

**The Quasquicentennial  
of the Finno-Ugrian Society**



SUOMALAIS-UGRILAISEN SEURAN TOIMITUKSIA  
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The Quasquicentennial  
of the Finno-Ugrian Society

Edited by Jussi Ylikoski

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Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia =

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Orders — Tilaukset

Tiedekirja

Kirkkokatu 14

FI-00170 Helsinki

<http://www.tiedekirja.fi>

[tiedekirja@tsv.fi](mailto:tiedekirja@tsv.fi)

FAX +358 9 635 017

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## Preface

The Finno-Ugrian Society (*Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura*), founded in 1883 and thus one of the oldest and largest learned societies in Finland, celebrated its 125th anniversary or quasiquicentennial in 2008. Ever since its establishment, the Society has striven to advance research into the Uralic and so-called Altaic languages, the ethnography of their speakers, and the historical and pre-historical past of speakers of these languages. The main events of the jubilee year took place on November 15th, the day of the founding of the Society, and on December 2nd, the traditional day of the Annual General Meeting of the Society.

This volume contains ten papers, eight of which were presented at the quasiquicentennial symposium “Suomalais-ugrilaisen kieliyhteisön verkosto” (‘The network of the Finno-Ugric language community’) held in the Small Hall of the University of Helsinki on December 2nd, 2008. In accordance with the title of the symposium, many of the papers present various aspects on the multifaceted networks observable in Uralic research. This is made most explicit by Johanna Laakso in her observations on the sociology and history of networking within Uralistics in general, by Márta Csepregi in her review of the history and the sociolinguistic subject matter of Ob-Ugric studies, as well as by Anneli Sarhima in her paper on the prospects for Finnic, especially Karelian, sociolinguistics.

Other branches of the Uralic language family and their study are represented by Karl Pajusalu’s and Yölgün’ (Yevgeniy) Tsypanov’s up-to-date overviews of the contemporary situation and the recent history of the Southern Finnic and Permic languages. More detailed perspectives on the ever-growing number of sub-disciplines in Uralic studies are provided by M.M.Jocelyne Fernandez-Vest’s paper on the change of information structuring in North Saami, one of the many Uralic languages that are gradually replacing their primarily oral features with those more typical of languages with established literary traditions. On the other hand, some of the more traditional issues in historical linguistics are considered by Juha Janhunen in his endeavour to determine the date and location of the Uralic proto-language on the Eurasian linguistic map, as well as by Janne Saarikivi in his etymology-centred survey of contacts between Finnic and Slavic.

The eight symposium papers—mainly representing the contemporary activities of present-day Finno-Ugrian Society—are complemented by two surveys of the history of the Society. Timo Salminen’s article on the history and role of the Finno-Ugrian Society in relation to Russia is based on a paper presented at the Finno-Ugrian Society on November 21st, 2008, as well as his recent history of the Society. Finally, the volume ends with the speech delivered by

Seppo Suhonen at the quasiquicentennial banquet of the Finno-Ugrian Society on December 2nd, 2008, which depicts the 113 founders of the Society with an emphasis on their diverse roles in the academic, administrative and commercial life of Finnish society at that time.

It is also worthy of note that, in common with the long tradition of publishing translated samples of all languages that are within the sphere of interest of the Finno-Ugrian Society, the present volume also offers students and researchers of Komi and Finnish the possibility of thus utilising the parallel texts of Yölgin' Tsypanov's paper published both in the original Komi and as a Finnish translation.

The editor hopes that this book will provide representative glimpses of the vast and variegated field of Uralistics as practiced on the verge of the sixth quarter-century of the Finno-Ugrian Society.

Helsinki  
June 2009  
*Jussi Ylikoski*



At the quasiquicentennial banquet on December 2nd, 2008. From left to right: Professor Seppo Suhonen (President of the Finno-Ugrian Society 1991–2000), Professor Riho Grünthal (Second Vice President 2006–), Professor Ulla-Maija Kulonen (President 2001–), Professor Alho Alho-niemi (First Vice President 1981–1999) and Professor Sirkka Saarinen (First Vice President 2001–).



## The very highly connected nodes in the Ob-Ugrian networks

### 1. Introduction

Physicist Albert-László Barabási who was born in Transylvania and educated in Hungary now works in New York. In 2002 he published a book entitled *Linked* (Barabási 2002a) which has since been reprinted in English several times. Up to the present (2008) this book has been translated into thirteen languages, including Finnish and Hungarian (Barabási 2002b and 2008, respectively). While studying computer networks, Barabási and his colleagues accidentally discovered that natural and social networks do not behave in the same way as networks in mathematics. While connections between nodes in the latter emerge randomly, the stronger nodes of natural and social networks by virtue of having more connections are capable of better facilitating connections. Like the World Wide Web almost all complex networks of the most varying types of systems from biochemical processes to social relations behave in this way. The results of Barabási's research re-established the study of networks through which the concept of the "very highly connected node" has become widely accepted. Moreover, the title of this paper, which reflects my aims, has been taken from his research: to draw a picture of the multifarious, multi-dimensional and interrelated connections between both the Ob-Ugrian peoples and the investigation of these along the axes of time and space.

According to Barabási the fewer the connections between individual members of networks, the more vulnerable the networks in question are. The lesson from the 150-year-old history of Ob-Ugrian studies is that international research has played a crucial role in the survival of the Khanty and Mansi peoples. Although it is self-evident that there is a great need for improving the internal relations between the Khanty and Mansi communities themselves, there is also an equally great need for strengthening ties between native speakers and foreign students and researchers of these languages and cultures. The influence of an outside internationally known charismatic personality or a vigorous student may have lasting consequences, sometimes for decades, with regard to the revival and strengthening of a given community.

The narrow framework of this paper does not allow me to offer a full description of Ob-Ugrian studies. Instead, I would like my paper to be considered only as a case study: by presenting one characteristic or another aiming at the very highly connected nodes in an intricate network, I would like to relate the history of the study of the Ob-Ugrian peoples and languages, as well as provide a description of their present state. Among these nodes there are institutions, individuals (native and foreign) and also publications.

## 2. Societies, schools and workshops for scholarly studies

### 2.1. The Finno-Ugrian Society

First I would like to mention the 125-year-old Finno-Ugrian Society whose field of study goes far beyond the Ob-Ugrian linguistic area. Aided by the financial support of this Society two scholars, Kustaa Fredrik Karjalainen and Artturi Kannisto, resided in the Ob region for several years, living with these people while recording and collecting a large amount of lexical and grammatical data, texts and folklore material. K. F. Karjalainen spent four years (1898–1902) among the Khantys, whereas A. Kannisto travelled all over the land of the Mansis surveying every single dialect of this language on an expedition that lasted five years (1901–1906). About the same time (1898–1900) U. T. Sirelius made a trip along the River Ob engaging in ethnographical research. The research work conducted by these scholars was closely connected to the studies of the true pioneers of this profession, their predecessors, M. A. Castrén and August Ahlqvist and their contemporaries. Meanwhile, in 1900–1901 Heikki Paasonen also spent ten months among the Khantys of Konda and Surgut thanks to a scholarship from the University of Helsinki.

Although before World War I selecting, funding and preparing scholars for expeditions was the main task of the Finno-Ugrian Society, its activities were more extensive than this. The systematisation, documentation and publication of primary linguistic material collected during these expeditions together with the publication of research results, was and still is, of equal importance. The well-known periodicals and series published by this Society with their international distribution have helped to unite an international public interested in the Uralic languages and their cultures. Unfortunately, because these publications use special, perhaps complicated phonetic transcriptions, and mostly appear in German little benefit was passed on to the native speakers of the languages in question. Only after the elapse of a generation did professionally trained scholars emerge

from the indigenous Ob-Ugrian population who were able to benefit from these publications.

Since several field workers were not able to publish their linguistic collections either due to their obligation to edit linguistic material other than their own or because of their untimely death, the publication of these records was bestowed on the Finno-Ugrian Society and continued to be so for decades. Thus Paasonen's Khanty dictionary was published by Kai Donner (1926), Karjalainen's vast collection of eight Khanty dialects was edited by Y. H. Toivonen (1948). The Mansi text-material of Kannisto was published by Matti Liimola (1951–1963), although his dictionary has not yet been published. The Hungarian Edit Vértés published the grammatical notes and text-materials of Karjalainen and Paasonen. Interestingly enough the birth of Vértés and death of Karjalainen and Paasonen occurred in the same year: Karjalainen died of a heart attack he suffered after returning from the funeral of Paasonen in 1919, the year Vértés was born.

From the beginning, the connections between scholars associated with and supported by the Finno-Ugrian Society spread beyond the national borders. It was a Hungarian, János Jankó who interested U. T. Sirelius in Ob-Ugrian culture while preparing for an expedition to Siberia. János Jankó and his companion, József Pápay also met Karjalainen during their Siberian expedition.

Jankó and Pápay's journey to the Ob region was financed by an eccentric Hungarian aristocrat, Count Jenő Zichy. It is worth noting that, unlike the Finno-Ugrian Society in Finland, in Hungary, the other centre of Ob-Ugrian studies at that time, there was no institution whose strategy for Siberian studies was farsighted. Therefore, expeditions of Hungarians could only be realised either with the support of generous benefactors or, more frequently, through the exceptional efforts of dedicated activists. The first lone hero was Antal Reguly who died 150 years ago in 1858 at the age of 39. His expedition was funded by the Hungarian Society of Scholars [the predecessor of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences], and by the donations of many private citizens. The decoding of Reguly's records was the aim of Bernát Munkácsi when he left on his journey to the Mansi region in 1888–1889, this journey being made possible thanks to professor József Budenz, who awarded Munkácsi his own great prize of the Hungarian Academy, which he received for his new book. József Pápay aimed to decode the Khanty texts of Reguly. He left on his journey to the Khanty region ten years later, 1898–1899. The worthy successor today of these pioneers was Éva Schmidt, whose scholarly achievements will be discussed later.

Until the first half of the 20th century there was little overlapping between the networks of native speakers and scholars. The yield of these various collections enriched the discipline, but for the indigenous population there was no benefit. Good relations or even friendship based on mutual respect may have been

born between travelling scholars and native informants, but such contact did not usually have any any lasting effect. The field workers published little information, if any, on the circumstances in which their collection of material took place and even less personal data about the informants. Usually, they did not bother to record the names of their informants. Their publications, rarely, if ever, found their way back to the region in question—partly because of political tensions, the Soviet Union having isolated itself. But even when a publication accidentally did reach them, there was no one able to read it. In spite of all this, the work of these pioneers was not without effect. According to a Russian ethnographer, Zoya Sokolova, it was no accident that at the beginning of the 1990s it was the Ob-Ugrians who first established their national organisations among the indigenous peoples of Siberia. The extensive and never waning interest of Finnish and Hungarian scholars over the last 150 years has bolstered a consciousness of the high value of the cultural heritage of these peoples, and given them a strong feeling and awareness of being part of a larger community.<sup>1</sup> No such thorough and systematic studies have been done among other Siberian indigenous peoples.

## 2.2. Institutions in the Soviet Union and in Russia

### 2.2.1. The Institute of Northern Peoples

The world opened up to the Ob-Ugrians first of all in the 1920s when the Institute of Northern Peoples (INP), which later continued its work under the auspices of the Herzen State Pedagogical Institute was founded in Leningrad. In common with the sons and daughters of other Siberian peoples, the Khantys and the Mansis who aspired to become teachers, cultural workers, would-be writers and artists were educated at the INP. Since during the Soviet period, unlike pre-World War I times, neither the Finno-Ugrian Society nor any other scholarly society had the opportunity or permission to conduct field work among the indigenous peoples of the Soviet Union, the Herzen State Pedagogical Institute (since 1991 Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia) was the only establishment in which foreign scholars allowed to meet native speakers of the various Siberian languages. This opportunity was first exploited by Wolfgang Steinitz, then in the 1950s others came, such as György Lakó, Béla Kálmán, Károly Rédei, János Gulya and László Honti, to mention only those specialists in Ob-Ugrian studies who collected large amounts of material from students at the INP. The process of collection, and field work in general, also had an effect on the informants themselves: the most important linguist among the Khanty, N. I. Terëshkin

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<sup>1</sup> Zoya Sokolova, personal communication.

(1913–1986) being a student of Wolfgang Steinitz. The competent Mansi linguist, Ye. I. Rombandeyeva (1928–) has related several times the importance in her career of meeting György Lakó in 1952 and becoming his Mansi informant. The elderly lady scholar Rombandeyeva remembers with high regard the elegant bespectacled gentleman György Lakó, who always embarrassed her by courteously helping her to don her overcoat with its shabby rabbit-hair collar of which she was so ashamed. The result of this work with Rombandeyeva was Lakó's (1956) Northern Mansi grammar, and a product of this cooperation was that this responsive student also learned the methods of language description. Similarly, in 1957, she was also the informant for Béla Kálmán (1976)—consequently, the material of Kálmán's collection of Mansi texts is, for the most part, derived from Rombandeyeva. During this period of collective activity she became aware of the need to be able to precisely describe phonemic features, which provided a basis for her argument in favour of marking long vowels. In 1958 she met Vilmos Diószegi who repeatedly urged her to collect and describe the religious heritage and culture of the Mansis. After her first study (Rombandeyeva 1963) on the cultural traditions related to childbirth, there followed several other papers on ethnology and folklore. One of her main works is a collection of folklore texts (Rombandeyeva 2005) containing texts collected in the last 100 years or more. She has participated in international conferences and congresses, given lectures at universities abroad, and in this way has become the most well-known representative of Mansi scholarship.

It was Béla Kálmán who first observed Yuvan Shestalov's literary talent, and he was also the first editor to publish Shestalov's poems abroad. We may assume that being native informants and linguistic advisers to Károly Rédei in 1964 in Leningrad had a similar effect on the forming of Ye. A. Nemysova's professional career and that of M. K. Vagatova's literary activity (Rédei 1968). Leningrad was the place where young students could also gain access to literature from outside the Soviet Union. Both Yuvan Shestalov and Ye. I. Rombandeyeva mentioned repeatedly how greatly they had been influenced in their approach to their own mythology by Bernát Munkácsi's (1892–1921) collection of Mansi folklore.

### 2.2.2. Research centres in Siberia

As far as Ob-Ugrian is concerned the most important research centres in Siberia are in Tomsk and Novosibirsk. Among the ethnographers at Tomsk State University first mention should be made of N. V. Lukina (1937–) as one who has carried out extensive field work among the Ob-Ugrians and also played an important role in connecting the Siberian peoples to the international network by

translating, inter alia, Karjalainen's grandiose trilogy of Ob-Ugrian mythology from the German (1994–1996), and the travel notes of Sirelius (2001). Together with her colleague, V. Kulemzin, she wrote a book about the Khanty people for a Russian audience (1992). Both Kulemzin and Lukina are authors of the volume on Khanty mythology, which was the result of international cooperation (2006). Lukina's role in educating the new Ob-Ugrian intelligentsia cannot be overestimated either as a teacher of graduate students or an editor of various publications. The achievements of her disciples, Tat'yana Moldanova and Timofey Moldanov, is already acknowledged, for which reason I wish to mention some other publications of the new Mansi and Khanty generations: Khromova (2004), Ivanova (2004), Popova (2001, 2003, 2008) and Taligina (2004). Also, the linguistic school associated with the Novosibirsk State University has educated several Khanty scholars. Long series of projects and publications prove that cooperation between native and non-native scholars can be fruitful (Koshkarëva & Solovar 2004, Solovar 2006, Kaksin 2007, Skribnik & Afanas'yeva 2007). Also, colleagues from the Novosibirsk Conservatory have collected musical material from among the Khantys (Nazarenko 2000, 2005).

### 2.2.3. Institutions functioning in the Ob-Ugrian linguistic area

Beginning in the 1990s, due to a revival of national identity and also to the benevolence of the local authorities, a growing number of academic institutions emerged in the Ob region, and in an inverse proportion the more distant centres of research started to lose their importance. In Khanty-Mansiysk, the capital of the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug, a centre was founded called the Research Institute for the Revival of the Ob-Ugrian Peoples which—having been restructured and renamed several times—it still operates as the Ob-Ugrian Institute for Applied Studies and Data Processing (*Обско-угорский институт прикладных исследований и разработок*). In the same city a state university was also founded in 2001 which took on the tasks of the former teacher training college and which has a special department for the education of Ob-Ugrian students. In answer to the call of the homeland, many scholars have recently returned to the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug from different parts of the Russian Federation: Ye. I. Rombandeyeva from Moscow, D. V. Gerasimova and N. A. Lyskova from St Petersburg, A. I. Saynakhova from Central Asia.

In 1991 Éva Schmidt founded the Folklore Archive of the Northern Ob-Ugrian Peoples in Beloyarskiy, along the lower course of the River Kazym (Schmidt 2001). Following in her footsteps a series of similar institutions emerged in the Ob region: a Mansi archive was founded in Berëzovo (Csepregi

1997a), archives for Forest Nenets in Var'yegan, and Eastern Khanty in Lyan-tor, and soon after that a central archive was established in Khanty-Mansiysk. In the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug several institutes were established for recording and documenting the traditions of the Khanty, Komi and Tundra Nenets nationalities, with the Ethnolinguistic and Ethnographic Research Workshop of these institutes maintaining close contact with the archive founded by Éva Schmidt. Éva Schmidt recognised that the traditional ways of collecting linguistic and folklore material were insufficient: taking into consideration the dramatic trend of a shrinking of indigenous population only a large-scale and well organised material collection project could offer the chance of success in the saving and documentation of Ob-Ugrian folk-tradition as a whole. This was the objective towards which she had worked until the end of her life: an institute of her own founding under the name of the Centre for Dialectology. A draft for this had already been published in the *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* (Schmidt et al. 2001).

### 3. Personalities with wide contacts

#### 3.1. Nodes between Ob-Ugrians in traditional ways of life

It has long been known that Ob-Ugrian communities have widespread and strong networks of their own: marriage customs and the rule of exogamy require familiarity with and precise knowledge of kinship relations. Due to exogamy members of a clan or, in a wider context, whole populations of one or another river-valley had close contact with one another or even with peoples in faraway territories. Trading traditions between them are also centuries old. They have precise knowledge of what can be expected of clan members and how this should be reciprocated. Let me mention, for example, the Khantys of Synya where there is a clear division of tasks: the fishermen of the Ob trade with their reindeer-breeding relatives in the Ural mountains and every item has its fixed price, for example, a bucket of fish oil is worth a reindeer fawn.<sup>2</sup> The networks also survive migration of Khantys to urban areas. The settlement policy of the Soviet era aimed at cutting the bonds between tribes and clans, and mixing them with settlers and alien populations, although mostly in vain: the Khantys of Salekhard, that is, the city dwellers, maintain contacts with their kin only and do not fraternise with outsiders.<sup>3</sup> Even if they do not transmit their language to their children, they pass on their contacts.

<sup>2</sup> Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián, verbal communication.

<sup>3</sup> Ágnes Kerezsi, verbal communication.

### One among many: Ivan Stepanovich Sopočin

There are an ever growing number of people among the Ob-Ugrians who have contacts with the outside world, including scholarly relations. I am not referring only to the educated Mansis and Khantys as individuals who have kept up and cultivated their bonds with their kinfolk even after they occupied their place in the world of scholarship and science, but also to those many who have never left their native land. As an example I would like to mention only one person from the Surgut Khanty area, the one I have known the best. He was Ivan Stepanovich Sopočin (1910–1993), the most famous shaman in the region of the Tromagan and Agan rivers in the second half of the 20th century. According to Juha Pentikäinen (1998: 65), “[h]e was the only one to survive out of the eight shamans imprisoned during the Stalinistic persecutions in the 1930s against the national leaders of the Khanty people in the area.” He became the focus of international attention in the 1980s when he was discovered by Estonian, Finnish, Russian and, finally, also Hungarian ethnographers. It was his kinsman, Yeremey Aypin, then a local cultural activist and later to become a well-known writer, who led the researchers to the wise old man. To some extent also Aypin’s literary achievements are based on the life experiences and adventures of his uncle (Aypin 2002a). The subject of Aypin’s novel, the story of the Khanty uprising against Soviet oppression at the beginning of the 1930s has also been taken from Sopočin’s life story (Aypin 2002b). It was also Aypin who led the Estonian film director Lennart Meri (later president of the independent Estonian Republic) to Ivan Stepanovich while he was shooting a film on the bear-feast traditions of the Khantys of the River Agan in 1985–1987 (Meri 1987). At the end of the 1980s researchers of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Novosibirsk visited I. S. Sopočin several times and collected musical and linguistic material from him (Nazarenko 2000, 2005; Koshkarëva 2004, 2005). The texts of his shamanistic songs have been published by Márta Csepregi (Csepregi 2006, 2007). The Finnish folklorist Juha Pentikäinen obtained important information from him, and others, on the Elk-myth in 1990 (Pentikäinen 1998: 65–75). We had an opportunity to enjoy Sopočin’s talented tale-telling indirectly even earlier, when László Honti (1978) published one of his elk-tales which he had recorded with the help of his son who was then studying in Leningrad. In 1991 a Hungarian ethnographer, Ágnes Kerezsi, spent time with him and gained his confidence (Kerezsi 1997). Just that time a photo album was being compiled by Erzsi Winter (1995) through the good services of which many can catch a glimpse of the world of Ivan Stepanovich. In 1992 the ethnomusicologist Katalin Lázár and linguist Márta Csepregi joined Ágnes Kerezsi on an expedition to visit I. S. Sopočin. The main source of their book on Surgut Khanty folk tradition was the wise elder of the Sopočin fam-



ily (Lázár 1997). Other members of the Sopochin family were also important informants on folk tradition and language (Csepregi 1997b, 1998, 2005) after they joined the international network: Sopochin's sons Yosif and Yeremey visited Finland and Hungary, and his granddaughter, Olesya has been studying in Hungary and was a valuable source of information for those studying the Surgut Khanty dialect. A documentary film has been made on the life of the Sopochins (Gadó 1999).

Ivan Stepanovich himself, who never left his native land, knew more about how networks function than we might think, that is, the Khantys, who live in the taiga are always connected with those who live in the cities. The latter he simply called Russians. He told his children: "In this world under the sky and above the ground we all belong together. Neither the Khanty nor the Russian people could be happy at the expense of the other. It is bad also for the Russians if the Khanty suffer, and the Khanty cannot be happy even if the Russians are badly off."

### 3.2. Scholars as nodes

As mentioned above, in the 19th century networks of native speakers and scholars functioned independently of one another and were connected, if at all, only accidentally and in a few nodes. The situation started to change slowly in the first half of the 20th century. Let me illustrate the widening and strengthening of connections between native informants and scholars, and the inclusion of the Ob-Ugrians in the network of scholarly studies, by mentioning the careers of two scholars born in the same year, Valeriy Chernetsov (1905–1970) and Wolfgang Steinitz (1905–1967).

Beginning in 1925, Chernetsov started to get acquainted with the language, folklore and ethnography of the Mansi on several expeditions. As an archaeologist, historian, and ethnographer his achievements are equally extraordinary. On the basis of his field work he is closely connected to his predecessors, A. Reguly, B. Munkácsi and A. Kannisto, since he collected materials, as they did, along the Lozva and Northern Sos'va rivers. He tried to unravel the ancient pictographs of Tagil, the same ones that had also astonished A. Reguly in 1845 (Chernetsov 1964, Szij 2003). He was an active participant in establishing the literary Mansi language and by means of his good relations with native speakers became a pioneer in connecting the respective networks of indigenous Mansis and scholars. His travel notes (Chernetsov 1987) bear witness to his sincere interest in the life of indigenous people.

The German Wolfgang Steinitz lived in the Soviet Union between 1934 and 1937 and was a professor at the INP in Leningrad. By the end of the 1920s, he

had established connections with leading linguistic circles in Finland, Estonia and Hungary. In his years in Leningrad he worked together with Soviet scholars (among them also Chernetsov), but what was more important was his teaching and field work with his students among of the indigenous nationalities in the north. As was also mentioned above N. I. Terëshkin considered himself one of his students. In 1935 he left for the Ob region on a six-month-long expedition, an unrealisable dream for any other foreign scholar at that time. Steinitz had good relations with state administrators and politicians, as well as officials in the field of education. He took part in establishing the Khanty literary language, just as did Chernetsov in the case of Mansi. Steinitz's touch could be felt for decades not only in Leningrad, but in area of the indigenous settlements as well: as late as 1996 Éva Schmidt found a retired lady teacher in a remote village in the Oktyabrskoye Okrug who happened to have been a former student of Steinitz in Leningrad.

After World War II Wolfgang Steinitz became a leading figure in international Finno-Ugrian studies. His students in Ob-Ugrian studies pursued significant careers in both East and West Germany. His scholarly oeuvre was crowned by the collective opus of Steinitz and his students; the dialectological and etymological dictionary of Khanty (Steinitz 1967–1993) which is a basic piece of Ostyakology which is in itself a very important node. Until the present the Mansi and the Khanty peoples have been able to benefit only from those parts of the opus published in the Soviet Union. More recently, however—partly due to German–Russian collaboration—Steinitz's oeuvre is becoming available also to the Khantys (Titel & Winkler 2000) and some of the texts collected by him have also been published in Cyrillic transcription with a Russian translation (Nëmysova 2000).

Éva Schmidt (1948–2002) was a scholar whose activity was connected with almost all of the Ob-Ugrian tribes and ethnic groups and—without exception—with all fields of Ob-Ugrian studies (see the obituary of Simoncsics 2003). By the time she first met Mansi and Khanty people in Leningrad in 1970 she had already become familiar with the all the available works of Reguly, Munkácsi, Pápay and Steinitz and read the first literary works of these peoples of recent literacy, including Soviet war novels, in their native languages—as translated from Russian. Later she learned to speak each and all of the Northern Khanty dialects and was fluent also in Mansi. She made herself a link between Western scholarship and the so-called national intelligentsia of the Ob-Ugrians and their national community. For her it was easy to reach a common note with elderly people who were aware of the value of their cultural tradition as well as of its evanescent nature and, for that reason, they trusted her with their innermost lore of knowledge: myths, songs and tales. By her own account she was able to con-

nect with the younger generations only with some difficulty, but in spite of this one can come across people of any generation even in the most far away corners of Western Siberia who remember her as their acquaintance and true friend. Several of them have cherished the memory of the Hungarian woman from their youth whom they met in their school and who addressed them in their native language, and this was an event which changed their lives.

When Éva Schmidt founded the folklore archive in Beloyarskiy in 1991 she recruited her early colleagues from the Kazym region. After having acquired the methods of collecting and documenting folklore and linguistic data, her first team-mates left working on the archive and stepped out a separate path in their scholarly studies. That is why Éva Schmidt had to make a new start on the archive and after some reorganising, the archive work recommenced, this time with new Khanty colleagues from the Ob region. They started the task of collecting from among their kinfolk and began publishing material in series observing high scholarly standards in transcriptions of both the Cyrillic and Roman alphabet with Russian translations (Khomlyak 2002, Uspenskaya 2002, Slepikova 2003, Schmidt & Pyatnikova 2006).

Éva Schmidt travelled all over and around the western half of the Ob-Ugrian linguistic area several times, getting acquainted and making friends everywhere, and people—as is fitting in a strongly connected node—were always seeking her companionship. She was not only thoroughly familiar with the physical geography of the region, but also, and even more so, with its cultural geography, since she knew the cultic sites and their guardians well, just as she did the idols and the traditions connected to them, more often than not much better than local population, since she had a whole 150-year-old collection of folklore and religious tradition in her head. What she thought most important was to return to these traditions by teaching them again to the locals in the vicinity of the cultic sites. That is why she transcribed the heroic epic songs collected by Pápay into Cyrillic, thus giving it a new life with the aid of melodies added and composed by Leonti Taragupta, a later descendant of Pápay's informant. Yet Éva Schmidt did more: she not only transcribed heroic epic songs from the obsolete Sygva dialect collected by Reguly, but also translated them into the Berězovo dialect and, if she thought it necessary, she also translated Mansi texts into Khanty. For the Konda Mansi people, Russified by the 1930s, she compiled an index of folklore texts collected by Munkácsi and Kannisto with the names of the informants to the fore—the thought behind this being to inform locals about the great achievements of their ancestors. In addition she also presented them with some texts translated into Russian—returning ethnic culture to people by re-teaching it. All of this and much more information is contained in her annual reports for the MTA Néprajzi Intézet [Ethnographical Institute of the Hungarian

Academy of Sciences] and was published after her death in the 1st volume of *Schmidt Éva Könyvtár* [Éva Schmidt Library] (2005).

Let us return for a moment to the theory of Barabási. According to this theory (Barabási 2003: 109–113), if nodes are removed randomly from scale-free networks, they are not damaged; rather they are astonishingly robust and capable of tolerating errors. If, on the other hand, highly connected nodes are removed, networks are quickly dissolved, which means in practice that random errors do not threaten the integrity of these networks, while they are almost defenceless against targeted assaults. Thus, highly connected nodes are the vulnerable spot of networks. Éva Schmidt was just such a highly connected node in the Ob-Ugrian network. Too many people and too many projects depended on her. After her tragic death, these people felt abandoned as one of her former colleagues wrote in the volume dedicated to her memory (Voldina 2004: 70) and also the projects conceived and started by her were cut short. The loss of Éva Schmidt is to be seen as a huge hole in the safety net of Ob-Ugrian studies and through this hole sharks move about freely in and out—these are the enemies of Ob-Ugrian ethnic survival.

#### 4. Invisible mesh in the net

Publications as important constituents of Ob-Ugrian networks have been mentioned. But there is also invisible mesh in these net(work)s: the unpublished papers of late collectors. In the followings I shall mention a few of these.

After the death of V. N. Chernetsov, his written records were left to the Tomsk State University. A part of his Russian language and easily-sold material was published by N. V. Lukina: these were his research diary (Chernetsov 1987) and his translations of Mansi tales (Chernetsov 1997). The original Mansi texts had already been prepared for publication by Éva Schmidt in the 1980s and they should have appeared as the 2nd volume of *Specimina Sibirica*. In the meantime Éva Schmidt's attention had been diverted and she moved to Western Siberia where she started her own work of collecting. For decades this material had filled the shelves of the editor János Pusztay, and after the death of Éva Schmidt it was transferred to the Department of Finno-Ugric Studies at the University of Szeged where most of the intensive studies of Mansi are now being carried out in Hungary. Years go by, but no word has been heard about its publication.

As for not publishing some of the material, I myself belong to those who should be blamed. Edit Vértes had been active in publishing K. F. Karjalainen's and H. Paasonen's materials for four decades. As she got older she repeatedly

expressed her desire to see the final publication of all of the material, a task she would not have liked to leave to somebody else. But exactly this is exactly what did happen: when she died in 2002, it was me to whom Karjalainen's unpublished texts from the Tremyugan, Likrisovskoye and Vasyugan region of the Eastern Khantys from her archive were assigned. Six years have passed since then and I am still waiting trying to find the time when I shall be able to study, edit and publish these extremely valuable texts.

N. I. Terëshkin is known in the profession as a former expert in Eastern Khanty dialects. His native dialect was Nizyam and he collected quite a large quantity of material from this region. After his death his heirs entrusted Éva Schmidt to take care of his written records and this she set out to do. After the death of Éva Schmidt, Terëshkin's records were transferred to Khanty-Mansiysk and we can only hope that the material will receive the professional treatment it truly deserves.

The archive of Éva Schmidt is the largest of those in existence. Her original recordings are still in the archive of Beloyarskiy, while copies have been stored in the Linguistic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences which has produced 882 hours of digitalised material on DVDs. If we respect Éva Schmidt's will not to publish these materials until twenty years after her death, then in 2022 when their processing work could be started, the most of the material would certainly be unintelligible and/or undecipherable both to a native Khanty and a foreign scholar. However, the Linguistic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has begun to edit her legacy. The contents of the first four volumes of the Éva Schmidt Library [Schmidt Éva Könyvtár] (2005, 2006, 2008a, 2008b) were meant to be made public while the author was still alive, thus the publishing of these is not forbidden.

Research among the Ob-Ugrian peoples was from the 19th century on a race with time: collecting and documenting, as far as anything exists for collection and documentation. Karjalainen's moving metaphor predicted the foreseeable fate of the Irtysh Khanty:

Ostjakit sulavat kuin lumi kevätauringon paisteessa: rinteillä, jopa aukealakin näkyy pälvä, ja päivä päivältä paahtaa aurinko kuumemmasti lisäten sulamisen vauhtia. Pian ei ole talvivaipasta nähtävänä muuta kuin ravitseva muta uuden heinän juurella. Synkistä rotkoista tai metsän sisästä jonkun komon juurelta tarkkaava kulkija voi löytää kulon tai varisseiden lehtien peittämän jäätikön, mutta vihoittavassa luonnossa ei mikään muistuta sitä, että joku aika sitten samoilla seuduilla hallitsi talven valta. (Karjalainen 1983: 85)

‘The Ostyak people are melting like snow in the spring sunshine. On the slopes and in the clearings [of the taiga] there are even now some bare patches here and there, but the sun has begun to shine more and more, and so the pace of melting is quickening. Soon nothing more will be seen of the mantle of snow, but the nourishing soil beneath the new grass. In dark holes and under some crooked trees in the forest the observant eye may stumble upon chunks of ice, but nothing in the green of nature reminds us that not long ago this terrain was in the grasp of winter.’

Indeed, most of the published texts are keeping alive the memory of dialects not spoken any more. Such are the published texts in Southern Khanty of K. F. Karjalainen, H. Paasonen and Serafim Patkanov. The heroic epic songs, the most richly documented Khanty folklore material collected by Reguly, preserved the Sygva dialect, which became extinct soon after the death of Reguly’s informant Maksim Nikilov, for posterity.

Thanks to the work of Wolfgang Steinitz and Éva Schmidt, the Sherkaly dialect of Khanty which is now considered practically extinct, has become one of the best documented dialects. In addition to grammars and school text books, Éva Schmidt’s Sherkaly grammar has also been published (Schmidt 2008a), a work originally written as a teaching manual as early as the 1970s. The 4th volume of Éva Schmidt Library contains a collection of songs by the female bard, Anna Lyskova, from the Sherkaly area (Schmidt 2008b).

Ulla-Maija Kulonen has also chosen an extinct Mansi dialect, Konda, from the collection of Artturi Kannisto, as an object for analysis and description and written a school book on the nature and structure of a dead language (Kulonen 2007).

## 5. Tattered net(work): the present state of Khanty and Mansi dialects

I can only present a sketch concerning the present state of Ob-Ugrian idioms. Since there has been no sociolinguistic research in this field, I shall have to rely on my own personal experience and also partly on indirect sources.

Until very recent times the waterways were only open to travellers in North-western Siberia in the summer, which meant mainly the rivers Ob and Irtysh. Thus, it is no wonder that the centre of the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug was founded right here in 1930 and was first called Ostyako-Vogul’sk, then Khanty-Mansiysk. These rivers were the scene of the first encounters between the Ob-Ugrians and Russians and, as a consequence, the process of assimilation is in its most advanced phase along these rivers. Karjalainen well

foresaw the coming fate of the Khantys settled along the Irtysh and its tributaries (Demyanka, Konda) saying that by the 20th century they would all be Russified. In one of her last lectures in Spring 2002 Éva Schmidt said concerning the Konda Mansis that beginning with the end of 19th century mixed marriages had become a general tendency, with the commonest type being marriage between a Mansi male and a Russian female, and soon Russian became the family language leaving the Mansi language in a state of devastation by the beginning of the 20th century. Now, only the oldest people have some knowledge of Mansi, due to the fact that they have communicated in this language with their grandparents until the age of 15–16. For them Mansi has become a kind of secret language later used between parents who did not want their children to understand their speech. Neither their children's, nor their grandchildren's, generation have inherited the native language and the number of the most elderly is very small (Gugán 2002: 41).

In the 20th century travelling north in the vicinity of Sherkaly one would first encounter the southernmost settlements of the Khantys. These were divided into two groups: one which used to live along the River Little-Sos'va and another along the River Ob. The folk culture of the former was almost intact during the 1930–1940s, but later this group was deported. Subsequently, the region was declared a nature conservation area and only one smaller Khanty settlement was allowed to remain in its original location. The descendants of the deported Khanty settlers were resettled along the Ob and in Khanty-Mansiysk, respectively. The other group has disappeared, its language can be recorded only sporadically from elderly people, and among the under 30s no one is able to speak it anymore. The situation is similar among the Nizyam Khanty where only elderly women speak Khanty.

Moving further northwards along the Ob the next larger settlement is Polnovat. The Khanty living in and around Polnovat speak the Lower-Kazym dialect and the traditional culture was safeguarded among them until the 1970s. Then a system of boarding schools was introduced here also for children over ten. In these schools they may even have been physically punished for speaking their native idiom among themselves. Even young teachers with a Khanty background who were educated in the INP in Leningrad forbade the use of the Khanty language arguing that Khanty is not a civilised language. Thus, this generation has also lost its mother tongue and Russian has become the family language even within Khanty-Khanty marriages (Gugán 2002: 42).

North of Polnovat the next settlement along the Ob is Berëzovo. There is only one village in which the Berëzovo dialect is spoken today and this is Tegi where it is being used less and less by the young. Although the settlements along the River Kunovat have never been interfered with artificially, the status of the

language is in danger there as well, since industrialisation (logging) indirectly upsets the social structure and results in language loss among the native population. In the area of the River Synya, on the other hand, where the system of settlements has also remained intact, the traditional culture and together with this also the use of the native language have not been narrowed down (Gugán 2002: 42).

Sofia Onina, herself a native of the area, separates the Khanty of Synya into three groups on sociolinguistic grounds: 1) all generations of the traditional, reindeer breeding and fisher-hunter population speak their native idiom well, 2) of the inhabitants of the central village of Ovgort, the adults speak Khanty, although their children only understand the language and do not speak it, 3) the educated Khanty in the area who have moved elsewhere neither use their native language nor teach it to their children (Onina 2008). Mária Sipos has also recently given an account of the revitalisation efforts among the Khanty of Synya (Sipos 2006). Even more recently the Department of Native Peoples of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug has published the full documentation of a bear-feast in Synya that took place not long ago (Taligina 2007).

The northernmost groups of Khantys live in close proximity to the Nenets who consciously preserve their tongue and traditions. Like the Nenets the Khantys of the area also lead a nomadic way of life breeding reindeer, and after finishing boarding school their children return home, which means that their mother tongue continues to be preserved. This area—like the Synya and the Kunovat valleys—is part of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, and it can easily be understood why the general view of those in Khanty-Mansiysk is that every Khanty speaks his/her mother tongue in the Yamal Peninsula. This is not quite true, language loss is also common among those who change their way of life, but the high self-esteem of the Nenets has had an effect on the Khantys as well.

Among the northern Mansi groups the linguistic situation in the Urals (Ivdel' and its surroundings) is the most favourable, since here we can find villages with purely Mansi populations. After being dispossessed of their herds of reindeer they turned to hunting and fishing, visiting towns only for trading purposes. As long as they are able to maintain the present form of livelihood, their language will have a good chance of survival. Nevertheless, several Mansi settlements have been Russified in recent times and this process is accelerating. Sporadic Mansi settlements continue to exist only along the Upper-Sygva (Gugán 2002: 43).

According to experts in this field, it is the Kazym dialect that displays the most vitality. Éva Schmidt has estimated that the number of Kazym speakers is approximately 2,000. The speakers of this dialect comprise a majority in



the field of culture and science, and most school manuals and belles lettres are published in this dialect. Together with the Synya dialect it may help to ensure the survival of Khanty idioms. It is not inconceivable that in a later phase when familiarity with their mother tongue becomes more important for self-identification as an indigenous people of the North, these flourishing dialects will be those that Khanty people will choose to learn again. The chances of survival for Mansi language are much less favourable: collectors can only record folklore texts from the oldest people nowadays.

Eastern Khanty dialects are spoken east beside the confluence of the Ob and the Irtysh, along the Middle Ob and its tributaries. As I mentioned above, Russification is spreading along the Ob. This means partly that the valley of Salym, the area closest to Khanty-Mansiysk, has possibly been completely Russified by now—though we have no reliable information concerning this, other than Terëshkin's Salym Khanty lexical collection compiled in the 1950s (Terëshkin 1981). Due to industrialisation Khanty language settlements have disappeared from the shores of the Ob and the language has been driven back to the upper courses of its tributaries.

Surgut dialects are spoken along the rivers Pym, Tromagan, Agan and Yugan. It is difficult to gauge the exact number of speakers. According to official data, in 2005 there were 2,800 indigenous people in the Surgut Okrug, 98% of which were Khantys, 2% Forest Nenets and Mansis. About 500 families, that is, more than 2,000 persons live in the tribal lands (KhMAO 2008). In my experience those Khantys who lead a traditional way of life, breeding reindeer, hunting and fishing, do use their language: only those who have moved to the towns rid themselves of it and transfer to Russian—even within the course of a generation. The number of Surgut Khantys is greater, totalling about 800 when those kinsfolk who live on the banks of the River Agan and belong administratively to the Nizhnevartovsk Okrug are added.

The easternmost dialects of Khanty are spoken along the rivers Vakh and Vasyugan. The Vakh valley is located in the Nizhnevartovsk Okrug, and 1,765 indigenous people have been recorded as residing on the banks of the river, the greater proportion of which are Vakh Khantys (Nizhnevartovsk 2008). The number of speakers of this dialect has been cautiously estimated at 50 by Andrey Filchenko on his homepage, where he gives further information concerning the numbers of speakers of other Eastern Khanty dialects that he has studied:

Based on our field work over the last 10 years the above statistics could be amended with regards to the Eastern Khanty dialects: Yugan, Vakh, Alexandrovo and Vasyugan (table below), and perhaps, the total number of the Eastern Khanty dialect speakers is nowadays to be realistically placed at under 3,000.

## Total Population Number of Speakers

Yugan Eastern Khanty	>	700	>	500
Vakh Eastern Khanty	>	200	>	50
Vasyugan Eastern Khanty	>	120	>	20
Alexandrovo Eastern Khanty	>	150	>	20

(Filchenko 2008 [sic, verbatim].)

Quite recently we received promising information about these Khantys living along the upper course of the Vakh, in the remotest village of Korliki. In 2006 Sachiko Sosa and Susanna Virtanen, assisted by Zoya Ryabchikova, reported that every generation of settlers daily use their mother tongue.

These Khantys living in area of Alexandrovo and in the valley of Vasyugan share the harshest fate: They are isolated from their kin by the fact that the area, the Vasyugan valley, in which they live belongs not to the Tyumen Oblast, but to the Tomsk Oblast, and is thus cut off from the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug. Here it was not the industrialisation of the area (drilling for oil and gas) that initiated assimilation, but the large scale settlement of politically deported people along the river in the 1930s. At that time about 1,000 Khantys lived along the River Vasyugan and the number of settlers in the valley soon rose to 50,000 (Nagy 2007: 26). According to Andrey Filchenko,

The majority of Vasyugan Khanty are currently linguistically assimilated Russian monolinguals numbering under 150 pers. The numbers of Vasyugan Khanty officially registered vary from source to source, however, based on the original research there are around 20 Khanty who permanently reside on Vasyugan river and have practical knowledge of traditional language and culture. They are bilingual minority native language speakers, all over the age of 50. The number of semi-fluent speakers, capable of maintaining restricted basic conversations in Khanty does not exceed 50, principally placing these dialects in the group of languages in the imminent danger of extinction within a single generation. (Filchenko 2008 [sic, verbatim].)

## 6. Networks of dialects in space and time: historical dialectology

Those conducting analyses of the Ob-Ugrian linguistic situation are often satisfied with stating the fact of language loss. On the other hand, scholars like Éva Schmidt and others who have spent more time in the field have also observed that these dialects are living and in a state of continual change. As Éva Schmidt expressed the matter in one of her reports: “To sum up the field work carried out in connection with Pápay’s texts: at present every village speaks a dialect other than that spoken at the end of the 19th century.” (Schmidt 2005: 79). Munkácsi and Pápay had similar experiences when they tried to find the dialectal variants recorded by Reguly, but they could not: Reguly’s dialectal variants had disappeared during the preceding 50 years. Also, we had the same experience with Eastern Khanty: the dialect as recorded by Paasonen and Karjalainen in Surgut commonly called Yugan and Tremejuga (J and Trj) was different from that which we could now hear in the valleys of Yugan and Tromagan. Vowel-harmony has disappeared, there is no past tense with *-s*, but nonetheless new structures have evolved in their place. A very characteristic change has spread over the whole linguistic area of Khanty: lateral spirant *ʎ* became *t*. By the end of the 19th century this change was limited only to the southern dialects of Khanty which later began to spread northwards and eastwards, respectively. This may be one symptom among many others, but it does suggest that *t*-dialects will die out sooner or later. Namely, the *t*-dialects thrive in those areas most exposed to assimilation and *t* substitutes a sound that is wholly alien, strange and missing from the Russian phonological system. Khanty people brought up in orphanage have told us that they began using *t* instead of *ʎ* in their Khanty speech in order to avoid attracting attention. In the Surgut dialect using *t* instead of *ʎ* is also a logopaedic problem: *t* is uttered instead of *ʎ* the articulation of which is more difficult, by Khantys in defective speech also. Since both *t* and *ʎ* are highly frequent phonemes in Khanty and not only as word stems but also as grammatical morphemes, the use of *t* at the expense of *ʎ* would lead to the formation of too many homonyms, an obstacle to understanding and communication in general. When a language becomes incomprehensible, it soon becomes obsolete.

The Ob-Ugrian languages offer many opportunities for studying historical dialectology. This is also a task which must be accomplished as long as the speakers of these languages live, since such an enterprise can only be realised with the help of, and in close cooperation with native informants and local experts, that is, in a network of highly connected nodes.

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## Typological evolution of Northern Sami: spatial cognition and Information Structuring

### 1. Oral languages and contextualization

Oral languages, known to reveal significant properties of human language, also shed an interesting light on the relations between language and cognition. The necessary contextualization of oral languages can be the starting point for a demonstration which relies upon two pairs of linguistic and cognitive operations, localizing/thematizing vs. identifying/categorizing, to show how a speaker selects and organizes reference points in discourse. The two main intentional uses of space in speech (how to naturalize and argument one's discourse) are also related to the typology of languages and contexts. The Samic languages, in their northernmost variety, are taken here as prototypes of orality. Some specific features of the language system clearly have an oral motivation: a rich spatio-temporal deixis ("mental maps" of reindeer breeders vs. fishermen) can be considered to be a trace of a basically interlocutory situation. Northern Sami even affords an additional point of interest: the hypothesis of "orality motivation" is partially verified through the linguistic changes that occur today when the language becomes written.<sup>1</sup> The recent accession of Sami to a literary form implies a new relationship between the speakers and their language and identity: while indigenous anthroponyms and toponyms are resurrected (Helander 1999), one can already observe a gradual disappearance of some of the oral features. My concern here will be to look at the evolution of three of them: spatial deixis, discourse particles and detachment constructions. These three categories will be analyzed in a frame of textual theory centered on Information Structuring.

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<sup>1</sup> A second strong hypothesis which this research supports is the following: "experience is the reality that we construe for ourselves by means of language" (Halliday & Mathiessen 2006 [1999]: 3).

## 2. Spatial cognition and oral tradition in Sami

### 2.1. Deictic markers

Deixis, especially spatial deixis, is rich in the Uralic languages, morphologically richer in the Finnic than in the Samic languages thanks to their large number of case suffixes (among which 3 internal and 3 external local cases). Finnish and Estonian can thus be called “spatial languages by structure”. But space is omnipresent in Sami culture, traditionally a culture of nomads. A poem by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, aiming at a difficult dialog with the “white man” about land ownership and dwelling, can serve as a symbolic quotation:

*Don dieđát dan viellja  
Don ipmirdat oabbá*

*Muhto go dat jerret gos lea du ruoktu  
Dajatgo don ahte dát visot  
Skuolfedievás mii lávostalaimet  
giđđajohtolatáigge  
Čáppavuomis mis lei goahti ragatáigge  
Min geasseorohat lea Ittunjárga  
Ja dálvet min bovccot leat Dálvadasa guovlluin*

*Don dieđát dan oabbá  
Don ipmirdat viellja*

Toi tu sais mon frère  
toi tu comprends ma soeur

Mais lorsqu'ils demandent où est ta demeure  
peux-tu dire que c'est tout cela  
Sur les pentes de Skuolfedieva  
nous plantions notre tente  
à l'époque de la migration de printemps  
Dans le fjord de Čáppavuopmi nous avions notre goahti à la saison du rut  
L'été nous le passons sur la presqu'île d'Ittunjárga  
et l'hiver nos rennes sont dans la contrée de Dálvadas

Toi tu sais ma soeur  
toi tu comprends mon frère

(Valkeapää 1985; 2008)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> From the second part, “Lávillo vizar biellocizás” (Fr. “Chante gazouille Grelot l’Oiselet”); Valkeapää’s book has no page numbers. Although an English translation is also available, I allow myself to quote Valkeapää’s poems in their French version, of which I happen to have better knowledge, thanks to my double function of French-speaking linguist and translator.

The expression of spatio-temporal deixis is in oral Northern Sami (henceforth “Sami”) quite complex: although there are only two local suffixes (after the elative and inessive have been amalgated), there are also prepositions, postpositions, lexemes (with varying degrees of grammaticalization), and numerous adverbs. This richness is deeply anchored in the environment: localization, which plays an essential role in traditional society can even be the sole criterion for individual identification. Observe how a reindeer breeder distinguishes two categories of nomads:<sup>3</sup>

- (1) *Já dat mii dáppe jođii / muhto dot leai doppe gáissájohtti.*  
 ‘Oh yes **the one** who was nomading **here** / but **that one** was **there**  
**away** a summit nomad.’  
 [‘Yes, the one who wandered around here, but that other one was  
 a highland nomad there.’]  
 (personal database, Fernandez-Vest 1982)

On the one hand, we have the nomad represented precisely by “here” (*dáppe*), and he is distinguished from the other, who is a “very remote” (*dot*) referent. The other is defined by his correlation with the very distant place of activity (indicated by the adverb *doppe* “there far away”) and by his functions as a “summit nomad” (*johtt-i*, agent on the verb *johtit*). If this characterization is accompanied by a precise topographic term (*gáissá* “summit”), it expresses primarily the topological dimension on which it is based: a **vertical** dimension, that draws a border-line between the “above (upper) people” (*badjeolbmot*), that is, the reindeer breeders<sup>4</sup>, and the “people down here”, that is, living in the river valley. This complexity is manifested in dialog by the concurrent values of endophoric and exophoric deictic markers. The semantic variations are mostly induced by the functional character of localizing. For reindeer breeders, the vertical dimension will thus be unmarked, for fishermen it will be a horizontal axis. A comparison of Sami impromptu dialogs enlightens the primary role played, as in other oral cultures, by a strategy of pointing at (“monstration”) associated with rhythm and acoustic punctuation (Hagège 1975; Jousse 1981 [1925]), that is, linguistically, the interplay of deictic markers and discourse particles.

<sup>3</sup> The literal translation, essential for the analysis of the IS strategies used by the speaker, is followed in square brackets by a “fluent” translation in standard English.

<sup>4</sup> See the productivity of *badje-* ‘of above’, *badjeeana* ‘the upper earth’, *badjeduottar* ‘topmountain (often treeless)’, *badjeolmmái* ‘upper man, i.e. reindeer Sami’, *badjereanga* ‘reindeer servant’.

## 2.2. Discourse Particles (DIPs) and spatial representation

### 2.2.1. DIPs between semantics and pragmatics

The role of Discourse Particles (DIPs) for the processing of discourse has been well documented during the last two decades, quite systematically in Indo-European languages, more tentatively in several others (Östman 1982; Schifffrin 1987; Wierzbicka 2004; Fischer 2006). My thorough study of these particles in oral corpora, French, English and several interlanguages, besides Sami and Finnish—see Section 3 below) allows me to sketch out some of the universal tendencies of DIPs.

Particles show the concomitance of elaboration and production, the primary characteristics of oral discourse. With these particles the syntactic units are built into a spoken chain of rhythmic units: a way for the speaker to scan the progress of his thought. Sami dialogs display numerous examples of a segmentation punctuated by DIPs, a pattern which can be compared to the “empty” syllables of the traditional northern yoik.

Consequently, the structuring role of the particles is decisive: if the answer-utterance does not contain any particle, or contains a limited number of particles of a standard nature (such as ‘yes / of course / indeed’), the sequence will most often be modelled upon that of the question. On the other hand, the presence of numerous particles causes a redistribution of the rhythmic units, that is, of the order of constituents.

DIPs lack individual meaning, although the most common of these are characterized by a semantic invariant. Their information value in interlocution (complicity, connivance, hierarchical differences between partners,...), in the modalization of the utterance, and even in the subtle question of affectivity within language (the speaker suggests an implication, refutes a presupposition, manifests his attitude or his judgement without explicitly verbalizing), emerges clearly from the confrontation of varied speech situations (Fernandez-Vest 1984; 1994: 173–219).

### 2.2.2. DIPs and deictics in traditional Sami

In short, information strategies shaped by orality are prominent at the pragmatic level: numerous DIPs, a paratactic subordination. Word order serves mainly pragmatic aims: Information Structuring and emphasis. The neutral word order (SVO) is found in assertive utterances, but any word can be fronted, even a pro-form. Emphasis is signaled by an intensity stress and/or by DIPs. These DIPs give

rhythm to the utterance and modalize it; along with prosody they connect utterances. Some DIPs articulate the dialog; others topicalize the first element, often with a syntactic specialization (Fernandez-Vest 1997: 80–89; 2005: 565–570). An excerpt from a dialog between two elderly Sami informants—with a competence totally untouched by schooling—can be presented in illustration.<sup>5</sup>

- (2) (A) a. *Man GUHKKI dás dáppe dohko du báikái Bádošii / dieđátgo olu / dáppe girkobáikkas?*  
 (B) b. *Goal mo bat dal dat lea? Galhan dat lea vissa .... beannot miilla vai .... gal dat guokte miilla lea gal.*  
 c. *Eambbo dat gal lea.*  
 d. *Gal dat liikká lea eambbo gal.*  
 e. *Ammal .. ammal jo VIHTTA miilla gal lea dáikko Deatnorái.*  
 f. *Ii LEATban nu .. Ii DAT leat nu. Go ii leat vihtta miilla na .... Gal dat dohko .. dal dohko Nuvvosii gal lea vihtta.*  
 g. *Já. (...)*
- (A) a. **How far** from here exactly here to there to your home in Bádoš / **do you know how much** / from here from the market-place?  
 [‘How far is it exactly from here to there, your home in Bádoš / from here, the market place?’]
- (B) b. **How much** could it **actually** be? **Yes indeed** it is **surely** .... one and a half miles<sup>6</sup> **or what** .... **yes two miles there is** [there are two miles] **yes**.  
 c. More it is **for sure**.  
 [‘There is more for sure.’]  
 d. Yes it is **though** more **yes**.  
 e. **Maybe** .. **maybe even** FIVE miles **yes** from here along the Deatnu.  
 f. It IS NOT so **oh no** .. **NO** it is not so. Since there are not five miles **well** .... **Oh yes** up to there .. **now** up to there to Nuvvos **yes** there are five.  
 g. **Well**.  
 (...) (Extensive text transcribed in Fernandez-Vest 1987: 585–589)

<sup>5</sup> Two types of pauses are indicated: .. less than 5 seconds (mostly self-correction); .... more than 5 seconds (mostly hesitation).

<sup>6</sup> *Miila* (< No. *mil*), Norwegian mile = 10 km.

This dialog was initiated by a Question about the evaluation of a distance, “How far is it from (...) to (...)?” (a), presented as the product of knowledge (“do you know?”), and followed by precise indications about the points of departure and arrival of the intended itinerary (“there-to”, a deictic adverb in the directive case, the referent of which is identified by a possessive-marked lexeme (“your home”) then by a toponym (*Báđoš*)). The addressee delivers several numeric evaluations, in a growing order (b), but the questioner, A, finds them insufficient: he suggests an augmentation (c), accepted by the addressee (d). A introduces his own evaluation, two and a half times higher: in order to justify the difference, he offers further exact information about the point of arrival (“from here precisely”, deictic adverb *dákko*...), and about alternative itineraries available (“over (*badjel*) the mountain”, a straighter route than *Deatnoráigge* ‘along the Deatnu’ (e), but one has to climb *duokko* ‘exactly from there [the mouth of the river]’, or from *diekko* ‘from there (less remote)’ (l)), before he asks a second question, accommodated to the new itinerary proposed by the addressee (n).

Later on, a more precise question gives the dialog a new start: “How far is it from there on foot (walking)?” (m).

Once these variables have been defined in common (points of departure and arrival, itinerary, means of transportation, *vázzit* ‘walk’ rather than *mannat* ‘go’), the addressee answers: he makes his own use of the deictic adverb originally proposed by his interlocutor (*dohko*), gives an approximate evaluation (*miilla badjel* ‘more than one mile’) and, on the approval of the questioner, calculates and delivers a result, ‘one mile and a half’, that is, higher than his previous estimate, but identical to his first answer.

This type of negotiation illustrates the *construction of a referent model* and the shifting of the deictic center, here operated by a combining of deictic markers and an intrusion of all-invading discourse particles. In this dialog, the questions and answers seldom take a specific shape: they appear as variants of assertive utterances, thanks to the structuring role played by the DIPs, 44 DIPs for 16 turns.

The idea according to which conceptualization is anchored in our physical experience (spatial in particular), which guarantees some landmarks to interpersonal and intercultural communication, can thus directly benefit from the study of orality features, among which DIPs. This is all the more striking in the Finnic and Samic languages as the deictic origin of discourse markers seems to be inscribed in a process in which our mental universe is metaphorically structured: see Fi. *tuota* ‘that one’ > DIP *tuota* ‘well’; Sami *dat* ‘this, that one’, homonymous with the thematic DIP *dat* ‘as we know, for sure’. This homonymous *dat* is precisely the perfect candidate for the third grammaticalization chain which I have proposed to add to those two (see 1 and 2 below) already defined by theoretic-

cians of grammaticalization as having resulted from the interaction between cognitive and pragmatic operations, that is:

1. concrete localization > possessive / existential clause
2. demonstrative > personal pronoun > definite article  
(Heine 1992)
3. demonstrative > personal pronoun > nuclear discourse particle  
(Fernandez-Vest 2000)

This proposition, based on the analysis of a newly written language, corroborates some of the latest developments in grammaticalization theories (e.g. Traugott 1995; 2004).

The basic meaning of dialog (2), aimed at the evaluation of a distance, could hardly filter through, in spite of a multitude of deictic adverbs, without being framed in and conveyed by the DIPs. The richness of a language in particles of that type (as is the case with Sami, in which many of these particles are grammaticalized) can be considered to be the corollary of a long oral tradition. A comparison of the DIPs in the autochthonous languages spoken in Finland, Samic, Finnish and Swedish, makes it evident that Samic is the most flexible of the three. The DIPs are criteria for evaluating the degree of orality of these three languages, and not only because of their quantitative superiority: it is definitely the qualitative difference between the DIPs in Samic opposed to those in Finnish and Swedish which is the main trace left in synchrony by a diachronically codified oral expression (Fernandez-Vest 1987: 599–603).

### 3. Detachment constructions and Information Structuring (IS)

#### 3.1. Information Structuring: Theme—Rheme—Mneme

Research centered on orality, crossed with pragmatic situations and language typology, cannot be unaware of the natural segmentation of spoken language, which is manifested by pre- or post-rhematic detached constructions. The terminology is still heterogeneous and the theoretical frames of analysis are not yet unified, but one can notice in recent studies of detachment constructions a fair amount of convergence, for instance, through the priority given to information criteria, referential accessibility, and cognitive relevance (see Lambrecht 2000; Gundel 2002; Neveu 2003; Fernandez-Vest 2009). The process of Information Structuring, previously restricted to a pragmatic vision of word order,

has become established as a fundament of semantic dynamics. Specialists tend to agree that meaning, as linguistically analysable, results essentially from a co-determination by enunciative factors (with universal tendencies) and morpho-syntactic factors (typological). This analysis of enunciative constituents meets the principle of triple organization of the utterance recognized by several language theoreticians (Peirce 1934; Daneš 1974; Hagège 1980, 1990). The choice of a textual and interactional definition of Theme/Topic (“what is spoken about”) and Rheme/Focus (“what is said about it”), implies the recognition of a 3rd element, the Mneme, characterized by formal properties (a post-Rheme marked by flat intonation) and semantic ones (supposedly shared knowledge, affective modulation, etc.; Fernandez-Vest 1994: 197–200). Already spotted in several non-IE languages, variably labelled in the literature, this final detachment is also similar to two independently elaborated notions: the “tail” of Functional grammar (Dik 1997), and the “Antitopic” launched by Construction grammars (Chafe 1976; Lambrecht 1981). My personal conception meets the definition of Lambrecht’s (1994: 184–191) Antitopic in general terms, but differs as to the frame of analysis (text) and the level of assignment (enunciative/pragmatic).<sup>7</sup>

The two basic information strategies, originally inspired by my studies of a genuine oral language (Northern Sami) have been later tested in diverse corpora. My method of analysis has thus for long been based on twice 3 elements—3 different levels (pragmatic, morphosyntactic, semantic) and, at the pragmatic level, 3 constituents (Theme, Th; Rheme, Rh; Mneme, Mn), with 2 basic strategies available: the binary strategy 1 (Theme — Rheme), with the 1st element frequently detached (Initial Detachment, ID), and the binary strategy 2 (Rheme — Mneme), wherein the 2nd constituent is detached (Final Detachment, FD), a typical construction for Impromptu Speech, mostly absent in written style.

- (3) *moi l'air en conserve, je n'aime pas ça!*  
 ‘but me, **canned air** (ID), I don’t like that!’
- (4) *Ça n'arrive qu'à moi, des choses pareilles!*  
 ‘This happens only to me, **such things** (FD)!’ (Hergé 1976)

<sup>7</sup> I keep using the European terminology *Theme–Rheme*, although the Anglo-American *Topic–Focus* is more fashionable. As a textualist, I feel directly indebted to the Prague School (Daneš 1974; Firbas 2006 [1992]), and different readings have made me aware of the complexity of the relationship between the European and American functionalisms (see, for instance, Newmeyer 2001). As for “dislocation” (instead of “detachment”), this was difficult to avoid as long as TGG was dominant, although not so any more: detached constructions are **not** the result of a dislocation, they reflect the progress of thought and speech relying upon basic multimodal (e.g. perception, memory) cognitive structures.



This third constituent is a fundament of oral strategies in a textual perspective. The Mneme achieves a cohesion pattern frequent in impromptu speech: the circular cohesion (see also Fernandez-Vest 2004a, 2004b).

- (5) [From a corpus of South-western French]  
 [– Didn't you tell me a stepladder story?]  
*OUI! Alors il est tombé / un jour il a voulu monter **sur un escabeau***  
 (Rh) / *et pis il avait pas vu que **l'escabeau** (ID) il avait pas la*  
*corde! Tu sais / on met une ficelle (– Ah!) pour pas que ça s'ouvre /*  
***l'escabeau** (FD)!*  
 'YES! You see he fell / one day he wanted to climb **up a stepladder**  
 (Rh) / and then he had not seen that **the stepladder** (ID) did not have  
 its rope! You know / they'd put a string (– Oh!) so that it doesn't open  
 / **the stepladder** (FD)!' (personal database, Fernandez-Vest 1995)

The detached Theme has drawn much more attention from researchers (e.g. Barnes 1985; Hagège 2001), due both to the rarity of FD and to some persistent confusion about a Theme which would alternately be located before or after the Rheme—a notion which has been rejected by many of us, with several arguments that I shall not discuss here (Gómez-González 2001; Lambrecht 1994: 199–205; 2004). Among the subdomains that have been studied in typologically diverse languages, the following may be mentioned: hanging topics, first described as characteristic of “topic-prominent” languages, but later shown to occur in the colloquial register of many other oral languages (Li 1975; Lambrecht 2001; Maslova & Bernini 2006); correlated clauses, two types of relative clauses, syntactically specific of some languages (e.g. Bengali, Bambara, Hindi), but more generally compared to the two juxtaposed clauses of informal speech (Comrie 1981; Miller & Fernandez-Vest 2006).

## 3.2. Detachment in North-western Uralic languages

### 3.2.1. Finnish

Of the Finnic languages, Finnish is the only one in which the subject of Word order was tackled early. Detachment constructions were already present (as “dislocations”, *lohkeamat*) in the Finnish Syntax of Hakulinen and Karlsson (1979), connected with the problem of grammaticalization of processual sentences. These constructions are given a thoroughful treatment in the impressive volu-

minous “Great Grammar of Finnish” (ISK, 2004). The ID, the first part of which is named a “syntactic omen” (*syntaktinen etiäinen*) is described as a stabilized construction, the main function of which is to lighten the information load. Most remarkable is the official recognition of a status for the FD: *lohkeama eteenpäin* (“a dislocation forward”), a stabilized construction, a grammaticalized addition of a syntagmatic type. Examples:

- (6) NP1 + (ni) + **se1** + V + x:  
*Toi meidän äiti* [ID] *ni se on tosi hauska.* (ISK 972)  
 ‘**That (our) mother** you know **she** is truly nice.’  
 [‘That mother of ours is really nice, you know.’]
- (7) *Se1* + V + x [se NP]:  
*Se osui oikeaan se puhe* [FD]. (ISK 1013)  
 ‘It hit the right point **that speech**.’
- (8) [*siinä*]1 + V + n (*ni*) [*siinä* NP:ssä]:  
*Siinä oli paljon hyvääki, ni siinä alustuksessa* [FD].  
 (ISK 1013)  
 ‘In it there was much good in fact you know **in that outline**.’  
 [‘Much of it was good, you know, in the outline.’]

ISK is based on a large and sociologically rich corpus, and I share most of the authors’ points of view on the two types of Detachments. But there are also some differences. I would formulate the main difference as follows. I insist on applying the model to the clausal-members of the utterance(/sentence), in one and the same utterance/sentence, so that I distinguish thematic and mnemonic clausal constituents, but, further, also to sequences of sentences grouped in a paragraph (narrative period or microdialog). Why? Not just because I consider it fundamental to have a textual perspective in all stages of the analysis, but also because the impact of the type of text and the text strategy on the quantitative evaluation of detachments thus comes to light. Comparing, for instance, dialogs of standard spoken Finnish (with a few local variations)—excerpts from the project “The transformation of contemporary spoken Finnish” *Nyky-suomalaisen puhekielen murros*), transcribed here using my own method—one notices that the IDs seem to be much more frequent than the FDs (more than 50%, up to 70% in the narrative sections). But the proportion of the FDs increases, if the analysis is limited to the dialogical sections, and the strategic importance grows, if the contribution of the FDs to the thematic progression is taken into account (see 4.1.1. below). Two remarks:

1) The morphological difference between the IDs and FDs. The detached NP of the ID is often in nominative (more than 90% of occurrences), but the pronominal resumption adopts the case of its function:

- (9) *Siis **nää ihmiset** (nom.) jotka nytte / KASVAA / **nämü näi** siis mulla ..  
lapseni / **niil** (adess.) / **niil** on niin paljon parempi ravinto*  
‘You know **these people** (nom.) who are now, GROWING, **these**  
**these** you know I have .. my children, **they** (adess.), **they** have  
[lit. them-at is] a much better diet.’

Conversely, the FD has no syntactic function of its own: it adopts the case of its announcing pronoun.

2) The difference in the relationship between the ID/FD and the information triad: the detached Theme must be followed by a Rheme, whereas the Mnome can, in the linearity of the narrative text, refer to a Rheme as well as a Theme, ex.

