*maitäg* [majtäg] [майтэг] 'soap'.  
*maitägala* [majtägala] [майтэгооны] 'to soap'.  
*majeg* [маег] 'pole, post'.  
*mam* [мам] 'mother'.  
*mazy* [мазы] 'bee'; [≠] Fi *mesiäinen*. Cf. UEW 271, SSA 2: 161.  
*matyšta*, *matysja* [matyšsja] [матыстыны, матыссьыны] 'to approach'; frequ. *matyštala* or *matysjala*.  
*med* [мед] 'salary'.  
*medala* [медооны] 'to rent, to hire; to employ'.

## М

*megyr* [мегыр] ‘arch’.

*mež* [меж] ‘ram, buck’; instr. *mežjen*.

*micj* [мич] ‘beauty’; *micja* [мича] ‘beautiful’.

*micja* [мичны, мичедны] ‘to colour, to beautify, to decorate’.

*moj* [мой] ‘beaver’; instr. *mojen*; [=] Fi *maja* or *majava*. UEW 697.

*moid* [*mojd*] [мойд] ‘fairytale’.

*moljyd* [мольыд] ‘plain’.

*moljeda* [моледны] ‘to make level, to make even’; frequ. *moljedala*.

*monj* [монь] ‘daughter-in-law’; [=] Fi *miniä*; [=] Saa *manje*. UEW 276.

*mort* [морт] 1. ‘man, person, human’, 2. ‘Zyrian, Komi’, *homo Syrjaenus*.

*moräs* [морес] ‘chest (anat.)’.

*mu* [му] ‘land’; [=] Fi *maa* (*moa*, *mua*). UEW 263.

*muusa* [мууса] ‘underground’, from *mu* ‘ground’ and *uusa* ‘under’.

*mukäd* [мукед] ‘other’; [=] Fi *muu*. UEW 281–282, cf. [≠] SSA 2: 185, 169.

*muna* [мунны] ‘to go’; [=] Fi *menen*. UEW 272.

*murtala* [муртооны] ‘to measure’.

*murtäs* [муртэс] ‘measure’.

*murtäsa* [муртэса] ‘measurable (also in reference to metrics), with a measure’

471–474 *muö-* > *mö-*  
(without *u*), cf. KSK  
1: 931–932, 936.

## M

*mus* [мус] ‘liver’; instr. *muskän*; [=] Fi *maksa*; [=] Saa *muekse*. UEW 264.

*muöd*<sup>471</sup> [möd] [мөд] ‘second, other, another’.

*muöda*<sup>472</sup> [möda] [мөдны] ‘to want; to start, to begin, to take up’.

*muödäda*<sup>473</sup> [mödäda] [мөдэдны] ‘to send’.

*muös*<sup>474</sup> [mös] [мөс] ‘cow’; instr. *muöskän*.

*mydzja* [мыдзны] ‘to tire, to get tired’; frequ. *mydzjala*.

*myukyd* [мыыкыд], [according to Castrén] orig. *mylykyd* ‘mind’; [=] Fi *mieli*. UEW 701–702.

*myukyda* [мыыкыда] ‘wise, prudent’, *myukydaa* [мыыкыдаа] ‘wisely, prudently’.

*myukydtäm* [мыыкыдтэм] ‘fool, foolish’.

*mylj* [мыль] ‘swelling’.

*myljä* [мыльк] ‘hill’.

*myna* [мынны] ‘to lose one’s colour, to fade; to get rid of, to get loose from’.

*mynan* [мынан] ‘losing colour, fading’.

*mynta* [мынтыны] ‘to pay’; frequ. *myntala*.

*myr* [мыр] ‘stump’; instr. *myrjen*.

*myrdja* [myrddja] [мырддыны] ‘to grab, to assault, to take by force’.

*myž* [мыж] ‘fault, sin’.

*myža* [мыжа] ‘guilty, sinful’.

*myžtäm* [мыжтэм] ‘innocent, sinless’.

## M, N

- myžma* [мыжмыны] ‘to become guilty of’.  
*myžda* [мыждыны] ‘to blame, to accuse, to indict’.  
*myska* [*mysjka*] [мыськыны] ‘to wash’; pass. *myssja* [мыссьыны].  
*myš* [мыш] ‘hump’; instr. *myškän*.  
*myšku* [мышку] ‘back (anat.)’.  
*nadzj* [надз] ‘stingy, scanty’.  
*narvi* [нарви] ‘wedge, key (carpentry)’.  
*načka* [натшкыны, начкыны] ‘to hit, to strike; to slaughter’; frequ. *načkala* [натшкооны].  
*nim* [*njim*] [ним] ‘name’; [=] Fi *nimi*. UEW 305.  
*nimtäm* [*njimtäm*] [НИМТЭМ] ‘anonymous’; Fi *nimitöin*; *nimtäm cjunj* [*njimtäm cjunj*] [НИМТЭМ चुन्] ‘ring finger’; Fi *nimitöin sormi*. Cf. *nim*.  
*nimäda* [*njimäda*] [нимедны] ‘to name, to nominate’.  
*nimta* [*njimta*] [НИМТЫНЫ] ‘to call, to name, to call someone names, to slander’.  
*nirala* [*njirala*] [нирооны] ‘to rub, to scour; to crush, to smash’; [≠] Fi *hieron*.  
*nič* [*njič*] [нитш] ‘moss’; *niča* [нитша] ‘mossy’.  
*njakala* [някооны] ‘to nurse (intr.)’; eff. *njakäda* [някедны] ‘to nurse, to breastfeed’.  
*njanj* [нянь] ‘bread’.  
*njartala* [няртала] ‘lasso (for catching reindeer)’.  
*njašti* [*njasjtji*] [нясьти] ‘dirt, filth’.  
*njašties* [*njasjtjiesj*] [нясьтиэсь] ‘dirty, filthy’.

## N

*njaštiešta* [*njasjtjiesjta*] [нясьтиэсьтыны] ‘to spot, to foul’.

*njaštiešsja* [*njasjtjiessja*] [нясьтиэссьыны] ‘to become dirty, to become spotted’.

*njačka* [нятшкыны] ‘to chew’.

*njebyd* [небыд] ‘soft, smooth, gentle’.

*njebzja* [небзьыны] ‘to soften’.

*njebzjeda* [небзедны] ‘to soften (tr.)’.

*njesjala* [несъёоны] ‘to sneeze’.

*njolj* [нѣль] ‘four’; *njoljed* [нѣльэд] ‘fourth’ (see Gram.).

*njukyl* [*njukylj*] [нюкыль] ‘bend, fold’.

*njukljala* [нюклёоны] ‘to fold, to curve, to bend’.

*njula* [нюуны] ‘to lick’; mom. *njulyšta*; [=] Fi *nuolen*.  
UEW 321.

*njur* [нюр] ‘moor’.

*njuräs* [*njuräs*j] [нюресь] ‘marshy, swampy’.

*njuusis* [*njuusjis*j] [нюусись] ‘seal’.

*njöba* [нѣбны, небны] ‘to buy’.

*njör* [нѣör] ‘twig’.

*noj* [ной] ‘(broad)cloth’; instr. *nojen*.

*noola* [ноолыны] ‘to carry’.

*nom* [ном] ‘mosquito’.

*nomyr* [номыр] ‘worm’.

*nomräs* [*nomräs*j] [номресь] ‘wormy’.

*nuäda* [нуэдны] ‘to lead, to take and carry’.

*nyu* [ныы] ‘girl, daughter’; [=] Fi *neiti*; [=] Saa *nieidda*.  
UEW 302.



**N, O**

*nyr* [ныр] ‘nose’; *nyrbord* [нырборд] ‘ala, wing of the nose’.

*nyra* [ныра] ‘selfish, obstinate’.

*nyž* [ныж] ‘blunt, dull’.

*nyžma* [ныжмыны] ‘to grow/get blunt/dull’.

*nyžda* [ныждыны] ‘to blunt, to make blunt’.

*nöb* [нөб] ‘load, burden’; instr. *nöbjen*.

*nöita* [nöjta] [нөйтны] ‘to strike, to hit’; frequ. *nöitala* [nöjtala].

*odsala* [odzjala] [одзсооны, очсооны] ‘to yawn’.

*okala* [окооны] ‘to kiss’.

*okmys* [окмыс] ‘nine’; *okmysäd* [окмысэд] ‘ninth’.

*ola* [ооны] ‘to live’; [=] *Fi elän*; [=] *Saa ællam*. UEW 73.

*olanin* [оланін] ‘dwelling’.

*or* [ор] ‘pus’.

*orda* [ордны] ‘to abscess, to fester, to become infected’.

*ordäda* [ордэдны] ‘to cause to fester, to infect’.

*ora* [орны] ‘to tear, to be torn’.

*orata* [оротны] ‘to tear apart, to tear in pieces’. [Maybe a misprint, 1sg should be *orota*.]

*ordly* [ордлы] ‘rib’.

*ors* [орс] ‘whip’; [≠] *Fi ruoska*.

*ortsala* [ортсооны] ‘to help, to assist’; frequ. *ortsoola*.

*ortsäd* [ортсэд] ‘help, assistance’.

*ota* [ота] ‘wide, broad’.

*otäda* [отэдны] ‘to expand; to broaden’.

## O, P

- ottäm* [оттэм] ‘narrow’.  
*ottämta* [оттэмтыны] ‘to narrow, to take in’.  
*oš* [ош] ‘bear’; [≠] *Fi ohto*.  
*oška* [ошкыны] ‘to praise’.  
*oškäm* [ошкэм] ‘praise’.  
*ošjysja* [ошйысьны] ‘to pride oneself; to boast’.  
*pai* [пай] [пай] ‘part’; instr. *pajjen* [pajen]. (\* *juk*). [Asterisk indicates a variant in other dialects.]  
*paljala* [палёоны] ‘to recover’; eff. *paljeda* [паледны] ‘to revive’.  
*panoo* [паноо] ‘grits’.  
*parka* [парка] ‘parka’.  
*pas* [пас] ‘mark’; ([Ru] клеймо).  
*pasjala* [пасъёоны] ‘to note, to mark’. Cf. KSK 2: 73: пасйыны.  
*pasj* [пасъ] ‘women’s cloak [, fur coat (in general)]’.  
*paskäm* [pasjkäm] [паськем] ‘clothes’.  
*paštala* [pasjtala] [пасътооны] ‘to dress’; pass. *paštasja* [pasjtasja] [пасътасъны].  
*paštäda* [pasjtäda] [пасътэдны] ‘to dress (someone), to clothe’.  
*paštäm* [pasjtäm] [пасътэм] ‘nude, naked’.  
*pasjkyd* [пасъкыд] ‘large’.  
*pasjta* [пасъта] ‘latitude, breadth, broadness’. [Castrén indicates aspiration with an apostrophe, cf. § 22.]  
*pasjkala* [пасъкооны] ‘to spread’; *pasjkäda* [пасъкедны] ‘to spread (tr.)’.  
*pač*<sup>475</sup> [пач] ‘oven’; [≠] *Fi patsas*.

475 Cf. KSK 2: 81: пач. In the Ižma dialect the pronunciation of the affricates shows great variation: č [tɕ] is possible instead of cj [tɕ]. See ID (pp. 25–32).

## P

*pei, peicjunj* [pej, pejɕjunj] [пей, пей чунь] ‘thumb’;  
[=] Fi *peukalo*. UEW 363, SSA 2: 346.

*peläm* [peljäm] [пелем] ‘splinter, chip’.

*pelkäda* [peljkäda] [пелькедны] ‘to clean, to tidy up’;  
[≠] Fi *pilkon*.

*pelj* [пель] ‘ear’; [=] Saa *bælje*. UEW 370.

*peljdjin, peljgin* [пель дын, пельгин] ‘temple (anat.)’;  
orig. ‘proximity of the ear’

*peljrom* [пельпом] ‘shoulder’.

*peljtäm* [пельтэм] ‘deaf’, orig. ‘earless’; Saa *bæljetebme*. Cf. *pelj*.

*peljes* [пелес] ‘corner’.

*peljesäs* [peljesäsɟ] [пелесэсь] ‘angular’.

*pemyd* [пемыд] ‘dark’; [=] Fi *pimiä*; dim. *pemdoo*.  
UEW 381–382.

*pemda* [pemda] [пемда] ‘darkness’. [Castrén indicates aspiration with an apostrophe, cf. § 22.]

*pemda* [пемдыны] ‘to darken (intr.), to get dark’.

*pemydin* [пемыдін] ‘dark place’.

*pes* [пес] ‘firewood’; instr. *peskän*.

*pesa* [песны] ‘to beat’; [=] Fi *pieksän*. UEW 368.

*peslala* [песлооны] ‘to soften, to soothe; to wash (laundry), to rinse’.

*pesjka* [печкыны] ‘to spin’.

*peta* [петны] ‘to go out, to come out’.

**P**

*petkäda* [петкедны] ‘to carry out’; frequ. *petkädala*.  
*petkedla* [петкедлыны] ‘to show (tr.)’; frequ. *petked-*  
*lyla*.

*petkedcja* [петкедчыны] ‘to appear, to perform, to  
 show up’.

*pi* [пи] ‘son, boy’; pl. *pijan* or *pijanjas*; [=] Fi *poika*.  
 UEW 390.

*pii* [pij] [пий] ‘cloud’; [=] Fi *pilvi*. UEW 381.

*pijja* [pijja] or *pila* [пийя, пила] ‘cloudy’; Fi *pilvinen*.  
 Cf. *pii*.

*pidzjes* [пидзес] ‘knee’.

*pinj* [пинь] ‘tooth’; [≠] Saa *badne*, *pane*. See SSA 2:  
 352: *pii*.

*pinjala* [пинёоны] ‘to scold, to yell’; pass. *pinjasja*  
 [пинясьны].

*piruu* [пипу] ‘aspen’.

*pola* [пооны] ‘to be afraid’; [=] Fi *pelkään*; [=] Saa  
*boalam*. UEW 370.

*poläm* [полэм] ‘fear’; Fi *pelko*. Cf. *pola*.

*pootäm* [поотэм] ‘brave’; Fi *pelkäämätöin*. Cf. *pola*.

*poozja* [поозыны] ‘to be frightened’.

*poozjeda* [поозедны] ‘to frighten, to scare’; frequ.  
*poozjedala*.

*pot* [пом] ‘end’.

*potjala* [помъёоны] ‘to stop’.

## P

*potmät, potmjootäm* [пoмтэм, помъёотэм] ‘endless’.

*pon* [пoн] ‘dog’; [=] Fi *penu*; [=] Saa *bæn*. UEW 371.

*pors* [*porsj*] [порсь] ‘pig’; instr. *porsjen*; [=] Fi *porsas* ‘piglet’. UEW 736, SSA 2: 400.

*poz* [пoз] ‘nest’; instr. *pozjen*; [=] Fi *pesä*; [=] Saa *bæsse*. UEW 375.

*pozjä, pozjas* [пoзъны] ‘can’, impers.; ([Ru] можно);  
*oz poz* [oз poзj] [oз пoзъ] ‘cannot’; ([Ru] не мож-  
 но).

*požäm* [пoжeм] ‘pine’.

*pos* [пoс] ‘bridge’; instr. *poskän*.

*posja* [пoсйыны] ‘to build a bridge’.

*posnid* (or *-yđ*) [*posnjid*] [пoснид] ‘little, small’; *posni*  
 [*posnji*] [пoсни] ‘little, small’.

*poč* [пoтш] ‘stick in fence’.

*poča* [пoтшны] ‘to build a fence, to fence’; frequ.  
*počala, počlala, počalala*.

*pota* [пoтны] ‘to split, to burst, to break’.

*potkăda* [пoткeдны] ‘to split’; pass. *potkedcja*.

*potan* [пoтaн] ‘cradle’.

*pu* [пy] ‘tree’; [=] Fi *puu*. UEW 410.

*puu* [пyу] ‘lingonberry’; instr. *puujen*; [=] Fi *puola*.  
 UEW 392.

*pua* [пyны] ‘to cook; to boil’.

*pukta* [пyктыны] ‘to put’; pass. *puktysja*.

**P**

- puktysjanin* [пуктысянін] 'vagina'.  
*pukala* [пукооны] 'to sit, to be sitting'.  
*puksja* [пуксьыны] 'to sit down'; eff. *puksjeda* [пукседны] 'to plant; to seat, to have sit down'.  
*pur* [пур] 'raft' [Castrén also glosses this as 'boat']; instr. *purjen*; [≠] Saa *porre*; cf. [≠] Fi *pursi* 'boat', *purtilo* 'boat; trough', *purjet* 'sail'.  
*purga* [пурга] 'snow storm'; [≠] Saa *porg*; [≠] Fi *pyry*. Cf. SSA 2: 436: *purku*.  
*purt* [пурт] 'knife'. [Addition in a letter to Sjögren (2/14 Nov. 1843, cf. *Epistulae* 1, p. 324): *purtäs* 'scissors'.]  
*pydäs* [пыдэс] 'bottom'; *pydäsläm* [пыдэстэм] 'bottomless'.  
*pydžäg* [пиджер] 'bosom'; *pydžägsa* [пиджерса] 'situated/located in bosom'.  
*pyka* [пыкны] 'to hold back; to contain (limit), to suffer'; frequ. *pykala*.  
*pykta* [пыктыны] 'to swell'.  
*pyra* [пырны] 'to enter, to go in, to come in'.  
*pyrta* [пыртны] 'to carry in, to bring in, to take in; to baptize'; pass. *pyrteja*.  
*pyrkala* [пыркооны] 'to shake, to drop'; eff. *pyrkäda* [пыркедны] 'to shed, to drop, to shake'.  
*pyzan* [пызан] 'table'.  
*pyzj* [пызь] 'meal, flour'.

## P

*pyzjes* [pyzjesj] [пызесь] ‘covered with flour, floury’.

*pyž* [пыж] ‘boat’.

*pys* [пыс] ‘eye of a needle’.

*pyysja* [пыысьыны] ‘to have a sauna bath’; eff. *pyysjeda* [пыыседны] ‘to give (someone) a sauna bath’; frequ. *pyysjedala*; [≠] *Fi pesen*.

*pyusjan* [пыысян] ‘sauna’.

*pyš* [пыш] ‘hemp’.

*pyšja* [пышйыны] ‘to escape, to run away, to flee’; frequ. *pyšjala*, *pyšjoola*.

*pyč* [пытш] ‘flea’.

*pyčkäs* [пытшкес] ‘inside, interior, inner’; ([Castrén’s translation:] *Fi sisä*).

*pöö* [пöö] ‘side, flank, board’; [≠] *Fi puoli*.

*pöda* [пöдны] ‘to suffocate’; eff. *pödta* [пöдтыны] ‘to suffocate (tr.)’.

*pöjim* [пöйим] ‘ash(es)’.

*pök* [пök] ‘roe’.

*pöljala* [пöлёоны] ‘to blow’.

*pöläšta* [пöлэстыны] ‘to lean, to bend’.

*pöra* [пөрны] ‘to roll (over intr.), to fall over’; [≠] *Fi pyörin*.

*pöräda* [пöредны] ‘to fell, to cut down’; frequ. *pörädala*; [≠] *Fi pyöritän*. Cf. *pöra*.

*pörjala* [пөрjëоны] ‘to deceive, to lie’; frequ. *pörjoola*.

*pört* [пөрт] ‘kettle’.

*pörtcja* [pörtjcja] [пөртъчыны] ‘to undress’.

**P, R**

- pörys* [pörysʲ] [пöрысь] ‘old’.  
*pöža* [пöжны] ‘to cook; to bake’; pass. *pöžsja* [пöжсьыны].  
*požäma, pöžsjema* [пöжем(а), пöжсема] ‘cooked, baked, done’.  
*pöžala* [пöжооны] ‘to bake; to cook’.  
*pöt* [пöt] ‘full, stuffed’.  
*pöta* [пötны] ‘to become satisfied, to eat to one’s heart’s content’; eff. *pötäda* [пötэдны] ‘to nourish, to feed enough’.  
*pötäsa* [пötэса] ‘sufficient’.  
*ram* [рам] ‘quiet, submissive, gentle, mild’.  
*ramma* [раммыны] ‘to calm down, to quiet down, to settle down’.  
*rammäda* [раммедны] ‘to calm, to quiet, to pacify, to appease’.  
*reza* [резны] ‘to spurt, to splatter, to sprinkle’; pass. *rezsja* [резсьыны].  
*rezjeda* [резедны] ‘to undo, to open up’.  
*rok* [рок] ‘porridge’; [≠] Fi *rokka*. Cf. UEW 421, 425, SSA 3: 89.  
*roč*<sup>476</sup> [roč] ‘Russian’.  
*rudzjeg* [рудзег] ‘rye’; [≠] Fi *ruis*.  
*ruizj* [ruzj] [пузь] ‘hole, opening’.  
*rusum* [рузум] ‘rag’; [≠] Fi *resu*.  
*rucj* [руч] ‘fox’. See SSA 3: 65–66: *repo*.  
*rys* [rysʲ] [рысь] ‘cottage cheese’; instr. *rysjen*.

476 Cf. KSK 2: 299: роч. In the Ižma dialect the pronunciation of affricates shows great variation: č [tɕ] is possible instead of cj [tɕ]. See ID (pp. 25–32).



**R, Z**

*ryškyd* [рушкыд] ‘brittle, fragile’.

*ryt* [рыт] ‘evening’; *rytja* [рыття] ‘evening’.

*rätoō* [ретоо] ‘west’.

*rätoōvyū* [ретоовыы] ‘west, western side’.

*rätoōvyūsa* [ретоовыыса] ‘western’.

*zapta* [заптыны] ‘to prepare, to provide, to stockpile’.

*zarny* [zarnji] [зарни] ‘gold’.

*zelyd* [зэлыд] ‘tight, stiff, firm’.

*zelda* [зэлда] ‘tightness, firmness’. [Castrén indicates aspiration with an apostrophe, cf. § 22.]

*zelda* [zejta] [зэйтны] ‘to make tight/firm’. [In other dialects: зэлтны, see KSK 1: 576.]

*zeldäda* [зэлэдны] ‘to tighten’.

*zep* [zjep] [зеп] ‘pocket’; instr. *zeptän*.

*zer* [зэр] ‘rain’.

*zera* [зэра] ‘rainy’.

*zib* [зиб] ‘pole, staff’; instr. *zibjen*; [≠] *Fi sauva*.