- (10) ***Nämü lasinsirut** jotka siis ikkunasta / tuli sisälle **SILLÄ** puolella /  
**niin ne** / **ne** jäi seiniin kiinni / **se** oli / **se** oli ihan täys / lasia / **seinät***  
‘**These glass splinters** that you know from the window, came in  
ON THAT side, **well they**, **they** stuck to the walls, **it** was, **it** was all  
packed with, glass, **the walls**.  
[‘Those splinters of glass that, you know, came in from the window  
on that side, well they got stuck in the wall, it was, it was cram-full  
of glass, the walls.’]

This difference is also an argument in favor of the informational independence of the Mnome.

### 3.2.2. Northern Sami and Sami Finnish

For me, Northern Sami has been an initial source for reflecting upon the domain of information structuring and detachment constructions, Sami and also the contact language I recorded in the 1970s in Ohcejohka (Utsjoki), the northernmost parish of Finnish Samiland: Finnish spoken by bilingual Sami.

Sami Finnish (Fernandez-Vest 1982 [1977])

[Discussing the translation of Sami vocabulary. Quotations are in Sami.]

- (11) “*Nierra*” [ID] / *sehän on tämä...* [shows his cheek] (– *Poski?*)  
 “*Nierra*” [ID] / *se on kyllä poski.*  
 ‘*Nierra*, **it**+DIP is this... (– The cheek?) *Nierra*, **it** is yes the cheek.’
- (12) *Joo se on halla kyllä tämä “suoldni”* [FD].  
 ‘Yes **it** is frost yes **this suoldni**.’
- (13) *Sitä sanotaan “sávuiksi” / tämmönen hiljainen vesi* [FD].  
 ‘It is called *sávu*, **such a quiet water**.’

From the approximately 150 discourses by native Sami speakers which I recorded and later analyzed in numerous articles, I shall mention for the present purpose the reverse proportion of syntactic vs. iconic cohesion, according to the degree of written praxis of the informants, which means a significantly high proportion of FDs in the speech of the old Sami, both in simple answers and “multiple answers” (several utterances linked (= >>) by a quick tempo) as in:

Sami (Fernandez-Vest 1987: 390–580; 2005)

- (14) [And your parents’ house was made of...?]  
*Hirsa.... hirsavisti = >> Guđa dumá aso* (Rh) ***dat hirssat*** (Mn-FD)  
 ‘Log.... a log-hut = >> Six thumbs thick (Rh) the logs (Mn-FD).’
- (15) [Were there motorboats even then?]  
*Jo / dat dat gal álge dan áigge / mohtor-fatnasat gal* (Mn-FD)  
 ‘Yes, they then (DIP) yes began that time / motorboats yes (Mn-FD).’  
 [‘Yes, then they, yes they started at that time, the motorboats, yes.’]

## 4. Orality features in written Sami

### 4.1. Deixis and discourse markers

In order to follow the evolution of Northern Sami after the orthography became officially standardized (1979–), the Sami corpus in my database was completed during the last decade by excerpts of discourses recorded in different situations (about 20 hours of transcriptions), some of these borrowed from other sources (Nordic Sami Radio, Finnish Archives). Nowadays it also includes a corpus of newspapers. Some experiments were also arranged. Example (16) is a story, first

told orally, then written down by a middle-aged Sami speaker (35 at the time of the recording), who had been provided with some schooling in his mother tongue, which has been possible since the 1980s. The anecdote is about *láttánat* (“landmen”, non-Sami people), who enjoy fishing and wandering in the mountains, but freeze to death with the first drops of rain, as they are unable to light a fire.

(16) (oral)

*Muhto maid<sup>a</sup> dat<sup>b</sup> dákkar<sup>c</sup> / báikegoddálaš boahdá gii lea ollu mehciid johtán<sup>d</sup> / dathan<sup>ef</sup> gal<sup>g</sup> arvinge<sup>h</sup> fidne dola gal<sup>i</sup>. Na<sup>j</sup> ii das<sup>k</sup> / mihkkige<sup>l</sup> go dat<sup>m</sup> lea dola ožžon<sup>n</sup> dar<sup>o</sup> dat<sup>p</sup> gal<sup>q</sup> ii jáddat / dan gal<sup>r</sup> ii agibeavvisge<sup>s+</sup> / sáhtá dohppet fárrui lubmii / doalvu máttás dan<sup>t</sup> dola vai lea boahhte jahkáai / dolla<sup>u</sup> / dalle<sup>v</sup> go / bohtet<sup>w</sup> fas deike<sup>x</sup> Sápmái / jos lea arvejahki.*

‘But **what<sup>a</sup> then<sup>b</sup> such a<sup>c</sup>** / local guy arrives **who has a lot in the forest<sup>d</sup> wandered / he<sup>e</sup> certainly<sup>f</sup> yes<sup>g</sup> even<sup>h</sup>** in rainy weather<sup>+</sup> / gets a fire **yes<sup>i</sup>. Well<sup>j</sup> in this<sup>k</sup>** / nothing **no<sup>l</sup>** when **he<sup>m</sup> has fire-got<sup>n</sup> he<sup>o</sup> of course<sup>p</sup> sure<sup>q</sup>** does not put it out / **for sure<sup>r</sup>** never<sup>s+</sup> / he sticks it in his pocket / brings to the south **that<sup>t</sup>** fire so that there is the following year / **fire<sup>u</sup> / then<sup>v</sup>** when / **they come<sup>w</sup>** again **here<sup>x</sup>** to Samiland / if it is a rainy year.’

(written)

*Muhto go boahdá<sup>a</sup> ollu mehciid johtán<sup>d</sup> báikegoddálaš, sonhan<sup>e+r</sup> gal<sup>g</sup> fidne arvinge<sup>h</sup> dola. Go son<sup>m</sup> lea ožžon dola<sup>n</sup>, de<sup>+</sup> láttán<sup>o</sup> ii jáddat dan ollege<sup>s</sup>, muhto<sup>+</sup> váldá fárrui máttás vai lea boahhte jahkáige<sup>+</sup> dolla<sup>u</sup> sin boadidettiin<sup>w</sup> fas Sápmái – jos deaivá leat arvejahki.*

‘But **when arrives<sup>a</sup> a much-in the forest-having-wandered<sup>d</sup>** regional guy, **he<sup>e</sup> certainly<sup>f</sup> yes<sup>g</sup> gets [makes] even<sup>h</sup>** in rainy weather fire. When **he<sup>m</sup> has got [made] fire<sup>n</sup>, then<sup>+</sup> the landman<sup>o</sup>** does not put it out **at all<sup>s</sup>, but<sup>+</sup>** takes it with him to the south so that there **is even<sup>+</sup>** the following year **fire<sup>u</sup> as they come<sup>w</sup>** again to Samiland – in case it is a rainy year.’

In its impromptu oral version, this discourse is characterized by 1) a prosodic structuring (intraphrasal and intraclausal segmentation, interclausal parataxis (suspensive intonation [+]); 2) a great number of deictic actualizers (c, t, x), personal pronouns replaced in the written version by substantives (o > o’); 3) a still greater number of DIPs (b, i, p, q, r,...), interactional and/or thematizing;

4) an informative word order ( $n \neq n'$ ); 5) detachment constructions (a–d, ID; u, FD) and 6) analytic constructions, which the written form synthetizes ( $d > d'$ ,  $w > w'$ ). Compared to, for instance, Finnish, the oral/written contrast in Sami is specifically marked by 1) an interlocutive dimension which is omnipresent in the Sami oral discourse above—internal interrogatives (a) and self-responses (j, k, l), deleted in the written version, and 2) iconic devices for the interclausal cohesion (replaced by a logico-syntactic connection,  $u > -ge u'$ ) (Fernandez-Vest 1987; 2000).

In the present evolution of Sami, DIPs must be considered an endangered species. One of the few still frequent DIPs is the homonymous *dat*. Apart from its preferential use as a DIP for thematizing (see 2.2.2.), the pronoun/adjective *dat* ‘this, that’ is used to identify an element as previously mentioned in discourse, hinting at the emergence already described in most languages in Europe of a definite article, probably as the result of contacts (see Heine & Kuteva 2006: 97–139).

If we now turn to an emergent genre of the Sami culture, its written literature, we might expect poetry, which takes its inspiration directly from the only known form of chant (apart from a few fragments of longer epics), the Northern yoik, to be structured by enclitic particles. But even in Valkeapää’s poems, the swinging rhythm of which faithfully follows the ground patterns of the old yoik, very few particles can be found. The only recurrent one is *-han* ‘as we know, for sure’, a partial equivalent of *dat*, relatively marginal in the inventory of old particles, but very frequent in modern Sami, especially in the Finnish regions of Samiland, where it may have been influenced by the high frequency of the corresponding Finnish form *-han/-hän*:

(17) <i>Jápmín ja riegeádeapmi</i>	Mort et naissance
<i>Dathan leat olbmo</i>	Voilà <b>bien</b> pour l’homme
<i>deháleamos áššit</i>	l’essentiel
<i>Jus eallimis ii huma</i>	A moins de parler de la vie
<i>Ja máidba das hupmat</i>	Mais pourquoi en parler
<i>dathan lea nu árgabeaivválaš</i>	C’est si trivial le quotidien

(Nils-Aslak Valkeapää 1985; 2008)<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See note 2 above.

The French translation of the last strophe shows how uneasy it is to overload the verse with approximate equivalents of this nuclear DIP, that is, peripheral particles, which exist parallel as lexemes.

## 4.2. Detachment constructions

It has largely been accepted that the conditions for the production of oral discourse are core criteria for drawing up an inventory of the defining criteria of *Impromptu Speech*, as a prototype of natural spoken language, and several attempts have been made at establishing a correlation between grammatical categories and text types (Biber 1988; Enkvist 1982; Fernandez-Vest 1994: 117–172; Miller & Fernandez-Vest 2006: 13). As for a term-to-term comparison between the oral and written versions of a text, there are few examples, and still fewer regarding the occurrences of detachments.<sup>9</sup> Here again, Finnish can help us to open up some trails of analysis: this language has had over a century to develop its written genres since it began being standardized.

### 4.2.1. Detachment in written Finnish

The comparison of two versions of paraliterary interviews, a corpus on “Creative processes” collected from among Finnish artists and writers and published by the Finnish Literature Society (SKS), has shown that the proportion of IDs and FDs is balanced in the oral version (my transcription), due to the long monological parts (more than 70% ID for 30% FD). Microdialogs have a reversed proportion of IDs (less than 20%), and FDs (more than 80%). In the corpus finally edited by SKS, the numbers speak for themselves: IDs are very rare (less than 5% of the Th), and FDs are non-existent.

Generally speaking, subjectivity is unbridled when the artist is trying to formulate her/his conception of creativity, and the FD is an appropriate device for avoiding possible misunderstandings:

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<sup>9</sup> Concentrating on the two versions of a scientific text, it can be shown that there are 100% more detachments in its oral presentation—that is, not a single one in the published paper (Fernandez-Vest 1994: 150–158).

(18) [- Doesn't the creativity process evolve with time?]

(oral)

*Kyl siin varmasti vähän eri eri eri mekanismi / mekanismi on hiukan ehkä muuttunut / **tän luovan / prosessin / mekanismi.***

‘Yes there surely a little diff different mechanism, the mechanism has slightly maybe changed, **of this creative, process, the mechanism.**’

[‘Yes, there’s definitely a different, very different, mechanism, the mechanism has perhaps changed a little, the mechanism of this creative process.’]

(written)

*Luulisin myös **luovan prosessin mekanismin** iän mukana **muuttuneen.***

‘I would also believe **that the mechanism of the creative process** along with age **has changed.**’

[‘I would also think the mechanism of the creative process would have changed with age.’]

The edited version does not seem to be concerned with disambiguation: a clear question is followed by a clear answer—a verb of opinion followed by a completive clause, a non-finite complement clause (*lauseenvastike*), generally considered typical of written style, in which the FD of the oral version is integrated.

Oral corpus:	Monological	<b>ID ≈ 70%</b>	FD ≈ 30%
	Dialogical	ID ≈ 20%	<b>FD ≈ 80%</b>
Written (edited) text (all):		<b>ID ≈ 0.5%</b>	<b>FD = 0%</b>

*Table.* Proportions of initial and final detachments in two corpora (Fernandez-Vest 2006: 185–191).

#### 4.2.2. Detachment in written Sami

We already perceived in example (16) some of the reasons why the segmentation implied by detachments can hardly be maintained in the written style. The ID and FD, natural though they are within the progress of thought in oral style, are deemed automatically as integration failures, in other words, planning failures.

One can observe in written Sami, as a counterpart to this, the rapid development of clefts. In the last decade, frequent occurrences of these cleft constructions, probably influenced by the majority languages, Norwegian in particular,



can be recorded in the Sami press (the newspapers *Min Áigi* and *Áššu* in Norway, the periodical *Sápmelaš* in Finland)—in reported speech as well as in the narrative passages. This evolution is simultaneously increased by the decline of DIPs. Even the most vivid of the ancient DIPs, the topicalizing *dat*, is gradually being replaced by analytic construction devices.

- (19) *Leimme mun ja Ánde geat oinniime su*  
 be.PST.IDU I and Ánde who.PL see.PST.IDU (s)he.ACC  
*Guovdageainnus.*  
 Guovdageaidnu.LOC

pro

- Moai Ándiin dat oinniime su*  
 we.DU Ánde.COM THEMAT.DIP see.PST.IDU (s)he.ACC  
*Guovdageainnus.*  
 Guovdageaidnu.LOC  
 ‘It was I and Ánde who saw him/her in Guovdageaidnu.’

An important observation is here that Scandinavian languages (Norwegian and Danish specifically) have been shown to use clefts more frequently than English, with a strong tendency to map the IS directly into the syntactic structure (Erteschik-Shir 2007: 121).

Is the Sami modern literature able to preserve detachments constructions more firmly than DIPs? If one questions the expanding contemporary prose of some of the most productive writers, one is tempted to answer positively. I shall take two examples of these constructions, excerpts from a trilogy of novels (volume III), and their published translations in Finnish and Swedish.

- (20) Sa. *Dat álget Lemet-gáccis fargga dat divvunbarggut* (Mn),  
*láhttestii Sire.* (Vest 2005: 24)  
 Fi. *Ne alkaa Leemetin porukalla kohta ne remonttityöt* (Mn), *Siiri*  
*totesi.* (Vest 2006b: 25)  
 ‘They begin at Lemet’s-folks soon **the restoration-works**  
 (Mn), Sire remarked.’  
 [≈ ‘Lemet’s lot will soon start the restoration work.’]  
 Sw. *De ska snart börja med renoveringsjobben, Leemetis folk*  
 (≠ Mn), *konstaterade Siiri.* (Vest 2006a: 25)  
 ‘They will soon start the restoration work, Lemet’s folks  
 (≠ Mn), Sire remarked.’

- (21) Sa. *Dat leat gusto **barggu** (Mn) moatte vahkus hirbmadit ovdánan, dajai Risten Lemehiin.* (Vest 2005: 31)  
 ‘It has obviously **the work** (Mn) in a couple of weeks terribly progressed, said Risten to Lemet.’
- Fi. *Ne on näemmä kauhiasti eistyneet **ne työt** (Mn) viimeisen kahen viikon aikana, Risten sanoi sedälleen.* (Vest 2006b: 32)  
 ‘They have obviously terribly progressed **the works** (Mn) over the last two weeks, said Risten to her uncle.’  
 [≈ ‘The work has obviously come along very well over the last two weeks, said Risten to her uncle.’]
- Sw. *Dom här jobben har gått väldigt fort under dom senaste två veckorna vad jag kan se, sade Risten till sin farbror (Ø Mn)* (Vest 2006a: 32)  
 ‘These works have gone [This work has gone] very quickly during the last two weeks what I can see, said Risten to her uncle (Ø Mn).’

In (20), the original Sami utterance is closed in (before the quotation verb) with a clear FD, which the Finnish translation renders literally without any difficulty. The Swedish translation uses the same type of construction, but with a different Mneme (due to a change of subject).

In (21), the Sami utterance uses an internal Mneme, a segmentation which the Finnish, apparently stiffer, turns into a more classical FD.<sup>10</sup> The Swedish translation ignores the detachment: the word order of the utterance is straightforward, S+V+Adverbial, totally free of internal segmentation. We have here the difference between “discourse configurational” languages (Finno-Ugric languages in general) and “(syntax) configurational languages” (see Erteschik-Shir 2006: 80–85).

## 5. Temporary conclusion

I have tried to show how complex the relation between orality and some typical features such as analyticity are. Whereas oral languages are reputed to be more analytical than written ones, the influence of the neighboring IE languages seems to intensify a tendency in Sami towards some analytic constructions. The influence of IE languages is exerted nowadays on Northern Sami both directly, although moderately through standardization (lexical loans), and indi-

<sup>10</sup> The Sami writer and the Finnish translator are one and the same person.

rectly through syntax formatting and information structure with a view to written style which completely ignores the oral typological specificity of the Samic languages. On the other hand, it has been shown that some Uralic languages have been resistant to this influence, and these have even developed their case systems further, in direct contrast to the tendency to loss in some of the contact languages (Comrie 2005). Will Sami go into this direction? One of its strengths is the Finnish model, a relatively conservative Uralic language, at the one end. Paying more attention to a change of pragmatic status of the language from an oral to a written medium will certainly be one good condition for confirming its typological personality.

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## Proto-Uralic—what, where, and when?

### 1. Introduction

The traditional picture of Proto-Uralic we have today was created by several generations of comparative linguists, starting with M. A. Castrén (see Janhunen, forthcoming) and ending with the synthetic surveys of Pekka Sammallahti (1988) and Daniel Abondolo (1998). In this framework, Uralic is understood as a regular language family whose members represent the divergent, and basically binary, branches and sub-branches of an originally uniform protolanguage. Proto-Uralic was a fully developed natural language that was chronologically far beyond the glottogonic stage. Its structural properties, as far as they can be reconstructed, may therefore be assumed to have been similar to those attested in modern natural languages. The deepest dividing line within the family is traditionally assumed to exist between Finno-Ugric in the west and Samoyedic in the east. For various reasons, subsequent (Post-Proto-Uralic) diversification has been more profound, or is better preserved, within the Finno-Ugric branch, which is today represented by as many as seven major sub-branches, including (from west to east:) Saamic, Finnic, Mordvinic, Mariic, Permic, Mansic (incl. Hungarian), and Khantic.

In practice, all adherents of the traditional framework have always been conscious of certain problems and limitations that call for minor modifications to the approach. For instance, it is generally acknowledged that the protolanguage was not strictly uniform but dialectally diversified, like any natural language. Also, the branching of the language family need not always have taken place in a binary way, and, in any case, there are isoglosses that cross branch boundaries, including even the boundary between Samoyedic and its immediate western neighbours (Khantic, Mansic, and Permic). Even so, many Uralists agree that the classic family-tree model still remains the best for describing internal family relationships. As a possible modification of the binary family-tree, the fuzzy ‘bush’ model has been proposed by Kaisa Häkkinen (1984), later followed by the linear ‘comb’ or ‘rake’ model of Tapani Salminen (2002). However, even these modified models recognise the validity of Uralic as a language family, as well as the relevance of the comparative method as a diachronic tool.

More recently, the conventional framework of Uralic studies has been challenged from two points of view. On the one hand, the so-called Roots Group, led by Kalevi Wiik (e.g. 2004) and anticipated by János Puszty (1996), has proposed that the Uralic comparative corpus, or at least a considerable part of it, should be explained as the result of areal convergence, rather than genetic divergence. If this were the case, there would have been no single coherent Proto-Uralic language, but, rather, two or more regional protolanguages and centres of expansion. In this context, Proto-Uralic has also been described as having been formed as a regional *lingua franca* (for a critical review of the issue, cf., e.g., Jaakko Häkkinen 2006). On the other hand, it has been claimed, notably by Angela Marcantonio (2002), that the entire Uralic comparative corpus is simply not valid and thus requires neither a divergence nor a convergence explanation. According to this view, the conventional Uralic comparisons and reconstructions are statistically unlikely to be true. This would be especially so since the comparative corpus shared by Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic is very small, comprising hardly more than 200 lexical items.

One might think that such new points of view have ‘endangered’ the existence of Proto-Uralic as a valid diachronic entity. This is not the case, however, for the principles and methods of comparative linguistics, created during the 19th century, are solid enough to make any major ‘revolution’ in the discipline impossible. As is well known, the comparative method has effective tools for distinguishing between divergence and convergence, as well as between cognates and accidental lookalikes. Moreover, although the ‘revolutionaries’ have raised doubts about the comparative method in the field of Uralic studies, this method continues to be actively used by specialists on virtually all of the other language families in the world. There is, consequently, no serious reason to question the existence of the Uralic language family, nor the validity of Proto-Uralic as the reconstructed proto-form of the Uralic languages. A more relevant question is how much effort should be devoted to arguing against paradigms that are based on an insufficient understanding of the discipline. The situation is analogous to that in the natural sciences, where the theory of evolution is being challenged by religious fundamentalists propagating unscientific ‘alternative’ ‘models’, such as ‘creationism’ and ‘intelligent design’.

## 2. Proto-Uralic in a global context

Although, consequently, Proto-Uralic remains a valid entity, there are many details about it that still call for explanation. Most of the unsolved problems revolve around the classic issues of dating and locating the Proto-Uralic speech community. These issues are usually approached by studying both internal and external evidence, that is, the Uralic comparative corpus, on the one hand, and the traces of contacts with other language families, on the other. For a more general understanding of Uralic, we may, however, also take a look at its position in a global context. There are between 6,000 and 7,000 languages spoken today, and they represent between 400 and 500 separate genetic lineages, or language families. Uralic, with some 30–40 separate languages, is slightly larger than an average-sized family. Judged by the number of speakers it is a relatively small entity, but in view of its territorial extension it is, in fact, one of the larger families in the world. Both the wide territorial extension of the Uralic languages and the small volume of the Uralic comparative corpus suggest that it is an ‘old’ family, that is, that it was formed a long time ago.

One of the great unsolved questions about human language is how the linguistic map of the world developed in pre-historical times. The best points of reference for understanding the situation would seem to be offered by those parts of the world that are still dominated, or until recently were dominated, by hunter-gatherer societies leading a relatively ‘primitive’ way of life. Such parts of the world include Australia, New Guinea, Siberia, and much of the Americas. A case in point is the island of New Guinea (including the western part under Indonesian administration), which today has a population of just about nine million people speaking more than a thousand separate languages. Although the size varies considerably, the average number of people speaking a single language varies between 8,000 and 9,000. This may be compared with the situation in Siberia (including the Russian Far East), where in the initial period of Russian rule (16th to 19th cc.) around 50 languages were spoken by speech communities that mainly ranged between 50 and 5,000 people in size (Dolgix 1960). It is reasonable to assume that pre-historical speech communities typically comprised of only a few hundred individuals each.

It also seems that the formation and expansion of many of the large language families of the world took place under circumstances specifically connected with technological and social innovations, as well as population growth. The most decisive factor behind, at least, many ‘old’ language families seems to have been the so-called Neolithic Revolution, which involved a rapid development of the methods of food production, especially agriculture and cattle breeding, and a subsequent population expansion and social stratification. The Neo-

lithic Revolution took place at different times in different parts of the world, but the important conclusion is that before this there may not have been sufficient grounds for the differentiation of individual languages into large language families. Although linguistic evolution itself must have taken place in the same way as in historical times, the Neolithic opened up a new line which has been shaping the language map of the world ever since.

It is particularly important to note that the formation of the present-day large language families has not necessarily involved massive population migrations, because languages have spread by way of diffusion just as often as by migration. Both migration and diffusion may have been triggered by a variety of internal and external, as well as positive and negative, push and pull factors, including natural calamities, cultural innovation, and population growth. The main process has in most cases been linguistic assimilation, or language shift, in which an original linguistic diversity of languages has been gradually lost in favour of an expansive family. One might think that the expansion of a language family into new areas would lead to a general decrease in the number of local languages, but this is not necessarily the case, because at the same time as a language family expands it also undergoes differentiation into new branches and sub-branches, which function as separate languages. In fact, it often happens that each 'original' local language is replaced by a new language from the expansive family. What is lost is genetic diversity, that is, the number of language families, while the number of separate languages may remain relatively stable.

It may be concluded that the world in pre-historic times may well have had as many languages as there are today, possibly even more. Assuming that the total human population prior to the Neolithic reached, say, some millions, which is a reasonable even if inexact and uncertain estimate, and assuming further that the average size of a speech community was around 500 people, there could well have been around 10,000 separate languages spoken in the world at any given time before the expansion of today's language families. It is more difficult to estimate how many lineages these pre-historic languages represented, but the number must have been larger than today, since the conditions for linguistic expansion were less favourable than later. All pre-historic languages had, in principle, an equal chance of becoming ancestors to lineages surviving up to the present day, but very few of them were successful, the main reason being that they were extinguished by the expansion of the extant language families. We might also say that all pre-historic languages, like most languages today, lived under a constant threat of extinction. In this sense, Proto-Uralic was an 'endangered' language until it started its expansion.

### 3. The areal position of Uralic

Like all languages today, Proto-Uralic must also have been a member of a language family. This family was not Uralic, however. This situation may be compared to Latin, which was a member of the Italic branch the Indo-European family, but which itself became the ancestor of the modern Romance group of languages. Quite probably, Proto-Uralic had some living relatives which represented the parallel branches of a protolanguage that became extinct in Pre-Proto-Uralic times. The other languages, if they existed, were not Uralic, but they may technically be identified as Para-Uralic, meaning that they represented lineages collaterally related to the lineage of Proto-Uralic. Of course, it is also possible that Proto-Uralic had no contemporary relatives. This would have meant that its lineage had ‘never’ undergone any branching, or, more plausibly, that any branches that may have existed had either become extinct or were so ancient that traces of an original genetic relationship had been lost before the Proto-Uralic period. In this context, it is good to remember that the linguistically detectable mutual relationship between two or more languages always represents only a section of the time scale. At the same time as differentiation goes on at the shallow end, the traces of the relationship are being erased at the deep end of the time scale.

Every now and then, the possibility of an external relationship between Uralic and other extant language families is raised. If such a relationship could be shown to have been a reality, the other language families would, from the Uralic point of view, represent surviving branches of Para-Uralic. The most prospective Para-Uralic entity would for many reasons appear to be Yukaghir (Yukaghiric), and the arguments in favour of a Uralo-Yukaghiric affinity (on which cf., e.g., Rédei 1999), cannot completely be dismissed. However, the Uralo-Yukaghiric comparative corpus does not correspond to the definition of a language family, in that it would contain a coherent, even if small, corpus of verifiable lexical cognates with more or less regular sound correspondences, complemented by a set of grammatical parallels. In fact, at closer inspection most of the Uralo-Yukaghiric comparisons turn out to be illusory. Even in an areal framework, Yukaghir seems to be an entity more closely linked to its Northeast Asian neighbours (Kamchukotic) than to Uralic. Therefore, if Yukaghir was once related to Uralic, the relationship would be so ancient that it can no longer be reliably detected. The same applies to the other long-range comparisons made between Uralic and other language families.

What is, however, an undeniable fact is that the Uralic languages belong to a single trans-Eurasian belt of agglutinative languages together with the so-called Altaic languages, including Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Korean (Koreanic),

and Japanese (Japonic). In this case, typological parallelism is accompanied by areal adjacency, allowing us to speak of a distinct Ural-Altai language area and language type. Characteristic features of the Ural-Altai language type include a modifier-before-headword word order both in the sentence (SOV) and within the nominal phrase (GAN), suffixally marked agglutinative morphology both of the noun and the verb, as well as polysyllabic root structure with simple phonotactic patterns and no suprasegmental distinctions. Deviations from the prototypical Ural-Altai language type occur in the individual branches and languages, especially in the west (Finnic, Saamic), north (Northern Samoyedic), and east (Koreanic, Japonic), but the basic typological orientation is nevertheless observable throughout the transcontinental belt. The internal uniformity of the Ural-Altai complex is not annulled by the fact that the reconstructed proto-languages represent a slightly simplified picture due to the potentially distorting effect of the comparative method (Korhonen 1974). It is important to note, however, that the typological similarities are not accompanied by any significant amount of lexical cognates or even lookalikes, except for items documentably transmitted by way of borrowing.

A simplistic explanation of the situation would be to assert that the properties of the Ural-Altai language type are so trivial and universally so common that their parallel occurrence in several adjacent language families is coincidental. This is certainly not the case, however, for the Ural-Altai belt has clear areal boundaries which delimit the language type in relation to its neighbours both to the north (Yukaghiric, Kamchukotic) and to the south (Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan), and also to those in the extreme east (Ghilyak, Ainu). Along the margins of the Ural-Altai belt we may also observe examples of gradual Altaicisation, as in the case of Northern Chinese (Hashimoto 1986), or also de-Altaicisation, as in the case of several Turkic and Mongolic languages of the Amdo Qinghai region (cf., e.g., Janhunen 2007). It has to be concluded, therefore, that the mutual typological parallels of the Ural-Altai languages are due to actual areal contacts in the past. As far as the so-called Altaic languages are concerned, similarities need not date further back in time than a couple of millennia, when the homelands of the language families concerned were located in a compact area in southern Manchuria (Janhunen 1996: 216, map 6). For Uralic, the issue is more complicated, since this language family seems to be chronologically deeper and the question concerning its homeland has not been solved.

It has to be pointed out that there are also areal and typological parallels that link Uralic and its non-Ural-Altai neighbours, especially Indo-European. Most importantly, both Uralic and Indo-European, together with Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Yukaghiric, Amuric (Ghilyak), and Kamchukotic, belong to the so-called Mitian languages (on the term, cf. Bengtson 2008: 242, 250), in which

the roots of personal pronouns (in many languages also used as personal markers) contain a labial (*m/b*) in the first person and a dental (*t/s*) in the second person. In spite of persistent attempts, most recently by Johanna Nichols (2001), these pronominal similarities have never been explained satisfactorily, and they might well have either a genetic or an areal background, possibly even both (cf. also Bancel & de l'Etang 2008). Other cross-family material similarities are less convincing, though some of them, such as the recurrent accusative (*\*m*) and plural (*\*t*) markers, present also in Uralic, might be due to non-accidental factors. Irrespective of what the explanation is, both Indo-Uralic and Ural-Altai are definitely relevant subjects for further study (cf. also Janhunen 2001; Kortlandt 2006, 2008). They do not have any immediate relevance to the debate on Uralic as a language family, however.

#### 4. The structure of the Uralic family-tree

For the absolute dating of Proto-Uralic, the size and type of the comparative corpus are the most important tools. A look at the general picture of the language family also immediately suggests that branching and sub-branching has taken place at several different chronological levels. We may perhaps say that these levels represent three major horizons, which are relatively easy to distinguish. The three horizons may be identified as pre-Iron Age, Iron Age, and post-Iron Age, respectively. The uppermost, or post-Iron Age, horizon may be dated largely to the historical period (starting less than 1000 years ago). Linguistically this corresponds to the dialectal division of the modern Uralic languages. The degree of dialectal differentiation in the individual languages varies considerably, ranging from very shallow, as in the case of Komi Zyryan, to relatively deep, as in the case of the three Western Siberian languages Mansi, Khanty, and Selkup. At the deep end of this horizon there are cases which are on the verge of having become separate languages, such as Tundra Nenets vs. Forest Nenets, and Tundra Enets vs. Forest Enets vs. Yurats.

The medium, or Iron Age, horizon (roughly, between 1000 and 2000 years ago) represents the time period during which most of the individual branches of Uralic underwent differentiation into two or more relatively closely related, but distinct, languages. Again, the degree of internal differentiation varies somewhat, ranging from relatively shallow, as in the case of Permic (3 languages, which started to differentiate perhaps slightly less than 1000 years ago), to relatively deep, as in the case of Samoyedic (6–9 languages, which started to differentiate perhaps slightly more than 2000 years ago). Saamic (10 known languages), Finnic (8–10 languages), and Mordvinic (2 languages) would seem

to represent rather typical intermediate cases (with a differentiation history of perhaps about 1500 years). Typically, the size of the shared vocabulary within each branch differentiated in the Iron Age horizon varies between 800 and 1500 items, as has been shown for Samoyedic (Janhunen 1977) and Saamic (Lehtiranta 1989). The picture is, of course, slightly blurred by secondary contacts within the branches. Also, comparative work is in some cases made difficult by the lack of documentation and early extinction of a number of crucial languages (former Forest Saami, Sayan Samoyedic).

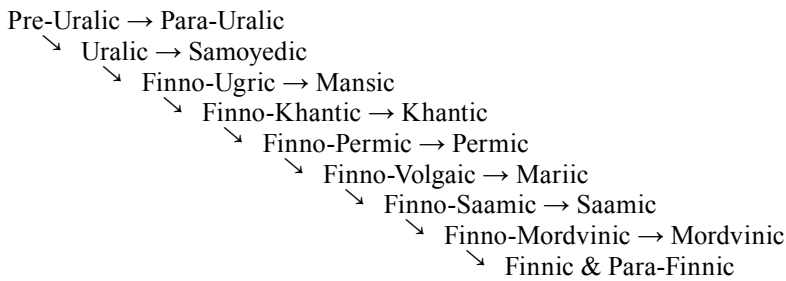
The deepest, or pre-Iron Age, horizon is the most difficult to assess. Those who advocate the ‘comb’ or ‘rake’ model would say that Proto-Uralic was more or less immediately divided into the synchronically attested major branches, ranging geographically from Samoyedic in the east to Saamic in the west. The principal problem with this model is that it presupposes an extremely sudden and explosive break-up of Proto-Uralic along a rather narrow east-west trajectory extending from Siberia to the Baltic Sea. This is equal to propagating a very broad homeland for Proto-Uralic, for, technically, the homeland would have comprised the whole area where Proto-Uralic would still have been spoken as a uniform language before the individual branches started differentiating, which would have happened only after the initial explosion. Such a high speed of expansion is, however, unlikely. It is more natural to assume that the protolanguage spread rather slowly, which would have meant that it differentiated at the same rate as it spread to new areas.

The break-up of Proto-Uralic may be compared with that of other ‘old’ language families, notably Indo-European. For Indo-European it is normally assumed that the protolanguage was dissolved by a simultaneous formation of several parallel descendant branches (cf., e.g., Anthony 1995: 557, fig. 1). In this case, the possibility of a non-binary division is supported by the fact that the break-up seems to have taken place in a radial manner, with the different primary branches advancing in different directions from the original core area. The diffusion of Proto-Uralic, by contrast, seems to have taken place in a linear manner, with a gradual and repetitive advance in one direction. The difference may not be so radical, however, for Indo-Europeanists have always looked for signs of a chronological hierarchy between the branches, and several actual or potential groupings have been discovered, including Balto-Slavonic and Italo-Celtic. Even more substantially, there are serious reasons to assume that the division between Hittite and the rest of Indo-European (proper) is more fundamental than any other branching within the family, resembling the division of Uralic into Samoyedic and Finno-Ugric (proper).

In any case, an unbiased look at the Uralic comparative corpus would seem to reveal a rather systematically westward-branching family-tree, with the divi-



sion between Samoyedic and Finno-Ugric lying at the foot. The basic dichotomy of the language family is particularly difficult to refute (cf. also Michalove 2002), a situation that has not been altered by fresh additions to the corpus of Finno-Ugric-Samoyedic lexical comparisons (Aikio 2002, 2006). There is also motivation to postulate a succession of several lower-level protolanguages, which may be termed Finno-Ugric, Finno-Khantic, Finno-Permic, Finno-Volgaic, Finno-Saamic, and Finno-Mordvinic. The entities that were separated from these protolanguages are Mansic (Mansi and Hungarian), Khantic, Permic, Mariic, Saamic, and Mordvinic, respectively (cf. the table below). It goes without saying that there are many details in this system that may require revision. For instance, the status of Khantic vs. Mansic remains controversial, and it is still too early to completely reject the possibility of a common ‘Ugric’ protolanguage for all these entities (cf. Honti 1998). Also, the mutual ordering of the three westernmost branches, Finnic, Saamic, and Mordvinic, is open to alternative interpretations. Even so, the basic structure of the family-tree seems to be solid.



*Table.* The organisation of the Uralic family tree: the binary alternative.

## 5. The dating of Proto-Uralic

There should, consequently, be no doubt that the age of Proto-Uralic is equal to the time depth of the division between Samoyedic and Finno-Ugric. An exact dating of this division will never be possible, but an approximate dating can be, and has been, attempted on the basis of several circumstances. One way is to proceed by trying to relate Proto-Uralic and the subsequent branchings to archaeological cultures. This is the method chosen by Christian Carpelan and Asko Parpola (2001), and it is potentially very informative, since archaeological cultures can not only be dated but also located. Unfortunately, for both conceptual and definitional reasons, the entire framework of interpreting archaeological cultures in terms of linguistic identities is on a shaky ground. It is

well known from empirical evidence that cultural boundaries do not necessarily correspond to linguistic boundaries. Also, archaeological cultures are typically defined on the basis of a limited number of markers, which means that they do not necessarily correspond to actual cultural spheres.

The archaeological approach to linguistic prehistory involves also territorial and chronological problems. The farther back in time we go, the larger the areas covered by archaeological cultures tend to be. Simplistically thinking, this should mean that linguistic areas were larger in the past than they are today (or in the period with historical documentation). This is why Carpelan and Parpola assume, for instance, that the Neolithic Comb Ceramic culture (5th to 4th millennia BZ<sup>1</sup>) in north-western Eurasia, including Finland, was Proto-Uralic speaking (cf. also Carpelan 2000: 15–16, 19–20). Unfortunately, this contradicts the fact that the same territory has been historically occupied by a multitude of different speech communities, mainly Uralic, but also non-Uralic. Quite obviously, the Comb Ceramic culture comprised at least a comparable variety of languages, and it is impossible to tell whether any of these languages was Uralic and, if so, in what part of the large territorial complex it would have been spoken. Most importantly, however, archaeological cultures tend to be much too early to correspond to what is otherwise known of the chronology of the linguistic map. There is reason to agree with Petri Kallio (2006), who maintains that most datings in Uralic studies are traditionally too deep.

It is, consequently, reasonable to relate linguistic datings to linguistic facts in the first place. Interestingly, however, as far as Proto-Uralic is concerned, linguistic facts would seem to favour a very early dating. It cannot be an accident that the vocabulary shared by the two primary branches of Uralic is not only small in size but also qualitatively indicative of a rather ‘primitive’ cultural stage (on this, cf., e.g., Kaisa Häkkinen 1998). In fact, the cultural vocabulary we know from Proto-Uralic does not even represent a ‘Neolithic’ but, rather, a Mesolithic stage of development (as was once pointed out to the present author in an oral comment by Terho Itkonen). Thus, the Proto-Uralic lexicon comprises several words for typical pre-Neolithic cultural innovations, including ‘bow’ (*\*yingsi*) and ‘arrow’ (*\*nyixli*), ‘ski/s’ (*\*suksi*), and ‘row’ (*\*suxi*). Other items connected with the subsistence methods of a hunter-gatherer community include the words for ‘fish’ (*\*kala*), ‘egg’ (*\*muna*), ‘nest’ (*\*pesa*), as well as ‘hunt’ (*\*nyoxi-*), while, with the single exception of a word for ‘tame’ (*\*inyi*, implying perhaps the keeping of dogs), there is no indication of any kind of agriculture or cattle breeding, nor of any major social innovations. The often-quoted item for ‘metal’ (*\*wäcka*), also discussed by Kallio (2006: 6–8), is not informative in this context due to the

<sup>1</sup> BZ = Before Zero (‘Before Common Era’); AZ = After Zero (‘Common Era’).

possibility of internal and external loan contacts during the post-protolanguage period.

At this point, it is important to reject one mistaken argument that has been presented against the conventional Uralic family-tree. According to this, the small size of the lexical corpus shared by Samoyedic and Finno-Ugric is irrelevant for diachronic conclusions, since, it is claimed, Samoyedic may have undergone a process of ‘relexification’, in which it would have lost much of its original Uralic vocabulary (cf., e.g., Salminen 2002: 52). This argument is based on the fact that Samoyedic alone, when compared to the other branches of Uralic, lacks many otherwise widespread basic words, including, for instance, the Finno-Ugric words for ‘hand’ (*\*käti*) and ‘head’ (*\*päxi*). However, actual examples of ‘relexified’ languages, or ‘creoles’, suggest that a massive replacement of basic vocabulary is always accompanied by grammatical restructuring, normally simplification. This is not the case with Samoyedic, which, by contrast, is a conspicuously conservative branch of Uralic. As a matter of fact, Samoyedic is in some morphological and phonological respects so similar to the likewise conservative Finnic branch in the west that this has misled Ago Künnap (most recently, 2008) to postulate secondary contacts or ‘language shifts’ between the two extremities of the family.

The fact that the Finno-Ugric side may also have been innovative is shown by lexical items such as those for ‘hare’ (Samoyedic *\*nyoxma* vs. Finno-Ugric *\*nyoxma-la*, ultimately from *\*nyoxi-* ‘hunt’) and ‘feather’ (Samoyedic *\*tuxli* vs. Finno-Ugric *\*tuxl-ka*), in which the derived stem is present only in Finno-Ugric. Nowhere is the Uralic family-tree so obvious, however, as in the numeral system (Janhunen 2000: 60–61). For Proto-Uralic, only the items ‘2’ (*\*kekta*) and ‘5’ > ‘10’ (*\*witi*) can be reconstructed. The system was expanded separately in Samoyedic and Finno-Ugric. In the latter branch, the items ‘3’ (*\*kormi*) and ‘4’ (*\*nyelya*), as well as ‘6’ (*\*kuti*), are shared by all sub-branches, while the alternative shape of the item ‘3’ (> *\*kolmi*) has a Finno-Khantic distribution. The item ‘2’ underwent a restructuring in the Finno-Permic sub-branch (> *\*kakta*). The remaining items were created separately in the lower-level sub-branches, including Finno-Volgaic (‘8’, ‘9’) and Finno-Mordvinic (‘10’). It is important to stress that the construction of the numeral system may quite well imply a simultaneous evolution of the counting system, which is a culturally conditioned feature. Even the Indo-European numeral system was still in the making at the deepest (Indo-Hittite) level of the protolanguage (Bomhard 2008).

There is, consequently, a lexical basis for postulating a westward-branching hierarchy for Uralic. This hierarchy is also evident in the phonology and morphology (not elaborated on here, but partially summarised in Sammallahti 1988). Although the time between the branchings must have varied, it is not un-

reasonable to assume that variation was not particularly great, especially since the geographical distances between the branches are more or less equal. Let us, therefore, tentatively assume that each branching took an average time of, say, 500 years to be completed. Starting from the west and assuming that Proto-Finnic is located at a depth of 1500 before the present, we then get a succession of increasingly deep datings for the earlier protolanguages: 2000 for Proto-Finno-Mordvinic, 2500 for Proto-Finno-Saamic, 3000 for Proto-Finno-Volgaic, 3500 for Proto-Finno-Permic, 4000 for Proto-Finno-Khantic, 4500 for Proto-Finno-Ugric, and 5000 for Proto-Uralic. It happens that this Proto-Uralic dating (3000 BZ) is surprisingly close to some of the datings established by other methods, irrespective of whether they have been correct or not. It is, however, considerably shallower than the wildest archaeological datings proposed.

## 6. The physical type of Uralic speakers

It may be concluded that there is no basis for the assumption that Samoyedic would be any less Uralic in its lexical composition than the Finno-Ugric languages. On neither side is there any sign of massive ‘relexification’, and even if there were, there would be no way of telling on which side, Samoyedic or Finno-Ugric, the presumed ‘relexification’ would have taken place. The situation is, incidentally, very similar when the physical features of Uralic speakers are considered. Uralic speakers, in general, represent a continuum in which western, or ‘European’, features are dominant at the Baltic Sea (Finnic), while eastern, or ‘Asian’, features are strongest in the east (Samoyedic). Since Samoyedic speakers constitute a numerical minority of all Uralic speakers, it would be easy to argue that they have ‘changed’ their genes, that is, that they actually represent a physically different population, or a group of populations that once secondarily adopted a Uralic language. There is, however, no way to show that this was the case.

As a matter of fact, the physical continuum among Uralic speakers is relatively smooth, meaning that speakers of the Uralic languages are congruous with the trans-Eurasian continuum of populations occupying the region between Fennoscandia (the Baltic region) and eastern Siberia (the Baikal region). This is so irrespective of whether we are looking at those features described by classical anthropology or at the variation studied by modern molecular genetics. The question as to what the ‘original’ physical type, or genetic composition, of any given protolanguage-level speech community was cannot be easily answered (for a critical survey, cf., e.g., Häkkinen 2007). Population genetics tells us what the distribution of specific genetic markers is on the map, but for the time being,

at least, it does not give us reliable tools to specify the direction of movement and absolute age of the underlying gene flows. Still less does it tell us what the correlation between gene flows and languages might be. For the absolute dating of actual migrations in the past, palaeoanthropology and archaeology are potentially more informative, but even they remain helpless when it comes to the identification of linguistic correlations.

In the few cases where we have a relatively sharp boundary in the distribution of physical types among Uralic speakers we have to assume recent migrations and/or language shifts. The best known example is offered by the modern Saami, who, without a doubt, represent an originally non-Uralic-speaking population in northern Fennoscandia. The expansion of Proto-Saamic to the physical ancestors of the modern Saami is likely to have taken place very late on the time scale, most probably only during the last millennium. In this process, Proto-Saamic was divided into the modern Saamic languages, perhaps in a rough correlation with the earlier linguistic map of the Saami area. Another example of a sharp physical boundary is that between the western Tundra Nenets and their Uralic-speaking neighbours, most importantly the northern Komi. The western Tundra Nenets are clearly ‘Asian’ in their physical type, while the Komi are basically ‘European’. In this case, also, the contact zone between the two physical types is very recent and is based on migrations which have brought the Asian type (probably together with the Nenets language) to the west and the European type (together with the Komi language) to the north.

As the physical difference between European and Asian population types nevertheless seems to reflect an old dichotomy of human evolution in Eurasia, it is possible that the Uralic language family, at some time, spread across a relatively sharp ‘racial’ boundary. It is even likely that the original Proto-Uralic population was ‘racially’ coherent, meaning that its dominant physical features may have been either ‘European’ or ‘Asian’. There is, however, no easy way of determining which of the two physical types was ‘originally’ connected with the Uralic language family. This is an issue that is more closely connected with the direction of expansion of the language family than with the numerical proportions of the physical types among the modern Uralic-speaking populations. The growth of speech communities depends on a variety of extra-linguistic factors, including cultural and political circumstances. If only the numerical proportions are considered, we would have to conclude that the original Uralic ‘type’ was close to that of the modern Hungarians. We know, however, that Hungarian speakers represent a local complex of Central European physical types that are also present among the speakers of neighbouring languages, including Romanian, Serbian, and Slovak. There is hardly any Uralic-speaking population that would be farther from the Proto-Uralic physical type than the Hungarians.

To take a similar example from another language family: Turkish is today the ‘largest’ Turkic language in terms of the number of speakers. This could be mistaken to imply that the modern Turks of Turkey represent the ‘original’ physical type of Turkic speakers. Nothing could be less true, however. In reality, Turkic was until the latter half of the first millennium (AZ) spoken by a predominantly ‘Asian’ population, which inhabited the region today known as Mongolia. Due to demographic, cultural, and political circumstances the Turkic languages spread across Central Eurasia as far as Turkey, whereas in Mongolia itself they were marginalised by the expansion of the Mongolic language family. We might say that the modern Mongols of Mongolia are more or less direct descendants of the ancient Turks, while the modern Turks of Turkey represent a more or less direct continuation of the old local population of Anatolia, which historically has spoken a succession of non-Turkic languages, ranging from Hattic and Hittite to Armenian and Byzantine Greek.

## 7. Locating the Uralic homeland

It follows from the preceding that Proto-Uralic must have been a language spoken by a relatively small and geographically strictly localised speech community whose members very probably represented a coherent physical type. This type may have been either Asian or European, depending on where the speech community was located and when it was dissolved. The cultural stage reflected by the lexicon of Proto-Uralic speakers seems to have been ‘Mesolithic’, which means that it may have been a question of a relatively ‘primitive’ and most probably non-settled hunter-gatherer community comprising no more than some thousands of people, at most. However, once Proto-Uralic had started to expand, the process seems to have become cumulative, with ever new branches and sub-branches being generated until the modern family-tree had become complete.

Much of the territorial expansion of the Uralic language family must have taken place by way of language shift, in which Uralic speech spread to populations that had earlier spoken other languages. Traces of the original non-Uralic linguistic diversity can be discerned in the contact-induced structural and lexical properties of the individual Uralic branches and languages. In fact, most modern Uralic languages are likely to have been locally preceded by one non-Uralic substrate language or more. In some cases, these substrate languages can be positively identified, often as Indo-European, while in others they remain unknown. In the latter case, we may only generically speak of a diffuse ‘Palaeo-European’ (Saarikivi 2004; cf. also Aikio 2004) or, on the Asian side, ‘Palaeo-Asiatic’ substrate influence. Irrespective of this, the secondary properties caused by sub-

strates and other types of language contact should not be confused with the primary properties connected with the Uralic lineage. For purposes of genetic linguistics, it is only the lineage that counts, since it represents the most ancient and, in principle, invariant core of the language.

As has been pointed out above, it is a virtually hopeless task to try to locate the Uralic homeland with the help of non-linguistic disciplines, including archaeology, palaeoanthropology, and population genetics. The available linguistic tools, on the other hand, are also problematic, since linguistic material is, in principle, independent of the geographical context. Potentially the most informative method for locating the homeland would seem to be offered by linguistic palaeontology. It has long been argued that, especially, dendronyms require the Uralic homeland to be placed rather far in the east, possibly on the Siberian side of the Urals (Hajdú 1969: 257–258), the crucial argument being provided by the Proto-Uralic item for ‘cedar’ (\**siksi*). It may be recalled that the typological orientation of the Uralic languages in the Ural-Altai areal context also favours the assumption of an ‘eastern’ homeland. Linguistic arguments in favour of a ‘western’ homeland, located possibly as far west as the Baltic region, are mainly based on alleged protolanguage-level lexical parallels between Uralic and Indo-European (Koivulehto 2001 and elsewhere). Unfortunately, the parallels in question are highly controversial (cf., e.g., Helimski 2001) and can hardly serve as a basis for further conclusions, especially as the question concerning the Indo-European homeland also remains unsettled.

The most uncontroversial information on the pre-historical location and movements of Uralic on the map is, however, provided by the internal taxonomy of the language family. The very fact that the branchings of Uralic seem to become chronologically shallower the farther west we proceed suggests that the main direction of expansion has been systematically from east to west. In other words, the Uralic language family seems to have been formed as a more or less binarily organised hierarchical chain, in which a new branch has always been formed on the western side of the previous ancestral branch. By the classic principle of linguistic geography this also has to mean that the deepest boundary within the language family must correspond to the original location of the first break-up, that is, the linguistic homeland. This criterion places the break-up of Proto-Uralic in the region which historically forms the boundary between Samoyedic and its immediate Finno-Ugric neighbours (Khantic and Mansic). The region in question is the borderline between the Ob and Yenisei drainage areas in Siberia, and until the contrary is shown, it qualifies as the most likely candidate for the Uralic homeland.

To be exact, we do not know whether the first break-up of Proto-Uralic also involved a westward-branching division, for it is also possible that Proto-

Samoyedic moved eastwards from the homeland, while Proto-Finno-Ugric remained in the original location until it entered into its westward-branching history. It is, however, noteworthy that the subsequent geographical centre of the Samoyedic languages is formed by the Minusinsk basin on the Upper Yenisei, a compact region with an exceptionally well-documented sequence of archaeological cultures, extending from the Eneolithic Afanasievo culture (3500–2500 BZ) through the Bronze and Iron Age Okunevo (2500–2000 BZ), Andronovo (2000–1500 BZ), Karasuk (1500–800 BZ), Tagar (800–100 BZ), and Tashtyk (BZ 100–400 AZ) cultures up to the historical Yenisei Kirghiz (from 400 AZ), Mongols (from 1300 AZ), and Russians (from 1700 AZ). This is a much more specific record than anything established so far in the sparsely inhabited forest zone between the Volga and the Baltic Sea, the traditional candidate for a ‘western’ homeland of Uralic.

Without going into the question concerning the possibility of a Proto-Uralic presence in the Minusinsk basin, it is relatively safe to follow the ethnolinguistic history of the region backwards to the arrival of Turkic (later Yenisei Turkic), which ended the Tashtyk (or Hunnish) period in the region. The historical distribution of the local ethnolinguistic groups strongly suggests that the dominant language in the Minusinsk basin before Turkic, that is, the language of the Tashtyk Culture, was Yeniseic (Proto-Yeniseic), while the dominant language before Yeniseic, that is, the language of the Tagar Culture, must have been Samoyedic (Proto-Samoyedic). Much speculation has been presented concerning the possible linguistic identities of the Karasuk, Andronovo, Okunevo, and Afanasievo Cultures, but nothing certain can be said. Even so, the Indo-European elements in Samoyedic suggest that some early eastern form of Indo-European (Proto-Tocharian?) may have been present in the region either before Samoyedic or in parallel with it (Janhunen 1983).

## 8. Uralic in time and place

Uralic is one of the relatively few (probably less than 100) reliably established ‘old’ language families of the world. The small size of the Uralic comparative corpus, especially as far as the lexicon is concerned, suggests a relatively early dating for the protolanguage. The cultural stage reflected by the shared lexicon is even more indicative of a very early first break-up, possibly datable to the Mesolithic level. The structure of the language family, as well as the available palaeolinguistic evidence, suggests that its original homeland was located relatively far to the north, probably within the boreal zone or, at least adjacent to it, and relatively far to the east, probably on the Asiatic side of the Urals. The



protolanguage-level speech community may or may not have been dominated by Asian physical features. The subsequent expansion of the language family took place mainly by way of linguistic assimilation, in which process a number of local populations with different cultural backgrounds and physical heritage gradually became Uralic speaking.

Although the original number of Proto-Uralic speakers must have been very small (hardly more than a few thousand, perhaps even less), the fact that the language started to expand and became the source of cumulative branchings suggests that there was an initial and recurrent edge that favoured linguistic expansion. The crucial question is what this edge could have been. It was certainly not demographic (bigger population), nor can it have been military (stronger striking power). Very probably, it was not one of material culture (more advanced technology), social structure (more effective organisation), or spiritual heritage (more attractive traditions), either. As one possibility, Carpelan and Parpola (2001: 109–110) have pointed out the significance of trading, especially in the context of the so-called Bronze Age Seima-Turbino ‘trans-cultural phenomenon’ (1800–1500 BZ), though in their model this becomes relevant only in the Post-Proto-Uralic period. However, the edge may also simply have been a strategic position at the boundary between the forest and steppe belts, or also in the vicinity of the southern end of the Urals, a region which became one of the first sources (perhaps the very first source) of metal age cultures in Eurasia.

Although the development of metal age technologies, as well as the rise of agriculture and cattle breeding in Eurasia took place in linguistic environments other than Uralic, Uralic speakers were never too far away from the centres of cultural innovation, and their successful linguistic expansion in the northern forest belt may well have been related to their role as satellites of their southern neighbours, many of whom spoke Indo-European languages. Typically, most of the interaction between the two language families involved the influx of Indo-European elements into Uralic, rather than vice versa. The material suggests that contacts were initiated only in the Post-Proto-Uralic period and grew stronger with time. It is no accident that the westernmost branches of Uralic, that is, Finnic and Saamic, exhibit lexical traces of an almost complete succession of Indo-European donor languages, ranging from Pre-Iranian through Iranian to Baltic, Germanic, and Slavonic. Certainly, in spite of claims to the contrary (Koivulehto 1983), none of the earlier layers of loanwords was received in the current location of the Finnic and Saamic languages. Rather, the distribution and diachronic properties of the borrowings reflect the geographical movement of the ancestral forms of Finnic and Saamic across the forest belt between the Urals and the Baltic Sea.

Considering the, presumably, very small size of many local populations and speech communities, it is not unlikely that there were also cases of language shift from Indo-European to Uralic. As the north-western branches of Indo-European, especially Baltic and Germanic, continued their expansion towards the west, their last remnants in the east may well have been absorbed by their Uralic partners and satellites, especially Finnic and Saamic. Such a development is especially likely to have taken place in the Volga-Ilmen-Ladoga region, which must have lain on the trajectory of Indo-European expansion, but which ultimately came to form the homeland of Finnic and Saamic. Much later, and under somewhat different circumstances, Hungarian (of the Mansic branch) was absorbed into the steppe under the impact of Turkic and transplanted into Pannonia, where it replaced a number of earlier Indo-European languages. By this time, Turkic itself had already replaced Indo-European in the Central Eurasian steppe zone.

With the exception of Hungarian, the east-to-west geographical sequence of the branches of Uralic, extending from the Baikal region to the Baltic Sea was complete by the Iron Age (c. 2000 years ago). From this time on, the principal direction of expansion of the Uralic languages has been from south to north. In this process, most of the Uralic branches, notably Finnic, Saamic, Permic, Khantic, Mansic, and Samoyedic, spread from their individual homeland regions northwards towards the Arctic coast, which they reached perhaps a millennium ago, or later. In the case of Saamic and Samoyedic, the expansion continued horizontally along the tundra belt, again mainly in an east-to-west direction. The northern expansion of Uralic caused the extinction of an unknown number of earlier languages, a process which may have ended only a few centuries ago (Helimski 2000). Development has been rapid, however, and some of the expansive Uralic languages have themselves been extinguished by Russian, which forged its way to the Arctic coast in the immediate footsteps of Uralic (especially Finnic).

Chronologically, Uralic remains ambiguous. On the one hand, it is obvious that the modern locations of many present-day Uralic languages are very recent. The south-to-north dimension of the Uralic language belt has a chronological depth of less than two millennia, which is also the maximum age of the internal differentiation of most of the individual branches of Uralic. On the other hand, the geographical length of the east-to-west chain and its systematically westward-branching structure, as well as the Mesolithic cultural level reflected by the Proto-Uralic lexical corpus, suggest a very early dating for the language family as a whole. The external evidence provided by the earliest layers of Indo-European loanwords (considering only uncontroversial data) also suggests that the first split in Proto-Uralic took place very early, and in any case before contacts with Indo-European were initiated. However, the Mesolithic, like the Neo-

lithic, can have widely different absolute datings in different parts of the world. Assuming that the Proto-Uralic speakers were hunter-gatherers of the boreal zone somewhere in Central Eurasia, who, due to their strategic position were drawn into a process of linguistic expansion, it is possible to moderate the datings and place Proto-Uralic at a chronological level perhaps not so much earlier than the earliest stage of Proto-Indo-European (Indo-Hittite).

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## Networks of Finno-Ugric studies

### 1. What is a network?

Among the papers presented at the symposium celebrating the 125th anniversary of the Finno-Ugric Society, this contribution would seem to have only an indirect connection with the object of our research, the Finno-Ugric languages and connected phenomena. This is not Finno-Ugristics but *about* Finno-Ugristics; the thoughts I shall present continue the line of my “programmatically” reflections on the questions of internal communication, identity, and traditions vs the future goals of our discipline (Laakso 2000, 2001, 2002, 2007, 2008; Grünthal & Laakso 2001). To begin with, we must define the basic concepts: what is a network, and what is meant by Finno-Ugric studies?

Networks and networking are the subject of active research in different fields of the study of social and cultural phenomena, from etymology to marketing, and there is an extensive literature on different aspects of networking. In considering the goals of this paper, we could start by defining a scholarly network as a system of processes of communication, that is, verbal and (basically) information-oriented interaction between people and institutions. This communication may be face-to-face or remote, and it may take place across considerable time spans, which, of course, weakens its mutual and dynamic character. In a low-volume discipline such as Finno-Ugric studies, intervals of 10, 20 or 50 years between important contributions to a discussion are not rare (for instance, more than 40 years elapsed from the often-cited Posti 1954 and comments on this by Koivulehto & Vennemann 1996 and Kallio 2000).

Networks are essential to a discipline. They serve both to maintain a research tradition, in different forms of peer-to-peer communication, and to reproduce the body of researchers, through training. Educating young scholars means socialising young people in the traditions of the discipline, making them initiated members of the community—and, simultaneously, members of various networks: peer groups, teacher-student groups or even “schools” of renowned teachers. Networks are interdependent of discipline identity: they condition and are conditioned by the boundaries of individual disciplines. This is an aspect

often forgotten, if disciplines are merely defined by the object of research and/or by the methods used; the network perspective thus adds an important dynamic dimension to the definitions of disciplines.

Finally, networks are structured by recursion, as expressed by the collective suffix in the Finnish word *verkosto*, literally ‘a group of nets’. They consist of smaller networks and combine to form larger ones. This means also that a network is essentially fuzzy; due to its capacity to combine and re-combine, its boundaries are seldom clear-cut. This brings us to the next point, defining Finno-Ugric studies, a notoriously fuzzy discipline straddling the borders between historical and applied linguistics, ethnography, folkloristics and even history, archaeology and literary studies.

## 2. Finno-Ugric studies: From undifferentiation to modern interdisciplinarity

Around the “hard core” of Finno-Ugric studies, historical linguistics investigating the relatedness and common origins of the Uralic languages, there is a border zone marked by such typical questions as “Is N.N., a translator of Finnish literature into Hungarian / a linguist dealing with Estonian syntax / an archaeologist investigating the prehistory of the Onega basin, etc., a *real Finno-Ugrist*?” Another typical question arising in connection with the definition of disciplines is defining the range of questions dealt with in research institutions, learned societies, publications or conferences; for instance, every fifth year, a discussion on restricting the choice of topics for the *Congressus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum* seems to resurface, with questions concerning, in particular, the role of Finnish and Hungarian studies. However, Finno-Ugristics is not the only discipline suffering from identity problems—compare what has been stated concerning another field of research.

Cohen (1988) divides the history of geography in the United States into five stages. In the first stage, until the end of the First World War, the discipline was simple to define (physical geography) and undifferentiated, its theoretical and philosophical background was simple and unitary (physical causation) and the small body of researchers, coming from a handful of universities, was tightly grouped around one leading figure. The development that followed was characterised by differentiation and specialisation, conditioned by a multitude of new approaches, new techniques and new needs and also by strong growth in the number of professional geographers. After facing the challenge of interdisciplinarity, which threatens the identity of traditional disciplines, geography is now coming to a fifth stage, the stage of hierarchical integration:



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At this stage of the process, the system is mature, nodes can interconnect through a variety of subcenters and the system can absorb outside influences without becoming destabilized. (Cohen 1988)

Now let us compare these development stages with the history of Finno-Ugric studies—in Finland, for the sake of simplicity, although bearing in mind that Finno-Ugristics has always been a truly international discipline. Cohen's first stage of undifferentiation could perhaps correspond to the time of E. N. Setälä, the unquestioned leading figure of Finnish and Finno-Ugric language studies in Finland in the early 20th century, with its unified Positivist-Neogrammarian theoretical background and simply defined goals (describing the origins and development of the Finnish language). This was the approach that had made Finno-Ugric linguistics, and linguistics in general, emerge as a discipline with its own methods in the late 19th century—the approach that had made linguistics a science.

In US geography as described by Cohen, the first stage of undifferentiation was challenged by new interdisciplinary activities, that is, new networking. To quote Cohen again:

But if new disciplines are difficult to create, informal clusters are not. Creative and restless scholars are constantly in search of fresh ways of looking at problems and of generating knowledge. The result is that the segmenting of disciplines and the breaking of traditional disciplinary bounds, a process that has always characterized the advance of scholarship, is now increasing at an unprecedented rate. As individuals, teams and small networks of scholars reach across disciplines to communicate with one another, the tendency is to formalize these links, to create new structures. (Cohen 1988)

The challenge of interdisciplinary contacts and new structures is very real in Finno-Ugric studies as well. However, there are also specific challenges which mean that Cohen's model is not directly applicable to the history of Finno-Ugristics. The institutions of Finno-Ugric studies live in an uneasy union of interdependency with the national philologies of the Finno-Ugric countries. As long as linguistics was mainly historically oriented and the main goals of the *Nationalwissenschaften* were related to national root-seeking in order to define and construct national identity, Finnish studies could be seen as part of Finno-Ugristics. This is true even in our days from a general, methodological point of view—and from the perspective of many foreign universities in which Finnish language and culture studies are institutional or belong to a subject called “Finno-Ugric studies”. However, in Finland (and, *mutatis mutandis*, in Estonia and Hungary), the roles are reversed—Finnish studies have severed their Finno-Ugric roots and

Finno-Ugric studies have been reduced to the role of an exotic hinterland loosely belonging to but no more directly supported by the national philology.

In addition to the particular problems this national connection creates (cf. also Laakso 2008), there are two general challenges also mentioned by Cohen: differentiation, which threatens to segment disciplines, and interdisciplinarity, which creates competing connections and may finally question the meaningfulness of traditional disciplines. In Cohen's summary of the history of geography, differentiation was chronologically the first of these challenges, and it is certainly the most clearly noticeable in the history of Finno-Ugric studies, too—probably because it is a clear consequence of the massive growth in resources, numbers of researchers and students. However, differentiation and interdisciplinary networking are parallel and interconnected phenomena, and differentiation may actually be triggered by connections with neighbouring disciplines.

Finno-Ugric studies, originally an object-based umbrella term for anything connected to the origins and relatedness of the Finno-Ugric languages and their speakers, have been subject to intense differentiation during the last 100–150 years. As pointed out, for instance, by Mikko Korhonen (1986), the first professorship for Finnish founded in 1850 at the University of Helsinki originally covered the maximal area of Uralic studies (and was first occupied by the father of comparative Uralic studies in Finland, M. A. Castrén)—now, there are several posts, disciplines and institutes. Not only the institutes and chairs for the Finnish language, Finno-Ugric studies and Finnic languages but also comparative ethnography, cultural anthropology, comparative religion studies, folkloristics and Finnish literature can be regarded as a continuation of Castrén's legacy.

Besides this differentiation and specialisation, there are new challenges in interdisciplinary networking. Most markedly, they appear in the form of new institutions and organisations for “areal studies”. Some of these have their basis in traditional Finno-Ugric institutions, such as the research unit for the Volga Region in Turku, closely connected with the strong tradition of research into Mari and Mordvin. In Finno-Ugric studies *extra muros*, that is, outside the “Finno-Ugric countries”, instruction in Finno-Ugric languages seems to be more and more often placed into “areally based” units—Finnish (or Estonian) together with the languages of Northern or Northeastern Europe, the Nordic countries or the Baltic Sea region, Hungarian together with Slavic or East European. Sometimes, interdisciplinary tendencies and specialisation walk hand in hand, as in the case of the interdisciplinary Saami Studies which challenge the traditional “Lappology” (which is not only connected with traditional Finno-Ugric linguistics but also with a colonialist view of the Saami as “Others”, see Lehtola 2005).

In view of these challenges, it is difficult to avoid the feeling that traditional Finno-Ugric studies are in danger of losing their identity and integrity and being torn into pieces. At this point, we should recall Cohen's definition of today's geography as a "mature system" in which "nodes can interconnect through a variety of subcenters". Do the Finno-Ugric studies of today form a mature system that "can absorb outside influences without becoming destabilized"? In order to answer this question, we will have to return to the question of networks: what are they, how do they function, and how can we distinguish a "good" or a functioning network from a less functional one?

### 3. Evaluating networks of scholarly communication

A dynamic view on research as communication and networking, instead of institutions and organizations, has the great advantage of making informal connections visible. In addition to institutes, organisations and formally recognised groups of collaborators, there are "invisible colleges" (Crane 1975) consisting of people who work on the same questions but in different institutions. Sometimes, the term "grapevine" is also used, denoting loosely organised informal groups of scholars with similar interests, in particular in connection with unofficial information disseminated within these groups (Forsman 2005: 16).