*zikäda* [zjikäda] [зигедны] ‘to knock, to strike’.

*zon* [зон] ‘boy, son’.

*zor* [зор] ‘stick, pole’; instr. *zorjen*.

*zud* [зуд] ‘whetstone’; instr. *zudjen*.

*zyk* [зык] ‘din, clatter, uproar, noise’.

*zyr* [зыр] ‘shovel’; instr. *zyrjen*.

*zyrta* [зыртны] ‘to shovel, to dig’; frequ. *zyrtala*.

*zyrala* [зырооны] ‘to rub’

*zyrmala* [зырмооны] ‘to blow one’s nose’. Cf. KSK 1: 572, 573: зырмасны, зырымсьыны.

## Z, Ž, S

*zör* [zöp] ‘wart’; instr. *zörjen*.

*žugala* [жугооны] ‘to break (tr.)’; eff. *žugāda* [жугедны] ‘to break (off/down)’.

*žyr* [жыр] ‘room’.

*sa* [ca] ‘soot’.

*sadma* [*sajdma*] [сайдмыны] ‘to wake (up), to come to’;  
eff. *sadmāda* [*sajdmāda*] [сайдмедны] ‘to wake  
(up), to awake(n) (tr.), to revive’.

*sartas* [сартас] ‘shake (on roof), shingle’.

*saida* [*sajda*] [сайда] ‘wise, understanding (adj.)’.

*sajeda* [саедны] ‘to hide, to conceal, to shelter, to protect,  
to guard’; pass. *sajedcja*; [=] Fi *suojaan*. UEW 748.

*ser* [*sjer*] [сер] ‘figure, pattern, design’.

*sera* [*sjera*] [сера] ‘spotted, speckled; decorated with a  
pattern’.

*seredla* [*sjeredla*] [середлыны] ‘to paint; to embroider;  
to decorate’.

*sermād* [*sjermād*] [сермед] ‘halter (horse)’.

*sermāda* [*sjermāda*] [сермеда] ‘with a halter on (horse)’.

*sermādala* [*sjermādala*] [сермедооны] ‘to tie the halter  
(horse)’.

*seroo* [*sjeroo*] [сероо] ‘nit’; [=] Fi *saivar*; [=] Saa *čoros*.  
UEW 770.

*sezj* [сэзь] ‘clear, cloudless’.

*sep* [сөп] ‘gall’; [=] Fi *sappi*; [=] Saa *sappe*. UEW 435–436.

*seta* [*sjeta*] [сетны] ‘to give’; frequ. *setala*.

*secjes* [*secjcjes*] [сэччес] ‘local (specific to that place)’;  
(*secje* [сэчче] [*secjcje*] ‘to there’).

## S

*si* [sji] [си] ‘hair’, – occurs only in compounds, e.g.  
*jursi* [юрси] ‘hair’, *vöösi* [вöö си] ‘horse hair/  
 mane’.

*sija* [sjija] [сия] ‘hairy’.

*sijes* [sjijes] [сиес] ‘collar (part of horse’s harness)’.

*sierala* [sjerala] [серооны] ‘to laugh’; frequ. *sieroola*,  
*sieroolyla* [sjeroola, sjeroolyla]

*sim* [сим] ‘rust’.

*sima* [симны] ‘to rust’.

*sin* [sjin] [син] ‘eye’; [=] *Fi silmä*; [=] *Saa čalbme*;  
*sinkym* [sjinkym] [синкым] ‘eyebrow’; *sinva*  
*[sjinva]* [синва] ‘tear’. UEW 479.

*sinma* [sjinma] [синма] ‘with eyes, eyed’; *ötiksinma*  
*[ötjik sjinma]* [оти[к] синма] ‘one-eyed’.

*sintäm* [sjintäm] [синтэм] ‘blind’; *Saa čalbmetæbme*.  
 Cf. *sin*.

*sintämta* [sjintämta] [синтэмтыны] ‘to blind’; frequ.  
*sintämtala*.

*sintämsja* [sjintämsja] [синтэмсьыны] ‘to go blind’.

*sina* [syna] [сынны] ‘to row’.

*sipta* [sjipta] [сиптыны] ‘to shut, to close (tr.)’.

*sizim* [sjizjim] [сизим] ‘seven’; *sizimäd* [sjizjimäd]  
*[сизимэд]* ‘seventh’ (see Gram.).

*sis* [sjisj] [сись] ‘candle’.

*sis* [sisj] [сись] ‘rotten’.

*sisma* [sisjma] [сисьмыны] ‘to rot, to decay’; eff. *sista*  
*[сисьтыны]*.

## S

*sjir* [сир] ‘pike’.

*sjir* [сир] ‘tar’.

*sjirala* [сирооны] ‘to tar’.

*sjo* [сѐ] ‘hundred’; *sjoäd* [сѐэд] ‘hundredth’ (see Gram.).

*sjour* [сѐ ур] ‘hundred kopecks, one rubel’; cf. *šait*.

*sjoj* [сѐй] ‘clay’; instr. *sjojen*; [=] Fi *savi*. UEW 468, 483.

*sjoja* [сѐйны] ‘to eat’; [=] Fi *syön*. UEW 440.

*sjom* [сѐм] ‘scale’; [=] Fi *suomi*. UEW 476. [This word has an everyday meaning ‘money’.]

*sjoor* [сѐр] ‘beam, water carrying pole, yoke’ (Fi ‘ko-rento’).

*sjor* [сѐр] ‘late (adv.)’.

*sjora* [сѐра] ‘late (adj.)’.

*sjornita* [сѐрнитны] ‘to talk, to converse, to discuss’; [=] Fi *saarnaan*. UEW 463–464.

*sjornu* [сѐрни] ‘talk, conversation, discussion’. [SSA 3: 139: *saarna*.]

*sjornija* [сѐрниа] ‘talkative’.

*sjuu* [сюу] ‘intestine’; [=] Fi *suoli*. UEW 483–484.

*sjuila* [*sjujla*] [сюйлыны] ‘to become damp, to get wet’.

*sjuja* [сюйны] ‘to stuff, to shove, to push’; frequ. *sjujala*.

*sjumys* [сюмыс] ‘ligament; band, strip of leather’.

*sjumäd* [сюмед] ‘birch bark’.

## S

*sjur* [сюр] ‘antler; horn’; [=] *Fi sarvi*; [=] *Saa čoarvve*. UEW 486.

*sjura* [сюра] ‘with antlers’; *Fi sarvinen*. Cf. *sjur*.

*sjuräs* [*sjuräs*] [сюресъ] ‘full of prongs, with a full rack’.

*sjurtäm* [сюртэм] ‘without antlers’; *Fi sarvitoin*; *Saa čoarvvetæbme*. Cf. *sjur*.

*sjyla* [сьыыны] ‘to sing’.

*sjyläm* [сьылэм] ‘song, singing’; *sjyläna kyy* ‘song’. Cf. KSK 2: 481: сьыланкыы.

*sjyli* [сьыли] ‘neck; throat’.

*sjöd* [сьöd] ‘black’.

*sjödäda* [сьödэдны] ‘to blacken (tr.)’.

*sjödasja* [сьödасьны] ‘to blacken (intr.); to grow dark’.

*sjökyd* [сьökыд] ‘heavy; difficult; severe’; *sjökydaa* or *sjöktaa* ‘heavily, severely’. Cf. KSK 2: 472: сьökтаа.

*sjökta* [сьökта] ‘weight; load’. [Castrén indicates aspiration with an apostrophe, cf. § 22.]

*sjökta* [сьökтыны] ‘to load’.

*sjöktäda* [сьökдэдны] ‘to burden, to weigh down’.

*sjöla* [сьöла] ‘hazelhen’. [Castrén’s Latin translation is *attagen* ‘heath-cock’, cf. KSK 2: 474: сьöла ‘hazelhen’; *Tetrastes bonasia* or *Bonasa bonasia* or *Perdix perdix*.]

*sjölala* [сьöлооны] ‘to spit’; *mom. sjölyšta*; [=] *Fi syljen, sylkäisen*. UEW 479.

*sjöläm* [сьölэм] ‘heart’; [=] *Fi sydän*. UEW 477.

## S

*soo* [coo] ‘salt’; [=] *Fi suola*. Cf. UEW 750, SSA 3: 214–215.

*sola* [сола] ‘salty’.

*solala* [солооны] ‘to salt’; pass. *solasja*.

*solantäg* [солантэг] ‘salt cellar, salt vessel’.

*sodzj* [содз] ‘cupped handful (both hands)’.

*sodta* [содтыны] ‘to add’; pass. *sodcja*.

*sodtäd* [содтэд] ‘increase, addition’; *sodtäda* ‘increased’.

*soj* [сой] ‘arm’; instr. *sojen*.

*sora* [сорны] ‘to mix, to blend’; frequ. *sorlala*; ([Ru] мѣшаю).

*soräd* [сореä] ‘mix(ture), blend’; *soräda* [сореää] ‘mixed, blended’.

*sos* [сос] ‘sleeve’; [?] *Saa sasse*. Cf. UEW 445.

*sota* [сотны] ‘to burn’; pass. *sotcja* [сотъчыны]; [≠] *Fi sytyn*.

*sua* [суны] ‘to reach, to catch’; dim. *sula*; [=] *Fi sautan* [= *saan?*]. Cf. UEW 429: *saa-*, SSA 3: 137.

*sulala* [сулооны] ‘to stand’.

*suuta* [суутны] ‘to stand up, to stop (intr.)’; frequ. *suutala* [суутооны].

*suutäda* [суутэдны] ‘to set up, to stop (tr.), to build, to raise’.

*suk* [сук] ‘thick, dense’; [=] *Fi sakia*. Cf. UEW 750.

*sukta* [суктыны] ‘to thicken (tr.)’; *Fi sakaan*. Cf. *suk*.

*sukma* [сукмыны] ‘to thicken (intr.)’; *Fi sakenen*. Cf. *suk*.

*suläk* [сулэк] ‘towel’.

## S, Š

*sur* [сур] ‘beer’.

*susjeg* [сусег] ‘grain-cheſt’; ([Ru] заſѣкъ).

*susjysja* [сусыйысьны] ‘to forbid, to deny’.

*syu* [сыы] ‘lap, fathom’; [=] Fi *syli*. UEW 444.

*sybda* [*sjibda*] [сибдыны] ‘to get ſtuck/caught/jammed’;  
eff. *sybdäda* [*sjibdäda*] [сибдэдны] ‘to faſten’.

*sybäda* [*sjibäda*] [сибедны] ‘to tolerate; to receive; to  
allow to approach’; [≠] Fi *suvaitſen*.

*synala* [сынооны] ‘to comb’; frequ. *synoola*.

*synan* [сынан] ‘comb’.

*sätär* [сэтэр] ‘blackcurrant’.

*sön* [сөн] ‘blood veſſel, vein; ſinew’; [=] Fi *suoni*. UEW  
441.

*sönäs* [*sönäsj*] [сөнэсь] ‘ſinewy; full of veins’; Fi *suoninen*.  
Cf. *sön*.

*söpecj* [сөпеч] ‘rudder, tiller’.

*sös* [сөс] ‘dirty’.

*söstäm* [сөстэм] ‘clean’.

*söstämta* [сөстэмтыны] ‘to clean’; frequ. *söstämtala*,  
*söstämtoola*.

*šabdy* [шабды] ‘flax’.

*šait* [*šajt*] [шайт] ‘rouble’.

*šar* [шар] ‘ſtrait’; [≠] Fi *salmi*.

*šeda* [шедыны] ‘to get caught in’.

*šep* [шеп] ‘ear (of corn)’; inſtr. *šeptän*.

*ši* [ши] ‘ſpear’.

*šobdy* [шобыды] ‘wheat’.

## Š

*šog* [шог] ‘sorrow’.

*šogsja* [шогсьыны] ‘to mourn’. [Also *шогооны*, cf. KSK 2: 785.]

*šojtcja* [šo(jt)cjcja] [шоччыны] ‘to rest’. [In the literary language: шойччыны, see KRK 739.]

*šom* [шом] ‘charcoal’.

*šom* [шом] ‘sour’.

*šomma* [шоммыны] ‘to sour (intr.)’.

*šomäs* [шомес] ‘leavening, sourdough’.

*šonyd* [шоныд] ‘warm’.

*šondy* [шонды] ‘sun’.

*šonala* [шонооны] ‘to warm’.

*šonäda* [шонэдны] ‘to heat’.

*sor* [шор] ‘river, brook’.

*šua* [шуны] ‘to say; to call sb sth’; pass. *šusja*.

*šulga* [шультга] ‘left’.

*šy* [шы] ‘(small) cowbarn’.

*šybita* [шыбитны] ‘to throw’; frequ. *šyblala* [шыблооны].

*šyd* [шyd] ‘soup’; ([Ru] щи).

*šyr* [шыр] ‘mouse’; [=] Fi *hiiri*. UEW 500.

*šyra* [шырны] ‘to cut, to clip’; frequ. *šyrala*.

*šyran* [шыран] ‘scissors’.

*šyrkäda* [шыркедны] ‘to strangle, to suffocate’.

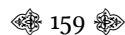
*šödäda* [шедэдны] ‘to reach, to catch’; ([Ru] добуду).  
[Could this be a misprint? *šedäda*?]

*šör* [шөр] ‘middle’; [≠] Fi *seura*.

*šörcjunj* [шөр чунь] ‘middle finger’.



477 Here we draw the reader's attention to Castrén's transcription of the affricate [tʃ] > *cj*. It consists of *ts* (or *c*) + *j* [ɟ], and the pronunciation is called *tsokanye* in Russian ('pronunciation with *ts*'). In Castrén's time this pronunciation seems to have been widely attested among the speakers of the Ižma dialect. The Komi researchers' phonetic transcription of the affricate ч is č' (or *tš*'). This pronunciation is called *chokanye* ('pronunciation with the hushing sibilant *tš*'). See ID (pp. 25–32).



## Š, C

- šörala* [шöрооны] 'to cut'; frequ. *šöroola*; Ru крою.  
*cjag*<sup>477</sup> [чaг] 'chip, shaving'; instr. *cjagjen*.  
*cjalj* [чaль] 'stick, twig'; *cjalj cjunj* [чaль чунь] 'little finger'.  
*cjardbi* [чaрдби] 'lightning'.  
*cjarla* [чaрла] 'sickle'.  
*cjer* [чep] 'ax'; [≠] *Fi kirves*.  
*cjeranj* [чepaнь] 'spider'.  
*cjeri* [чepи] 'fish'.  
*cjetcja* [cjetjcja] [чeтьчeны] 'to jump, to hop'; frequ. *cjetcjala* [чeччoоны].  
*cjoj* [чoй] 'sister'; instr. *cjojen*.  
*cjom* [чoм] 'hut'; *tentorium samojedarum* 'Samoyed tent'.  
*cjoryd* [чopыд] 'firm, strong'; *cjorydaa* [чopыдаa] 'firmly, strongly'.  
*cjorda* [чopдны] 'to harden (intr.)'.  
*cjordäda* [чopдэдны] 'to harden (tr.)'.  
*cjukar* [чyкaр] 'group, teem; collection'.  
*cjukarta* [чyкaртны] 'to gather, to collect'; pass. *cjukarteja* [чyкaрчeны].  
*cjuksala* [чyкcoоны] 'to shout'; pass. *cjuksasja* [чyк-сacьны].  
*cjunj* [чунь] 'finger'.  
*cjup* [чyп] 'teat, udder, breast'.  
*cjusi* [чycy] [чycы] 'ear-rings'.

## C, Ć

- cjuskys* [cjuškysj] [чушкысь] ‘wasp’.  
*cjöö* [čöö] ‘silent’.  
*cjökta*<sup>478</sup> [тшөктыны] ‘to order, to command’.  
*cjölala* [чөлооны] ‘to keep silent’; eff. *cjölāda* [чөлэдны] ‘to silence’.  
*cjöskyd* [чөскыд] ‘sweet; delicious’.  
*cjöskydma* [чөскыдмыны] ‘to get sweet’; eff. *cjöskyd-māda* [чөскыдмедны, чөсмедны] ‘to sweeten’.  
*cjöōta* [cjö(ö)ta] [чөтны] ‘to throw’.  
*čaikām* [čajkām] [тшайкем] ‘worn-out shoes’.  
*čak* [тшак] ‘mushroom’.  
*čarka* [тшапкыны] ‘to catch, to grab, to seize’; frequ. *čarkala*.  
*čega*<sup>479</sup> [чегны] ‘to break’; frequ. *čeglala*. Cf. KSK 2: 691.  
*čelja* [čellja] [тшелля] ‘slope’.  
*čeperta*<sup>480</sup> [чепертны] ‘to take a pinch, to nibble’. Cf. KSK 2: 694.  
*čepřala*<sup>481</sup> [чепрооны], idem. Cf. *čeperta*. Cf. KSK 2: 695.  
*čyg* [тшыг] ‘hunger’; instr. *čygjen*.  
*čygjala* [тшыгъёоны] ‘to be hungry’.  
*čygma* [тшыгмыны], idem. Cf. *čygjala*.  
*čygām* [тшыгем] ‘narrow, tight, scanty, distressed’.  
*čygāmta* [тшыгемтыны] ‘to be too tight, to constrict’.

<sup>478–481</sup> In the Ižma dialect the pronunciation of the affricates shows great variation: in some words ċ [тш] is used instead of cj [ч]. See ID (pp. 25–32).

## Č, T

- čykāda* [тшыкедны] ‘to spoil’.  
*čyn* [тшын] ‘smoke’.  
*čynala* [тшынооны] ‘to smoke’.  
*čyška* [тшышкыны] ‘to wipe, to sweep, to clean’.  
*čyč* [тшытш] ‘bite, bit, piece’.  
*čög* [тшög] ‘fat, lard’; *čög vyj* [тшög выи] ‘tallow’.  
*čöga* [тшögны] ‘to get fat(ter)’.  
*čökāda* [тшөкедны] ‘to fatten’.  
*tagäs* [тагес] ‘threshold’.  
*taljala* [талёоны] ‘to trample’; frequ. *taljoola*; [?] Fi *tallaan*. Cf. UEW 791, SSA 3: 263.  
*tasma* [тасма] ‘belt, strap’.  
*tašti* [*tasiti*] [тасьтi] ‘plate; cup’.  
*tacjes* [*tacjcjes*] [таччес] ‘local, from here’; (*tacje*’ [*tacjcje*] [тачче] ‘here’).  
*tes* [*tesj*] [тэсь] ‘flour avenacea, ground oatmeal’; instr. *teskän* [*tesjkän*].  
*tecja* [тэчны] ‘to put, to place, to set, to locate’; frequ. *tecjala*.  
*ti* [*ty*] [ты] ‘lungs’. Cf. KSK 2: 532: *ti* [ti] ‘you (pl.)’.  
*tidala* [*tydala*] [тыдооны] ‘to be seen, to appear’.  
*tjös* [тjöс] ‘board; plank’; instr. *tjöskän*.  
*tjöt* [тjöт] ‘aunt’; [≠] Fi *täti*; ([Ru] тётка).  
*toi* [*toj*] [той] ‘louse’; instr. *tojjen* [*tojen*]; [=] Fi *täi*. UEW 515.  
*toja* [тойны] ‘to crush, to mash’; frequ. *tojala*.

## T

*tom* [том] 'young'.

*toman* [томан] 'lock, bolt, bar'.

*tomnala* [томнооны] 'to lock, to latch'.

*tonja* [тонъя, тоонъя] 'today (adj.)'; (*ton* [тоон] 'today').

*topyd* [топыд] 'strong, tight, dence, close'.

*topäda* [топедны] 'to strengthen, to firm up, to tighten'; frequ. *topädala*, *topädoola*.

*topedcja* [*topetjca*] [топетьчыны, топеччыны] 'to become tighter, to become tense(r); press up against; pack together (instr.)'; frequ. *topedcjala* [*topetjcjale*].

*tor* [тор] 'piece, part, bit, slice'; instr. *torjen*; *torja* [торъя] 'single'.

*toš* [тош] 'beard'; instr. *toškän*.

*toštäm* [тоштэм] 'without a beard'.

*tuu* [туу] 'nail, peg, plug'.

*tug* [түг] 'broom, brush'; instr. *tugjen*.

*tui* [*tuj*] [туй] 'road, way'; instr. *tuijen* [*tujen*]; *oz tui* [*oz tuj*] 'does not suit'; [=] *Fi tie*. UEW 794, SSA 3: 288.

*tuitäm* [*tujtäm*] [туйтэм] 'insuitable, impassable, unfit'.

*tuivyysa* [*tujvyysa*] [туйвыыса] 'traveller'.

*tujala* [түёоны] 'to trail, to follow, to track, to hunt, to research'.

*tujes* [түес] 'cylindrical birchbark container with a lid'.

## T

*tulys* [тулыс] ‘spring’.

*tuusoo* [туусоо] ‘spring (adj.)’.

*tupka* [тупкыны] ‘to cover, to hide; to close (tr.)’; frequ.  
*tupkala* [тупкооны].

*tuprala* [тупрооны] ‘to wrap, to wind’.

*tupräd* [тупред] ‘roll, scroll, bundle’; *tupräda* [тупреда] ‘rolled up’.

*turi* [тури] ‘crane’.

*turyn* [турын, турун] ‘grass’.

*tusj* [тусь] ‘seed, grain’.

*tucjala* [*tucjcala*] [туччооны] ‘to step, to stride, to pace’.

*tucjem* [*tucjcjem*] [туччем] ‘step, stride, pace’. [In the literary language: тувччөм, see KRK 659.]

*ty* [ты] ‘lake’. [Castren’s Latin translation is *insula* (‘island’), but then the word should be written *di* [di]; cf. KSK 2: 618 and KSK 1: 448. The meaning here, however, is correct in Castrén’s manuscript: Ru озеро ‘lake’.]

*tyu* [тыы] ‘dragnet, net, seine’.

*tyr* [тыр] ‘full’.

*tyрма* [тырмыны] ‘to be enough, to suffice’.

*tyrta* [тыртны] ‘to fill, to fulfil’; pass. *tyrtcja*.

*tyrtäm* [тыртэм] ‘empty’.

*tyrtämta* [тыртэмтыны] ‘to empty’; frequ. *tyrtämtala*.

*tyrala* [тырооны] ‘to roll, to spin, to go around’.

*tyräda* [тыредны] ‘to roll (tr.), to spin (tr.), to wind, to rotate’.

*tyrägan* [тыреган] ‘circle, ring, hoop, rim’.

*T, U*

- tärmäda* [тәрмедны] 'to rush (tr.), to speed up'.  
*tärmasja* [тәрмасьны] 'to hurry (up), to rush (around)'.  
*töö* [töö] 'wind; winter'; [=] Fi *tuuli*, *talvi*. UEW 800; UEW 516.  
*tõla* [тõла] 'windy'; Fi *tuulinen*. Cf. *töö*.  
*tõloo* [тõлоо] 'winter (adj.)'; Fi *talvinen*. Cf. *töö*.  
*tööja* [тõõйыны] 'to pass the winter'.  
*tõlys* [tõlysj] [тõлысь] 'month; moon'.  
*tõba* [тõбны] 'to wrap, to bind, to roll up'; frequ. *tõbjala* [тõбъёоны].  
*tõda* [тõдны] 'to know'; [≠] Fi *tiedän*; [≠] Saa *diedam*. [Cf. Fi *tuntea*, SSA 3: 327.]  
*tõdmala* [тõдмооны] 'to find out, to get to know, to become acquainted with, to learn'; pass. *tõdmasja*.  
*tõdmäda* [тõдмедны] 'to get to know (tr.); to let know; to acquaint with, to notify, to inform, to present'.  
*tõdäda* [тõдэдны], idem; [≠] Saa *diedetam*; pass. *tõdedcja*.  
*tõdmoola* [тõдмоолыны] 'to study, to investigate'.  
*tõžda* [тõждыны] 'to worry, to take care of'; pass. *tõždysja*, idem.  
*tõždäm* [тõждэм] 'worry, care'.  
*uu* [yy] 'branch'; instr. *uujen*.  
*uujes* [yyec] 'branching'.  
*uu* [yy] 'base, lower part'; instr. *ulän*.  
*ulysa*, *uusa* [улыса, ууса] 'lower, nether'.  
*uutys* [уутыс] 'lining'; ([Ru] подкладка).

## U

*uuta* [утны] ‘to bark’.

*udžjes* [*udžjez*] [уджъез] ‘debt’. [In Castrén’s manuscript: *udžjez*.]

*udžjesa* [*udžjeza*] [уджъеза] ‘debtor’. [In Castrén’s manuscript: *udžjeza*.]

*uužda* [*užda*] [уждыны] ‘to lend’.

\* *udžala* [уджооны] ‘to work’. [The purpose of this asterisk is unknown. The more typical verb in the Ižma dialect is *röbitny*, see KSK 2: 300: рөбитны.]

*uia* [*uja*] [уйны] ‘to swim; to wade’; [=] Fi *uin*; [=] Saa *vuoijam*. UEW 542.

*ulj* [уль] ‘fresh, damp, moist, wet; unripe, raw’; *ulj njanj* [уль нянь] ‘1) bread dough, 2) fresh bread’.

\* *uly* [улы] ‘hole, opening; base’. See *ruizj*. [The asterisk seems to indicate that a synonym can be found elsewhere in the vocabulary.]

*un* [ун] ‘sleep’; [≠] Fi *uni*.

*untäm* [унтэм] ‘sleepless’.

*uzja* [узьны] ‘to sleep’.

*uzjanin* [узянін] ‘bedroom’; ([Ru] спальня).

*ur* [ур] 1) ‘squirrel’, 2) ‘kopeck’; [=] Fi *orava*; [=] Saa *orre*, *oarre*. UEW 343.

*usja* [усьны] ‘to fall, to trip, to stumble’; frequ. *usjala*, *usjoola*.

*uskäda* [*usjkäda*] [уськедны] ‘to drop, to knock (down, over)’; pass. *uskedcja* [*usjkecjja*] [уськеччыны] ‘to fall, to trip, to stumble’.

*una* [уна] ‘much, many’. [Addition in a letter to Sjögren (2/14 Nov. 1843, cf. *Epistulae* 1, p. 324): *una*, comp. *undžyk*; cf. Fi *enempi* ‘more’, *enin* ‘mošt’; Saa *æneb*, *embo* ‘more’, *ænemus* ‘mošt’.]

## V

*va* [ва] ‘water’; [=] Fi *vesi*; *vador* [вадор] ‘beach’. UEW 570.

*vatām* [ватэм] ‘waterless’.

*vama* [вамыны] ‘to get damp/wet’.

*val* [вал] ‘wave’; instr. *valjen*, \* *gyu* [gy] [гы]; [≠] Fi *aalto*. [Asterisk indicates a variant in other dialects, cf. KSK 1: 386.]

*vagadj* [ва гадъ] ‘water blister’.

*vaja* [вайны] ‘to bring, to carry’; dim. *vajla*; Fi *veän* [> [=], if Castrén’s form *veän* must mean *vien*, (1st sing.) from the verb *viedä* ‘to take away’.] Cf. UEW 573.

*vajeda* [ваедны] ‘to take, to carry, to transport, to lead’; Fi *veätän*. Cf. *vaja*.

*vargäs* [варгес] ‘artful’

*varyš* [варыш] ‘hawk, falcon’. [Castrén’s Latin translation is *noctua*, which means ‘owl’.]

*varta* [вартны] ‘to thresh; to hit’.

*važ* [важ] ‘old’; instr. *važän*; [=] Fi *vanha*. UEW 813.

*važja* [важъя], idem. Cf. *važ*.

*važma* [важмыны] ‘to grow old’; [Castrén’s translation:] Fi *vanhanen*.

*veit* [vejт] [вейт] ‘roof’; [≠] Fi *peitto*.

*vetja* [vettja] [ветъяны] ‘to cover’; frequ. *vetjala* [vettjala]; mom. *vetjyšta* [vettjyšta]; [≠] Fi *peitän*.

*velala* [велооны] ‘to get used, to learn’.

*veläda* [велэдны] ‘to teach’.

*vem* [вем] ‘brain’; *vema* [вема] ‘clever’.

*verma* [вермыны] ‘to be able, can’.

*vermala* [вермооны] ‘to win, to beat, to prevail’.



## V

*verda* [вердны] ‘to feed, to support; to give birth to someone’; pass. *verdcja*.

*veräs* [верес] ‘husband’.

*veez* [вез] ‘string’; instr. *veezjen* [везйэн].

*vež* [веж] ‘green, fresh; yellow’.

*vežäda* [вежедны] ‘to be green; to turn green’.

*veža* [вежа] ‘holy’; dim. *vežoo* [вежоо], idem; *vežoo lun* [вежоолун] ‘week’.

*veža* [вежны] ‘to change’; dim. *vežla*; frequ. *vežala*; pass. *vežsja* [вежсьыны].

*vežga* [вежгыны] ‘to envy’.

*veskyd* [vesjkyd] [веськыд] ‘right, straight, direct’; *veskydaa* [vesjkydaa] [веськыдаа] ‘right, directly’.

*veskala* [vesjkala] [веськооны] ‘to get into, to run into; to manage to get to; to happen upon’; eff. *veskäda* [vesjkäda] [веськедны] ‘to straighten, to aim, to direct’.

*vešta* [вештыны] ‘to move once, to remove’.

*veštala* [вештооны] ‘to move’; pass. *vešsja* [вешсьыны] ‘to move, to go, to shift’.

*vetla* [ветлыны] ‘to walk, to go’; [≠] Fi *vaellan*.

*vetlanin* [ветланін] ‘way, passage’.

*vidzj*, *muvidzj* [видз, му-видз] ‘meadow, fields’.

*vidzja* [видзны, видьны] ‘to take care of, to save, to spare, to protect’; [≠] Fi *viitson*; pass. *vidzsja* or *vitcysja*.

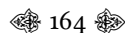
*vidzjala* [видзооны] ‘to fast’.

*via* or *vija* [вины] ‘to kill’.

## V

- visja* [висьыны] 'to be ill'.  
*visjem* ([or] *visām*) [висем] 'disease, sickness, illness'.  
*vištām* [*vištām*] [висьтэм] 'healthy'.  
*vijala* [виёоны] 'to leak, to run, to flow, to pour, to drop'.  
*vijyšta* [вийыштны] 'to trickle, to sprinkle'.  
*vijyštām* [вийыштэм] 'drop'.  
*vir* [вир] 'blood'; [=] *Fi veri*; [=] *Saa var*. UEW 576.  
*viräs* [*viräs]* [вирэсь] 'bloody'; *Fi verinen*; *Saa varij*. Cf. *vir*.  
*virtām* [виртэм] 'bloodless'; *Fi veritöin*; *Saa varatæbme*. Cf. *vir*.  
*vizla* [*vizjla*] [визьлыны] 'to look at; to examine'; frequ. *vizlala* [*vizjlala*] [визьлооны]; pass. *vizlysja* [*vizjlysja*] [визьлысьны].  
*vizlysjan* [*vizjlysjan*] [визьлысян] 'mirror'.  
*vidzjeda* [видзедны] 'to watch, to look at; to study'; frequ. *vidzjedala* [видзедны].  
*vizyu* [визыы] 'rapid'.  
*vizyuta* [визыытны] 'to stream, to flow, to run'.  
*viž* [виж] 'yellow; green'.  
*vižāda* [вижедны] 'to turn yellow'.  
*viska* [виска] 'spring, river streaming from a lake'; ([Ru] истокъ).  
*vištala* [*vištala*] [висьтооны] 'to tell, to say'; frequ. *vištoola* [*vištoola*] [висьтоолыны].

482 In the Ižma dialect, the pronunciation of the affricates shows great variation: in some words č [тш] is used instead of cj [ч]. See ID (pp. 25–32).



## V

*vičko*<sup>482</sup> [вичко] ‘church’.

*vitcja* [витьчыны, виччыны] ‘to wait for; to watch out for’; frequ. *vitcjala*.

*vitcytäm* [виччытэм] ‘unexpected’. [In the literary language: виччысьтэм, see KRK 106.]

*vo* [во] ‘year’; [=] Fi *vuosi*. UEW 335.

*vosja* [воя] ‘annual’.

*voa* [воны] ‘to arrive, to come’; dim. *vola*.

*voda* [водны] ‘to lie down’; cf. Fi *vuodet* ‘bed’; eff. *vodta* [votta] [воттыны], *vodtäda* [водтэдны] ‘to rock/lull/sing someone to sleep’. Cf. UEW 4.

*vodsasja* [vodzjsasja] [водзсасьны] ‘to (be) oppose(d to), to resist’; [≠] Fi *vaſtaan*.

*vodzj* [водз] ‘in front; early’; [≠] Fi *esi*; *vodzjczjunj* [водз чунь] ‘index finger’

*voj* (voi?) [вой] ‘night’; instr. *vojen*; [=] Fi *yö*; [=] Saa *igja*; *voj-kodzjuu* [вой кодзюу] ‘The North Star’. UEW 72. [The question mark may tell of Cast-rén’s hesitation with “diphthongs”.]

*vojja* [vojja] [войя] ‘nightly, nocturnal’; Fi *öinen*. Cf. *voj*.

*voityr* [vojtyr] [войтыр] ‘people’.

*vojeda* [воядны] ‘to hasten (intr.)’.

*volala* [волооны] ‘to whittle’; [=] Fi *vuolen*; [=] Saa *vuolam*. UEW 579–580.

*volj* [воль(пась)] ‘bed’. Cf. UEW 4.

*voljes* [волес] ‘insole’.

*voljsala* [вольсооны] ‘to cover, to make bed’.

## V

- voljk* [во́лк] ‘slippery’.  
*vok* [во́к] ‘brother’; [≠] Fi *veikko*.  
*vom* [во́м] ‘mouth’.  
*vorsa* [во́рсны] ‘to play’.  
*vorsan* [во́рсан] ‘play, game’.  
*vož* [во́ж] ‘shaft’; Fi *aisa*. Cf. UEW 605.  
*vos* [во́с] ‘vomit’; instr. *voskän*; [=] Fi *oksennus*; Saa [=] *vuoksenes*.  
*vosa* [во́сны] ‘to vomit’; frequ. *vosala*; [=] Fi *oksennan*; [=] Saa *vuoksam*. UEW 716.  
*vosja* [voʂʂja] [во́ссьыны] ‘to open (intr.)’.  
*vošta* [voʂʂta] [во́ссьыны] ‘to open (tr.)’.  
*voštan* [voʂʂtan] [во́ссьтан] ‘key’.  
*voša* [во́шны] ‘to disappear’.  
*vošäm* [во́шем] ‘loss, disappearance’.  
*vošta* [во́штыны] ‘to lose (sth)’; pass. *voštysja*.  
*vocja* [во́чны] ‘to fix, to mend’; frequ. *vocjala*.  
*vocjka* [во́чкины] ‘to hit, to strike, to beat’; frequ. *vocjkala* [во́чкооны].  
*vot* [во́т] ‘tax’.  
*votys* [во́тыс] ‘berry’.  
*vota* [во́тны] ‘to pick (berries)’.  
*vudž* [вуд́ж] ‘arch, bow’; instr. *vudžjen*; [≠] Fi *jousi*; [≠] Saa *juoks*.  
*vudžär* [вуд́жер] ‘shadow’.

## V

- vudžāräs* [*vudžāräsʲ*] [вуджерэсь] ‘shady’.  
*vugyr* [вугыр] ‘hook’.  
*vugrala* [вугрооны] ‘to angle, to jig, to fish; to nod off’.  
*vuugsja* [*vugzja*] [вугзьыны] ‘to throw away, to give up, to reject’; frequ. *vuugsjala* [*vugzjala*] [вугзёны].  
*vunda* [вундыны] ‘to cut’.  
*vundan* [вундан] ‘harvest, reaping’.  
*vinäda* [винэдны] ‘to forget’; frequ. *vinädoola*; [?] Fi *unhotan*. Cf. UEW 588.  
*vura* [вурны] ‘to sew’; dim. *vurla* [вурлыны]; frequ. *vurlala*; [≠] Fi *kuron*.  
*vurd* [вурд] ‘otter’.  
*vurdys* [*vurdysʲ*] [вурдысь] ‘mole’.  
*vursala* [*vurzala*] [вурзооны] ‘to whine’.  
*vuzala* [вузооны] ‘to sell’; frequ. *vuzoola*.  
*vuzäs* [вuzэс] ‘goods, merchandise’.  
*vuž* [вуж] ‘root’; instr. *vužjen*.  
*vužja* [вужъя] ‘with root’.  
*vušta* [вуштыны] ‘to scrape’.  
*vyu* [выы] ‘upper part/half’; [=] Fi *yli*. UEW 573–574.  
*vyusa*, *vylysa* [выыса, вылыса] ‘upper’.  
*vyi* [vyj] [вий] ‘butter; oil’; [=] Fi *voi*; [=] Saa *vuoi*; *vyj-cjeri* [вий чери] ‘salmon’. UEW 578.  
*vyijala* [*vyjala*] [выёны] ‘to spread, to smear’; frequ. *vyjjoala* [*vyjjoala*]; Fi *voitelen*. Cf. *vyj*.

## V

*vylj* [выль] ‘new’; *vyljys* [*vyljysj*] or *vylj pöö* [выльысь, выль пöö] ‘again, once more’.

*vyljma* [выльмыны] ‘to be renewed’.

*vyljda* [выльдны] ‘to renew, to renovate’; frequ. *vylj-dala*.

*vyn* [вын] ‘power’; [≠] Fi *voima*.

*vyna* [вына] ‘strong, powerful’; [≠] Fi *voimallinen*.

*vynsjala* [вынсёоны] ‘to get stronger’.

*vynsjeda* [вынседны] ‘to strengthen (tr.)’.

*vöö* [вöö] ‘horse’; *vöögid* [вöö гид] ‘barn’. See *gid*.

*vöipa* [vöjpa] [вöйпны] ‘to say, to tell’; frequ. *vöipala* [*vöjpala*] [вöйпооны] ‘to wail, to lament’; eff. *vöipäda* [*vöjpäda*] [вöйпедны] ‘to coax, to get (sb) to do (sth), to moan, to groan, to wail, to lament’.

*vöja* [вöйны] ‘to sink’; [=] Fi *vajoan*. UEW 551.

*vöjta* [вöйтны] ‘to sink (tr.)’; Fi *vajotan*; pass. *vöjtēja* [вöйтчыны] ‘to sink (in)’. Cf. *vöja*.

*vör* [вөр] ‘forest’.

*vörsa* [вөрса] ‘forest (adj.); forest spirit’.

*vöra* [вөрны] ‘to move’.

*vörsja* [vörzja] [вөрзъыны] ‘to move, to go, to shift, to wiggle (tooth)’.

*vörsjeda* [vörzjeda] [вөрзедны] ‘to move, to shift, to transfer’.

## V, Y

*vösnyd* (-id) [*vösnpjid*] [вөснийд] ‘thin, slender’; *vösni* [*vösnpj*] [вөсний] ‘thin’ [adv. вөснийа].

*vösнима* [*vösnpjima*] [вөснимыны] ‘to thin (out)’.

*vösnejeda* [вөснийэдны] ‘to thin (tr.)’.

*vöta* [вөтны] ‘to chase, to hunt, to pursue’; dim. *vötla*; eff. *vötäda* [вөтэдны] ‘to pursue, to hunt for’; [≠] *Fi ajatan*; [≠] *Saa vuogjetam*.

*yū* [ыы, ыли] ‘distance’; elat. *yl̥ys* [*yl̥ysj*] [ылысь].

*yl̥yssa* [ылыс(са)] ‘distant, remote’.

*yd̥žyd* [ыджыд] ‘big, great’; dim. *yd̥žydoo* [ыджыдоо] or *yždoo* [ыждоо]; [≠] *Fi iso*.

*yd̥žydma* [ыджыдмыны], *yžda* [ыждыны] ‘to grow (intr.)’.

*ylala* [ылооны] ‘to get lost, to err’; eff. *yläda* [ылэдны] ‘to cheat, to con, to mislead’.

*yrgän* [ырген] ‘copper’.

*yraš* [ыреш] ‘homebrew’.

*yž* [ыж] ‘sheep’; instr. *yžjen*.

*yšta* [ыстыны] ‘to send’; pass. *yštysja* [ыстысьны].

## Y, Ö

*yčka* [ытшкыны] ‘to mow’; frequ. *yčkala*.

*öbäs* [өбес] ‘door’; [≠] *Fi ovi*.

*önja* [әнъя] ‘present, modern’, (from *öni* [әни] ‘now’.

*özim* [өзjim] [өзим] ‘winter grain’.

*özta* [өзтыны] ‘to light, to start a fire’; pass. *özsja* [өзйыны] ‘to burn’.

*öš* [өш] ‘bull’; instr. *öškän*.

*öša* [өшны] ‘to hang (intr.)’; frequ. *öšala* [өшооны],  
*öšoola* [өшоолыны].

*öšäda* [өшедны] ‘to hang (tr.), to suspend’.

*öšyn* [өшын] ‘window’.

*ötik* [ötjik/öti/ötji] [өтік/өтик/өті/өти] ‘one’.

*ötikma* ‘to become lonelier, more forsaken’. See  
*ötikmäda*.

*ötikmäda* ‘to leave (sb) alone, to isolate’; *ötikmedcja*,  
*ötimedcja* ‘to get lonely, to isolate oneself’.  
[KSK, ID and SW do not give these verbs, nor  
does KRK; these verbs seem not to be part of the  
modern vernacular. Only SDW has mentioned  
these, see p. 220.]

*ökta* [өктыны] ‘to collect, to gather’.



483 These are corrections to words in the Izhma dialect and Latin words in the grammar (EGS).

[ 167 ]

### Corrigenda<sup>483</sup>

Page	line	[Castrén's correction]		[Editors' correction]
3	27	<i>ds'udz'yd</i>	<i>dz'udz'yd</i>	[> <i>džudžyd</i> ]
6	3	<i>in terdum</i>	<i>interdum</i>	
9	6	<i>ködzydo</i>	<i>ködzydoo</i>	[> <i>ködzjydo</i> ]
	18	<i>dzendoo</i>	<i>džendoo</i>	[> <i>dženjdoo</i> ]
12	5	<i>ös'ky</i>	<i>os'ky</i>	[> <i>ošky</i> ]
22	23	<i>Transitivi</i>	<i>Prosecutivi</i>	
36	1	<i>inka</i>	<i>injka</i>	
39	19	<i>kerkaä</i>	<i>kerkaä'</i>	
40	19	<i>džyk (not c'yk)</i>	<i>(džyk, not c'yk)</i>	[> <i>džyk</i> ]
41	6, 8	<i>dorä, sörä</i>	<i>dorä', sörä'</i>	[> <i>šörä'</i> ]
43	20	<i>gögärsä</i>	<i>gögärsa</i>	
44	22	<i>kos-soja</i>	<i>kos-soj (?)</i>	
46	14	<i>okmys</i>	<i>ökmys</i>	
49	14	<i>njoljän</i>	<i>njoljen</i>	
53	9	<i>Nyjä</i>	<i>Nyje</i>	
56	7	<i>nydta</i>	<i>nydtä</i>	
	27	<i>Ablativum</i>	<i>Ablativum 1. et Consecutivum</i>	
64	23	<i>myöskätäg</i>	<i>muöskätäg</i>	
78	22	<i>quarum</i>	<i>quorum</i>	
86	1	<i>äs</i>	<i>as</i>	
89	14	<i>(Cjukartcji. 1. jis (Cjukartcji) 1. jis</i>		
95	20	<i>te</i>	<i>ti</i>	
98	5	<i>otikma</i>	<i>ötikma</i>	
	17	<i>divideo</i>	<i>divido</i>	
99	13	<i>todäda</i>	<i>tödäda</i>	
100	2	<i>gägär</i>	<i>gögär</i>	
119	10	<i>loä</i>	<i>loo (?)</i>	[See Matt. 4:4]
	13	<i>vylä</i>	<i>vylä'</i>	
120	20	<i>vossis</i>	<i>vosjis</i>	[> <i>vossjis</i> ]
125	5	<i>jös</i>	<i>jöz</i>	
126	9, 10	<i>pidlä</i>	<i>pydla</i>	[> <i>pydilja</i> ]
127	3	<i>pydlä</i>	<i>pydla</i>	[> <i>pydilja</i> ]
134	8	<i>tödli</i>	<i>tödly</i>	
141	3	<i>kys</i>	<i>kyyz</i>	
144	14	<i>koljtcja</i>	<i>koljcja</i>	

The words *konjer* and *konjerma* are written differently in different places: *konjär*, *konjärma*, and the word *pacä'* [*pačä'*] appears (on page 131) as *pacje'*, which have been corrected without being requested, even though the general usage allows for both written forms. Allow B. L. himself to correct the lesser errors which we have not recognized.<sup>484</sup>

484 This text by Castrén is unlikely to have been intended for publication. Instead, it was probably an accompanying note that came with the manuscript. But who is this B.L. whom Castrén has given the right to correct his text? Timo Salminen (p.c.) has suggested that B.L. could be Bengt Olof Lille, who at that time was the professor of Church History at the university, and possibly he was the one to write a statement of recommendation for the Latin in Castrén's grammar, in reference to its readiness for publication.