The role of unofficial and loose contacts becomes particularly important in view of modern network theories, as presented, with examples from a wide range of sciences, by Buchanan (2002). It seems that both nature and the social activities of human beings tend to create "small-world" network constructions, that is, networks in which any two points are connected by only a limited number of points (the famous phenomenon of any person being "just six handshakes away" from the President of the U.S.A.). Size alone does not matter, nor density of network interaction—networks of the "small-world" type seem to be more robust and less vulnerable.

"Small-world" networks are characterised by a combination of clustering (subgroups connected by stronger links) and a few random links between more distant parts of the network. Interestingly enough, it is these weaker connections that may even play a crucial role in the functionality of the network—for instance, when seeking a job asking a neighbour to contact an acquaintance of her sister's might be of more use than contacting all one's family members. In Finno-Ugric studies, we could state that occasional and loose contacts between researchers at different institutions or in different disciplines are essential for the dissemination of information and ideas.

The network structures of scholarly communication can be investigated using a variety of methods, from the sociologically oriented (for instance, interviews of individual researchers) to mathematical and quantitative methods and computerisable techniques such as “bibliometrics” or “info(r)metrics” (Forsman 2005)—for instance, studying mutual referencing and quoting between scholarly publications or the dissemination of new ideas and terminology. (Forsman [op. cit.] has investigated the spread of the term “social capital” and Barabási et al. [2008] have analysed the evolution of co-authorship networks in scientific publications in mathematics and neuroscience from 1991 to 1998.) In fact, scholarly networking in practice often combines these two aspects: the techniques of disseminating and searching information are intertwined with interpersonal processes (Shen 2006). In Finno-Ugric studies, to my knowledge, no such investigations have been undertaken so far, and references to the network aspects of our discipline are very scarce and implicit, also in classical handbooks such as Korhonen (1986) or Hovdhaugen et al. (2000).

To put it crudely, the history of Finno-Ugric studies is often shown as if consisting of isolated works of isolated founding fathers, with the very notable exception of the Finno-Ugrian Society and its role as the instigator of classical Finno-Ugristic fieldwork from the late 19th century until World War I and the publication of classic material ever since (the *res gestae* approach, cf. Hovdhaugen et al. 2000: 6). Alternatively, the history of Finno-Ugric studies has been dealt with in terms of ideas and paradigms of research (or, rather, “scitememes”, according to the playful terminology proposed by Korhonen 1983), particularly in connection with the rise of the Neogrammarian paradigm and its dramatic ousting in Finland in the post-war decades (true, the latter process affected Finno-Ugric studies far less than Fennistics proper; for polemic arguments against exaggerating the post-WWII paradigm shift, see especially Itkonen 1999).

In one context, however, networking will receive more and more explicit attention in Finno-Ugric studies, too. For the goals of funding and administration, international networking has already become an important criterion, which has led to unexpected problems in national-but-international disciplines such as ours. Are the publications of the Finno-Ugrian Society, international by distribution and pertaining to a highly international discipline, “international” in the Finnish system which values “international” publications more highly than “domestic” ones—even if in this case, the Finnish publication series would represent the international cutting edge of Finno-Ugric studies?

Quantifiable criteria are also sought in less easily quantifiable areas of the humanities, and for the evaluation of publication activities this means importing an instrument from the nature sciences: the citation index and ranking lists based

on citation statistics. Already by now, the European Research Index for the Humanities (ERIH) project, supported by the European Science Foundation (ESF), has composed initial ranking lists of scholarly journals in 15 different areas, including linguistics. Although the ERIH Steering Committee explicitly advises against using the lists as the only instrument for ranking individual candidates and emphasises that the lists are not a bibliometric tool,<sup>1</sup> it may be difficult to determine the difference between individual evaluation and benchmarking of national research systems. (In particular, distinguishing between individuals and institutions is problematic in low-volume disciplines such as Finno-Ugric studies, in which single-professor departments abound and individual researchers can often be identified with certain questions, certain language varieties or their speakers.) There is, thus, a real danger that ranking lists of this kind will be used for evaluating the accomplishments of Finno-Ugric studies. At present, in the ERIH initial list for linguistics, journals of Finno-Ugric language studies are classified as category B at best. They are not considered leading journals worldwide, which means, in effect, that Finno-Ugric studies are not regarded as an independent discipline. Does this also mean that Finno-Ugric studies, if regarded as an isolated system, must necessarily be considered something inferior in comparison with truly international disciplines such as general linguistics or comparative Indo-European studies?

#### 4. Networks of information and information-searching

Thus it would seem that evaluating the networks of Finno-Ugric studies is very difficult, for obvious reasons. In a low-volume discipline, characterised by individualist research traditions, a great variety of methods, approaches, traditions, terminologies and meta-languages, networking cannot be very dense. As mentioned above, the progress of discussion is characteristically very slow, with years or even decades between contributions to a certain theme—or the discussion may stagnate completely, as seems to have happened with one of the last papers by Mikko Korhonen (1988), whose “heretical” ideas about the history of Proto-Uralic vowels, strangely enough, failed almost entirely to provoke a debate.

What are the aspects of networking that should be taken into account, should a comprehensive evaluation of Finno-Ugric studies from the network point of view be undertaken? First of all, there is to my knowledge no system-

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.esf.org/research-areas/humanities/research-infrastructures-including-erih/erih-initial-lists.html>

atic bibliometric analysis of Finno-Ugristic publications. How many studies in Finno-Ugric languages appear outside the traditional Finno-Ugric fora (such as the publication series of the Finno-Ugric Society and the Societas Uralo-Altaica), and what is “Finno-Ugric” in this case? (Once again, how do we draw a line between Fennistics or Hungarology and Finno-Ugric studies? Are *Virtittäjä*, *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* or *Keel ja Kirjandus* “Finno-Ugristic” journals?) Is it meaningful to analyse mutual quoting and referencing within Finno-Ugristic publications?

When evaluating networks of information and communication, the mother of all nets, the internet, cannot be passed by in silence. Due to the low volume of research, scanty resources and slow renewal of the information base in Finno-Ugric studies, most classic sources are still only available on paper, although the amount of relevant and reliable sources that are electronically accessible is constantly growing. This makes all analyses of networking based on the use of the internet fairly meaningless from the viewpoint of many core areas of Finno-Ugristics.

In addition to this, there are two general problems affecting the evaluation of electronic resources: First, the use of new media challenges the traditional division into “interpersonal communication” (for instance, informal discussion accompanying research in progress, typical of the first or conceptualisation phase in the process of scholarly communication) and “mediated scientific communication” or documentation of the results of research. Second, individual researchers do not act as systematically as information professionals expect them to—even if there are virtual libraries and information sources available, researchers do not use them or do not use them as frequently as possible. (Cf. Forsman 2005: 30–33.)

Forsman (op. cit. 34–35) quotes a study of students’ information-searching behaviour (Heinström 2002) which established three different information-searching patterns (*Broad Scanners*, *Fast Surfers*, *Deep Divers*). She claims that the choice of strategy in information-searching is interconnected with both personality traits and the characteristics of the study area: soft disciplines with a wide range of sources, such as the social sciences, attract students who have an open, extroverted, competitive personality, and these people seem to favour a “broad scanning” strategy. To my knowledge, nobody has systematically researched information-searching procedures and strategies in Finno-Ugric studies, nor drawn any conclusions as to the typical personality traits of Finno-Ugrists. It seems probable that information-searching strategies in Finno-Ugristics are highly specified and varied, dependent of the relevant sub-fields and questions. I could also assume, on the basis on my own experience, that informal and personal connections play an important role and that a great part of the information-

searching is based on bibliographic connections between printed publications. However, as long as there are no systematic investigations concerning the use of databases, bibliographies and other information sources in our discipline,<sup>2</sup> this is no more than an assumption.

## 5. Networks of education and socialisation

The basic elements of networking in Finno-Ugristic scholarly communication and publication are easy to list: there are publication series and journals supported by Finno-Ugristic university institutes and learned societies (Finno-Ugric Society, *Societas Uralo-Altaica*, etc.), and the very sporadic cases of papers on Finno-Ugric questions (pertaining to languages other than Finnish, Hungarian or Estonian) appearing “elsewhere”, that is, in publication series, conference proceedings and journals of Fennistics, Hungarology or general linguistics. In addition to these regular fora, there are more or less occasional publications such as *Festschriften* (for Finno-Ugrists of my generation, which means contributing to at least one *Festschrift* every year and refusing quite a few further calls...), and, of course, symposia and symposium proceedings. This leads to the next point: interpersonal communication and social networks. Here, as in the area of scholarly publications and information-searching, there obviously have been no investigations of networking from a specifically Finno-Ugric point of view. The following remarks are, therefore, representative of my personal opinions and experiences alone, and I can only hope that they will provoke discussion and perhaps even stimulate further research.

As mentioned in the beginning, the networking of a scholar begins with academic education, which creates contacts not only within the home university but also with other institutions. For this reason, international student exchange and student conferences are extremely important, and the recent development of the IFUSCO student conferences into show-windows for Russian minority politics (Kuokkala’s [2006] comment about the “mammoth disease” which expresses itself in an over-dimensional cultural programme could be understood in this way) that threatens to distance the IFUSCOs from the world of the average student, could be a dangerous one. An even more fundamental threat to undergraduate networking is posed by strict and school-like university curricula,

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<sup>2</sup> The Finnish contributions to the URALICA project and its continuation, the URBIS database, are all accessible through the Finnish article database ARTO, and studies concerning the use and user opinions of the whole ARTO database do exist (<http://www.kansalliskirjasto.fi/kirjastoala/koordinointi/asiakaskysely2008.html>; thanks to Maire Aho for this information!). However, it really seems that there has been no research on specifically Finno-Ugristic scientific communication.

which obviously allow for less and less optional studies in minor subjects and neighbour disciplines (“short degree tracks and a thorough education are mutually exclusive”, Widmer 2004: 200). Considering the fact that a Finno-Ugristic education also typically implies acquiring a working command of two or more languages that are seldom taught in (Western) European schools, that is, learning these languages from scratch, it may even be increasingly difficult to find a place for an exchange semester at a foreign university in a curriculum already burdened by these heavy requirements.

Even at the beginning of her/his academic career, a young Finno-Ugrist should be given an opportunity to work at and create contacts with foreign universities and research institutions. In olden times, the career of many Finno-Ugrists who were native speakers of one of the three Finno-Ugric nation-state languages included working as a lecturer of their mother tongues. In the words of Riese (2008):

The teachers of Hungarian and Finnish at the various departments of Uralic/Finno-Ugric Linguistics were earlier typically younger graduates of such departments in their home countries of Hungary and Finland. They spoke Hungarian or Finnish as their mother tongue, had a university degree (often in Finno-Ugric Linguistics), but usually had no prior experience or training in the teaching of these languages to foreign students. It was also felt that such a teaching position was transitory at best, and should give the teacher the opportunity to work on his/her career as a linguist. A language teacher who, after a certain time, had not attained a higher scholarly degree and gone on to better things, e.g. a proper position in the university hierarchy, was considered a (scholarly) failure, all the more so if the teacher was a male, for whom the standards were of course “higher”.

The professionalisation of teaching Finnish, Estonian or Hungarian as a foreign language in the last few decades, together with the shifting foci of language teaching at many foreign universities, has brought a change in this tradition (a welcome change, certainly, from the point of view of language teaching!). It remains to be seen whether this change in career development opportunities can be balanced by European and international investments in exchange scholarships for young researchers or by the new teacher’s posts (lecturers or “language assistants” also coordinated or financed by Finnish, Estonian or Hungarian state organs) at some Finno-Ugric university departments in Russia.



## 6. Conclusion: The network perspective

In any case, for Finno-Ugristic institutions international networking is a vital issue. Teacher exchange, now financed by international programmes such as ERASMUS, could be an important instrument, and one could assume that small units such as Finno-Ugric departments would be particularly eager to use this opportunity to enhance and diversify their teaching programme; at least for our department in Vienna, the contribution of ERASMUS and CEEPUS exchange teachers has been essential. However, building contacts and creating cooperation beyond the level of a specified amount of teaching still depends on the initiatives of individual university teachers; systems of teacher exchange can only offer a framework, an opportunity to get to know each other and exchange ideas, but in the worst scenario they degenerate into travel bureaus for scholarly tourism.

Basically, this applies to congresses and symposia as well. They are still the best way to create and maintain interpersonal networking, including the aspects of bonding and solidarity, even in disciplines such as the computer sciences, in which traditional meetings of scholars could, in principle, easily be substituted by modern technological methods (Shen 2006: 243–244). A tradition for holding conferences is very lively in Finno-Ugric studies, as well. In addition to “local” symposia celebrating anniversaries of persons or institutions or continuing other local traditions, such as the biennial *Budapesti Uráli Műhely* symposia, the main international event in the world of Finno-Ugristics takes place every fifth year: the *Congressus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum* (CIFU), which represents both the best traditions of our discipline and the most severe threats to its future.

The problems related to the CIFU tradition are evident to any Finno-Ugrist, and they have been discussed in various reports concerning previous congresses as well as within the international organising committee itself. In brief (cf. e.g. Laakso 2007): The CIFU institution originally had a covert secondary, non-scholarly function of maintaining national identities under the pressure of Soviet socialism and enabling Finno-Ugric cultural contacts across the Iron Curtain. Now relieved of this function, the CIFU should be able to intensify its activities in internal networking and activate contacts with relevant neighbouring disciplines. To attain the latter goal, the structures and standards compatible with scholarly events of a similar type should be introduced, that is: the CIFU should sharpen its scholarly profile.

The challenges of networking which the CIFU is facing now are symptomatic of two well-known and often deplored main problems affecting the whole field of Finno-Ugric studies. First, the Iron Curtain has been replaced by a lan-

guage barrier and methodological divide between the Russian-language tradition and Finno-Ugric studies *lato sensu* (in particular, the three “major” Finno-Ugric national philologies) in the West. Typical Fennists or Hungarologists do not read Russian, sometimes not even German.

Second, despite numerous pious wishes, there is too little “external” networking, that is, networking between Finno-Ugric studies, general linguistics and other related disciplines. Attempts to bridge this gap have been made, for instance, by the Uralic Typology Database project or the new electronic journal *e-Uralic*. However, the discussion on optimising the division of labour and resources between Finno-Ugric studies, national philologies, general linguistics and other related disciplines has hardly begun. The relationship with general linguistics is a particularly difficult question: is general linguistics a tool-kit serving linguists who work on specific languages and language families (and identify themselves with these specific disciplines and traditions) or is it an independent theoretical discipline with goals of its own, drawing on the material provided by ancillary disciplines? Since even general or theoretical linguists do not agree about the universal goals and perspectives of linguistics, there is probably no simple answer to the question of drawing the borders between language- or phylum-specific and general linguistic studies.

This, finally, is where the network aspect could and should be brought in. The point is that seeing disciplines as networks liberates us from the “life-span view”. If a discipline is interpreted as a search for answers to a fixed set of questions, perhaps even in terms of a certain paradigm, it is bound to grow and then die, exhaust itself or fall apart, as in the following table:

	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4
CHARACTERISTICS OF KNOWLEDGE	Paradigm appears	Normal science	Solution of major problems  Anomalies appear	Exhaustion  Crisis
CHARACTERISTICS OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITIES	Little or no social organisation	Groups of collaborators and an invisible college	Increasing specialisation  Increasing controversy	Decline in membership  Decline in membership

*Table.* Development of paradigms and scientific communities (from Crane 1975, quoted in Forsman 2005: 50).

Described in terms of individual paradigms, disciplines are subject to inevitable decay and death—despite friendly but condescending statements about today’s Finno-Ugric studies such as in Hovdhaugen et al. (2000: 550): “Few signs of paradigmatic senility are visible.” A network, in contrast, is dynamic and ever-renewing.

In evaluating a network or predicting its future, the crucial criterion of a stable and mature system is density and versatility of contacts, together with an optimal combination of “close” and “random distant” links (the “small worlds” structure). A network, which allows for a broad spectrum of subjects and flexible connections to neighbouring disciplines, seems to be a superior way to describe the tasks and challenges of a discipline such as Finno-Ugristics, a discipline characterised by a wide array of questions and approaches. This could also be the best way to evaluate the future accomplishments of Finno-Ugristic institutions: not in terms of “solution of problems” within a certain paradigm, as there is no one and only dominant paradigm within Finno-Ugric studies, and not just as ad hoc umbrellas for different kinds of philological studies involving languages which happen to be distantly related to each other.

Seen the other way round, the future of Finno-Ugric studies lies in networking. If the discipline is going to legitimate itself by describing itself as a network—which, as can be argued on the basis of what was stated above, could be the most viable strategy—both communication within Finno-Ugric studies and connections to neighbouring disciplines need our explicit attention. We need a dynamic view of knowledge, not only as something that precedes and triggers communication, but also as something that arises from communication itself.

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Karl PAJUSALU (Tartu)

## The reforming of the Southern Finnic language area

This article focuses on recent changes in the southern group of Finnic languages. The present state of these languages, the establishment of written standards, and ways to modernise the languages are observed. The Southern Finnic group comprises Livonian, Votic, and Estonian, including South Estonian. Historically these languages share a number of common features and mutual influences. However, the destiny of these languages has been rather different over the past centuries. Standard Estonian, which evolved on the basis of the North Estonian dialects, became the state language of the Republic of Estonia. The South Estonian or Tartu written language fell into disuse at the end of the 19th century. Present-day Estonia is witnessing the emergence of some new regional standards, especially in South Estonia. The Livonian language became extinct in Old Livonia, that is, in North Latvia, as early as the middle of the 19th century and has by now ceased to exist as an everyday language even in the coastal villages of Courland. Nevertheless, there now exists a written standard for Livonian, and modern ways to use Livonian have been created. Also, the traditional area of Votic on the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland is declining, and the last bilingual Votic-Russian speakers are to be found only in a few villages in the Leningrad *oblast* in Russia. At the same time there are young people with Votic roots who try to use the language of their ancestors in modern situations. At present the historical diversity of the language group under discussion is severely threatened, although some endeavours and also possible methods for protecting and developing these small languages are to be observed nowadays.

### 1. Concerning the culturally diverse development of the Southern Finnic languages

The southern group of Finnic took shape by the end of the first millennium. Its formation was characterised by the convergence of southern Finnic tribal dialects and divergence from the northern and eastern varieties of Finnic. The Southern Finnic languages share a number of common innovations (see e.g.

Viitso 2000), wherein the change of their morphology into the fusional type may be regarded as central.

When dealing with the history of the southern group of Finnic, one has to bear in mind that originally it was not a uniformly compact continuum of dialects. The divergence of the ancient South Estonian tribal language from the other Finnic varieties has been considered as the earliest development in this regard (see Kallio 2007). The specific features of Livonian are ancient, too (Viitso 1985). At the same time, the divergence of North Estonian and Vote can be regarded as more recent, similar to the convergence of North and South Estonian. It is likely that during the previous millennia the southern area of Finnic may have been a rather diffuse and largely multilingual region that became more compact as a result of migrations during the second half of the first millennium.

In the second millennium the social and cultural contexts for the development of Livonian and Estonian were rather similar. After the crusades of the 13th century both languages remained in the sphere of Low German and later German influence and were peasant languages spoken in Old Livonia. Both Livonia and Estonia witnessed the Reformation in the 16th century, which set the scene for the written use of the languages. However, there was an important difference, insofar as the Estonians were an overwhelming majority nation in their own country whereas the Livonians constituted a minority in north-western Latvia and Courland, surrounded by Latvians. This fatal fact became decisive in the modernisation of these languages. The native language of the Estonian peasants became their school and church language while in the case of the Livonians it was the language of the majority of Latvia, that is, Latvian. The cultural texts that were important for Estonian were translated or written as early as the 16th–18th centuries; in the language of Courland Livonian the same happened as late as the 19th and 20th centuries, although they were never created in Salaca, that is, Northern Latvian Livonian.

Actually, the belatedly created church and school literature in Courland Livonian did not reach general use. The Livonian language remained the spoken language of peasantry until its decline as an everyday language. Only when the language community had begun to decrease dramatically did the number and importance of written Livonian texts increase for Livonians. Nevertheless, even most of the last native speakers of Livonian were unable to read Livonian; Latvian served as their language of education and as a written language.

While the Livonians and Estonians remained in the Lutheran cultural region, the situation for the Votes and the Southern Estonian Setos was different. For the larger part of the second millennium the Votes and Setos were subjects of the Russian state, and they adopted the Orthodox faith. Both have lived as minority nations in the Russian-language cultural field, and for centuries they had



no written word in their native language. While the destinies of the Votes and the Setos have been similar to that of the Livonians in several ways, some important differences can be discerned. The Livonians have enjoyed a longer educational tradition; because it was in the Latvian language, it contributed to their assimilation. Most Votes and Setos remained outside of the educational system and other written culture until the 20th century; for this reason the significance of foreign-language education and the church was not so great as far as their assimilation is concerned. On the one hand, this difference could explain earlier bilingualism and the language switch among Livonians; on the other hand, it points to the more extensive development and use of Standard Livonian in the 20th century. Unfortunately, the provision of an Estonian-language education in the Republic of Estonia since the 1920s served as an additional factor in the linguistic levelling of the Setos. Since then the levelling effect of the closely related Standard Estonian has been extensive.

When discussing the cultural development of the southern group of Finnic in the Lutheran and Orthodox spheres of influence, one should not entirely ignore the role of Catholic culture. At first the Catholic Church played an important role in the medieval renewal of the Estonian and Livonian vocabulary. Furthermore, its significance has been long-lasting for the South Estonian written language. In fact, the early South Estonian written language was created at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century in the course of the Catholic Counter-Reformation (see Pajusalu 2006). The southern Estonians inhabiting the Lutsi linguistic enclave in south-eastern Latvia have remained Catholic to this day. The Catholic Church plays an important role in the self-consciousness of the Lutsis; they have explained their migration to the present areas as being related to their effort to retain their old faith (Kallas 1894). However, the Lutsis have been able to enjoy a minimal amount of the native-language written word.

## 2. Modernisation of Southern Finnic languages and the role of Standard Estonian

The North- and South-Estonian written languages were the only Southern Finnic languages that became languages of education before the beginning of rapid modernisation and urbanisation at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The development of the Estonian nation state brought with it a decline of South Estonian in public use at the beginning of the 20th century. The North Estonian as the Estonian national language developed into a modern civilised language meeting all the needs of Estonian society, and thus became an important example for the development of other Southern Finnic written languages. Stand-

ard Estonian has influenced the establishment of the written standards of other Southern Finnic languages with regard to spelling, principles for establishing the grammatical norms of the written languages, and stylistics. For example, the spelling of all the Southern Finnic languages shows the unrounded mid vowel by means of *õ* following the Estonian example; the morphological principle is followed in the writing of suffixes (i.e. the same formatives are written with the single main form despite morphophonological variation in their realisation), and similar principles of phrasing and text production are applied. The application of the example of Standard Estonian has been related to the activities of Estonian linguists in the development of these languages, the general ease of borrowing linguistic forms because of the closeness of the languages, and the efforts of Estonian society to support the neighbouring small kindred peoples.

While one can notice the central role of Finnish in the whole Finnic area (evident in the Estonian spelling reform in the 19th century, see Laanekask & Ereht 2007), Standard Estonian has attained the same position in Southern Finnic. This influence has made these languages even closer in written form than in spoken form. For example, the Livonian unrounded mid vowel is articulatorily not identical to the Estonian mid vowel *õ* (the Livonian *õ* is high and not mid high), as the use of the same grapheme might suggest. However, the Livonian, Votic and even new South-Estonian spelling and other standards differ from Standard Estonian in principled ways, the reasons for which are discussed below.

### 3. Present-day Livonian

One can claim that there are almost no speakers of Livonian as a first language now. The beginning of the 21st century witnessed the passing away of the last speakers of Livonian as the language of their childhood home. Although the official statistics of Latvia show that about 200 Livonians live in Latvia (see Krautmane 2001; Ernštreits 2006), in the summer of 2008 Viktor Berthold (b. 1921) was the only speaker of Livonian as a native language in Latvia. He came from the eastern Livonian village of Vaide (Livonian *Vaid*); he lived and worked in Kolka (*Kūolka*). Viktor Berthold died in February 2009.

There are still a few Livonian speakers in Canada and elsewhere that are refugees from the Second World War. At present the Livonians are scattered; most of them live in Riga, the capital of Latvia, and in the other larger urban centres of western Latvia. They spend their summer holidays at their ancestral homes on the Courland Livonian coast. In Latvian towns one can find Livonian societies, choirs; various events are organised although Latvian has now become

the language of communication. *Līvli*, the newspaper of the Livonian Society, and Livonian yearbooks are also mostly in Latvian now (Ernštreits 2005). Nevertheless, one cannot claim that Livonian has become an extinct language.

While the number of speakers of Livonian as the mother tongue has reached a minimum, the number of younger people who know the language has remained stable or even shows a slight increase. When language informants were sought for recording a Livonian prosody project in 2004 and 2005, a number of Livonians belonging to the younger and middle generations proved suitable (see Lehiste et al. 2008). However, they do not any longer speak the dialect of their ancestral village but Standard Livonian, which is based on the eastern Livonian dialect. Unlike the Livonians of the older generation, who were not used to reading Livonian, several younger people showed higher proficiency in written than in spoken Livonian.

The renewed efforts to promote the preservation of knowledge and teaching of Livonian started in 1988, with the re-establishment of the Livonian Society (*Līvõd Īt*). The teaching of the language is of great importance; it is taught both to adults with Livonian roots and children. Since 1992 summer camps for Livonian children have been held annually in the village of Mazirbe (*Ire*) in Courland; the teaching of the language plays a central role there. The Livonian language is substantially supported by the Finnic curriculum of the University of Latvia, which was introduced in the mid-1990s and in the framework of which several courses in the Livonian language and culture are offered (see Krautmane 2001). At present Livonian-language publications include first and foremost language-learning materials and a small amount of fiction, songs, etc. The internet portal *Livones.lv*<sup>1</sup> has become an important Livonian networking environment.

The development of Standard Livonian continues to be a topical subject for Livonian intellectuals. Conferences and seminars dealing with issues of Standard Livonian are held on a regular basis. One of their organisers is Valts Ernštreits, doctoral student at the University of Tartu. Vocabulary development and the codification of some word forms and the related principles of spelling are major issues in the development of Standard Livonian (see Ernštreits 2006, 2007).

The development of Standard Livonian has taken place and is taking place in the sphere of influence of the Latvian language. Livonian is the only Finnic language where vowel length is indicated by means of a length symbol (*aa* = *ā*, *ii* = *ī* etc.); palatalised consonants are also indicated in the same way as in Latvian (e.g. *ḳ ḷ ģ̣*); the glottalised tone is indicated in standard texts in neither Latvian nor in Livonian, etc. This is understandable considering the fact that the present-

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.livones.lv/>

day Livonians are bilingual speakers of Latvian and Livonian. The Livonian language lives on as one of the two indigenous languages of Latvia, which have developed side by side for centuries.

Nowadays Livonian is a language without a distinct area with which it is associated; it is used in various localities in Latvia. The rebirth of Livonian in the ealier Livonia in north-western Latvia is remarkable (see Pajusalu 2007). In 1999 a Livonian museum was established in the town of Staicele on the bank of the River Salaca, in a former Salaca Livonian area. In Staicele a Livonian Day is celebrated in every summer; the children in this area attend the Livonian children's camp in Courland. Nevertheless, the Livonian language that Salaca Livonians learn and use at present is Standard Livonian, which is based on the eastern dialect of Courland Livonian.

#### 4. Present-day Vote

The Vote language, which is considered to be the closest cognate of Estonian, was once spoken in an extensive area in Ingria as well as in north-eastern and eastern Estonia (Ernits 1996, 2005). However, nowadays only about a dozen people speak it in the Kingissepp district of Leningrad *oblast* of the Russian Federation. This is so despite the official statistics of Russia's 2002 census, which claims that there are 774 speakers of Vote (see Ernits 2006). The last speakers of Vote are residents of two western Vote villages—Jõgõperä (Russian *Krakol'ye*) and Luuditsa (*Luzhitsa*). All of these are bilingual speakers of Vote and Russian belonging to the older generation; in everyday life they use Russian mostly. Their Vote reveals strong Russian influences (Heinsoo 2006). Although the Votes have mostly inhabited areas of mixed Vote and Russian settlement, Vote language contacts with neighbouring closely related languages, such as Ingrian, Ingrian Finnish, and Estonian, has also been significant.

Unlike Livonian, during the 20th century Vote did not develop through a written tradition, although several linguists (e.g. Paul Ariste, Julius Mägiste, Lauri Kettunen) and Dmitriy Tsvetkov, an intellectual of Vote descent (see Ernits 2004), did consider the language. Apart from the less favourable social conditions, this could be explained by a different cultural field wherein the written language was less important than it was in the Lutheran model of culture. For this reason the earlier attitude of the Votes towards their language could be compared to that of the Setos—language is part of the realities of life and a bearer of traditional folk culture, although it has no intrinsic symbolic value in its own right.

Taking the lack of an earlier tradition of a standardised Vote into account, the conscious development of Vote since the mid-1990s is especially noteworthy,

also with regard to the introduction of a spelling system and the written word (an overview of the new Vote movement and the standard language can be found in Ernits 2006). Courses in Vote began in St Petersburg in 1994; it has been taught as an optional subject at the Krakol'ye (Jõgõperä) secondary school; there is also an online course in the Vote language. Mekhmet Muslimov, who resides in St Petersburg, has been instrumental in the elaboration of Standard Vote (see VK 2003, VK 2004 and the website *Vad̄damaa*<sup>2</sup>).

Previously, the Vote language was mostly recorded by Estonian linguists, who used an adapted Estonian spelling in addition to the scientific Finno-Ugric transcription (such as Ariste 1941 and other Vote texts published by Paul Ariste, the Vote dictionaries VKS 1990–2000, etc.). The spelling formulated by Muslimov is a radical departure from the standards of Estonian. For example, he marks some palatalised consonants with Livonian letters (e.g. *l̄*), which were adopted from Latvian spelling. The grapheme *ḑ*, which denotes the dental spirant in Saami and in a new Kven standard, represents the palatalised dental stop. Muslimov's choices show the establishment of broader links within the Finno-Ugric language area. Unlike the revival of Standard Livonian, the revival of Vote has rather been a so-called ethnofuturistic undertaking. It is language creation that freely selects modern means of expression wherein suitability to the virtual environment is an important criterion. All the Vote letters selected by Muslimov can be found among the widely used main software, and the morphological norms are based first and foremost on the principle of economy. The recorded new common Vote language has a rather transparent dialectal background and is based on the Jõgõperä dialect.

Most of the present promoters and learners of Vote do not come from Vote homes; they have either more distant Vote roots or do not have them at all. The Vote language, Vote songs, as well as the Vote flag and anthem adopted in 2003, have become local symbols for people in the present-day Vote area.

## 5. Present-day South Estonian

South Estonian could be regarded as the oldest Finnic language (cf. Kallio 2007); nevertheless, to this day it has no official status. The historical Tartu written language was taught and used in the 17th–19th centuries in southern Estonia also outside the Tartu dialect area but efforts to establish a uniform standard South Estonian at the end of the 20th century were unsuccessful. An attempt by Võro language reformers to establish a common Võro-Seto standard language in the 1990s ended in failure. Apparently, this was caused not so much by Võro and

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.vadjamaa.narod.ru/>

Seto language differences as the identity clash resulting from the different historical experience of the Lutheran Võro people and the Orthodox Setos (see Iva & Pajusalu 2004). In addition to the written Võro and Seto, the Mulgi people, the westernmost southern Estonians, have their own written variety. Thus, at present one could speak of three different South Estonian written languages if this term is defined as the writing tradition of a language variety in its broadest sense (cf. Pajusalu 2006).

The spread and use of the present regional standards of South Estonian are not equal. The Võro language maintains the strongest position. It has the largest number of speakers (about 50,000, see Eichenbaum & Koreinik 2008) and is actively used. The norms of the Võro language have been systematically established since 1995 when the Võro Institute was set up (for an overview see Iva 2007: 19–35). Most journalism and fiction is published in this language, and about thirty schools in Võro County (Võro *Võromaa*) teach it. The majority of Estonians and even southern Estonians perceive the Võro language as a modern synonym for South Estonian. A recent ethno-dialectological study showed that some inhabitants of southern Estonia in Tartu in the south and even in eastern Mulgi, refer to the local language variety as the Võro language (Koreinik & Pajusalu 2007).

An addition to Võro, the Seto and Mulgi written languages have a definable usage area and users, too. Children's books, learning material and periodicals have been published in both languages (see Pajusalu 2006). *Peko Helü*, a Seto-language publication, could be regarded as a central South Estonian cultural magazine at present. The reformers of the new Seto and also Mulgi have cooperated even more closely with local government officials than the Võro language activists, which has contributed to the increased visibility of the language in local life. As for the prospects for Mulgi, it is noteworthy that local teachers of Estonian are actively participating in language activities, for example, through the compilation of a Mulgi dictionary.

The present Võro standard differs from the Seto and Mulgi standards in that its aim is to achieve a broad dialect background; forms of both western and eastern dialects have been selected deliberately (Iva 2007). The language of *Setomaa*, a Seto newspaper, and other Seto publications is mostly based on southern Seto varieties. By contrast, the Seto-language publications of the 1920s and the 1930s were mostly in northern Seto. The Mulgi written language has not been strictly standardised; sometimes the differences between western and eastern are indicated (e.g. in MKM 2004).

In written Võro the proportion of eastern forms similar to Seto, such as the *h*-marked inessive and several historically earlier forms having *h* in non-initial syllables, compare the eastern Võro *küläh* 'in the village', *hõbõhõhe* 'in a silvery

manner' and the western Võro *külän, hõpõlõ*, is on the decrease. One has to admit that the difference between Võro and Seto has not only arisen from the aspirations of the Setos to create their own unique language identity, but also from the perhaps unconscious Võro practice of selecting forms which are as different from Seto as possible (Pajusalu et al. 1999).

The Võro language and its young reformers have played a special role in breathing new life into South Estonian, as well as Southern Finnic and even eastern related languages. They initiated the Ethno-futuristic movement which inspired the first attempts to revive the South Estonian language at the end of the 1980s, attempting to make the new Võro standard as different as possible from Standard Estonian. However, twenty years later one has to admit that development has taken place in the direction of convergence with Standard Estonian; by now this process may have gone even too far from a linguistically reasonable perspective. For example, the newspaper *Uma Leht* and several other Võro-language publications no longer denote the laryngeal stop. The latter has great significance in the Võro language structure, for example, in distinguishing between the singular and plural nominative, such as *kala* 'fish' and *kalaq* 'fishes'. The problem lies in the letter *q*, which was intended to represent the laryngeal stop; many Võro people perceived it as a foreign letter unsuited to Estonian (Iva 2007). They thought it important that Võro norms should fit in with the principles of the Estonian language.

The written Võro of recent years is characterised by the increased impact of north-western Võro dialects and the spelling has become more Estonian-like. These tendencies may have definite cultural causes. Nowadays, most Võro people are bilingual speakers of Võro and Estonian. Similarly to present-day Livonians, who think that Latvian and Livonian should reveal the highest degree of harmony, many Võro people also think that the Võro and the Estonian languages should be as similar as possible. The same tendency to seek harmony with Standard Estonian is also valid for the Mulgi people, and one can see it in the Seto language reform, too.

## 6. Restrictions on linguistic emancipation in multilingual societies

In Estonia the modernisation of regional varieties is not confined to South Estonia. The native written word has been created and children are taught the local dialect also on the island of Kihnu, which has its own original culture; several collections of writings have been published in the East-Estonian variety of Kodavere, etc. It seems that the traditional difference between a language and

a dialect is no longer valid; rather, the modernisation of local language practices and accordingly a problem concerning the relationship between the national language and the regional standard is confronted. Sociolinguistic studies show that among the Estonian people of Võro, Mulgi, and Saaremaa the use of the local language expresses their relatedness to the region; it is a marker indicating the values of one's home, and roots (Eichenbaum & Koreinik 2008). Although in a somewhat different way, a similar development of multiple identities and the adaptation of the linguistic competence to a new identity model are valid for Livonians and Votes as well. One can still come across some older Võro people in southern Estonia who do not know Standard Estonian, yet there are no monolingual Livonians or Votes left. Nowadays, Latvian is the national language of the Livonians, and Russian is the national language of the Votes. However, this does not lessen the value of one's language as the carrier of one's local and individual identity, and as the supporter of essential social networks. On the other hand, multiple identities impose restrictions on the ways the languages can be reformed; it is inevitable that the principles governing the predominant language in one's everyday life are observed.

In addition to the national languages, reformers of the Southern Finnic languages know and practise usually other related languages. The majority of younger people actively concerned with the Livonian language and also teachers of this language have studied in Estonia and have a good command of Estonian; they know some Finnish, too. Several South Estonian language campaigners studied in Finland, and the example of Finnish is evident in several South Estonian neologisms, for example, *keeletiieq*, compare Finnish *kielitiede* 'linguistics' (in Standard Estonian *keeleteadus*).

Like social and international mobility, which increased immensely at the beginning of the 21st century, linguistic mobility has also increased. From the perspective of the conscious development of languages, this means the possibility, will, and ability to increasingly follow the example of other languages and even networking, in the case of closely related languages. The new written languages reveal principled diversity and a higher degree of openness to change. In the case of new standard varieties it is impossible to establish the same unique and static norms as those in the traditional national languages. This is valid for all the previously discussed new written languages—the fact that their written texts reveal a high degree of variation is a sign that the norms have not become established as yet. It could well show that these written languages belong to a fundamentally different type in comparison with the so-called old standard languages. At the same time all of the previously discussed languages are taught languages that will be actively and by means of various modern methods passed on to the coming generations who will not speak these languages as native speakers anymore.



## 7. In conclusion: perspectives for the minor Southern Finnic languages

A language sociologist with a pessimistic attitude could sum up the present state of the Southern Finnic language group by claiming that only Estonian has made it into the new millennium. The other languages have lost their historical area and use as a first language. Contrary to such a viewpoint one could argue that it was possible to modernise all the Southern Finnic languages; nowadays, all these languages are used in the internet, and they are taught to young generations; the required standards and learning materials have been created for this purpose. Today more Southern Finnic languages are practised in modern environments than the number of those languages that were a century ago. At any rate it should be pointed out that this is a very critical period in the development of the new written languages. Whether there will be other people interested in these languages apart from linguists after a few decades depends on how the societies in which these languages are used value them and how the descendants of Livonians, Votes, and southern Estonians, who still share the experience of the living language of their grandparents, value them. It is necessary to further enliven the teaching of these languages to children and to find even more efficient and attractive methods for doing so, for example, in the form of language nests and interactive online courses for children, etc. During the next dozen years it will still be possible to carry this into effect; after that it will be much more difficult.

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# Itämerensuomalais-slaavilaisten kontaktien tutkimuksen nykytilasta<sup>1</sup>

## 1. Itämerensuomalais-slaavilaisten kontaktien historiallista taustaa

### 1.1. Uralilaisten kieliyhteisöjen monikieliset verkostot Venäjällä

Uralilainen kantakieli ja ilmeisesti myös kaikki rekonstruoitavissa olevat uralilaisen kielikunnan välikantakielet muodostuivat alueella, jolla tällä hetkellä puhutaan slaavilaista kieltä, venäjää. Slaavilaiset kielet ovat myös ainoa yksittäinen indoeurooppalaisten kielten ryhmä, josta on lainattu sanastoa uralilaisen kielikunnan jokaiseen haaraan. Unkaria lukuun ottamatta se on saatu sellaisista slaavilaisista kielimuodoista, joista kehittyi venäjän kielen murteita.<sup>2</sup>

Venäjän leviäminen nykyiselle valtavalle puhuma-alueelleen on olennaisilta osin tapahtunut suomalais-ugrilaisen kielten kustannuksella. Uralilaisen kielten puhuma-alue on makrotasolla melko yhtenäinen kattaen Euraasian länsi- ja keskiosien taiga- ja tundravöyhykkeen, mutta mikrotasolla rikkonainen jakaantuen venäläismurteiden toisistaan erottamiin saarekkeisiin. Tämä viittaa siihen – toki muutenkin tiedossa olevaan seikkaan – että uralilaiset kielet ovat väistyneet monilla nykyisin venäläisillä alueilla.

Useimmiten siellä, minne eurooppalaiset kolonialistiset vallat ulottivat otteensa, aiheuttivat alkuperäisväestöjen tuhoutumisen ja assimilaation toisaalta

<sup>1</sup> Artikkelin perustuu Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran 125-vuotisjuhlaseminaarissa *Suomalais-ugrilaisen kieliyhteisön verkosto* pidettyyn esitelmään. Aiheen käsittely on kuitenkin olennaisesti laajempi, minkä lisäksi artikkelissa on hieman eri sanastoesimerkkejä kuin alkuperäisessä esitelmässä. Osa aineistosta on jäänyt pois, koska niiden tutkimuksen kuluessa ilmeni monia esitettyjen etymologisten selitysten epävarmuutta lisänneitä seikkoja, jotka pakottavat jättämään julkaisemisen myöhempään ajankohtaan. Tarkoitukseni on käsitellä näitä esitelmässä mainittuja slaavilaisia etymologioita (*kalju* < \**гольбъ* 'alaston', vi *rääkida* < \**ръчь* : *рекъ* 'sanoa') mahdollisimman pian toisessa yhteydessä.

<sup>2</sup> Jo Mikkola (1894) tosin otaksui, että itämerensuomalaisten kielten varhaisimmat slaavilaislainat olisi saatu Novgorodin slaavista, joka muistutti enemmän länsi- kuin itäslaavia. Tämän käsityksen tueksi esitetyistä argumenteista tärkeimpiä ovat vokaalien (myös nasaalivokaalien!) kvantiteettikorrelaatio, itämerensuomalaisissa kielissä käytetty lähinnä länsislaaveihin viittaava etnonymy *\*venät* sekä areaalilingvistiset argumentit (ks. esim. Björnflaten 2006: 69–74). Nykykielten kannalta Novgorodin slaavi on silti lähinnä venäjää, vaikka tämä sitten määriteltäisiinkin pikemminkin valtiollisin kuin kielellisin kriteerein. – Unkarin slaavilaislajien alkuperäkielestä on esitetty erilaisia arveluja (ks. Kniezsa 1955; Décsy 1988: 619; Richards 2003).

”tykit, taudit ja teräs” (Diamond 2003), toisaalta kulttuuriseen muutokseen yleensä liittyvä ”pehmeä valta”. Venäläisen kolonialismin historiallinen kuvaus on vielä yksityiskohdittain kirjoittamatta. Tiedämme silti, että uralilaisten kielten katoamisen ja venäjän kielialueen laajenemisen mekanismit ovat vaihdelleet ajallisesti ja alueellisesti varsin paljon.

Anneli Sarhimaan kuvaus tässä niteessä karjalan kielen käyttöön ja säilymiseen vaikuttavista kompleksisista sosiaalisista verkostoista nykyajassa (Sarhimaan 2009). Kyseessä on esimerkki uralilaisesta kielimuodosta, joka on elänyt pääasiassa slaavilaisen kielimuodon dominoimissa yhteiskunnallisissa rakenteissa (lähes?) koko olemassaolonsa ajan. Piirteet, jotka erottavat karjalan kieltä muista itämerensuomalaisista kielimuodoista liittyvät paljolti (vaikkakaan eivät yksinomaisesti) venäjän ja sitä karjalan naapurustossa edeltäneiden slaavilaisten kielimuotojen vaikutukseen.

Vaikka Sarhimaan tarkastelussa on moderni karjalan kieliyhteisö, ovat myös aikaisempien vuosisatojen kielivalintoja determinoivat verkostot varmasti olleet erittäin monimutkaisia. Vuosisatojen aikana karjalan kielen puhujat ovat olleet laajalti kaksikielisiä, ja karjalan kielen käyttöön liitetyt merkitykset ja identiteettivalinnat ovat jatkuvasti muuttuneet – kuten myös kieli itse. Se on toisaalta lähentynyt venäjää, mutta toisaalta puhujayhteisö on myös pyrkinyt pitämään sen erillään venäjämästä. Sen rakenteisiin ja sanastoon on liittynyt emblemaattisia, yhteisöä luovia ja reprodusoivia merkityksiä, jotka ovat ohjanneet kielen kehitystä myös venäjämästä pois päin.

Kun tällä hetkellä näyttää siltä, että karjalan kieli ei ehkä tule säilymään puhekielenä kovinkaan kauaa, voi silti todeta, että sitä ei ole vienyt kielikuoleman partaalle mikään niin yksinkertainen seikka kuin tykit, taudit tai teräs. Uralilaisten kielten väistyminen venäjän tieltä on aiheutunut monimutkaisesta kombinaatiosta ”kovia” ja ”pehmeitä” sosiaalisia syitä.

Esimerkiksi Kazanin kaanikunnan tuhoutumista (1550) seuranneissa ns. tšeremissisodissa oli ”kova” politiikka etualalla: jopa puolet marilaisista kuoli, laajoja marinkielisiä alueita tyhjensi, syntyi marilaisdiaspora nykyiseen Baškiriaan ja slaavit asuttivat marin puhuma-alueen tyhjentyneen länsilaidan (ks. esim. Lallukka 2003). Toisaalta Pohjois-Venäjällä on laajoja alueita, joilla itämerensuomalaiset väestöt ovat vaihtaneet kieltensä venäjään ilman (suuria?) sotia tai massamigraatioita.<sup>3</sup> Tällöin kielenvaihtoa ovat ohjanneet kieliyhteisön jäsenten sosiaaliset verkostot, niiden välittämät kulttuuriset mahdollisuudet, identiteetit, muodit sekä näiden ohjaamina tehdyt kielelliset valinnat.

<sup>3</sup> Alueiden materiaalisen kulttuurikuvan muutoksesta ks. esim. Makarov (1997), joka seuraa slaavilautumisen vaiheita sellaisina kuin ne näkyvät liikenteellisesti tärkeiden vedenjakaja-alueiden arkeologisessa aineistossa.

Tutkimuksessa luotettavasti kuvatut suomalais-ugrilaisten kieliyhteisöjen kielenvaihdot ovat mikrotasolla olleet nopeita ja tapahtuneet muutaman sukupolven aikana (vrt. M. Aikio 1988, Kuokkala ym. 2005, Pasanen 2006). Makrotason kieliyhteisön kielenvaihto on silti saattanut kestää vuosisatoja. Uralilaisien kieliyhteisöjen rajat ovat historiallisena aikana jatkuvasti muuttuneet ja kielialueet erityisesti 1900-luvulla pienentyneet, mutta useimmat uralilaiset kieliyhteisöt ovat silti säilyneet. Toisaalta eräät uralilaisien kielten ja venäjän väliset kielirajat näyttävät olleen stabiileja jopa satojen vuosien ajan. Muiden kielisosiologisten olosuhteiden lisäksi tämä liittyy Venäjän kielirajojen läpäisevään luonteeseen.

Venäjän kaltaisessa monikielisessä valtiossa kielialueiden rajojen hahmottaminen merkitseeikin välttämättä melkoista idealisaatiota. Useimpia Venäjän alueita on jo satojen vuosien ajan luonnehtinut jonkinasteinen monikielisyys. Tämä näkyy havainnollisesti siinä, miten lukuisia ovat esimerkiksi karjalaiset, mordvalaiset tai marilaiset diasporat kielen pääpuhuma-alueen ulkopuolella. Niiden olemassaolo osoittaa, että jo ennen jyrkkien demografisten muutosten luonnehtimaa 1900-lukua on Venäjällä tapahtunut huomattavia väestönsiirroksia kielialueelta toiselle. Samalla ovat uralilaisien kieliyhteisöjen verkostot levittäytyneet kauas niiden perinteiseksi alueeksi mielletyn seudun ulkopuolelle.

Uralilaiset kieliyhteisöt ovat paitsi jääneet kolonialismin uhreiksi myös aktiivisesti itse osallistuneet eri alueiden kolonisaatioon. Monilla alueilla kielellinen uralilaisuus onkin monikerroksista siten, että nykyisissä uralilaisissa kielissä on havaittavissa substraatteja toisista uralilaisista kielistä, esimerkiksi itämerensuomessa saamesta (vrt. A. Aikio 2007, 2009), komissa nenetsistä ja obinugrilaisista kielistä, marissa permiläisistä kielistä (vrt. Bereczki 1992: 97–129) jne.

## 1.2. Demografiset tilastot ja kielenvaihdon laajuus

Kielen siirtyminen ei edellytä kovin suurta väestönsiirrosta, vaan kielen leviämislle otollisen yhteiskunnallisen tilanteen. Ainakin viime vuosisatojen Venäjällä on ollut tyypillistä, että kielet ovat levinneet vain tiettyjen avainpuhujaryhmien välityksellä siten, että suurin osa kieliyhteisöstä on saatu toisten kielten puhujista kielenvaihtojen kautta.

Esimerkiksi Karjalan tasavallan sydänmaiden kielellisen venäläistymisen voidaan osoittaa alkaneen tilanteessa, jossa 2. maailmansodan jälkeen jopa 40 % talouksista oli ilman miesväkeä rintamakuolleisuuden, poliittisten vainojen ja Suomeen suuntautuneen pakolaisuuden seurauksena (Klementjev 2008). Alueelle tuli nyt metsä- ja maatoihin sekä avioliittojen kautta jonkin verran

karjalaa osaamatonta miesväkeä – yhteensä ehkä noin viiden prosentin väestönlisäyksen verran. Tämä melko pieni väestönosa kuitenkin riitti muuttamaan venäjän kotikieleksi niissä perheissä, joihin karjalaa taitamattomat asettuivat, ja kun näin syntyneiden sekaperheiden lapset osasivat venäjää paremmin kuin karjalaa, syntyi yhä enemmän kulttuurista painetta venäjän käyttöön myös yksikielisissä karjalaisissa kodeissa. Tietenkin myös vallitseva koulutus- ja mediaympäristö tuki karjalaisten enemmistön kielivalintaa – peritystä äidinkielestä luopumista.

Karjalan tasavallan tapauksessa pienehkö tulokasväestö riitti siis muuttamaan yhteisön valtakielen uhanalaiseksi vähemmistökieleksi muutaman sukupolven aikana, kun olosuhteet olivat ”suotuisat”. Ilmeistä on, että vastaavia suhteellisten pienten, mutta sosiaalisesti keskeisten ryhmien migraatioista johdettuja kielenvaihtoja on Venäjällä tapahtunut runsaasti myös ennen venäjänkielisen massamedian tai koululaitoksen syntymistä – siitäkkin huolimatta, että ne ovat varmasti olleet harvinaisempia kuin 1900-luvulla. Tämä ilmenee havainnollisesti mm. siitä seikasta, että venäläisten kaikkein läheisimpien geneettisten sukulaisten katsotaan monien tutkimusten valossa olevan Euroopan suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten puhujia. Tällainen tilanne viittaa suomalais-ugrilaisten ja slaavilaisten kielimuotojen puhujien geenien merkittävään sekoittumiseen.

Vielä paikallisyhteisöjen venäläistymistäkin merkittävämpi Venäjän etnistä karttaa muokannut prosessi lienee ollut muuttoliikkeeseen ja erityisesti kaupunkistumiseen liittyvä venäläistyminen. Onhan 1900-luvulla ja myös alkaneella vuosasadalla koko Venäjän väestönkasvu suuntautunut taajamiin, joissa maaseudulta muuttanut ”ylijäämäväestö” on yleensä melko nopeasti venäläistynyt.

Tämä näkyy mm. siinä, että vaikka sisä-Venäjän suomalais-ugrilaisten kansojen lapsiluvun on 1900-luvun alussa arvioitu olleen venäläisiin verrattuna noin 1,3-kertainen (Bátori 1980: 63–64), eivät alueen suomalais-ugrilaiset kansat juuri ole kasvaneet sadassa vuodessa. Esimerkiksi vuonna 1897 oli Venäjän keisarikunnan kokonaisväkiluku 125 miljoonaa, joista suomalais-ugrilaisiin kansoihin kuului noin 5,5 miljoonaa ja venäläisiin 55 miljoonaa. Virolaisia (n. 1 milj.) ja suomalaisia (n. 2,5 milj.) lukuun ottamatta kuului suomalais-ugrilaisiin kansoihin tuolloin siis noin 2,4 miljoonaa venäjäläistä (mt. 54), kun vuonna 2002 heitä arvioitiin olleen noin 2,7 miljoonaa (vrt. esim. Lallukka 2004). Samaan aikaan venäläisten määrä Venäjällä ja entisen Neuvostoliiton alueella oli lähes kolminkertaistunut noin 135 miljoonaan huomattavasti ylitäten Venäjän keskimääräisen väestönkasvun.

Runsaassa sadassa vuodessa suomalais-ugrilaisten ja venäläisten suhdeluku putosi noin 1/20:sta noin 1/50:aan ja tämä tapahtui samaan aikaan kun koko väestönkasvu suuntautui kaupunkeihin ja maaseutuväestön määrän laski alle 40 miljoonaan.



Mikäli suomalais-ugrialaisten määrä olisi kasvanut Venäjän keskimääräisen väestönkasvun tempossa, tulisi sisä-Venäjän suomalais-ugrilaisiin kuulua tällä hetkellä yli viisi miljoonaa venäjäläistä. Suomalaisten lukumäärä, joka vuonna 1897 oli suurin piirtein sama kuin sisä-Venäjän suomalais-ugrialaisten, onkin kasvanut suurin piirtein tätä vauhtia ja yli kaksinkertaistunut.<sup>4</sup> Suomalais-ugrialaisten keskimääräistä suuremman lapsiluvun huomioon ottaen voi olettaa, että vuonna 1897 eläneiden sisä-Venäjän suomalais-ugrialaisten jälkeläisiä on tällä hetkellä elossa jopa yli kuusi miljoonaa, joista siis noin kaksi kolmannesta on kielellisesti ja etnisesti venäläistyneitä ja pääasiassa kaupunkiväestöä.

### 1.3. Slaavilaiset lähteet ja itämerensuomalaiset väestöt

Väestötilastot osoittavat, että suomalais-ugrialaisten kansojen assimiloinnissa venäläisiin ei ole kyse ainoastaan vähemmistökansoja rapauttavasta vaan myös enemmistökansaa muokkaavasta demografisesta prosessista, joka osaltaan auttaa ymmärtämään myös kielikontakteja.

Suomalais-ugrilaiset kansat eivät Venäjällä aina ole olleet nykyisenkaltaisia marginaalisia vähemmistöjä vaan keskeisiä Venäjän valtiota muodostavia etnisiä ryhmiä. Tämä käy havainnollisesti ilmi myös varhaisesta venäläisestä historiografiasta. Keskeisessä venäläisessä historiateoksessa *Nestorin kronikassa* (NK) Venäjän perustajakansoina slaavien (kriviitit, poljaanit ja sloveenit) rinnalla mainitaan mm. mordvalaiset, tšeremissit, jugralaiset, permiläiset sekä merjalaiset, muromalaiset, tšuudit, taipaleentakaiset tšuudit ym., jotka on yleisesti tulkittu suomalais-ugrilaisia kieliä puhuneiksi väestöiksi. Uusimman, Lindin (2006) tulkinnan mukaan Nestorin kronikka viittaa useista erillisistä slaavien ja suomalais-ugrialaisten muodostamista ryhmistä koostuneeseen monietniseen valtioon, jonka johtava eliitti on koostunut skandinaavisista merenkävijöistä, ns. *ledning*-järjestelmän edeltäjistä. Tämä selittäisi mm. ruotsalaisten ”soutumiesten” (*rōps*) nimen muuttumisen venäläisten etnonymiksi (*русь*).

Vähemmän tunnettua on, että Nestorin kronikan lisäksi myös eräät muut kronikat (mm. *Софийская первая летопись*, *Двинская летопись*, *Слово о полку Игореве* jne.) ja pyhimyselämäkerrat (*Житие Стефана Пермского*, *Житие Авраама Веркольского* jne.) mainitsevat lukuisia ilmeisesti uralilaisia kieliä puhuneita väestöjä nykyisin slaavilaistuneilla alueilla. Eräät näistä ovat samaistettavissa nykyisten suomalais-ugrialaisten kielten puhumayhteisöihin, mutta toiset eivät. Kysymys on kokonaisuudessaan venäläisiin assimiloituneista

<sup>4</sup> Kiinnostavaa on, että Suomen ruotsinkielisen väestömäärän kehitys muistuttaa Venäjän suomalais-ugrilaisia vähemmistöjä hyvin läheisesti – siitä huolimatta, että Suomessa on toteutettu yleisesti liberaaliksi miellettyä kielipolitiikkaa siinä missä Venäjän 1900-luvun historiaa leimasivat (myös) kansalliset vainot.

väestöistä. Tällaisia ovat esimerkiksi Novgorodin ja Pihkovan alueen *чудь* – tšuudit, Vienajoen vesistön *заволоцкая чудь* – taipaleentakaiset tšuudit; Vienan, Vučegdan ja Vaškan välisen alueen *тоймицы погане* – Toiman pakanat, Pinegan yläjuoksun *Сура поганая* – Suran pakanat, *белозерции* – Valkeajärven asukkaat, *пинежане* – Pinegan varren asukkaat, *важане* – Vagan varren asukkaat, *двиняне* – Vienansuun asukkaat jne. (ks. esim. Makarov 1993: 106). Nämä pohjoisvenäläiset etnokset, jotka ovat asuneet lähinnä Vienajoen vesistöalueella, näyttäisivät assimiloituneen venäläisiin 1400–1500-luvuilla.

Eräät kronikkalähteet viittaavat siihen, että esislaavilaisesta väestöstä käytettävät kansallisuudennimet muuttuivat ajan kuluessa. Esimerkiksi ns. Vienan-kronikka (*Двигская летопись*) mainitsee 1400-luvun lopulla hiljattain kastetuja taipaleentakaisia tšuudeja (*заволоцкие чудь*) aletun nimittää vienalaisiksi (*двиняне*, Bulatov 1997). Makarov (1993 *ibid.*) on esittänyt, että Valkeajärven *ves'*-kansan etnonyymien 1200–1300-lukujen kronikoissa korvaava nimitys *белозерции* ('valkeajärveläiset') viittaa "slaavilais-suomalais-ugrilaiseen seka- väestöön" eli slaavilaistuvaan *ves'*-heimoon. On melko ilmeistä, että muitakin paikannimestä johdettuja pohjoisvenäläisiä etnonyymejä voidaan tulkita samoin.

Etnonyymit ovat vain osa Pohjois-Venäjän keskiaikaa koskevissa lähteissä esiintyvistä suomalais-ugrilaisia väestöjä koskevista tiedoista. Niissä on myös mainintoja suomalais-ugrilaisien kansojen kapinoista novgorodilaisia vastaan sekä väestönsiirroksista alueilta toisille. Olisikin tärkeää, että joku vanhojen slaavilaisten lähteiden asiantuntija ottaisi kaikki varhaiskeskiaikaiset, kadonneita suomalais-ugrilaisia väestöjä mainitsevat slaavilaiset lähteet yhtenäisen filologisen ja historiallisen analyysin kohteeksi samaan tapaan kuin skandinaavisten ja anglosaksisten lähteiden suhteen on jo tehty (Koskela Vasaru 2008, Valtonen 2008).

## 2. Slaavilaislainojen tutkimushistoriaa ja ajankohtaisia kysymyksiä

### 2.1. Perusparadigma ja sen täydennykset

Kaikista säilyneistä uralilaisten kielten haaroista nimenomaan itämerensuomalaiset kielet (vähäisemmässä määrin myös saamelaiskielet) näyttävät ensimmäisinä joutuneen kontakteihin slaavilaisten kielten kanssa. Tässä artikkelissa käsitellenkin tästä eteenpäin yksinomaan itämerensuomalais-venäläisiä kontakteja.

Vaikka jo mm. August Ahlqvist (1871) ja Mihkel Weske (1890) julkaisivat laajahkoja katsauksia itämerensuomalais-slaavilaisiin kontakteihin, voidaan alan modernin tutkimuksen katsoa alkaneen J. J. Mikkolan teoksesta *Berührung*-

*gen zwischen den westfinnischen und slavischen Sprachen* (1894), jossa ensimmäistä kertaa esitettiin nykyäsitelyksiä muistuttava itämerensuomalaisten kielten slaavilaislainojen korpus, suuruudeltaan noin 400 sanaa. Kun tätä teosta pian seurasi Jalo Kaliman *Die ostseefinnischen Lehnwörter im Russischen* (1919), jossa analysoitiin puolentuhatta ennen kaikkea venäjän pohjoismurteisiin omaksuttua itämerensuomalaista lainasanaa, oli itämerensuomalais-slaavilaisen kieli-kontaktitutkimuksen perusta laskettu. Modernin tutkimusparadigman vakiinnuttivat Kaliman *Slaavilaisperäinen sanastomme* (1952, saks. 1956) ja Angela Plögerin *Die Russischen Lehnwörter der finnischen Schriftsprache* (1973). Molemmat teokset sisältävät runsaasti täydennyksiä Mikkolan tutkimukseen, ja myös rehabilitoivat useimmat Mikkolan myöhemmässä monografiassaan (1938) hylkäämät nuoruuden etymologiat. Myöhemmin on laajoja monografioita kirjoitettu myös viron kirjakielen (Blokland 2005) ja murteiden (Must 2000) venäläislainoista.

Mikkolan ja Kaliman monografiat vahvistivat käsityksen kantaslaavin tai esislaavin<sup>5</sup> pitkien ja lyhyiden vokaalien opposition katoa, polnoglasiensien l. täysääntymän päättymistä sekä nasaalivokaalien ja redusoituneiden vokaalien katoa edeltäneistä slaavin ja kantasuomen varhaisimmista kontakteista. Näin ollen kontakteja voidaan slaavilaiselta kannalta luonnehtia huomattavan varhaisiksi, erityisesti muiden uralilaisten kielten ja venäjän kontakteihin verrattuna.

Itämerensuomen kannalta kontaktit on kuitenkin tulkittava melko nuoriksi. Kuten tunnettua, uralilaisen kielikunnan länsiryhmiin itämerensuomeen ja saameen on saatu indoeurooppalaisista kielistä useita sellaisia lainakerrostumia, joilla ei ole vastineita idempänä puhuttavissa kielihaaroissa. Näistä merkittävimpiä ovat eri-ikäiset balttilaiset ja germaaniset kerrostumat. Jo monet tutkijapolvet ovat pitäneet slaavilaisia lainoja nuorempina kuin germaanisista ja balttilaisista, ja viitanneet tässä yhteydessä sekä äänteellisiin että semanttisiin kriteereihin. Eräänlainen *terminus ante quem* tässä on kristinuskoon liittyvä sanasto, joka ilmeisesti on saatu hajoamisvaiheessa olleeseen kantasuomeen mahdollisesti 800–900-luvuilla. Myös levikkikriteeri on tärkeä, itämerensuomessa ja saamessa kun ei nykytietämyksen valossa ilmeisesti ole balttilaisista ja germaanisista lainoista poiketen yhtään vanhaa yhteistä slaavilaislainaa.

Ilmeistä on, että slaavilaislainojen ehdoton valtaosa on omaksuttu vasta myöhäiskantasuomeen. Jo Mikkola tosin esitti muutamia epävarmoja slaavilaislainoja (esim. *hirsi* < \*žbrdb, Mikkola 1894: 114–115), jotka näyttivät omaksutun itämerensuomen edeltäjään ennen kantasuomalaisia äänne muutoksia (\*š > h ja \*ti > si). Toisia varhain tunnettuja arkaaiseen äänneasuun viitanneita slavismeja

<sup>5</sup> Perinteisen käsityksen mukaan kantaslaavissa ei ollut vokaalien pituusoppositiota. Kuten Koivulehto (2007: 179) oikein toteaa, on tällainen määrittely muun muassa itämerensuomen lainakerrostumien valossa anakronistinen ja on syytä määritellä kantaslaavi sellaiseksi kielimuodoksi, jossa vokaalioppositio vielä oli olemassa.

ovat *kimalainen* ja *ies* (näitä sanoja koskevasta vanhemmasta keskustelusta ks. Kiparsky 1956: 72–73). Vasta viime aikoina näyttää kuitenkin olleen vakiintumassa käsitys, että muutamia lähinnä slaavilaisiksi katsottavia lainoja on saatu suomeen jo ennen kantasuomalaisia äänne muutoksia (edellisten lisäksi esim. *hauki* [ks. esim. Viitso 1992: 186; Koivulehto 2007: 180–181] ja *vilja* [Koivulehto *ibid.* 187–188]). Eräitä hyvin varhaisia slaavilaislainoja on mahdollisesti omaksuttu myös saameen (*\*multi* ’tuhkasta ja poronrasvasta valmistettu saippua’, *čuoŕpmas* ’rakeet’, *muohhti-* ’sataa lunta’, *guoppar* ’sieni’; ks. tarkemmin Koivulehto *ibid.*, Kallio 2007b). Tällaisten lainojen määrä on tässä tutkimuksen vaiheessa kuitenkin vielä vähäinen (koko kerrostuman asettaa melko hatarin perustein kyseenalaiseksi Šilov [2005: 8–9], joka viittaa tässä myös A. E. Anikiniin). Edelleen on kyseenalaista, missä määrin termi *slaavilainen* on sopiva tällaisen lainasanakerrostuman karakterisoimiseksi, sillä kyseessä ovat lähinnä baltoslaavilaista rekonstruktiotasoa edustavat lainat, joiden slaavilaisuus määritellään leksikaalisen levikkikriteerin nojalla, mikäli ao. sanoja ei ole attestoitu dokumentoiduissa balttilaiskielissä.

Jos oletetaan, että tällaiset lainat on saatu nimenomaan niistä baltoslaavin murteista, jotka sittemmin kehittyivät nykyisiksi slaavilaiskieliksi, on lainasanakerrostuman omaksumisen historia hankalasti selitettävissä, sillä kantaslaavin ja kantasuomen oletettujen puhuma-alueiden välillä on ilmeisesti ollut leveä kielellisesti balttilainen vyöhyke (Kallio 2007b: 162; Liukkonen 1998: 13). Vaihtoehtoisesti voidaan olettaa, että ao. sanat ovat olleet olemassa myös niissä balttilaismurteissa, joista kantasuomi on omaksunut balttilaislainoja. Sittemmin sanat olisivat kadonneet historiallisesti attestoitujen balttilaiskielten edeltäjistä. Toisaalta – kuten Kallio (*ibid.* 163) on huomauttanut – ei muutaman lainan leviämiseen tarvita kuin yksittäisiä slaavin puhujia, jotka ovat olleet kosketuksissa uralilaisen kielikunnan läntisen haaran kieliyhteisöihin. Tulevalla tutkimuksella on näissä kysymyksissä paljon selvitettävää.

## 2.2. Novgorodin ruhtinaskunnan muodostuminen ja kantasuomen hajoaminen

Vaikka Pohjois-Venäjän slaavilaistumisen historia on tutkimuksessa yhä edelleen melko puutteellisesti kuvattu, on ilmeistä, että tällä monivaiheisella prosessilla on ollut merkityksensä myös kantasuomen hajoamisessa ja nykyisen itämerensuomalaisen kielialueen muotoutumisessa. Näin on ennen kaikkea siksi, että kantasuomea voi olettaa puhutun lähellä aluetta, jonne Novgorodin ruhtinaskunta muodostui (vrt. esim. Saarikivi & Grünthal 2005: 136; A. Aikio 2006: 45).