## Abbreviations

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<b>ABE</b>	abessive	<b>ILL</b>	illative
<b>abess.</b>	abessive	<b>illat.</b>	illative
<b>ABL</b>	ablative	<b>imperat.</b>	imperative
<b>abl.</b>	ablative	<b>impers.</b>	impersonal
<b>ACC</b>	accusative	<b>ind.</b>	indicative
<b>acc.</b>	accusative	<b>INE</b>	inessive
<b>accus.</b>	accusative	<b>iness.</b>	inessive
<b>aċt.</b>	active	<b>inf.</b>	infinitive
<b>ADE</b>	adessive	<b>INSTR</b>	instructive
<b>adess.</b>	adessive	<b>instr.</b>	instructive
<b>adv.</b>	adverb	<b>intr.</b>	intransitive
<b>ALL</b>	allative	<b>La</b>	Latin
<b>allat.</b>	allative	<b>Lapp.</b>	Lappish (Saami)
<b>APPR</b>	approximative	<b>lit.</b>	literally
<b>CAR</b>	caritive	<b>loc.</b>	locative
<b>carit.</b>	caritive	<b>Matt.</b>	The Gospel of St. Matthew
<b>COM</b>	comitative	<b>NOM</b>	nominative
<b>com.</b>	comitative	<b>nom.</b>	nominative
<b>comparat.</b>	comparative	<b>orig.</b>	originally
<b>cons.</b>	consonant	<b>part.</b>	participle
<b>CONSEC</b>	consecutive	<b>pass.</b>	passive
<b>consec.</b>	consecutive	<b>pl.</b>	plural
<b>DAT</b>	dative	<b>plur.</b>	plural
<b>dat.</b>	dative	<b>POSS</b>	possessive (case)
<b>dim.</b>	diminutive	<b>pres.</b>	present
<b>eff.</b>	effective (causative)	<b>pret.</b>	preterite
<b>EGR</b>	egressive	<b>PROSEC</b>	prosecutive
<b>EGS</b>	Elementa grammatices Syrjaenae	<b>prosec.</b>	prosecutive
<b>ELA</b>	elative	<b>PX</b>	possessive suffix
<b>elat.</b>	elative	<b>refl.</b>	reflexive
<b>ESS</b>	essive	<b>Ru</b>	Russian
<b>ess.</b>	essive	<b>Saa</b>	Saami
<b>Eſt</b>	Estonian	<b>sg.</b>	singular
<b>Fi</b>	Finnish	<b>sing.</b>	singular
<b>frequ.</b>	frequentative	<b>superlat.</b>	superlative
<b>fut.</b>	future	<b>Swe</b>	Swedish
<b>GEN</b>	genitive	<b>TERM</b>	terminative
<b>gen.</b>	genitive	<b>term.</b>	terminative
<b>ger.</b>	gerund	<b>tr.</b>	transitive
<b>Gram.</b>	Grammar	<b>Zyr.</b>	Zyrian (Komi)

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**KSK 2** = **Безноскова**, Л.М. – **Айбабина**, Е.А. – **Забоева**, Н.К. – **Коснырева**, Р.И., 2014. *Коми сёрнисикас кывчукор кык юкӧна / Словарь диалектов коми языка в 2-х томах*. Т. II.: Ö–Я. Институт языка, литературы и истории Коми научного центра Уральского отделения Российской академии наук; под редакцией Л. М. Безносковой. ООО «Издательство «Кола», Сыктывкар.

**Latkin** = *Дневникъ Василия Николаевича Латкина, во время путешествія на Печору, въ 1840 и 1843 годахъ*. Часть первая. Березина, Е.П. – **Гурьева**, Н.В. (сост.), 2009. *Василий Николаевич Латкин (1809/10–1867) : К 200-летию со дня рождения*. Дайджест публикаций о В.Н. Латкине. Дневник Василия Николаевича Латкина, во время путешествия на Печору, в 1840 и 1843 годах: 1–154. Национальная библиотека Республики Коми – Центр биосферного воспитания «Биармия», Сыктывкар.

**Leinonen**, Marja, 2006. Omistussuhteiden ulokkeita: komin possessiivisuffiksien ei-possessiivisista funktioista. *JSFOu* 91: 93–114.

**LSFU** = *Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae*. Helsinki.

**Lytkin** 1889 = *Зырянскій край при епископахъ Пермскихъ и зырянскій языкъ*. Пособіе при изученіи зырянами русскаго языка. Составилъ Г. С. Лыткинъ. Типографія Императорской Академіи наукъ. Санктпетербургъ.

**MSFOu** = *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*. Helsinki.

**Ošiacica** = **Castrén**, M.A., 2018. *Ostiacica*. Edited by Ulla-Maija Forsberg. Manuscripta Castreniana, Linguistica V. Finno-Ugrian Society, Helsinki.

**Ploskov** – **Суранов** 2002 = **Плосков**, И.А. – **Цыпанов**, Е.А. *Коми гижан культура паньсыяс*. Россия наука академия, Уралса юкӧн, Коми наука шӧрин, Сыктывкар.

**Popova – Sažina** 2014 = Попова, Р.П. – Сажина, С.А. *Фонетические и морфологические особенности коми диалектов* (сравнительный аспект исследования). Министерство образования и науки Российской Федерации, ФГБОУ ВПО «Сыктывкарский государственный университет». Издательство СыктГУ.

**Punegova** 2015 = Пунегова, Г.В. *Сѣрнитам коми-мийн / Говорим по-коми: учебник коми языка для начинающих*. ООО «Издательство «Кола», Сыктывкар.

**Punegova** 2016 = Пунегова, Г.В. *Ӧнія коми кыв фонетика* (Фонетика современного коми языка): велӧдан пособие. Питирим Сорокин нима Сыктывкарса канму университетлӧн издательство.

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**Savvaitov** = *Грамматика зырянскаго языка*. Сочинение Павла Савваитова. Въ типографіи Императорской Академіи Наукъ. Санктпетербургъ 1849.

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**SDW** = *Syrjänisch-deutsches Wörterbuch nebst einem wotjakisch-deutschen im Anhang und einem deutschen Register* von F. J. Wiedemann. St. Petersburg 1880.

**Sjögren [A.J.]** 1834 = Ueber den grammatischen Bau der sŕjŕnischen Sprache mit Rücksicht auf die Finnische. *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*. VI<sup>me</sup> série. Sciences politiques, Histoire, Philologie. Tome second. 4<sup>me</sup> & 5<sup>me</sup> livraison: 149–169.

**SKES** = **Toivonen, Y.H.** – **Itkonen, Erkki** (toim.), 1955–1981. *Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja I–VII*. LSFU XII.

**SSA** = **Itkonen, Erkki** – **Kulonen, Ulla-Maija** (toim.), 1992–2000. *Suomen sanojen alkuperä. Etymologinen sanakirja 1–3*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 556, Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisu 62. Helsinki.

**SSKD** = *Сравнительный словарь коми-зырянских диалектов*. Составили: Т. И. Жилина, М. А. Сахарова и В. А. Сорвачева. Коми филиал Академии наук СССР. Коми книжное издательство, Сыктывкар 1961.

**SW** = *Syrjänischer Wortschatz nebst Hauptzügen der Formenlehre*. Aufgezeichnet von Yrjö Wichmann. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von T. E. Uotila. LSFU VII. 1942.

**Šergin [A.V.]** 1823 = *Міланъ Господьлӧнъ Исусъ Христосълӧнъ сватӧй Евангеліе Матѳейсанъ*. Типографіиынь Ник. Гречьлӧнъ, Санктпетербургъ.

**UEW** = **Rédei, Károly** (ed.), 1986–1988. *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Lieferung 1–7. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.

**Wiedemann** 1847 = *Versuch einer Grammatik der sŕjŕnischen Sprache nach dem in der Übersetzung des Evangelium Matthäi gebrauchten Dialekte*. Von Ferdinand Joh. Wiedemann. Verlag von Franz Kluge, Reval.

**Wiedemann** 1884 = *Grammatik der sŕjŕnischen Sprache mit Berücksichtigung ihrer Dialekte und des Wotjakischen* von Dr. F. J. Wiedemann. Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, St. Petersburg.

**Ylikoski, Jussi**, 2001. Havaintoja komin konverbeistä. *JSFOu* 89: 199–226.

**ӦKK** = *Ӧнія коми кыв. Морфология*. Дасьтӧма филологияса кандидат Г.В. Федюнёва кипод улын. Россияса наукаяс академия Коми наука шӧрин Кыв, литература да история институт. Коми небӧг лэдзанин, Сыктывкар 2000.



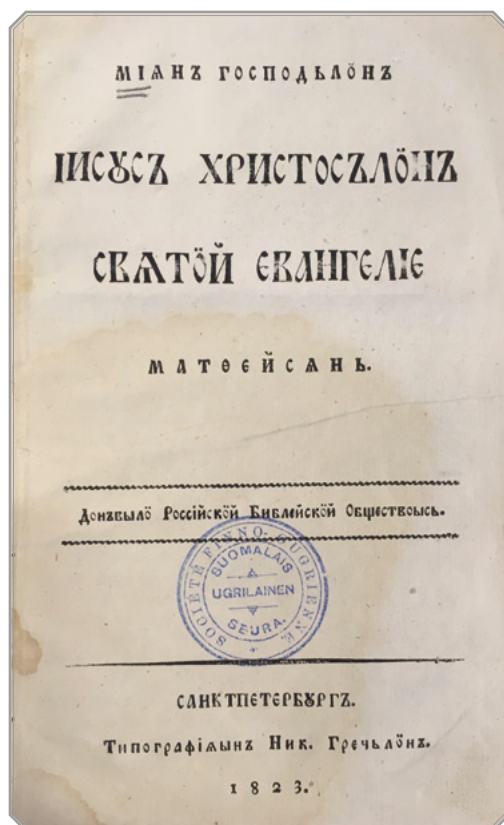
# Appendix

## The Gospel of Matthew (Chapters 4–7) in the Vyčegda Dialect

### Translated by Aleksandr Šergin (1823)

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This is the translation of chapters 4–7 from the Gospel of Matthew into the Vyčegda dialect by A.V. Šergin (*Міанъ Господьлѣнъ Іисусъ Христосълѣнъ сватѣй Евангеліе Матѣейсѣанъ*), published in Saint Petersburg in 1823. (Cf. EGS, p. II and p. V, note 6.) They are presented here for comparative purposes, as they represent the base from which M.A. Castrén made his own Ižma translation. The editors refer to this source when commenting Castrén’s translation.



A picture of the title page of the Gospel of Matthew, mentioned above, from a volume in the library of the University of Helsinki. This volume has moved there from the library of the Finno-Ugric Society (note the stamp). The Society had received this volume in 1883 from the collections of the author and researcher C.A. Gottlund. According to the information in the volume, it was sent by the Hungarian linguist Antal Reguly from St Petersburg in 1842 – apparently to Gottlund.

## Свѣтѣй Бѣрвисѣталѣмъ.

7

## Нѣдѣдъ юрѣ.

Сѣки Исѣсѣ нѣдѣма кѣлы дѣхѣнѣ пѣстынаѣ, ылѣ-  
дѣмъ понда діавѣлѣсанѣ.

2. И видѣавмысѣтѣ нѣламынѣ лѣнѣ, и нѣла-  
мынѣ кой, сы бѣрти чыгмысѣ.

3. И комысѣтѣ сыдынѣ ылѣдлысѣ шѣисѣ: Тѣ-  
кѣ ѣнлѣнѣ Пи, шѣ, мѣдѣ тѣмъ изхѣсѣ лѣсны  
нанѣасѣ.

4. А сымъ шѣисѣ кодѣмъ: гижѣдѣ ылынѣ ѣмъ,  
нѣ ѣтикѣ нанѣ понда лѣкѣмъ лѣмъ мѣртѣ, а ыдѣсѣ-  
мъ кыкысѣ, кодѣ ѣнѣ комысѣ пѣтѣ.

5. Сѣкѣ бѣсѣтысѣ сысѣ діавѣлѣмъ свѣтѣй карѣ,  
и свѣтѣдысѣ сысѣ кычѣкѣ вѣктѣ ылѣ,

6. И шѣѣ сылы: Тѣкѣ ѣнлѣнѣ Пи, ѣсѣкѣтѣ  
ѣлѣ: гижѣдѣ ылынѣ кѣдѣ шѣѣмъ: Кыдѣмъ ѣсѣсѣ  
ѣнгѣлѣмъ чѣктѣмъ тѣ понда (видѣны тѣнѣ) и  
кѣсѣ ылѣ бѣсѣтѣсны тѣнѣ, мѣдѣ онѣ дѣйдѣмъ ѣсѣдѣ  
кѣктѣ изхѣдѣнѣ.

7. Исѣсѣ шѣисѣ сылы: сыдѣмъ гижѣмъ: ѣнѣ  
ылѣдѣмъ ѣсѣдѣмъ Господѣ ѣнѣмѣсѣ.

8. Бѣмъ бѣсѣтысѣ сысѣ діавѣлѣмъ зѣкѣмъ дѣждѣмъ  
гѣравыло, и пѣтѣкѣдлысѣ сылы ыдѣмъ царѣствѣсѣ тѣмъ  
югѣдысѣ, и сѣмъмъ налысѣ.

9. И шѣисѣ сылы: ыдѣсѣнѣ тѣмъ Тѣныдѣмъ сѣтѣ,  
кѣрѣмъ юрѣитѣмъ мѣнымъмъ мѣдѣмъ.

10. Сѣки сылы шѣѣ Исѣсѣ: мѣнѣмъ мѣдынысѣ, сѣ-  
тѣмъ; гижѣмъ кѣдѣмъ ѣмъ: ѣсѣдѣмъ Господѣ ѣнѣмъ  
юрѣитѣмъ и сылы ѣтѣмъмъ сѣжѣитѣмъ.

11. Сѣки ѣновѣтысѣ сысѣ діавѣлѣмъ: и сѣ ѣнгѣлѣ-  
мъмъ кѣисѣны и пондысѣны сѣжѣитѣны сылы.

12. Кылысѣмъ же Исѣсѣ, мѣмъмъ Юѣннѣмъ кѣтѣмъ кѣ-  
мъ, мѣнысѣмъ Гѣлѣлѣѣмъ.

13. И ѣновѣтысѣмъ Назѣрѣтѣмъ, кѣисѣмъ, и пондысѣмъмъмъ



моредорз Капернаѹмз карынз, Завѹлонз и Нефѹдалимз  
гѹгѹрынз:

14. Медз лосаз шѹѹмз Исаіа пророкѹнз, коды шѹѹ:

15. Мѹ Завѹлонлѹнз и мѹ Нефѹдалимлѹнз море-  
лань тѹйкѹзл Јорданзпѹлѹнз Галилеа јѹззаслѹнз.

16. Пѹкалысь јѹззасз пемыдзинынз адзисны  
ѹджыз югыз, и пѹкалысьаслы пемыдз кѹланз  
стѹрѹнаынз, косьсисз югыз налы.

17. Сѹкисань пондысз Исѹсз кѹлѹдны и шѹ-  
ны: пѹкаитче, матысьтысз вѹдз небеснѹй царствѹ.

18. Ветлыгѹнз же Галилейскѹй моредорты ад-  
зисз кыкз кокѹсз, Симонѹсз, коды шѹсе Петрз, и  
Андрейѹсз кокѹ сылысь, тывз чѹвтыгѹнз морѹ, ныл  
вѹдз кѹлыны черикѹјисьасз.

19. И шѹисз наалы: Мебѹрысь локтѹ, и тѹа-  
нѹсз Ме кера мортзкѹјисьаслѹнз.

20. Наа же регидз колисны тывзасз, и сыбѹ-  
рынз мѹдысны.

21. И мѹнѹмз кѹрынз сѹтысь, адзисз мѹкѹдз  
кыкз кокѹсз, Јоакѹвѹсз Зеведейлысь и кокѹ сылысь  
Јоаннѹсз, пыжынз асланысз Зеведей батькѹдз, кѹчѹ-  
лыгз ассинысз тывзасз, и корисз нааѹсз.

22. Наа же регидз колисны пыжз и батьнысѹ  
ассинысз, мѹдысны сыбѹрысь.

23. И ветлысз Исѹсз быдсѹнз Галилеагѹгѹрз,  
кѹлѹдысз нааѹсз чѹкѹртчемзасзинынз, и висѹ-  
тавлысз Ѣвангеліе царствѹјилысь, и бѹрдѹда-  
лысз быдсама висемз и быдсама вермытѹмз јѹз-  
дысь.

24. И петысз юѹрз сыјилысь быдсѹнз Сириакѹ-  
зл, и вадлысны сыдинѹ быдз сикасз висисьасѹсз,  
кодзасз висисны Ѣссань и тѹлысьсаль, и кодз-  
асз кіэнз и кѹкѹнз эзз вермыны кѹрзедчины и  
бѹрдѹдысз нааѹсз.

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9

25. И мѣдысны сывѣрысь ўна іѣзз Галилеамьсь,  
и даскарьсь, Іерусалимьсь, Іудеамьсь, и Іорданъ-  
самьсь.

## Б И Т Ъ Д З Ю Р З.

Іѣзѣсз адзимьсьтз же каисз гѣравылѣ: и корз  
пѣксисз, сѣки вѣисны сыдинѣ велѣдчисьсьсз сы-  
лѣнз.

2. И сыа ассисз комз косьтмьсьтз, велѣдысз  
намосз и шѣѣ:

3. Шѣдаѣсь нищейсьсз лѣлѣнз; налѣнз вѣдз эмз  
небеснѣй царство.

4. Шѣдаѣсь бѣрдысьсьсз: наа вѣдз гажедасны.

5. Шѣдаѣсь рамзсьсз: мый налѣнз вѣдз лѣасз мѣ.

6. Шѣдаѣсь сѣдемьсь и юмьсьмѣзз чыгзальсь-  
сьсз, вѣськыдз понда; мый наа вѣдз пѣтасны.

7. Шѣдаѣсь милѣсьтасьсз, мый наа милѣйтѣма-  
ѣсь лѣасны.

8. Шѣдаѣсь сѣстѣмз сѣлѣмасьсз, мый наа ѣнз-  
мѣсз адзасны.

9. Шѣдаѣсь миритысьсьсз, мый наа пѣанзсьсз  
ѣнзлѣнз шѣсасны.

10. Шѣдаѣсь вѣтлѣмзсьсз вѣськыдз понда, мый  
налѣнз эмз небеснѣй царство.

11. Шѣдаѣсь ти, корз видасны тѣанѣсз и вѣтла-  
сны и шѣасны быдсама лѣѣкз кыкз тѣаньылѣ ве-  
щѣро Мепонда.

12. Радѣйтсе и гажѣдсе, мый ыджыдз тѣанз  
мырсемз дѣнз небесамьснз: сыдзи вѣдз вѣтлысны  
прѣрокзсьсз, кѣдзсьсз (вѣлыны) вѣдзинз тѣаньсьсз.

13. Ти эмѣсь совз мѣлѣнз: корз же совз дѣба-  
лѣ, мыенз соласьсз? сѣссѣ нинѣкытсѣнинз ѣзз шо-  
гмы, кыдзи сѣмынз кысьтны ортѣѣ и талѣвны  
мортзсьсз.



14. Ти эмось югыдз јозлы: ооз кермы карз дзеб-  
сины горабылынг сѣлалыгѣнг.

15. И ѳзтымысьтз би, ооз пѣктыны сыесз вѣктз-  
ѣлѣ, но-бикидзанынѣ, и югзалѣ быдсѣнлы, кодзасз  
эмось оланзиннынг.

16. Сыдзи медз югзаласз тѣанз югыдз мортз-  
асз кодзинз, медз адзасны тѣанлысь вѣрз керѣмз-  
асз, и сшкасны Батесз тѣанлысь, коды небесаасз  
вылынг.

17. Энз дѣмайтѣ, мый Ме кои рѣзѣритны за-  
конз, лиео прорекзасѣсз, Ме эгз ко рѣзѣритны, но  
тыртны.

18. Бесъкыда вѣдз шѣа тѣанлы: небеса и мѣ  
мѣнасз; некѣѣмз же медса ичетз гиѣѣмз зако-  
нысь ооз мѣнз сытѣгз, кытчеѣзъ быдсѣнг ооз  
тыртчи.

19. Корз коды разѣритасз таа ичетз заповѣдъ-  
асысь ѣтикѣсз и велѣдасз сыдзи мортзасѣсз: сѣа  
ичетѣжыкз шѣасз небеснѣй царствосынз: а коды  
керасз и велѣдасз, сѣа ыѣжыдз шѣасз небеснѣй  
царствосынз.

20. Шѣа вѣдз Ме тѣанлы: корз бесъкыда ѣломз  
тѣанз ооз ло ыѣжыѣжыкз книжникзасз и фари-  
сейасз дорысь, онз пырѣ небеснѣй царствѣѣ.

21. Кылынныдз ти, мый кысѣталѣма кѣлы  
важз јозлы: энз ви: кодыже вѣасз, мыжа лѣасз  
сѣѣзлы.

22. А Ме шѣа тѣанлы: быдѣнг, коды лѣгалѣ  
асз вокз ыѣлѣ кеѣѣро, мыжа лѣасз сѣѣзлы: коды  
же шѣасз асз воклы, нинѣмз мортз: мыжа лѣасз  
ыѣжыѣжыкз сѣѣзлы: кодыже шѣасз, мыкыѣтѣмз,  
мыжа лѣасз кѣслытѣмз вѣинз сотсины.