Laajemmassa kontekstissa itämerensuomen, germaanin, slaavin ja permiläisten kielten leviäminen pohjoiseen kuudennenkymmenennen leveyspiirin tuntumasta ovat melko samanaikaisia sydänkeskiajan etnisiä prosesseja. Ilmeisesti 800-luvun puolivälistä alkaen vallinnut suhteellisen lämmin kausi mahdollisti uusien maatalousmuotojen pohjoisrajan siirtymisen ja loi siten edellytyksiä myös kieliyhteisöjen rajojen liikkumiselle. Samaan aikaan heimojärjestelmän pohjalta syntyneet varhaiskeskiaikaiset kuningaskunnat kuten Tanska, Ruotsi, Novgorod ja Keski-Venäjän ruhtinaskunnat keräsivät taloudellista ylijäämää eliiteille ja loivat poliittisia edellytyksiä pohjoiseen suuntautuvalla asutus-toiminnalle. Maanviljelyn ja kyläasutuksen raja alkoi siirtyä pohjoista kohti. Nopeimmillaan tämä prosessi oli kaikkialla Pohjois-Euroopassa ehkä yllättävästi lämpimän kauden jo päätyttyä 1300–1500-luvuilla, ja 1700-luvun puoliväliin mennessä olivat maanviljely ja sitä harjoittavat väestöt levinneet kuta-kuinkin nykyisille pohjoisrajoilleen. Samalla syntyi uusia, pohjoisia elinkeinoja kuten kalastusta, metsästystä ja peronhoitoa harjoittavia ryhmiä, jotka etnisesti ja verkostojensa kannalta kuitenkin kuuluivat eteläisempiin valtaväestöihin.

Poliittisesti voimakkaiden skandinaavien ja slaavien dominoimien ruhtinaskuntien muodostuminen itämerensuomalaisten naapuruuteen johti pohjoisten alueiden intensiivisempään asuttamiseen, johon myös itämerensuomalaiset väestöt osallistuiivat. Suomenlahden ympäristössä kasvanut slaavilaistumis- ja 1000-luvulta alkaen myös kristillistymispaine yhdessä kasvavan väestön kanssa johti varmasti sekin migraatioihin, joissa osa itämerensuomalaisesta väestöstä etsiytyi kauemmaksi kasvavista kulttuurikeskuksista.<sup>6</sup> Tällainen yhdistelmä attraktio- ja segregatiopainetta sekä niihin liittyvää yhtäaikaista kielialueen laajenemista ja kielellistä assimilaatiota lienee yleensäkin tyypillinen yhdistelmä kieliyhteisöllisiä ja etnisiä prosesseja kaupunkikeskusten läheisyydessä. Esimerkiksi Juha Janhunen (2009) kuvaa tässä niteessä kehityksiä, jotka monin paikoin Euraasiassa ovat johtaneet kielialueiden vähittäiseen siirtymiseen.

Muodostumisvaiheessaan Pohjois-Venäjän kaupungit ovat olleet hyvin monikansallisia (ks. esim. Makarov 1993: 100–119). Skandinaavisen yläluokan ja slaavilaisen rahvaan lisäksi niissä on asunut runsaasti myös itämerensuomalaista väestöä. Novgorodin tuohikirjeet karjalaisine henkilönimineen todistavat kolonisaatiovirroista, joissa karjalaiset kytkeytyivät Novgorodin ruhtinaskunnan väljästi johtamaan ja organisoimaan pohjoisten alueiden asuttamiseen. Tähän kuvaan sopii myös venäjän murteiden itämerensuomalainen laina-

<sup>6</sup> Maantieteelliseltä dynamiikaltaan itämerensuomalaista kielialuetta läheisesti muistuttavan permiläisen kielialueen tapauksessa on ainakin ohutta historiallista evidenssiä slaavilaistumis- ja kristillistymispaineen vaikutuksesta pohjoisen alueen nopeaan asuttamiseen. Muun muassa Stefan Permiläisen pyhimyselämäkerran mukaan ne komit, jotka eivät halunneet ottaa vastaan kastetta, muuttivat pohjoisimmille alueille (Žitie). Vastaavia tšuideja koskevia perimätietoja on Pohjois-Venäjällä hyvin paljon (Pimenov 1965).

sanasto ja paikannimistö, joka ulottuu monille nykyisten itämerensuomalais-slaavilaisten kontaktipintojen ulkopuolisille alueille.

Kantasuomen hajoaminen ja laajan slaavilaislainojen kerrostuman omaksuminen itämerensuomeen näyttävät olleen ajallisesti melko läheisiä tapahtumia. On huomattava, että itämerensuomalainen kielialue laajeni moneen suuntaan – ei ainoastaan sinne, missä itämerensuomalaisia kieliä tällä hetkellä puhutaan. Kieliperheen itäinen ekspansioalue on kuitenkin sitemmin kokonaan slaavilaistunut ja olemassa olevat itämerensuomalaiset kielet edustavat pääosin kieliryhmän historiallisesti läntisiä haaroja.<sup>7</sup>

Jälkiä itämerensuomalais-slaavilaisista kielikontakteista on venäjän murteissa hyvin laajalla alueella, joka pääpiirteissään vastaa Novgorodiin historiallisesti kuulunutta aluetta ja ulottuu nykyisten itämerensuomalaisten kielten naapuruudesta Komin tasavaltaan sekä Valkeajärven ja Kubenajärven väliselle vyöhykkeelle asti. Tästä laajasta itämerensuomalaisesta vaikutuksesta olivat jossain määrin tietoisia jo mm. A. J. Sjögren (1832), M. A. Castrén (1844) ja muut varhaiset tutkijat, mutta vasta 1900-luvun jälkipuoliskon tutkimus on vahvistanut käsityksen itämerensuomalaisen substraatin laajuudesta pohjoisvenäläisissä murteissa ja aivan erityisesti pohjoisvenäläisissä paikannimissä (vrt. Matveev 2001–2007, Saarikivi 2006). Tulevaisuudessa merkittävää lisäevidenssiä kadonneiden itämerensuomalaisten kielimuotojen luonteesta alueella on odotettavissa myös permiläisten kielten itämerensuomalaisten lainojen tutkimuksen myötä (ks. Saarikivi 2006: 34–38<sup>8</sup>).

### 2.3. Kielellinen substraatti ja sen tutkimussuunnat

Itämerensuomalais-slaavilaisten kontaktien tutkimus on 1900-luvun toisella puoliskolla merkittävästi monipuolistunut ja koskee nykyisin kielen sanaston ohella yhä enemmän myös kielen rakenteita. Yleiskielitieteellisesti merkittäviä tutkimuksia on ilmestynyt mm. mahdollisista itämerensuomalaisista tai niitä muistuttavista substraattivaikutuksista venäjän kielessä (esim. Veenker 1967, Tkačenko 1985) ja itämerensuomalais-venäläisen kaksikielisyyden myötä syntyneistä kielen kontaktivarieteeteista (vrt. Sarhimaa 1999).

<sup>7</sup> Eteläviros, joka historiallisesti näyttää muodostavan oman, kantasuomesta varhain erkaantuneen haaransa, saattaa olla ainoa jääne laajemmalla alueella puhutuista arkaaisista itämerensuomalaisista kielimuodoista (ks. Saarikivi 2007a: 92; vrt. myös Kallio 2007a). Pohjois-Venäjän eri alueiden substraattinimistön tutkimus tuonee tulevaisuudessa selvyttä eteläviron ja kadonneiden itäisten itämerensuomalaisten kielimuotojen suhteeseen.

<sup>8</sup> Toivon voivani palata tähän teemaan toisaalla julkaistavassa artikkelissa, joka pohjautuu Rakveressa symposiumissa *Prehistoric linguistic map of Northern Europe* 17.10.2008 pitämäni esitelmään.

Tässä tutkimuksessa keskitytään sanastossa ilmeneviin kontaktivaikutuksiin. Sanastontutkimus on yhä edelleen muunkin kontaktilingvistiikan suhteen keskeinen tutkimusala mm. sikäli, että sanaston alkuperä voidaan useimmiten melko kiistattomasti osoittaa huolellisen tutkimuksen avulla. Lisäksi sanastoa näyttää siirtyvän kielestä toiseen ainakin jonkin verran useimmissa kielikontaktitilanteissa. Siksi se on avainasemassa myös hypotetisoitaessa muita kielijärjestelmän osia koskevia substraattivaikutuksia (vrt. Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 239–251; Saarikivi 2000). Käsitys, jonka mukaan kielikontaktit voitaisiin menestyksellisesti jakaa sanastoon vaikuttaviin ja kielen rakenteeseen vaikuttaviin (vrt. esim. Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Wiik 2002), onkin todennäköisesti osoitettu virheelliseksi, ainakin radikaaleimmissa muodoissaan (vrt. esim. Saarikivi 2000 ja A. Aikio 2004). Kielen morfosyntaksin muutokset ovat nimittäin sidoksissa mm. kontaktoivien kielten typologisiin piirteisiin ja kielten yleisiin kehitystendensseihin, mutta myös hankalasti rekonstruoitavissa oleviin kielisosiologisiin ilmiöihin. Tällaisista syistä ei useinkaan ole mahdollista sitovasti osoittaa, että morfosyntaktisen ilmaisurakenteen muutoksen on aiheuttanut juuri kielikontakti.

Sanastontutkimus säilyy siten nykyisessäkin historiallisen kielitieteen kehitysvaiheessa sinä historiallisen kielitieteen haarana, joka on keskeisin kielikontaktien ajoittamisen ja paikallistamisen kannalta ja jolla sikäli on eniten annettavaa esihistorian tutkimukselle (näin myös esim. Fox 1995).<sup>9</sup> Eri alueiden kielenvaihdon mekanismien jäljittäminen ja rekonstruointi, mikä sekin on mahdollista nimenomaan historiallisen leksikologian keinoin, erityisesti paikannimistön ja murre sanojen tutkimuksen avulla, on keskeistä selvittäessä, millä alueilla venäjän murteiden fonetiikkaan/fonologiaan ja morfosyntaksiin on voinut syntyä suomalais-ugrilaisia substraattipiirteitä. Sanaston etymologinen tutkimus on siten katsottavissa sellaiseksi perustutkimukseksi, joka pohjustaa myös kielijärjestelmän substraattipiirteiden tutkimusta ja vasta oikeastaan luosille kunnolliset edellytykset.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Tätä ei tietenkään tule ymmärtää niin, että kirjoittaja katsoisi muun kielikontaktien tutkimuksen olevan vähämerkityksellistä. Päinvastoin sillä on hyvin suuri merkitys kielen muutoksen suunnan ja dynamiikan, sen sosiaalisten edellytysten ja kontaktikielten luonteen ymmärtämiselle. Tämä kaikki on sanastontutkimuksessakin otettava huomioon.

<sup>10</sup> Tämän artikkelin valmistelun loppuvaiheessa oli kirjoittajalla mahdollisuus kuulla Gerson Klumppin venäjän objektiinmerkinnän taustalla olevia mahdollisia suomalais-ugrilaisia substraattivaikutuksia koskeva esitelmä Groningenissa 6.6.2009. Esitelmöitsijän johtopäätös oli, että mistään suorasta substraattivaikutuksesta, so. suomalais-ugrialaisten kielten rakenteiden kopioitumisesta venäjään, ei voi olla puhuttakaan, vaan molemmilla tahoilla melko monimutkainen objektiinmerkintä on kehittynyt itsenäisesti. Tämä vastaa myös kirjoittajan käsitystä (Saarikivi 2000), jonka mukaan morfosyntaktinen muutos on harvoin osoitettavissa varmasti substraattiperäiseksi silloinkaan, kun sen taustalta löytyy kontaktitilanne, jossa monikielisyys on ”sekoittanut” kielijärjestelmän ”tasapainotilaa”. Poikkeuksena ovat sellaiset morfosyntaktiset muutokset, joihin sisältyy funktionaalisten morfeemien lainaamista – ja tällöinkin kielikontaktin tuloksena syntyvät uudet rakenteet ovat usein monin tavoin erilaisia kuin lähdekielen rakenteet (ks. esim. Sarhimaa 1999).

### 3. Uusi tutkimustilanne

Tällä hetkellä itämerensuomalais-slaavilaisen sanastokontaktitutkimuksen tilanetta luonnehtii ainakin kolme seikkaa, jotka kaikki antavat aihetta arvioida uudelleen edellä lyhyesti kuvattua, jo yli puoli vuosisataa sitten vakiintunutta tutkimuksen perusparadigmaa. Nämä ovat venäjän (vähäisemmässä määrin myös itämerensuomalaisten kielten) murre- ja nimistömateriaalien huomattava karttuminen, kontaktilingvistiikan teoreettinen edistyminen sekä kokonaan uuden kontaktikielimuodon paljastuminen Novgorodin tuohikirjeistä. Käsittelen seuraavassa kutakin näistä kolmesta kohdasta hieman yksityiskohtaisemmin.

#### 3.1. Uudet dialektologiset materiaalit

Ensimmäinen näkökulma liittyy sekä venäläisen että itämerensuomalaisen dialektologian ja paikannimitutkimuksen tätä nykyä tyystin toisenlaiseen aineistopohjaan kuin puoli vuosisataa sitten.

Kuvamme murreosanaston koko kirjosta on merkittävästi tarkentunut sekä itämerensuomalaisten kielten että ennen kaikkea venäjän osalta. Muutamien melko satunnaiseen materiaaliin pohjautuvien tai yksittäisten kirjoittajien laatimien murreosanakirjojen asemesta on tutkijoilla nyt käytettävissä laajoja ja systemaattisesti kerättyjä murre- ja paikannimiaineistoja eri puolilta Venäjää.

Murreosanaston ja paikannimistön materiaalien nopea karttuminen 1900-luvun viimeisinä vuosikymmeninä onkin huomattavasti intensivistänyt suomalais-ugrilaisista kielistä peräisin olevan paikannimistön ja murreosanaston tutkimusta. Muun muassa Irma Mullosen (esim. 2002), Sergej Myznikovin (2003, 2004) ja A. K. Matveevin tutkimukset ovat osoittaneet, että itämerensuomalainen kielialue on ollut huomattavasti nykyistä laajempi idässä vielä keskiajalla, kattaen suurimman osan Vienajoen vesistöä. Jekaterinburgissa Uralin yliopistossa on myös parhaillaan valmisteilla venäjän murteiden suomalais-ugrilaisien lainasanojen sanakirja (Matveev ym.).

Murremateriaalit ovat karttuneet itämerensuomalaisellakin taholla. Ne ovat mahdollistaneet mm. sellaisen työn kirjoittamisen kuin Mari Mustin *Vene laensõnad eesti murretes* (2000), joka sisältää tuhansia Mikkolalta ja Kalimalta puuttuvia enimmäkseen kapealevikkisiä lainoja. Ne osoittavat, että jos tutkimus ulotetaan murretasolle, venäjän leksikaalinen vaikutus itämerensuomeen on itse asiassa ollut hyvin voimakasta muissakin kielissä kuin karjalassa ja vepsässä (suomen osalta vrt. esim. Ruoppila 1986). Itämerensuomalaisesta kielialueesta voisi ilmeisesti kirjoittaa useitakin Mustin teoksen mallin mukaisia laajoja slaavilaislainoja esitteleviä tutkimuksia (vrt. esim. Plöger 1977).



### 3.2. Substraattitutkimuksen uudet metodit

Toinen näkökulma liittyy kielikontaktien ja kielenmuutoksen tutkimuksen sekä etymologian metodien kehittymiseen.

Useat tapaustutkimukset osoittavat, että kielellisinä substraatti-ilmiöinä leviää toisentyyppinen sanasto kuin ”klassisina” lainasanoina. *Wörter und Sachen* -periaatteen mukaisten kulttuurilainojen asemesta kulttuurisesti alisteisessa asemassa olevan väestön kielestä omaksutaan kielenvaihtotilanteessa mm. ns. affekti- tai ekspressiivisanastoa (molempien termien täsmällinen sisältö on jossain määrin kiistanalainen) sekä paikallisiin ilmiöihin kuten maantieteellisiin muodostumiin, kasvillisuuteen ja eläimistöön liittyvää sanastoa (vrt. esim. Saarikivi 2000, 2004; A. Aikio 2004, 2009). Juuri tällaisista sanastotyypeistä näyttää olevan edelleen mahdollista osoittaa uusia itämerensuomalaisia laina-etymologioita venäläisille murre sanoille.

Edelleen, substraattisanastossa näyttää esiintyvän ekspressiivis- ja analogis-peräisiä muutoksia, jotka saattavat hämärtää lainan odotuksenmukaista äänneasua. Nämä piirteet eivät ole vieraita myöskään itämerensuomen slaavilaisperäisille lainasanoille, jotka monin paikoin edustavat uusimpia, ekspressiivistyneitä sanastokerroksia, vaikka eivät olekaan varsinaista substraattia.<sup>11</sup> Esimerkiksi Vesa Jarva on väitöskirjassaan (2003) mm. Terho Itkosen (1977) aikaisempaan tutkimukseen tukeutuen ansiokkaasti kuvannut eräitä alkuaan venäläisperäisiä ekspressiivistyneitä sanueita ja niiden variaatiota, joka analogian ohjaamana tuottaa äännelaillisesta kehityksestä poikkeavia sanastosuhteita.

Toinen seikka, joka vaikuttaa substraattiperäisen sanaston äänneasun epäodotuksenmukaisuuteen, on se, että substraattilainojen lähdekieli tai -murre on saattanut äänteellisesti poiketa nykyisistä kielimuodoista. Usein tällaisissa tapauksissa voi silti löytää sanastossa ja paikannimistöissä systemaattisesti toistuvia äänneilmiöitä, jotka mahdollistavat substraattikielen tunnistamisen ja kuvaamisen (vrt. A. Aikio 2004: 21–24; Saarikivi 2007a: 87–93).

Alueittain on mahdollista sekin, että lainautumisen yhteydessä toteutuneet äännesubstituutiot ovat eronneet toisiin murteisiin pohjautuvien, yleensä laajalevikkisempien appellatiivilainojen substituutioista. Erityisesti sananloppuisessa asemassa on substraattiperäisessä – kuten muussakin lainasanastossa – havaittavissa runsaasti ei-äännelaillisia, lähinnä analogisiksi kuvattavissa olevia muutoksia. Myös kansanetymologia eli substraattiperäisten lekseemien lankeaminen yhteen kielessä jo vanhastaan tunnetun sanaston kanssa voidaan katsoa analogian alalajiksi, vaikka sitä ei ole perinteisesti sellaisena pidetty. Kyseessä on

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<sup>11</sup> Eräs syy tähän lienee, että venäläislainat on useissa tapauksissa omaksuttu kielessä jo olleiden vastaavien kulttuurikäsitteiden rinnalle.

nimittäin uuden lainasanan samaistaminen vanhastaan tunnettuun lekseemiin, eli sanan adaptaatio lähdekielestä kohdekieleen leksikaalisen analogian avulla. Kansanetymologia fonologisen ja morfologisen adaptaation keinona näyttää Pohjois- ja Keski-Venäjällä olleen huomattavan yleistä ainakin paikannimistöä lainatessa, mutta ilmiö on toistaiseksi puutteellisesti kuvattu.

Ilmeisesti keskeisin osa kielellistä substraattia onkin juuri paikannimistö. Tämä johtuu siitä, että paikannimet ovat yksiviitteisiä kielellisiä merkkejä, joita ei välttämättä ole tarvetta kääntää, koska niiden päämerkitys on konkreettinen paikka. Toisaalta juuri nimien yksiviitteisyyteen liittyvä leksikaalisen semantiikan puuttuminen on ollut aikaisempien sukupolvien kriittisille tutkijoille syy suhtautua skeptisesti paikannimien etymologioinnin mahdollisuuksiin (vrt. esim. Ravila 1937, 1940). Vaikka tällainen skeptisyys on ollut aikoinaan perusteltua, on nykyisellä historiallisella kielitieteellä metodeja ja aineistoja, jotka mahdollistavat paikannimistön luotettavan etymologioimisen ja sen käytön etnisen esihistorian lähteenä. Yhtäältä yleinen onomastinen teoria on selkeyttänyt kuvaa paikannimistön muodostamisen periaatteista ja tätä tietoa voidaan menestyksellisesti käyttää nimistön etymologioinnissa; toisaalta nimistön kenttäkeruu on tuonut tutkijoiden ulottuville laajat aineistot mikrotopyymejä, jotka vasta mahdollistavat luotettavat asutushistorialliset johtopäätökset.

Paikannimien muodostamista koskevan typologisen tiedon avulla on paikannimistöä mahdollista etymologioda suhteellisen luotettavasti, kuitenkin sillä edellytyksellä, että tutkijalla on käytössään suurehkoja aineistoja. Ne ovat tarpeen, sillä paikannimien yksiviitteisyydestä johtuen osa nimietyologioista on joka tapauksessa luotettavampia kuin toiset, ja luotettavien etymologioiden määrä kasvaa mitä enemmän toistuvia nimityyppisiä ja niihin liittyviä maantieteellisiä piirteitä voidaan attestoida (yksityiskohtaisempaa kuvausta nimietyologioiden semanttisesta luonteesta ks. Saarikivi 2007a: 57–64).

Paikannimistön etymologioinnin on siis nojattava suuriin aineistoihin, jotta yleisimmät nimityypit ja äännesuhteet toistuisivat tutkimusmateriaalissa riittävän monta kertaa. Tällaiset aineistot ovatkin Venäjällä nopeasti karttuneet. Jekaterinburgissa, Uralin yliopiston venäjän kielen laitoksen paikannimitutkimuksen osastossa on tietoja yli 100 000:sta suomalais-ugrilaisperäiseksi oletetusta paikannimestä nyttemmin venäläistyneiltä alueilta, lähinnä Pohjois- mutta myös Keski-Venäjältä ja Uralin alueelta. Paikallisia, enemmän tai vähemmän kattavia kokoelmia elävien suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten nimistöstä on olemassa Petroskoissa, Joškar-Olassa, Iževskissä, Saranskissa ja Syktyvkarissa. Nämä uralilaisen etnohistorian kannalta tärkeät aineistot ansaitsisivat enemmän suomalaistenkin tutkijoiden huomiota.

Paikannimien muodostamista koskevan typologisen tiedon ja nimistö-kokoelmien karttumisen ovat huomattavasti parantaneet onomastiikan edelly-

tyksiä palvella samantyyppisenä ”täsmätieteenä” kuin muutkin historiallisvertailevan kielitieteen haarat. Tämä on erityisen merkityksellistä sikäli, että paikannimien etymologisen analyysin merkitys historialliselle kielitieteelle ei rajoitu pelkästään nimien alkuperän selvittämiseen. Toisin kuin appellatiivisanaston etymologinen tutkimus, paikannimistön etymologinen tutkimus tuottaa luotettavaa tietoa myös kielialueiden historiallisista levinneisyyksistä ja rajoista. Olisikin toivottavaa, että myös muutama suomalainen jatko-opiskelija osallistuisi Pohjois- ja Keski-Venäjän eri alueiden muinaisten kielisuhteiden selvittelyyn esim. venäjäläisten arkistomateriaalien ja mahdollisuuksien mukaan myös itse keräämiensä tutkimusaineistojen pohjalta.

### 3.3. Novgorodin tuohikirjeet ja kontaktikielten aikaisempaa parempi tuntemus

Ymmärrämme nykyisin, että monet niistä slaavilaisista kielimuodoista, jotka ovat vaikuttaneet suomalais-ugrilaisiin kieliin, ovat merkittävästi eronneet nykyvenäjältä. Näin ollen myös äännesuhteet, joiden avulla itämerensuomalais-slaavilaiset kielikontaktit voidaan todentaa, ovat osin erilaiset kuin ne, joiden pohjalla operoivat esim. Jalo Kalima ja J. J. Mikkola klassisissa uralilais-slaavilaisia kontakteja käsitelleissä monografioissaan.

Keskeisin uusi aineistolähde tässä suhteessa ovat Novgorodin tuohikirjeet, jotka ovat tulleet päivänvaloon vasta 1960-luvulta alkaen (kriittinen editio ja filologinen analyysi vuoteen 2004 mennessä löydettyistä tuohista on Zaliznjak 2004). Vaikka slavistiikassa tuohikirjeitä on pidetty keskeisenä uutena aineistona, eivät fennougristit ole analysoineet juuri muita kuin selvästi itämerensuomalaisina pidettäviä irrallisia tekstinpätkiä, erityisesti kokonaan itämerensuomalaisista tuohikirjeistä 292 (vrt. Laakso 1999) sekä muutamia yksittäisiä sanoja (esim. Laakso [2005] sanaa *вытол* ja Helimski [1986] sanaa *лендома* ym.).

On kuitenkin syytä kiinnittää huomiota siihen, että tuohikirjeissä on itse asiassa hyvin paljon muutakin materiaalia, joka avaa uusia näköaloja itämerensuomalais-slaavilaisten kontaktien tutkimukselle. Ne sisältävät mm. huomattavan määrän itämerensuomalaisia henkilönimiä ja paikannimiä. Esimerkiksi noin 4–5 % kaikista tuohissa esiintyvistä nimistä saattaa olla tulkittavissa itämerensuomalaisiksi (vrt. Saarikivi 2007b: 241). Kun on ilmeistä, että Novgorodin yhteydessä asuneet itämerensuomalaiset ovat lisäksi käyttäneet myös kristillisiä henkilönimiä, jotka tuskin eroavat slaavien ja germaanien käyttämistä ainakaan kirjallisten lähteiden valossa, voidaan itämerensuomalainen väestö Novgorodissa arvioida kooltaan sängen huomattavaksi.

Toisekseen tuohet viittaavat siihen, että ainakaan osassa Novgorodin slaavia ei ollut tapahtunut eräitä itäslaavilaisia äänteenmuutoksia, muun muassa ns. toista palatalisaatiota ( $*k > c$ , vrt. Zaliznjak 2004: 41–45) eikä (täydellistä) polnoglasieta (ibid. 49–50). On ilmeistä, että tällaisilla havainnoilla on suuri merkitys slaavilaisten lainojen ikäämisen ja etsimisen kannalta. Ne oikeuttavat myös arvioimaan osin uudelleen aikaisempien tutkijoiden esittämää slaavilaislainojen korpusta.

#### 4. Itämerensuomalaisia lainoja venäläismurteissa – uusia etymologioita

Seuraavissa kahdessa luvussa otan esimerkinomaisesti esille eräitä aikaisemmassa tutkimuksessa käsittelemättömiä tai puutteellisesti käsiteltyjä itämerensuomalaisia lainoja venäläismurteissa ja venäläis- tai slaavilaislainoja itämerensuomessa. Toivon näiden etymologisten esimerkkien osoittavan, että slaavilais-itämerensuomalaisten kontaktien tutkimus voi edelleen paljastaa uutta ja yllättävää sekä venäjän että itämerensuomen sanaston alkuperästä.

Ensimmäiseksi otan esille neljä aikaisemmin esittämätöntä venäläismurteiden itämerensuomalaista lainaetymologiaa, joissa ilmenee tyypillisiä substraattisanoille ominaisia piirteitä.

##### 4.1. *вяха* 'suuri määrä jotakin'; 'jonkin verran jotakin'; 'suurikokoinen henkilö t. esine' < ksu *\*vähä* (> su *vähä* 'pieni')

Sana *вяха* tunnetaan venäläismurteissa Dal'in (I: 338) ja Vasmerin (I: 377) mukaan Vologdan alueella, Matveevin ym. (2004: 100–102) mukaan Arkangelin alueen Vilegodskin ja Primorskin piireistä. Se on pyritty etymologisissa sanakirjoissa yhdistämään toisaalta epäillen verbiin *ввязать* 'kutoa, sitoa' (Vasmer ibidem), toisaalta itämerensuomen *\*väki* 'voima' -sanueeseen (← ural *\*wäke*, Matveev ym. ibidem).

Ilmeiseltä näyttää, että molemmat näistä selityksistä ovat hylättäviä, edellinen sekä äännteellisen että semanttisen epämääräisyyden, jälkimmäinen äännteellisten vaikeuksien (ims  $*-k-$  [→ ka, ly, ve  $-g-$ ] > ven  $x$ ) tähden. Matveev ym. (ibid.) pyrkivät selittämään epäodotuksenmukaista keskikonsonantiston äännekehitystä viittaamalla mahdollisuuteen, että sana olisi sekaantunut ims *\*vähä*-sanueeseen ja jopa esittämällä, että merkitys 'jonkin verran; hieman' olisi syntynyt tästä sanueesta sitten sekaantuakseen toiseen, ims *\*väki*-sanueesta lainautuneeseen lekseemiin.

Jälkimmäinen oletus vaikuttaa kuitenkin tässä yhteydessä turhalta. Koko sana on selitettävissä ims *\*vähä*-sanueesta lainatuksi, aivan samoin kuin Jaroslavlin ja Kostroman alueen murteissa tunnettu vastaava murrekana *вяха* 'пустяк, что-либо незначительное', 'jokin vähämerkityksinen asia; pikkujuttu' (– tämän sanan, jota aiemmin on pitänyt merjalaisena Tkačenko [1985: 71], selittää itämerensuomalaiseksi Myznikov [2004: 298]).

Äänteellisesti sanan *вяха* selittäminen lainaksi ims *vähä*-sanueesta perustuu odotuksenmukaisesti äännesubstituutioihin. Itämerensuomen *h*:n substituutina on venäjän *x* etuvokaalisessa ympäristössä tavallisin (näin Matveev 2001, Saarikivi 2006; ims *h*:n substituutioista ks. myös Kiparsky 1958). Pienen ja suuren määrän välinen semanttinen vastakohtaisuus näyttää sekin olevan silloitettavissa useissa eri kielissä tapahtuneiden semanttisten kehitysten valossa. Aivan erityisesti 'pientä' ja 'melko paljon' merkitsevät sanat näyttävät olevan monissa eri kielissä synkronisestikin yhteydessä toisiinsa, esim. seuraavissa ilmauksissa: englannin *few* 'vähän; harva' → *a few* 'jonkin verran' → *quite a few* 'melko paljon', unkarin *kicsi* 'pieni' → *egy kicsit* 'hieman; jonkin verran', niittymarin *izi* 'pieni' → *iziš* 'jonkin verran'; pohjoissaamen *veháš* 'jonkin verran' < su *vähäisen* (← *vähä*, alun perin 'pieni'), jne. Nykyhelsinkiläisessä puhekielessä (ja ilmeisesti moniaalla muuallakin Suomessa) voidaan samoin käyttää sanaa *vähän* emfaattisessa merkityksessä tarkoittamassa runsasta määrää, jolloin sanalla on yleensä lausepaino (esim. *aika vähän sä otit sitä kastiketta* 'otit melko paljon kastiketta'). Vastaava suhde ilmenee myös itämerensuomen pohjoisryhmän sanojen *melkeä*, *melkein* ja *melko* slaavilaisessa lainaetymologiassa, josta jäljempänä (luku 5). Ilmeistä onkin, että määrää merkitsevillä sanoilla on sellaisia ("affektiivisia"?<sup>12</sup>) semanttisia piirteitä, mikä tekee ne alttiiksi lainautumiselle (vrt. edelleen myös ven *yūma* ja su *paljo* jäljempänä).<sup>13</sup>

Itämerensuomen *vähä* on yhtäältä selitetty germaaniseksi lainaksi, mutta toisaalta sillä on formaalisti sopiva vastine myös mordvalaiskielissä (SSA III: 478). Ottamatta kantaa siihen, tuleeko mordvan sanakin selittää germaanisperäiseksi tai kokonaan erottaa itämerensuomen *vähä*-sanueesta, voi todeta, että sanan germaaninen lainaetymologia (< *\*wāha* 'hieno, pienirakeinen' – alun perin Jorma Koivulehdon [1976] esittämä) – täyttää kaikki normaalit laatukriteerit.

<sup>12</sup> Vetoaminen "affektiiviseen" sanasemantiikkaan on etymologisen tutkimuksen traditio, jota voisi luonnehtia lähinnä perinteiseksi retoriikaksi. "Affektiivisiksi" kuvatut sanat sisältävät todellisuudessa monenlaisia merkitysvaihteita, joita on vaikea niputtaa yhteen (affektiivisten sanojen ominaisuuksista sanastohistorian valossa ks. Kulonen 2006). Kun tässä artikkelissa ei kuitenkaan ole tarkoitus laajemmin kuvata sanasemantiikan ilmiöitä, en pyri purkamaan tätä melko vakiintunutta, mutta merkitykseltään epä-määräistä käsitettä.

<sup>13</sup> Erityisesti 'suurta määrää' kuvaavia ilmauksia pyrkii ilmeisesti jatkuvasti kehittymään lisää. Tämän osoittamiseksi riittänee viittaus sellaisiin lähes loppumattomiin paljouden synonyymeihin kuin *tolkuttomasti*, *mielettömästi*, *runsaasti*, *yllin kyllin*, *yltäkylläisesti*, *mahdottomasti*, (Etelä-Suomen, erityisesti pääkaupunkiseudun puhekielessä:) *simona*, *pipona*, *homona*, *törkeesti*, *intona*, *sikana*, *roheesti* ym.

#### 4.2. *уйма* 'suuri määrä' < ksu \*(h)uima- 'hurja; suunnaton; valtava; pyörryttää'

Venäjän *уйма* ei ole kovin yleinen sana, mutta esiintyy silti useimmissa tärkeimmissä sanakirjoissa (esim. Ožegov s.v. *уйма* 'множество, большое количество', 'paljous, suuri määrä', jossa seuraavia esimerkkejä sanan käytöstä: *уйма дел* 'paljon asioita', *уйма вещей* 'paljon tavaroita', [pohjoism.] *народу уйма* 'paljon kansaa'). Kansanmurteissa sana tunnetaan mm. Aunuksen (Kulikovskij 124) ja Kostroman murteissa (jälkimmäisestä ks. Dal' IV: 480 – tässä virheellisesti verbin *уйма́ть* yhteydessä). Kun useimmat venäjän murre-sanakirjat eivät ole vielä toimitustyön nykyvaiheessa edenneet *y*-alkuisiin sanoihin, on mahdotonta arvella, kuinka laaja sanan levikki pohjoisvenäläisissä murteissa on. Tästä sanasta on kuitenkin ilmeisesti kokonaan erotettava samanasuinen *уйма* 'voimaton', joka kuuluu murteellisen verbin *уйма́ть* (kirjakielen *унима́ть*) 'ottaa pois' yhteyteen.

Mahdollinen yhteys verbiin *уйма́ть* on ainoa selitys, jonka Vasmerin (IV: 155) ja Černyhin (II: 287) etymologiset sanakirjat sanalle *уйма* tarjoavat. Sanan alkuperäinen merkitys olisi siis tässä tapauksessa 'erotettu; pois otettu' (Vasmer ibidem: 'столько, сколько можно взять', 'niin paljon kuin voi ottaa'). *Уйма* ei kuitenkaan tarkoita määräistä, erotettua lukumäärää, vaan nimenomaan suurta epämääräistä määrää. Tällaisena "ekspressiivisanana" se kuuluukin potentiaaliiseen suomalais-ugrilaiseen substraattisanastoon.

Sanan lainaoriginaaliksi edellä rekonstruoitu \*(h)uima voidaan rekonstruoida kantasuomeen. Sillä on kahtalainen merkitys: toisaalta 'huumaus; päihtymys', toisaalta 'suunnaton; valtava'. Jälkimmäinen merkitys rajoittuu itämerensuomen pohjoisryhmään.<sup>14</sup> *h*-alkuisen ja vokaali-alkuisen (h)uima-aineuksen kahtalaisuus voidaan havaita myös henkilönimissä. Esimerkiksi Suomessa esiintyvät sukunimet *Huima*, *Huimi*, *Uimi*, *Uimonen* jne., ja ilmeisesti samaa henkilönimiaineesta edustavat jo Novgorodin tuohikirjeissä attestoidut itämerensuomalaiset henkilönimet (*Гыму́й*, *Гыму́ев*; vrt. Saarikivi 2007b: 217–218). Samasta sanueesta muodostettu henkilönimi esiintyy myös pohjoisvenäläisessä asutusnimessä *Уйма* (vrt. Saarikivi 2006: 168). Näiden henkilönimien alkuperäisenä motivaationa lienee joko 'sekava; hullu; hupsu' tai 'hurja; raisu' (ehkä riippuen siitä, ovatko kyseessä olleet liikanimet vai lapsille annetut kutsumanimet).

Asutusnimen *Уйма* ja tuohikirjeissä esiintyvien henkilönimiasujen *Гыму́й*, *Гыму́ев* vertailu osoittaa, että sanavartalon \*(h)- on substituoitu slaavin eri murteissa eri tavoin. Kun itämerensuomen *h*-äänteen substituutio venäjään

<sup>14</sup> Tällaisissa ekspressiivisanoissa esiintyy sananalkuisen *h*:n katoa yleisimmin viron murteissa, liivissä ja vatjassa, mutta myös suomen murteissa (*uimistella* ym.).

lainatuissa sanoissa on hyvin moninainen (ks. Kiparsky 1958), on periaatteessa olemassa mahdollisuus, että myös venäläissanan lainaoriginaalissa olisi esiintynyt sananalkuinen *\*h-*. Kun Arkangelin alueen substraattinimisessä kuitenkin joka tapauksessa on eräitä äännepiirteitä, jotka viittaavat pikemminkin itämerensuomen etelä- kuin pohjoisryhmään (vrt. ensi tavun etuvokaalin substituutio alempana käsiteltävässä lainassa *ворга*), voi varovasti olettaa, että *h:n* edustumisessa  $\emptyset$ :na on tässä tapauksessa kyse pikemminkin substraattikielen ominaisuudesta kuin venäläisestä substituutiosta. Myös Kiparskyn (ibid. 166–168) esittämien *h:n* substituutioesimerkkien valossa näyttäisi todennäköisemmältä, että *h >  $\emptyset$* -substituutio esiintyisi etuvokaalinetisessä kontekstissa. Tässä tapauksessa appellatiivi *yüma* olisi siis omaksuttu samantyyppisistä substraattikielistä kuin henkilönimeen pohjautuva asutusnimi *Yüma*. Tulevan tutkimuksen tehtäväksi jää yksityiskohtien selvittäminen.

Alun alkujaan itämerensuomen *\*(h)uima* lienee germaanista alkuperää (< kgerm *\*swima* 'keinua; huojuu' [Hofstra 1985: 234] tai *\*hwima* 'Unsinn; Torheit' [R. Karstenin etymologia], LÄGLOS I: 114–115).

#### 4.3. *ворга* 'metsästäjän ansapolku' (> ko *верга* 'ansapolku') < ims *\*virka* (yhdyssanoissa myös *virko-*) 'ansapolku'

'Metsästäjän ansapolku' merkitsevä *ворга* on yritetty selittää niin itämerensuomalaiseksi lainaksi kantasuomeen palautuvasta *\*orko*-sanueesta (> su *orko* 'notkelma; laakso') kuin komilaiseksi lainaksi samamerkityksestä sanasta *verga* (ks. yllä, vrt. Matveev ym. 2004: 94–96). Komin sanalla ei kuitenkaan ole mitään ilmeistä etymologiaa. Kaksitavuisena ja vokaaliloppuisena se vaikuttaa rakenteellisestikin uudelta, mistä syistä vastakkainen lainautumissuunta on todennäköisempi.

Yleisitämerensuomalainen *\*orko*-sanue on kyllä lainattu venäjään (vrt. Kalima 1919: 176: *орка* < ka *orko*). Pinegan, Mezenin ja Primorskin piirien murreaineistossa esiintyvä *ворга* 'rotko, alanne, kuivunut joenuoma' (Matveev ym. ibidem) voidaan todennäköisin syin tulkita *орка*-sanana paikalliseksi variantiksi,<sup>15</sup> mutta tämän sanan merkitys on kaukana 'ansapolusta', eikä näi-

<sup>15</sup> Vaikka venäläisessä dialektologiassa on joskus esitetty, että proteettisen *v:n* alue ei ulottuisi Arkangelin alueen pohjoisosiin (vrt. esim. Matveev ym. 2004: 95), näyttää ainakin Pinegan piirissä olevan kohtalaisen varmoja esimerkkejä proteettisesta labiaalinetisestä *v:stä*. Ehkä paras tällainen on murreasana *волгац* 'alanne; matala ranta; tulvaniitty' (Matveev ym. 2004: 92–93, etymologiasta vrt. Saarikivi 2004: 195), jonka täytyy vastata komisyrjäänin länsimurteiden matalaa rantaa (ym.) tarkoittavaa termiä *al'kes* (esim. KESKJa 32 – tästä vastaavuudesta en ollut tietoinen kirjoittaessani edellä mainittua artikkelia). Näiden sanojen lainaoriginaali on ilmeisesti ollut itämerensuomalainen johdos *alho*-sanueesta (*\*\*alho-s?*).

den merkitysten yhdistämisen ongelmaa ole tiettävästi käsitelty etymologisessa kirjallisuudessa.

Mitä ilmeisimmin alannetta ja ansapolkua tarkoittavat sanat onkin katsottava kahdeksi, toisistaan erotettaviksi homonyymisiksi sanueiksi. Tässä esitettävän uuden selityksen mukaan 'metsästäjän ansapolkua' merkitsevän sanan lainaoriginaali on kantasuomeen palautuva *\*virka* '(pyydys)jono'. Tämä puolestaan on erotettava yleisestä ruotsalaisperäisestä, itämerensuomen pohjoisryhmään rajoittuvasta sanueesta *\*virka* 'ammatti; toimi' (< mn *virki*, nr *virke*; SSA III: 456–457). Kyseessä on balttilainen laina (vrt. latv *virde*, *verdze* '(pitkä) rivi ym.' < *\*virge*, *\*verge*; SSA III: 456), joka on levikiltään laajempi ja mitä ilmeisimmin myös vanhempi kuin 'ammattia' ja 'toimea' merkitsevä *virka*, vaikka onkin nykykielessä harvinainen.

Suomen länsimurteissa *virka* on merkinnyt lähinnä 'ansapolkua', itämurteissa, karjalassa ja lyydissä taas puuhun merkittyjä rasteja tai pilkkoja, joiden avulla metsästäjä on merkinnyt kulkureittinsä. Itämurteisen merkityksen nojalla onkin helppo ymmärtää, miten 'ansapolun' merkitys on syntynyt 'pyydysjonon' ja tai 'pilkkejonon' merkityksestä. Karjalasta on lainattu myös venäjän murteiden *вергу*, joka kuvaa samaa käsitettä (vrt. ilmaus *ставить вергу* 'делать зарубки, метки на деревьях для отыскания напр. обратного пути', 'tehdä pilkkeitä t. merkkejä puuhun tien takaisin löytämistä varten', Kalima 1919: 84–85).

Ilmeistä on, että myös *ворга* 'metsästäjän ansapolku' on saman sanan edelleenkehittymä. Venäläislainan äänneasua on selitettävissä jo aikaisemmassa tutkimuksessa kuvatun, erityisesti paikannimissä havaittavan substituution valossa. Eräissä venäjän itämerensuomalaisissa lainoissa on nimittäin lainaoriginaalin etu- ja takavokaalin kombinaatio 1. ja 2. toisessa tavussa (itämerensuomen ns. takaharmoninen vartalo) substituoitu ensi tavun takavokaalilla (vrt. *вахма* < *\*vehka* 'Callus palustris', *padrozero* < *\*petrajärvi*; ks. esim. Saarikivi 2004: 194).

*i:n* takavokaalinen variantti on normaalitapauksessa tietenkin taka-*i* eli venäjän ortografinen *ы* (vrt. esim. Matveev 2001: 136–138) – ja tämä edustus todella onkin havaittavissa *virka*-sanueen yhteyteen kuuluvassa Primorskin piirissä attestoidussa lainassa *вырзум* 'tienviitta' ('ориентир, указатель', 'tienviitta'). Myös Matveev ym. (ibid. 99) vertaavat murreseanaa *вырзум* itämerensuomen pohjoisryhmän (su, ka) termiin *virkotie* 'ansapolku' (ks. esim. SKES 1784; SSA III: 456). Ilmeistä on kuitenkin, että myös paljon yleisempi *ворга* voidaan selittää samasta originaalista. Ensitavun vokaalin labiaalistuminen on bilabiaalin jälkeisessä asemassa katsottava hyvin luonnolliseksi ääntenmuutokseksi. 1. tavun vokaalin kvaliteettiin on sitä paitsi saattanut vaikuttaa sananalkuisen *v*-äänten ohella myös 2. tavun labiaalivokaali, mikäli lainaoriginaali todella



olisi lähinnä karjalainen *virko(tie/polku)*. Todettakoon tässä yhteydessä vielä kerran, että niin Vienajoen vesistön etnonyymi- kuin appellatiivikantaisessa nimistössä on kosolti todisteita keskiaikaisesta ja ilmeisesti myöhemmästäkin karjalaisasutuksesta (vrt. esim. Saarikivi 2000: 405 – tässä viittaus E. J. Popovan julkaisemattomaan kandidaatinväitöskirjaan).

Kun monet 'virkotietä' merkitsevän *ворга*-sanana atestaatioista näyttävät esiintyvän komisyrjäänin puhuma-alueen naapurustossa (Pinegan ja Mezenin piirien lisäksi mm. Vinegradovin, Ylä-Toiman ja Krasnoborskin piireissä), ei täysin poissuljettuna voida pitää sitäkään, että kyseessä olisi takaisinlaina komin *verga*-sanasta (joka siis tämän selityksen mukaan alkuaan < ven murt *\*\*вырга* < ims *\*virko-*). Mainittakoon vielä lopuksi, että osassa pohjoisvenäläisiä murteita sana on edelleen kontaminoitunut 'alannetta' merkitsevän homonyymisen sanueen kanssa.

#### 4.4. *воумать (воумовать)* 'ymmärtää; tietää; reagoida t. käyttäytyä järkevästi; osata' < ksu *\*vaimo-j-* 'henki; sielu'

Venäjän *воумать* esiintyy Jaroslavl'n ja sen lähialueiden, Vologdan ja Arkan-gelin alueen murteissa, siis melko laajalla alueella Keski- ja Pohjois-Venäjällä. 1900-luvun loppupuolelta sanasta on Pohjois-Venäjältä tietoja Holmogoryn, Kotlaksen, Ylä-Toiman ja Pinegan piireistä (Matveev ym. 2004: 90–91) ja Keski-Venäjältä Pošehonjen ja Mologan piireistä (Arja Ahlqvist 1998: 17; SRNG V: 33). Sanan suhteellisesta harvinaisuudesta kertoo kuitenkin, että se ei ole päätyntä Ožegovin eikä edes Dal'in sanakirjoihin, joista erityisesti jälkimmäinen sisältää hyvin paljon kapealevikkisiä pohjoisvenäläisiä murre sanoja.

Kaikkesta päätellen sanalla on varsin laaja merkitysspektri, josta yllä on esitetty vain osia. Muun muassa Ahlqvistin (1998: 17–18) mukaan sanaa on Pošehonjen ja Mologan alueilla käytetty myös merkityksissä 'pyytää; vaatia', 'omata; hallita'.

Kaikki sanan etymologiset selitykset lähtevät siitä, että kyseessä on alkuperältään suomalais-ugrilainen lainasana. Tkačenko (1985: 111, 185) pitää sanaa merjalaista alkuperää olevana, mutta etymologioi sen kuitenkin itämerensuomen *voima*-sanueen avulla. Ahlqvist (1998: 17) pitää sanaa niin ikään merjalaisena, mutta rinnastaa sen itämerensuomen *oimi*-vartaloon, jonka merkitykset ovat 'järjissä; älyt; huomata'. Matveev ym. (2004: 90–92) ovat kallistuneet pitämään Tkačenon etymologista selitystä parempana – viittaamatta kuitenkaan merjalaisiin, mikä pohjoisvenäläisen murre sanan tapauksessa onkin perusteltua.

Sekä Tkačenon että Ahlqvistin selityksiä voi pitää äänteellisesti ja semanttisesti mahdollisina. Jälkimmäinen edellyttää labiaalinetistä proteettista *w*-ään-

nettä, joka on ominainen Keski-Venäjän pohjoisosien murteille; edellinen on joka suhteessa äänteellisesti odotuksenmukainen. Toisaalta Tkačenkon *voima*-etymologiaa vastaan puhuu, että *voima*-kantaista, lainaoriginaaliksi semanttisesti sopivaa verbiä ei ole atestoitavissa missään uralilaisessa kielessä.

Sana *voima* esiintyy lähinnä vain itämerensuomessa (pohjoissaamen äänteelliseksi vastineeksikin soveltuva *vuobmi* lienee levikkisyyistä tulkittava lainaksi). Kaikkialla itämerensuomessa sanan merkitys on 'valta; mahti; kyky'. Sikäli kuin sanavartalo esiintyy verbijohdoksissa, näiden merkitys ei ole 'ymmärtää' vaan 'tehdä voimakkaaksi' (vrt. su *voimauttaa*), 'tehdä mahdolliseksi' (vi *võimaldada*) tai 'tehdä voimattomaksi'. Sanan kantaverbillä *voion* tietenkin juuri sellaisia merkityksiä kuin 'osata', mutta nämä eivät esiinny *-m*-johdoksissa.

Ahlqvistin lainaoriginaaliksi ehdottama *\*ojme*-sanue taas on uralilaiselta taustaltaan hyvin sotkuinen. Sana rajoittuu suomeen ja viroon. Sitä muistuttaa hyvin paljon verbi *oivaltaa*, joka on johdos päätä merkitsevistä *oiva*-sanasta (vrt. *päätellä*); toisaalta sana muistuttaa ersän sanaa *ojme* 'henki', joka puolestaan on ims *\*vaimo*-sanueen äänteellinen vastine. Näiden sanojen välisiä suhteita tulisikin edelleen tutkia.

Voidaankin esittää, että venäjän verbi voisi liittyä pikemminkin länsiuralilaiseen 'henkeä' merkitsevään sanaan *\*wajma(-w/j)*, jonka jatkajia ovat suomen *vaimo*, viron *vaim* (: *vaimu*) 'henki' ja saamen *váibmu* 'sydän' (tämä on ensi tavun vokaalin valossa varhainen itämerensuomalainen laina) sekä ersän *ojme* ja mokšan *vajmä* 'henki'.

Myös tämä selitys on äänteellisesti täysin säännöllinen. Perinteisen selityksen I. tavun *a* on substituoitu varhaisemmissa venäjän murteiden ims lainoissa aina *o*:lla ja nuoremmissa sekä *o*:lla että *a*:lla (ks. esim. Matveev 2001; Kalima 1919: 46–47).

Itämerensuomen *vaimo*-sanue on siinä määrin polyseeminen, että *воимать*-verbin eri merkitysulottuvuudet voidaan selittää sen pohjalta. Sikäli kuin sanan alkuperäiseksi semantiikaksi voidaan rekonstruoida 'ymmärtää, oivaltaa', ovat venäjän murrekselle läheisiä erityisesti eräissä viron johdoksissa tavattavat merkitykset; vrt. *vaimukas* 'älykäs', *vaimukus* 'viisaus; älykkyys', *vaimne* 'henkinen'.

Ims *vaimo*-sanon alkumerkitys on selvästi 'henki; sielu', jonka pohjalta muut merkitykset voidaan ymmärtää. Ilmeisesti kyseessä on alkuaan deverbaalijohdos (*\*wajje-ma-*) hengittämistä merkitsevistä vartalosta *\*wajje-* 'hengittää' (→ saaN *vuoiñjadit* id.; Ante Aikio, suullinen tiedonanto). Samaa kantaa voisi hyvin olla myös vepsän *vajeh* 'sana' (← *\*wajje-š*), jonka alkumerkitys olisi siis 'henkäys; huokaus; vaikerrus' (semantiikan suhteen vrt. esim. ranskan *mot*, joka lienee alun perin ollut onomatopoeettinen, merkityksetöntä mumisemista

kuvannut sana, DHLF 2295–2296 – vastaava merkityksenkehitys tunnetaan moniaalla muuallakin). Mahdollisesti samaa kantaa voisivat olla myös suomen *vaikeroida* ja *vaiertaa* sekä viron *vaielda* ’valittaa’ vastineineen. Näiden alku-merkitys olisi siis suurin piirtein ’huokailla’, josta ’valittamisen’ merkitys.

## 5. Slaavilaisia lainoja itämerensuomessa – uusia etymologioita

Tässä luvussa esitän uusia slaavilaisia lainaetymologioita itämerensuomen sanoille. Käsitelen ainoastaan melko tavallisia yleiskielen sanoja. Aineisto on järjestetty väljän kronologisesti siten, että lainat 1–3 on katsottava hyvin nuoriksi (aikaisintaan myöhäiskeskiajalla omaksutuiksi), lainat 4–7 näitä jonkin verran vanhemmiksi ja laina 8 hyvin vanhaksi.

### 5.1. *loukku* < ven *ловка* ’pyynti; mieliala’, vanh. myös ’loukku’ (→ *мышоловка* ’hiirenloukku’)

Sana *loukku* ’pyydys, sadin’ esiintyy vain suomessa ja karjalassa. Jälkimmäisessä esiintyy myös rinnakkaisasu *loukas*. Tästä on SSA:ssa (II: 96–97) erotettu homonyyminen *loukku* ’pellavan tai hampun muokkausväline’, johon liittyvällä sanueella on itämerensuomalaisissa kielissä laajempi levikki (lyydi, viro).

Pyydystä merkitsevä *loukku* on suomessa levikiltään itämurteinen ja merkitsee ennen kaikkea hiirenloukkua, karjalassa myös karhun loukkua. Sanueen ensiesiintymä kirjakeleessä on ilmeisesti Abraham Kollaniuksen maanlain suomenoksessa vuonna 1648, jossa esiintyy johdos *loukas* (tämä tosin voisi olla myös *loukko*-sanueen yhteyteen kuuluva johdos). Muoto *loukku* esiintyy ensimmäisen kerran ilmeisesti vasta Lönnrotin sanakirjassa.

Sanaa on etymologisessa kirjallisuudessa käsitelty vain vähän. Ahlqvist (1871) viittaa sanaan itämerensuomalaisten kielten kulttuurisanastoa käsittelevässä tutkimuksessaan. Hän yhdistää sanan homonyymiseen sanaan *loukku* ’pellavan tai hampun muokkausväline’ ja pitää molempia alkuperältään onomatopoeettisena. SKES (304–305) ei anna sanan *loukku* alkuperästä selitystä, mutta viittaa tässä yhteydessä ilman kommentteja sanaan *loukko* ’kolo, reikä; nurkka’. Tämä lienee kuitenkin pikemminkin germaanisen lainasanan *lovi* johdos (ks. esim. SSA II: 96; sanan *lovi* taustasta ks. LÄGLOS II: 220–221). Etymologisessa kirjallisuudessa esitetyt vertailut mariin ja ugrilaiskieliin vaikuttavat perusteettomilta jo siksin, että itämerensuomalaisten kielten *loukku* edustaa fonotaktisesti uutta rakennetyyppeä useiden äännepiirteiden nojalla (1. tavun pitkä

vokaali, kaksoiskonsonantti sanan keskellä ja 2. tavun *u* – joka tosin voisi periaatteessa olla johdinaines tai sellaisen osa).

On siis syytä olettaa, että sana *loukku* melko nuorta alkuperää, lähinnä laina tai johdos. SSA:n (II: 95–96) mukaan se on kuitenkin ”onomat. alkuperää”. Oletusta onomatopoeettisuudesta ei tässä yhteydessä perustella mitenkään. NSES:ssä (s. 631) esitetyn, niin ikään sanan oletettua onomatopoeettisuutta kommentoivan selityksen mukaan ”loukkupydyksessä on koholle viritetty kansi tai muu ylä rakenne, joka pyydyksen lauetessa putoaa louskahtaen alas. Pyydyksen nimitys on johdos tätä laukeamisen ääntä jäljittelevästä sanavartalosta.”

NSES:n selitystä vastaan voidaan huomauttaa, että ao. oletettua ääntä jäljittelevää sanavartaloa (?\**louk-*) ei ilmeisesti ole atestoitu missään. Ilmeisesti ei ole olemassa myöskään onomatopoeettista konventiota, joka esiintyisi muissa sanoissa (\**löykyttää*, \**loukkua*, \**leukutella*, \**läykättää* tms.) ja joka olisi voinut toimia mallina oletetulle onomatopoeettiselle vartalolle \**louk-*. Oletus sanan onomatopoeettisesta alkuperästä tuntuu näin ollen *ad hoc* -selitykseltä, jolle ei ole osoitettavissa tukea muusta sanastosta.<sup>16</sup> Ilmeistä on, että *loukku* on muuta alkuperää.

Venäjässä esiintyykin sanavartalo, joka todennäköisesti on suomen ja karjalan *loukun* lainaoriginaali. Nykyisessä venäjän kirjakielessä ’pyydys, sadin’ on *ловушка*. Tämä puolestaan on formaalisti deminutiivi (niin ikään ”deminutiivisesta”) johdoksesta \**lovka* ’pyytäminen; pyydys’. Tätä nominivartaloa ei nykyisin käytetä pyydystä merkitsevänä sanana – venäjän yleiskielessä *ловка* on ainoastaan ’pyytäminen; kalastaminen; metsästäminen’ – mutta tällainen merkitys on säilynyt yhdyssanassa *мышоловка* ’hiirenloukku’.

Kyseessä oleva venäjän sana kuuluu laajaan sanueeseen, josta on johdettu myös *ловить* ’pyytää; metsästää, kalastaa; ottaa kiinni’ ja *ловкий* ’vilkas; ovela’. Koko sanueen kantasana on *лов*, joka tarkoittaa sekä ’pyytämistä’ että ’saalista’. Tämä sana palautuu mitä ilmeisimmin indoeurooppalaiseen kantakieleen (Vasmer II: 508).

Äänteellisesti laina on odotuksenmukainen, jos lähtökohtana on ollut yhdyssanassa *мышоловка* säilynyt *-ловка*. Myös eräissä jo aikaisemmin atestoiduissa venäjän feminiineistä saaduissa lainoissa esiintyy *u* venäjän 2. tavun *a*:n substituuttina; vrt. esim. *kasku* < *сказка* (SSA I: 323), su murt (KarjKann) *kortu* ’veneen peräkannen alla oleva säilytystila’ < *корма* ’laivan perä’ (SSA I: 404), su murt (kaakk. Laat- ja PKarj Ink Verml) *kalsu* ’naisten lumisukka; sääryys; sukanvarsi’ < ven *колоша* (SSA I: 290). Myös monissa muissa nuorissa

<sup>16</sup> Myös pellavan ja hampun muokkauksessa käytettävä *loukuksi* kutsuttava väline on sekin selitetty onomatopoeettiseksi sanaksi. Tässä tapauksessa todella onkin käytössä hyvällä tahdolla onomatopoeettiseksi katsottava ilmaus *loukuttaa pellavia*. Tulevaisuuden äänteellisesti motivoitujen sanojen tutkimuksen selvittämiseksi jää, onko tässä todella kyseessä johonkin konventioon perustuva ääntä jäljittelevä sana.

venäläislainoissa esiintyy 2. tavun *u*, mikä viittaa siihen, että venäläislainojen omaksuminen *u*-vartaloon on ollut melko tavanomaista (*pirtu* < *cnupm* [SSA II: 374], *paunu* 'lammikko; poukama' < ven *багно* [SSA II: 327], murt *hotu* 'tie; väylä; suunta' < ven *ход* 'kulku; käynti; väylä' [SSA I: 175], murt *peku* 'kilpa-ajo' < ven *бег* 'juoksu; pako' [SSA II: 332]). Sama ilmiö näkyy lukuisissa nuorissa ja yleisesti tunnetuissa ruotsalaislainoissakin; vrt. *pannu* < nr *panna*, *lettu* < nr *plätt*, *myssy* < nr *mössa*, *lyhty* < nr *lykta*, *lykky* < nr *lycka*, *rappu* < nr *trappa*, *piippu* < nr *pipa* jne.<sup>17</sup>

Semanttisesti lainaoletus ei kaivanne perusteluja: lainanantaja- ja -saaja-kielten merkitykset ovat identtiset.

## 5.2. *laukku* < ven *лавка* 'kauppa' (sana levinnyt ns. *laukku*-kaupan mukana, vrt. *laukkuryssä* alk. 'kaupparyssä')

*Loukun* riimisana *laukku* tarkoittaa suomen murteissa erityisesti nahkaista kantovälinettä tai koteloa. Se ei esiinny kuin suomessa ja karjalassa, minkä lisäksi se on näistä kielistä lainattu saameen (> saaN *lávka* Lu In Ko Kld T). Sanasta on muodostettu vain vähän yhdyssanoja ja johdoksia, mm. *laukkulainen* ja *laukkuryssä* 'venäläinen t. karjalainen kulkukauppias'. Murretiedot sanasta näyttävät melko vähäisiltä ja ne painottuvat Kainuuseen ja Pohjanmaalle. Kirjallinen ensiesiintymä on vuoden 1642 Raamatusta.

Etymologisista sanakirjoistamme SKES (281) ja SSA (II: 54) yhdistävät sanan epäillen (SKES "vrt.", SSA "mahd.") homonyymisiin suomen sanoihin, joista toinen merkitsee 'palkoa' ja 'taskuruohoa', toinen 'aukkoa' ja 'notkelmaa'. Ainakin jälkimmäinen näistä sanoista on ilmiselvä germaaninen laina, < *\*lauko-* → sa *Lauch* 'vuorensola', ks. esim. SSA *ibid.*, LÄGLOS II: 180). 'Palkoa' ja 'taskuruohoa' merkitsevä sana näyttäisi todennäköisimmin kuuluvan tavalla tai toisella sanan *laukka* 'sipuli' yhteyteen. Tämäkin on germaaninen laina (< *\*lauka-* → ru *lök* jne.).

Joka tapauksessa on vaikea nähdä, miten 'aukon', 'notkelman' tai 'palon' merkityksestä päädyttäisiin nahkaiseen *laukkuun*, eivätkä SKES ja SSA edes yritä tätä selittää. Myöhemmin ilmestynyt NSES (581) onkin realistisempi ja toteaa, että "sanavartalon alkuperä on epäselvä".

Fonotaktisesti on kuitenkin ilmeistä, että kyseessä on nuori laina tai johdos. Huomattavaa onkin, että sanaa *laukku* ei ilmeisesti missään murteessa ole käytetty pääasiallisena kantovälineen nimityksenä. Kaikissa murteissa on käy-

<sup>17</sup> On syytä huomata, että tämä nuorten venäläislainojen 2. tavun *u* on periaatteessa eri alkuperää kuin vanhoissa kantasuomeen saaduissa slaavilaislainoissa esiintyvä ns. isosta jeristä syntynyt *u* (vrt. *papu* < ksu *\*papu* < *\*bobъ* [> ven *боб*] id., *laatu* < ksu *\*laatu* < *\*ladъ* [> ven *лад*] 'sopu; järjestys; liitos').

tetty tässä merkityksessä muita sanoja kuten *reppu*, *kotti*, *kontti*, *komi* ja *pasa*. Tätä taustaa vasten voikin olettaa, että *laukku* on yleistynyt nimenomaan jonkin erityisen, lähinnä nahasta valmistetun kantovälineen nimityksenä niissä murteissa, joissa se tunnetaan. Ne kantovälineen nimitykset, joiden etymologia on tiedossa, ovat yleensä lainoja: vrt. *reppu* (< ru, vrt. nr *skräppa*; SSA III: 66), *kotti* (< germ; SSA I: 413).<sup>18</sup> Vanhastaan tunnettuja slaavilaislainoja ovat esim. *kisa*, *kissa* 'pussi; nahkalaukku' (Kalima 1952: 51) ja *värtsi* 'säkki' (ibid. 188).

Kun sanaan liittyvät murre tiedot näyttävät painottuvan laukkukauppaan, tuntuisi houkuttelevalta yhdistää sana venäjän kielen 'kauppaa' merkitsevään sanaan *лавка*. Karjalan kautta suomeen omaksutuissa uusissa venäläislainoissa (kuten myös mm. uusissa ruotsalaislainoissa) on muutoinkin paljon *u*-päätteisiä sanoja myös venäjän feminiineissä (vrt. yllä) ja voi todeta, että *laukku* on äänneasultaan täysin odotuksenmukainen. Vastaava sana on aunuksenkarjalassa käytössä 'kaupan' merkityksessä nykykielessäkin. Samasta originaalista on lainattu myös stadin slangin *lafka* 'kauppa'.

Venäjän *лавка* on johdos sanasta *lava* 'penkki; lava; teline'. Sanan alkuperäinen merkitys on siis 'tavarahylly', josta on kehittynyt 'kauppa' ('tarjolla olevat tavarat'). Saamelaisvastineen (saaN *luovvi* 'patsaiden varassa seisova ruoan, heinien ym. säilytyslava' – sana esiintyy useimmissa saamelaiskielissä) valossa ei kantasuomeen palautuva ims *\*lava* ole lainattu tästä sanasta, vaan sen balttilaisesta vastineesta (vrt. liett *lóva* 'makuusija', SSA II: 57). Toista samaan sanueeseen kuuluvaa diminutiivista johdostyyppiä edustaa slaavilaislaina *lavitsa* (< ven *лавуца*), omapohjainen johdos lienee puolestaan *laveri*.

Černyhin etymologisen sanakirjan mukaan sanaa *лавка* on käytetty 'kaupan' merkityksessä jo 1300-luvulla (Černyh I: 462). Hän siteeraa myös Richard Jamesin matkakertomusta Pohjois-Venäjältä (1618–1619), jossa niin ikään mainitaan merkitys 'a shop' nimenomaan Arkangelin alueen venäläismurteissa eli samassa kuvernementissa, jonka asukkaita myös laukkukauppaa harjoittaneet karjalaiset olivat.

'Kaupan' ja 'kantovälineen' merkityksien yhdistäminen voi aluksi tuntua hätkähdyttävältä. Tosiasia kuitenkin on, että itärajaa pitkin käyty laukkukauppa, joka 1500–1600-luvuilla ilmeisesti oli jo vakiintunut elinkeino, oli siinä määrin tärkeä karjalaisten ja suomalaisten välisen kanssakäymisen muoto, että se on voinut juurruttaa tällaisen sanan suomen itämurteisiin. Saatavissa olevien tietojen mukaan laukkukauppaa on harjoitettu koko itärajan pituudelta, mutta erityisesti Vienan Karjalassa. Kauppaa harjoitettiin erityisesti talvisaikana, jolloin miesväki oli joutilaana. Karjalaisten laukkukauppiaiden myyntiartikkeleja

<sup>18</sup> Arvoituksellinen on *kontti*, jota sekä äänneellisesti että semanttisesti muistuttavia sanoja on obinugrilaisissa kielissä (esim. SSA I: 398). Sekä sanan fonotaksi että merkitys viittaavat kuitenkin melko nuoreen alkuperään.

olivat pääasiassa tekstiilit ja niiden käsittelyyn tarvittavat työkalut, mm. neulat, naskalit, napit, veitset, sakset, langat, vyöt ym. Laukkukaupalla oli ilmeisesti tärkeä rooli myös karjalaisten keskeisten sosiaalisten suhteiden tiivistäjänä, sillä myytävät tavarat hankittiin mieskunnittain ja matkaan lähdettiin yhdessä (Kortesalmi 1975).

Kauppiaiden laukuista käytettävissä olevien tietojen mukaan laukun koon on määrännyt se, että siihen on saatu kangaspakka pystyyn (ibid.). Laukkukauppiiaan laukun mittasuhteet, valmistusmateriaalina käytetty nahka sekä erillinen funktio, kauppatavaran kuljetus, ovat varmasti olleet riittäviä perusteita laukkukauppiaiden laukun hahmottamiseksi omanlaisekseen kantovälineeksi.