23. И сыѣзъ корз\_валнз ассиѣа козинз ѣлатрь-

## СКЛТӨЙ БҮРКИЕСТАЛӨМЗ.

II

кодзе, и сәки дәмкыладз үсе, мый тәнадз вокз лөгз кѳтѳ тәкылѳ.

24. Коль сәтсе ассидаз козинз ѳлтарь кодзасз, и мѳнз войдарз бѳрась асз вокыдкѳдз, сәки локз и кай козинз, ассидаз.

25. Миритси региджыкз, кодкѳдз лөгз кѳтанз, кыдсѳдз тѳ эмз тѳйкылынз сыкѳдз, медз сыа озз сетз тәнѳ сѳдѳалы, а сѳдѳа медз озз сетз тәнѳ слѳгалы, и медз озз чѳвтны тәнѳ тюрмаѳ.

26. Бесъкыда шѳа тәныдз; онз пѳтз сѳтысь, кытсѳдз онз сетз медвѳрза пѳлѳшка.

27. Кылынныдз, мый шѳѳма вѳлы важжаслы: энз прелюводѳйсткѳйтз.

28. А Ме шѳа тѳанлы: быдѳнз, коды бидзѳдласз јѳзи гѳтырз былѳ омѳль дѳмѳнз, люводѳйсткѳйтсизнинз сыкѳдз асз сѳлѳмнасз.

29. Корз же весъкыдз синз тәнадз ылѳдѳ тәнѳ, кыски сыесз, и шыевитз асздинсидаз: бѳрджыкз кѳдз тәныдз, медз кошасз ѳтикз торз тәнадз, а не ачидз быдсѳнз шыевитѳма лѳанз кѳстѳмз бѳѳ.

30. И корз весъкыдз ки тәнадз ылѳдѳ тәнѳ, керакз сыесз, и шыевитз асздинсидаз: бѳрджыкз кѳдз тәныдз, медз кошасз ѳтикз торз тәнадз, а не ачидз быдсѳнз шыевитѳма лѳанз кѳстѳмз бѳѳ.

31. Шѳѳма же вѳлы: корз коды лѳдзасз ассизз гѳтырз, медз сетасз сылы ансѳдснз гижѳдз.

32. А Ме шѳа тѳанлы: быдѳнз, коды лѳдзасз ассизз гѳтырз прелюводѳаніевысь ѳпричь, сыа чѳктѳ сыесз прелюводѳйсткѳйтны: и коды лѳдземѳсз босьтасз, прелюводѳйствѳйтѳ.

33. Бара ти кылыныдз, мый висъталѳма вѳлы важжаслы: веңѳрѳ энз јѳрси, но керз, мыишь јѳрсинз Господь кодзинз.



34. Ме же шѡа тіанлы: некыдзь не јѡсины:  
ни небесаѡнз, сым вѡдз Престола эмз ѡнѡнз.

35. Ни мѡѡнз, мый сым эмз кекѡвз Сылѡнз:  
ни Јерѡсалимѡнз, мый сым эмз карз ыджыдз царь-  
лѡнз.

36. Ни энз јѡси асладз јрѡнз, сыпонда мый  
ѡнз вермы тѡ ѡтикз јрси једжыдѡсз, либѡ сјѡдѡсз  
керны.

37. Медз же тіанз ласз јѡрсанз кывз: сыдзь,  
сыдзь; авѡ, авѡ; мый же кыкты тавыс, сым эмз  
лѡкаѡйсань.

38. Ти кывлынныдз, мый шѡма вѡлы: синз  
ѡинзпыдѡи, и пинь пиньпыдѡи.

39. Ме же шѡа тіанлы: энз вѡдзсась лѡклы;  
но карз же коды кѡчкасз тѡнѡ веськыдз цѡкаѡ,  
вергѡдз сылы и мѡдарѡ.

40. И коды кѡсзе тѡкѡдз сѡдитснны и мырѡи-  
ны тенсидз вылысз паськѡмз, сетз сылы и дѡрѡмз.

41. И коды тѡнѡ нѡѡдасз аскѡдысз ѡтикз верстз,  
мѡнз ськѡдз и кыкѡсз.

42. Коды тѡнсидз корѡ, сетз: и коды кѡсзе  
тѡнсидз ѡждыны, энз ѡткажитз.

43. Ти кывлынныдз, мый висьталѡма: лѡбитз  
ассидз вѡкѡсз и энз лѡбитз ассидз врагѡсз.

44. Ме же шѡа тіанлы: лѡбитѡ ассиньдз  
врагзасѡсз, вѡрсѡе тыанѡсз јѡрыссьасѡсз, вѡрз  
керѡ кодзасз ѡзз лѡбитны тіанѡсз, и кекмѡ ты-  
анлы лѡкз керыссьасз вѡсна, и тіанѡсз вѡтлыссь-  
асз вѡсна.

45. Медз лѡанныдз пѡанзасз асланыдз Бать-  
лѡнз, коды эмз небесаасзынз: сыпонда мый сым  
чѡктѡ аслаз шѡндылы лѡдзны югыдз ѡмѡльасзвылѡ  
и вѡрхасзкыло, и зѡрны веськыда олыссьасзвылѡ и  
ѡмѡла олыссьасзвылѡ.

## СВѦТѦЙ БѢРВИСЬ ТАЛОМЪ.

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46. Корз ти понданныдз любитны асьнытѦ любы-  
тысь асѡсз, кѡчѡмѡсз тѦанлы витсисьны донз? и мы-  
тарь асз озѡ керны сыеже?

47. И корз окаланныдз ассиныдз дръгз асѡсз сѡ-  
мынз, мый выкты керанныдз; и некерной асз озѡ кер-  
ны сыеже?

48. Аѡ же ти сымында бѡрѡсь, кыдзи и Бать  
тѦанз небесной эмз бѡрз.

## К в а й т ѡ д з ю р з.

**В**итсисе юканы ассиныдз милѡстина јѡззвод-  
зинз, корз адзены наа тѦанѡсз: а мѡдз но-  
гѡнз тѦанлы озз ло некѡчѡмз мынтѡмз асланыдз  
небесной Бать ань.

2. Корз же тѡ юкланз милѡстьтина, энз ошзінсь  
аснадз, кыдзи лицемерз асз керѡны јѡзз чюкарз-  
асынз и ѡличьвыкз асынз, медз веськѡ ошканы  
нааѡсз јѡзз: веськыда шѡа тѦанлы: наа бѡсьтыс-  
нынз асланысз донз.

3. А тѡ сыдзъ юклы милѡстьтина, медз озз  
тѡдз тѡнадз шѡйга ки, мый керѡ веськыдыдз.

4. Медз лоасз милѡстьтина тѡнадз гѡсенз, и  
Бать тѡнадз, коды адзе гѡсенз, мынтасз тѡныдз  
авнѡ.

5. И корз кевманз, энз ло кыдзи лицемѡрз-  
асз, кодз асз любитѡны јѡзз чюкѡрз асынз и ѡличь-  
выкз асынз сѡбтавлѡмѡнз кевмыны, медз адзасын-  
ныаѡсз јѡзз, веськыда шѡа тѦанлы, ныа бѡсьтыс-  
нынз асланысз донз.

6. А тѡ, корз кевманз, пырз асладз кѡмѡ, и  
аSSIDZ ѡдзесз пѡдлавысьтз, кевмы асладз Бать-  
лы, коды озз тыдакз: и Бать тѡнадз, коды адзе  
гѡсенз, мынтасз тѡныдз авнѡ.



7. Кекмыгөнз же энз кыкты сјѳрнитѳ, кызди некѳрнѳйасз: ныл вѳдз дѳмайтѳны, мый асланысз ѳна сјѳрнитѳмѳнз лѳасны кылѳмаѳсь.

8. Энз лѳѳ нал кѳдъ: тѳдѳ вѳдз тѳанз Бать, мыјисъ тѳанлы нѳжда, тѳанз кѳртѳдзъ.

9. А ти кекмѳ сыдзи: Бате мѳанз, коды эмз небесаасз кылынз! мѳдз сватитсасз нимз тѳнадз:

10. Мѳдз вѳасз царство Тѳнадз: мѳдз лѳасз вѳла Тѳнадз, кызди небеса кылынз и мѳкылынз.

11. Нань мѳанлы пѳтмѳнз сѳтз мѳанлы талѳн-кежѳ:

12. И энсѳтз мѳанлы ѳджѳззасз мѳанлысъ, кызди и ми энсѳталамз асланымз ѳджѳззаслы.

13. И энз нѳѳдз мѳанѳсз ылѳѳмз кылѳ: а кидзъ мѳанѳсз лѳкавѳйисъ. Тѳнадз вѳдз эмз царство и кынз и слака вѳкзкежѳ. Аминь.

14. Корз понданныдз лѳдзны мѳртзаслысъ грѳхзасз, лѳдзасз и тѳанлысъ небеснѳй Бать тѳанз.

15. А корз онз пондѳ лѳдзны мѳртзаслысъ грѳхзасз, озз лѳдзъ и Бать тѳанз тѳанлысъ грѳхзасз.

16. Корз же видзаланыдз, энз лѳѳ гажтѳмѳсь, кызди лицѳмѳрзасз; нал вѳдз склѳны сѳки шѳгз чѳжѳмаѳсь, мѳдз адзасны видзалѳмз наалысъ јѳзз: вѳсъкыда шѳа тѳанлы: нал вѳсѳтысны нинз аслынысз дѳнз.

17. А тѳ видзалыгадз мавѳтз ассидз јрз, и мысъкы ассидз чѳжѳмз.

18. Мѳдз онз петкѳдси мѳртзаслы видзалѳмѳнз, но асладз Батьлы, коды озз тыдакз: и Бать тѳнадз коды адзе гѳсенз, мынтасз тѳныдз авнѳ.

19. Энз чѳкѳртѳ аслыныдз эмѳѳрз мѳкылынз, кѳны возз и симз сјѳје и кѳны гѳсасисъсасз кодзјѳны и гѳѳны:

20. Но чюкѣртѣ аслыныдъ эмбѣрѣ небеса кылынгъ,  
кѣны ни козъ ни симъ озъ сѣй и кѣны гѣсасисъ-  
асъ озъ коджыны и озъ гѣны.

21. Кѣны коджъ эмбѣрѣ тѣанъ, сѣтѣнъ лоасъ и  
сѣлѣмъ тѣанъ.

22. Югдѣдысь аслыдъ эмъ синъ: и сыдъ синкѣ  
тѣнадъ кесъкыдъ, быдсѣнъ ачидъ лоанъ кыдъ.

23. Коръ же синъ тѣнадъ омѣль: сѣки быдсѣнъ  
ачидъ пемыдъ лоанъ. и сыдъ коръ кыдысъ тѣ  
пычкинъ эмъ пемыдъ, сѣки пемыдъисъ кѣчѣмъ  
нинъ?

24. Некодъ озъ кермы ѣджавны кыкъ господинъ-  
лы: либѣ ѣтиксѣ любитасъ, а мѣдѣ озъ: либѣ ѣтиксѣ-  
динасъ кѣтсисасъ, и мѣдѣ энѣктасъ. Онъ кермѣ  
ѣджавны бѣзлы и мамѣны.

25. Сыпенда шѣ тѣанлы: энъ тѣждѣ асланыдъ  
лолѣнъ, мый тѣанлы сѣйны и мый кыны: и мы-  
ѣнъ аснытѣ пасътѣдны: лолыдъ абѣѣмый ыджыдъ-  
жыкъ сѣданысь и асѣто пасътѣдомысь?

26. Видъедлѣ небеснѣй птицасъзылѣ: наа озъ  
кѣдзыны, ни озъ кѣндыны, ни озъ чюкѣртны жыт-  
никѣ; и тѣанъ небеснѣй Батъ вердѣ налѣсъ. Ти  
абѣѣмый наадѣрысь бѣрджыкѣсь.

27. Коды же тѣанысь мырсѣмѣнъ вермасъ содъ-  
тыны асласъ ыдмѣмлы кѣтъ ѣтиксъ гырзасѣда.

28. И пасъкѣмъ понда мый тѣжданныдъ? Видъ-  
едлѣ мѣвыкъ тѣрынъзасъзылѣ, кыдзи наа ыдмѣ-  
мѣны, озъ ѣджавны ни озъ пѣчкыны?

29. Шѣ же Ма тѣанлы: и Соломонъ асласъ ыдъ  
славадырѣи сыдзи ѣзъ пасътасълы, кыдзи ѣтиксъ  
наа пычкысь.

30. Коръ же мѣвыкъ тѣрынъ, коды талѣнъ ыдмѣ,  
и аски шыбытѣма лоасъ пачѣ, бѣзъ сыдзи пасътѣ-  
дѣ: озѣмый тѣанѣсъ зѣбджыкъ, ѣчабѣритысьасъ.



31. Энö же тöждысе сiдрнiнз: мый мiанлы сiдiны, ливö мый юны, ливö мый пасьтавын?

32. Быдсöнз вöдз сыесз некöрнöйасз корсены: тöдö вöдз небеснöй Бать тiанз, мый таа быдсöнз тiанлы колö.

33. Корсе же вöйдöрз царство бныльс и веськыдз сылысь, и сыа быдсöнз сетсасз тiанлы.

34. И сыдзь энз тöждысе аскiа лiнпöндa, аскiа лiнз ачисз пöндасз тöждысьны аскöсна: тырмасз быдсама лiнлы асласз мырсемз.

#### С и з и м ö д з ю р з.

Энз сöдитö, медз онз лöб сöдитöмaсь.

2. Кöчöмз сöдöнз вöдз сöдитанныдз, сöчöмöнз сöдитасны и тiанöсз; и кöчöмз мöрaнз мöрайтанныдз, сöчöмöнз же мöрайтасны и тiанлы.

3. Мый же тэ адзaнз асладз вöкз синмысь ўвз, а асладз синмысь онз адзи и керз?

4. Кыдзь же тэ шöанз асладз вöклы, кай мө перьa тэнадз синмысь ўвз, корз тэнадз асладз синмадз керз?

5. Лицемöрз, перьи вöйдöрз асладз синмысь керз, и сэки адзaнз перьины асладз вöкз синмысь ўвз.

6. Энз сетö скатöйöсз пöнзаслы; и энз шыбaлö ассиныдз донa иззасз порсьасз вöдзe, медз озз тaлaкны наа асланысь кöкзасöнз, и бергöдчимысьтз медз озз кöртчaкны тiанöсз.

7. Корö и сетсасз тiанлы; корсе и адзaнныдз: голедсе, и косьтасны тiанлы.

8. Быдöнз вöдз, коды корö, вöсьтасз, и коды корсе, адзасз, и голедсисьлы вöсьсасз.

9. Эмö тiанзкостынз сöчöмз мортз, коды, корз

## СВАТЌЙ БУРВИСТАЛОМЪ.

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пѣсы сылѣнъ корасъ сылысь нань, сетасъ сылы  
изъ?

10. И коръ корасъ чери, сетасѣ сылы змѣйѣсъ?

11. И сыдзь коръ ти эмѣсь лѣкѣсь, кѣжанныдъ  
асланыдъ пѣлны сетакны вѣрѣсъ: кымынысь ѡна  
зѣкъ тѣанъ небеснѣй Бать сетасъ корысьаслы сы-  
ордысь вѣръ.

12. И сыдзи быдсѣнъ, кыдзи тѣанлы колѣ,  
медъ керасны тѣанлы мортъасъ, сыдзи и ти керѣ  
намы, сые кѣдъ и эмъ законъ и пророкъасъ.

13. Пырѣ дзескыдъ ѡдзесъасѣдъ: сыпенда мы  
пасъкыдъ ѡдзесъасъ и пасъкыдъ тѣй нѣѡдоны омѣль-  
былѣ; и ѡна эмъ мѣнысьасъ сѣти.

14. Кыдзи векнидъ ѡдзесъасъ и дзескыдъ тѣй  
нѣѡдоны вѣрбылѣ, и эча наѡсѣ ддзисъасъ!

15. Витсисе пѣржалысь пророкъасысь, кодъасъ  
волѣны тѣандынѣ ыжкѣ пасъкѣмъасѣнъ, и пыч-  
кочнанысь эмѣсь лѣккъ кѣинъкодъѣсь.

16. Намъ керѣмъасъ сѣрти тѣданныдъ наѡсѣ.  
Чѣкѣртѣнѣ лежнѣгъвылысь винѣградъ, либѣ јѣнъ-  
вылысь смеккаасъ?

17. Сыдзь быдсама вѣръ пѣ вае вѣръ вѣтѣсъ,  
а омѣль пѣ вае омѣль вѣтѣсъ.

18. Озъ вермы вѣръ пѣ вайны омѣль вѣтѣсъ,  
и омѣль пѣ вайны вѣръ вѣтѣсъ.

19. Быдсама пѣ, коды озъ вай вѣръ вѣтѣсъ,  
кералѣны сыесъ и шывлалѣны бѣѣ.

20. И сыдзь намъ вѣтѣсъ сѣрти тѣданныдъ наѡсѣ

21. Не быдсама шысь Менымъ: Господи! Го-  
споди! пырасъ небеснѣй царствѣѣ, но керысь кѣла  
Менамъ Батьлысь, коды эмъ небесаасъкылынъ.

22. Сылъ лѣнѣ ѡнаѣнъ шѣасны Менымъ: Госпо-  
ди, Господи, не Тѣнадъ ли нимѣнъ ми прорече-  
ствѣйтѣмъ, не Тѣнадъ ли нимѣнъ бѣсъасѣсъ кѣтлы-



влымз, и-не Тэнадз ли нимонз эна чюдесаасз керлымз?

23. И сэки кисьтаа наалы: Ме некорз эгз тодлы тіаносз; мѣнѣ Медынысь омѣльосъ керысь-асз.

24. И сыдзи быдѣнз, коды кызѣ таа Менсимз кызасз и керѣ сысѣрти, ласз мѣдрѣй мортз кодь, коды вѣчисз ассисз керка извѣлѣ.

25. И мѣдысз зѣрз, и визыктыснысз юасз, и лѣптысисны тѣвзасз и љськѣдисны сыа керка вѣлѣ, и эзз пѣрз: сыпонда мый пѣктѣма вѣлы извѣлѣ.

26. И быдѣнз, коды кызѣ таа Менсимз кызасз и озз керз сысѣрти, ласз јѣй мортзкодъ, коды вѣчисз ассисз керка лыавѣлѣ.

27. И мѣдысз зѣрз и визыктысны юасз, и лѣптысисны тѣвзасз и љськѣдисны сыа керкавѣлѣ, и пѣри: и пѣрѣмз сылѣнз вѣлы ыджыз.

28. Корз Исѣсз помалысз сыа кызасз; јѣзз дивѣйтчисны сыа велѣдѣмзвѣлѣ.

29. Сыавѣдз велѣдысз налѣсз кыззи ыджыз мортз а несызъ, кызъ книжникзасз и Фарисейасз.

#### Кѣкз амысѣдз юрз.

**К**орз же лѣтчисз сыа гѣракылысь, мѣдысны сы-вѣрсань эна јѣзз:

2. Сѣтсе воисз прокаженнѣй и юрвитыз тырѣи сылы шѣисз: Господи, кѣсзанзкѣ, верманз менѣ вѣсакны.

3. Исѣсз нюжѣдысз кисѣ, и инмѣдысз сыдынѣ и шѣисз: кѣсза, весась. И пырз сыа весасисз проказавѣсь.

4. И шѣисз сылы Исѣсз: видзѣдз некодлы энз

# WEDDING LAMENTS

Collected by M.A. Castrén

*Edited and commentary by  
Paula Kokkonen & Jack Rueter*

## Seven Wedding Laments in the Ižma (*Ižva*) Dialect

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This latter part of *Syrjaenica* consists of seven wedding laments collected from Ižma by M.A. Castrén, with the title *Sirjänska bröllops-qwäden*. The laments are to be found in his manuscript collection (MC, Vol. IV, 12, pp. 653–680). The manuscript also includes Castrén’s translations into Russian and plenty of lines or comments in Swedish and in some places Finnish. Castrén wrote down the wedding laments in 1843 in April–June while he was in Ižma preparing his grammar.

Castrén himself didn’t publish the laments in the Ižma (in Komi *Ižva*) dialect, but his travel diary contains two untitled wedding laments in Swedish, which somehow correspond to the 1st and 3rd wedding laments in the manuscript. The same translations in Swedish (with minor deviations) have also appeared in Part III of the 1847 magazine *Fosterländskt Album* (‘Patriotic Album’). Castrén had done the lament translations in Swedish in the Kalevala meter, which, however, is not the poetic meter of Komi laments, as he himself has mentioned. His translation of the *Kalevala* into Swedish must have influenced this decision. According to Castrén, Komi laments have no poetic meter, but they represent a kind of rhythmic prose. (Castrén 1870, 257–261; *Itineraria* 1, pp. 496–499; *Häälauluja*, p. 3.)

In 1878, researcher of the Permian languages T.G. Aminoff published the wedding laments (which he called wedding songs) collected by Castrén in a 29-page booklet with Finnish and German translations and with a few comments. This publication has both a Finnish and a German title: *Syrjäniläisiä häälauluja – Syrjänische Hochzeitsgesänge*. Koonnut / gesammelt von M. A. Castrén, Alkutekstistä suomentanut ja saksalaisella käännöksellä varustanut / mit finnischer und deutscher Uebersetzung herausgegeben von T. G. Aminoff. Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, T. XI. Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Helsinki).

In Aminoff’s publication, the titles of the laments are in Finnish and German. Castrén himself has titled the laments in Swedish according to the time they were performed:

1. Sung on the first day of the wedding (49 lines)
2. Sung when the bride goes to sauna (13 lines)
3. Sung when the relatives have gathered (70 lines)
4. Sung when the bridegroom arrives at the wedding (41 lines)
5. Sung on the morning of the wedding day (23 lines)
6. Sung in the morning, to the father (17 lines)
7. Sung in the morning when the bridegroom arrives (39 lines)

These seven laments are typical wedding laments. They are a central part of the wedding ceremony, which can include up to twenty laments sung to the relatives and close friends of the bride and groom. The laments sung by the bride to her mother and father are expected, but they are also addressed to other family members and godparents. Usually, the bride herself sings laments alone, but she may also perform them together with her girlfriends. During the wedding ceremony, laments may also be sung by special lamenters. The most personal laments are those the bride sings when her maiden braid is undone and when going to the bridal sauna. During these processes, the maiden's power is considered to fall away once and for all and the transition into the status of wife begins.