Se, että 'kaupan' ja 'laukun' välillä todella vallitsee semanttinen yhteys, käy havainnollisesti ilmi myös sanan *pörssi* kehityksestä. Tämä internationalismi on alun perin tarkoittanut 'rahapussia' (vrt. vulgäärilatinnan *bursa* 'rahapussi'), josta on kehittynyt ensin 'kassan', ja 'rahanvaihdon', sitten 'kauppapaikan' ja lopulta 'arvopaperikaupan' nimitys (toimittajan arvokas huomautus, vrt. esim. Kluge 2002: 141).

Annetun selityksen valossa on sanan *laukkuryssä* varhaisin merkitys ollut 'kaupparyssä'. Vastaava termi on myös *kauppasaksa*, jonka alkuosa niin ikään merkitsee yleisesti 'kauppiasta' tai 'kaupankäyntiä'. Huomionarvoista on sekin, että *kauppasaksan* synonyymi on *kamasaksa*, joka merkitsee kauppamiehen asemesta tavaraa kantavaa saksilaista (– myös tästä *kauppasaksaa* koskevasta huomautuksesta olen kiitollisuudenvelassa toimittajalle).

### 5.3. *melke(in), melko, melkeä* 'isonlainen' < ven *мелкий* 'pieni' < mven \**мѣлькѣ* id.

Adverbi *melkein* sekä vahvennussana *melko* 'aika; huomattavan; koko lailla' ja tämän johdos *melkoinen* ovat nykykielessä yleisiä. Kyseessä ovat johdokset nykykielestä lähes kadonneesta sanasta *melkeä* 'joltinenkin; isonlainen; paljo; melko suuri' (ks. esim. SSA II: 158; SKES 339). *Melkein* on tämän sanan kivetynyt monikon instruktiivimuoto, joka esiintyy jo Agricolalla. Myös kantasana *melkeä* esiintyy jo Finnolla 1580 (SSA ibid.). Adverbin *melko* suhde näihin on samanlainen kuin esim. suhde *selkeä* → *selko*, *ruskea* → *rusko* ym.

Kansankielestä *melkeä* tunnetaan lähinnä savolaismurteista sekä Keski-Pohjanmaalta, lähisukukielistä karjalasta ja vatjasta. Jälkimmäisessä sanan käyttö poikkeaa suomesta: vatjan *melkettä* tarkoittaa 'melkein; juuri'. Muualla itämerensuomessa sanue on tuntematon. 'Jonkin verran' tarkoittavana vahvistus-sanana käytetään niissä muita, niin ikään uusia sanoja (vrt. viron yhdysana *peaaegu*, kirjaimellisesti "pääaikaan"). Itämerensuomesta sana on edelleen

lainautunut saameen (saaN *mealgat* 'melko lailla; aika paljon' – sana esiintyy myös luulajan-, inarin- ja koltansaamessa). Saamen sananloppuisista aineksista päätellen lainaoriginaali on ollut lähinnä kantasuomen *\*melketä*.

*Melkeä*-sanan alkuperää ei etymologisissa sanakirjoissamme valaista millään tavalla. Ilmeistä kuitenkin on, että kyseessä on slaavilaislaina (– olen aikaisemmin käsitellyt sanan etymologiaa lyhyesti eräässä hieman obskyyrissa yhteydessä, Saarikivi 2008). Se vastaa täsmällisesti muinaisvenäjän johdostyyppiä *\*мѣлькѣь* 'pieni; vähäinen' (→ nykyvenäjän *мелкий*). Sana esiintyy myös muissa slaavilaisissa kielissä. Sitä käytetään erityisesti matalasta vedestä, venäjässä myös pienistä, vähäisistä tai vähämerkityksisistä asioista (*мелкий песок* 'hieno hiekka', *мелкая дождь* 'sadekuuro; pikku sade', *мелкие деньги* 'pikkuraha; kolikot', *мелкий скот* 'pienkarja', *мелкое производство* 'pienyrittäjäyys; pientuotanto' jne.; ks. esim. Ožegov s.v. *мелкий*). Samaa kantaa on myös mm. venäjän 'pikkujuttua' ja 'pikkurahaa' tarkoittava *мелочь*.

Äänteellisesti ei lainautumisoletuksessa ole epäsäännöllisyyksiä. Lainan tulee kuitenkin olla suhteellisen nuori, sillä muinaisvenäjän *ě*:n on lainautumisen aikaan täytynyt jo olla langennut yhteen *e*:n kanssa ja *ь*:n kadota. Myös sanan kapea levikki itämerensuomessa viittaa nuorehkoon lainaan – ainoana itämerensuomalaisten kielten eteläryhmään kuuluvana kielenä vatja on voinut saada sanan lainana inkerinsuomalaisista murteista. Varmana tätä ei kuitenkaan voi pitää vatjan sanan suomesta ja karjalasta poikkeavan käytön takia.

'Pienen' ja 'melko suuren' käsitteiden välistä semanttista yhteyttä on yllä jo perusteltu sanan *вяха* itämerensuomalaisen lainaetymologian yhteydessä (luku 4.1). Slaavin *\*мѣлькѣь* ja itämerensuomen *melkeä* suhtautuvat toisiinsa varsin samalla tavoin kuin venäjän murteiden *вяха* ja itämerensuomalainen lainaoriginaali *\*vähä*.

Sanan *мѣлькѣь* alkuperästä slaavissa on esitetty erilaisia versioita, mutta todennäköisemmin se kuuluu hienoksi jauhamista merkitsevään sanueeseen (esisl *\*melti*), josta ovat peräisin myös mm. *мельница* 'mylly' ja *молоть* 'vasara' (ks. esim. Vasmer II: 596; Černyh I: 522). Huomattakoon, että sanasta näyttää jo varhain kehittyneen myös hienoa hiekkaa merkitsevä *мель*. Tätä myös ukrainassa, tšekissä ja puolassa esiintyvää johdosta käytetään matalista kohdista joessa sekä joen kuljettamasta hiekasta (esim. Vasmer *ibidem*). Näyttääkin todennäköiseltä, että suomen itämurteiden ja karjalan hiekkasärkkää merkitsevä *mella* on laina tästä sanueesta. Tällöin se olisi siis erotettava homonyymisestä saamelaislainasta (< saaN *mielli*) joka merkitsee hiekkatörmää ja rajoittuu levikiltään peräpohjolaismurteisiin (ks. esim. SSA II: 158). Saamen sana on alkuaan skandinaavista alkuperää (< mn *melr*, *ibid.*).



5.4. *kalu* alun perin 'keppi' < mven \**kolъ* (> ven *кол*) id.

Sana *kalu* esiintyy kaikissa itämerensuomalaisissa kielissä inkeroista ja eteläviroa lukuun ottamatta. Sana on lainattu eri merkityksissä myös ruotsin ja venäjän murteisiin (SSA I: 292; SKES 152).

Sanalla on kolme merkitystä: 'keppi', 'tavara' ja 'penis'. Näistä ensimmäinen on levikiltään laajin ja se on yksinomainen vepsässä ja lyydissä. Merkitys 'tavara' esiintyy suomessa, karjalassa, virossa ja vatjassa. Virossa, jossa merkitystä 'keppi' ei lainkaan tunneta, sana esiintyy ainoastaan monikollisena (*kalud*) ja se merkitsee 'vanhat esineet, rojut, ryysyt'. Merkitys 'penis' tunnetaan laajalti suomen murteista, karjalasta ja inkeroisesta. Sanan muita sukukieliä kapeampi semantiikka ja murrelevikki virossa panee epäilemään lainautumista suomesta ja tämä tuntuu mahdolliselta selitykseltä vatjankin sanan kohdalla. Tässä tapauksessa kyseessä olisi siis alun perin itämerensuomen pohjoisryhmään rajoittunut sana – aivan varmana ei tätä kuitenkaan voitane pitää.

Sanan alkuperää selittäessään kolme etymologista sanakirjaamme eroavat toisistaan melko huomattavasti. SKES (ibid.) katsoo muutta mutkitta sanan palautuvan asuun \**kalvu* ja vastaavan vanhana sukulaissanana pohjoissaamen sanaa *gálvu* 'talousesine tai taloustavara'. Samalla kuitenkin on sanan alkumerkitys itämerensuomessa SKES:n mukaan 'kuiva palikka, kepakko, puun palanen', eikä itämerensuomen ja saamen alkuperäismerkitysten eroa pyritä mitenkään silloittamaan.

SSA:n (s.v.) selitys on kaikkineen hankalasti tulkittavissa ja siksi lainaan sen seuraavassa kokonaan:

Jos sana palautuu asuun \**kalvu*, se voi ositt. olla = lpN *gálvu* (Pi Lu In Ko) '(kauppa, talous)tavara, työkalu; (Ko myös) miehen kalu'; toisaalta ims *kalu* merk:ssä 'kuivunut puunkappale, kepakko, palikka' voi olla samaa onomat.-deskr. alkuperää kuin *kalikka* (ks. tätä, vrt. myös *kälviä*).

Annetusta selityksestä ei yksiselitteisesti ilmene, pitävätkö SSA:n kirjoittajat pohjoissaamen *gálvu*-sanuetta vastineineen *kalu*-sanueen vastineena (mitä tarkoittaa "ositt." alkuperä?), ei liioin sitä, onko se "onomat-deskr." alkuperää. Myös ao. sanan suhde *kälviä*-sanueeseen jää hämäräksi ja "vrt."-viittauksen tarkoitus epäselväksi. Koko artikkelin sävy on ehdollinen eikä se auta ymmärtämään käsiteltävän sanan taustaa kovin paljon.

NSES (333–334) erottaa toisistaan "äänteellisesti motivoidun" selityksen ja rinnastuksen saamen sanaan *gálvu*. Rinnastus saamen sanaan on NSES:n mukaan epäilyttävä, sillä itämerensuomalaisen sanan \**kalvu* "...olemassaolosta ja alkuperästä ei ole mitään tarkempaa tietoa." (ibid.). Äänteellisesti motivoidun

selityksen ollessa oikea kuuluu *kalu* tämänkin sanakirjan mukaan yhteen sanojen *kalikka* ja *kalista* kanssa.

Uralilaisten kielten äännehistoriaan perehtyneen on hankala ymmärtää, miksi kaikki kolme etymologista sanakirjaa pitävät pohjoissaamen sanaa *gálvu* itämerensuomen sanan **vastineena!** Onhan ilmeistä, että sanapari ei täytä mitään vastineen tunnusmerkkejä: ensinnäkin itämerensuomen sana vaikuttaa fonotaktisesti uudelta (2. tavun *u*); toisekseen, kuten NSES aivan oikein toteaa, ei itämerensuomessa ole jälkeäkään 2. tavun *-v*-äänteestä, ja kolmanneksi sanojen äännesuhde ei edes ensimmäisen tavun osalta ole säännöllinen (ims *a* ~ saa *á* pro *a* ~ *uo*; ks. esim. Korhonen 1981: 89–92 – *a* ~ *á* on lainoille ominainen äännesuhde).

Koska erityisesti SSA:n runsaita ”onomatopieettis-deskriptiivisiä” selityksiä on asiantuntevasti kritisoitu toisaalla (vrt. esim. Koivulehto 2001a, 2001b; A. Aikio 2001; Nikkilä 2002) ja deskriptiivisyyden ja onomatopieettisuuden käsitteet muutenkin toivottavasti lopullisesti erotettu toisistaan (esim. Mikone 2002 ja Jarva 2003, näin tulkintani mukaan myös Kulonen 2006)<sup>19</sup>, en ruodi tällaisiin selityksiin liittyviä ongelmia tässä. Sen sijaan on syytä todeta, että muinaisvenäjässä esiintyy ’keppiä, palikkaa, kalikkaa t. hirttä’ merkitsevä sana *коль*, joka täsmällisesti vastaa itämerensuomen *kalu*-sanaa kaikkien tunnettujen vanhojen slaavilaislainojen äännekriteerien nojalla.

Ensinnäkin substituoitu *o* > *a* on vanhoille lainoille ominainen (vrt. esim. Kalima 1956: 24–25). *u*-päätteisten sanojen syntyä ja ikää on jo käsitelty yllä: kyseessä voivat olla kantaslaavin redusoituneiden vokaalien katoa edeltäneen periodin lainat tai nuoremmat *u*-vartaloina omaksutut lainat. Myös sanan merkitys slaavissa on identtinen itämerensuomen ilmeisesti vanhimman ja laajalevikkisimmän merkityksen kanssa, eikä sanojen etymologiselle yhdistämiselle näin ollen näyttäisikään olevan esteitä.

Slaavilainen lainaselitys edellyttää saamen *gálvu*-sanueen erottamista ims *kalu*-sanueesta. Tähän on, kuten NSES toteaa, muutoinkin kaikki syyt jo itämerensuomen sisäisen rekonstruktion kannalta: ims kielet viittaavat varhaisempaan asuun *\*kalu* ja hypoteettinen kanta(pohjoisitämeren)suomalainen asu *\*kalvu* on rekonstruoitu SKES:ssä ilmeisesti vain, jotta sana saataisiin sopimaan saamen *gálvu*-sanan yhteyteen.

Saamen sana lienee kokonaan muuta lähtöä. Kyseessä voisi olla johdos sanasta *gálva* ’kuiva puu, erit. koivu’ (ksaa < *\*kálvę*, ks. esim. Lehtiranta 1989: 44; samaan sanavartaloon pohjautuu myös verbi *gálvat* ’kuivua [puusta]’). Kuivasta puusta on valmistettu monenlaisia tarvekaluja, vrt. esim. yhdyssanat *gálvacaggi*, *gálvasággi* ’vaarna’ (Sammallahti 1989: 157). Saamen sanan vas-

<sup>19</sup> NSES käyttää näissä yhteyksissä paremmin perusteltua termiä *äänneellisesti motivoitu*. Kulonen (2006) puhuu erikseen onomatopieettisista ja ”ekspressiivisistä” sanoista.

tine lienee suomen verbi *kälviä* (*kälvettyä*, *kälviä*) 'kuivua (vilja); näivettyä' (< \**kälwe*), johon myös SSA epämääräisesti viittaa. Tämä sana tavataan suomen ohella myös karjalassa (SSA I: 471).

Osassa itämerensuomea tapahtunut merkityksenkehitys 'keppi' → 'tavara' on abstrahoituma, jolla on paralleleja ainakin germaanisissa kielissä: vrt. sa *Stock* 'tukki' → *Stück* 'pala jtkn; kappale' (Kluge 2002: 893), engl *stock* 'trunk; stem' → 'fund; store; supply; quantity'. Huomattakoon, että myös sanan *kalu* slaavilaisella lainaoriginaalilla on melko laaja merkityskenttä. Nykyvenäjän *кол* merkitsee esim. huonoa arvosanaa (koulussa) (Černyh I: 410) ja samakantainen verbi *колоть* merkitsee mm. 'lyödä; työntää; leikata lävistää' (tämä sana voisi mainiosti olla myös suomen *kaluta*-verbin lainaoriginaali, mutta koska *kalu*-verbivartalon rinnalla esiintyy myös germaanisiksi lainaksi ehdotettu *kalva*-[SSA I: 292], ei asia ole aivan yksiselitteinen). Merkityksenkehitys 'keppi' → 'penis' on niin luonnollinen ja monista yhteyksistä tunnettu, että se ei kaipaa kommentointia.

Myös samamerkityksinen, levikiltään suomeen rajoittuva *palikka* on sekini aivan ilmeinen slaavilainen laina (< sl \**palьka* → ven *палка*, vrt. kuitenkin SSA II: 300, jonka mukaan kyseessä on "todennäk. johdos sanasta *pala*"). Slaavilaista alkuperää tälle sanalle ehdotti aikoinaan jo August Ahlqvist vuonna 1857 (SSA ibid.). Jo kauan tunnettu merkitykseltään läheinen slaavilainen laina on *patukka* < *батога* (vrt. esim. SSA II: 325; Mikkola 1894: 81–82; Kalima 1952: 131–132). Kaikkien etymologisten sanakirjojen "deskr." tai "onomat.-deskr." sanaksi kuvaama *kalikka* lienee johdos sanasta *kalu* (tai, vähemmän todennäköisesti, myöhempi laina saman slaavilaisen sanan yhteyteen kuuluvasta johdoksesta *колодка* 'keppi; kalikka').

#### 5.5. *palkka* < itäsl *болого* (~ kirkkosl *благо* < \**bolg-*) 'hyvä; omaisuus'

Suomen sanalla *palkka* on säännölliseksi katsottavat vastineet kaikissa itämerensuomalaisissa kielissä ja se voidaan rekonstruoida kantasuomeen (\**palkka*). Sana on lainattu myös saameen ja se esiintyy kaikissa saamelaiskielissä (> saaN *bálká* 'palkka'). Levikki viittaa varhaiseen lainautumiseen ja sana voidaan rekonstruoida myös kantsaameen (< \**pālkke*, vrt. Lehtiranta 1989: 98–99). Täysin sitovana ei tällaista päättelyä kuitenkaan voi pitää, kun kantsaameen voidaan formaalisti palauttaa ainakin yksi sana, joka semanttisista syistä tuskin on siihen kuulunut (\**lođe* 'luoti', vrt. Lehtiranta 1989: 70–71). Todellisuudessa saaN *bálká* vastineineen lieneekin huomattavasti kantsaamea nuorempi sana. Näyttää ilmeiseltä, että tämä ja monet muutkin formaalisti kantsaameen tai

kantasuomeen palautettavissa olevat sanat ovat levinneet jo kieliksi eriytyneen murrejatkumon sisällä, vaikka tätä ei voikaan varmasti osoittaa.

Sanalle ei ole esitetty uskottavaa etymologiaa (vrt. SSA II: 301). Ainoan etymologisissa sanakirjoissa mainitun, alun perin Jalo Kaliman (1945) esittämän selityksen mukaan kyseessä on johdos sanasta *pala*. Hänen näkemyksensä mukaan sanojen *pala* ja *palkka* suhde on rinnastettavissa sellaisiin tapauksiin kuin *jyrä* 'jyrkkäreunainen puro' ja *jyrkkä*, *peni* ja *penikka* jne. Selitys ei ole vakuuttanut etymologisten sanakirjojen kirjoittajia ja vaikka Nikkilä (1998) on uudelleen perustellut sitä "suffiksinvaihdoksi" kutsumansa ilmiön yhteydessä, ei 'palan' ja 'palkan' yhteyttä ole kyetty uskottavasti perustelevaan.

Semanttisesti ei *palkan* ja *palan* suhdetta tosin olisi lainkaan hankala selittää. Esimerkiksi *osa*, joka merkitsee myös 'palkkaa' on alun perin tarkoittanut 'lihanpalaa' (esim. SSA II: 273; Kalima ibidem). Sen sijaan on vaikeampi ymmärtää, millä tavoin *palkka* olisi muoto-opillisesti johdettu sanasta *pala*. -*kka*-päätteisissä nominikantaisissa nomineissa esiintyy säännöllisesti jokin suffiksia edeltävä vokaali (*vasa* → *vasikka*, *peni* → *penikka*, *made* → *matikka*, *lude* → *lutikka*, *haara* → *haarukka*; Hakulinen 1979: 128–129), joten johtosuhde on ilmeisesti epäsäännöllinen. Tuskin voi yhtyä Kalimaan (1945: 414), jonka mukaan välivokaali esiintyy lähinnä vain siellä, missä sanalle syntyisi muuten mahdoton fonotaktinen asu suomessa. Lukuisista Kaliman esittämistä "paralleelitapauksista" ainoastaan *jyrä* ja *jyrkkä* mainitaan nykyisissä etymologisissa lähteissä, eikä niidenkään välistä johtosuhdetta voi luonnehtia varmaksi.

Nikkilän suffiksinvaihdoksi nimeämässä ilmiössä on kyseessä takaperoisjohtamista muistuttava vartalotyypin vaihtelu, jossa sanavartalon loppuosa on "kansanetymologisesti", analogiaan nojautuen reanalysoitu johtosuffiksiksi ja vaihdettu toiseen suffiksiin (*hieta* → *hiekkä*, *selkeä* → *selvä*). "Suffiksin" ja sanavartalon raja määrittyy tällöin toisin kuin normaalissa johtamisessa (esim. *\*\*hie-* tai *\*\*sel-*vartaloita ei olemassa). Tässä mielessä kyseessä ei oikeastaan olekaan "suffiksinvaihto" vaan sanavartalotyypin vaihtelu, joka muistuttaa paikannimistössä havaittavien formanttien vaihtelua (tästä lähemmin Saarikivi 2003).

Kun suffiksinvaihdoksi kutsutun ilmiön luonnetta ja laajuutta ei ole toisitaiseksi kyetty tarkoin määrittelemään, on sitä käytettävä etymologioinnissa varoen. Erityisen epäilyttävältä Nikkilän esittämässä etymologisessa versiossa vaikuttaa ajatus, että sanan *pala* loppu-*a* olisi voitu tajuta suffiksiksi, joka olisi korvattu toisella. *a*-loppu on suomen kielessä kuitenkin hyvin erityyppinen sananloppuinen sekvenssi kuin *-ta* tai *-keä*, jotka molemmat todella esiintyvät johdinaineksina. Esimerkiksi NSES (863) toteaaakin sanasta *palkka* nöyrään sävyyn, että "sanan alkuperä on toistaiseksi hämärän peitossa, mutta sekä levikki, rakenne että merkitys viittaavat lainaperäisyyteen".

Sanan merkitys onkin kulttuurisanelle tyypillinen: sanaa *palkka* käytetään paitsi 'palkkion' myös 'vuokran' merkityksessä, ja äänteellisesti sana taas ei sanansisäisen kolmen konsonantin yhtymän johdosta voi palautua kantasuomea kauemmaksi. Yritys osoittaa *palkka* kantasuomeen saaduksi lainasanaksi voidaan siis katsoa perustelluksi.

Mikäli kyseessä olisi slaavilainen, (suhteellisen) vanha laina – näinhän täytyy sanan laajan itämerensuomalaisen levikin perusteella joka tapauksessa olettaa – vastaava venäläinen tai itäslaavilainen sana kuuluisi *\*\*(C)polok(a/o)* tai *\*\*bolok(a/o)* (vrt. *taltta* ~ *долото*, *karsta* ~ *короста*, *palttina* ~ *полотно* ym. vanhastaan tunnetut lainat, Kalima 1956).

Lähes vastaava ja merkitykseltään läheinen itäslaavin sana todella onkin olemassa, kirjakieleen kuulumaton murteellinen *болого* 'hyvä; omaisuus'. Muissa slaavilaisissa kielissä sanan vastineiden merkityksiä ovat mm. 'paaston aikana kielletty ruoka' (bulgaria), 'siunattu' (puola, sorbi), 'omaisuus; raha; karja' (serbia, ks. esim. Vasmer II: 188). Venäjän kirjakielessä sanueesta esiintyy ainoastaan kirkkoslavismi *благо* 'hyöty; hyve', jota käytetään myös prepositiona kiittämiseen ja palkitsemiseen liittyvissä konteksteissa (vrt. *на благо народа* 'kansan hyväksi'). Sanasta on johdettu myös verbit *благодарить* ja *благодарствовать*, molemmat 'kiittää', sekä *благословить* 'siunata'. Edellä mainittujen johdos on mm. prepositio *благодаря* 'ansiosta; vuoksi' (kirj. 'kiittäen' – vrt. myös kivettymä *благодарствуи* 'kiitos').

Tällaisista merkityksistä ei ole pitkä matka 'palkan' merkitykseen. Huomattakoon, että sanaa käytetään nykyvenäjässä myös aineellisista rikkauksista (*материальное благо* 'aineellinen hyvä'). Vastaava merkitys näyttää esiintyvän myös Novgorodin tuohikirjeissä, jotka ovat kielellisesti mahdollista lainalähdettä lähinnä. Kirjeessä 227, jossa on *болога*-sanan ainoa tuohiesiintymä, sana esiintyy nimenomaan 'materiaalisen hyödyn' tai 'palkan' merkityksessä: *водае семоу в [= 2] гривьне не моги же ми матоко согрешити (...) оже ли оу себе не боуде а и заемоши моги же водати от тога ти нама хоце болого* 'anna hänelle [kirjeen tuojalle, J.S.] kaksi grivnaa, äitiseni – vaikka et voisi käyttää [kirjaimellisesti: vaikka et voisi uhrata] tai sinulla ei olisi, lainaa [ne] vaikka, sillä siitä [tästä rahasta, J.S.] on meille hyöty [= 'palkka']' (Zaliznjak 2004: 376).

Sanan laajempi tausta on venäjän etymologisten sanakirjojen mukaan hämärän peitossa. Vasmer (I: 188) esittää mahdollisia vastineita arjalaisista kielistä (~ *avesta bərəχda-* 'toivottu; kallis, arvokas') ja spekulatiivisempia latinasta (*flagro* 'sädehtii' – taustalla ajatus, että kyseessä olisi alkuaan valkoista merkitsevän sanajuuren johdos, Černyh (I: 92) tyytyy esittämään ainoastaan esislaavilaisen rekonstruktion (*\*bolg-*).

'Hyödyn', 'kiitoksen' ja 'palkan' välinen semanttinen yhteys tunnetaan monista kielistä. Esimerkiksi saksan *Lohn* 'palkka; kiitos' kuuluu samaan

sanueeseen kuin verbi *sich lohnen* 'kannattaa; hyödyttää'. Samankaltaisia suhteita voidaan havaita suomen sanojen *nauta* (< germ *\*nauta* 'omaisuus', SSA II: 210), *nauttia* (< germ *\*naut(i)ja-*, johdos em. *\*nauta*-sanasta) sekä niin ikään germaanista lainatun latvian sanan *nauda* 'raha' välillä (vrt. myös jo edellä mainittu su *osa*, joka alkuaan on merkinnyt '(lihan)palaa'). Vanhastaan tunnetuista slaavilaislainoista merkitykseltään läheinen on *vuitti* 'osa' < ven *вѣтъ* id. (vrt. SSA III: 471). Vastaavia merkityksiä on myös balttilaisella sanueella (liett.) *balvā* ~ (latv.) *balva* (vanh.) 'palkkio', josta on johdettu latvian (*at*)*balvat* 'lahjoittaa; arvostaa; antaa lehmille herkkuja' (Karulis 2001: 105). Tämän sanueen varhaisemmasta polysemiasta kertoo, että se lienee itämerensuomen *palvoa*-verbin taustalla, kuten jo Thomsen (1890: 161–162) aikoinaan esitti (itämerensuomesta sana on kulkeutunut myös saameen, vrt. saaN *bálvalit* 'palvoa'). Syystä tai toisesta ei tähän – mielestäni ilmeiseen – etymologiaan kuitenkaan viitata yhdessäkään etymologisessa sanakirjassamme, SSA:n (ibid.) kirjallisuusviitteitä lukuun ottamatta.<sup>20</sup> Varmastikin tähän yhteyteen kuuluu myös *palvata*, jonka alkumerkitys olisi siis 'uhrata lihaa' (näin arvelee Kettuseen liittyen myös SKES 480).

Vaikka 'hyödyn', 'kiitoksen' ja 'palkkion' semanttinen suhde on siis moniaalta tunnettu, saattaa esitetyn etymologian äänteellinen puoli herättää vasta-aitteita itämerensuomen slaavilaislainojen tutkimushistoriaan perehtyneiden joukossa. Itämerensuomalaiseen sanaanhan on joka tapauksessa rekonstruoitava geminaatta jo kantasuomeen, mutta slaavin sanassa on soinnillinen vokaalienvälinen *-g-*, joka normaalisti substituoidaan itämerensuomessa yksittäiskonsonantilla (vrt. *pirta* [: *pirra-*] < *\*bьrdo*, *rapu* [: *pavu-*] < *бобрь*, *pakana* < *погань*).

Nimenomaan suffiksaalisessa asemassa on soinnillisen yksittäisklusii-  
lin edustus kuitenkin usein kirjava. Lähinnä säännölliseksi katsottavaa edustusta osoittavat mm. *saapas* [: *\*saappa(γ)a-*] ~ ven *canoз* (vrt. kuitenkin vatjan *sāppaga* 'saapas'), su *vapaa* (< *\*vapade-*) ~ ven *свобода*, su *apea* (< *\*apeda*) ~ ven *обѣда*. Kuitenkin eräissä sanoissa havaitaan myös vaihtelua *\*-γ-* (> Ø) ja *\*-kk-*-substituution välillä; vrt. *piiras*, *piirakka* (va *pīraga*, ka *pīroa*, *pīroi*) ~ *nipoz*, *patukka* (rinnalla myös *paattua*, *paattoo*) ~ *бамоз*. Yllättävästi eräissä vanhastaankin hyväksytyissä lainoissa on ven *-g-* > ims *-kk-*-substituutio yksinomainen, esim. *simpukka* ~ *жемчуг*, vrt. myös *opotta* 'aidattu hakamaa' ~ *обод* (Kalima 1956: 100, 121).

Kysymystä, onko itäslaavin *болога* voitu substituoida kantasuomen *\*palkka*-vartalolla, mutkistaa edelleen se, että ao. sanassa on ns. polnolasie eli täysääntymä, joka tuottaa likvidan ja klusiilin väliin itäslaavissa ylimääräisen

<sup>20</sup> Olen aikaisemmin esittänyt (Saarikivi 2006), että ims *palvoa* olisi johdos 'kylää' merkitsevästä urallilaisesta sanasta *\*palwa*. En enää pidä tätä todennäköisenä.

švaavokaalin. Ilmeisesti tutkimuksessa käsitellyissä itämerensuomen slaavilaislainoissa ei kuitenkaan ole yhtään tapausta, jossa polnolasie edeltäisi *-g*-äännettä. Näin ollen substituutiolle *болога* > *palkka* ei ole esitettävissä yhtään suoraa paralleelia. Vanhastaan tunnetaan kuitenkin sanoja, joissa slaavin soinnitonta klusiilia vastaa täysääntymän jälkeisessä asemassa itämerensuomeen lainatussa sanassa geminaatta (vatjan *калккале* 'sylkky, pellavan siemenkota' ~ *колоколка*, *talkkupa* ~ *толокно*).

Novgorodin tuohikirjeiden ja Novgorodin seudun murteiden fonemaattinen analyysi (Zaliznjak 2004: 39–41, 50–52; Zaliznjak 1997) on osoittanut oikeaksi jo Kaliman arvelun (1952: 42), jonka mukaan täysääntymän jossain määrin epäodotuksenmukaisessa substituutiossa on kyse lähdekielen (Novgorodin murteen) ominaisuudesta. Näyttääkin siltä, että Novgorodin seudun murteissa ei ainakaan kaikkialla ollut ”klassista” polnolasieta, vaan monissa tapauksissa likvidan viereen syntynyt ylimääräinen vokaali on ollut huomattavan redusoitunut (– huomattakoon, että Zaliznjakin käsityksen mukaan tuohikirjeiden *-o-* on sekin useassa tapauksessa nimenomaan redusoituneen vokaalin, ns. isoa jeriä [ɔ] vastaavan äänteen tapauksessa käytetty grafeemi, ks. Zaliznjak 2004: 23–25). Niinpä samasta sanasta esiintyy Novgorodin ympäristön murteissa sekä varsinaisia ”normaaleja” itäslaavilaisia variantteja (*-Coro-*, *-Colo-*) että myös kirkkoslaavia (tai kantaslaavia) muistuttavia *-Cro-*, *-Clo-* -muotoja ja myös *-Cor-*, *-Col-* -muotoja. Zaliznjak (ibid.) esittää mm. seuraavia murre-esimerkkejä: kirjakielen *бревно* 'halko; halot' esiintyy Novgorodin aluemurteissa myös muodoissa *бервно*, *берно*, *бервено* *ум.*; kirjakielen *клоч* 'mätäs' esiintyy muodossa *колч*, kirjakielen *проховый* 'harva; hauras' esiintyy muodossa *порховый* jne. (ibid. 51).

Jos vastaava muoto sanasta *болога* olisi attestoitu, se kuuluisi *\*\*болга*. Tästä päädyttäisiin helposti itämerensuomen asuun *\*\*palka* (: *\*\*palan*), jonka useimmat taivutusmuodot kuitenkin olisivat homonyymisiä kielessä jo aiemmin esiintyneen, uralilaista alkuperää olevan *pala*-sanana taivutusmuotojen kanssa. Onkin mahdollista, että *-l(V)g-* > *-lkk-* -substituutio on tässä sanassa vaikuttanut myös tällaisen homonymian välttäminen.

Vielä eräs seikka, joka tunnetusti on saattanut vaikuttaa slaavista lainattujen sanojen äänteelliseen substituointiin eri kohdekielissä, ovat painosuhteet. Kun sanassa *болога* paino on ensimmäisellä tavulla ja tätä ilmeisesti on seurannut Novgorodin murteissa keskiajalla voimakkaasti redusoitunut 2. tavun vokaali, voidaan esittää, että parittomia tavuja painottava itämerensuomi olisi tässä sanassa saattanut vahvistaa heikon 2. tavun jälkeistä konsonanttiasemaa, erityisesti siinä tapauksessa, että 2. tavun redusoitunutta vokaalia ei muuten olisi lainkaan substituoitu.

Kuten tunnettua, vastaavia 1. ja 2. tavun välisen konsonantismin vahvenemisiä esiintyy suomen murteissa ja myös muissa itämerensuomalaisissa kielissä melko runsaasti. Tunnetuimpia tällaisista vahvenemisistä ovat pitkän vokaaliaineksen etiset yleisgeminaatio (*enää* → *ennää*, *rahaa* → *rahhaa* – tähän liittyy myös viron ns. lyhyiden illatiivimuotojen [*lin`na* 'kaupunkiin'] historia) ja lounaismurteiden erikoisgeminaatio (*tultiin* → *tultti*, *aikaa* → *aikka*). Myös muissa kuin yksittäiskonsonanteissa on kuitenkin 1. ja 2. tavun välillä havaittavissa vahvenemistendenssiä (*Jämsä* → *Jämpsä*), joka voi realisoitua myös venäjän polnoglasieta muistuttavana švaavokaalina (*pohjalainen* → *pohojalaane*). Sitä, missä määrin tällaiset vahvenemistendenssit ovat vaikuttaneet mahdolliseen sanan *болога* substituomiseen varhaisessa itämerensuomessa ei luonnollisesti ole enää mahdollista saada täsmällistä tietoa.

Kaiken kaikkiaan voi todeta, että *palkka*-sanain lainautumista venäjän sanasta *болога* 'hyvä; hyöty' ei täydellisten äänteellisten paralleelien puutteesta ole mahdollista aukottomasti todistaa. Monet seikat, joita yllä on lyhyesti kuvailtu viittaavat silti siihen, että suomen *palkka*-sanain selittäminen slaavilaiseksi lainaksi on kuitenkin mahdollista paitsi semanttisesti myös äänteellisesti. Tulevan tutkimuksen tehtäväksi jää tässä kohdin etsiä täydellisiä äänteellisiä paralleleja, jotka voisivat varmistaa yllä annetun sananselityksen oikeellisuuden.

5.6. *luiska* 'kalteva pinta' < mven \**lyzg*-ja id. (> ven *лыжа* 'suksi; luistin; proomun köli'), *luisu* id. < ven *лыжа* 'suksi; luistin' (nuorempi laina)

Suomen *luiska* ja *luisu* kuuluvat laajaan ja varioivaan sanaperheeseen, joka on mitä ilmeisimmin jossain määrin monilähtöinen.

Ensinnäkin on epäselvää, kuuluuko 'kovasinta' merkitsevä *luiska*, joka voidaan palauttaa kantasuomeen (\**luiska*), yhteen kaltevaa pintaa merkitsevän suppealevikkisemmän (suomi, karjala) *luiska*-sanueen kanssa. Toisekseen ei ole aivan varmaa, mitkä kaikki moninaisista 'liukumista' ja 'luisumista' tarkoittavista johdoksista (*luistaa*, *luisua*, *luiskahtaa*, *luiskea* 'suippo', *luikua*, *luieta*, *liukua* jne.) kuuluvat saman sanueen piiriin. \**luiska*-aineksisten sanojen kehityksessä on havaittavissa sellaista varioivaa kontaminoitumista, jota Jarva (2003) on kuvannut eräiden venäläislainojen yhteydessä (*tytinä* < *студень* 'liha-hyytelö', *tökötti* < *дѣготь* 'tuohiterva') ja jota Terho Itkonen aikoinaan kutsui leikkisästi sanojen "suksiretkiksi" kuvaellensa suomen ja karjalan venäläisperäisen suksisanaston kontaminaatiopohjaista, "ekspressiivisyyden" ohjaamaa variaatiota (ven *нодоува* 'antura' > ka *potašva* 'potkusuksi' → su *potasma*, *potaska*, *potakka* jne.; Itkonen 1977).



Joka tapauksessa sanue on laaja ja siihen kuuluu monia yleisiä sanoja. Erityisesti yleiskielen *luistaa* näyttää johdokselta sanasta *luiska* (> *\*luisk-ta-ta*). Tällä verbillä on kaksi toisistaan poikkeavaa merkitystä, 'irrottaa tuohta' ja 'liukua'. Koivulehto (1981: 359–362) on esittänyt, että ensimmäisessä merkityksessä *luistaa* on germaaninen laina (< *\*lūjan* 'hakata; repiä' > mn *lya* id.). Itämerensuomen sana on *-st*-johdos, mikä näyttää olevan melko tavallista germaanilainojen yhteydessä (vrt. *loistaa* < *\*glōjan* id. [esim. LÄGLOS II 216] ja *paistaa* < *\*bājan* 'lämmittää' [esim. SSA II: 290–291], molemmat näistäkin alun perin Jorma Koivulehdon esittämiä).

Koivulehdon selitys on hyväksytty myös etymologisissa sanakirjoissa SSA:ta lukuun ottamatta (LÄGLOS II: 221; NSES 633 – SSA [II: 100] pitää sanaa *luistaa* todennäköisimmin *liuku*-vartalon johdoksena). Sen sijaan suomenkielisistä etymologisista sanakirjoista uusin NSES (ibid.) pitää epävarmana, kuuluuko yleiskielen *luistaa* 'liukua' yhteen 'tuohen irrottamista' merkitsevän *luistaa*-sanan kanssa ja toteaa, että germaanisella taholla ei ole jälkiä tällaisesta merkityksestä.

Koska itämerensuomen *luistaa*, *luisu* ja *luiska* esiintyvät juuri 'liukumisen' ja 'kaltevan, liukuvan pinnan' merkityksessä (ja viron *luisata* [: *luiskan*] 'valehdella; teeskennellä' voidaan ilmeisesti tulkita tällaisen merkityksen metaforiseksi laajentumaksi), näyttäisi houkuttelevalta yhdistää sanat slaavilaiseen sanueeseen, jolla on vastaavia merkityksiä.

Nykyvenäjän 'suksea' merkitsevä *лыжа* on muinaisvenäläinen johdos *\*lyzg-ja*, joka äänteellisesti vastaisi täsmälleen itämerensuomen *\*luiska*-sanuetta. Sana tarkoittaa venäjän murteissa paitsi 'suksia' ja 'luistimia' myös 'reen jalaksia' ja 'proomun köliä'. Muissa slaavilaiskielissä esiintyy samankantaisia 'proomua' merkitseviä johdoksia. Sana on edelleen yhteydessä verbiin *лызгать* 'liukua jäällä' (ks. esim. Vasmer II: 540; Černyh I: 496–497).

Äänteellisesti laina olisi hyvin odotuksenmukainen. Substituutiosuhde *\*y* (> ven *ы*) > ims *ui* on vanhastaan tunnettu erityisesti (melko) vanhoissa lainoissa (vrt. ven *мыло* ~ ka *muilo* 'saippua', *выть* ~ *vuitti* 'osa' ym.; ks. Kalima 1956: 41 – vrt. alempana *suuttua*, jossa attestoitavissa aikaisemmin epävarmana pidetty vielä vanhemmille lainoille ominainen äännevastaavuus ven *ы* ~ su *uu*). *-gj*-sekvenssi taas realisoitui slaavissa äännettäessä vain liudentuneena *g*-äänteenä, joka olisi substituoitu ims *k*:lla. Huomattakoon, että muutos *-zgj-* > *-ж-* ei Novgorodin seudulla ilmeisesti ole kovin vanha – *zgj*-muotoja on kirjallisina attestoitu sekä Novgorodin että Pihkovan seudun kielestä (Zaliznjak 2004: 48). Siksi ei myöskään *luiska* välttämättä ole erityisen vanha laina, vaikkakin substituutio *ы* > *ui* pro *ы* > *i*, *ii* toki viittaa lainan kohtalaisen korkeaan ikään (esimerkkejä *ы*:n erilaisista substituuteista tarjoaa Kalima ibidem).

Semanttisesti laina oletus edellyttäisi, että sanan alkumerkitys olisi 'liukas pinta' (vrt. *luiskahtaa*), josta sittemmin olisi kehittynyt 'kaltevan pinnan' merkitys. Slaavilaisella taholla sanan merkityksissä onkin huomattavaa variaatiota, jos kohta nimenomaan 'liukas t. kalteva pinta' on kaikille merkityksille yhteinen. 'Suksen' nimitys itämerensuomalaisissa kielissä tietenkin oli jo uralilaisen kantakielen peruna (*\*sukse*), mutta erityyppisten suksien nimityksiä näytetään itämerensuomalais-venäläisellä kontaktialueella lainatun (vrt. yllä mainittu *potasma* – myös venäjän kielessä on suomalais-ugrilaisista kielistä saatuja murteellisia suksennimityksiä).

*Luiska*-sanana etymologiasta riippumatta voidaan edelleen esittää, että lähes samanmerkityksinen *luisu*, josta niin ikään on runsaasti johdoksia (*luisua* ym.), olisi lainattu samasta slaavilaisesta sanasta, mutta myöhemmin, *-zgj-* > *-ж-* -muutoksen eli ns. ensimmäisen palatalisaation jo tapahduttua lähdekielellä. Tietenkin on mahdollista sekin, että sana on lainattu toisentyypisestä slaavilaismurteesta tai että se jotenkin olisi kontaminaatioteitse tai ns. suffiksinvaihdon kautta syntynyt *luiska*-sanueesta. Laina oletus on kuitenkin perinteisen etymologian periaatteiden mukainen, eikä saman sanueen lainaaminen useampaan kertaan ole edes kovin harvinaista (vrt. esim. *laukku* yllä).

Ilmeisesti varioivaan sanueeseen kuuluvien lukuisten itämerensuomalaisien sanojen äänneasun kehitykseen ovat saattaneet vaikuttaa kontaminaatiot alun perin eri alkuperää olevien *liukas-* (< *livukas* < *\*lipu-*) ja *lipu-* sekä *lipe-* sanueiden kanssa. Koko sanueen monimutkaisen historiallisen ”suksiretken” selvittely ei kuitenkaan kuulu tämän tutkimuksen tavoitteisiin.

### 5.7. *paljo(n)* < mven *\*bol-jbъ* 'suuri' (> ven *более* 'enemmän', *большой* 'suuri')

Adjektiivinen *paljo* 'määrältään suuri; lukuisa, runsas' ei ole nykykielessä kovin yleinen. Sen sijaan tämän instruktiivimuodosta kiteytynyt kvanttori *paljon* on hyvin yleinen, ja vähemmässä määrin myös sellaiset adverbit kuin *paljolti* tai johdokset kuten *paljous*, *paljontaa* jne.

Sana esiintyy jo Agricolalla ja sillä on vastine myös itämerensuomen eteläryhmässä, viron *palju* ja vatjan *pal'lo* (ks. esim. SSA II: 301 – SKES [474–475] mainitsee vastineen myös kreviiniläisteksteissä). Karjalassa ja vepsässä sana ei kuitenkaan esiinny vahvennussanana vaan sen tilalla käytetään *äijä*-vartalon johdoksia. Sana *paljo* on attestoitu karjalasta ilmeisesti vain Suojärven murteessa (SKES *ibid.*) ja tässä on kyseessä mitä luontevin suomalaislaina. Se on edelleen lainattu myös pohjoissaameen (*báljo*) ja luulajansaamen, joissa sitä käytetään sanakirjojen mukaan lähinnä negaation yhteydessä.

Sanaa on etymologisesti yritetty selittää kolmella tavalla, joista kaksi on nähdäkseni virheellisiä ja kolmas, vähiten tunnettu selitys periaatteessa oikea.

SKES ja SSA (ibid.) sekä UEW (350–351) esittävät sanalle epävarmoja vastineita etäsukukielistä. Nämä, merkitykseltään sanan *paljo* yhteyteen sopivat sanat eivät kuitenkaan vastaa uralilaisen sanastontutkimuksen normaaleja äännesuhteita. Marin *pülä* ’melko t. kovin paljon’ olisi, mikäli se palautuisi kanta-uraliin, ilmeisesti vanha \**ü*-sana, mansin ’tiheää’ ja ’paksua’ merkitsevät sanat puolestaan vanhoja *ä*-sanoja.

Eräät tutkijat kuten Karsten (1902) ja de Vries (1962: 125) ovat esittäneet sanalle germaanista alkuperää, mutta lainaoriginaaliksi ehdotettu \**felu* (→ saks *viel*) ’paljon’ tuottaisi äänneellisesti etuvokaalisen vastineen (\*\**pelü* tms.), jollaista ei ole attestoitu. SSA (ibid.) toteaaakin aivan oikein, että ”molemmat alkuperäselitykset ovat epävarmoja”.

Sanalle on ehdotettu myös slaavilaista alkuperää, vaikkakin taholla, jota useimmat suomalaiset kielitieteilijät eivät seuranne. Koska kyseessä on niin keskeinen sana, referoin etymologiaa tässä, vaikka se, toisin kuin muut tässä artikkelissa käsitellyt, ei ole alun perin omani.

A. L. Šilov (2005: 10–13) on verrannut sanaa venäjän suurta merkitsevään adjektiiviin *больий*, joka esiintyy nykyisin lähinnä vertailumuodoissa (*более* ’enemmän’ ja *наиболее* ’eniten’ < \**bol-jьjь*). Saman sanan johdos on myös venäjän yleiskielen *большой* ’suuri’. Kun venäjän ja suomen sanojen merkitykset ja äänneasut ovat niin lähellä toisiaan, Šilovin esitys ansaitsee huomiota sittenkin, vaikka sanojen äänneasujen eroavaisuuksia ei kenties ole aukottomasti mahdollista perustella. Itämerensuomen sana vaikuttaa nimittäin ensi silmäyksellä omaksutun slaavista jo ennen kuin *-ьjь*-päätteisten adjektiivien 2. tavu vokaalisti. Tätä muutosta on yleensä pidetty jo lähes kantaslaavilaisena.<sup>21</sup>

5.8. *suuttua* alk. ’täytyä’ ← johd. \**suuttu*- ’täysi’ (→ *suuttio* ’hevonen, joka ei suostu vetämään kuormaa’ ym.)  
< esisl \**sūtu* (> mven \**sytъ* > ven *сым* ’täysi; kylläinen’)

*Suuttua* ’vihastua’ esiintyy kaikkialla itämerensuomalaisten kielten pohjoisryhmässä (su, ka, ly, ve, ink) sekä lisäksi itämerensuomen eteläryhmään kuuluvassa vatjassa. Paitsi ’vihastumisen’ merkityksessä sanaa on viimeksi mainitussa käytetty myös kyllästymisestä ja maidon juoksettumisesta (*piimä suutub*

<sup>21</sup> 2.12.2008 pidetyssä esitelmässä, johon tämä artikkeli pohjautuu, esitin että myös suomen *kalju* ’hiukseton’ olisi mahdollisesti slaavilaislaina (< mven *гольжъ* → ven *голый* ’alaston’). Tässä etymologiassa on sama ongelma kuin *paljo*-sanassa, nimittäin 2. tavun slaavilaisten adjektiivien \*-j-aineen mahdollinen substituointi ims -j-:llä useimmista myöhemmistä lainoista tunnetun vokaalisen substituution asemesta (vrt. Kalima 1956: 61). Toivon voivani käsitellä tällaista substituutiota toisessa yhteydessä.

'maito menee juustoksi'). 'Kyllästymisen' merkitys sanalle esiintyy SKES:n (1141) mukaan myös Agricolalla sekä paikoin lounaismurteissa. Sama merkitys on säilynyt ilmeisesti samakantaisessa johdoksessa *suuttio* 'hevonen, joka ei suostu vetämään kuormaa' (Valk., Sipp., Kartt., Kuhmo; ks. *ibid.*).

Suomen vanhoissa sanakirjoissa (Juslenius, Ganander, Renvall) esiintyvät sekä 'suuttumusta' että 'kyllästymistä' merkitsevät johdokset *suuttu*, *suutto* ja *suute*. Nämä viittaavat siihen, että \**suuttu*-vartalolla attestoitu 'kyllästymisen' merkitys on aikaisemmin ollut nykyistä yleisempi (ks. esim. SKES *ibid.*). Kaikki edellä mainitut vanhoissa sanakirjoissa esiintyvät sanat ovat nykysuomessa tuntemattomia.

Itämerensuomen lisäksi sana esiintyy saamessa kaikkialla piitimen- ja turjansaamen välillä, mutta sen fonotaktinen muoto (saaN *suhttat* 'suuttua jkllē' <ksaa \**suttē*- eli varhaiskantasuomen pitkään vokaaliin ja pitkään konsonantiin palautuva *-uht-*) paljastaa sen (ilmeisen varhaiseksi) lainaksi itämerensuomesta. Merkitys 'kyllästyä' tunnetaan piitimen- ja luulajansaamassa, muualla merkitys on ainoastaan 'vihastua' (SSA III: 227). Sanan lainaoriginaali on saattanut erota nykyisestä itämerensuomesta, sillä saame viittaa 2. tavun labiaalivokaalin sijasta vanhaan *e*-vartaloon (\*\**suutte*-). Toisaalta saamessa esiintyy myös läheisemmin itämerensuomen sanan äännerakennetta muistuttava *suhttu* : *suhtus* 'suutuksissa' (toimittajan huomautus).

Sanaa *suuttua* on aikaisemmin yritetty etymologisesti selittää kahdella tavalla, omaperäisenä johdoksena ja lainana. Jo eräät 1800-luvun tutkijat ja heihin liittyen mm. Lauri Hakulinen (1971) sekä SSA (varauksin, vaihtoehtoisena etymologiana, *ibid.*) ovat pitäneet verbiä *suuttua* substantiivin *suu* johdoksena. Tällainen omapohjainen selitys edellyttää, että sanan varhaisin merkitys on ollut nimenomaan 'kyllästyä', jonka takana olisi konkreettisempi merkitys 'täytyä'. Tässä yhteydessä on viitattu Renvallilla (1823–1826) esiintyvän johdokseen *suuttaa* 'työntää suuhun, täyttää', johon pohjautuvana refleksiivinä verbiä *suuttua* voisi ainakin formaalisti pitää. Ongelmalliselta vaikuttaa kuitenkin, että sanalla *suuttua* ei ole lainkaan täyttymisen merkitystä. Sen sijaan sana tarkoittaa 'kyllästymistä'. Tällainen aukko merkityksenkehityksessä tosin olisi periaatteessa silloitettavissa, ellei sanalle olisi esitettävissä parempaa etymologiaa (ks. jäljempänä).

Toisena, vaihtoehtoisena etymologiana SSA tarjoaa sanalle *suuttua* skandinaavista laina-alkuperää (viittaus Sköldiin [1960]; ks. myös SKES 1140–1141, jossa sama etymologia esitetty kysymysmerkkinä varustettuna). Tässä tapauksessa lainaoriginaali olisi muinaisnorjan *sýta* 'aiheuttaa surua, vaivata; surra jtak; välittää, huolehtia jstak'. Tämän sanan vastine on nykyruotsin *syta* 'huolehtia; valittaa; hankkia' ja kyseessä on johdos muinaisnorjan nominatiivista *sút* 'suru, murhe, huoli; sairaus'.

Vaikka SSA ei tätä mainitse, tulisi *suuttua* tässäkin tapauksessa tulkita *\*\*suutta*-vartalon refleksiivijohdokseksi. Ainoa merkitys, joka tällaisella vartalolla on atestoitu lienee kuitenkin Renvallin sanakirjassa mainittu 'työntää suuhun, täyttää', joka semanttisesti ei sovi ehdotettuun lainaoriginaaliin. Pikemminkin tämä vaikuttaisi itämerensuomen sanan *syyttää* lainaoriginaalilta, ellei jälkimmäinen helposti selittyisi sanan *syy* johdokseksi. On kukaties mahdollista ajatella, että ao. skandinaavinen sana olisi jollain tavalla vaikuttanut sanan *syyttää* merkityksenkehityksiin suomessa ja muissa itämerensuomalaisissa kielissä – tämä kysymys jää kuitenkin tulevan tutkimuksen arvioitavaksi.

Sekä germaaninen että omaperäinen selitys ovat kuitenkin molemmat hylättävissä, sillä *suuttua* on selitettävissä slaavilaiseksi lainaksi. Kyseeseen tuleva lainaoriginaali on (kanta)slaavin *\*sytъ* (< *\*sūtū*) 'täysi; runsas; kyllästynyt' (→ ven *сыт*, kirkkoslaavin *сытъ* – sana esiintyy laajalti muuallakin slaavilaisissa kielissä, ks. esim. Vasmer III: 821). Sanan nykyvenäläisellä seuraajalla *сыт(ый)* on paitsi merkitys 'täysi; kylläinen' myös 'kyllästynyt' ja 'vihainen' (vrt. *сыт по горло* 'kurkkua myöten täynnä; ärsyyntynyt'; *пресытиться, пресыщаться* 'kyllästyttää; ärsyttää'). Saman sanan vastineet esiintyvät myös germaanisissa kielissä (esim. sa *satt* 'kylläinen; kyllästynyt; humalassa' ← kgerm *\*sada-*, Kluge 2002: 786) ja baltissa (esim. liett *sotūs* 'rasvainen'). Länsi-indoeurooppalainen sanajuuri, johon sekä slaavin, baltin että germaanin sanat palautuvat, on *\*sāt*, *\*sət* (sanan indoeurooppalaisesta taustasta ks. esim. Kluge ibid.). Lainaoriginaali olisi ollut varhainen slaavilainen ns. lyhyttä adjektiiviva vastaava muoto.

'Täyden', erityisesti 'täyden suun' ja 'suuttuneen' välinen semanttinen yhteys on tunnettu monista kielistä. Esimerkiksi saksan ilmaus *die Schnauze voll haben* 'kuono täynnä' merkitsee samaa kuin 'ärsyyntynyt; kyllästynyt; vihastunut', samoin englannin *I am fed up* 'olen täynnä' merkitsee myös 'kyllästynyt t. vihainen' (vrt. myös esim. *I am full of you*, kirjaimellisesti 'olen täynnä sinua', oik. 'olen kyllästynyt sinuun t. vihainen sinulle'). Samantyyppinen ilmaus on myös suomen *kurkkua myöten täynnä*. Edelleen englannin *anger* 'viha; suuttumus' on johdos kapeaa tarkoittavasta germaanisesta *\*ang*-vartalosta (→ sa *eng* 'kapea', ks. esim. ODEE 16) ja liittyy siten samaan 'täyttymisen' ja 'räjähtämisen' metaforaan ('ahdas' → 'täynnä' → 'vihainen'). Samasta germaanisesta vartalosta on johdettu niin ikään negatiivista tunnetilaa kuvaava saksan *Angst* 'pelko; ahdistus'. Vastaava 'täyden' ja 'vihastumisen' yhteys on nähtävissä myös ranskan ilmauksessa *se mettre dans tous ses états*, kirj. 'asettua täyteen tilaan', oik. 'vihastua; tulistua'.

Suomalais-ugrilaisista kielistä vastaava merkityskirjo on mm. komin futuurin 3. persoonan muodolla *tyrmas*, joka merkitsee 'riittää' (esim. ruoasta), mutta jota voidaan käyttää myös kehoituksena lopettaa ('riittää jo; suu kiinni!'). Samankaltaista polysemiaa on myös suomen *kyllä*-vartalolla (vrt. *kylläinen*,

*kyllästynyt* tai ilmaus *olen saanut kylliksi sinusta!*) tai metaforisissa ilmauksissa *mitta täynnä* tai *yli äyräiden* (vrt. edelleen myös esim. unkarin *felmegy benne a pumpa*, kirj. 'pumppu nousee ylös (jskssa)', oik. 'vihastua; tulistua').

Äänteellisesti suomen *suuttu*-vartalo vastaa kantaslaavin tasoa, mikäli kantaslaavin vokalismien rekonstruoimisen lähtökohdaksi oletetaan Kallion (2007b) rekonstruktio, joka pohjautuu Frederik Kortlandtin tutkimuksiin. Tämä eroaa mm. Kiparskyn esittämästä aikaisemmasta kantaslaavin rekonstruktioista sikäli, että pitkän *i*:n sijasta oletetaan pitkä *\*ū*, josta sittemmin kehittyy venäjän *ы* (välivaiheena kehityksessä olisi ollut diftongi *ui*, joka siis on jo vanhastaan attestoitu myös itämerensuomen slaavilaislainoissa; ks. yllä).

On ilmeistä, että tällainen rekonstruktio vastaa historiallista todellisuutta paremmin mm. siksi, että itämerensuomen slaavilaislainoissa on vanhastaankin katsottu säilyneen kantaslaavin lyhyt *u* (*ѳ* = *ū*); vrt. esim. *lusikka* < *\*лѳька* (→ ven *ложка*), joka sittemmin delabialisoitui (– myös tämä äänne muutos heijastunee itämerensuomen slaavilaislainoissa, vrt. *risti* < *\*крѳсть*). Todennäköiseltä vaikuttaisikin, että pitkä ja lyhyt *u* ovat delabialisoituneet samaan aikaan (näin esim. Kallio *ibid.* sekä hänen mainitsemansa lähteet). Näin ollen samassa kielimuodossa, josta *lusikka* (< *\*лѳька*) on lainattu ja jossa on esiintynyt *\*ū*, on todennäköisesti ollut myös labiaalinen *\*ū*. Tällaisesta pitkästä *u*:sta ei kuitenkaan ole kovin paljon jälkiä itämerensuomalaisen kielten slaavilaislainoissa. Ainoastaan vatjan *sūra* 'juusto' (~ ven *сыръ* *id.*) on aikaisemmin mainittu mahdollisena *\*ū*:n edustajana (ks. Kallio *ibid.* 155). *Suuttua* täyttäisi näin siis fonemaattisen "aukon" suomen slaavilaislainoissa ja osoittaisi, että myös sanoja, joissa slaavissa on esiintynyt *\*ū*, on lainattu itämerensuomeen.

## 6. Lopuksi

Edellä on esitetty ainoastaan raapaisuja itämerensuomalais-slaavilaisten kontaktien tutkimukseen. Niiden tarkoituksena on ollut todistaa, että tällä alalla on vielä saavutettavissa hyvin paljon uutta ja oleellista, aivan riippumatta siitä, asettaako tutkija tavoitteekseen yksittäisten sanojen alkuperän kuvauksen vai laajoihin etnohistoriallisiin synteeseihin pyrkimisen.

Venäjän murteissa on enemmän itämerensuomalaisia lainoja kuin Kalima (1919) on kuvannut, ja itämerensuomalaisissa kielissä on enemmän slaavilaisia lainoja kuin Mikkola (1894), Kalima (1952) ja heidän seuraajansa ovat kuvanneet. Sekä venäjän itämerensuomalaiset lainat että itämerensuomalaisen kielten venäläiset lainat on usein omaksuttu kielimuodoista, joita aikaisempien vuosikymmenten tutkimus ei kyennyt kuvaamaan – ja niiden kehitykseen ovat vaikuttaneet sellaiset äänne muutokset, joita kaikkein ortodoksisin nuor-

grammatiikka ei olisi pitänyt edes mahdollisina. Silti jopa kaikkein tiukimmin ja traditionaalisimmin normaalin etymologisen tutkimuksen kriteerein on yllättävästi mahdollista löytää kosolti uusia slaavilaisia lainaetymologioita hyvinkin yleisille itämerensuomen sanoille.

Fennougristiikalle on ehkä koitunut vahingoksi, että se on kehittynyt paljolti maissa, jotka ovat muovanneet kansallista identiteettiään problemaattisessa suhteessa Venäjään (ks. esim. Salminen 2009, tässä niteessä). Tämä on tutkimushistoriassa johtanut vääristymään, jossa slaavilaisia lainoja on tutkittu ainakin jossain määrin vähemmän kuin muita vanhoja sanastokerrostumia, erityisesti germaanisista lainoista. Kansallisesti värittyneen tutkimusparadigman kuuluisimpana esimerkkinä voidaan mainita J. J. Mikkola, joka uudistaessaan lähes viiden vuosikymmenen jälkeen alun perin vuonna 1894 ilmestyneen ura-uurtavan monografiansa slaavilaisista lainoista vuonna 1938 veti takaisin monia ilmeisesti aivan oikeaan osuneita slaavilaisia lainaetymologioita.

Slaavilais-itämerensuomalaiset kontaktit eivät ole ainoastaan lyhyt loppuluku itämerensuomen ja sen edeltäjien kielikontaktien historiassa. Itämerensuomalaiset väestöt ovat muodostaneet tärkeän osan pohjoisvenäläisten slaavilaisjohtoisten ruhtinaskuntien, erityisesti Novgorodin väestöstä, ja näiden ruhtinaskuntien pohjoisten alueiden kolonisaatiopolitiikka on ollut keskeinen taustatekijä nykyisen itämerensuomalaisen kielialueen pohjoisten periferioiden muotoutumisessa. Siksi slaavilaisvaikutukset itämerensuomalaisissa kielissä ja itämerensuomalaiset vaikutukset venäjässä ovat hyvin huomattavia siinäkin tapauksessa, että ne eivät ole yhtä varhaisia ja samalla tavoin kielen rakennetta perin juurin mullistaneita kuin varhaiset germaanikosketukset.

Itämerensuomen slaavilaislainat jakaantuvat useaan kerrostumaan, joista varhaisimmat voivat ehkä auttaa selvittämään slaavin ja baltin välisten suhteiden luonnetta, tätä seuraavat kerrostumat Novgorodin ja sen ympäristön murteiden äännesuhteita sekä uudemmat kerrostumat itämerensuomalaisen sanaston laajenemista kontaminaatioiden ja ekspressiivistymisten myötä. Kaikkien näiden kysymysten tutkimuksessa on vasta raapaistu hieman pintaa.

Slaavilaisten ja itämerensuomalaisten kielten kontaktien tutkimuksen tilaa voi kukaties verrata germaanis-itämerensuomalaisten tutkimuksen tilaan 1960-luvulla, jolloin A. D. Kylstra (1961) oli kirjoittanut germaanisten lainojen tutkimushistorian. Pian tämän jälkeen Jorma Koivulehdon lukuisat tutkimukset osoittivat, että juuri germaanisten lainojen tutkimus onkin avain itämerensuomalaisten kielten kontaktihistorian syvempään tuntemukseen. Tämä loi kokonaan uuden tutkimusparadigman ja uuden sisäisen kronologian itämerensuomen eri-ikäisille lainakerrostumille. Vaikka näin syvällistä mullistusta ei slaavilaislainojen tutkimuksessa koettaisikaan, voidaan silti olettaa, että käsitteitä slaavilaislainojen periodisaatiosta, lähdekielen murteista ja koko sanasto-

kerrostuman laajuudesta itämerensuomessa joudutaan vielä kenties tarkastelemaan uudelleen (näin myös esim. Šilov 2005: 7).

Voi todeta, että venäjän itämerensuomalaisten lainojen tutkimuksessa ollaan joiltain osin ehditty pidemmälle kuin itämerensuomen slaavilaisvaikutuksen tutkimuksessa. Suomalaisessa fennougristiikassa on aivan turhaan jäänyt melko vähäiselle huomiolle venäjän murteiden itämerensuomalaisia lainoja koskeva, 1990-luvulta alkaen uudistunut mielenkiinto. Alalla on ilmestynyt useita perinpohjaisia monografioita (Matveev 2001–2007; Mullonen 1994, 2002; Myznikov 2003, 2004), jotka vievät käsityksen itämerensuomalaisen vaikutuksen luonteesta ja laajuudesta venäjässä aivan uudelle tasolle ja mullistavat Kaliman aikalaisten jälkeensä jättämää tutkimusparadigmaa. Tämä tutkimusrenessanssi, jonka taustalla ovat toisaalta murre- ja paikannimimateriaalien huomattava karttuminen, toisaalta entistä parempi ymmärrys kielellisten substraattivaikutusten luonteesta, asettaa kyseenalaisiksi myös monia itämerensuomalaisten kielten historian perusoletuksia niin ajoitusten, paikannusten kuin itämerensuomalaisten kielten sukuun suhteen.

Venäläinen tutkimusparadigma on jossain määrin kärsinyt suhteellisen ohuesta fennougristisesta ja balttofennistisestä taustatyöstä. Siksi myös tämä tutkimustraditio tarvitsee jatkuvaa fennougristista uudelleenarviointia. Venäjän muresanojen vertailu itämerensuomalaisten kielten sanavaroihin – erityisesti karjalaan, suomeen ja vepsään – ei ole riittävä metodi, vaan koko itämerensuomalainen äännehistoria ja areaalilingvistiikka on nykyistä paremmin otettava huomioon sanastoa arvioitaessa. Tähän tarvitaan myös suomalaisten fennougristien panosta.

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## Social Network Theory as a framework for studying minor Finnic languages with special reference to Karelian

*Kalahan se ettšiy verkkuo, ei verkko kaloa.*

‘It’s the fish that seeks for the net,  
not the net that seeks for the fish.’

(A proverb from Rugarv, Republic of Karelia;  
KKS s.v. *verkko*)

### 1. Netting together Finnic and micro-sociolinguistics

The Finno-Ugric languages belong to the lesser-known and globally most threatened vernaculars (see, e.g., Council of Europe 2006). Yet, the majority of the Finno-Ugric varieties are still very weakly trademarked in the knowledge inventory of the worldwide linguistic community. This is particularly true of the minor Finnic (formerly also called Baltic-Finnic) varieties (i.e., all Finnic languages except Finnish and Estonian): even in authoritative sources the information available on them is far too often sporadic or misunderstood, or has very little if any foundation at all. However, in their reducing linguistic and geographic compactness which in part ultimately is due to the universal processes of modernisation, urbanisation and the ageing of the population especially in rural areas, contemporary minor Finnic speech communities mirror the very effects of the major socio-historical processes emblematic to our time. Thus, on the one hand, the minor Finnic languages offer intriguing insights into understanding the complicated dialogism of social factors and language-diversity endangerment in general.

On the other hand, however, minor Finnic speech communities in Russia are characterised by increasing linguistic and cultural heterogeneity triggered by socio-historical processes that are local rather than global in nature. Amongst the most important of these have been the growth of industry in their traditional environment rich with natural resources, the Russian and the Soviet policies of (forced) assimilation of non-Russian citizens, Stalinist purges and deportations in the 1920s, 1930s and during World War II, the liquidation of perspectiveless

villages in the 1960s and 1970s, and, as pointed out by Heikkinen (2000), the conscious eradication of traditional values that used to maintain minority cultures and languages prior to the Communist era. Consequently, in spite of the similarities between modern socio-historical processes in the West and in Russia, studies concerned with the minor Finnic languages and speech communities inescapably involve aspects that are not necessarily taken into account in the standard sociolinguistic methodological and conceptual procedures which have been mainly developed in modern Western societies.

The current paper is anchored to the ongoing discussion of new viewpoints and methodologies in Finno-Ugric studies, and is concerned with some perspectives opened up by one prominent sociolinguistic framework, viz. Social Network Theory. This theory was born in the social sciences within the paradigm of structural functionalism, and was gradually adopted into a wide variety of further scholarly disciplines (including linguistics via anthropology, see Milroy 2000: 217), so that today 'Network Theory' actually is used as a rather general term referring to several theories and models of social relationships (see, e.g., Levinson & Ember 1996: 510 ff.). As an analytic approach network theories seek to shed light on the nature and direction of social influence by investigating the micro-level of social networks between individuals as a significant part of the macro-level represented by large social units, such as a social class or a minority group in its entirety. To put it very generally, the underlying idea is that certain social structures correlate with certain cultural (e.g., linguistic) constructions so that regularities between social relationships and their effects on cultural constructions can be established. These regularities can be approached by means of Social Network Analysis, that is, thorough investigation of the interdependencies of variable social structures, the characteristic features of individuals' networks, and the individual's behaviour (e.g., language use). The main aim is, in brief, to show how local practices interact with global patterns.

The primary hypothesis of Social Network Theory is that individuals are embedded in their very personal social clusters which provide them with structures that help them cope with their everyday lives which also effect members' behaviour (e.g., language use). One current sociolinguistic characterisation of the concept is that of Milroy and Gordon (2003: 117) who define a social network as "the aggregate of relationships contracted with others, a boundless web of ties which reaches out through social and geographical space linking many individuals, sometimes remotely". In other words, social networks are structures of involvement and interaction which are based on the mutual engagement of people who come together either directly or indirectly via other people, and who share a repertoire of norms and patterns of behaviour. Seen horizontally, networks can encompass age groups and involve people belonging to different

social cohorts (e.g., work, special interest groups); viewed vertically, they cross over generations (e.g., family, kin) and can intersect social partitions, especially in cases involving social movement upwards or downwards. (Meyerhoff 2006: 185.) Each individual simultaneously belongs to numerous social networks which often overlap to some extent. The initial primary-function network is usually that of the family of birth; growing up, each individual constantly joins new networks, so that everyone ends up having her/his very own combination of macro-level, large-scale networks and micro-level, interpersonal networks. In regard to the relative impact of networks, it has recently been suggested by Meyerhoff (2006: 195) that childhood networks have a greater effect on linguistic patterns than adult networks. In my view, this assumption is not particularly tenable: As shown in, for example, Bortoni-Ricardo's (1985) study of changes in individual network structures and their effects on language use, the personal mixture of networks may vary considerably even during an individual's own lifetime. As shown by a wealth of further sociolinguistic studies, some of which will be discussed below, the potency of the impact of a specific social network on an individual's behaviour and values is a highly individual matter and cannot be reduced to generalisations such as this.

As the above definitions show, because networks are extremely variable, they can also be classified in a variety of ways. A very typical type of network is the *egocentric network*: the anchorage point is the individual (*ego*) and all further nodes (i.e., other persons belonging to the network of the *ego*) become described in relation to their position in regard to the anchorage point. *Total networks* map all possible types of relationships between social entities. Therefore, one might seek to describe the network of an *ego* in absolute terms; in practice, however, this would hardly be possible, because each individual belongs simultaneously to numerous networks and it would be almost impossible to map all of these with the same degree of accuracy. *Partial networks* concentrate on only part of a network of one or more actors which is relevant to the research in question. Yet another type of network, the *joint network*, is a macro-level network mapping the social relationships within a village or town. The *referential network* depicts the relationships of the *ego* to abstract social constructs, for example, to a certain ethnic group or nation; for instance, two Estonians who do not know each other but meet accidentally abroad are bound to one another through membership in the category 'Estonian'. There are also networks that are possible but do not (yet) exist in real-life interactions; in the literature these are sometimes called *potential networks*. Other types of networks which will be introduced below in more detail include *experiential*, *insulated* and *integrated networks*.

Personal social networks comprise ties of different sorts and with diverse strengths. The direct contacts of an individual are said to belong to the first-

order zone of nodes where, as indirect contacts via a first-order contact person, they belong to a second-order zone. The ties within the network can be strong (intensive contact) or weak (less intensive contact); in a sociometric network diagram a single line between two nodes often (but not always, cf., e.g., Labov 2001: 349, 356) denotes a weak tie and a double line marks a strong tie. Structural relationships between the links can also vary in their nature; for instance, as stressed by Fitzmaurice (2000a), a contact can be reciprocal (“friendship” or “coalition”) or it can asymmetrical, for example, if one of the participants has considerable power and the other is a somewhat passive object in terms of power measurement. As an entity a network can be dense, meaning that all its members are in contact with each other, or it can be loose in the sense that not all members know each other. A network is said to be multiplex when the network ties within it are based on more than one relationship, similarity or activity; a uniplex network is based on only one relationship. (Milroy 1987: 50–51.)

In linguistics the impact of people’s social engagement in respect of their language use is not actually a new idea: even in 1905 Gauchat, who analysed the vernacular (*le patois*) of Charmey, a small Swiss village, established a correlation between an individual’s language use and her/his membership in a certain local network. In his famous 1958 study concerning the influence of the caste system on language use, Gumperz found out that in informal interaction between members of different social fractions the caste-based differences in linguistic behaviour levelled out. Yet, systematic sociolinguistic Social Network Analysis only began when the Belfast vernacular projects were carried out by Lesley and James Milroy (henceforth: Milroy and J. Milroy, respectively) in the 1970s (Milroy 1980; Milroy & Milroy 1985; some further linguistic network studies are reviewed in, e.g., Chambers 2003: 74–115). In linguistics the hay-day of Social Network Theory was the 1980s when it was seen as an individual-oriented alternative to quantitative Labovian sociolinguistics (e.g., Gal 1979; Milroy 1980; Bortoni-Ricardo 1985); later on in the 1990s, Social Network Theory has more and more been seen as a modification of the Labovian paradigm (see J. Milroy 1992). Linguistically, two major interests seem to have been ruling the field, namely, variety maintenance and language change, the former especially in regard to the continuance of traditional dialectal and sociolectal varieties or minority languages, and the latter specifically in regard to emblematic sociolects such as Ebonics (African-American Vernacular English, AAVE, also known as Black English Vernacular, BEV). Lately, Social Network Analyses have been carried out on the basis of older written documents to shed new light on the history of English by showing how innovations have spread within a specific network of writers (see, e.g., Fitzmaurice 2000b; Nevalainen 2000; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000; Lenker 2000; Bergs 2000).

By and large, the aim of sociolinguistic Social Network studies has traditionally been to explain the informal social mechanisms that encourage speakers to maintain their non-standard variety under pressure from a more prestigious language, or to show that change in the functioning of certain social mechanisms has created a social precondition for a specific linguistic change. A fairly new trend is the investigation of varieties evolving as a consequence of globalisation; these include, for instance, multilingual varieties evolving within urban networks (as for Finland, see Lehtonen's 2004 study of multinational youth groups in Helsinki) and those medial varieties that are currently developing within internet networks (see, e.g., Bergs 2006; Paolillo 2001; Couver 2006; Stein 2006; McNeill 2005).

So far the relationship between social networking and language use has been systematically examined in at least two case studies involving a Finno-Ugric variety. The pathbreaking investigation by Gal (1979) on Hungarian-German bilinguals in Austria confirmed that the decisive factor behind minority-language maintenance was an active membership in the traditional rural network. Aikio's (1988) survey of language-shift processes in five reindeer-herding Saami villages in Finland showed that one of the causes for the final breakthrough in the language shift of the Northern Saamis was that their rural networks broke in splinters when the artificial lakes of Lokka and Porttipahta were made in 1967 and 1970s. Contrary to Gal's, Aikio's study did not involve linguistic analyses but was purely sociological in nature. It focused on the informants' choice of language in communication with a certain other individual (each individual family member, relative, neighbour, etc.) in a variety of concrete interaction contexts; the problematics was analysed at the levels of individual, family and entire village. As innovative and methodologically novel as Aikio's survey was in its time, in this paper the focus is on sociolinguistic network studies, and I shall concentrate on discussing their methods and findings. The alleged effects of social ties on language use and the attitudes of Karelians have been referred to briefly in a paper by Pyöli (1999); there is also a sociolinguistic network project currently being carried out amongst the Karelians and Veps (Grünthal 2005: 33–34; 2007; forthcoming).

In what follows I shall discuss the prospects that the sociolinguistic application of Network Theory seems to hold, in my opinion, for the study of contemporary minor Finnic-speaking communities. The discussion draws on experiences I had during my fieldwork periods in central Karelian and Tver Karelian speech communities at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s. Given that my own empirical research has always focused on linguistic and discursive rather than language-sociological aspects, systematic network analyses have remained outside the scope of my Karelian research; my 60-hour Karelian interview corpus

would not even be suitable for a Social Network Analysis. Consequently, I shall confine myself here to examining some of the pros and cons of Social Network Analysis in regard to minor Finnic languages at a rather general methodological level: as I thread my way through I shall refer to experiences and results reaped from a selection of sociolinguistic network studies, in order to show what is assumed in the linguistic applications of Network Theory and what kind of problems one might encounter when trying to apply these hypotheses to the study of contemporary Karelian contexts.

Section 2 is dedicated to one of the very central characteristics of Network Analysis, namely, its asserted flexibility. The questions I wish to elucidate here are concerned with defining and characterising network memberships, adjusting Network Analysis methodology to linguistic research questions relevant to contemporary Karelian, issues connected with measuring network integration, and the impact of vernacular cultures and social categories on the individual's linguistic behaviour. Section 3 brings us to the motto of this paper—*It's the fish that seeks for the net, not the net that seeks for the fish*—and is concerned with two interactionally and socially significant factors which in my view so far have not been taken into account adequately in most linguistic network analyses, namely, the intentionality of human interaction and the dialogic, bidirectional relationship of language use and social structures.

## 2. Social Network Analysis —the flexible methodological tool

As pointed out by Bergs (2006), one of the characteristic features of Social Network Analysis (SNA) is its suppleness to case-specific adjustments:

SNA is and should be methodologically (and theoretically) open and flexible, since measurements and criteria for social networks may have to be adjusted for different research questions as well as for different regional, social, or temporal (perhaps even medial) environments. In other words: factors that have been identified for 20th century Belfast need not apply, at least to same extent, to 15th century Norfolk (Bergs 2005<sup>1</sup>), 17th century Navarro (Imhoff 2000<sup>2</sup>), or 20th century Brazil (Bortoni-Ricardo 1985), and vice versa.

Thus, when applying Social Network Theory to minor Finnic contexts, it is necessary to first carry out thorough context analyses to map how the methodology

<sup>1</sup> Bergs, Alexander 2005: *Social Networks and Historical Sociolinguistics: Studies in Morphosyntactic Variation in the Paston Letters 1421–1503*. Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

<sup>2</sup> Imhoff, Brian 2000: Socio-historic network ties and medieval Navarro Aragonese. – *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 101: 443–450.

should be modified in order to do due justice to the regional, social and temporal special traits of the case(s) in point. As for those contemporary Karelian speech communities in which I have worked, one should not only bear in mind that social structures in the Soviet Union and in post-Soviet Russia may require the employment of different social variables than those in western class-societies such as Britain or the USA, but one must also take into account that central Karelia and Tver Karelia differ greatly from one another socio-historically. Most notably, after World War II, Karelian villages in central Karelia multinationalised very rapidly, because big timber-cutting *kolkhozes* brought masses of non-Karelian workers from other parts of the Soviet Union; as a consequence, for instance, in the village of Poodene where I recorded a part of my interviews, the population consists of over 60 nationalities. Tver Karelian villages, on the other hand, have for the most part preserved their Karelian identity up to our day, and did remain relatively stable until the late 1960s when Karelians were at last granted domestic passports and thus allowed to move into towns, a process which gradually led to an intensification of language shift towards Russian for the young and educated Karelians, even in Tver Karelia.

As for the similarities between these two contexts, in addition to those major socio-historical processes characteristic of the Soviet Union that were outlined at the beginning of Section 1 above, the analysis tool should also make it possible to deal in a case-specific way with the linguistic effects of the stigmatisation of rural dwellers, especially those with “broken” (non-native) or accentuated (non-native or dialectal) Russian (see Heikkinen 1982/1983, 2000), and the ever-strengthening dominance of Russian over other languages in all domains of language use. The present state of all Karelian speech communities is characterised by a briskly proceeding assimilation towards other nationalities and a language shift towards Russian. This is clearly reflected in the demography of speakers of Karelian: native speakers are increasingly elderly people and, in spite of the revitalisation efforts since the 1990s, there are still fewer and fewer younger-generation Karelians who know the ethnic language at all. Yet, investigating Karelian we obviously are concerned with radical changes in language use which clearly seem to parallel radical changes in social structures which, however, have not only affected Karelians and other minority nationals, but also all rural dwellers in Russia. Given all this, it is possible that an analytical tool ought to be constructed so that minority group membership and rurality would not be classified as equal to the same extent as suggested by Gal’s study concerning the Austro-Hungarian village of Oberwart (Gal 1979).

As shown in numerous studies, such as Pyöli (1996) and Sarhimaa (1999), in Karelian speech communities the changes in language-use patterns have led to drastic changes in the language itself, as well. This has been testified in a variety of forms of language erosion (according to my observations, this concerns, for

instance, the rules of consonant gradation) as well as intensifying Russian interference in all present-day Karelian vernaculars. Consequently, for the purposes of minor Finnic, the flexible and open method of Social Network Analysis should be also adjusted to allow for examining processes of bilingual or even multilingual language variation in highly dynamic speech communities characterised by the multilingual and multinational social networks of their individual members.

## 2.1. Defining and characterising network memberships

A further point related to the potential need for the case-specific adjustment mentioned by Bergs (2006) is defining what a Social Network is in a certain context and, ultimately, who counts as a member of a local team. In sociolinguistics Social Network Analysis has primarily been applied to micro-dimensions of social structures such as small villages, urban neighbourhoods or social sub-groups; the sole exception of which I am aware is Bortoni-Ricardo's 1985 study concerning the settling of internal migrants into the urban surroundings of a suburb within the macro-structure of the city Brazlandia in Brazil. If one wishes to study the effects of social networks on the use and the present-day *habitus* of Karelian, one should concentrate on the micro-dimensions as well. One possible starting point is the very loose and flexible definition of Croft (2000: 20) which identifies a social network as a group of individuals who have a common language and have the same probability of communicating with each other if there is a reason to linguistically interact. Yet, approaching issues concerning Karelian using such a wide definition might not be the best possible solution after all: All Karelians know Russian, the local (Soviet) *lingua franca*, as do all further inhabitants of their home villages and towns. Given this condition, in principle Russian and not Karelian would be the language that holds the social networks of Karelians together. In practice, Croft's definition could be employed in Karelian contexts to identify the joint social network of a village, or the potential social network of each of its inhabitants. But for mapping the kind of egocentric, partial or total networks which have been investigated in former sociolinguistic network studies, one must develop a functionally more suitable way of delineating team members from non-members.

Given the national and linguistic heterogeneity of Karelian contexts, defining who belongs to a specific "Karelian" social network is, indeed, a very interesting issue which potentially could be fruitfully approached from the viewpoint of Fishman (1972: 22 ff.). Stressing the multitude of networks within any speech community, he speaks of 'experiential networks' which show concrete integration and interactive relationships within the network structures, and 'referential



networks' which are characterised by abstract integration through shared values. These values become expressed through language, and this leads to a symbolic integration; a certain variety (e.g., standard language) integrates its speakers into a symbolic community. The central role of experiential and referential networks has been attested, for instance, in Blom and Gumperz's (1972) study of dialect maintenance in Hemnesberget, Norway. Those working-class informants who defined themselves as local-team members maintained the local dialect in all domains, whereas university students who reported that their referential network was the same local team but who also identified themselves with pan-Norwegian values and had experiential networks consisting of substantial contacts outside of the local community used standard language when discussing topics of national significance.

In Karelian contexts, however, one problem with a referential network(s) could be the lack of a pan-Karelian identity. Amongst Karelians a distinctively Karelian group identity or group solidarity which would cover the entire ethnic entity "we, Karelians" is extremely weak (see, e.g., Nygård 1978; Heikkinen 1986; Sarhimaa 2000, 2008). Furthermore, group identities appear to be based on locality rather than ethnic background: people feel a keen solidarity towards their close network (family, kin, friends and neighbours) with no special regard for ethnicity or nationality. This is very understandable: for instance in the central Karelian village of Poodene where I recorded a significant part of my data, more than 60 different nationalities are represented amongst the 2,000 inhabitants; consequently, there are naturally also a vast number of families in which one of the spouses is Karelian and the other Russian or something else.

Consequently, one of the challenges would be to find a sound way to cope with the fact that contrary to classical sociolinguistic network studies concerning bilingual contexts (e.g., Gal 1979 on Hungarians in Oberwart, Austria), the linguistic and ethnic background of further members of the social networks of Karelian informants would often be highly variegated. Furthermore, as the study by Gal (1979) testifies, the social contents with which different languages or varieties, or ethnicity terms become associated can change over time, and so one should perhaps not consider the lack of a pan-Karelian identity a given fact true for the present situation as well, but rather try to show through empirical analyses what being Karelian today means to those who identify themselves as Karelians. In sum, anyone trying to conduct research in terms of referential networks would first have to find out precisely what constitutes the symbolic, referential entity in Karelian contexts, and second explore whether such an entity as a purely Karelian network that could serve as a referential social cluster for those who have maintained Karelian as one of their means of every-day communication even exists.

In my view, it might be possible to find not only experiential but also referential networks amongst Karelians by tracing local sub-groups joined by shared sets of activities, creeds or values. Such classic sociolinguistic network studies concerned with rural speech communities as Gal (1979) and Labov (1963) revealed the linguistic significance of local-team memberships: those most dedicated to the traditional way of life were clearly the primary maintainers of the traditional language varieties as well. In other contexts a rebellion, an overt linguistic manifestation of maximal isolation of a sub-group from members of other groups has been playing a linguistically decisive role; this has been attested amongst adolescents in Harlem (Labov 1972), Reading (Cheshire 1982) and Detroit (Eckert 1989, 2000). I doubt if one could find groups of teenagers sharing Karelian-supporting dogmas and values (maybe with the exception of the putative fans of rock bands such as *Talvisovat*, provided there are fans that form something like a fan club and in which Karelians are found). In the light of the results I got analysing the intensity and forms of Russian interference in Karelian, I am somewhat sceptical when it comes to the possibility of establishing networks of Karelians parallel to those of Hungarians in Austria (Gal 1979) or true islanders in Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963) who would be both dedicated to the traditional Karelian way of life and to the maintenance of monolingual Karelian. My results rather suggested that irrespective of their occupation and domicile, and their general fluency in Karelian, all Karelians switch between traditional Karelian and several Russian-influenced codes (for details, see Sarhimaa 1999). In this respect the majority of my informants regardless of their age greatly resemble Gal's (1979) middle-generation informants who hung in between the traditional and the modern: They were neither strongly nor weakly bound to the emblematically Karelian rural lifestyle, and shifted from one language to the other in a way that suggested that each is an equally good alternative for expressing themselves (Sarhimaa 1999, 2008).

Yet, I am pretty sure one might find sub-groups built up around a local choir, or sub-groups of those who wish to keep alive, say, traditional Karelian handicraft. Further potential networks with Karelian-maintaining "doctrines" could be found by mapping the clusters of those who work for the revitalisation of Karelian and are active in Karelian associations, who teach or study Karelian at school or at the university. When concentrating on such highly localised social networks, one would definitely benefit from the concepts of *communities of practice* which was introduced to sociolinguistics by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) and *coalition* brought in by Fitzmaurice (2000a). Each of these terms stresses the joint engagement of group members in a common project: practices (that is: ways of doing things), as well as the construction of a shared orientation to the world, emerge gradually in the course of the shared activity around the enterprise.

In the study of coalitions of Karelians a possible concrete approach would involve two stages: one could start with mapping the members of the coalition at issue, and proceed then by mapping the egocentric and probably partially overlapping personal networks of the coalition members as fully as possible. The resulting database would resemble that of Lippi-Green's (1989) study of the 760-inhabitant Austrian village of Grossdorf, in that it would be possible to keep apart data concerning occupational networks, relative networks and leisure activities. This would allow for carrying out independent analyses of different types of networks in order to establish their correlations with linguistic variables. It also would be possible to test whether conclusions could be drawn regarding the personal meaning of network relationships for the individual in question, as did Lippi-Green. A further benefit of the coalition-centred approach would be that the social networks of urban Karelians could be mapped following the same procedure.

## 2.2. Adjusting methodology to linguistic research questions

What could and what should be mapped in order to sample network data whose analyses would reveal something linguistically relevant are two different though intertwined questions. As pointed out by Bergs in the citation above, before rushing to gather empirical material one also needs to fine-tune the methodological tool of Network Analysis to match the concrete linguistic research questions. Here the key question is: What kind of linguistic research problems would make sense in contemporary Karelian contexts? As was outlined above in Section 1, three major avenues of research can be seen in the fields of sociolinguistic network studies: language variation and change, minority-language maintenance and shift, and the birth of new varieties.

As to questions regarding language variation and change, finding linguistic variables with much still unstable variation is no problem at all in Karelian contexts; one case in point could be the earlier mentioned very apparent decay in the rules of consonant gradation. Yet, finding linguistic variables that might show variation which might correlate with a network membership rather than with some macro-social variables or some other individual linguistic or extralinguistic variable is a trickier issue. Very little, if anything, is currently known of the social values of linguistic variants in Karelian varieties. Thus, one would have to first find out what the social value of a variant for the members of the speech community at issue really is, and then be able to show convincingly that these social values correlate with certain features of local social structures. In attempting to define a variant's social value within the network, one would have to develop an academically acceptable method for investigating the subjective atti-

tudes of individuals towards linguistic variants. I do not find it methodologically particularly sound to state categorically on the basis of a researcher's conviction that a certain variant is an important marker of a certain social identity, simply because it is the most frequent of the variants in the speech of the informants with the highest degree of network integration, as, for example, Milroy (1980) did. One could, of course, also abandon the strictest Milroyan approach which presupposes a direct relationship between network structure and language use, and decide to proceed following the ontology of Gal (1979, esp. 15 ff.) and Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) who assumed that the decisive factor is the effects of networks on the social categories with which speakers wish to identify themselves, and the capacity of these to show an influence on individual language use. This approach is supported also by the results of Lippi-Green (1989) whose analyses revealed that a general network-integration score drawn from the structure of individual networks can lead to deficits in the interpretation of the "true" meaning of different sorts of social relationships to the individuals themselves. If one adopts this approach, one will again be dealing with the personal meanings of network relationships for the concerned individual which is what, for instance, Lippi-Green (1989) did in her analyses as well.

Research settings concerned with language maintenance in regard to the mere extensive use of Karelian seem more promising than examining network-bound language variation and change. Yet, simply mapping who is in contact with whom and who reports speaking which language with whom is pretty simplistic. In my view, such mappings can only serve as an initial phase; the data sampling should involve not only questionnaires but interviews as well, preferably individual as well as group interviews, possibly supported by language-elicitation tasks, and definitely accompanied by long-term participant observation. Thus, as has been customary in sociolinguistic network studies, long fieldwork periods would be required (for instance, Gal's (1979) intensive fieldwork period lasted one year, Lippi-Greene's (1989) and Labov's (2001) three years).

Studies dedicated to the third set of problems concerned with the birth of new, mixed varieties would be complicated by the very same problem as those dealing with language variation and change, viz. finding relevant linguistic variables. Here, however, one could make good use of the variable *dolžen*-construction or of the modes of code switching that I found in my 1999 study, and try to find out if the variation in the use of the established variants (which did not correlate with any standard social variable such as age, gender, education) could be explained in terms of network memberships. In the light of my analyses, the variation in combining Russian elements with Karelian elements correlated with the general interview mode of the informant: those who sought to keep the two languages separate (i.e., clearly employed two different grammars, Karelian and

Russian) preferred to code switch within the *dolžen*-construction, whereas those whose interview mode was one of the bilingual mixed varieties clearly tended to adapt the Russian-origin construction to the grammatical rules of Karelian, that is, employed just one grammar within the *dolžen*-construction. One should perhaps seek out those individuals who belong to a certain village or town sub-group wherein Karelian is highly valued, as well as those individuals who do not place a high value, and then compare these two groups in regard to their use of the variants. One should also try to find out if the variants carry a social value in the speech community (i.e., is one of them more stigmatised as “bad language use” which should be avoided by “proper Karelians”). And, last but not least, one should develop a suitable tool for measuring the degree of integration of an individual into a specific sub-group.

### 2.3. Measuring network integration

Measuring an individual's degree of network integration and predicting its effects on her/his grammatical choices has been one of the central issues in sociolinguistic network studies. A very common research result has stated that strong network ties have high norm-enforcing capacities. For instance, Blom and Gumperz (1972), Gal (1979) and Milroy (1980) all found out that tightly knit networks clearly supported variety maintenance, especially in the case of core-members with multiple strong ties within the network. Loosely knit groups whose members are linked mainly by weak ties, individuals whose ties to the network are uniplex and who thus are less integrated into the group, as well as those who are not at all integrated into the group at issue (in Labov's (1972) terms ‘lames’, Eckert's (1989, 2000) ‘Burnouts’) are reported to be more prone to develop and adopt innovations (see especially Milroy 1980 and Labov 2001).

Milroy (1980: 136, 175) explained the norm-enforcement mechanism of tight-knit networks in terms of network loyalty which becomes reflected in the conformity to collective values, including language use: “the closer an individual's network ties are with his local community, the closer his language approximates to localized vernacular norms” (Milroy 1980: 175). Lifestyle loyalty was one of the key terms in Gal's (1979) explanation of her Oberwart case, too. Her informants identified Hungarian with the traditional rural style of life and German with the modern style of life and with urban, modern working conditions; this dichotomy also acquired a symbolic reflection in language use, so that for the speech community the local variety of Hungarian was often used as a symbol of loyalty. As stated above, amongst Karelians loyalty to the traditional way of life cannot play any major role since the traditional way of life was crushed many

decades ago by Soviet policies aimed at the construction of a *Homo Sovieticus*. I suppose one should attempt to discern whether loyalty to speaking Karelian (in any of its more or less Russian-influenced varieties) is the primary means of identification in the first place, if one wishes to manifest her/his membership in a “Karelian team”.

Contrary to strong network integration, it has been proven that weak network ties are likely to play an important role in language change and in the adaptation and diffusion of innovations born outside of the network. For instance, Milroy’s (1980), Gal’s (1979) and Lippi-Green’s (1989) studies showed how the loosening of tense, multiplex networks opened the way to innovations and to an individual’s development away from the local vernacular; later on, Labov (2001) attested that those who have multiple relationships inside as well as outside of the local group operate as potential vehicles through which innovative variables can spread into and within a group.

What should not be forgotten, however, is that an individual with loose local-network ties is not necessarily under heavy pressure from another source, nor will that individual automatically adopt new variants or abandon a minority language, as it would seem to be assumed especially within the Milroyan approach. The personality, the life story, the experiences and (conscious) choices of the individual may as well contribute to the preservation of the network variety even if the ties to a former local-team network loosen. This has been attested, for example, by Bortoni-Ricardo (1985: 117) who speaks of ‘insulated networks’ of migrants in Brazil, and shows that these work in favour of the maintenance of the rural vernacular within the new urban surroundings; as examples of long-living insulated networks she discusses social clusters of women who often tend to preserve their pre-migration network structures with the focus on family, kin and other migrants coming from their original home area.

In Karelian contexts, I assume it is fairly common to be a member simultaneously of an insulated network and an integrated network, the double-membership reducing the generalisability of Bortoni-Ricardo’s conclusion. A good example of this is a family with which I became familiar during one of my fieldwork periods in central Karelia. It consisted of two sisters and the husband and the children of one of them. This family originally came from the central Karelian village of Poodene, had lived over 30 years in Moscow where they all had been working, and had had some contact with other Karelians (insulated network), although primarily with non-Karelians (integrated network). They returned to the capital of Karelia, Petrozavodsk, some ten years before I met them. All members of this family spoke fluent Karelian with very little mixing of Russian, they reported having always spoken Karelian at home and with their Karelian acquaintances in Moscow and Petrozavodsk. None of the family

members had any problem in discussing topics such as current politics in Karelian, their old-age complaints or, the at that time (1988–1989) in Russia, the very popular Brazilian television soap opera ‘Slave Isaura’ (Portug. *Escrava Isaura*, Russ. *Rabynya Izaura*) which—as I learned during my fieldwork trips—was the very complicated and melodramatic story of a wicked coffee plantation owner’s obsession on one of his slaves.

All the above described factors characteristic of the family situation could count as typical features of an insulated network which supported the maintenance of the minority variety. Yet, during my sessions with the family, I witnessed several discussions with non-Karelians on the very same topics in Russian—again, without any language problems at all. Bortoni-Ricardo (1985: 117) assumed that the function of mutual reinforcement supporting the maintenance of the sub-standard variety (here: the minority language) is likely to be less influential in an integrated than in an insulated network, because in integrated networks the migrant is exposed to a larger range of outside influences. Thus, integrated networks should be characterised by a higher level of diffusion of innovations from the standard (here: the dominant language) to the sub-standard variety (here: the minority language). Yet, as this Karelian example shows, people can simultaneously share an insulated network and an integrated network, and the linguistic outcome of networking does not necessarily depend directly on the type of network ties they have with one another.

A number of quantitative instruments have been developed in sociolinguistic network studies for measuring network strength, the relationship between the degree of network integration of individual speakers and their grammatical choices, and the relationship of network integration, language use and macro-sociological variables such as age, gender, education, domicile, etc. In her pioneering 1980 study Milroy sought to define the social factors that constitute a multiplex network link. She came up with a list of micro-social variables such as ‘membership in a high density, territorially based cluster’, ‘kinship ties with more than one household in the neighbourhood’, ‘the same workplace as at least two others in the neighbourhood’, ‘the same workplace as at least two others of the same gender’, ‘regular participation in a territorially based activity (street gangs, bingo games, football teams, etc.)’, and ‘voluntary association with workmates after working hours’ (Milroy 1980: 141–142). Each informant’s degree of network integration was evaluated using these criteria which gave as an outcome the person’s network strength scale score (*NSS score*). During the next phase, Milroy counted the frequency of the different variants of eight selected phonological variables in the informant’s speech; this gave as a result the frequency of the emblematically local forms. The linguistic variants were placed in a continuum with the vernacular at one end and the standard at the other; each

received an index value. Finally, using the Spearman Rank Order Correlation Test, Milroy examined the correlations between the network integration scores and the individual's use of the linguistic variables.

Lippi-Green (1989) used an integration score that she developed along much the similar lines as Milroy. She refined the method with *network subsector scores* gained through distinct analyses of occupational networks, kinship networks and leisure time activity networks; the subsector scores were then compared with linguistic behaviour in order to find correlations between network structures and phonological variation. Two further indices were also developed by Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) who analysed the changes in the network structures of migrants in regard to two dimensions: the *integration index* and the *urbanisation index*. Her integration index described network ties within the 1st and the 2nd zone of the individual's network, and the urbanisation index corresponded to the average of the urbanisation grade which the individual had within her/his network. Each individual received points according to her/his accommodation to the conditions of life (e.g., education, social mobility, etc.). This instrument also allowed for taking into account whether the network ties existed within the family or had already existed before migration, or whether they had only been established in the city.

The most extensive effort so far to develop an instrument for measuring networks socio-linguistically has been made by Labov (2001) who sought to identify linguistically innovative actors in a Philadelphian neighbourhood by determining correlations between the social background of 112 informants, their social contexts and a number of phonetic variables. He developed a system consisting of five different communication factors. The first, C1, is concerned with the estimated number of neighbours with whom the informant has regular contact and reveals the individual's interaction rate within the neighbourhood. C2 concerns the interaction rate of potential contacts; this was investigated using questions such as "who is your best friend?" and "who would you invite to a party?", "who would you invite for a cup of coffee?". Factors C3 and C4 were related to the spatial spread of the informant's friendships (e.g., number of friends living in the nearest neighbourhood or within the neighbourhood); together, factors C3 and C4 sought to measure the degree of the informant's integration in network structures outside the immediate neighbourhood. Labov's quantitative analyses showed, in sum, that the higher the number of friendships within the neighbourhood, the more likely it is for a person to use the most innovative variables, and that especially individuals who have multiple relationships inside and outside of the speech community act as potential catalysts through whom innovative variables can spread within a neighbourhood.

Developing network indicators suited to studying the linguistic behaviour of Karelians in correlation to their multilingual sets of connections is a very



challenging task. If one shares Milroy's and Lippi-Greene's conviction that the very structure of the network is vitally significant for an individual's linguistic behaviour, network indicators should be able to distinguish different strengths of network ties and allow for discerning composite, multiplex networks wherein the same people occur in different primary groups (e.g., a friend also being a neighbour, colleague, etc.) from differentiated, uniplex networks where the various primary groups only coincide to a very limited extent. Additionally, if one also wishes to make good use of the refined methodology of Lippi-Green (1989), the network indicators would also have to be developed for distinguishing between the effects of the Karelian informants' different primary-group structures (family, neighbours, friendship networks, work networks, etc.).

If, however, one also wishes to benefit from the views presented by Labov (2001), Gal (1979) and Bortoni-Ricardo (1985), network indicators would have to be developed on the basis of the characteristic features of the members of a given network. As described above, Bortoni-Ricardo's urbanisation index drew an urbanisation profile of the members of each individual migrant worker's personal network, and could thus potentially serve as a starting point for developing the methodology of studying urbanised Karelians. Gal, for her part, looked at the matter from the opposite angle. She arranged the speakers systematically on a peasant-to-urbanite scale according to their commitment to peasant activities in order to measure how agricultural their networks were, that is, how high a number of their network contacts were farmers. For each of the altogether 11 indicators the informant received one point for the scale, so that the more points a person had (0 to 11), the more "farming" (s)he was. Furthermore, Gal also took into consideration the degree of farming relationships within individual networks, that is, the degree of contacts with others who had adopted and maintained the traditional rural life style. Given that the majority of active speakers of Karelian live in the countryside, even though, as shown earlier, they have not led the "traditional Karelian" rural way of life for decades, one could also test to what extent emblematic rural indicators still become connected to being a Karelian identity.

Anyone wishing to map the effects of the Karelians' networks on their language use, and in seeking to adjust the methodological tool of Network Analysis to her/his own case, will have to consider carefully how to employ the experiences of earlier sociolinguistic network studies. For many reasons I am not sure if quantification really is the ideal way to proceed. First, as mentioned above, one of the obvious weaknesses of the procedure in Milroy's study was the assumption that a high correlation between an integration value and the use of a certain linguistic variable is indisputably an indicator of the variant's social-symbolic value within the network. Secondly, the scores do not allow for keeping the two factors of density and multiplexity apart: for instance, in Milroy's

analyses an individual who shared a work place with two more individuals of the same sex from the same neighbourhood was interpreted as integrated in the community as an individual who had twenty relatives living next door. Furthermore, Milroy's sample was fairly small, 46 informants divided into sub-groups according to sex, age and domicile which led to subgroups consisting of three or four individuals.<sup>3</sup> Murray (1993) has also criticised the test used by Milroy: he analysed Milroy's data anew using another test and achieved totally different results: neighbourhood-integratedness played only a very marginal role, and age and sex were clearly statistically more significant than the integration value. Therefore, it seems to be questionable whether the integration value predicts or even explains linguistic behaviour after all, especially when one takes into account that although the results concerning two female informants who Milroy (1980: 131) discussed as example persons support her claims concerning the role of networks, many other individuals even in her own sample obviously did not; for instance, certain male informants from Ballymacarrett where the highest correlation between language and integration has been demonstrated, clearly do not fit into the scheme at all. In sum, in aiming to measure the strength of network ties and seeking correlations between them and linguistic variation amongst the Karelans, one should be extremely aware of the potential inherent weaknesses of network scoring. As I shall endeavour to show next, joining scoring with more hermeneutic and less quantification oriented approaches might even produce interesting results which are more far-reaching.

#### 2.4. Depicting vernacular cultures

Combining quantification with detailed qualitative ethnographic description has been one of the avenues of research within sociolinguistic Social Network studies since the late 1970s. As we have seen, except for the correlation analyses outlined in section 2.3, the method used by Gal was very study-object specific and actually rather ethnographic: she arranged her informants on a scale indicating the grade of rural life style on the basis of characteristics that she found to be emblematic of being a Hungarian in Austria. The criteria underlying the classification were based on clear indicators of farming life style, for example, owning cows, pigs and chickens, as well as on such overt indicators of "Hungarian identity" as wearing certain items of clothing, and, finally, on the macro-scale social indicator "dropping out of the educational system early on" which Gal dis-

<sup>3</sup> Statistical validity of the results does not seem to be that questionable in Gal's (68 informants, 49 of them long-term observed), Lippi-Green's (84 informants, 42 male and 42 female) or Bortoni-Ricardo's studies (118 informants).

covered was highly characteristic of those who stayed in Oberwart as opposed to those who migrated to towns.

Other sociolinguists also have depicted vernacular cultures in their studies. Analysing her data gathered amongst working-class adolescents frequenting adventure playgrounds in Reading, England, Cheshire (1982: 91, 102) developed a Vernacular Culture Index based on the network rankings of informants and information about the informants' sociometric status. Combining the background variables with linguistic variants she was able to show that there are statistically significant correlations between the Vernacular Culture Index and the grammatical choices made by highly integrated core members, on the one hand, and less-tightly integrated secondary and peripheral members of the network at issue, on the other: Core members used the investigated key variants most frequently and secondary members significantly more than peripheral members (Cheshire 1982: 104–105). In his study of a Detroit African American neighbourhood Edwards (1992) also calculated a Vernacular Culture Index for each of his informants. For him the scoring basis was a person's responses to ten statements, five of which had to do with the degree of integration into the neighbourhood, four with the informant's attitudes towards the neighbourhood and living there, and one concerned whether the informant had interracial friendships or not. What his correlation analyses revealed, however, was that vernacular-culture integration was a less powerful variable in explaining linguistic choices than was the biological macro-level variable of age.

In order to create a Vernacular Culture Index for a specific group such as Karelians, one firstly would have to find a set of representative indicators. In order to be able to define the symbolic value of each indicator within the group itself, the qualitative circumstances and probably a wider set of social values of the group at issue should be examined. In order to find out what Karelians themselves see as the emblematic features of being Karelian, one could include in the interview format questions on what is conceived to be stereotypically Karelian, and then try to construct matrices showing the indicators of rural Karelian identity and the indicators of urban Karelian identity, and employ these in defining the traditional Karelian life styles and the modern, composite forms of Karelian life style. It should be kept in mind that there are clearly two very different macro-contexts, namely, the rural and the urban. However, there are also different types of villages, some being multinational and some still predominantly ethnically Karelian, and there are different types of towns as well, namely, those in areas surrounded by Karelian villages and thus potentially with living contacts to Karelian identity, and there are towns and cities in a totally non-Karelian environment.

At the moment I have no clear idea of what, in a Karelian context, the Vernacular Culture indicators might be. Yet, I dare say one would not find anything resembling the six network-culture indicators that Cheshire (1982) was able to define in her study of Reading adolescents; there the indicators, with one exception (“job aspirations”), concerned the overt manifestation of social sub-group membership, and included carrying weapons, style of clothing, participation in petty criminal activities, fighting skills and swearing. A possibly better clue as to what to look for might be the Vernacular Culture indicators used by Edwards (1992), although, as pointed out above, these appeared to be statistically insignificant as far as the linguistic behaviour of the local-team members of the investigated Afro-American suburb in Detroit is concerned. These indicators were locality-bound (most family, relatives and friends living in the neighbourhood, most jobs having been there, etc.) and socio-psychological (the will of the informant to stay in the neighbourhood, or if prepared to move, wishing to shift to a similar neighborhood; not being bothered by the street culture, etc.). Given the primary locality-loyalty of at least rural Karelians and the fact that especially urbanised Karelians tend to give up using Karelian, one might well find valid indicators in the same social and socio-psychological dimensions that Edwards did.

Another direction in which to seek potentially significant indicators might be that suggested by Douglas-Cowie’s (1978) finding that social ambition correlated with linguistic variation far better than social class in the village of Articlave in the County of Derry (Londonderry) in Northern Ireland. Given that many Karelians consider it better for children to learn Russian as their first language, allowing them to pass their time usefully by studying “important” foreign languages such as English and (especially in northern parts of Karelian Republic) Finnish rather than the ethnic language Karelian, one could also consider using social ambition as one of the Vernacular Culture indicators and test how far it correlates with language shift to Russian by socially ambitious individuals. What one may also wish to look at is whether social ambition somehow correlates with the sex of the individual. According to Gal’s (1979) findings, especially young Hungarian women in Oberwart tended to use German more than young men, even if their adaptation grade to the traditional rural style of life was high. The explanation given by Gal was that young women’s possibilities in life were dependent on the social status of the man to whom they were married: because Hungarian became associated with a hard rural life and German with better conditions of life, young women abandoned Hungarian as a means of communication, thus seeking to multiply their possibilities of finding a man to marry who could offer better prospects in life.

### 3. Woven rather than imposed

From a wider methodological perspective, accepting the possibility of intentionality as one of the fundamental features underlying language use means that we should not only pay attention to what social structures do to language use, but also be aware of the fact that speakers make more or less conscious linguistic choices in order to influence their own social categories as well as those of others. In other words, social roles and social-network memberships are clearly not unidirectionally forced on people, as implied by many applications of Network Theory, but the relationship between individuals and the social is dialogic in the traditional Bakhtinian sense of the term, and thus much more complex and less straightforward in nature. On the one hand, society, social networks and social roles are all constructed, manifested, reinforced and changed by individuals and groups in interaction. On the other hand, social structures created via interaction influence the forms of human interaction. As pointed out by Gal (1979: 15), however, social structures do not influence language use directly, but rather by shaping what people want and the ways in which they act in order to achieve that.

#### 3.1. Intentionality of human behaviour

Intentionality of human action has received rather much attention in socio-linguistic Network Analyses. The deliberateness of a speaker's linguistic choices, the ability to accommodate to new, wider networks characterised by heterogeneous norms, and an individual's freedom in network construction were all key issues in Labov's (1963) survey of Martha's Vineyard, Gal's (1979) survey of Oberwart and Bortoni-Ricardo's (1985) study of Brazlandia. The significance of speakers' agency in network construction was also one of the major findings in Lippi-Green (1989: 223) who concluded that "[...] age and gender are indicators of group alliance about which the individual has no choice, and within which he or she must function, the [...] network subsectors [...] represent a different aspect of the individual as a community member: that of a free agent." I assume that by 'gender' she is referring to one's biological sex, since today gender is generally understood as the social or psychological sex, and an individual is in most modern societies principally free to choose what kind of categorical identity to represent and to manifest. What one cannot choose is the initial primary-function network of family and kin, or the existence or the lack of it. All further networks, however, are mostly of free choice; yet, according to

the “laws” of dialogism, choices by individuals are always at least potentially affected by social structures, including networks.

In regard to Karelians, free social agency is an issue which can be discussed only in the socio-historical framework of the Soviet Union and pre-revolutionary and post-communist Russia. At the time I conducted my interviews, the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, Karelians were only starting to see themselves as free agents with the right to have a language and culture of their own and to be allowed to manifest their ethnic identity. Due to the ever strengthening Russian nationalism during the past few years, the fear of renewed ethnic oppression may be stronger today; yet, even in the period of *perestroika*, quite a number of my informants spoke about their concern of being “persecuted” again. Given all this, anyone interested in societal and/or psycho-sociological ‘agency’ in a Karelian context will probably have to give deep thought to what the term really meant then at that point in time.

In addition to choices concerning every-day networking, Karelians today can choose to become members of one or more of the numerous associations that have taken it as their task to maintain and revitalise the Karelian language and culture. According to Fitzmaurice (2000b), it is typical of conscious coalitions of this kind that people intentionally bind themselves to network ties for specific purposes and then sometimes cancel them very easily, for instance, in the face of a (potential or actual) conflict with further network members. If so, one could assume that the linguistic effects of coalitions tended to remain fairly modest. On the other hand, the effects can also be decisive, if the coalition survives long and acquires as its members those people who operate as vehicles through whom innovative forms of language use can spread into and within further networks of Karelians. In the light of Labov’s (2001) findings, these typically are individuals who have multiple relationships inside as well as outside of the local group. In Karelia the core group of ethnic activists appears to be fairly concise and its members have wide fields of contact with speakers of Karelian who are not very active or not active at all. Thus, as I suggested earlier, too, I believe it is an idea worth considering that the activists should be chosen as anchorage points and attempts should be made to investigate the linguistic behaviour of people belonging to individual networks and to networks overlapping with these. When planning a survey of this kind, the articles by Fitzmaurice (2000a, 2000b) would definitely be a source of inspiration.

### 3.2. Focus on discourse

So far the concept of a dialogic, bidirectional relationship of language use and social structures has not gained as much attention in sociolinguistic Network Analyses as intentionality, although it has been, in fact, applied brilliantly methodologically already by Gal (1979). She connected speakers' agency in constructing social categories via language with the individual's freedom to choose the category with which she/he wants to identify and become identified by other people. In Gal's view, in case that such identification becomes habitually expressed through speech, social networks may influence people's communicative strategies, due to the fact that within the network at issue certain linguistic choices habitually get associated with particular social categories. (Gal 1979: 15 ff.) Consequently, Gal took symbolic and expressive language use as the scope of her analysis, all the way along the thread stressing the social dimension of language as a manifestation of social values. In order to investigate the complex, dialogic relationships between the speaker and her/his language use, she concentrated in her qualitative linguistic data analyses on two interrelated factors: the actors' self-representation through language and the linguistic constraints induced by the individual network (Gal 1979: 16). Relying on interview data and her year-long participant observations, Gal classified her informants on the basis of their language use in a language matrix consisting of three variety categories—Hungarian, German and both—and several social-role categories such as sales clerks, officials, siblings, spouses, grandparents, grandchildren. In order to reach subjective dimensions as well, during the interviews she asked questions concerning the language that the informant would use in a conversation with a person belonging to a certain category; interestingly enough, contrary to my experience and those of a many other linguists who have observed that actual language use often has nothing to do with claimed language use, Gal's male informants' subjective responses corresponded with 90% accuracy and female informants' responses with 80% accuracy to Gal's objective observations on the behaviour of informants outside the interview situation.

In some of my latest publications (Sarhimaa 2005, 2006, 2008) I have sought to develop discourse analytical approaches for the construction of social categories of Karelian identities.<sup>4</sup> Like Gal I have focused on certain types of discourses, namely, narrative passages concerned with the use, status and

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4 As a linguist it is my main aim to study identity work at play in linguistic choices; yet, I do not assume that any fixed identities underlie discourse strategies, or vice versa, but seek to approach identity as a decentred and shifting narrative which emerges through language-in-interaction and ultimately results from the complexities of multicultural and multilingual contexts. In saying this I do not mean to claim that individuals have no identity *per se*; I just think that studying the deep, inner identity is beyond the reach of the linguistic methods at my disposal.

characteristics of Karelian; these narratives occurred naturally, that is, without any direct elicitation on my part, during the interviews with Karelians that I conducted in 1989–1994. Unlike Gal, however, I did not work in terms of objective participant categories such as sales clerks, officials, or family members but rather tried to close-read the discursive meanings of ethnic categorisations (Karelian, non-Karelian, Russian) and other types of membership categories (“we”, “them”; “Self”, “Other”). What Gal showed was that the speaker’s social environment influenced her/his self-representation through language choice. However, contrary to what Labov (1963, 1972) had postulated, Gal was able to demonstrate that not only the extralinguistic context but also the interactant to a great extent is involved in the prediction of the choice of a certain way of speaking: The more one had dealings with people observing a traditional rural life style, the higher was the use of Hungarian, and vice versa. My findings, then, suggest that when constructing and manifesting identities in interaction, Karelians assign narrative roles to themselves as well as to other narrative characters in order to reflect and to reinforce their identities as minority nationals, and partly also in order to create a parallel world where their own minority identities are stronger than in the reality. In a systematic sociolinguistic study concerned with the social networks and language use of Karelians one might get rather far by combining Gal’s approach with mine; one could start by mapping language use in contexts involving further actors with very clear, objective social roles, and then proceed by having a closer look not only at what was said in which variety or which grammatical variant was used, but also by analysing what the discursive meaning of the variants in the given context was.

As I have sought to show elsewhere (Sarhima 2007), the effects of the various contextual dimensions (i.e., the immediate and the wider linguistic context, intertextuality, as well as the interactional context and the wider extralinguistic cultural context) all show multifarious effects on linguistic choices. These effects, however, are difficult to attest in a methodologically satisfactory manner; far too often, one has to be confined to researchers’ interpretations that in many cases cannot be verified by showing precisely which linguistic features of the utterance support the interpretation. Yet, as shown recently by Hiss (2008) in his study of Sea Saami, it is possible to find ways of coping with the complicated interplay between language, the social and the individual in a methodologically sound manner, namely, by combining interactional sociolinguistics and the methodological tools provided by Systemic-Functional Grammar (SFG). Interestingly enough, although Hiss does not work within the framework of sociolinguistic Network Analysis, his approach to empirical data is somewhat similar to that of Gal and me, and his findings shed very interesting new light on the relationship between social networking and linguistic behaviour.



Hiss (2008) analyses interview extracts concerned with three topics, all meta-linguistic in nature: the Saami language as an identity marker, stereotypes, and the future of the Sea Saami language. In the analyses, special attention is constantly paid to revealing the different strategies that interviewees employ in order to place themselves and their self-identities in the wider social context. On the basis of the SFG analyses, Hiss shows, very convincingly and very accurately, how the interviewees constantly make certain functional linguistic choices specifically to construct their identities and to orient those within a dense contextual network of meanings. One of Hiss's most interesting empirical findings is that a specific grammatical choice is made consciously to build up contrasts through orienting oneself towards what the cultural scientific theoretician Stuart Hall calls *the constitutive outside*. Furthermore, the individual identities constructed by the interviewees manifest multiple aspects of social belongingness in a manner which clearly fits Stuart Hall's characterisation of the *Third Space*: Within their individual identities present-day Sea Saami do not seem to strictly demarcate 'Saami' and 'Norwegian' as distinct ethnicity labels, but they clearly have developed in-between identities.

All in all, Hiss's empirical analyses show that the highly complex and ever-changing socio-historical conditions (centuries-long bi- and multilingualism, the Norwegian policies of forced assimilation of minorities, and the current conscious revitalisation of North Saami) have led to the birth of a fair number of diverse Saami identities. More importantly, his analyses revealed that these identities are in a very complex but linguistically modellable dialogic relationship with the informant's attitude towards the ethnic language and with the discursive organisation of grammar in the informant's utterances. In brief, this is seen in the fact that those interviewees who are active speakers of Sea Saami tend to present their meta-linguistic considerations as interactive processes, whereas those informants who are politically active and work for the revitalisation of Sea Saami but do not speak the language (fluently), tend to favour meta-linguistic reflections built up by describing relationships. To put this into Network Theory terminology: individuals whose experiential networks are Saami-speaking are active users of the ethnic language and apparently experience using it a natural indicator of their Saami identity; those, then, for whom Saami is a second or a later learned language identify themselves as Saamis by means of referential networking and see the Saami language as an indicator which needs to be positioned in relation to further indicators of their identities.

According to the Karelian proverb that I chose as the motto for this paper, it is the fish that seeks the net, not the net that seeks the fish. Very accurate, very true. And yet: When the fish seeking the net is a human being willing to identify with a certain group, the net is also woven by the fish itself. Given the results

of Hiss (2008), I am prone to think that we indeed might ultimately be able to accumulate more information on the mechanisms of the use and maintenance of minority languages by analysing the linguistic choices in discourses than by mapping linguistic networks and trying to depict their effects on language and language use. Networks are, after all, just one by-product of actions triggered by the fundamental human need to be one of those we have a high regard for.

#### 4. A brief word in conclusion

A few years ago *The Economist* (24.12.2005) paid respect to the oppressed Finno-Ugric languages of Russia with an article entitled *The dying fish swims in water*. The title is a translation of the Hungarian, Estonian and Finnish sentences meaning that *A dying fish swims under the water*. This sentence consists of words that are recognisable as being of common origin in the three most widely-spoken Finno-Ugric languages. In spite of the general pessimism, the fish is not yet dead. One indication of this is the existence of those Finno-Ugric speech communities that provided, for instance, Gal, Hiss and me with living language data. Another indication is the existence of networks and coalitions with which the still surviving Finno-Ugric “fish” can seek and find the net with, in the hope that there will be a better future. One of these coalitions is the Finno-Ugric Society, the cross-generational network of Finno-Ugrists which this year celebrates its 125th anniversary.

It is already a cliché in linguistic literature that the acute threat with extinction of the greater part of the world’s languages urges an intensification of the empirical study of especially those varieties which have not been satisfactorily documented or, in many cases, not documented expansively enough in literature written in one of the universal scholarly *lingua francas*. In the framework of the 125th anniversary of the Finno-Ugric Society this is not just a widely-circulated truism but a practical agenda for future research as well: many an interesting linguistic phenomenon still awaits systematic examination. First and foremost, however, there is a burning need for modern sociolinguistic research of Finno-Ugric speech communities struggling to maintain their native varieties. By a stroke of fortune, the year of the 125th anniversary of the Finno-Ugric Society also marks the birth of a new Finno-Ugric coalition: the Uralic Sociolinguistic Society was established in Vienna on September 25th, 2008, with the aim of amalgamating the efforts of sociolinguists engaged in research on the Uralic peoples and languages. If this emerging organisation gradually becomes as successful as the now 125-year-old and still active Finno-Ugric Society, the future of Finno-Ugric studies seems very promising indeed.

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## Перым кывъяслөн талунья серпас

### 1. Панас пыдди

Перым кывъясён сёрнитö куим матысса ордвуж войтыр: удмуртъяс, зыран-коми да перым-комияс. Совет этнографияын куимнан войтырсö öтувтöны вöли перым йöзсикас лыдö. Тайö видз-му овмöс нуöдан, чери кыян да вöралан важся войтыръясыс коркö мян кадся VII-VIII-öд нэмъясö торъявлöмаöсь медводз удмурт да коми вожъяс вылö, сэсся зэв вочасён комияс овмöдчöмаöсь войвывлань да рытыв-войвывлань. Зыран-комияс да перым-комияс сёрнитöны ёна öткодь сёрнисикасъясён, кокниа гөгöрвоöны мöда-мöдсö, та понда уна кывтуялысь оз торйöд кык ашшöр коми кыв, сёрнитö öти кыв йылысь. Татшöм видзöдласö кутчыся тшöтш ме. Тайö куимнан войтыр кындзи бөръя кадö сiдз шуана йöзкостса зiльысьяс, активистъяс, политикъяс да мукöдъяс пондiсны перым этнос лыдö содтыны нöшта куимöс: зыран-коми дорö содтöд изъватас-комиöс, Перым губерняын перым-комикöд орччөн пондiсны торйöдны язва-комиясöс, а Удмурт муын зiльöны торйöдны бесерманъясöс. Тайö «выль» войтыръяс йывсыс пасьям неуна водзö на, а öнi эм коланлун серпасавны куимнан «ыджыд» перым войтырсö статистика лыдпасъясён. Кутшöм сöвман вийын найö öнi, коймöд сюрсво панас кадö.

### 2. Ордвуж войтыръяслөн лыд йылысь

Медводдза вежсьöмыс — комияс да удмуртъяслөн лыдыс Россия пасьтала бөръя кык дасвонас чинö, дай вель ыджыд öдөн. Тайöс петкöдлiс 2002-öд воын йöзöс ставроссияса гижалöмыс (Lallukka 2005: 31-36).

	1989 воын (СССР)	1989 воын (РСФСР)	2002 воын (Россия)	вежсьöм
удмуртъяс	746 793	714 800	640 028	-74 772 (-10,5 %)
зыран-комияс	344 519	336 300	293 406	-42 894 (-12,8 %)
перым-комияс	152 060	147 300	125 235	-22 065 (-15 %)

*1 №-а таблиця.* 1989-2002-öд воясö перым войтыръяслөн лыд вежсьöм.

Кызди аддам, став войтыр пӱвстысь медьёна чинӱны лыд сертияс перым-комияс, этшаджык чинӱмаӱсь удмуртъяс, а зыран-комияс кутчысьӱны на костын. Тадзи артмӱма дзоньнас Россияын зэв сьӱкыд ситуация понда, кор 90-ӱд воясын экономика киссьӱм понда уна йӱз, торйӱн нин сиктын олысьяс, ёна гӱльмисны, удж воштисны, олӱмас быттьӱкӱ вошисны. Олӱм омӱльтчӱм вӱсна кага вайӱмыс перым войтыръяслӱн усьӱма, а йӱзлӱн кулӱмыс содӱма. Велалӱмпырысь нин век тӱдчӱдлӱны, удмуртъяс да комияс пӱ сиктса войтыр. Збыль, налӱн вужйис сиктын и эм, сӱмын ӱнйя кадӱ, позьӱ шуны, тайӱ сӱмын джынвийӱ сиктса войтыр, зыран-комиясь матӱ джынйис нин олӱ карьясын.

Удмуртъяс да зыран-комияс асланыс республикасын важӱн нин пӱрины ичӱтджык лыда йӱзчукӱрӱ. 2002-ӱд воын Удмуртияын олӱма 1 млн. 570 316 морт, на пиысь удмуртыс 460 582 морт (став олысьсьыс 29,3 %), рочыс миллионлань матыстчӱ — 944 108 морт (став олысьсьыс 60,1 %). 1989-ӱд вокӱд ӱткодялӱмӱн удмурт лыдыс ас республикаас чинӱма 35,9 сюрс морт вылӱ, 7,8 % вылӱ. Удмуртъяслӱн ас республикааныс пайыс 1989-ӱд восянь чинӱма 30,9 %-сянь 29,3 %-ӱдз. (Воронцов 2008: 885-886; Kondratjeva 2008: 6.) Коми республикаын 2002-ӱд вося йӱзӱс лыддялӱм сетӱ татшӱм лыдпасьяс: республикаын став 1 млн. 18 674 олысьсьыс коми йӱзыс 256 464 морт (25,2 %), рочыс 607 021 морт (59,6 %). 1989-ӱд вокӱд кӱ ӱткодявны, комияслӱн пайыс республикаас неуна содыштӱма, сӱк вӱлӱма 23,3 %. Сӱмын 1989-ӱд восянь коми йӱзлӱн ӱтувья лыдыс республикаас чинӱма 12 % вылӱ, сӱки вӱлӱма 291 542 морт. Дай дзоньнас Коми республикаын 1992-ӱд восянь олысь лыдыс ёна чинӱма, 1989-ӱд воын кӱ овлӱма 1 млн. 260 700 морт, то 2008-ӱд вося лӱддза-номья тӱлысьӱ тайӱ лыдпасыс чинӱма 963 сюрсӱдз, ӱнйя Комиын олысьсьыс миллионысь этшаджык нин и водзӱ чинӱ дӱнмуысь мукӱдлаӱ мунӱм-овмӱдчӱм вӱсна. Шуам, 2008-ӱд вося вит тӱлысьӱн Комиын олысь лыдыс чинӱма 3 800 морт вылӱ (став олысьсьыс тайӱ 0,4 %), а тайӱ лыдпасыс 3 293 мортыс мунӱма овны мукӱдлаӱ (*Трибуна* 27/2008: 1). Сӱмын перым-комияс ас автономия кытшас вӱлӱны и ӱнйя унджыкӱнӱсь, став олысьсьыс 2002-ын воын найӱ 59 % мында.

Перым войтыръясысь унджыкыс олӱны ас автономиясын: 2002-ӱд воӱ зыран-комиыс ас республикаас вӱлӱма 87,7 %, перым-комиыс ас кытшас вӱлӱма 64,1 %, удмуртыс ас республикаас вӱлӱма 72,3 %. Перым войтыръясысь диаспораын медуна олӱны перым-комияс. И Удмуртияын, и Комиын карьясын олысь вужвойтыр лыдыс 2002-ӱд воын содӱма, сиктса районьясын налӱн лыдыс чинӱма, кызди и став олысь лыдыс сиктъясын. Тайӱ висьталӱ со мый йылысь: перым войтыръясысь томьяс вуджӱны карьясӱ, шӱр кыв гӱгӱртасыс кытӱнйя роч. Сиктысь пышьян помкаыс гӱгӱрвоана:



удж да водзö бур олöм вылö лача абутöм. Демографьяс чайтöны, водзö вылö пö войтырьяслон лыдыс нöшта на чинас, öд öнi и паспортьясö ознин ков пасьявны войтырсикассö. Содтам татчö, мый перым войтырьясөн овмöдöм сиктса мутасьяс — медся гöльöсь. Шуам, 2008-öд вося апрельын Комиын шöркост удждоныс вöлöма 19 сюрс 600 шайт, быгтьöкö абу и этша. Сöмын мусир перьян Усинскса районын шöр удждоныс кö вöлöма 32 сюрс да джын (900 кымын евро мында), то сиктса Кöрткерöс районын сийö вöлöма куим пöв этшаджык, 10 700 шайт (300 евро мында кымын).

Перым войтырьясөн чужан кывйөн сёрнитöм йывсьыс висьталöны ХХ-öд нэмса Сöвет Öтувлунун нуöдöм йöзöс лыддялöмьяс. ХХI-öд нэмын, öнiя демократия Россияын «Кутшöм кыв тiян чужан кывныд?» юалöмсö öтувья лыддьöгсьыс гöгöрвотöм помкаяс вöсна бöрья здукас вештöмабсь. Но и воддза лыддялöмьясыс тыдаланаа висьталöны сы йылысь, мый воысь воö чинöны чужан кывйөн сёрнитысь удмурт-коми йöзыс, кывйыс вочасөн бырö-чинö. Вайöдам лыдпасьяс 1959-öд да 1989-öд воаясь йöзöс лыддялöмысь.

	1959 воын	1989 воын	2002 воын
удмуртгьяс	89,1 %	69,6 %	абу юасьöмны
зырян-комияс	89,3 %	70,4 %	абу юасьöмны
перым-комияс	87,6 %	70,1 %	абу юасьöмны

2 №-а таблица. Перым войтырьяслон ай-мамныслысь кывсö чужан кывйөн шуöм йöзлөн лыд вежсьöм.

Россия пасьтала татшöм лыдпассö вермасны сетны öнi сöмын социолингвистикаын туялöмьяс. 2003-öд воын Сыктывкарын А.К.Конюхов веськöдлöм улын вöли нуöдöма «Социолингвистика серти Коми республикаын öнiя ситуация» туялан уджбала, сы дырйи юасьöма вöли и йöзлөн чужан кывныс вöдитчöм йылысь став кар да районысь бöрйöм йöзöс. Сидз, юасьöмаяс пиысь комияс вочавидзöмабсь тадзи: коми чужан кывнас шуöма 65,4 %, роч кыв 30,8 %, мукöд кыв 3,8 % (Конюхов да мукöдгьяс, öтуввезын «Коми войтыр» öтмунöмлөн инулысь). Татшöм ногөн, коми йöз пöвстысь комиён сёрнитысьыс 1989-öд во бöрын чиныштöма. Удмурт республика пасьтала видлалана лыдпассö тöдмалöмабсь: став удмуртысь чужан кывнас удмурт кыв шуöма 66,6 %, мукöд кыв, кызвынсö рочöс 33,4 % (Воронцов 2008: 886). Талунья лунö перым войтырьясысь ас чужан кывсö тöдö кык коймöд пайсьыс неуна этшаджык йöз. Тайö висьталö кывлөн содысь бырöм-рочмöм йылысь.

### 3. Вьль перым кывъяс чужасны оз?

Коми да удмурт кывъяс артмӧдӧны кык инас-система: сёрнисикасъяс-лысь ӧтувъялун да куим сӧвмӧм гижӧд кыв. Удмурт кыв та серти ӧтувъя: став сёрнисикассӧ ӧтувтӧ ӧти гижӧд кыв. Коми сёрнисикасъяс юксӧны кык ыджыд чукӧр вылӧ — 10 зыран-коми сёрнисикас да 8 перым-коми сёрнисикас, зыран да перым чукӧръяс костын эм камайывса (зюзьдінса) сідз шусяна шӧрвийӧ сёрнисикас. Индӧм кык сёрнисикас чукӧр подув вылын колян нэмса 20-ӧд воясӧ сӧвмис кык зэв матысса гижӧд кыв. Ӧти зэв аслыспӧлӧс язьва-коми сёрнисикасыс вель ёна торъялӧ зырян да перым коми сёрнисикасъясысь. Совет кадӧ выналӧ вӧлі Р.М.Баталоваӧн вӧзйӧм видзӧдлас, быттьӧкӧ камайывса да язьваса сёрнисикасъяс пырӧны перым-коми кывйӧ. Збылысьсӧ коми сёрнисикасъяс кык ыджыд чукӧр вылӧ торйӧдӧма вӧлі эз кывтуялан юрподувъяс вылын, а география юрподув серти. Ӧнӧдз перым-коми да зырян-коми гижӧд кывъяс зэв матынӧсь, а став комиыс ыджыд мытшӧдтӧг гӧгӧрвоӧ ӧта-мӧдсӧ, гашкӧ, сӧмын язьваса комиясысь кындзи.

Колӧ шуны, мый бӧръя дасвоӧ ӧткымын сёрнисикас пондӧсны гораа нимтыны-шуны ашӧр кывйӧн да чужисны мӧвпъяс лӧсьӧдны тшӧтш вьль гижӧд кывъяс. Сёрниыс муно комияс пӧвстысь язьва-комияс, изьвас комияс, а удмуртъяс пӧвстысь бесерманъяс йылысь. Видлалалам дженьыдика тайӧ «вьль кывъяссӧ».

**Язьва-коми** сёрнисикас юргӧ Перым дормуын Красновишерскӧй районса некымын сиктын. Торъя войтырсикас пыдди найӧс вӧлі торйӧдӧма сӧмын 1926-ӧд вося йӧзӧс лыддялігӧн, сэки пасйӧма вӧлі 10 000 язьва-комиӧс. Сэсса торйӧн найӧс абу нин лыддъылӧмны, став йӧзсӧ гижлӧмаӧсь рочӧ. Г.Н.Чагин (1993) серти, язьва-комиыс пӧ 2 000 кымын морт, сӧмын коми кывнас сёрнитӧны этшаӧн нин, ӧтияс шуӧны 560 морт, мукӧдъяс 300. Тайӧ кызвынсӧ пӧрысь йӧз нин. Серпасыс вежсис сӧмын колян нэмса 90-ӧд воясӧ: сэки Перымын олысь тӧдчана этнограф Г.Н.Чагин заводитӧс нимӧдны тайӧ войтырсикассӧ вель уна аслас гижӧдын. Вочасӧн асьныс язьва-комияс пондӧсны ловзьӧдны чужан сёрнисӧ, чужис ас кыв да культура видзны-ловзьӧдны зільысь ӧтмуноӧм. География велӧдысь Анна Лазаревна Паршакова лӧсьӧдӧма да 2003-ӧд воын йӧзӧдӧма чужан сёрни анбур, нимыс сылӧн «Коми-язвинский букварь» (Пермь 2003, 135 с.). Гижӧд кыв подув пыддиыс босьтӧма вӧлі Илля Васьлысь «Коми-язвинский диалект» монография, но медводдза анбурас кывйыс лоӧма вель уна тырмытӧмторъя.