### *Castrén, Aminoff and Kihlman*

It is unclear whether Castrén himself had participated in an Ižma wedding or whether the laments were collected in an authentic performance situation. His participation might actually be possible if we consider the fact that many word forms which normally end in a vowel (mostly at the end of a line), end in the letter *h*, which has apparently been used to describe enlivening, pausing and aspiration. After all, lamentation is exhausting both physically and mentally, and the lament as a folklore genre also has its own means when performed. The *h*'s at the ends of words in these texts have no morphological meaning, and in the chrestomathy *Кому фольклор* ('Komi folklore'; KF, see afterwards) Castrén's *h* notations have been rejected. In the manuscripts of his grammar, Castrén, however, used the suffix *-äh* as the ending of the illative case, which he, incidentally, changed to *-ä'* in his printed grammar (EGS § 25:8 and § 28, cf. ID: 44: э, no apostrophe). Where necessary, he has marked the hiatus with an apostrophe, e.g. when two of the same vowels belong to different syllables. The Cyrillic *x* in (Russian) loanwords is almost regularly replaced by *к* (e.g. *көзяин* 'host, master' < Ru *хозяин*).

The Finnish botanist A. Osw. Kihlman traveled on his second expedition to the Kola Peninsula at the end of August 1889 via Arxangel'sk to Ust'-Cil'ma and further to Krasnobor, where he spent three days. In that village, he had the opportunity to join an Ižma wedding. His Finnish description of the Ižma wedding ceremony is vigorous and adventurous. During the wedding ceremony, the bride even sang a farewell lament to him, a stranger, (Kihlman 1897, p. 239). It should also be mentioned that Castrén had traveled to the same Ižma regions 56 years prior to Kihlman.

Aminoff states in the foreword to his publication that he has used Castrén's grammar and word list, as well as N.A. Rogov's Permian dictionary [*Пермяцко-русский и русско-пермяцкий словарь*, 1869] but complains that he did not have access to P.I. Savvaitov's dictionary published in 1850. Aminoff had also got help from a native speaker, a Zyrian soldier from the Hamina Cadet School (in Finland). Three persons, mentioned by name in *Häälauluja* (p. 3) were involved in preparing the German translations.

Aminoff points out that Komi wedding songs (laments) closely resemble Finnish wedding songs; in both, the girl with a bitter heart leaves the carefree life she spent with her parents and moves as a daughter-in-law to the house of an unknown father and mother (i.e. parents-in-law). In terms of poetic meter and other matters of form, Aminoff considers the similarities appearing in the wedding songs of Finns and Zyrians as random.

The transcription used by Castrén in the manuscripts of the laments is a strange solution: among the Latin letters there are Cyrillic letters з, ж, ш, ч, д, ы, х – just as in his dissertation and in those manuscripts where he was just outlining his grammar and writing down the vocabulary. For the most part, Castrén had rejected the German-based transcription of affricates used by A.J. Sjögren, but he did retain the use of *w* instead of *v* in these laments and even in his dissertation.

Aminoff points out that Castrén's "spelling" is a little bit shaky. He substitutes all the Cyrillic letters used by Castrén with modified Latin letters and uses a caron or wedge to indicate the shibilants, which Castrén had probably meant but for some reason had used the apostrophe in his grammar. The caron has also been used to indicate shibilants in the editing work of Castrén's grammar. Aminoff indicates the Cyrillic ы with *y* and palatalization with *j*, as is found in Castrén's grammar. The notation of affricates, however, is different, i.e., in Aminoff's publication, the Cyrillic ч is represented by *čj* (*čjoj* [чой] 'sister') or *č* (*čöskyd* [чöскыд] 'sweet'), and, in Castrén's grammar, it is indicated by *cj* (*cjoj* and *cjöskyd*), while Castrén's *č* corresponds to the non-palatalized Cyrillic digraph тш (čyg [тшыг] 'hunger'). Inconsistencies in their markings have occurred in both the writings of Castrén and Aminoff.

*Komi laments in various publications*

The laments of the Komi people belong to the same song type found in the improvisational songs of the northern zone of Eurasia as the fate songs of the Nenets (cf. *Käenkukuntayöt*, p. 7). In Komi ritual poetry, there are three types distinguished: wedding, recruitment and death laments. There are other miscellaneous laments, such as work laments and laments prepared to drive away insect pests, etc.

Although Castrén had collected laments without publishing them, Komi laments were published as early as 1849 when P.I. Savvaitov published Zyrian laments in his grammar (*Грамматика зырянскаго языка*, pp. 149–168). The same laments were subsequently published in St Petersburg by G.S. Lytkin (1889, pp. 175–194). These laments can also be found published in the *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* (Krohn 1892). (See also M. Haavio 1930.)

Komi laments and their Finnish translations have been published not only by the above mentioned Aminoff, but also by Julius Krohn (1892), Otto Manninen (1923, pp. 189–190) and Raija Bartens (*Käenkukuntayöt*, pp. 32–44). In addition to Aminoff, laments (Klageweisen) were published with German translations by Yrjö Wichmann (1916, pp. 256–289), D.R. Fokos-Fuchs (1951, pp. 321–326) and Paula Kokkonen (ST, pp. 110–116, 458–463). In Hungary, Károly Rédei (1978, pp. 78–83, 168–174, 236–240, 382–394) has published the laments he had collected with English translations. In the anthology *The Great Bear*, there are three Komi wedding laments translated into English by Keith Bosley (pp. 478–481, 493–495). In Estonia, 2005–2006, *Komi rahvaluulet / Komi folklore*, collected by Paul Ariste and edited by Nikolai Kuznetsov, was published in two parts. There is a wedding lament in part I (pp. 156–158); it is translated into Estonian, Russian and English.

Laments have been collected in Komi from different dialect regions and published in several folklore collections, of which we should mention the 3-volume collection *Кomi йӧзкостса сьыланкывъяс / Кomi народные песни* ('Komi folk songs'). In the 2nd volume (KNP 2, pp. 58–67), the reader will find Ižma laments with musical notations and translations in Russian.

In 2002, the wedding laments collected by Castrén were also published in the Komi homeland, in the chrestomathy *Кomi фольклор* (KF, pp. 63–69) – intended for students. Castrén's transcription has been changed to the Cyrillic form. The source for the chrestomathy must have come from copies of Castrén's manuscripts or at least Aminoff's publication. It should be mentioned that in that chrestomathy the laments previously published by Wichmann and Savvaitov in their own collections also appeared in Cyrillic script.

More detailed information about the publications mentioned above can be found at the end of the book in References.



*About editing the wedding laments*

The laments collected by M.A. Castrén are now published in an edited form. The manuscript material of the laments has been compared with Castrén's grammar and Aminoff's transcription as well as the chrestomathy *Кому фольклор* and the necessary alignments, corrections and comments have been made. Castrén collected the seven laments at the very beginning of his expedition, and did not edit them according to the marking methods he later used in his grammar.

As can be seen from the comments, these Ižma laments contain a lot of borrowings from Russian, especially adjectives, which end in *-äj* (in the literary language *-öj*), like the Russian masculine suffix, but adjectives related to the mother are sometimes seen in the feminine form. Some combinations with two vowels ending in *-i* (Castrén called 'diphthongs') found in the manuscript have been harmonized to end in *-j*, e.g. the Komi adverb *taj* [тай] (< Castrén's *tai*).

In Castrén's manuscripts (and in Aminoff's publication, too) 'my father' appears in the forms *ajja* and *aiä*, the notation aligns these with the form *ajä*. The SG1PX is *-ä* in the Ižma dialect (ID: 49: -ə). In the literary language, it is *-öj* [-öj̥]. Both of these forms are commonly found in Ižma laments. In Sjögren's grammar, there is a vocative case with the ending *-ö* and similar to it there is a SG1PX marker. Castrén has used *-ä* (cf. in the literary language *-ö*) to indicate SG1PX, but it might also be understood as a vocative ending in these laments, which quite frequently have greeting phrases. In his grammar, however, Castrén rejected the vocative case (EGS § 25: N.B. 1).

The notation of palatalization has also been harmonized by adding [j] to the necessary words where the notation is missing, as in the grammar, e.g. *jursi* 'hair(s)' > *jurs[j]i*; *zarny* > *zarn[j]i* 'gold(en)'. Likewise, attention has been paid to paired words characteristic to the Komi language, e.g. *vok-cjoj* 'siblings' (literally 'brother-sister', cf. KSK 2: 725: чоя-вока 'sister and brother'); *aj-mam* 'parents' (literally 'father-mother'). Castrén has not used the hyphen in these words.

Together with Jack Rueter, we have made the English translation paying attention to Castrén's own Russian and Swedish translations as well as the Finnish and German translations in Aminoff's publication. Studies dealing with the Komi lament as a folklore genre have provided important help, too. When problems have arisen in the translations of different languages, we have tried to show a preference for the information provided by Castrén's original manuscripts. Literal translation does not always give a true picture of the message the lament was actually intended to express. Many details are told indirectly or even secretively, with euphemisms and metaphors. A common feature in the laments is to express the meaning of a single

word or whole line in other words, either with synonyms or words borrowed from Russian. Oftentimes, a sentence or a single line is semantically incomplete, unfinished, which increases difficulties in interpretation and especially translation. In the square brackets, there are words given in English by the editors – hopefully these additions will be helpful to the reader.

Castrén's manuscript only has a few punctuation marks, but Aminoff, for example, has added many of his own. The English translation is punctuated according to the editors' understanding of the texts, whereas the manuscript has been left as Castrén wrote it.

Finally, I wish to thank a researcher of Komi laments, Galina Misharina (G.M.), for her kind help in interpreting the world of the laments. During her studies, she has worked on the *Кomi фольклор* chrestomathy, i.e., she was responsible for modifying Castrén's notation into the Cyrillic script.

In Kirkkonummi, October 2022

Paula Kokkonen

- 485 This lament starts the wedding process, where the bride is mourning the maiden freedom and will which she is losing. She also blames the family for marring her off.
- 486 Should be written separate: *völjnäj ämyj* < Ru вольный 'free'. *ämyj* [эмый] is a [rhetorical] particle 'so you are doing x, are you?'.
- 487 < Ru воля 'will'.
- 488 < Should be written separate: *njäžnäj ämyj* < Ru нежный 'gentle, mild'. *ämyj*, see note 486.
- 489 < Ru не́ра 'gentleness'
- 490 Should be written separate: *jurseänj ämyj*. Ablative 2 (nowadays called the egressive) ends here in *-seänj* (cf. also *-sänj*, *-sjanj*, § 25:12), in the literary language *-šan* [-сянь]. *ämyj*, see note 486.
- 491 Should be written separate: *kokseänj ämyj*. Ablative 2, see note 490. *ämyj*, see note 486.
- Both should be written separate: *kok cjunj* 'toe' and *kicjunj* 'finger' on the following line.
- 492 The Russian translation of the epithet for the bride's father *živät* is жизнь 'life' in KSK 1: 532: живот. Cf. KNP 2: 66: кормилец 'supporter, provider, feeder, keeper'. (Cf. lament 3, line 1 the Komi word *olemöj* 'my life' is also used in this function.)
- 493 *sjeraminja* is a problematic word, in the dictionaries unknown. Castrén has no translation (neither does Aminoff) so we'll give the meaning from the Russian translation of KNP 2: 66: *сeрдoбoльный* 'tender'.

1.<sup>485</sup>

1. *Völ[j]näjämyj<sup>486</sup> us[j]kedisnys bur völjaäs<sup>487</sup>*  
*Njäžnäjämyj<sup>488</sup> bur njegaäs<sup>489</sup>?*  
*Jurseänjämyj<sup>490</sup> kyjenys jurs[j]i jyytiäh*  
*Kokseänjämyj kyjenys menä*  
*kokcjunj jyytiäh<sup>2491</sup>*
5. *Kiseänj taj menä kyjenys kicjunj jyytiäh.*  
*Bur živätäh<sup>492</sup> dumajtema*  
*bur aj sjeraminjaäh<sup>493</sup>*  
*Rod[j]it[j]eljä<sup>494</sup> menä dumajtema*  
*cjeskyd jöla mameh<sup>495</sup>*  
*Jasnej<sup>496</sup> menam dumajtema sökäl vokä<sup>497</sup>*  
*Rod[j]imajaäh<sup>498</sup> dumajtema kyzja cjoje*
10. *Zon djadj menam laskevej*  
*sjera minja'ah<sup>499</sup>*  
*Djadj pom menam djadjinaäh*  
*Zarn[j]i korja taj me vetlih pyzan doräh*  
*Zarn[j]i me vidz[j]edi*  
*lyska s[j]inmäh<sup>500</sup> pyr*  
*Aj yžzed pi menam abu lösjaläma*  
*jasnej sekäl vokäh<sup>501</sup>*
15. *Cjunj pom me s[j]etalih cjarkaän*  
*Kuryd cjagy<sup>502</sup>*  
*me podn[j]os[j]iti vinaly<sup>503</sup>*  
*Gosudarjef pitjelyh<sup>504</sup>*  
*Ki pydesen me kuti štanly*  
*Sojvi<sup>505</sup> me kis[j]tali suljeaays*
20. *Jasnej abu lesjaläma<sup>506</sup> sekäl vokä*  
*Cjörnä<sup>507</sup> lesjaläma<sup>508</sup> tundra gyrkyn*  
*Morskej menam guba doryn*  
*Samej ylyn<sup>509</sup> iiz-gorulyn<sup>510</sup>*  
*Vermankäh<sup>511</sup> vokä kypedcjdysjä*  
*eta menum pöra keže*

## Wedding Laments

### Collected by M.A. Castrén

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#### 1. On the first day of the wedding

1.               So they have felled my free,  
                  good will, have they?  
          [So they have felled] my gentle,  
                  good gentleness, have they?  
          So they bind me by the head  
          to the tips of my hair, do they?  
          So they bind me by the legs  
          to the tips of my toes, do they?
5.               They bind me by the arms  
                  to the tips of my fingers.  
          My good keeper, my good tender father  
          must have intended [to marry me off],  
          My bearer, my sweet-milk mother  
                  must have intended,  
          My brother, Bright Hawk, must have intended,  
          My own dear sister must have intended,
10.              My uncle's son, dear tender to me,  
          [And] my uncle's wife [must have intended].  
          Covered in gold, I walked to the table,  
          I looked through my golden eyelashes,  
          My father's big son, my brother, Bright Hawk,  
                  didn't happen to be [at home].
15.              In my fingertips I gave [drink] with a chalice,  
                  I offered strong bitter liquor,  
                  The drink of emperors.  
          I held a glass on my open palm,  
          I poured with the bottle  
          [leaning] on my [left] sleeve.
20.              My brother, Bright Hawk,  
                  didn't happen to be [at home].  
          He happened to be deep in the black tundra,  
          My [brother happened to be]  
                  on the shore of the gulf by the sea,  
          Far away on a rocky mountain [in the Urals].  
          If you can, my brother, hurry [back home]  
                  for this time of mine [wedding],

- 494 Later written with -ö-: *rödjitjeljä* 'my bearer, parent(s)'. Cf. KSK 2: 303: *рөдитель*.
- 495 In the laments, much used epithet for the bride's mother is *cjeskyd jöla tamä* 'sweet-milk mother'.
- 496 < Ru ясный 'bright, light; sharp-eyed'.
- 497 In the laments, much used epithet for the bride's brother is *sökäl vokä* 'hawk brother' or 'sharp-eyed hawk brother' as e.g. on line 14. Translated here as Brother Hawk.
- 498 < Ru родимая 'parturient, bearer', also this adjective is in the feminine form, normally, mostly also here, a loaned adjective is in the masculine form, see e.g. lament 4.
- 499 Castrén uses an apostrophe ' to mark the morpheme boundary between two adjacent vowels, separating syllables.  
*sjera minja* is written here separate, cf. line 6.
- 500 Castrén in his Russian and Swedish translations and Aminoff (*Häälauluja*, p. 13) have incorrectly translated 'eyebrows', cf. KSK 2: 374: *синлыс* 'eyelash(es)'.
- 501 *ydžed* should be written *ydžyd* (as elsewhere in these laments), cf. KSK 2: 830: *ыджыд* 'big, great'.  
Two variants are used: *sekäl* or *sökäl* 'hawk', cf. KSK 2: 412: *сөкел*.
- 502 Castrén's translation is 'glass, cup', but might be an adjective 'bitter'.
- 503 *podnjosjiti vinaly* 'I offered liquor'.  
< Ru подносить 'to offer'. *vinaly*: -ly is a suffix of the dative case, but used as a case of the object in Ižma dialect, see ID: 47.
- 504 *Gosudarjef pitjelyh* < Ru питьё государев 'drink of rulers, emperors'. -ly (here -lyh) is a suffix of the dative case, but used as a case of the object in Ižma dialect, see ID: 47.
- 505 Should be written *soj vvy* '(on) the arm', as also Aminoff thought (*Häälauluja*, p. 27).

- 506 Should be written *lösjaläma* as on line 14, cf. KSK 1: 858: лѳсѳоны ‘to suit’.
- 507 < Ru чѳрный ‘black’; the Komi word for ‘black’ is *sjöd* [сѳд], used in laments 1, 2 and 5.
- 508 See note 506.
- 509 The superlative form here has a Russian particle *samej* instead of *med-* or *medsja*.
- 510 No long vowel *iz* ‘stone’; *izgorulyñ* ‘on the moutainside of the Urals’. Cf. KSK 1: 582: из ‘stone’; 583: ‘the Urals’.
- 511 The conjunction *kä* (here *käh*) ‘if’ should be written separate, cf. KSK 1: 653: ке.
- 512 The conjunction *kä* ‘if’ should be written separate, cf. KSK 1: 653: ке.
- 513 *mencjum vörseänj* must be ‘from my forest’, but Castrén has given a Russian translation: мое шевеление ‘my moving, my motion’ (but ‘moving, motion’ ought to be *vörödcjöm*, cf. KRK 122: вѳрѳдѳм, вѳрѳдѳм (Ru шевеление)).
- 514 Three words on this line might have an illative ending *-äh*, which Castrén has changed to *-ä’* later in his grammar (an apostrophe ‘ to mark a word-final \**h* in illative forms. Otherwise in these laments, the word-final *-h* has no morphological meaning (see also EGS, § 2).
- 515 See note 512.
- 516 Word for word ‘town full’, but the idea is ‘the whole community’ (G.M., p.c.).
- 517 Usually used as a compound word, cf. KRK 566 or KSK 2: 302: рѳдвуж ‘relatives’.

25. *Kylankä<sup>512</sup> voköj mencjum vörseänj<sup>513</sup>*  
*jözäh mortäh bur vojtyräh<sup>514</sup>*  
*Öti kynämyn voköj kujlemaäj*  
*Vermankä<sup>515</sup> vokä menum kypedcjyny*  
*Öddja menum vetlem vylä*  
*Kyk pöläs kar tyr<sup>516</sup>*  
*cjukartny rödäs vužjäs<sup>517</sup>*
30. *Kulemaäs i loojaäs*  
*Vermankäh<sup>518</sup> vokäh menum kypedcjyny*  
*tuusoo rösputaän*  
*Ježdjalej<sup>519</sup> udalej bur bykjasen*  
*Kvait podja dadjen, sjöd ku šöraläm*  
*saljamkaän da tasmaän*  
*Da ku šör šöryštäma saän i vöözđjiän<sup>520</sup>*
35. *Tuusookä<sup>521</sup> ytcjas sjoh kyz[j]*  
*posn[j]i ju šör<sup>522</sup>*  
*Önikä<sup>523</sup> on vermy kypedcjyny*  
*Kypedcjy chötj juse[j]än<sup>524</sup>*  
*chötj dzjodzegän libä utkaän*  
*Bur živätä menam aje mameh<sup>525</sup>*  
*Sluga<sup>526</sup> ved me tijan völi vernaja<sup>527</sup>*
40. *Bur pi tujäh<sup>528</sup> me tijan völi bydtäma<sup>529</sup>*  
*Mort aj mam<sup>530</sup> dorä menä dumajtinnyd*  
*I mortäh dumajtinnyd vok cjoj<sup>531</sup> dorä*  
*Sjoa kolä nikäd<sup>532</sup> oony jur sajdalä*  
*Juren kolä nikäd<sup>533</sup> oony pöklännejän<sup>534</sup>*
45. *Rytja kolä nyly dasjedny*  
*vodaninjasnysä*  
*Šudäkä<sup>535</sup> petä menam i talanä*  
*Ščastiä<sup>536</sup> kä menam i talanä*  
*Šudäkä<sup>537</sup> menam oz pet i talanä*  
*Og ved me vuned*  
*aj mam<sup>538</sup> dor olemly*

25. If you hear my moving, my brother,  
[meeting] the people, inhabitants, the good people,  
My brother, who has slept in the same womb,  
Can you hurry to my side, my brother,  
quickly to my going away [party]  
To gather kith and kin from  
both sides in the entire town,  
30. The dead and the living?  
Can you hurry to my side,  
my brother, during the spring thaw  
With driving oxen, trained and good,  
On a three-stanchioned sled, with trimmed straps  
and belly belts of black leather,  
With pull belts and reins cut  
from the middle of the hide?  
35. If 120 small rivers and streams  
swell in the spring,  
If you can't hurry back now,  
Rise up as a swan, a goose or a duck.  
My good keeper, my father, my mother!  
A faithful servant, I was, for you.  
40. You had raised me to be a good child,  
You intended [to give] me to  
an unknown father and mother,  
You intended me for unknown brothers and sisters.  
Ones that require the understanding  
of a hundred heads,  
Ones that require you live bowing your head,  
45. Sleeping places must be prepared  
for them for the evening.  
If fortune and success should find me,  
If luck and success [should meet],  
And if happiness and success  
should not find me,  
I shall never forget life  
with my father and mother.