Татшӧм нырвизьсӧ тырвийӧ ошкӧ Перым губерняса веськӧдлан котыр. На ногӧн, Перым дормуын эм вьльӧн восьтӧм язьва-коми ичӧт вуж-

войтыр, код вöсна тöжднас позьö нимавны Россия пасьтала дай ылöджык на. Та понда язьва-коми гижöд кыв артмöдöм да сёрнисикас туялöм вылас сетöны тырмымöн сьöм. Тайö могсö олöмö пöртö Перымса педагогика университетбердса выльöн котыртöм нейджыд институт (уджалысьыс кык-куим морт сöмын), нимыс рочöн татшöм — «Институт исследований языка, истории и традиционной культуры коми-пермяцкого народа», веськöдлысьыс филологияыс кандидат А.С.Лобанова. Вайöдам язьва-коми кыв йылысь йöздöм бөрья небöг нимьяссö:

1. Лобанова А.С.: *Падежная система коми-язьвинского языка*. Пермь 2005.
2. Пономарева Л.Г.: *Материалы по изучению консонантизма языка язьвинских пермяков*. Пермь 2005.
3. Попова О.А., Кичигина К.С.: *Дидактические материалы к урокам изучения лексики коми-язьвинского языка. Учебно-методическое пособие*. Пермь 2005.
4. *Сусачок-сучок. Традиционный фольклор язьвинских пермяков*. Ч. 1. Авт.-сост. Т.Г. Голева, А.С. Лобанова, Л.Г. Пономарева, А.В. Черных. Пермь 2006.

Перым губерняын уджалö торья уджбала — «Обеспечение школс углубленным изучением коми-язьвинского языка, культуры и истории коми-язьвинского народа учебно-методической литературой за счет средств Областной целевой Программы развития и гармонизации национальных отношений народов Пермской области на 2004-2008 гг.». Уджбаласö могмöдö йöзс сэтчöс велöдан министерство. Перым губерняён веськöдлан котыр официальной, торья уджкабалаён шыödчöма Россия Федерация веськöдланё, медым язьваса перым-комиясöс пыртасны ичöt вужвойтыр лыдö да сетасны налы торья статус.

**Изьватас** сёрнисикас войвылын юргö зэв паськыда кызди Коми республикаын, сідзи и сы ортсыын: Яран кытшын, Ямал-Яран да Хант-Манси кытшьясын, Кола коджын. Изьватас, войвывса комияс важысянь нин торйöдöны асьнысö мукöд комиасысь кыв, история, оланног да торья психология пондаыс. Изьватас аслас писькöслуннас ёна торьявлісны важысянь, найö му вöдитысьяс, чери кыйысьяс, вöралысьяс да көр видзысьяс öтлаын. 1970-öд воын изьватас ног сёрнитысьыс вöлöма 54 780 морт, Коми АССР-ын на пиысь овлöма 39 000 морт (Сахарова & Сельков 1976: 3). Ас сёрнисö найö шуöны *изьва кыы*, мукöд сёрнисикасысь (тшöкыда шуöны *эжва кыы*) торйöдöмөн. Изьватасөн овмöдöминьясö колян нэмса 20-öд воясö öтувья коми гижöд кыв да сьён школаясын велöдöмыс пырöма зэв

сӱкыда паныд сулалӱм понда: унаӱн абу кӱсйылӱмны босытны ни Молодцовлысь анбурсӱ, ни «эжва кыысӱ», дасьӱс вӱлӱмны лӱсьӱдны ас гижӱд кыв (Попов 2007: 88-89). Казыгывлӱны, весиг Сыктывкарысь ыстӱм коми велӱдчан небӱгъяссӱ кодсюрӱ сотавлӱма. Корсюрӱ весиг шуасьлӱмны, бурджык пӱ кутам велӱдны челядьсӱ рочӱн. Сӱмын збыль вылас изьва анбур ни гижӱд кыв некод сэки абу босытчӱма лӱсьӱдны, а 1930-ӱд во кежлӱ ӱтувъя гижӱд кыв пырӱма йӱзӱс велӱдан овмӱсӱ да веськӱдлӱмӱ. Изьватас комияслӱн асвежӱртӱмыс кык бана, найӱ асьнысӱ кылӱны и торъя чукӱрӱн, налӱн эм и ӱтувъя комиӱн асьнысӱ кылӱм. Вель уна гижысь, туялысь, артист да журналист петӱс изьватас пӱвстысь, найӱ пыртӱны ӱтувъя коми гижӱд кывйӱ изьваногса рӱмъяс. Тӱдчӱдам, Изьва муысь петлӱм гижысьяс (Биа Ӑгыр = Яков Чупров, Митрук Як = Яков Рочев, Егор Рочев, Владимир Попов, Альбина Ануфриева, Пик Артеев, Любовь Ануфриева да мукӱдъяс) гижлӱсны да гижӱны литература кывйӱн.

Кольӱм нэмса 90-ӱд воясӱ историяыс быттьӱкӱ бара кыкпӱвӱвтчис. Горбачевдырса восьса сӱрниа кадӱ котыртчис «Изьватас» ассоциация, панас пуктана ӱксӱӱмыс вӱлӱма Изьва сиктын 1990-ӱд вося кӱч тӱлысь 19-ӱд лунӱ. Уджтасас сӱйӱ кадеяньыс нин вӱлӱ корӱм пыртны изьватасӱс войвывса ичӱт лыда вужвойтыръяс лыдӱ, перестройка кадӱ бара кылӱны вӱлӱ шыӱдчӱмъяс лӱсьӱдны изьва гижӱд кыв (Канев 2007: 21). Весигтӱ кодсюрӱ вӱлӱ корӱ пыртны изьва сӱрнисикас районса каналан кыв пыдди. Бӱръя кадас «Изьватас» котырса зӱлысьяс (В.А.Ануфриева) чорыда корӱны лыддыны изьватассӱ торъя войтыр пыдди, пыртны россияса ичӱт вужвойтыр лыдӱ да судзӱдны татшӱмъяслы лӱсялана кокньӱдъяс. Татшӱм ногӱн, ассоциацияса зӱлысьяслӱн медшӱр могыс йитчӱма экономикаӱн: колӱ бурмӱдны ас войтырлысь олӱмсӱ, дзоньвидзалунсӱ, видзны вӱр-ва, сӱвмӱдны туризм да с.в. Изьватаслӱн ӱтмунӱмыс зӱльӱма та могысь вель ӱна. Сӱдз, 2002 вося Россияын йӱзӱс лыддялӱгӱн 16 сюрсысь унджык морт шуӱма асьсӱ «коми-ижемецӱн», тайӱ сиктса и карса йӱз. Колӱ шуны, Коми республикаса веськӱдлан котыр да «Коми войтыр» ӱтмунӱм эз ошкывлыны татшӱм водзмӱстчӱмсӱ да век лыддывлӱсны политикаа татшӱм нырвизьсӱ ӱтувъя коми войтыр торйӱдӱмӱн-юклӱмӱн. Но Фин-угор войтыръяслӱн V-ӱд войтыркостса ӱксӱӱма бӱрын Комиын юралысь В.А.Торлопов вежис нырвизьсӱ, сӱйӱ сувтӱс «Изьватасын» ныршикъяс дор да ошкис налысь водзмӱстчӱмсӱ. Мый водзӱ лоас таысь, видзӱдлам.

Изьва сӱрнисикас ӱнӱ сӱмын юргана кыв, зӱлысьяс-активистъяс эз лӱсьӱдны гижан традициясӱ, гижӱны найӱ кызвынсӱ рочӱн. Перестройка воясӱ «Изьватас» газетын, кык петасын ӱткымын стаття вӱлӱ сетӱма сэтчӱс сӱрнисикасӱн, но водзӱ тайӱ водзмӱстчӱмыс кусӱма. Тӱдӱмысь, ас терминологиятӱг да стильтӱг, вывтӱ уна рочысь босытӱм кывъя татшӱм

гижодыс уналы кажитчö вöлі сөвмытöм, уль, мисьтöм. Изьва ног Коми республикаын öнi оз гижны кывбуръяс ни висьтъяс, абу асворсан театр, сöмын эмöсь сиктъясын да каръясын фольклор сьылан котыръяс. Весигтö «Изьватаслön культура. Традицияс. Öнiя кад. Аскиа лун» нима небöгын абу ни öти гижöд изьва сёрнисикасöн, став статтясьыс 31 гижöма рочöн, сöмын квайт комиöн. Медыджд водзöсыс — зильöны сёрнитны ас сёрнисикасöн, тшöтш и «Изьватас» котырлön öксöмаяс дырйи, сывны, видзны нэмöвöйся фольклор да с.в. Республикаса «Коми гор» радиоын уна во нин юргö изьватас войтырлы сиöм уджтас, сэнi сёрнитöны кызвынсö изьва ног. Рытыввыв Сибырын, Ямал-Яран асьюралан кытшын мöдарö — изьва гижан кыв эм, Обдор карын йöзöдöма ичöt школалы велöдчан небöгъяс (шыпас йöртöд, сёрнитны велöдчан). Роч-зыран сёрнитчан небöг лöсьöдан удж йылысь гижö Т.Б.Лаптандер (2007: 134-142).

**Бесерманъяс** — удмуртъяслön этнография серти тшöтш вель торъялана юкөн. Найö тшöтш торйöдöны асьнысö став мукöд удмуртсьыс, сёрнитöны торъялана диалектöн, кытчö öтлаасьöмны и лунвывса, и войвывса сёрнисикасьяслön аслыспöлöслунъяс. Важвylöм чöж на вылö ёна тöдчöмаöсь тюрк войтыръяс, тайö тöдчö налön нэмöвöйся оласногас, паськöмын, öбрадъясын. 1926-öд вося йöзöс лыддялöм пасйö 10 000 сайö бесерманöс, 2002-öд вося лыддялöм сетö 3 122 лыдпас. Ёна чинöм войтыр-сикас пондiс тшöтш котыртчыны выльмöдан кадö: сэки вöлі лöсьöдöма «Бесерман войтырлысь котыр», Глазов карын восьтöма налысь история да культура шöрин. 1993-öд воын Удмурт республикаса Медвылыс сöветса президиум шуис лыддыны бесерманъясöс ашöр войтырöн, а 2000-öд восянь найöс пыртöма лои Россия Федерацияса ичöt лыда войтыръяс лыддьöгö. Кыдзи юöртöны удмурт уджъёртъяс, öнi Удмурт республикасянь бесерманъяс дорö некутшöм ыджыд тöжд абу, ставыс дудöма.

Гижöд кыв бесерманъяслы тшöтш эз ло лöсьöдöма, кöть татшöм корöмъясыс унаысь юргылöмаöсь, та йылысь уналаö гижлöмны. Удмурт кывбуралысь М.Федотов сöмын аслас гижöдъясас ёнакодь пыртлöма бесерман сёрнисикассö. Кыдзи тыдалö, бесерманъяс да изьватас эз лöсьöдны виль перым гижöд кывъяс, налön кывйыс сöмын вомгора туйын ветлö. Гöгöрвоана öтитор: сиктса районъяс тшупöдын лючки-бура гижöд кыв, анбур да сöвмöм литература вöчны зэв сьökыд. Дай колö та вылö вель ыджыд сьöм, уна вежöра йöз. Дженьыдик кывкöртöдыс татшöм: этноспытшса асвежöртöмлön вежласьöмыс немся на оз вайöд перым кывъяслön юксöм-торъялöмö.

#### 4. Сёрнисикасъясын кывворлӧн вежсьӧм

Кутшӧм чужӧмбана ӧнія перым кывъясын сёрнисикасъяс? Тайӧ юалӧм выльӧ тшӧтш видлам вочавидзны. XXI-ӧд нэмӧ вуджӧммысьт сёрнисикасъяс тшӧтш вежсьӧны, и уна татшӧм вежсьӧм мунӧ оз бурланьӧ. Медшӧр помкаыс — роч кывлӧн ыджыд тӧдчӧм, абу кӧ нин личкӧм. Талунья комияс да удмуртъяс кык кывъя йӧз, кык торъялана кыв инас юраныс кутысьяс. Сёрнисикасъясын вежсьӧмъясыс медся тыдаланаа тӧдчӧны кывворын, зумыд кывтэчасъясын, кӧть и оз сӧмын таын.

Перым кывъяс ӧнія кадӧ оз артмӧдны ӧтувъя гӧгӧртассӧ каръясын, та вӧсна налӧн абу карса сёрниног, абуӧсь тшӧтш сӧвмӧм жаргонъяс. Век жӧ торъялӧ челядь сёрни да кутшӧмакӧ студент слэнг, сәні торъяланаторсӧ артмӧдӧ рочысь босътӧм слэнг-кыввор да калькаяс, шуам кӧть, зк. *преподӧс кывзыны, зачоткаыс вунӧма, стипуха талун сетӧны*.

Коми да удмурт сёрнисикасъяс туялӧма абу ӧткодя, медбура восьтӧма зыран-коми сёрнисикасъяс. Йӧзӧдӧма вӧлі ӧтувъя зыран диалект кывчукӧр (*Сравнительный словарь коми-зырянских диалектов*. Сыктывкар, 1961, 25 сюрс гӧгӧр кыв), быд сёрнисикас йылысь эм торъя туялан небӧг. Виль, КЛИИ-са кыв юкӧдын ӧні лӧсьӧдан сёрнисикас кывкудлӧн йӧрышыс 77 сюрс гӧгӧр кыв, сӧмын тайӧ ыджыд уджыс абу на йӧзӧдӧма. Перым-коми да удмурт сёрнисикасъяс туялӧма абу этша, но йӧзӧдӧма на йылысь ӧна этшаджык. Тайӧ да мукӧд уджъяс петкӧдлӧны 50-70-ӧд воясся кывсӧ, сӧмын ӧні кыв ситуацияыс ӧна мӧд нин, сёрнисикасъяс ӧдйӧ вежсьӧны. Кыдзи вежсьӧны, кодарлань найӧ мунӧны? Кыввор выльӧ медводз мыджсьӧмӧн позьӧ торйӧдны ӧнія перым сёрнисикасъясысь куим сикас вежсянног:

1. Йӧз сёрниысь важ нэмӧвӧйся оланногкӧд, уджаланногкӧд, быдлунья олӧмкӧд йитчӧм кывворлӧн вушйӧм-бырӧм. Тайӧ вежсьӧмыс мунӧ ӧнія олӧмын экономикаын гырысь лоӧмторъяс вӧсна. Сидз, талунья зыран-комияслӧн сёрниын оз бергавны нин няня быдтасъяслӧн нимъяс, шабді вӧдитан терминъяс, оз нин тӧдны *дзимбыр, сартас, пеша, нинкӧм* да мукӧд кывъяс. На пыдди унаӧн вӧдитчӧны рочысь босътӧм кывъясӧн. Казытам татчӧ: Коми АССР-ын 70-ӧд вояссянь мырдӧн бырӧдісны няня быдтасъяс вӧдитӧм, пыш, таг, шабді быдтӧм, мазі видзӧм. Озырджык кывворыс кольӧма на пӧрысь йӧзлӧн, а том йӧз да шӧр арлыдаяс уна кыв комиӧн оз нин тӧдны, торйӧн нин диаспораын.

2. Гижӧд кывъяслӧн сёрнисикасъяс выльӧ шыльӧдана тӧдчӧм, сійӧ йитчӧма школаын велӧдӧмсӧ паськӧдӧмкӧд да уна йӧзлы юӧр сетан-торъялӧн уджкӧд (теле- да радиоуджтасъясын). Гижӧд кывъяс вель

тшөкыда овлөны вылыс культура да велөдчөмлөн пасөн, торйөн нин сиктса интеллигенциялөн да шөр школа помалысьяслөн. Сёрнитны кө коми кывъяс йылысь, тайёторйис медъёна тыдалё юркаргөгөрсә сиктъясын да районъясын, ылынджыкинса районъясын ас сёрнисикаслөн доныс мөдарё, венласё гижөд кыв дон-авторитеткөд, шуам, Изъва, Лузаберд, Удора районъясын. Дерт, некыдзи оз позь шуны, мый сёрнисикасьяс вошөны, но найё ёна бурджыка кутчысьөны шыкудйын да грамматикаын, а кывворыс ёна өдйөджык вежсьө. Шуам, сыктывшөрсә сёрнисикасын, Визин сиктсёрниын тшөкыда позьө кывны нин гижөд кыв нормаа *пасътасьны* кадакыв нэмөвөйся *кышасьны* пыдди.

3. Сёрнисикасысь кыввор роч кыввор вылө вежсьөм, торйөн нин дасътытөм, өдйө сёрнитаннога ситуациясын кызвынсө том да шөркодъ, а сідзжө и олөма нин йөз пөвстын. Тайё вайөдө сэтчөдз, мый нэмөвөйся кывворыс вешйө кыввөдитчөмлөн ылі сэрөгө, корсюрө весигтө вунө. Тайёторйис войдөр ёна паныдасьлө вөлі перым-коми сёрнисикасьясын, коми да удмурт диаспораса сёрниын, но өні тайё паськалөма тшөтш республикасын.

Медшөр помкаыс татшөмторйислөн, дерт, ёна паськалөм нин кыккывъялун, кор удмуртъяс да комияс өткодя бура ичөтсьяныс сёрнитөны чужан кывйөн да рочөн, а гижөны өні найё рочнас бурджыка нин. Мөд помкаыс — йөзкотырын роч кывлөн вывті ёна бергалөмыс, сійө бөръя кадас нөшта на содө өнія технологияа юөртантор да йитөд сөвмөм вөсна (теле- да радиоканалъяс содөм, зептелепонъяс да өтуввез, компутер ворсөмъяс да уджтасьяс, ворсан автоматъяс да с.в.). Роч кыввор өні паськыда пырө да зырө важ кывъяссө ас республикасын, вөвлөм Перым-коми кытшын, оз сөмын кызвынсө диаспораын, кыдзи вөлі важөнджык. Шуам, өнія комиясьянь тшөкыда позьө кывны татшөмтор: *колө баня ломтыны, сэн ыджыд болото эм, мунам малинала. Ас пывсян/пылсян, нюр, өмидз* кывъяс пыдди пыртөны сёрниө кытшалысь кывйысь босьтөм кыввор.

Торйөн татшөмторйис важысянь нин паськалөма перым-коми сёрнисикасьясын, кодыяс вылө уна нэм чөж ёна төдчөма орчча роч сёрниыс. Буретш тайөн кызвынсө и торъялөны перым-коми сёрнисикасьяс зыран-комиясысь. Стөчджыка кө, дасысь ыджыджык ас лыдакывъяс пыдди бергалөны рочысь пырөмаяс, паськалөмны -ок (*пуртөк* «ичөт пурт»), -очка, -өвөй (*көртөвөй, пуовөй, шукаовөй*) роч кывартмөдан суффиксьяс, *бы, не* кывторъяс, *если, көбы, коли, что* йитөсьяс да с.в. Перым-комияс вомгора сёрниас тшөкыда сёрникузяс пыртөны роч кадакывъяс нин, найё ладмөдчөны подувкывйыскөд роч кыв оланпасъяс серти нин, шуам

кӧть, кэркунымӧс **забрал’и** школа вылӧ, сийа война вылын **погиб**, кыз тэ **имэйши право** туй вылӧ бийас’ны (мысса-лупъяса сёрнисикасысь). Удмуртыяс да комияс сёрнианыс медтшӧкыда вӧдитчӧны рочысь пырӧм чолӧмаян-янсӧдчан кывъясӧн (к. *здоров, пассибӧ*, удм. *привет, пока*), модальной кывъясӧн, уна эмакывйӧн да кывбердӧн. Нӧшта тӧдчанатор: зыран-коми да удмурт сёрнисикасыясын вочасӧн дугдӧны бергавны важ ас лыдакывъяс, шуам кӧть, сыктывкарбердса диалектын **тыс’ача девятсот пейс’ат пйатой годс’а верӧсӧ** «мой муж тысяча девятсот пятьдесят пятого года рождения», удмурт кывйын чупчишӧрса сёрнисикасын **двэна-цэт’ л’эт** кыл’и айытэк «дас кык арӧса коли айтӧг» (Карпова 2005: 420). Вель тшӧкыда сёрниӧ рочысь пырӧны дзонь шуӧмторъяс, кывтэчасъяс, со кӧть, **Во-первых, мян уна вӧчсьӧ по подготовке к выборам, во-вторых, ӧни дасьтысям день пожилых людей** кезлӧ. Торйӧн нин тайӧ тыдалӧ оз быдлунся сёрнитантор йылысь варовитӧг, политика, удж, экономика, спорт темаяс вылӧ дасьтытӧм сёрниын.

Татшӧм дзугыс тырвыйӧ «дзордзалӧ» тшӧтш ӧния перым гижӧд кывъясын, весигтӧ велӧдчӧм йӧз пӧвстын. Тайӧ тыдалӧ ӧния коми гижысысӧн гижӧм висыгысысь, шуам кӧть, — *Тэ, другӧ, меным эн индав. Асьнытӧ на лешакыс татчӧ вайис, а эг ме тиянӧ лок. Незванный гость пӧ хуже татарина: кывлин, кӧнкӧ* (Лудыгин 2007: 98); — *А ме со мамбать гортысь некытчӧ эг и мун. Тани школа помали, училище бӧрын гортӧ жӧ и локти. Кызди шуласны тай, где пӧ родился, там и пригодился; — Всё продумано, — рочасьышитис зятъыс* (Макарова 2008: 32, 35). Том журналистыяс радио- да телеуджтасъяс нуӧдигӧн кокниа вунӧдӧны быдлунъя коми кывъяс, шуӧны тадзи: *колӧ дзоньтавны крыша; тайӧ керкасӧ шуисны снеситны; спортсмен босьтис сереброысь медаль да с.в. (вевт, разьны, эзысь пыдди).*

Талунъя коми да удмуртыяслӧн, позьӧ шуны, кывйыс сораса нин. Уна верстыӧ да том кокниа вуджӧны сёрниын рочӧ да мӧдарӧ, уна ай-мамлы веськодъ, кутшӧм кывйӧн сёрнитны ас челядыскӧд. Гожӧмъясын коми да удмурт сиктыясӧ пӧрысь мамъяс дорӧ вайӧдӧны гӧгапи-гӧганывъяссӧ, и пӧч-пӧляс унджыкысысӧ накод сёрнитӧны рочӧн, оз чужан кывнас нин. Удмурт сёрнисикасыяс туялысь Л.Л. Карпова мангитфонӧ аслас гижӧмторъясысь меным вайӧдӧс ӧти видлӧг 70 арӧса пӧрысь аньлӧн сёрниысь. Юалӧмыс вӧлӧма удмурт кывйӧн, вуджӧдны кӧ «Кутшӧм ворсӧмъясӧн ворслӧмаӧсь важӧн челядыс?» Вочакывйыс со — *Мон не помню. Разные игры играли тогда когда были маленькими. А собере война началась, страшная война. Сӧ калык быриз. Никого не осталось...* Татшӧмсяма сёрниыс век паськалӧ и паськалӧ. Шуам, Удмурт муын юасьӧмаясысь 75 %-ыс кӧ ас сиктас вӧдитчӧны удмурт кывйӧн, то сиктысь мунӧмӧн сёрнитӧны нин рочӧн либӧ сораса кывйӧн (Kondratjeva 2008: 7).



## 5. Перым гижөд кывъяс йөзкотырын

Удмурт да коми гижөд кывъясн вержласяна нырвизьыс бөръя кадас дзик мөдара, сәни тыдалө бурлань вайөдана вержсьөмъяс. Медводз, удмурт да зыран-коми гижөд кывъяслөн кыпаліс оланпаса статусыс, найөс нимтөма каналан кывъясөн да вынсьөдөма тайөс торъя оланпасъясн, коми кыв йылысь оланпас вынсьөдөма 1992-өд воын, ода-кора 28-өд лунө, удмурт кыв 2001-өд воын, өшым төлысь квайтөд лунө. Роч кывкөд найө өні өти тшупөдынөсь, дерт, сөмын уджкабала серти. Важ вынсьөдтөм статусыс колис перым-коми гижөд кывлөн, Перым-Коми автономия кытш бырөдөм бөрын сійө весигтө абу нин титула кыв, абу асьюралан кытш нима.

Бөръя 15 онас лои подулалөма каналан кывъяс видзан да сөвмөдан уджтасъяс, уна сикас мукөд уджбала. Шуам, Коми республикаын кык кывйөн йөзөдөны оланпасъяс, индөд-тшөктөмъяс, пондісны дасътыны кык кывъя юөртан гижөдъяс да с.в., паськыдджыка пондісны велөдны удмурт да коми кывъяс. Та понда дзоньнас перым кывъяслөн йөзкотырса доныс содіс, көть и эз өна, эз вужвийө. Гижөд кывъяслөн паськалөм-быдмөмыс кутіс падмыны 2005-өд во бөрын, кор республикасын веськөдлан элитаяс көдзөдчисны тайө нырвизьсьыс. Коми республикаын удж падмөм кындзи көнсюрө коми кывлөн бергалөмыс вель өна чиніс. Водзө вайөдөм таблицаысь бура тыдалө республикаса комиөн петан газет лыдлөн өна чинөмыс.

	1992	1997	2002	2004	2008
«Коми му»	7 810	4 490	6 127	2 584	2 427
«Йөлөгга»	7 703	1 320	2 930	1 095	727
«Войвыв кодзув»	4 000	1 800	1 400	947	1 000
«Чушканзі»	12 000	2 112	1 167	870	1 200
«Би кинь»	7 000	4 902	4 223	1 361	1 374

3 №-а таблица. 1992-2008-өд воясө коми газет-журналъяслөн петан лыд вержсьөм.

Дзоньнас коми да удмурт гижөд кывъяс ас республикаясас, кызди и водзджык вөлі, олөны да бергалөны йөзкотырса сэрөгын, периферияын. Та йылысь висьталө со мый. Коми республикаын кө роч каналан кыв велөдө став велөдчысьясысь 100 %-ыс, коми каналан кыв велөдө 35 %-ыс сөмын. 2007-өд воын Коми республикаын вөлі пасйөма 1 000 экземплярсь унджык петана 190 йөзөдантор (газет да журнал), на пиысь комиөн петысьыс 9, Удмуртияын 275 журнал-газетысь удмурт кывйөн петө 16 (Kondratjeva 2008: 7). Прөчента пайыс коми кывъяслөн 4,73 %, удмурт кывъяслөн 5,8 %. Перым-коми кывйөн ни өти газет ни журнал оз пет,

«Силькан» журнал петавлӧ зэв шоча кык кывйӧн, а «Парма» газетын комиӧн овлӧны сӧмын торъя листбокъяс. Телевидениын перым гижӧд кывъяс бергалӧны вывтӧ этша. Дзоньнас тайӧтор йывсьыс абу этша гижӧма нин торъя йӧзӧдӧм уджъясын (Воронцов 2008; Kondratjeva 2008; Цыпанов 2003; Tsyranov 2005), та понда унджык сёрнитам сы йылысь, кызди вежсьӧ пытшкӧсса кыв инасыс, медводз бара донъялам кывворын мунан вежсьӧмъяссӧ.

## 6. Кыввор паськалӧ кык туйӧд

Коми да удмурт кывъясын ӧдйӧ содӧ торъякыв лыдыс. Ӧнія вежласысь кадус вайӧ уна торъякыв рочысь да роч пыр мукӧд кывъясысь, шуам кӧть, *принтер, офис, дума, спикер, мобильник, флешка, ОМОН*. Татшӧм кывворыс пырӧ кывъясӧ вежсьывтӧг нин, оз аскодясь, ӧд талунъя перым войтыръяс кыккывъяӧсь. Мӧдладорсянь, гижӧд кывъясын бӧръя 15 кымын во чӧж артмисны-чужисны вылькывъяс-неологизмъяс ас ресурс подув вылын, найӧ кызвыннас бергалӧны босьтӧм кывъяс пыдди да налы синоним туйын, шуам, к. *оланпас* «закон», *енби* «талант», удм. *кункрезь* «гимн», *лулчеберет* «культура». Зыран-коми гижӧд кывйын татшӧм выль кывворыс 2 000 лексема сайӧ, удмурт выль кывворсӧ лыд серти абу эрдӧдӧма на, перым-коми гижӧд кывйын вылькывйыс медэтша. Татшӧмторсӧ во кызь сайын некод эз чайтлы лоиг, чайтӧны вӧлі, перым гижӧд кывъяс мый оз вежсьыны, ӧти тшупӧдын олӧны. Уна кыв пондӧс бергавны паськыда да зумыда пырис сёрниӧ, но унджык вылькывйыс кольӧ вӧзйӧмтор пыдди на, шуам, комиын *енби* «талант» кыв пырис, а *канму* «государство» бергалӧ вель шоча. Мый ӧткодьыс татшӧм вежсьӧмас перым гижӧд кывъясын?

Татшӧм зильӧмыс чужис ӧти кадӧ да ӧткодь помкаяс вӧсна. Кольӧм нэмса 80-ӧд воясӧ выльмӧдан кадӧ лои позянлун восьсӧн сёрнитны тшӧтш коми да удмурт кывъясын чӧжсьӧм тырмытӧмторъяс йылысь. Кызди вӧвлӧм Сӧвет Ӧтувлунын мукӧд кывъясын, медшӧр тырмытӧмтор пыдди индывлісны медводз кыввор да терминология лӧка сӧвмӧм вылӧ да налӧн вывтӧ нин рочмӧм вылӧ (Тезисы 1987; Цыпанов 1990). Та йылысь торйӧн уна висьталӧма вӧлі научно-практической конференциясын сёрнитысьяс, сэки унаӧн ышӧдӧны вӧлі паськӧдны-сӧвмӧдны кыввор. Сійӧ кадсяньыс медводз туялысьяс да гижысьяс пондӧсны корсьны выль кывворлысь ӧшмӧсьяс.

Медводз кыв бурмӧдысьяс корсялісны ас кывйысь вӧвлӧм нин кыввор: сёрнисикасьясысь, важ кабалаясысь, сёрнитан кывйысь, шуам, к. *небӧг, кӧлысь*, удм. *кат* «оланпас». Сӧмын регыд лои гӧгӧрвоана, мый зэв уна пасьянторлы татшӧмсяма кывворыс абу. Петан туйыс лои ӧти

— лосьодавны вöвлытöм на вылькывъяс. Коми кывйын тадзи артмисны *оланпас* «закон» да *оланподув* «конституция» кывъяс, удмурт кывйын *кункрезь* «канму кып», а сідзжö уна мукöд. Торйöн нин зіля вылькывъяс артмöдалісны 90-öд воясö, Комиын и Удмуртияын вель зіля сэки уджалісны кыв комиссияяс. Вочасöн татшöм зільöмыс сэсся кутіс кусны, öнi Комиын татшöм комиссияыс збыльыссьö некымын во оз нин уджав. Удмурт муын серпасыс мöдара: сэтчöс комиссияыс зумыда уджалö. Выль кывворсö лои чукöртöма Коми республикаын нель юөр гижöдö (бюллетеньö) да куим торъя кывкудйö (дзоньнас кык сюрс гөгөр торьякыв). Зыран-коми вылькывъяссö лои чукöртöма компютер кудйö, сійöс вöлі сеталöма газет-журнал редакциясö, вылыс велöдчанінъясö (Цыпанов 2004). Удмуртияын 1998-öд воын петавліс торъя ыджыд юөр гижöд-бичет, сэтчö вайöдöма 400 гөгөр вылькыв. Таысь кындзи, уна материал сетöма вöлі газет-журналыясын. Перым-коми кытшыын вылькыв чукöртан уджыс эз и пансыывлы, та понда сьöкыд шуны, уна-ö вылькыв вöлі вöзйöма.

Выльысь пыртана кывворсö юөртантор темаяс серти позьö юкны куим ыджыд юкөн вылö: 1) йöзкотыр да политикакöд йитчöм кывъяс, шуам, удм. *азьмурт* «президент», *элькун* «республика», к. *юралысьпу, ёрд*; 2) туялан терминьяс (кызвынсö филологияыс), шуам кöть, к. *кыввор* «лексика», *шыкуд* «фонетика», *кывберд* «прилагательнöй», удм. *нимбер* «кывбöр», *кылтодон* «кывтуялöм»; 3) культура, наука, йöзöс велöдан адасьясыс, абстракция кыввор: удм. *тодос* «наука», *бичет* «бюллетень», к. *шылад* «музыка», *сикасалöм* «классификация», *енбиа* «таланта», *öтуввез* «Интернет» да с.в. Эм, дерт, мукöд, посныдджык сикасыяс на, шуам, вичко да эскöмкöд йитчöм кывъяс.

Кывартмöдöм серти кö видзöдлыны, перым кывъясын вылькывъяс артмöны öткодя, медся паськыдасö суффиксыяс отсöгөн да юкөнъяс содтысьöмөн, копуляция туйöд. Видлөгъяс: к. *кокньöд* «лөгота» (артмöма *кокни* кывбердысь -öд суффиксöн), удм. *тодосчи* «ученый» (артмö -чи суффиксöн *тодос* «наука» эмакывйысь); к. *шылад* «музыка», удм. *кункышет* «канму дöрапас». Торъяланторьясыс позьö пасйыны коми кывйын чинталöм кывъяс (аббревиатураяс) артмöм, шуам кöть, *СКУ* = *Сыктывкарса канму университет*, *КЛИИ* = *Кыв, литература да история институт*, *КМ* = «*Коми му*» газет, *ВАК* = *восьса акционер котыр*, *НАК* = *Ненеч автономия кытш*. Татшöм кывйыс кöть абу уна, сöмын роч аббревиатураысыс мынтöдчöмыс унатор йылысь нин висьталö. Выль кыввор артмöдöм-паськөдöмын зэв тöдчанатор — кыв реформаторьяс, выльтор аддзысыяс, сійöс вöзйысыяс да пыртысыяс. Татшöм йöзыс перым муясын этша, тайö туялысыяс, велöдысыяс, кыв радейтысыяс. Медтöдчанаыс медым найöс кылісны журналистыяс, школаса велöдысыяс, редакторьяс. Шуам, Удмуртияын зэв унатор вöчö филологияыс кандидат да кывбуралысь

Виктор Шибанов, Комиын уна вылькыв вӧзйис Сергей Елфимов, Перым карын олысь Ӧньӧ Лав (В.А.Степанов) лӧсьӧдлӧ кывъяс кыкнан коми гижӧд кывйӧ. Збылысьсӧ ӧнӧ кадӧ, кӧть абу нин коммунист ютырлӧн коркӧя личкӧмыс, кывйӧн вӧдитчан нырвизьсӧ урчитӧны редакторъяс. Со и Комиын, и Удмуртияын кыв выльмӧдӧмыс кызвынсӧ на сайын. Шуам, Удмуртияын вель ӧна норасьӧны «Удмурт дунне» газетса редактор вылӧ, оз пӧ окотапырысь пырт газетас вылькывъяссӧ да. Комиын медся бура видзӧдӧны выль кыввор вылӧ радиоын уджалысь войтыр, Галина Ведерникова унаысь сӧрнитлӧ та йылысь аслас уджтасьясын. Шензьӧдӧ, Коми республикаын петысь томуровлы индӧм «Йӧлӧга» газет мыйлакӧ ӧтдортчӧ уна бур да мича вылькывйысь.

Выль кыввор водзяныыс перым гижӧд кывъясӧ пырис сьӧкыда, помкаыс талы уна: кывйӧн вӧдитчан консерватизм, кыввор тӧдтӧмлун, корсюрӧ найӧс омӧля гӧгӧрвоӧм. Зэв тӧдчана помкаӧн вӧлі сийӧтор, мый вӧзъяна-пыртӧдана кывйыс ӧтпырийӧ кутӧ вӧлі бергавны вывтӧ уна. Сӧмын олӧмыс петкӧдліс ӧтитор: мыйӧн ӧнджыка вензисны да сӧрнитӧсны выль кыввор йылысь газет-журналын, мыйӧн ӧнджыка видӧсны-лӧкӧдӧсны сийӧс, сымын бурджыка сийӧ пырис. Сидзкӧ антиреформаторъяслӧн зильӧмыс муніс кутшӧмакӧ бур вылӧ. Шуам, Коми республикаын медся яра лӧкӧдӧны вӧлі выль кывворсӧ ӧткымын гижысь, журналист да ӧти фольклор туялысь. Медся ӧна оз во сьӧлӧм выланыс выль кывворыс олӧма нин да пӧрысь йӧзлы, кызвынсӧ сиктын олысьяслы, а медкокниа пыртӧны сӧрни-гижӧдӧ найӧс томуров, школаын велӧдысьяс, студентъяс, водзын мунан журналистъяс. Социоллингвистика боксянь тайӧ темасӧ — вылькывъяслысь вужъясьянногсӧ — абу на бура туялӧма, неважӧн петӧс та йылысь коми кывтуялысьяслӧн медводза небӧгтор (Айбабина & Безносилова 2008).

Мый бурсӧ вайис нин выль кыввор вӧзйӧм-пыртӧмыс? Позьӧ лыддьӧдлыны: 1) вель ӧна паськаліс ачыс кывворыс, лои ловзьӧдӧма тшӧтш кывартмӧдан да нимтан-пасьян ресурсьяс, торйӧн нин тайӧ бура тыдалӧ 60-70-ӧд воясья дудӧм кывъя газет-журналъяс талунъя синмӧн видлалӧгӧн; 2) водзӧ сӧвмис-паськаліс удмурт да коми кывъясын терминология инасьяс, кӧть и тайӧ артмис этша адасын, кызвынсӧ йӧзкостса-политикаа да кывтуялан, литература туялан адасьясын; 3) кыввор синонимияын да стиль серти кыв юкласьӧмын ӧна паськалісны позянлунъясыс; 4) пырана да бергалана выль кывворыс бур ногӧн тӧдчӧ кыввежӧр вылӧ да кутшӧмакӧ кыпӧдӧ перым войтыръяслысь асвежӧртӧмсӧ, торйӧн нин томуровлысь. Унатор ас кывйӧн пасйӧмыс петкӧдлӧ чужан кывъяслысь винӧвлунсӧ, сӧвмыны ыджыд позянлунсӧ да налысь пытшкӧсса вынсӧ, торйӧн нин ӧнӧ ӧдийӧ вежласысь олӧмын. Та йылысь висьталӧны коми да удмурт студентъяс пӧвстын нуӧдӧм юасьӧмьяс.

## 7. Бөркыв

Неыджыд кывкөртөд пыдди позяс шуны, мый перым кывъяслон динамикаыс öнiя кадö тыдалö кык пöлöс вежсьöмысь: öти-кö, сёрнисикасьяс да дасьтытöм, нормаö кутчысьтöм сёрнитан кыв öтарö рочмö, воштö ассьыс чужöмбансö, имитö ас пыткас век унджык босьтöм кыв да кывтэчас, вермö вежсьыны и роч вылö, мöд-кö, перым гижöд кывъяс, нормаö вайöдöм инасьяс сöвмöны мöдара туйöд, озырмöны вылькывъясöн, сёрникузя тэчасыс бергöдчö ас кывъя нормаяслань. Татшöм ног, вежсьöмъяслысь медводдза сикассö вермам донъявны кыдзи негативногаöс, мöдсö кыдзи позитивногаöс. Мый водзö таысь артмас, кыдзи кывъясыс вежсясны, петкöдлас водзö кадыс.

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## Permiläisten kielten nykytila

### 1. Johdannoksi

Permiläiskieliä puhuu kolme toisilleen läheistä kansaa: udmurtit, komisyrjäänit ja komipermjakit. Neuvostoetnografiassa kaikki kolme kansaa liitettiin yhteen permiläiseksi kansanryhmäksi. Tämä maataloutta, kalastusta ja metsästystä harjoittanut muinainen kansa jakautui joskus 600–700-luvuilla aluksi udmurtti- ja komilaishaaraksi komilaisten siirryttyä vähitellen asumaan pohjoiseen ja luoteeseen. Komisyrjäänit ja komipermjakit puhuvat hyvin samankaltaisia murteita ja ymmärtävät helposti toisiaan. Tästä syystä monet kielentutkijat eivät pidä niitä kahtena itsenäisenä komilaiskielenä, vaan puhuvat yhden kielen olemassaolosta. Tällä kannalla olen itsekin. Viime aikoina kansalaisaktivistit, poliitikot ja muutkin ovat alkaneet laskea permiläiseen etnokseen kuuluvaksi vielä kolme ryhmää: komisyrjäänien rinnalle lisänä izvalaiset, Permin aluepiirin komipermjakkien rinnalle alkoivat nousta jazvalaiset ja Udmurtiassa pyrkivät erottautumaan besermanit. Näistä ”uusista” kansoista tulee puhe vielä tuonnempana. Nyt aluksi on syytä antaa kolmesta ”suuresta” permiläiskansasta tilastotietoja: mikä on niiden kehityssuunta nyt kolmannen vuosituhatvuoden alettua.

### 2. Lähisukuisten kansojen lukumääristä

Ensimmäinen muutos on se, että komilaisten ja udmurttien määrä koko Venäjän alueella on viimeisen 20 vuoden aikana laskenut ja melkoisella vauhdilla. Tämän paljasti Venäjällä vuonna 2002 suoritettu koko Venäjän väestönlaskenta (Lallukka 2005: 31–36).

	1989 (Neuvostoliitto)	1989 (Venäjän SFNT)	2002 (Venäjä)	muutos
udmurtit	746 793	714 800	640 028	-74 772 (-10,5 %)
komisyrjäänit	344 519	336 300	293 406	-42 894 (-12,8 %)
komipermjakit	152 060	147 300	125 235	-22 065 (-15 %)

*Taulukko 1.* Permiläisten kansojen väestömäärän muutokset 1989–2002.

Kuten huomaamme, eniten koko väestöstä vähenee komipermjakkien määrä, vähiten udmurttien ja komisyrjäneiden määrä pysyttelee näiden välillä. Näin on käynyt koko Venäjän alueella ilmenneiden vaikeuksien vuoksi: 1990-luvulla talouden hajoamisen seurauksena monet ihmiset, erityisesti maaseudun asukkaat, köyhtyivät kovasti, menettivät työnsä ja ikään kuin sekosivat elämässään. Elinolojen kurjistuttua permiläisten kansojen syntyvyys laski, mutta väestön kuolleisuus nousi. Yhä edelleen korostetaan udmurttien ja komilaisten olevan muka maaseutuväestöä. On totta, että heidän juurensa ovat kylissä, mutta voidaan sanoa, että nykyään heistä vain noin puolet asuu maaseudulla: komisyrjäneistä lähes puolet asuu jo kaupungeissa.

Tasavalloissaan udmurtit ja komisyrjäanit ovat jo kauan sitten muuttaneet vähemmistöiksi. Vuonna 2002 Udmurtiassa oli 1 570 316 asukasta, heistä udmurtteja oli 460 582 henkeä (29,3 % koko väestöstä). Venäläisten määrä lähennee miljoonaa, heitä on 944 108 henkeä (60,1 % koko väestöstä). Kun verrataan vuoteen 1989, on udmurttien määrä omassa tasavallassaan vähentynyt 35 900 hengellä, siis 7,8 prosentilla. Oman tasavallan alueella asuvien udmurttien osuus laski vuoden 1989 30,9 prosentista 29,3 prosenttiin. (Vorontsov 2008: 885–886; Kondratjeva 2008: 6.) Komin tasavallasta vuoden 2002 väestönlaskenta antaa seuraavanlaisia lukuja: tasavallan 1 018 674 asukkaasta komeja on 256 464 henkeä (25,2 %) ja venäläisiä 607 021 henkeä (59,6 %). Komien osuus omassa tasavallassaan on hieman noussut, kun verrataan vuoteen 1989, jolloin komeja oli 23,3 %. Vuodesta 1989 komilaisten kokonaismäärä tasavallassa on kuitenkin vähentynyt 12 prosentilla; heitä oli silloin 291 542 henkeä. Koko tasavallan asukasluku on vähentynyt kovasti vuodesta 1992 alkaen. Kun vuonna 1989 tasavallassa oli 1 260 700 asukasta, niin vuoden 2008 kesäkuussa luku on laskenut 963 000:een; nyt Komissa on vähemmän kuin miljoona asukasta, ja poismuuton vuoksi asukasmäärä laskee edelleen. Esimerkiksi vuonna 2008 viiden kuukauden aikana Komissa asuvien määrä väheni 3 800 hengellä (koko väestöstä tämä on 0,4 %), ja tästä luvusta 3 293 henkeä muutti muualle (*Tribuna* 27/2008: 1). Vain komipermjakit ovat olleet ja ovat edelleen entisellä autonomisella alueellaan enemmistönä. Vuonna 2002 heitä oli noin 59 % alueen asukkaista.

Enemmistö permiläisistä kansoista asuu omissa autonomioissaan: vuonna 2002 kaikista komisyrjäneistä oman tasavaltansa alueella asui 87,7 %, komipermjakeista asui omassa piirissään 64,1 % ja udmurteista omassa tasavallassaan 72,3 %. Permiläisestä väestöstä diasporassa asuu eniten komipermjakeja. Sekä Udmurtiassa että Komissa kaupungeissa asuvan alkuperäisväestön määrä kasvoi vuonna 2002, maaseuturajoneissa heidän määränsä väheni, kuten muunkin väestön määrä maaseudulla. Tämä kertoo siitä, että permiläisten kansojen nuoriso muuttaa kaupunkeihin, joissa vallitsevana kielenä on venäjä. Syy maaltapakoon on ymmärrettävä: työtä ja toivoa paremmasta elämästä ei ole.



Demografit ennustavat kansojen määrän vähenevän yhä; eihän passeihinkaan nykyään tarvitse enää merkitä kansallisuutta. Tähän on lisättävä, että permiläisten kansojen asuttama maaseutu on kaikkein köyhintä. Esimerkiksi vuoden 2008 huhtikuussa keskipalkka Komissa oli 19 600 ruplaa. Mutta kun öljyä tuotavan Usinskin rajonin keskipalkka oli 32 500 ruplaa (n. 900 euroa), oli se maaseudulla Körtkerösin rajonissa kolme kertaa vähemmän, 10 700 ruplaa (n. 300 euroa).

Permiläisten kansojen äidinkielen käytöstä kertovat Neuvostoliiton 1900-luvun väestönlaskennat. 2000-luvulla nykyisellä demokraattisella Venäjällä kysymys ”Mikä kieli on äidinkielenne?” poistettiin viime hetkellä käsittämättömästä syystä laskentalomakkeista. Mutta aiemmat laskennat kertovat selvästi siitä, että äidinkieltään puhuvat udmurtit ja komit vähenevät vuosi vuodelta, ja kieli kuihtuu vähitellen. Taulukossa esitetään luvut vuosien 1959 ja 1989 väestönlaskennoista.

	1959	1989	2002
udmurtit	89,1 %	69,6 %	ei kysytty
komisyrjäänit	89,3 %	70,4 %	ei kysytty
komipermjakit	87,6 %	70,1 %	ei kysytty

Taulukko 2. Permiläisten kansojen äidinkielisten lukumäärän muuttuminen.

Koko Venäjältä näitä lukuja voivat nykyisin antaa vain sosiolingvistiset tutkimukset. Syktyvkarissa toteutettiin vuonna 2003 A. K. Konjuhovin johdolla sosiolingvistinen tutkimushanke Komin nykytilanteesta (*Социолінгвістика серти Коми республикаын öнія ситуація*), sen aikana kaikkia kaupunkeja ja rajoneita edustaneilta ihmisiltä kysyttiin myös heidän äidinkieltensä käytöstä. Otoksen komilaiset vastasivat seuraavasti: komin äidinkielekseen ilmoitti 65,4 %, venäjän 30,8 % ja muun kielen 3,8 % (Konjuhov ym.). Tämän perusteella komia puhuvien komilaisten määrä on laskenut vuoden 1989 jälkeen. Udmurtian tasavallassa kyseiset luvut ovat seuraavat: kaikista udmurteista äidinkielekseen udmurtin kielen ilmoitti 66,6 %, muun kielen, enimmäkseen venäjän 33,4 % (Vorontsov 2008: 886). Tällä hetkellä äidinkieltään osaa permiläisistä vajaa kaksi kolmasosaa. Tämä kertoo kielen lisääntyvästä kuihtumisesta ja venäläistymisestä.

### 3. Syntyykö uusia permiläiskieliä?

Komin ja udmurtin kielet muodostavat kaksi järjestelmää: murreyhteisöt ja kolme kirjakieltä. Udmurtti on tässä suhteessa yhtenäinen: kaikkia murteita yhdistää yksi kirjakieli. Komin murteet jakautuvat kahteen suurempaan ryhmään: 10 syrjäänimurteeseen ja 8 permjakkimurteeseen, ja syrjääni- ja permjakkiryhmien välissä on vielä ns. keskimurre Ylä-Kaman (Zjuzdinin) murre. Mainittujen kahden murreryhmän pohjalta kehittyi 1920-luvulla kaksi hyvin läheistä kirjakieltä. Hyvin erikoislaatuinen komijazvan murre poikkeaa melkoisesti syrjääni- ja permjakkimurteista. Neuvostoaikana vallitsi R. M. Batalovan lanseeraama käsitys siitä, että Ylä-Kaman ja Jazvan murteet kuuluivat komipermjakin kielen yhteyteen. Tosiasiassa komin murteiden jakautuminen kahdeksi suureksi ryhmäksi ei tapahtunut kielentutkimuksen periaatteiden mukaisesti vaan maantieteellisistä syistä. Nykyisinkin komipermjakin ja komisyrjäänin kirjakielet ovat hyvin läheisiä, ja kaikki komilaiset – jazvalaisia lukuun ottamatta – ymmärtävät toisiaan ilman suurempia ongelmia.

On todettava, että kymmenenä viime vuotena on alettu puhua joistakin murteista omina kielinään ja on herännyt ajatuksia luoda uusia kirjakieliä. Komien piirissä kyse on komijazvalaisista ja izvalaisista, udmurttien taas besermaneista. Kerron lähemmin näistä ”uusista kielistä”.

**Komijazvan** murretta puhutaan muutamassa kylässä Krasnovišeran rajonissa Permin aluepiirissä. Ainoastaan vuoden 1926 väestönlaskennassa jazvalaiset oli erotettu omaksi kansanryhmäkseen; tuolloin tuli merkintä 10 000 komijazvalaisesta. Sen jälkeen heitä ei ole laskettu erikseen, vaan koko väestö on merkitty venäläisiksi. G. N. Tšagin (1993) mukaan jazvalaisia on noin 2 000. Tosin harva heistä puhuu enää komia: jotkut sanovat 560, toiset 300. Pääosin he ovat jo iäkästä väkeä. Kuva muuttui tosin 1990-luvulla, jolloin Permissä asuva nimekäs kansatieteilijä G. N. Tšagin alkoi mainita tämän kansanryhmän melko usein omista kirjoituksissaan. Vähitellen komijazvalaiset alkoivat itse elvyttää äidinkieltään, ja syntyi omaa kieltä ja kulttuuria hoitamaan ja elvyttämään pyrkivä järjestö. Maantiedon opettaja Anna Lazarevna Paršakova laati ja julkaisi vuonna 2003 äidinkielen aapisen, nimeltään *Коми-язьвинский букварь* (Perm 2003, 135 s.). Kirjakielen pohjaksi oli otettu Ilja Vasin (Илля Вась, V. I. Lytkinin kirjailijanimi) monografia *Коми-язьвинский диалект*, mutta ensimmäisen aapisen kielessä on melkoisesti puutteita.

Permin aluepiiriin hallitus hyväksyy tällaisen suuntauksen täysin. Sen mukaan Permin aluepiiristä on löydetty uudelleen pieni komijazvalaisten alkuperäiskansa, josta huolta kantamalla saadaan mainetta laajalti Venäjällä ja kauempanakin. Tästä syystä jazvankomin kirjakielen laatimiseen ja murteiden tutki-

miseen annetaan riittävästi varoja. Tätä tehtävää toteuttaa Permin pedagogisen yliopiston yhteyteen äskettäin perustettu pieni instituutti (työntekijöitä vain pari kolme), sen nimi on venäjäksi *Институт исследований языка, истории и традиционной культуры коми-пермяцкого народа* ja sitä johtaa filol. kand. A. S. Lobanova. Annan esimerkkejä viimeaikaisista komijazvan kieleen liittyvistä julkaisuista:

1. Лобанова, А. С.: *Падежная система коми-язьвинского языка*. Пермь 2005.
2. Пономарева, Л. Г.: *Материалы по изучению консонантизма языка язьвинских пермяков*. Пермь 2005.
3. Попова, О. А., Кичигина, К. С.: *Дидактические материалы к урокам изучения лексики коми-язьвинского языка*. Учебно-методическое пособие. Пермь 2005.
4. *Сусачок-сучок. Традиционный фольклор язьвинских пермяков*. Ч. 1. Авт.-сост. Т. Г. Голева, А. С. Лобанова, Л. Г. Пономарева, А. В. Черных. Пермь 2006.

Permin aluepiirissä on käynnissä erillinen komijazvalaisten kieltä, kulttuuria ja historiaa tukeva hanke *Обеспечение школ с углубленным изучением коми-язьвинского языка, культуры и истории коми-язьвинского народа учебно-методической литературой за счет средств Областной целевой Программы развития и гармонизации национальных отношений народов Пермской области на 2004-2008 гг.*, josta vastaa sikäläinen opetusministeriö. Permin aluepiirin hallitus on vedonnut virallisesti erillisasiakirjalla Venäjän federaation hallitukseen, jotta Jazvan komipermjakit laskettaisiin kuuluvaksi vähälukuisiin alkuperäiskansoihin ja heille annettaisiin erillisasema.

**Izvan** murretta käytetään hyvin laajalla alueella pohjoisessa niin Komin tasavallassa kuin sen naapurustossakin: Nenetsian, Jamalin Nenetsian ja Hanti-Mansian piirikunnissa sekä Kuolan niemimaalla. Izvalaiset, pohjoiskomilaiset, ovat pitäneet itseään jo vanhastaan muista komeista poikkeavana kielensä, historiansa, elämäntapansa ja erilaisen kansanluonteensa vuoksi. Jo vanhastaan izvalaiset ovat erottuneet vahvasti muista komeista yritteliäisyydellään: he ovat yhtä aikaa maanviljelijöitä, kalastajia, metsästäjiä ja poronhoitajia. 1970-luvulla izvaa puhuvia oli 54 780 henkeä. Heistä 39 000 asui Komin ASNT:ssa (Saharova & Selkov 1976: 3). Kielimuotoaan he kutsuvat izvan kieleksi (*изьва кыы*) erotukseksi muista murteista, joita he usein nimittävät ežvan kieleksi (*эжва кыы*). Izvalaisten vastustuksen vuoksi yhteinen komin kirjakieli ja sen käyttö kouluopetuksessa hyväksyttiin 1920-luvulla heidän asuma-alueillaan väkinäisesti:

monet eivät halunneet omaksua Molodtsovin aakkosia, eivätkä ”ežvan kieltä”, vaan olivat valmiit luomaan oman kirjakielen (Popov 2007: 88–89). Muistellaan jonkun jopa polttaneen Syktyvkarista lähetettyjä komin oppikirjoja. Olipa joskus sanottu, että olisi parempi opettaa lapsia venäjäksi. Mutta todellisuudessa kukaan ei silloin ryhtynyt luomaan izvan aakkosia eikä kirjakieltä, ja vuonna 1930 yleiskirjakieli oli vallannut niin opetuksen kuin hallinnonkin. Izvalaisten identiteetti on kaksikasvoinen: he tuntevat olevansa oma ryhmä, mutta heillä on tunne yhteiskomilaisuudesta. Melko moni kirjailija, tutkija, taiteilija ja lehtimies on izvalaistaustainen, ja he tuovat oman izvalaissävytyksensä komin kirjakielen. On huomautettava, että Izvanmaasta kotoisin olevat kirjailijat Bia Ögyr (Jakov Tšuprov), Mitruk Jak (Jakov Rotšev), Jegor Rotšev, Vladimir Popov, Albina Anufrijeva, Pik Artejev, Ljubov Anufrijeva ja muut) ovat kirjoittaneet ja kirjoittavat kirjakielellä.

Historia ikään kuin toisti itseään taas 1990-luvulla. Gorbatšovin kaudella glasnostin aikana perustettiin *Izvas*-järjestö; sen perustava kokous pidettiin Izvan kylässä 19.9.1990. Ohjelmaan kirjattiin jo tuolloin vaatimus saada izvalaiset luetuksi pohjoisen vähälukuisiin alkuperäiskansoihin. Perestroikan aikana kuului jälleen vetoamuksia oman izvan kirjakielen luomisen puolesta (Kanev 2007: 21). Joku oli jopa vaatinut izvan murretta rajonin viralliseksi kieleksi. Viime aikoina *Izvas*-järjestön aktivistit (V. A. Anufrijeva) ovat vaatineet voimakkaasti izvalaisten pitämistä erillisenä kansana ja nostamista Venäjän vähälukuisten kansojen joukkoon ja pääsemistä niille kuuluvien etuisuuksien piiriin. Näin ollen järjestön aktivistien tärkein tehtävä liittyy talouteen: on kohennettava oman väen elinoloja ja terveyttä, on suojeltava luontoa ja kehitettävä turismia jne. Tämän eteen *Izvas* on uurastanut melkoisesti. Siispä Venäjän vuoden 2002 väestönlaskennassa yli 16 000 henkeä – mukana sekä maaseudun että kaupungin väestöä – piti itseään komi-izvalaisena. On sanottava, että Komin tasavallan hallitus ja *Komi voityr* -järjestö eivät katso hyvällä tällaisia pyrkimyksiä, vaan pitävät linjaa poliittisena yhden komin kansan hajottamisyrityksenä. Suomalais-ugrialaisten kansojen V maailmankongressin jälkeen Komin päämies V. A. Torlopov kuitenkin muutti kantaansa: hän asettui tukemaan izvaslaista johtoa ja kehui sen pyrkimyksiä. Katsotaan, mitä tästä seuraa jatkossa.

Izvan murre on nykyisin vain puhuttua kieltä, aktivistit eivät ole luoneet kirjallista perinnettä; he kirjoittavat pääasiassa venäjäksi. Perestroikan vuosina *Izvas*-lehden kahdessa numerossa julkaistiin muutama artikkeli sikäläisellä murteella, mutta sitten tämä yritteliäisyys sammui. Ilmeisesti monesta tällainen vailla omaa terminologiaa ja tyyliä oleva ja venäläislainoja vilisevä kirjoitus näytti kömpelöltä, kehittymättömältä ja rumalta. Komin tasavallassa ei nykyisin kirjoiteta izvaksi runoja eikä kertomuksia, omaa amatööriteatteria ei ole,

on vain kylien ja kaupunkien folklorelauluryhmät. Edes kirjassa *Изъватаслөн культура. Традицияяс. Ёнія кад. Аскиа лун* ('Izvalaisten kulttuuri: perinteet, nykyaika, tulevaisuus') ei ole yhtään kirjoitusta izvan murteella; kaikista artikkeleista 31 on kirjoitettu venäjäksi ja vain kuusi komiksi. Suurin edistys on se, että omaa murretta pyritään puhumaan – myös Izvatas-järjestön kokouksissa – ja sillä pyritään laulamaan ja vaalimaan ikiaikaista kansanperinnettä jne. Tasavallan *Komi gor* -radiossa on ollut jo useita vuosia izvalaisille suunnattu ohjelma, jossa puhutaan pääasiassa izvalaisittain. Pohjois-Siperiassa Jamalin Nenetsian autonomisessa piirikunnassa asia on toisin: izvan kirjakieli toimii. Obdorissa (Salehard) on julkaistu alakoululle oppikirjoja (aapinen ja puheharjoituksia). Venäläis-syrjääniläisen keskusteluoppaan valmistelutyöstä kirjoittaa T. B. Laptander (2007: 134–142).

**Besermanit** ovat udmurttien etnografiassa melko poikkeuksellinen ryhmä. Hekin katsovat olevansa kaikista muista udmurteista poikkeava ryhmä, joka puhuu erilaista murretta, johon on yhdistynyt sekä eteläisten että pohjoisten murteiden erityispiirteitä. Menneisyydessä heihin kohdistui voimakas turkkilaisten kansojen vaikutus, ja se tuntuu heidän ikäaikaisessa elämäntavassaan, vaatetuksessa ja rituaaleissa. Vuoden 1926 väestönlaskennan mukaan heitä oli yli 10 000 henkeä, ja vuoden 2002 väestönlaskenta antaa luvuksi 3 122. Myös tämä kovasti huvennut kansanryhmä alkoi järjestäytyä perestroikan aikana: silloin perustettiin Besermanien kansan seura, Glazovin kaupunkiin avattiin heidän historia- ja kulttuurikeskuksensa. Vuonna 1993 Udmurtin tasavallan korkeimman neuvoston presidium julisti besermanit omaksi kansakseen, ja vuodesta 2000 heidät on liitetty Venäjän federaation vähälukuisten kansojen listalle. Udmurttilaiset kollegani ovat kertoneet, että Udmurtian tasavallassa ei nykyään kanneta suurta huolta besermaneista, kaikki innostus on laantunut.

Besermaneillekaan ei ole luotu omaa kirjakieltä, vaikkakin sellaisia vaatimuksia oli usein esitetty ja tästä oli moniin paikkoihin kirjoitettu. Tosin udmurttirunoilija M. Fedotov käyttää kirjoituksissaan melko paljon besermanien murretta. Kuten huomataan, eivät besermanit eivätkä izvalaisetkaan ole luoneet uutta permiläistä kirjakieltä. Heidän kielensä elää vain puhuttuna. On ymmärrettävää, että maalaisrajonien tasolla kunnollista kirjakieltä, aakkosia ja tasokasta kirjallisuutta on hyvin vaikea luoda. Siihen tarvitaan melkoisesti rahaa ja paljon viisaita ihmisiä. Lyhyenä yhteenvetona: etnoksen sisäinen itsetunnon vaihtelu ei johda vielä permiläiskielten jakautumiseen.

#### 4. Murresanaston muuttuminen

Miltä näyttävät nykyisten permiläiskielten murteet? Yritän vastata myös tähän kysymykseen. 2000-luvulle siirryttyä myös murteet muuttuvat, mutta monet näistä muutoksista eivät kulje hyvään suuntaan. Suurin syy on venäjän kielen vahva vaikutus, jollei peräti tallaus. Nykyiset komilaiset ja udmurtit ovat kaksikielisiä, kaksi eri kielijärjestelmää hallitsevaa väkeä. Murteissa muutokset näkyvät selvimmin sanastossa ja vakiintuneissa sanaliitoissa, joskaan eivät vain näissä.

Permiläiset kielet eivät muodosta nykyään kaupungeissa yhteisöä, siksi niillä ei ole kaupunkilaista puhetapaa eikä myöskään kehittyneitä jargoneita. Kuitenkin lastenkieli ja jonkinlainen opiskelijaslangi voidaan erottaa; näissä poikkeavuus syntyy venäjämäisestä lainatusta slangisanastosta ja käänöslainoista:

*преподѳс кывзыны* 'totella **opettajaa**'  
*зачоткыс вунѳма* 'opintokirja on unohtunut'  
*стипунха талун сетѳны* 'tänään annetaan **stipendi**'

Komin ja udmurtin murteita ei ole tutkittu yhtäläisesti; komisyrjäänin murteet on analysoitu parhaiten. Vuonna 1961 julkaistiin komisyrjäänin murrenankirja (*Сравнительный словарь коми-зырянских диалектов*), jossa on noin 25 000 sanaa. Jokaisesta kymmenestä päämurteesta on ilmestynyt erillinen murrenmonografia. Komin kielen, kirjallisuuden ja historian instituutin (KLII) kielen osastossa valmisteilla olevan uuden murrenankirjan laajuus on noin 77 000 sanaa; tosin tätä suurta sanakirjaa ei ole vielä julkaistu. Ei komipermjakin ja udmurtin murteitakaan ole niukasti tutkittu, mutta niistä on julkaistu huomattavasti vähemmän. Tämä ja muut työt ilmentävät 1950–1970-lukujen kieltä, mutta nykyinen kielitilanne on jo toinen: murteet muuttuvat nopeasti. Kuinka ne muuttuvat, mihin suuntaan ne menevät? Tarkastelemalla ensin sanastoa voidaan permiläiskielten murteissa erottaa kolmenlaista muutosta:

1. Kansankielen ikivanhaan elämänmuoton, työtapoihin ja arkielämään liittyvän sanaston katoaminen. Tämä muutos johtuu nykyelämän suurista taloustaapahtumista. Niinpä nykykomisyrjäänien puheessa ei esiinny viljakasvien nimiä, ei pellavanviljelyyn liittyviä termejä, eikä enää tunneta sanoja *дзимбыр* 'rapakivi', *сапмас* 'päre', *неша* 'pärepihti', ja *нинкѳм* 'niinvirsut'. Näiden sijaan monet käyttävät venäläislainoja. Palautetaanpa mieliin: Komin ASNT:ssa 1970-luvulta alkaen tukahdutettiin väkisin leipäviljan-, hampun-, humalan- ja pellavanviljely sekä mehiläistenhoito. Vanhusväestöllä on säilynyt rikkaampi

sanavarasto, mutta nuoret ja keski-ikäiset, erityisesti diasporassa, eivät tunne enää moniakaan sanoja komiksi.

2. Kirjakielten latistava vaikutus murteisiin; se on yhteydessä kouluopetuksen leviämiseen ja massatiedonvälitykseen (televisio- ja radio-ohjelmiin). Kirjakielet tapaavat melko usein olla merkki korkeakulttuurista ja koulutuksesta, erityisesti maaseutuälymystön ja lukiotasoiset opinnot suorittaneiden piirissä. Komin kielestä puhuttaessa tämä seikka näkyy selvimmin pääkaupungin lähikylissä ja rajoneissa; kauempana sijaitsevilla rajoneissa, esimerkiksi Izvan, Luzaberdin ja Udoran rajoneissa oman murteen arvo pikemminkin kilpailee kirjakielen arvon ja auktoriteetin kanssa. Tietenkään ei voida sanoa, että murteet katoaisivat, mutta ne ilmenevät paljon paremmin fonetiikassa ja kieliopissa, kun taas sanasto muuttuu paljon nopeammin. Esimerkiksi Keski-Sysolan murrealueen Vizinin kylän puheenparressa voi kuulla useasti ikiaikaisen verbin *кышасъны* 'pukeutua' sijaan kirjakielen normin mukaisen *насътасъны*-verbin.

3. Murreosanaston vaihtuminen venäjän sanastoon erityisesti spontaaneissa, nopeatempoisissa puhetilanteissa pääasiassa nuorison ja keski-ikäisten, mutta joskus iäkkäämmänkin väen keskuudessa. Tämä johtaa siihen, että ikiaikainen sanasto vetäytyy kielenkäytön peränurkkaan tai joskus jopa unohtuu. Aiemmin tämä ilmeni voimakkaasti komipermjakin murteissa sekä komin ja udmurtin diasporan puheessa, mutta nyt se on levinnyt myös tasavaltojen alueella.

Pääsyynä tähän on tietysti jo voimakkaasti lisääntynyt kaksikielisyys, puhuvat udmurtit ja komit lapsesta saakka yhtä hyvin sekä äidinkieltään että venäjää, tosin venäjäksi kirjoitetaan nykyään jo paremmin. Toinen syy on kovasti voimistunut venäjän käyttö yhteiskunnassa, ja viime aikoina sen käyttö on yhä vain lisääntynyt nykYTEKNIKAN suoman informaation ja yhteyksien kehittymisen myötä (televisio- ja radiokanavien, matkapuhelinten ja internetin, tietokonepelien ja -ohjelmien sekä peliautomaattien jne. lisääntyminen). Venäjänkielinen sanasto leviää nykyään laajalti ja syrjäyttää vanhoja sanoja nimikkotasavalloissa ja entisessä Permin Komin piirikunnassa, eikä ainoastaan pääasiassa diasporassa, kuten oli ennen. Nykykomilaisilta voi kuulla usein tällaisia ilmauksia:

*колö баня ломтыны* 'sauna täytyy lämmittää'  
*сэн ыджыд болото эм* 'siellä on suuri suo'  
*мунам малинала* 'menemme poimimaan vadelmia'

Omien saunaa, suota ja vadelmaa tarkoittavien sanojen (*пывсян/пылсян, нюр, өмидэ*) sijaan on puheeseen otettu lainasanat ympäröivästä kielestä.