- 518 See note 511.  
519 < Ru езженный 'trained', cf. KSK 1: 496: ежжалой.  
520 No long vowel, cf. KSK 1: 258: вөжджи, вожжи 'reins'.  
521 See note 512.  
522 Can also be written with a hyphen as a typical paired word in the Komi language: *ju-šor*.  
523 See note 512.  
524 Should be written *jusjān* 'as a swan', cf. KSK 2: 873: юсь 'swan'.  
525 A typical paired word in the Komi language, should be written with a hyphen: *aj-mam* 'parents', cf. KSK 1: 24: ай-мам.  
526 < Ru слуга 'servant'.  
527 < Ru верная 'faithful, true', this adjective is in feminine form, normally, mostly also here, a loaned adjective is in masculine form, e.g. lament 4.  
528 *pi* 'son, boy', but here the meaning must be understood 'child'. Here the postpositional phrase *bur pi tujäh* is translated 'to be a good child'. Castrén's and also Aminoff's translation is 'instead of a good son' (*Häälauļuja*, p. 14), which is incorrect (G.M., p.c.).  
529 *völi bydtämä*: in IV past tense, pluperfect, though Castrén did not have it in his tempus system.  
530 See note 525.  
531 A typical paired word in the Komi language, should be written with a hyphen: *vok-cjoj* 'siblings'; (lit. brother-sister)', cf. KSK 2: 725: чоя-вока (lit. 'sister and brother').  
532, 533 Should be *nykäd*, cf. ID: 65.  
534 < Ru поклонение 'bowing'.  
535 See note 512.  
536 < Ru счастье 'luck, happiness'.  
537 See note 512.  
538 See note 525.

- 539 This is a typical demanding lament with imperatives.
- 540 Here Castrén has written *lösäd* ‘prepare!’, should be *lösjad*, cf. KSK 1: 858: *лөседны* ‘to arrange, to prepare, to organize’.
- 541, 542 Here (and further on) Castrén has written *löseäd* ‘prepare!’, should be *lösjad*, cf. KSK 1: 858: *лөседны* ‘to arrange, to prepare, to organize’.
- 543 *kyrja* ‘embankment, bank’. Castrén has a question mark; according to Aminoff, this may also be an adjective *korja* ‘leafy’ (*Häälauluja*, p. 27).
- 544 No long vowel, cf. KSK 2: 276: *разъны* ‘to undo, to untie’.
- 545 Should be written separate: *Ta kojd* ‘like that’.
- 546–548 See note 541.
- 549 According to Castrén’s Swedish translation *nyyly* ‘dem’, though *nyyly* means ‘to the daughter’ and *nyly* ‘them’. Both words are possible in this sentence.
- 550 Should be *lösjad*, see note 541.

2.<sup>539</sup>

1. *Röd[j]imajaöj cjöskyd jöla mamöj*  
*Šonyd menum mamä lösäd<sup>540</sup> bur pyysjan*  
*Sy böryn mamäh löseäd<sup>541</sup> menum*  
*pacj vomdor bur šonyd vah*  
*Mort karäm löseäd<sup>542</sup> bur majtäg*
5. *Jag šör kyrja<sup>543</sup> bur koräsly*  
*Zarn[j]i mencjum raaz<sup>544</sup> vež kösaäs*  
*Sjöd šök ljentaän mencjum kyyjemaäs*  
*Takojd<sup>545</sup> kokn[j]i mamä bur jurnoje*  
*Sjöd sija mamä löseäd<sup>546</sup> bur kunicjaly*
10. *Micja löseäd<sup>547</sup> menum mamä*  
*bur pas[j]kämly*  
*Röd[j]it[j]eljä cjöskyd jöla mamä*  
*Löseäd<sup>548</sup> menä*  
*as koddjemä rövesnykjaskäd*  
*Nyyly<sup>549</sup> löseäd<sup>550</sup> bur pyysjanly.*

3.<sup>551</sup>

1. *Bur olemöj bur ajöj*  
*Kyk põlas<sup>552</sup> ajä cjukärt<sup>553</sup> rödäs vužjäs<sup>554</sup>*  
*Ryttja ajä löseäd<sup>555</sup> menum bur uužinly<sup>556</sup>*  
*Piirly<sup>557</sup> ajä löseäd gažaäs*
5. *Pysanly<sup>558</sup> ajä löseäd radesniäs<sup>559</sup>*  
*Zarn[j]i korja ajä löseäd bur pisanly<sup>560</sup>*  
*Kedrävj<sup>561</sup> löseäd bur pisanpööly<sup>562</sup>*  
*Rocj anj kyyjäm*  
*vol[j]soo bur skatertly<sup>563</sup>*  
*Sjojan ajä löseäd sacharaäs<sup>564</sup>*
10. *Juan löseäd ajä bur juanly*  
*Verdys[j]äh cjöskyd jöla mamä*  
*Vom dor löseäd mamäh cjöskyd burly*



2. *When the bride goes to the sauna*

1. My dear, my sweet-milk mother!  
 Prepare, oh mother, a warm, good sauna for me,  
 After that, oh mother, prepare good warm water  
 at the mouth of the oven for me.  
 Prepare good soap  
 made by someone unknown,  
 5. A leafy sauna whisk from the forest.  
 Undo my golden, yellow braid,  
 One I've tied with a black silk ribbon.  
 [Bring] a bridal headband,  
 oh mother, a good light one,  
 Prepare one of black-furred marten, oh mother.  
 10. Prepare a good beautiful costume for me, oh mother.  
 Oh bearer, my sweet-milk mother!  
 Prepare me with buddies of my own age [a sauna],  
 Prepare a good sauna for them.

3. *When the relatives have gathered*

1. My good life, my good father!  
 From both sides, my father, gather kith and kin,  
 [For the] evening, my father, prepare me a good supper,  
 A party, my father, prepare one full of joy,  
 5. The table, my father, prepare a joyful one,  
 With golden cover, my father, prepare a good table,  
 Of cedar (Siberian pine) wood, make a good table top,  
 Cover it with a good tablecloth  
 woven by a Russian woman.  
 Prepare food, my father, of sugar.  
 10. Prepare, my father, a good beverage to drink.  
 My feeder, my sweet-milk mother!  
 Prepare, my mother, delicacies sweet to the lips,

- 551 This lament includes demands, complaints and bidding farewell, which is typical of this genre of laments.  
 552 Should be written *kyk pöläs* as seen later, e.g. lament 4. According to Castrén's own comment, *kyk pöläs* 'two-sided, bilateral' means both the bride's and the bridegroom's relatives.  
 553 Should be written *cjukart* 'gather!', cf. KSK 2: 735: чукартны.  
 554 Usually used as a compound word, cf. KRK 566 or KSK 2: 302: рөдвуж 'relatives'.  
 555 Also in this lament, there are many times *löseäd*, which should be *lösjäd*, see note 541.  
 556 No long vowel, cf. KSK 2: 648: ужин 'dinner'.  
 557 No long vowel, cf. KSK 2: 122: пир 'fest'.  
 558 Should be written *pyzanly* 'table'. -ly is a suffix of the dative case, but used as a case of the object in Ižma dialect, see ID: 47.  
 559 < Ru радостный 'joyful'.  
 560 See note 558.  
 561 < Ru кедровый '(made of) cedar (Siberian pine) tree'.  
 562 Should be written *pyzan pöölly* 'table top, table bread'. -ly, see note 558.  
 563 < Ru скатерь 'tablecloth'.  
 564 < Ru сахар 'sugar' (Ru x > Castrén ch).



- 565 According to Castrén's own comment, the Zyrians bake rye bread the day before Good Friday to eat it when the plowing will start.
- 566 According to Castrén's own comment *kimozdj* means the hand surface starting from wrist until the thumb. The bread is placed just on that part of the hand to be given for eating (G.M., p.c.).
- 567 According to Castrén's own comment, this sentence (lines 18–20) tells about the Zyrian habit: the bride's brother with a strange man invites guests to the wedding.  
*rödäs vužjäs*, see note 517.
- 568 Should be written separate: *pi tujäh* 'to be a child (lit. boy)', Cf. lament 1, line 40 and lament 7, line 6 and notes.
- 569 Cf. lament 1, line 2.
- 570 Here, Castrén's German-like transcription can be clearly seen. This should be written *djevicjeskej* < Ru девичий, девический 'maiden'.  
< Ru чин 'worth'.
- 571 < Ru чин 'worth'.
- 572 See note 570.
- 573 *bydsän* (here and on lines 49, 55 and 69) as in the literary language, cf. KRK 72: быдсөн, but KSK 1: 141: бытсэн 'completely, totally, throughout' and KSK 1: 134: быдэн 'all, everything'.
- 574 See note 525.
- 575 Should be written separate: *njanj moz* 'like a bread, crops'. *loozjan njanj moz* may also be translated 'like rising dough' (G.M., p.c.). See also lament 7, line 29.

- Rudžjäg sur mamäh löseäd juäm vylä*  
*Id sur juny menum maalemän*  
15. *Rudžjäg njanj löseäd*  
*göryg vylä mortjaslanjä*<sup>565</sup>  
*Id njanj löseäd kimodzj*<sup>566</sup> *vylä*  
*Bur živätä bur ajäh*  
*Jasnej mencjum sekäl vokäs*  
*Öddja ysty yštys[j]jaskäd*  
20. *Kar tyr cjukartny rödäs vužjäs*<sup>567</sup>  
*Bur živätä ajä mamä*  
*Bur pitujäh*<sup>568</sup> *bydtämänyd*  
*Lunys[j] n[j]in pukaläh medbör lunly*  
*Cjasys[j] n[j]in pukaläh medbör cjasly.*  
25. *Asä pukala bur völjaä vylyn*  
*Nježnej pukala bur njegaä vylyn*<sup>569</sup>  
*Djewitscheske*<sup>570</sup> *ydžyd ščinä*<sup>571</sup> *vylyn*  
*Djewitscheske*<sup>572</sup> *ydžyd yždaä vylyn*  
*Bydcän*<sup>573</sup> *menam konjärlän*  
*koljä tonja lunä*  
30. *Aslam menam usjä bur völjaä*  
*Gaža koljä menam*  
*aj mam*<sup>574</sup> *dor bur olemä*  
*Loozjan njanjmoz*<sup>575</sup>  
*menam koljä loozjaninä*  
*Bur njanj koljä sjojaninä*  
*Bur tor*<sup>576</sup> *koljä noolaninä*  
35. *Asja menam koljä uzjtäminä*  
*Slavnej menam koljä bur basarjäh*  
*Törgövejske*<sup>577</sup> *menam koljä bur beregä*  
*Zarn[j]i menam koljä bur kreždorä*<sup>578</sup>  
*Verdisjäh*<sup>579</sup> *cjöskyd jöla mamä*  
40. *Me meštaam kod kutčas tencjyd*  
*cjukartny posn[j]i nyytä pitä*<sup>580</sup>  
*Mylja (ynä)*<sup>581</sup> *mamä mesjum dönsin*<sup>582</sup>  
*Sluga*<sup>583</sup> *mamä mesjum ves[j]kydsjyd*  
*Burakä mamä*  
*menam völi sjojan ydžyd kynämä*

15. Prepare, my mother, rye beer to drink,  
Barley beer to drink for me, with honey.  
Prepare rye bread for the people  
[to eat] at plowing [time],  
Prepare barley bread  
[to be offered] on the wrists.  
My good keeper, my good father,  
Send my brother, Bright Hawk  
Quickly with messengers  
20. To gather kith and kin from the entire town.  
My good keeper, my father, my mother!  
The one you have raised to be a good child  
Is already sitting the last day of days,  
Is already sitting  
the last moment of moments.  
25. I sit [here] of my own good will,  
I sit in my gentle good gentleness,  
In the great dignity of a maiden,  
In a maiden's great grandeur.  
Everything of mine, poor one,  
is what remains of me today,  
30. My own good will falls away,  
The happy good life at my parents'  
is what remains of me,  
My place to mature as a growing crop  
is what remains of me,  
My place to eat good bread is what remains of me,  
My place to wear good clothes is what remains of me,  
35. My morning sleeping place is what remains of me,  
My famous good bazaar is what remains of me,  
My good trading shore is what remains of me,  
My golden embankment is what remains of me.  
My feeder, my sweet-milk mother!  
40. In my stead, who shall gather your little children?  
Why is it, my mother, you got bored with me,  
With the servant, my mother, with the honest one?  
Maybe, my mother, I had a big belly for eating.

- 576 A compound word according  
to KSK 1: 123: *буртоп* 'a good  
thing'.  
577 < Ru *торговый* 'trading, com-  
mercial'.  
578 'a steep shore side', cf. KRK  
310 or KSK 1: 748: *креж*; 746:  
*краж*.  
579 Should be written *verdysjäh*,  
cf. KSK 1: 183: *вердысь* 'feed-  
er'.  
580 A typical paired word in  
the Komi language, should  
be written with a hyphen:  
*nyytä-pitä* 'siblings (sg2px,  
acc.)', cf. KSK 1: 1030: *ныы-пи*.  
581 Cf. KSK 1: 956, 591: *мыля инö*  
'why then?'. The brackets are  
as in Castrén's manuscript.  
582 Should be written *dönjzjin*, cf.  
SSKD: 112: *дöньзыны* 'to get  
angry'.  
583 < Ru *слуга* 'servant'.

- 584 < Ru не возрастной 'minor; child; not adult'.
- 585 Variation: *völja* ~ *volja* ~ *vylja* 'will' (< Ru воля).
- 586 Should be *nylälän* 'maiden (gen.)'; *nylä* < *nyy* 'girl, daughter'.
- 587 Cf. KSK 1: 24: айдор-мамдор 'parents', parental', which usually appears in the context айдор-мамдор до-рын овны 'to live at (one's) parents home'.
- 588 *mejam* = *menam* 'my', see EGS, § 57.
- 589 Should be written separate: *ti ordan*, a shortened form of *ti ordannyd* 'at you (pl.)'.
- 590 Should be written *vetli* 'I walked'.
- 591 No long vowel, cf. KSK 1: 202: виж 'yellow; green'.
- 592, 593 See note 590.
- 594 Usually used as a compound word, cf. KSK 566 or KSK 2: 302: рөдвуж 'relatives'.
- 595 No long vowel, should be written *puys* 'tree (SG3PX)'.
- 596 No long vowel: *iz* 'stone', cf. KSK 1: 582: из.
- 597, 598 Castrén uses an apostrophe ' to mark the morpheme boundary between two adjacent vowels, separating syllables.
- 599 See note 525.
- 600 See note 589.
- 601 No long vowel, cf. KSK 2: 622: тыр 'full'.
- 602 For Castrén *vyma* and *vylämä* (< вылом) 'being, existence (SG1PX)' seems to have been synonyms; according to Aminoff *vyma* might be a misprint (*Häulauluja*, p. 28).

- Noolan *menam mamä*  
*burakä ydžyd vylsä*  
 45. *Tyrtäm menä s[j]etan arän*  
*Nje vozrasneř<sup>84</sup> myykydän*  
*Medum že me konjer nylä börda*  
*Asä me mamä vyljaä<sup>85</sup> vylän*  
*Bydcän že n[j]in menam*  
*koljä konjer nylälen<sup>86</sup>*  
 50. *Ajdor mamdor<sup>87</sup>*  
*gažecjan bur olemä*  
*Medum že me konjer börda*  
*Sjo s[j]inva kis[j]täm vylä*  
*Nyy jort, mejam<sup>88</sup> das jortjasäh*  
*Lög in vidžjä ydžyd lögly*  
 55. *Bydcän ved menam*  
*tiordan<sup>89</sup> koljä*  
*Medum menam koljä byd loktamä*  
*Tuj šör me tikäd vetly<sup>90</sup> taljalyg tyr*  
*Viiž<sup>91</sup> me vetly<sup>92</sup> bur lud vylä*  
*S[j]eram vetly<sup>93</sup> moljyd banän*  
 60. *Tuusoo menä taj*  
*dumajtinnyd gaža pöraä*  
*Kod pöraäh me og vermy*  
*cjukartny rödes vužjes<sup>94</sup>*  
*Kor krežys buždä kyza vyys[j]ys*  
*Kor puuys<sup>95</sup> pöra kuzja vyys[j]ys*  
*Kor iizjys<sup>96</sup> potä zelda vyys[j]ys*  
 65. *Körtys cjegä simäm vyys[j]ys*  
*Kod pöraäh tuusoo*  
*zaveditcjäs kökan kök*  
*A me konjer nylä as kerka'am<sup>97</sup>*  
*syy'ys<sup>98</sup> vodžžyk kökny zaved[j]iti*  
*Röd[j]it[j]elja menam ajä mamä<sup>99</sup>*  
*Bydcän menam tiordan<sup>600</sup>*  
*koljä bur olemä*  
 70. *Pecjal[j]täm vyma, tyyr<sup>601</sup> vylämä<sup>602</sup>*

3. WHEN THE RELATIVES HAVE GATHERED

45.                Maybe, my mother,  
                    I was wearing a lot of [clothes].  
                    You are giving me off as a minor,  
                    As one without an adult's mind.  
                    Let me, a poor maiden, cry,  
                    Of my own will, my mother.  
                    Everything of mine, the poor maiden,  
                    is what already remains of me,  
50.                My happy good life  
                    at my father's, at my mother's.  
                    So I, the poor one, cry  
                    Shedding hundreds of tears.  
                    A girlfriend, my ten friends,  
                    Bear no wrath, no great wrath,  
55.                What is left of me remains with you anyway.  
                    Let all my visits come to an end,  
                    Treading the middle of the road,  
                    I walked with you,  
                    As a green [maiden], I walked on a good field  
                    Laughing, I walked with a smooth face.  
60.                In the spring, my happy time,  
                    you thought [to marry] me [off],  
                    At that time I can't gather kith and kin,  
                    When the embankment  
                    breaks from the riverside,  
                    When trees fall due to their height.  
                    When stones crack due to their strength,  
65.                Iron breaks due to rusting.  
                    At that time, a spring cuckoo  
                    will start to call,  
                    But I, this poor maiden, have started  
                    in my own house to cuckoo earlier than it.  
                    My bearer, my father, my mother!  
                    Everything, the good life,  
                    remains with you,  
70.                My carefree life, my full being.

- 603 This lament tells much about the clothes used in the Komi wedding, where the import fabrics seem to have been popular.
- 604 This word seems to be written in KF (e.g. pp. 66, 68) as a paired word with the instructive ending in both components: *rödän-vužjän*, cf. KRK 566 or KSK 2: 302: рөдвуж ‘relatives’.
- 605 A typical paired word in the Komi language, should be written with a hyphen: *vokän-cjojän* ‘siblings (instr.)’, lit. ‘brother-sister’, cf. KSK 2: 725: чоя-вока ‘sister and brother’.
- 606 Cf. KSK 1: 226: водзча ‘against; facing; comparable’.
- 607 See lament 1, line 10 and its note.
- 608 Should be *džodž*, cf. KSK 1: 413: джодж ‘floor’. No long vowel.
- 609 This phrase tells how the house door is made.
- 610 Cf. KSK 2: 133: плюш ‘plush, plushy’ (< Ru плюш ‘plush’). See also line 17.
- 611 < Ru полотно ‘linen’, cf. KSK 2: 188: пөлэtnэ.
- 612 Cf. KSK 1: 300: вытяжнэй ‘stretchable’ (< Ru вытяжной ‘stretchable’).
- 613 No long vowel, cf. KSK 1: 854: лөз ‘blue’.
- 614 Cf. камзол ‘cloth cape’ (< Ru камзол ‘long vest for men’).
- 615 < Ru тулуп ‘fur coat’.

4.<sup>603</sup>

1. *Kyk pöläs loktannyd rödän vužjän*<sup>604</sup>  
*Kyk pöläs loktannyd vokän cjojän*<sup>605</sup>  
*Vyjym že ved menam tekäd vodcja*<sup>606</sup>  
*Bur živät bur aj sera minj (?)*<sup>607</sup>
5. *Vyjym že menam tekäd vodcja*  
*Ĵasnej sökäl vokjasä*  
*Komyn pölä suloony dzjoodzj*<sup>608</sup> *pos vylын*  
*Ĵurys suloony poklännejän tikäd vodcja*  
*Vit ker vundema öbäs doryn*<sup>609</sup>
10. *Kyls suloony pökärnejen*  
*Pl[j]ištevej*<sup>610</sup> *loktannyd gacjjaes[j]*  
*Pölätneh*<sup>611</sup> *loktannyd döremaes[j]*  
*Garusnej loktannyd cjulkijaes[j]*  
*Toptaa jien loktannyd jias[j]emaes[j]*
15. *Vytjažnej*<sup>612</sup> *loktannyd bur sapögaes[j]*  
*Lööz*<sup>613</sup> *noj loktannyd micja kamsolaes[j]*<sup>614</sup>  
*Pl[j]ištevej loktannyd tulupaes[j]*<sup>615</sup>  
*Šölkevej*<sup>616</sup> *loktannyd micja kušakaes[j]*<sup>617</sup>  
*Lööz*<sup>618</sup> *noj loktannyd kartusaes[j]*<sup>619</sup>
20. *Vyjym že ved menam tekäd vodcja*  
*Kyk pöläs kar tyr röd vuž*<sup>620</sup>  
*Barchatnej menam gacjjaes[j]*  
*Šelkevej*<sup>621</sup> *menam vyjym döremaes[j]*  
*Vyjym že menam tekäd vodcja*
25. *Garusnej*<sup>622</sup> *micja bur cjulkijaes[j]*  
*Saffan menam bur sapögaes[j]*  
*Tikäd vodcja sidzj že topyd jien jias[j]emaes[j]*  
*Barchatnej menam vyjym želetkaes[j]*  
*Zarn[j]i kyzjän menam kyzjasemaes[j]*
30. *Äzys[j] moljen menam moljes[j]emaes[j]*<sup>623</sup>  
*Barchatnej menam sibyrkaaes[j]*  
*Pukevej*<sup>624</sup> *menam bur šljapaes[j]*  
*Ĵen cjeglooteg me vodzjam njukljaseannyd*  
*Ĵen cjeglooteg me vodzjam cjeglaseannyd*

**4. When the bridegroom  
comes to the wedding**

1. From both sides you come, kith and kin,  
From both sides you come, brothers and sisters.  
I, too, have comparable [people] to meet you  
Good keeper, good father, tender-hearted one.
5. I, too, have comparable [people] to meet you  
My bright hawk brothers,  
Standing on a floor [made] of thirty planks,  
Standing with heads bowed, facing you,  
By the door, where five logs are cut,  
Standing with humble words.
10. You come in plush trousers,  
You come in linen shirts,  
You come in socks made of wool yarn,  
With tight belts, you come girded,  
You come in good boots that stretch to fit.  
You come in beautiful coats of blue blanket cloth,  
You come in plush furs.  
You come in beautiful belts of silk  
You come in caps of blue blanket cloth.
20. I, too, have comparable [people] to meet you,  
From both sides, in the entire town, kith and kin.  
Mine are in velvet trousers,  
Mine are in shirts of silk.  
I, too, have comparable [people] to meet you  
In beautiful, good socks made of woollen yarn.
25. Mine are in good boots of Saffian,  
Facing you [pl.] [mine] are also girded with tight belts.  
Mine are in waistcoats of velvet,  
With golden buckles, mine are [in waistcoats] fastened,  
30. With silver buttons, mine are [in waistcoats] buttoned.  
Mine are in velvet Siberian coats,  
Mine are in downy hats, good ones.  
Without God's bending you, you bow down before me,  
Without God's bending you, you bend before me.

- 616 < Ru шёлковый, cf. KSK 2: 794: шок 'silk(y)', in the literary language: шовк, cf. KRK 742.
- 617 < Ru кушак 'belt'.
- 618 See note 613.
- 619 Cf. KSK 1: 642: картуз 'cap' (< Ru картуз 'cap').
- 620 Usually used as a compound word, cf. KRK 566 or KSK 2: 302: рөдвуж 'relatives'.
- 621 < Ru шёлковый, cf. KSK 2: 794: шок 'silk(y)', in the literary language: шовк, cf. KRK 742. Here *šelkevej* but it should be written *šölkevej* as on line 18.
- 622 < Ru гарус 'woollen thread'.
- 623 Cf. KSK 1: 926: мошь 'button', cf. on the previous line *kyszj*, cf. KSK 1: 663: кызь 'button, clip'. The verb 'to button' is in Ižma dialect моллёны (KSK 1: 925) and кызёны (KSK 1: 786).
- 624 < Ru пуховый 'feather (adj.)'.

- 625 Should be written separate:  
*Moj sji ämyj. moj sji* ‘beaver-hair’. *Ämyj* [эмый] is a [rhetorical] particle.
- 626 *ämyj* [эмый] is a [rhetorical] particle ‘so you are doing x, are you?’, cf. lament 1, lines 1–4 and notes.

35. *Mojsjiämyj*<sup>625</sup> *podkädannyd vež kösaes*  
*Kyk põlās menam jedžyd gornicjajasam*  
*Völjnei bos[j]tannyd mencjum bur vøljaās*  
*Röd[j]it[j]el[j]sjum menä*  
*jansedannyd ajsjum mamsjum*  
*Völ[j]nej mencjum bos[j]tannyd bur vøljaās*  
40. *I nježnej mencjum bos[j]tannyd bur njegaās*  
*Nježnejämyj*<sup>626</sup> *usji bur njegaäh*

5.<sup>627</sup>

1. *Kyza menam paljaläma uzjan unmä*  
*Göna menam paljaläma volj vyysjum*  
*Dzjudzjyd*<sup>628</sup> *moljyd menam poduška vyysjum*  
*Röd[j]it[j]eljä cjöskyd jölä mamä*  
5. *Pacj vodzy löseäd*<sup>629</sup> *šonyd bur va*  
*Rocj anj kyjem löseäd*<sup>630</sup> *bur suläkly*  
*Sjo kyyzj*<sup>631</sup> *pinja löseäd*<sup>632</sup> *bur sinanly*<sup>633</sup>  
*Zarn[j]i sinoony*<sup>634</sup> *rus kösaās*  
*Syböryn*<sup>635</sup> *mamä löseäd*<sup>636</sup>  
*sjöd sia bur kunicja juram puktynty*  
10. *Sybörynkä*<sup>637</sup> *me puksja bur kerka’am*<sup>638</sup>  
*Koz pu puksja krövatj vylam*  
*Asja kutcja kadoony kada kuregmooz*<sup>639</sup>  
*Asja kadalä kureg*  
*rocj anj mys[j]kam sjor vylyn*  
*I rocj zon karäm tuu vylyn*  
15. *Kamka barchat*<sup>640</sup> *kadalä sorsädys[j]*  
*S[j]is[j]kojd*<sup>641</sup> *micja vež nyr jyys[j]ys*  
*Gum kojd micja kok jyys[j]ys*  
*Syböryn*<sup>642</sup> *paljedäma bur živätä bur ajä*  
*Ĵöz aj menä paljedäma mort ajyskäd*  
20. *Röd[j]it[j]eljä paljedis cjöskyd jöla mamä*  
*Ĵöz mam menä paljedä mort mamkäd*  
*Ĵasnej menä paljedis sökäl vokä*  
*Ĵöz aj bydtäma mort zonkäd*



35.           So you have come to open  
               my beaver-hair, yellow braid, have you  
               In my two-sided white chambers?  
               You are taking away my free, good will,  
               You are separating me from my parents,  
               my father, my mother.  
               You are taking my free, good will,  
 40.       And you are taking my gentle, good gentleness.  
               So my gentle, good gentleness has fallen, has it?

### 5. *On the morning of the wedding day*

1.       I have woken up from my deep sleeper's sleep,  
           I have woken upon my bed of fur-covered hide,  
           Upon my thick, smooth pillow.  
           My bearer, my sweet-milk mother!  
 5.       Prepare warm, good water in front of the oven  
           A good towel woven by a Russian woman.  
               Prepare a good comb  
               with one hundred and twenty teeth  
               For combing my golden-light brown braid.  
           After that, my mother, prepare a [headband] of  
           black-furred good pine marten to put on my head.  
 10.       If after that, I sit in my good house,  
           Sit down on my bed made of spruce.  
           In the morning, I will start clucking like a clucking chick.  
           In the morning, a chick clucks on a roost  
               washed by a Russian woman  
           And on a wooden peg made by a Russian boy.  
 15.       With a velvety comb [with a Chinese pattern] it clucks,  
           Beautiful as a candle is the yellow tip of its beak,  
           Beautiful as a thigh bone are its legs.  
           After that my good keeper, my good father,  
               had been waking [me].  
           An unknown father had been  
               waking me with my own father.  
 20.       My bearer woke [me], my sweet-milk mother.  
           An unknown mother is waking me  
               with my own mother,  
           My brother, Bright Hawk, woke [me]  
           With a son raised by an unknown father.

- 627   This lament is dedicated to the  
       parents. It has a motif of the wake  
       up the bride.  
 628   Should be *džudžyd* 'deep; high,  
       tall', cf. KSK 1: 415: джуджыд.  
 629, 630   Should be *lösjäd*. See note 541.  
 631   No long vowel, should be written  
       *kyszj*, cf. KRK 329: кызь 'twenty'.  
 632   Should be *lösjäd*. See note 541.  
 633   Should be written: *synanly*, cf.  
       KSK 2: 457: сынан 'comb'. -ly, see  
       notes 503, 558.  
 634   Should be written: *synoony*, cf.  
       KSK 2: 457: сынооны 'to comb'.  
 635   Should be written separate: *Sy*  
       *böryn* 'after that'.  
 636   Should be *lösjäd*. See note 541.  
 637   Should be written separate: *sy*  
       *böryn kä* 'if after that'.  
 638   Castrén uses an apostrophe ' to  
       mark the morpheme bounda-  
       ry between two adjacent vowels,  
       separating syllables.  
 639   Should be written separate: *kureg*  
       *moz* 'as if I were a chick'. No long  
       vowel, cf. KSK 1: 923: моз. < Ru  
       купер 'chick'.  
 640   < Ru камка 'damask'; Ru бархат  
       'velvet'.  
 641   *kojd* 'like' should be written sepa-  
       rate (as seen on the next line): *Sjisj*  
       *kojd* 'like a candle'. Cf. KSK 2: 379:  
       сись 'candle'.  
 642   See note 635.



5. On morjoni sifra bradepidaga.

1. Kõltsä minam pajaläma uzjan unma  
Gõna minam pajaläma wõlj ~~wa~~ wõlbeßjum  
Dojadsjred mögõd minam pöduuka wõlbeßjum  
Rõditeljä rõskõs jõla mamä  
9 Par wadoj löseä muonõd tur wa  
Ror anj kõjem löseä tur juläklõ  
Sjõkõlõsij piija löseä tur jinanõ  
Zarnõ jinoonõ rub kõsaäs  
Sõbõrõn mamä löseäd fjõd ~~jõd~~ <sup>jurim puskõnõ</sup> tur kunieja  
10 Sõbõrõnkä me puksja tur herkä'am  
Kõz pu puksja krõwatj wõlam  
Asja kutzja kadoonõ kada kureg mood  
Asja kadala kureg ror anj mißkam <sup>gõr</sup> wõlõn  
7 ror ror karam lue wõlõn  
15. Kamka burxat kadala forsädrõs  
Siskõjd mißja wõrk wõr jõeßjõs  
Gõmkõjd mißja kõk jõeßjõs  
Sõbõrõn pajedäma bær ~~spõtõlõ~~ <sup>bar aiti</sup>  
jõz aj minä pajedäma mõt aßbõkäd  
20 Rõditeljä pajedõs rõskõs jõla mamä  
jõr mam minä pajedõm <sup>õ</sup> mõt mamkäd  
Gõsnej minä pajedõs fjõkäl rokä  
jõz ai bõdäma mõt fjõnkäd



1. <sup>1</sup> Пощивий у мене пробудился спавший сон  
 Шерстенивий у мене пробудился в постели  
 в высокой, ахаткой моей подушке  
 А. сладко мнѣ спавши
2. <sup>2</sup> Framfö uppen bered mig varmt godt vatten  
 bjud mig till färdt duk (suläk) en Ryk kaffet i vagn  
 bered en 120 tandad godt kam  
 kamma mitt gyllt brukt har  
 bister, moder, bered mig en fröthänig god kumtra ätt  
 10. <sup>3</sup> Öfver fader jag jag i <sup>lägga på</sup> hufvudet  
 jag fader mig i en fong af granträs kypungar  
 Om morgonen skan jag ska pipa från en pipande koma  
 Morgon-könan skricker på sparsen (sprog), tvättad af en R. kaffet  
 Och på den af en Ryk gorse gjord Trädsprick (streck)  
 15. <sup>4</sup> Från den förgyllde? Kamke rykt ord, spät köns kam sammet  
 Kammen (sorg, kam på köns hufvud) skricker hon  
 Vacker som ett fjub (skricker hon) från näbbens ända  
 Därför blir vakt det goda godhet, den g.f.  
 En främmande fader väckte mig med min fader  
 20. <sup>5</sup> R. P. ed. en. en. pladyskura (mest)  
 En främmande moder väckte mig tacka med min moder  
 fader. Min egen broder väckte mig  
 Tillika med en af en främmande fader uppfor  
 strad (pousser) främmande  
 d. d. broder

- 643 This lament has a motif of blessing; the bride begs her father his blessing for her future.
- 644 < A Russian loan verb благословить 'to bless'. Used many times in these laments.
- 645 A misprint? Cf. earlier *blagoslōvit* 'bless!'.  
 646 A typical paired word in the Komi language, should be written with a hyphen: *njanjān-solān* 'with bread and salt'. This phrase is used in the welcome rituals in Komi. Cf. KRK 450: нянь-солөн.
- 647 *Otcevej* 'fatherly', an adjective formed from Ru отец 'father'.
- 648 Cf. earlier in this lament: *blagoslōvit* 'bless!'.
- 649 < Ru благословение 'blessing'.

6.<sup>643</sup>

1. *Vylyn blagoslōvit*<sup>644</sup> vyy jugydä  
*Ulyn blagoslōvit karys[j]ä*  
*Ĵenlanj blagoslōvit s[j]isja kyrymän*  
*Mortlanj lagoslōvit*<sup>645</sup> *njanjān solān*<sup>646</sup>
5. *Sjet Gospod[j]ä menum rudzjäg njanj sjojnj*  
*Id njanj sjojnj cjegyg vylä bur*  
*Bur sur juny tagjalemän*  
*Id sur juny maän*
10. *Pyryg menum petyg vylä sjet Gospod[j]ä*  
*Munäm menum loktem vylä*  
*Bur tor menum noolyny*  
*i bur njanj menum sjojnj*  
*Bur oolämä blagoslōvit bur ajä*  
*Das kyk cjasys[j] šuda cjasä*  
*Das kyk lunys[j] šuda lunä*
15. *Šudayslys[j] menum med ydžyd šudys*  
*Talanayslys[j] ajä sjet menum ydžyd talanjäh*  
*Otcevej*<sup>647</sup> *menum ajäh*  
*blagäslōvit*<sup>648</sup> *ydžyd blagäslōvenje*<sup>649</sup>

7.<sup>650</sup>

1. *Kar tyr vis[j]tasjannyd röden vužjen*<sup>651</sup>  
*Kyk pöläs vis[j]tasjannyd voken cjojen*<sup>652</sup>  
*Menam vyjym že tekäd vodcja*  
*Kyk pöläs kar tyr röd vuž*<sup>653</sup>  
*i kyk pöläs vok cjoj*<sup>654</sup>
5. *Röd[j]it[j]eljä cjöskyd jöla mamä*  
*Bur pi tujäh*<sup>655</sup> *bydtemaydly micja mamä*  
*löseäd*<sup>656</sup> *bur pas[j]kämly*  
*Peljpom menum micja torly*  
*Sy börsä mamä menum*  
*löseäd*<sup>657</sup> *šök*<sup>658</sup> *cjysjanly*<sup>659</sup>

**6. In the morning, to the father**

1. Bless [me] above, my world on high,  
     Bless [me] below, my creator,  
 Make a blessing to God with candle in hand,  
 Make a blessing to man with bread and salt.
5. Grant me, my Lord, rye bread to eat,  
     Barley bread to eat that needs breaking,  
     Good beer to drink with hops,  
     Barley beer to drink with honey.  
     Allow me to enter and exit, my Lord,
10. To go and come,  
     Good pieces [of clothing] for me to wear  
     and good bread for me to eat.  
     My good life, bless [me], my good father,  
     Of twelve hours [let one be] a happy hour,  
     Of twelve days [let one be] a happy day,
15. Of happiness [grant] me the greatest happiness,  
     Of success, my father, grant me great success.  
     Grant me, my father, a great fatherly blessing.

**7. In the morning,  
when the bridegroom comes**

1. In the entire town, you tell [there are] kith and kin,  
 From both sides you tell [there are] brothers and sisters.  
     I, too, have comparable [people] to meet you  
     From both sides in the entire town  
     kith and kin and siblings from both sides.
5. My bearer, my sweet-milk mother!  
     Prepare good clothes, my beautiful mother,  
 [for me, whom] you've raised to be a good child,  
     [Prepare] a beautiful piece [of clothing],  
     for my shoulders.  
 After that, my mother, prepare me a silk scarf,

- 650 This lament has an exchange and a farewell motif.
- 651 Usually used as a compound word, cf. KRK 566 or KSK 2: 302: рӧдвуж 'relatives'.
- 652 A typical paired word in the Komi language, should be written with a hyphen: *voken-cjojen* 'siblings (instr.)'; (lit. brother-sister), cf. KSK 2: 725: чоя-вока (lit. 'sister and brother'). Cf. lament 4, line 2: *vokän-cjojän*.
- 653 See note 651.
- 654 A typical paired word in the Komi language, should be written with a hyphen: *vok-cjoj* 'siblings'; (lit. 'brother-sister'), cf. KSK 2: 725: чоя-вока (lit. 'sister and brother').
- 655 See lament 1, line 40 and lament 3, line 22 and notes.
- 656, 657 Here (and earlier) Castrén has written *löseäd* 'prepare!', should be *lösjääd*, cf. KSK 1: 858: лӧседны 'to arrange, to prepare, to organize'.
- 658 < Ru шёлк, cf. KSK 2: 794: шӧк 'silk(y)', in the literary language: шӧвк, cf. KRK 742.
- 659 Should be written *cjyšjanly* 'scarf, shawl; towel (dat.)', cf. KSK 2: 749: чышъян. -ly, see notes 503, 558.

- 660 Should be written separate: *badj moz* ‘like a willow’. No long vowel, cf. KSK 1: 923: *моз*.
- 661 Cf. lament 1, line 6 and its note.
- 662 Cf. KSK 2: 590–591: *тырна*, *тыруна* ‘hay (adj.)’.
- 663 Should be written separate: *bydtyny kä*, cf. KSK 1: 134: *быдтыны*; KSK 1: 653: *ке*.
- 664 < Ru славный ‘famous’.
- 665 Should be written *me mestaam* ‘in my stead, instead of me’, see lament 3, line 40. (In his grammar, Castrén uses an apostrophe ‘ to mark the morpheme boundary between two adjacent vowels, separating syllables.)
- 666 If these two words are construed as an attribute followed by a noun, placing the case ending on both does not follow regular Komi syntax practices, i.e., the case suffix *-käd* is attached to both *jöz* and *mort* whereas one would expect it to attach to the latter one (cf. *Häälauļuja*, p. 19).
- 667 Should be written *bydtyny* ‘to raise’, cf. KSK 1: 134: *быдтыны*.
- 668 Cf. KSK 1: 936: *мөс* ‘cow’; see Vocabulary.
- 669 Should be written *kuž* ‘understand!’, cf. KSK 1: 758: *кужны*.
- 670 Should be written *lyddjyny* ‘to read’, cf. KSK 1: 868: *лыддыны*.
- 671 < Ru тысячный ‘thousand-fold’.
- 672 < Ru ящик ‘chest’.
- 673 < Ru только ‘only’.

- Tuusoo menä micjkäd  
micja vež badjmooz*<sup>660</sup>
10. *Röd[j]it[j]eljä blagöslövit cjöskyd jöla mamä  
Röd[j]it[j]eljä prös[j]t[j]i cjöskyd jöla mamä  
Bur živätä bur aj seraminjä*<sup>661</sup>  
*N[j]inäm me tencjyd ajä og kor  
Džudžyd og kor bur kerästä*
15. *Turna*<sup>662</sup> *ota og kor bur vidzjtä  
Bur živätä bur ajäh  
bydtynykä*<sup>663</sup> *kužin bur vöötä  
Slavnej*<sup>664</sup> *petkäd bazarj šöräh  
Me tujan me mešteam*<sup>665</sup>  
*Sjo don kuž donjoony jözkäd mortkäd*<sup>666</sup>
20. *Röd[j]it[j]eljä cjöskyd jöla mamä  
Bur kä bydtyny*<sup>667</sup> *kužin kukja muöstä*<sup>668</sup>  
*Äzys[j] petkäd ljapkyd sjurödys[j]  
tuj šöräh  
Sjurs lyd kuzj*<sup>669</sup> *mamä lydjyny*<sup>670</sup>  
*N[j]inäm me tencjyd ajäh og kor*
25. *Tyseätsnej*<sup>671</sup> *og kor bur jaščiktä*<sup>672</sup>  
*Tencjyd toljko*<sup>673</sup> *kora blagöslövenjetä*<sup>674</sup>  
*Bur živätä blagöslövit*<sup>675</sup> *bur ajäh  
veža sutny venetsj*<sup>676</sup> *uläh  
Kyk pöläs prös[j]t[j]i menam jedžyd*<sup>677</sup> *kerkaäh  
Loozjan njanj moz prös[j]t[j]i loozjaninä*
30. *Badj kor moz micjkedaninä  
Bur njanj sjojaninä i  
bur pas[j]käm noolaninä  
Sjojan prös[j]t[j]i sacharnejä  
Djinläs*<sup>678</sup> *prös[j]t[j]i  
matys[j] bur susjädjasä  
Kar tyr menam rödä vužä*<sup>679</sup>  
*štecja*<sup>680</sup> *suutäh medvodzj*
35. *Yledzj menum kolljem vylä  
Takojd*<sup>681</sup> *menam kolji bur jur nojä*<sup>682</sup>  
*Nyy jort mejam*<sup>683</sup> *das jortjasäh  
Čöčjah menam bydmemajasä  
Ljok me vylam in vidzjä ydžyd lögly*



- Decorate me like a beautiful  
green willow in the spring.
10. My bearer, bless [me], my sweet-milk mother,  
My bearer, farewell, my sweet-milk mother.  
My good keeper, my good father, tender-hearted!  
I do not ask for anything from you, my father,  
I do not ask you for a good high hill,
15. I do not ask a good wide grassy meadow of you.  
My good keeper, my good father,  
if you knew how to raise a good horse,  
Take it to the center of the famous market  
Instead of me, in lieu of me.  
Remember to ask for a hundredfold price  
when trading with strange people.
20. My bearer, my sweet-milk mother,  
If you knew how to raise a good cow and a calf,  
Lead [it holding] onto the low silver horn  
to the middle of the road.  
Remember to count a thousandfold figure, my mother.  
I do not ask anything from you, my father,
25. I do not ask for a good chest [worth] a thousand,  
I only ask you for your blessing,  
My good keeper, bless [me], my good father,  
to stand beneath the holy crown.  
Farewell, my two-sided house, my white home,  
Farewell, my place of maturing, where I grew as a crop,
30. [Where I] like the leaf of the willow did beautify,  
The place where I have eaten good bread  
and worn good clothes.  
Farewell, my sugary food,  
Farewell, nearby, close [and] good neighbors.  
My kith and kin in the entire town  
stand foremost at the meeting
35. When seeing me off, far away.  
Like this remained my good bridal headband!  
A girlfriend, my ten friends,  
Those who grew up with me,  
Bear me no evil, [nor] great wrath.

- 674 < Ru благословение 'blessing'.  
675 < A Russian loan verb благословить 'to bless'.  
676 < Ru венец 'crown'.  
677 *jedžyd* 'white' must be understood as 'clean, neat', also the inside of the house is often painted white (G.M., p.c.).  
678 *Djinlās*, not found in the dictionaries (as Aminoff also commented in *Häälauluja*, p. 29). The word seems to be derived from *djin* [дин] 'base', and here it is used as a synonym for *matysj* 'close, near', cf. KSK 1: 447: дин дорса and KRK 188: дінса 'nearby; near, close'. In the Ižma dialect, the word *djin* has a palatal initial *dj*, cf. in the literary language *din* [дін].  
679 Usually used as a compound word, cf. KRK 566 or KSK 2: 302: рөдвуж 'relatives'.  
680 < Ru встреча 'meeting'.  
681 Should be written separate: *Ta kojđ* 'like that'.  
682 Should be written as a compound word (cf. in lament 2, line 8): *jurnoj* 'bridal headband', cf. KRK 780: юрной.  
683 *mejat* = *menam* 'my', see EGS, § 57.

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Abbreviations, see p. 232

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## 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