Tällainen ilmiö on levinnyt jo kauan sitten erityisesti komipermjakin murteissa, joihin on jo useiden vuosikymmenten ajan vaikuttanut naapurissa puhuttava venäjä. Nimenomaan tässä permjakkimurteet eroavat syrjäänimurteista. Täsmällisemmin ilmaistuna: kymmentä suurempien omien lukusanojen sijaan käytetään venäläisiä lainoja, venäjän kielen sananmuodostussuffiksit *-ок* (*пуртók* 'pikkuveitsi'), *-очка*, *-овöй* (*көртовöй* 'rautainen', *пуовöй* 'puinen', *щукаовöй* 'haukinen') ja partikkelit *бы* ja *не* sekä konjunktiot *если*, *көбы*, *коли*, *что* jne. leviävät. Spontaanissa puheessaan komipermjakit käyttävät lauseissa usein venäjän verbejä, ja ne kongruoivat lauseessa venäjän kielen sääntöjen mukaisesti, esimerkiksi (Mysin-Lupjan murteesta):

*кэ-ркунымöс забрал'и школа вылö*  
'talomme **otettiin** kouluksi'

*сийа война вылын погиб*  
'hän **kuoli** sodassa'

*кыдэ тэ имэйэи право туй вылö бийас'ны*  
'kuinka **sinulla on oikeus** tehdä tuli tielle'

Kaikkein useimmin udmurtit ja komilaiset käyttävät puheessaan venäjän tervehdys- ja hyvästelysanoja (komissa *здоров* 'terve', *нассибö* 'kiitos' ja udmurtissa *привет* 'terve', *пока* 'hei') ja modaalisisanoja sekä paljon substantiiveja ja adjektiiveja. On huomattava lisäksi, että komisyryjäänin ja udmurtin murteissa lakkaavat vähitellen kuulumasta omat vanhat lukusanat; esimerkit komin Ala-Sysolan murteesta ja udmurtista:

*тыс'ача девятсот нейс'ат нйатой годс'а верöсö*  
'vuonna **1955** syntynyt mieheni'

*двэна-ццэт' л'эт кыл'и айытэк*  
'**12-vuotiaana** jäin isättä' (Karpova 2005: 420)

Melko usein puheeseen otetaan venäjämästä kokonainen sanonta tai fraasi, vaikkapa näin:



*Во-первых, мян уна вóчьсьö по подготовке к выборам, во-вторых, öни дасьтысям день пожилых людей кезлö*  
 ’Ensiksi meillä tehdään paljon valmisteluja vaaleja varten, toiseksi nyt valmistaudumme vanhustenpäivää varten’.

Erityisesti tämä näkyy, kun puhutaan vapaasti politiikkaan, työhön, talouteen ja urheiluun liittyvistä aiheista, ei niinkään jokapäiväisistä aiheista juteltaessa.

Tällainen rikkaruoho rehottaa myös permiläisissä kirjakielissä, jopa koulutetun väen keskuudessa. Se näkyy komilaisten nykykirjailijoiden kertomuksissa:

*Тэ, другö, меным эн индав. Асьнытö на лешакыс татчö вайис, а эг ме тiянö лок. Незванный гость пö хуже татарина: кывлiн, кöнкö.* (Lodygin 2007: 98)

’Sinä, ystäväni, älä minua määrää. Itsesi piru tänne toi, en minä teille tullut. **Kutsumaton vieras on** kuulemma **tataariakin pahempi**: lienet kuullut.’

*А ме со мам-бать гортысь некытчö эг и мун. Тани школа помалi, училище бöрын гортö жö и локтi. Кыдзи шуласны тай, где пö родился, там и пригодился.* (Makarova 2008: 32)

’Ja minähän en ole vanhempieni kodista mihinkään lähtenyt. Täällä päätin koulun, opiston jälkeenkin tulin kotiin. Kuten tavataan sanoa, **missä synnyit, siellä viihdyt**.’

— *Всё продумано, — рочасьышитiс зятъыс.* (Makarova 2008: 35)

’**Kaikki on harkittua**, sanoi vävy venäjänsekaisesti.’

Nuoret toimittajat radio- ja TV-ohjelmia toimittaessaan unohtavat helposti joka-päiväiset komin sanat; komilaisten sanojen (*вевт* ’katto’, *разьны* ’hajottaa’, *эзысь* ’hopea’) sijaan he sanovat näin:

*колö дзоньтавны крыша*  
 ’täytyy korjata **katto**’

*тайö керкасö шуисны снеситны*  
 ’tämä talo sanottiin **hajotettavan**’

*спортсмен босьтiс сереброысь медаль*  
 ’urheilija sai **hopeisen** mitalin’

Nykyisten komilaisten ja udmurttien kieltä voi sanoa jo sekoittuneeksi. Monet aikuiset ja nuoret vaihtavat puhuessaan venäjään ja takaisin, monille vanhemmille on yhdentekevää, kumpaa kieltä he puhuvat lastensa kanssa. Kesäisin lapsenlapsia viedään mummolaan komilais- ja udmurttilaiskyliin, ja isovanhemmat puhuvat heidän kanssaan enimmäkseen venäjää, eivät enää äidinkieltään. Udmurtin murteiden tutkija L. L. Karpova antoi minulle omista nauhoituksistaan esimerkin 70-vuotiaan naisen puheesta. Kysymys oli udmurtiksi, käännettynä ”*Millaisia leikkejä lapset leikkivät ennen vanhaan?*” Vastaus kuului näin:

*Мон не помню. Разные игры играли тогда когда были маленькими. А собере война началась, страшная война. Сё калык быриз. Никого не осталось...*

’Minä en muista. Erilaisia leikkejä leikittiin silloin, kun oltiin pieniä. Ja sitten sota alkoi, kauhea sota. Niin kansa hupeni. Ketään ei jäänyt jäljelle...’

Tällainen puhe leviää leviämistään. Esimerkiksi Udmurtiassa kyselyyn osallistuneista 75 % käyttää omassa kylässään udmurtin kieltä, mutta kylästä muuttaessaan he puhuvat jo venäjää tai sekakieltä (Kondratjeva 2008: 7).

## 5. Permiläiset kirjakielet yhteiskunnassa

Udmurtin ja komin kirjakielten epävakaa suunta on viime aikoina muuttunut aivan toiseksi: näkyvillä on siellä muutoksia hyvään suuntaan. Ensiksi udmurtin ja komisyrjäänin kirjakielten laillinen status kohosi: niistä tuli virallisia kieliä, ja se on vahvistettu erillisinä lakeina. Komin kielilaki vahvistettiin 28.5.1992, udmurtin 6.12.2001. Ne ovat nyt venäjän kanssa samanarvoisia, tosin vain paperilla. Komipermjakin kirjakielelle jäi entinen vahvistamaton status, ja Permin Komin autonomisen piirikunnan lakattua olemasta ei komipermjakkien nimeä esiinny edes otsikkosanana aluepiirin nimessä.

Kuluneiden 15 vuoden aikana luotiin virallisille kielille huolto- ja kehittämisohjelmat ja monenlaisia muita suunnitelmia. Esimerkiksi Komin tasavallassa lait ja säädökset julkaistaan kahdella kielellä, ja on alettu laatia kaksikielisiä ilmoituksia jne. Udmurttia ja komia on alettu opettaa enemmän. Tästä syystä permiläiskielten yleinen arvo yhteiskunnassa on noussut, joskaan ei kovasti, ei kaiken kattavasti. Kirjakielten leviäminen ja kasvu alkoi takerrella vuoden 2005 jälkeen, kun tasavaltojen johtoeliitti viileni tälle linjalle. Esimerkiksi Komin

tasavallassa toiminnan takertelun lisäksi komin kielen käyttö väheni paikoit-  
tain melko voimakkaasti. Seuraavasta taulukosta näkyy selvästi tasavallassa  
komiksi ilmestyvien lehtien määrän voimakas väheneminen.

	1992	1997	2002	2004	2008
<i>Komi mu</i>	7 810	4 490	6 127	2 584	2 427
<i>Jölöga</i>	7 703	1 320	2 930	1 095	727
<i>Voivyyv kodzuv</i>	4 000	1 800	1 400	947	1 000
<i>Tšuškanzi</i>	12 000	2 112	1 167	870	1 200
<i>Bi kin</i>	7 000	4 902	4 223	1 361	1 374

Taulukko 3. Kominkielisten lehtien painosmäärien muutoksia vuosina 1992–2008.

Yleisesti ottaen komin ja udmurtin kirjakielet elävät ja niitä käytetään paitsi  
nimikkotasavalloissa myös yhteiskunnan laitamilla, periferioissa, kuten ennen-  
kin. Tästäkin voi sanoa jotakin. Jos Komin tasavallassa virallista venäjän kieltä  
opiskelevat kaikki koululaiset 100-prosenttisesti, virallista komin kieltä opiske-  
lee vain 35 %. Vuonna 2007 Komin tasavallassa laskettiin julkaistun painok-  
seltaan yli 1 000 kappaleena 190 julkaisua (sanoma- ja aikakauslehtiä), niistä  
komiksi ilmestyi 9. Udmurtiassa 275 sanoma- ja aikakauslehdestä udmurtin kie-  
lellä ilmestyy 16 (Kondratjeva 2008: 7). Prosentteina kominkielisten osuus on  
4,73 % ja udmurtinkielisten 5,8 %. Komipermjakiksi ei ilmestyy yhtään sanoma-  
eikä aikakauslehteä. *Silkan*-lastenlehti ilmestyy hyvin harvoin kaksikielisenä  
ja *Parma*-sanomalehdessä komiksi tapaa olla vain erillissivuja. Televisiossa  
permiläiskieliä käytetään hyvin vähän. Kokonaisuudessaan tästä asiasta on  
kirjoitettu paljon eri julkaisuissa (Vorontsov 2008; Kondratjeva 2008; Tsypanov  
2003, 2005), siksi nyt käsitelläänkin enemmän sitä, miten kielen sisäinen  
rakenne muuttuu. Ennen kaikkea arvioidaan sanastossa ilmeneviä muutoksia.

## 6. Sanasto leviää kahta reittiä

Komissa ja udmurtissa – kuten muissakin kielissä – sanojen määrä kasvaa  
nopeasti. Muuttuva nykyaika tuo mukanaan paljon sanoja venäjästä ja venäjän  
kautta muista kielistä, esimerkiksi *принтер* 'tulostin', *офис* 'toimisto', *дума*  
'duuma', *спикер* 'puhemies', *мобильник* 'matkapuhelin', *флешка* 'muistitikku',  
*ОМОН* 'miliisin erikoisjoukot'. Tällainen sanasto tulee kieleen sellaisenaan,  
muuttumatta ja mukautumatta – ovathan nykyiset permiläiset kaksikielisiä. Toi-  
saalta kirjakieliin on viimeksi kuluneen 15 vuoden ajan syntynyt neologismeja

kielen omien resurssien pohjalta. Niitä käytetään pääasiassa lainasanojen sijasta, niille synonyymeinä, esimerkiksi: komin *оланнас* 'laki', *енби* 'kyky' ja udmurtin *кункрезь* 'kansallishymni', *лучеберет* 'kulttuuri'. Komisyrjäänin kirjakielissä tällaisia uudissanoja on yli 2 000, udmurtista laskelmat puuttuvat vielä. Vähiten uudissanoja on komipermjakissa. Parikymmentä vuotta sitten kukaan ei aavistanut näin käyvän; luultiin, etteivät permiläiskielet mihinkään muutu, vaan pysyvät ennallaan. Monia uusia sanoja on alettu käyttää laajalti, ja ne ovat vakiintuneet puheeseen, mutta useimmat uudissanat jäävät yhä suosituksiksi, esimerkiksi komissa *енби* 'kyky' tuli käyttöön, mutta sanaa *канму* 'valtio' käytetään melko harvoin. Mitä yhteistä on tällaisilla muutoksilla permiläiskielissä?

Nämä uudistuspyrkimykset syntyivät samaan aikaan ja samasta syystä. 1980-luvun uudistusaika teki mahdolliseksi puhua avoimesti sekä komiin että udmurttiin kasaantuneista puutteista. Kuten entisen Neuvostoliiton muissakin kielissä, suurimmaksi puutteeksi kirjattiin aluksi sanaston ja terminologian kehittymättömyys ja niiden liiallinen venäläistyminen (Tezisy 1987; Tsypanov 1990). Tästä asiasta puhuivat erityisesti käytännöllis-tieteellisten konferenssien esitelmöitsijät, ja monet esittivät silloin kehitettäväksi sanastoa. Tuosta ajasta alkaen ryhtyivät ensiksi tutkijat ja kirjailijat etsimään lähteitä uudelle sanastolle.

Aluksi kielenhuoltajat etsivät apua vanhasta omakielisestä sanastosta: murteista, vanhoista dokumenteista ja puhekielestä. Esimerkiksi komin *небӧг* 'kirja', *кӧльсь* 'häät' ja udmurtin *кат* 'laki'. Mutta pian ymmärrettiin, ettei monillekaan käsitteille ollut olemassa tällaista sanastoa. Oli vain yksi ratkaisu: puuttuvia uudissanoja oli luotava. Komin kieleen syntyivät näin sanat *оланнас* 'laki' ja *оланподув* 'perustuslaki' ja udmurttiin *кункрезь* 'kansallishymni' sekä paljon muita. Erityisen ahkerasti uudissanoja luotiin 1990-luvulla: silloin sekä Komissa että Udmurtiassa toimi melko uutterasti kielilautakunta. Vähitellen tällainen aherrus alkoi sitten sammua; Komissa tämä lautakunta ei ole nyt oikeastaan toiminut enää muutamaan vuoteen. Uudissanat koottiin Komissa neljäksi vihkoseksi ja kolmeksi erillissanastoksi (yhteensä noin 2 000 sanaa). Komisyrjäänin uudissanat on koottu sähköiseksi tiedostoksi, ja sitä on välitetty lehtien toimituksiin ja ylempiin opetuslaitoksiin (Tsypanov 2004). Udmurtiassa ilmestyi vuonna 1998 erillinen suuri informaatiojulkaisu, johon on kirjattu noin 400 uudissanaa. Tämän lisäksi runsaasti aineistoa on julkaistu lehdistössä. Permin Komin piirikunnassa uudissanojen kokoamistyö ei ole käynnistynyt, ja siksi on vaikea sanoa, paljonko uudissanoja on ehdotettu.

Uudissanat voidaan jakaa teemoittain kolmeen suureen ryhmään: 1) yhteiskuntaan ja politiikkaan liittyvät sanat, esim. udmurtin *азьмурт* 'presidentti', *элькун* 'tasavalta', komin *юралысьпу* 'päämiesehdokka', *ӛрд* 'oikeus'; 2) tutkimukseen (pääosin kielitieteeseen) liittyvät termit, esim. komin *кыввор* 'sanasto',

*шыкуд* 'fonetiikka', *кывберд* 'adjektiivi' ja udmurtin *нимбер* 'postpositio', *кылтодон* 'kielitiede'; 3) kulttuuriin, tieteeseen ja opetusaloihin liittyvät sanat sekä abstraktiset käsitteet, esim. udmurtin *тодос* 'tiede', *бичет* 'tiedote' ja komin *шылад* 'musiikki', *сикасалом* 'luokittelu', *енбиа* 'kyvykäs, taitava', *отуввез* 'internet' jne. Lisäksi on tietysti pienempiä sanaryhmiä kuten kirkkoon ja uskontoon liittyvät sanat.

Jos tarkastellaan sananmuodostusta, permiläiskielissä sanat syntyvät samaa tietä: useimmin suffiksien avulla tai komponentteja lisäten, yhdistämällä. Esimerkiksi: komin *кокньод* 'avustus, tuki' (muodostuu adjektiivista *кочни* 'helppo, kevyt' suffiksilla *-од*), udmurtin *тодосчи* 'tiedemies' (muodostuu substantiivista *тодос* 'tiede' suffiksilla *-чи*); komin *шылад* 'musiikki' (muodostuu sanoista *шы* 'ääni' ja *лад* 'järjestys') ja udmurtin *кункышет* 'lippu' (sanoista *кун* 'valtio' ja *кышет* 'liina'). Eroavaisuuksista voidaan mainita komin- ja venäjänkielisten lyhenteiden muodostaminen, esimerkiksi *СКУ* = *Сыктывкарса канму университет* (Syktyvkarin valtionyliopiston lyhenne komiksi; ven. *СГУ*), *КЛИИ* = *Кыв, литература да история институт* (Kielen, kirjallisuuden ja historian instituutin lyhenne komiksi; ven. *ИЯЛИ*), *КМ* = *Коми му* -sanomalehti, *ВАК* = *восьса акционер котыр* (avoimen osakeyhtiön lyhenne komiksi; ven. *ОАО*), *НАК* = *Ненеч автономия кыти* (Nenetsian autonomisen piirikunnan lyhenne komiksi; ven. *НАО*). Vaikka tällaisia lyhenteitä ei ole paljon, venäjänkielisistä lyhenteistä luopuminen kertoo jo paljon. Uudissanojen luonnissa ovat hyvin tärkeällä sijalla kielen reformaattorit ja innovaattorit, uudistusten vaatijat ja käyttöönottajat. Tällaisia ihmisiä on permiläisalueilla niukalti: näitä ovat tutkijat, opettajat ja kielestä kiinnostuneet. Tärkeintä olisi se, että heitä kuulisivat lehtimiehet, koulujen opettajat ja toimittajat. Esimerkiksi Udmurtiasta filol. kand. ja runoilija Viktor Šibanov tekee hyvin paljon asian hyväksi, Komissa taas runsaasti sanoja on esittänyt Sergei Jelfimov. Permin kaupungissa asuva Önö Lav (V. A. Stepanov) luo sanoja molempiin komilaiskieliin. Tosiasiassa nykyään – vaikei olekaan enää kommunistipuolueen muinaista painostusta – kielenkäytön linjan määräävät vastaavat toimittajat. Niinpä Komissa kuten Udmurtiassakin kielten uudistuslinja riippuu heistä. Udmurtiassa esimerkiksi valitetaan melko lailla *Udmurt dunne* -lehden toimittajasta, koska hän ei käytä mielellään uudissanoja lehdessään. Komissa uudissanoihin suhtautuu positiivisimmin radion väki; Galina Vedernikova käsittelee ohjelmissaan usein tätä aihetta. Ihmetystä herättää monia hyviä ja kauniita uudissanoja hylkivä Komin tasavallassa ilmestyvä nuorisolle suunnattu sanomalehti *Jölöga*.

Alusta saakka uusien sanojen matka permiläiskieliin on ollut vaikea. Syitä siihen on monia: kielen käytön vanhoillisuus, sanaston heikko tuntemus ja sen huono ymmärtäminen. Hyvin huomattava syy on ollut se, että uudissanaehdokkaita tulvahti kerralla esille liian paljon. Käytäntö on osoittanut kuitenkin yhden

seikan: mitä kiivaammin uudissanastosta on käyty kiistaa ja keskusteltu lehdistössä ja mitä voimakkaammin sitä on parjattu ja paneteltu, sitä paremmin se on omaksuttu. Siispä vastareformaattorien ponnistelu johtikin jollain lailla hyvään suuntaan. Esimerkiksi Komin tasavallassa muutamat kirjailijat, journalistit ja eräs folkloristi ovat asettuneet voimakkaasti uusien sanojen vastaan. Vaikeinta uudissanonien hyväksyntä on ollut ikääntyville ihmisille ja vanhuksille, pääasiassa maaseudun asukkaille. Nuorison, opettajien, opiskelijoiden ja edistysmielisten journalistien on taas ollut helpointa omaksua kielenkäyttöön uusia sanoja. Sosiolingvivisteltä kannalta tätä aihetta – uudissanonien juurtumistapaa – ei ole vielä kunnollisesti tutkittu. Äskettäin tästä aiheesta ilmestyi ensimmäinen kirja komilaisilta kielentutkijoilta (Aibabina & Beznosikova 2008).

Mitä hyvää uudissanaston käyttöönnotto on sitten tuonut? Mainita voi seuraavaa: 1) sanasto itse on laajentunut melkoisesti ja samalla on elvytetty myös sanamuodostus- ja käsitteeresurssit; tämä näkyy erityisen hyvin, kun tarkastellaan nykyvalossa 1960–1970-lukujen kielellisen pysähtyneisyyden ajan lehdistöä; 2) udmurtin ja komin terminologiajärjestelmä on kehittynyt ja laajentunut, vaikka tämä onkin toteutunut vain muutamilla aloilla, pääasiassa yhteiskuntapolitiikan sekä kielen- ja kirjallisuudentutkimuksen aloilla; 3) synonyymisanaston ja tyylin vaihtelumahdollisuudet ovat laajentuneet huomattavasti; 4) käyttöön tulevat ja omaksuttavat uudet sanat kehittävät kielitajua ja vahvistavat permiläisten kansojen, erityisesti nuorison identiteettiä. Asioiden ilmaiseminen omalla kielellä osoittaa äidinkielen vahvuutta, sen suurien kehitysmahdollisuuksien ja sen sisäistä voimaa erityisesti nykyisessä nopeasti muuttuvassa elämässä. Tästä kertovat komin ja udmurtin opiskelijoiden keskuudessa suoritettut kyselyt.

## 7. Lopuksi

Pienenä yhteenvetona voidaan sanoa, että permiläiskielten dynamiikka näkyy nyt kahdenlaisista muutoksista. Ensinnäkin murteet ja spontaani, normeja hylkivä puhekieli venäläistyvät edelleen ja menettävät omannäköisyytensä. Ne omaksuvat aina vain enemmän lainasanoja ja -rakenteita ja saattavat muuttua venäjän suuntaan. Toiseksi permiläiset kirjakielet, normia noudattavat järjestelmät, kehittyvät toista tietä: ne rikastuvat uudissanonista ja lauserakenne kääntyy oman kielen normien suuntaan. Näin ollen muutosten ensimmäistä lajia voidaan pitää negatiivisena ja toista positiivisena. Mitä tästä jatkossa seuraa, miten kielet muuttuvat, sen näyttää aika.

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Komista suomentanut Paula Kokkonen



Timo SALMINEN (Helsinki)

## In between research, the ideology of ethnic affinity and foreign policy: The Finno-Ugrian Society and Russia from the 1880s to the 1940s

Russia has always been one of the parameters defining the activities of the Finno-Ugrian Society (*Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura*). During the 19th century, nationalism of a general European character, viewing mankind as specific peoples whose character is expressed primarily through language, literature and poetry, spread to both Finland and Russia, one of its Finnish manifestations being the founding of the Finno-Ugrian Society. Owing to the ideological background of the society, its specific character entailed a potential conflict with pan-Russian nationalism. In order to carry out its work in Russia, the Finno-Ugrian Society therefore had to place particular emphasis on the scholarly and non-political nature of its activities. This was done despite the fact that Finnish research in Russian territory contained clearly colonialist features. As political nationalism evolved during the first decades of the 20th century, the Finno-Ugrian Society also had to redefine its relationship with issues of a political nature. The society's activities reveal a complex interrelationship of ideology, political views and scholarly professionalism, in which researchers called upon themselves to be objective and assumed that they followed this requirement, while their ideological points of departure nonetheless influenced activities.<sup>1</sup>

What were the aims of the Finno-Ugrian Society in Russia from the 1880s to the 1940s, and what means did it apply to achieve them? What was the role of nationalist ideology in the society's definition of its aims? What was the society's relationship with Russia as a political entity?

The present article is based on the author's history of the Finno-Ugrian Society, which appeared in Finnish in 2008.<sup>2</sup>

## 1. Early scholarly and Finno-Ugrian nationalist pursuits concerning regions to the east of Finland

Explorers from Finland began to travel among the speakers of Finno-Ugrian languages in Russia in the late 17th century. These efforts took on a systematic character in 1819, when the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences persuaded A. J. Sjögren (1794–1855) to visit Russia. In his research, Sjögren was able to combine Russian interests, i.e. obtaining general information on the subjects of the Emperor, with specific interest in the Finno-Ugrian languages that had been aroused in Finland by the pro-Finnish *Fennophiles*. During the course of his career, Sjögren became a permanent member of the Academy of Sciences, where he rose to a position of considerable authority.<sup>3</sup> There were good overall conditions and political demand for closer contacts with Russia after 1809, when Finland was separated from Sweden to become a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire. The rising interest in Finnish and its related languages was made to serve the distancing of Finland from Sweden.<sup>4</sup> The scholarly and scientific community of Finland began to gain an independent character soon after the mid-19th century. Nationalism had brought forth the idea that the centre of research concerning the Finns was to be in the Grand Duchy of Finland and not in Russia. Modernization gradually permitted Finland to provide the necessary infrastructure for these purposes – education, scholarly institutions and learned societies. Moreover, Russian nationalism began to emphasize Russian and Slav identity, rejecting other nationalities and Western orientations. As late as the early 19th century, the ethnic identity of the population had been of secondary importance for the Russian administration, but this situation gradually changed. Russification began to gain pace in the western parts of the empire in the 1830s.<sup>5</sup>

After Sjögren's death, Finns no longer enjoyed their former support in St. Petersburg. Despite this, there was neither any room for research concerning the Finno-Ugrian peoples in Finland's few learned societies. As a result, in the late autumn of 1872 Professor Otto Donner (1835–1909) contacted several scholars of Finno-Ugrian languages in different parts of Europe with his proposal for establishing an international journal of Finno-Ugrian studies. The Hungarians, in particular, felt this plan was premature, and it was forgotten.<sup>6</sup>

Finno-Ugrian archaeology, however, had come under way in Finland. In 1872–1874, J. R. Aspelin (1842–1915) carried out both research in museum collections and excavations in Russia, with the aim of discovering the lost past of the Finno-Ugrians. He followed M. A. Castrén's assumption of an ancestral home of the Finns in the Altai Mountains and concentrated on establishing how they migrated from there to Europe. Over the following years, both Aspelin and

Donner drew up, both together and separately, various plans for research expeditions to Russia. The most ambitious of these was presented by Aspelin at the Finnish Archaeological Society (present-day Finnish Antiquarian Society) in the spring of 1876. The aim of this plan was the archaeological investigation of the whole of Russia by Finnish scholars over a period of four years.<sup>7</sup>

At a meeting held in connection with the 50th anniversary of the Finnish Literature Society, Aspelin proposed that the Society was to be converted into an academy of science for the study of the Finno-Ugrian peoples. The president of the Society, Yrjö Koskinen (1830–1903), among others, opposed the plan. His policy was based, on the one hand, on loyalty to Russia and, on the other hand, on emphasizing the Western heritage of Finnish society. Finnish contacts with Finno-Ugrian peoples could be interpreted in Russia as support for separatist movements. Moreover, the Finnish nationalist movement wanted to make a distinction between the Finns and Hungarians, who had achieved statehood and the Finno-Ugrian peoples of Russia, who were at a lower level and in the process of extinction. Nonetheless, in Aspelin's case, for example, the idea of the Russification of the Finno-Ugrian peoples of the east as a kind of natural process led to the Finns being regarded as the rightful heirs and owners of cultural heritage of the former. Therefore he began in the early 1870s to strive for the founding of a Finno-Ugrian Central Museum in Helsinki.<sup>8</sup>

At the same time, there were efforts, fanned by the ideology of Finno-Ugrian affinity, to establish a society for the friends of the Estonian language. After the assassination of Emperor Alexander II (1818–1881), a society of this kind along the lines of Finno-Ugrian ethnicity was felt to arouse undue suspicion in Russia. Therefore, it was decided in the spring of 1882 to redefine the main purpose of the society in a scientific and scholarly direction. Nonetheless, a number of archaeologists, ethnologists and linguists published, also in the spring of the same year, their exhortation to join in founding the Society of Finno-Ugrian Peoples (*Suomen Heimokansojen Seura*), serving the aims of scholarship and popular education. Otto Donner still had mainly a learned society in mind, presumably to make it easier to obtain the permission of the Russian authorities. The activities of the Society of Finno-Ugrian Peoples ended before ever coming under way.<sup>9</sup>

After various experiments the only way to provide opportunities for Finno-Ugrian studies was to establish a new and completely separate learned society. Donner began preparations for this in early 1883, and in November of the year, the "Finno-Ugrian Society for linguistics, archaeology, ethnology and ancient history" was established. The developments leading to its founding were by no means straightforward or consistent, being instead greatly influenced by political conditions, relations with Russia and chance events.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. The Finno-Ugrian Society's aims become established in Russia

From the outset, the Finno-Ugrian Society had the aim of sending explorers to collect material on all the Finno-Ugrian languages. In order to launch its work in Russia, the society had to ensure the positive attitudes of authorities and to establish the necessary scholarly contacts. The first step was to appoint a president whom the Russians could regard as reliable. This post went to Clas Herman Molander (1817–1897), head of the State Finances Committee of the Imperial Senate of Finland, and widely respected in the Grand Duchy of Finland. The society selected as its first honorary members Fedor Heiden (1821–1900), Governor-General of Finland, and Minister Secretary of State Theodor Bruun (1821–1888). Its first foreign correspondent member was Nikolaj Il'minskij (1821–1891), head of the Kazan' Seminar.

In the late 19th and early 20th century Kazan' was an important base for Finnish scholars, a leading university city with both Finno-Ugrian and Turkic peoples living in its vicinity. Il'minskij had established a seminar in Kazan' in 1872 for training teachers and clergy for the non-Russian peoples of the region. The purpose of this was, via teaching and religious ceremonies in ethnic languages, to link these peoples more closely to the Orthodox Church, which would naturally lead to their Russification. The seminar, however, became an important catalyst of nationalism among the peoples of the Volga region. The Russians soon began to suspect ethnic patriotism, and these suspicions also applied to the Finno-Ugrian Society.<sup>11</sup>

The first to travel east on a grant from the Finno-Ugrian Society was Volmari Porkka (1854–1889) who went to study the Mari language in the summer of 1885. The expeditions undertaken by Heikki Paasonen (1865–1919) and Yrjö Wichmann (1868–1932) around the turn of the 1880s and 1890s to the Mordvins and Udmurts established the goals and procedures of Finno-Ugrian Society expeditions. In addition to linguistic material, the grant recipients would generally collect a wide range of material on all aspects of folklore, folk poetry and tales, religious beliefs, ways of life and livelihoods. They were led by concern over the disappearance of languages and cultures in the wake of modernization and uniform culture. Uniform culture had another name, Russification, a point that the Finno-Ugrian Society grant scholars were not afraid to state.<sup>12</sup>

In the spring of 1891, when Yrjö Wichmann travelled in the spring of 1891 to the Udmurts, Il'minskij, the head of the seminar, made his students available to Wichmann. "Il'minskij gave me a fatherly warning against making *propaganda* among the Votyaks (!!)" and said that Munkácsi had done so among the Votyaks and the Voguls," wrote Wichmann. On a later expedition in 1902, Wich-

mann inquired about information on the Komi poet Ivan Kuratov (1839–1875) from the latter's nephew, who avoided answering for fear of arousing political suspicions.<sup>13</sup>

On the river boat to Kazan', Wichmann struck up a conversation with a Polish student "who wanted to know if we Finns hate the Russians like they do. And was very satisfied when I said 'yes'." The attitudes of Finnish scholars towards Russians and the Russian way of life appear to have been mostly contemptuous and scornful, and sometimes incredulous. "The more one lives here in Holy Russia and comes to know conditions, the more miserable and despicable things begin to appear," wrote Heikki Paasonen. On the other hand, individuals, such as scholars and others who offered help were respected, even very highly.<sup>14</sup>

For the scholars of the Finno-Ugrian Society, Russia was in fact only a kind of framework for their activities. The Finno-Ugrian peoples, in turn, were the subjects of research, for whom the role of collectors of materials at most was reserved. Even their present state was not important for research. Instead, their languages and cultures were regarded as sources of historical data. Finnish archaeologists working in Russia had also adopted this attitude. Russia was the focus of scientific colonialism, and the material that was collected there was to be kept in collections founded in Finland. Naturally there were different nuances among the attitudes of different researchers.<sup>15</sup>

For these reasons, also the Finno-Ugrian Society made full use of all opportunities to make a distinction with regard to Russia. For example, it sent its publications to World's Fairs, which in the late 19th century become important forums for constructing and presenting Finnish identity.<sup>16</sup>

### 3. Archaeology and Turkology

The Finno-Ugrian Society also participated in archaeological research in Siberia in 1887, 1888 and 1893. The Finnish Archaeological Society had launched in 1887 the collection of enigmatic stone inscriptions surviving in Siberia and Central Asia and this work was supported by the Finno-Ugrian Society. The expeditions sent in 1887–1889 to Minusinsk in Western Siberia were led by J. R. Aspelin, who assumed that the inscriptions there would reveal a Finno-Ugrian language and would date from the Bronze Age, thus being the oldest writing of the Finno-Ugrians. With reference to the material collected by the Finnish scholars, the Danish linguist Vilhelm Thomsen (1842–1927) proved in 1893 that the inscriptions were Turkic and dated from the 7th and 8th centuries AD. At the beginning of the following decade the Middle Iron Age of Western Siberia became the subject of study. The results of these expeditions forced the Finns to recon-

sider their ancestral-home theories – the concept of Altaic roots began to be undermined. Within the Finno-Ugrian Society, a broad, international orientation towards Asia significantly superseded the more limited Finno-Ugrian perspective maintained by archaeologists.<sup>17</sup>

The activity that began with investigations of the Siberian and Mongolian inscriptions was continued in the second half of the 1890s in Russian Turkestan (present-day Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan), becoming part of the international scientific and political race into Central Asia that had begun in the 1870s. Three expeditions to Turkestan were organized within the Finno-Ugrian Society in 1897, 1898 and 1899. They were mostly of an archaeological nature and the results were meagre. The expeditions were most financed personally by Otto Donner.<sup>18</sup>

Finnish activity in the field of Russian archaeology, however, decreased in the 1890s. As the ancient past of the Finns was not found through expeditions to Siberia and the materials thus obtained remained unpublished, there was no desire to appeal to the public for funding new ventures. Furthermore, the work of archaeologists began to focus more and more on investigating and protecting Finland's own antiquities, as required by the Antiquities Decree given in 1883.<sup>19</sup>

The Finno-Ugrian Society also turned its attention to East Turkestan, which belonged to China. In 1906, the Russian military authorities sent Colonel C. G. E. Mannerheim (1867–1951) on a two-year expedition to East Turkestan to gather intelligence. To hide the military purpose of his mission, Mannerheim posed as an explorer, collecting ethnographic and archaeological material and even carrying out small excavations on behalf of the Finno-Ugrian Society. This was one of the few occasions when the interests of the society and the Russian authorities coincided.<sup>20</sup>

At the society's annual meeting in 1896, Otto Donner had underlined tasks whose connections with the Finno-Ugrian context were indirect at the most, no doubt to emphasize the society's international and non-ethnically aligned profile. The society was to direct its attention to Mongolia and China, among other subjects of interest. Sinology could even be regarded as assisting the aims of Russian foreign policy in the Far East, where Nicholas II (1868–1918) sought support from China for his imperialistic aims against Japan.<sup>21</sup>

The Finno-Ugrian Society organized four archaeological-philological expeditions to Mongolia under the direction of J. G. Granö (1882–1956) and G. J. Ramstedt in 1906, 1909 and 1912. On the last of these expeditions, Ramstedt desired efficient support from his old benefactors who had now risen to leading positions in newly independent Mongolia, but this proved to be a disappointment. Instead, soon after arriving in the country Ramstedt found himself embroiled in

Mongolian-Russian political negotiations and disputes, in which the Mongolians sought to reduce the influence of the Russians and the Russian Consul-General V. F. Ljuba, who had taken effective lead of the country. General Ljuba threatened to deport Ramstedt to Russia upon hearing about his role in the political manoeuvres. Nonetheless, the expedition was able to gather material on Turkic inscriptions and the Mongolian language.<sup>22</sup>

#### 4. Russian policies concerning Finland at the turn of the century

During the second half of the 19th century, Russia sought to link its western peripheries closer to the centre of the empire. In February 1899, Nicholas II issued a manifesto according to which imperial legislation came into force in the Grand Duchy of Finland. There were internal divisions in Finland regarding reactions to the Russian measures. The so-called constitutional position emphasized Finland's own constitutional laws and absolute compliance with the Finnish interpretation of them. The appeasement line, on the other hand, felt that the main issue was to secure the survival of the Finnish language and Finnish culture, and some concessions could be made regarding autonomy and interpretations of constitutional law. Both positions had supporters within the Finno-Ugrian Society and political disagreements did not impede the collaboration of researchers at least to any major degree.<sup>23</sup>

As a result of these developments, some Finnish learned societies completely ceased to appoint Russians as honorary or associate members. The Finno-Ugrian Society, however, increased its contacts with Russian scholars, no doubt in order to secure access to the east for research purposes. The society still engaged in relatively little actual cooperation with the Russians.<sup>24</sup>

In late 1905 there was a process of liberalization throughout the Russian Empire as revolutionary unrest and strikes in the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese war led to the establishment of a constitutional system of rule. While the February Manifesto concerning Finland was not revoked, it was no longer implemented. The Russian authorities resumed their unification policies in Finland in 1908. The acerbated situation also posed problems for scientific research. Difficulties had emerged for Finnish research conducted in Russia during the revolutionary unrest of 1905–1906. Yrjö Wichmann, who travelled in the Mari regions with funds from the University of Helsinki, had to interrupt his work because of unrest. In 1907 the ethnologist U. T. Sirelius (1872–1929) could not carry out properly his planned collection of materials among the Udmurts, because of the excessive suspicion of the local population.<sup>25</sup>

When E. N. Setälä (1864–1935) became the president of the Finno-Ugrian Society after the death of Otto Donner, the society began to place increasing emphasis on the national basis of its work and the Finno-Ugrian context, with less focus on the international dimension and the Ural-Altai orientation preferred by Donner. In practice, however, there were few changes in activities before the First World War.<sup>26</sup>

The society's own recommendations and references for the recipients of its grants lost their effect as the authorities grew increasingly suspicious, and it had to obtain recommendations from the Russian Academy of Sciences. The Academy was thanked for its "excellent good will" towards the research carried out by the Finno-Ugrian Society and it was hoped that also other government authorities would be assured that "the individuals recommended by the society are purely scientists committed to their obligation of not interfering with the internal political disputes of the Empire, and with even greater cause to their obligation of not engaging in any kind of political propaganda".<sup>27</sup>

These hopes were in vain. The problems were particular prominent in the areas near the Finnish border. There is no reason to assume that the views of the influential Finnish writer Professor Zachris Topelius (1818–1898), who maintained that East Karelia belonged to Finland, were unknown in Russia.<sup>28</sup>

The Finno-Ugrian Society tried to be cautious to prevent its activities from arousing the suspicion of the authorities. This, however, was not always successful. In 1909 the society was preparing the publication of a collection of Estonian riddles gathered by Pastor Jakob Hurt (1839–1907). The editor, an Estonian student named Karl Wachtberg (1887–?) was imprisoned for being "politically suspect" and deported to Pärnu in Estonia, and all the papers in his possession were confiscated. Estonian folklore material most obviously aroused further suspicion among the Russian authorities concerning Wachtberg and perhaps also the motives of the Finno-Ugrian Society. Although the material was recovered later, the printing of the collection was prevented by the war.<sup>29</sup>

The uncommunicativeness of the local populace and the suspicions of the authorities encountered by Finnish researchers in the east led the Finno-Ugrian Society to plan material collection courses for native speakers of Finno-Ugrian languages. This idea received further support when Vasilij Nalimov (1879–1939), a Komi student, achieved good results in collecting Komi folklore material in 1907. Nalimov and the Mari teacher Timofej Evsev'ev (1887–1937) were invited in the spring of 1908 to Finland to study the Finnish language and to learn collection work. In this connection Heikki Paasonen proposed organized courses for collectors and it was decided to make preparations for them. As the situation in Russia became strained, it was finally decided in 1910 to refrain from the courses "for the time being". Even the last opportunities to arrange training for collectors were lost with the outbreak of the First World War.<sup>30</sup>



From the perspective of the Russian authorities, the work of Finnish researchers among the Finno-Ugrian peoples of Russia was thus by no means as apolitical as regarded and assured by the Finno-Ugrian Society. Even without the dissemination of any kind of propaganda, the very presence of Finns was a politically charged matter. Therefore, when underlining in 1912 the need for continuous financial support from the state, the Finno-Ugrian Society felt it was necessary to particularly emphasize the “most positive evaluations” of its work that it had received “above all from Russian scholars”. The society and Finnish researchers in general had associates in Russia who spread information of their achievements in the Russian scholarly community. One of the most important of these was Professor Nikolaj Katanov (1862–1922) of Kazan.<sup>31</sup>

In 1912, the Mari Vasilij Jakmanov (1882–1938) came to Finland, explaining that he was on a study trip. Yrjö Wichmann collected linguistic material from him, and Jakmanov later returned to Russia, from where he sent, among other items, Mari costumes to the National Museum of Finland via the Finno-Ugrian Society. In 1928 it emerged that Jakmanov had fled the Russian authorities, who were looking for him because of his membership in the Mari sect known as *Kugu Sorta* (‘The Great Candle’), which was regarded as politically dangerous and was banned in Russia. Jakmanov had been banished in 1906 from the Government of Vjatka because of his anti-government activities, after which he hid from the authorities in different parts of Russia. The Finno-Ugrian Society and Wichmann had thus unwittingly given shelter to a political refugee.<sup>32</sup>

## 5. The First World War, the Russian revolutions and Finnish independence

The First World War broke out in Europe in the summer of 1914. Of the recipients for grants from the Finno-Ugrian Society at the time, Kai Donner (1888–1935) and Toivo Lehtisalo (1887–1962) were among the Samoyeds in Siberia, Toivo Itkonen (1891–1968) was researching the Skolts of the Kola Peninsula, Lauri Kettunen (1885–1963) was with the Votes in Ingria, and A. O. Väisänen (1890–1968) was collecting folk tunes in the Mordvin regions. Donner managed to complete his work and returned home with relative ease, as also did Lehtisalo in 31 December 1914. Väisänen and Itkonen, however, had to leave their research unfinished.<sup>33</sup>

The war increased Russian suspicions of the motives of the Finns, since one of the main scenarios of a military threat was a German invasion of Finland. Suspicions were also fanned by the strong German connections of Finnish research and cultural life. In the spring of 1915, the magazine *Novye Dni* published the text of a paper delivered by Mixail Borodkin (1852–1919) on the

nationality issue on Finland. He pointed to the existence of a pan-Finnish movement for the incorporation all the Finno-Ugrian peoples under Finnish rule. He wrote that suspicious contacts were being maintained especially with the Estonians and Hungarians, and even with peoples as geographically distant as the Samoyeds. Borodkin specifically referred to the Finno-Ugrian Society in this connection.<sup>34</sup>

In 1915, the learned societies of the Russian Empire, including Finland, were ordered to expel from their membership all subjects of countries that were at war against Russia, “except those of Slav, Italian or French origin”. This was duly done also by the Finno-Ugrian Society. E. N. Setälä even proposed that the Finno-Ugrian Society should, for the time being, operate only as an explicitly Finnish society, but this was rejected by the board. The publication of *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* was halted in 1916, because of the ban on German-language periodicals during the war in the Russian Empire.<sup>35</sup>

The war was not successful for Russia, and Imperial rule was overthrown in the late winter of 1917. This immediately provoked nationalist activities among the minority populations of the empire, which also made it necessary for the Finno-Ugrian Society to decide on what attitude it should take. Soon after the March Revolution, the society received a letter from the so-called Federation of Small Peoples of the Volga Region, which included Maris, Mordvins, Udmurts, Christian Tatars and Kalmucks. The Federation hoped that contacts between the related peoples would be liberalized under the new regime and commended the educational aims of the Finns. The Finno-Ugrian Society replied that “although our main objective is of a purely scholarly nature, we are happy to hear of your work and are greatly sympathetic towards your aim of making the mother tongue the basis of cultural development and of raising the cultural and material standards of your peoples”. The Federation no doubt hoped that the Finno-Ugrian Society would also provide political support if necessary.

The Finno-Ugrian Society also received a letter from a Mari teacher serving as a military officer, who hoped that members of the Finno-Ugrian peoples would be admitted to the University of Helsinki and the Finno-Ugrian Society could hold preparatory courses for these students in the Finnish language and other necessary subjects. The letter ended in the words “Long live brotherhood and unity!” The Finno-Ugrian Society concluded that while such courses were beyond the Society’s means, “we must nonetheless take note of these signs of the times, be sympathetic towards them and when conditions have become established we must, where possible, seek to direct the strength arising from national sources towards work in areas of national scholarship.” The Society was thus trying to strike a balance between its research agenda and emerging national-

ist sympathies, without knowing what attitude to take regarding all the new developments.<sup>36</sup>

The situation soon changed again with the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and Finland's declaration of independence in December 1917. As civil war broke out in Russia, some of the leaders of the Finno-Ugrian Society provided direct advice on how Finland should try to utilize Russia's weakness. At the opening ceremonies of the University of Helsinki in January 1918, Professor J. J. Mikkola called for expanding the territory of Finland, with the aid of Germany, to the White Sea and the Arctic Ocean. Professor Kaarle Krohn (1863–1933) concurred. As a body, the Finno-Ugrian Society did not take an official position on these suggestions.<sup>37</sup> The Slavist scholar Mikkola was perhaps the best expert on Russia within the Society.

The work of the Finno-Ugrian Society was almost halted by political unrest, the continuously declining value of Finnish currency and rising printing costs. The situation soon also erupted in war in Finland, beginning as anti-Russian war of independence but turning at the same time in civil war as the result of revolution declared by socialists in Helsinki. The civil war lasted from late January to the middle of May in 1918. The Finno-Ugrian Society resumed its work quickly after the war, and it expressed the hope that there would be financial support from public funds for "this, so to speak, most national of our national disciplines, the special field most distinctly belonging to us." It was also assumed that once the civil war ended in Russia it would again be possible to undertake expeditions there as before.<sup>38</sup>

## 6. Ideological conflicts of the inter-war years

There was, however, no return to the past state of affairs. Finnish independence had severed connections with Russia. While there were internal disputes over the aims of the new Republic of Finland, a Western orientation was nonetheless desired. The Soviet Union both isolated itself and was isolated from the community of international learned organizations. Expeditions among the Finno-Ugrian peoples were thus out of the question. In addition, anti-Russian sentiments grew stronger in Finland and an ideology of ethnic affinity gained emphasis in attitudes regarding the Finno-Ugrian peoples. This meant that a Finnish-national perspective was the shared goal of almost all science and scholarship in Finland. To ensure their economic existence, along with other aspects, learned societies had to appeal in increasingly more direct ways to the nationalist ideology that had gained ascendancy in society.

The Finno-Ugrian Society became involved in several projects arising from ethnic affinity. In 1922, for example, the Foreign Delegation of Karelia contacted the Finno-Ugrian Society and other learned societies in order to create a journal “elucidating historical, linguistic and ethnological matters concerning the population of East Karelia” and to present them to the League of Nations to seek support for Finnish claims to East Karelia. E. N. Setälä, the president of the Finno-Ugrian Society, was chosen to be a member of the committee set up for this purpose. Setälä had supported General Mannerheim’s plan to invade St. Petersburg in 1919 and was still a proponent of annexing East Karelia to Finland.

Finland, however, did not acquire East Karelia. This failure and anti-Russian ideological sentiment provided the basis for the Academic Karelia Society (*Akateeminen Karjala-Seura*), a student association founded in 1922. While the Finno-Ugrian Society as such did not take a position regarding the uncompromising pan-Finnish ethnic policies of the Academic Karelia Society, the latter had supporters and proponents in the Finno-Ugrian Society, for example Kai Donner.<sup>39</sup>

The dual role of E. N. Setälä in the service of the state and the scholarly community would sometimes lead to conflicting situations. While seeking contacts with researchers in the Soviet Union and local instructors in the Finno-Ugrian languages in his capacity as president of the Finno-Ugrian Society, Setälä rejected, as Finland’s foreign minister (1926) the Soviet Union’s offer of bilateral talks on a non-aggression pact and sought so-called border-state cooperation with Poland and the Baltic countries. In the Soviet Union, where all matters were decided by the Communist Party, research policies could not be distinguished from foreign policy, which may also have influenced the attitudes of the authorities regarding the Finno-Ugrian Society.<sup>40</sup>

Since there was no access to Russia, the Finno-Ugrian Society sought, funds permitting, to finance research in Lapland and the Finnic regions. In 1920 and 1922, E. N. Setälä proposed the study of the Karelian language as the most urgent task for the Society. When a large number of Karelian refugees crossed the border into Finland, a seven-man expedition was sent in 1921 with funds from the Finnish Ministry of Education to collect linguistic and ethnographic material from the refugees. Driven by famine, people began to flee from East Karelia to Finland in 1917, and the exodus continued until the end of the 1930s. The peak years were around the time of the Karelian uprising in 1921–1922.<sup>41</sup>

In order to preserve opportunities of at least some kind for contacts and especially expeditions to the Soviet Union, the Finno-Ugrian Society could not express too openly its distaste for the country in general or its political system. Accordingly, when the Komi teacher Igon Mösšeg (Ignatij Mošegov, 1880–1965), who had escaped from Russia to Estonia in 1920 and had come to Finland with the assistance of Lauri Kettunen, applied four years later for a grant from the

Society for preparing a history of the Komi people, he did not receive it. Mössög later published a few works on the Komi, in which he fiercely attacked the Soviet system, Russians and Jews, and served on the board of the Prometheus Society of Finland.<sup>42</sup> The international Prometheus federation was an anti-Bolshevik émigré organization founded in 1926. Its Finnish chapter was established in 1932 and it focused specially on investigating the history and conditions of the non-Russian peoples of Russia and supporting their real and assumed aims to achieve independence. It was chaired by G. J. Ramstedt, the first vice-president of the Finno-Ugrian Society.<sup>43</sup>

The Society was able to restore some of its former contacts with Russia during the course of the 1920s. The exchange of publications began to revive in 1922, when the Tjumen' Scientific Society wrote to the Finno-Ugrian Society and requested exchange. In the mid-1920s E. N. Setälä contacted the Finnish Embassy in Moscow to find out how the Finno-Ugrian Society could obtain for its library books published in Russia in the Finno-Ugrian and Altaic languages, both past and forthcoming. At the time, there was a natural desire for Western contacts in scholarly circles in Russia, but difficulties for obtaining visas and other problems of an ideological nature kept connections at a minimum. As late as the 1930s, the Soviet Union remained outside international scientific and scholarly organizations.<sup>44</sup>

In 1922 Professor Wilhelm (Vasilij) Barthold (1869–1930) of Petrograd attended a meeting of the Finno-Ugrian Society, delivering a paper on his research in Turkestan. The Finno-Ugrian Society's long-standing assistant, the Mari Timofej Evsev'ev contacted the Society requesting economic assistance and sending Mari folklore material. The collaboration was resumed and Evsev'ev was even able to visit Finland in 1927. The Soviet authorities cut off his contacts abroad in 1929.<sup>45</sup>

The Komi linguist Vasilij Lytkin (1895–1981) was able to come to Finland in 1926, continuing from here to Hungary, where he gained his doctorate. Lytkin's teacher at the University of Moscow, Afanasij Seliščev (1886–1942), professor of Slav philology, was selected in 1926 as an associate member of the Finno-Ugrian Society mainly in recognition of his role in furthering Lytkin's career. Seliščev had also been one of the founders of a Finno-Ugrian association in Moscow.<sup>46</sup>

Contacts with the Finno-Ugrian Society were not without problems for the few scholars that the Soviet Union allowed to travel abroad, or had other Western contacts. The Komis Vasilij Lytkin and Vasilij Nalimov, the Mari Timofej Evsev'ev and the Udmurt Kuzebaj Gerd (1898–1937) were arrested in the early 1930s. Lytkin and Gerd were accused of belonging to the Fighting League for the Liberation of the Finno-Ugrian Peoples (SOFIN), a fictional organization created by the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of the Soviet Union

for the purpose of accusing Finno-Ugrian intellectuals of conspiring against the state. Gerd was the alleged chairman of the League. In interrogations, Lytkin was accused of contacts with the Finno-Ugrian Society with its aims of Greater Finland and erasing Soviet rule from the Komi region through armed rebellion. Lytkin also had to deny “bourgeois” comparative linguistics. Lytkin had been sent to Finland by the Institute of Eastern Peoples and said that, upon the urging of the Soviet Embassy, he visited all the places where he was invited. Lytkin was sentenced to a work camp in Far East for five years; the sentence was later reduced to three years. He was not allowed to return to Komi until he was officially rehabilitated in 1957. Kuzebaj Gerd and Timofej Evsev'ev were executed in 1937. Nalimov was released after his first arrest but was rearrested in 1937. He died in a prison camp in 1939.<sup>47</sup>

The Finno-Ugrian Society does not seem to have anticipated ideological connections or danger to associates. Instead, the Society naively believed that the Soviet Union ultimately functioned like other states, even though it could be seen in concrete terms that something was different. This was evident particularly in the grandiose expedition projects of the late 1920s and the revived attempts of the 1930s for research cooperation with the Soviets. In 1927 there were namely indications from the Soviet Union that it could again become possible to arrange expeditions. D. V. Bubrix (1890–1949) of the Soviet Academy of Sciences wrote in the spring to Yrjö Wichmann and proposed Finnish-Russian cooperation in order to continue research in the Mordvin regions. No invitation, however, ensued.<sup>48</sup> After waiting for a while, the Finno-Ugrian Society itself applied for permission to travel in 1928 to the Mordvin regions for a five-man Finnish group of scholars consisting of Professor Uno Harva (1882–1949), Albert Hämäläinen PhD (1881–1949), Lauri Kettunen PhD, E. A. Virtanen MA (1897–1970) and Paavo Ravila MA (1902–1974). Ravila was to have remained in Russia for a whole year, while the other members of the expedition would have been three months on the expedition.<sup>49</sup> The Soviet authorities regarded the group to be too large, and no doubt the plans of the Finns to travel in the countryside did not suit them either. Accordingly, travel permits were not granted, even despite the fact that Anatolij Lunačarskij (1875–1933), People's Commissar of Educational Affairs, had assured his country's cooperativeness to Ambassador Pontus Artti (1878–1936). After the first attempt failed, a visa was sought already in the same summer for Ravila alone for a period of three months, but even this was unsuccessful. There were also unsuccessful attempts to arrange a visit to Finland for a Mordvin language instructor for Ravila.<sup>50</sup> Nor was Julius Mark (1890–1959) of Estonia allowed to visit the Mordvins at the time, although the Soviet Embassy in Tallinn had given him reason to hope for permission. The Finno-Ugrian Society had awarded a grant to him for the visit. The clos-

ing of doors that had already been half-open to foreign scholars may have been influenced by a power struggle on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1927, in which Josif Stalin (1879–1953) outmanoeuvred the left wing of the party, and the right wing in the next year. Mark was allowed, however, to carry out his research in Leningrad and Moscow in late 1928 and early 1929.<sup>51</sup> A. M. Tallgren (1885–1945), professor of archaeology, who had been on expeditions to Russia and the Soviet Union in 1908, 1909, 1915, 1924 and 1925, was also allowed to travel mainly to South Russia in 1928. In a letter to Ravila, Bubrix said that the permit for Tallgren had been made possible by the fact that he was already known.<sup>52</sup>

In the late summer of 1927 the Finno-Ugrian Society approached Sergej Oldenburg (1863–1934), secretary of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, in another matter. A Nenets from among the students of the Institute of the Eastern Peoples in Leningrad was requested to be sent to Helsinki to assist in experimental phonetic research conducted by Kai Donner and Toivo Lehtisalo. At the same time, a letter was sent to Professor Vladimir Bogoraz-Tan (1865–1936) requesting the assistance of a Nenets, Even and Ket in research in Finland. There was also a desire to study vocabulary in order to establish the origins of the Samoyeds. It was already learned in January 1928 that there were persons suitable for the purpose among the students of the institute. Adjunct Professor (Docent) Artturi Kannisto (1874–1943) also wrote to D. V. Bubrix expressing his wish to have an instructor in the Mansi language sent to Finland. Finally, the Tundra Nenets Matvej Jadne (1907–?), the Even Gavriil Nikitin and the Ket Il'ya Dibikov (1909–?) came to Finland for the summer of 1928. Toivo Lehtisalo, Arvo Sotavalta (1889–1950), Kai Donner and occasionally also Martti Räsänen PhD (1893–1976) and Professor Frans Äimä (1875–1936) worked with them. There were later attempts to have language instructors sent to Finland, but they failed.<sup>53</sup> Paavo Ravila's expedition to the Mordvin region was reattempted in 1929, this time successfully. He worked in this region for one month and for another month in Moscow, checking the Mordvin material collected by Heikki Paasonen and collecting more items of vocabulary.<sup>54</sup> In the following year, Ravila applied for permission to travel to Moscow, but it was not granted. The reason given for this was that according to the terms of his permit, he should have remained in the summer of 1929 in the cities of Leningrad, Moscow, Kazan' and Saratov, but he had set out on his own into the countryside to find a language instructor.<sup>55</sup>

In addition to collecting linguistic material, the Finno-Ugrian Society participated in the late 1920s in gathering historical and ethnological material on Finland and the Finno-Ugrian peoples from Soviet archives. After the trip, it was also proposed in Finland that ethnologically valuable sources in Soviet archives should be photographed for use in Finland.<sup>56</sup>

While waiting for permission to travel, all available opportunities were attempted for the study of even more distant languages. In 1930, Toivo Uotila (1897–1947) collected material on the Komi language from two Komi families living in Petsamo (present-day Pečenga), which belonged to Finland at the time. The parents of both families still spoke their original mother tongue. They had come to Petsamo already before the Revolution. Material also became available in late 1931 to G. J. Ramstedt and Arvo Sotavalta when three Yakuts who had escaped from the Solovki prison camp were given political asylum in Finland. They provided the scholars with linguistic and folklore material, as well as results in phonetic studies.<sup>57</sup> There were no participants from the Soviet Union in a conference of scholars of the Finno-Ugrian languages held by the Finno-Ugrian Society in 1931. One of the last private messages came in 1932 via the Finnish Embassy in Moscow from Olyk Ipaj (1912–1937) and Garri Kazakov, Mari students of cinematography, who sent to the Finno-Ugrian Society an anthology of poetry in the Mari language entitled *The Forest Murmurs*. No doubt these contacts and other nationalist activity led at least to Ipaj being arrested and executed in November 1937.<sup>58</sup>

Despite caution, the increasingly closer relationship of the Finno-Ugrian Society and other Finnish scholarly organizations with the ideology of ethnic affinity did not remain unnoticed or unutilized in the Soviet Union. Finnish archaeological and ethnological interest concerning Russian territory was branded in the Soviet Union as the political objective of bourgeois-nationalist ideology to act against the Soviet Union and the working class of Finland. A. M. Tallgren's criticism of Soviet science, among other comments, aroused a wave of protest in Soviet journals between 1931 and 1934. Adding to this, phenomena such as anti-Soviet activities among the Khanty and Nenets, conditions were not positive for Finno-Ugrian research. Studies of languages and traditional culture also suffered from the fact that shamans, regarded as messengers of anti-Soviet reaction were singled out for repression. Had Finns been allowed to study this culture, branded as dangerous, it would have eroded outright the foundations of Soviet rule.<sup>59</sup>

The most strongly-worded anti-Finnish statement was published in 1931 by the Estonian born Marta Palvadre, who mainly aimed her comments at ethnography in an article in the journal *Sovetskaja Ėtnografija*. In her article entitled "Bourgeois Finnish ethnography and the policies of Finnish fascism", she claimed that science and scholarship in Finland were in the service of imperialistic policies of aggression and invasion. Certain fascist-led learned societies together with fascist organizations were working to demonstrate the right of Finland to the whole area between the Gulf of Bothnia and the Ural Mountains. Palvadre accused the Finno-Ugrian Society, the Finnish Archaeological Soci-



ety (present-day Finnish Antiquarian Society) and the Finnish Academy of Sciences for collaborating with the extreme right-wing Lapua Movement and the Academic Karelia Society. The whole Finno-Ugrian movement and its meetings of Finno-Ugrian scholars were also reflections of the same spirit. The movement extended to Estonia as well. According to Palvadre, the Finno-Ugrian perspective was emphasized because the bourgeoisie was seeking an escape from the economic crisis by seeking a Greater Finland extending as far as the Ural Mountains and to seize the natural resources of the western parts of the Soviet Union.<sup>60</sup>

At least formally, there was still hope in Finland that cooperation would improve. In 1932, for example, Kai Donner expressed the wish that the Russian Academy of Sciences would be as ready to cooperate with the Finns as it had been during M. A. Castrén's time.<sup>61</sup>

Professor E. A. Tunkelo (1870–1953) was in fact able to travel in 1932 to the Vepses, with funding from the University of Helsinki. Tunkelo's trip appears to have been associated with the Finno-Ugrian Society having been contacted the year before by the Veps-born S. A. Makar'ev, director of the Scientific Research Institute of Karelia in Petrozavodsk. The Finno-Ugrian Society had expressed the wish that a Finnish scholar would be allowed to travel to Karelia to conduct research. Makar'ev instead requested questionnaires, through which the Finns could obtain the information that they wanted. The questions were drawn up by E. A. Tunkelo and sent to Petrozavodsk. The correspondence passed through the Soviet Embassy in Helsinki, which meant that it was of an official nature. This gave the Finno-Ugrian Society cause to assume that the ice was breaking in general and the east would open up. This impression was strengthened by the initiative of the Soviet ambassador in Helsinki, Boris Stein, in 1934 concerning deeper scientific and scholarly cooperation between the Soviet Union and Finland. Related consultations were held, with E. N. Setälä and J. J. Mikkola attending, among others. Apparently this meeting led to Professor Lauri Kettunen, Lauri Posti MA (1908–1988) and Paavo Siro MA (1909–1996) being allowed in 1934 to spend three months in the Veps region to collect linguistic material.<sup>62</sup>

In 1935, a number of Finnish scholars held a meeting for planning cooperation with Soviet colleagues. The initiative in this matter was taken by Aarno Yrjö-Koskinen (1885–1951), who was ambassador of Finland to Moscow. The Finno-Ugrian Society was represented at the meeting by J. J. Mikkola, Arturi Kannisto and G. J. Ramstedt. The purpose was to establish a permanent organization to develop Finnish-Soviet relations, with members selected by the learned societies. The Finno-Ugrian Society, the Finnish Archaeological Society and the Finnish Literature Society were in favour of founding the organization, while the other societies lacked interest. In practice, the meeting remained

inconsequential, for around the same time, Stalin ended the Western contacts of Soviet scholars and scientists. Among the Finno-Ugrian Society, Professor A. M. Tallgren was practically the last person to be allowed on a long research expedition to the east. He travelled in the Soviet Union during the summer of 1935 with his Estonian pupil Harri Moora (1900–1968). After the trip Tallgren wrote an article describing his observations of the persecutions of researchers and his criticism of such measures. Also Tallgren's connections were cut off and he was stripped of his membership in learned societies in the Soviet Union.<sup>63</sup>

As late as the 1930s, some researchers from Europe were still able to undertake actual expeditions in the Soviet Union. One of them was Dr. Wolfgang Steinitz (1905–1967) of Germany in 1934. As a Jew and a Communist he could no longer return to Germany, and he remained in Leningrad for three years, being removed in 1937 from his post at the Institute of the Northern Peoples and deported.<sup>64</sup>

The last pre-war trip from among the Finno-Ugrian Society to the Soviet Union took place in 1937, when A. O. Väisänen visited the phonogram archives in Leningrad.<sup>65</sup>

Professor David Zolotar'ev (1885–1935) of the University of Leningrad visited the Finno-Ugrian Society in the winter of 1930, followed by Academician Aleksandr Samojlovič (1880–1938) in the late winter of 1935. As late as 1939, the Finno-Ugrian Society tried to obtain language instructors from Leningrad. There was a response to the request, but it did not lead to any practical measures.<sup>66</sup>

As research expeditions could not be undertaken, the Finno-Ugrian Society concentrated on publishing earlier bodies of material, for which the state began to provide funds in 1930s. Publication, however, was soon slowed by the international financial depression, and the Second World War broke out at the end of the decade.<sup>67</sup>

## 7. The Second World War

The outbreak of war in Europe in the autumn of 1939 and the Soviet invasion of Finland in late November interrupted the work of the Finno-Ugrian Society. When peace was concluded with the Soviets in March 1940, before further hostilities in 1941–1944, the society soon resumed its work in a more or less normal manner. Even contacts with the Soviet Union showed signs of reviving, for in the summer of 1941, the Finno-Ugrian Society received a letter from the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences requesting a copy of Eliel Lagercrantz's *Lappischer Wortschatz*.

During the war years, the Society's role as a national-level actor gained further emphasis. Of its members, the Professor Albert Hämäläinen, an ethnologist, was the chairman and Professor Jalo Kalima (1884–1952), a Slavist scholar, was a member of a committee appointed by the Council of State that began to plan a Finnish-Russian cultural association in the summer of 1940. The ultimate aim of this scheme was to slow the founding and work of the Finland-Soviet Union Society, which had emerged from a left-wing political base. Accordingly, the planned society could not be accepted by the Soviet Union, despite its accommodating attitude. Another association founded to compete with the Finland-Soviet Union Society was the Baltic Sphere Society, which included from the Finno-Ugrian Society Dr. Lauri Posti and Dr. Kustaa Vilkuna (1902–1989). This society aimed at cultural cooperation among all the countries on the Baltic, but since it, too, was rejected by the Soviet Union, it mainly became a channel of Finnish-German cooperation.<sup>68</sup>

Finland began to approach Germany in late 1940s and relations in the sphere of science and scholarship followed in the wake of political contacts. In the summer of 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union and Finland followed suit, trying to recover the territory lost in the Winter War of 1939–1940. The Finno-Ugrian Society gave its support for the new policy by granting associate membership in December 1940 to Heinrich Harmjanz (1904–1944), head of the department of ethnography of the Deutsches Ahnenerbe research institute. Harmjanz's task was to remove cultural property regarded as German from the eastern territories conquered by Germany, especially from Poland, in other words the looting of local museums and libraries. It is not clear what was exactly known at the Finno-Ugrian Society about his duties.<sup>69</sup>

The early stages of the war during the summer of 1941 appeared to be successful in an almost unreal manner. Finnish forces occupied East Karelia and the dream of Greater Finland seemed to be in the process of being realized. The Finno-Ugrian Society lent its linguistic expertise to the process of building Greater Finland already in the autumn of 1941, when together with a number of other organizations it submitted a proposal to Marshal Mannerheim, the commander-in-chief of the Finnish forces, regarding the codification of place names in East Karelia.<sup>70</sup>

In 1941 the State Scientific Committee for East Karelia was founded to lead research in the occupied areas. The learned societies representing the humanities noted that “national research within the humanities [...] is the field of study best suited for establishing the absolute ethnic and historical affinity of the new areas with the former territory of Finland.” The Finno-Ugrian Society sent only Lauri Posti to conduct research in the occupied areas, for the purpose of collecting material on the Veps language in 1942. In other respects, the so-

ciety concentrated on gathering material from prisoners of war taken by the Finnish Army. The political barriers that had hindered the collection of material for over two decades had been removed by military means, which the Society greeted with enthusiasm.

War-time research in East Karelia continued along established traditional lines. Already in the 19th century, natural scientists, linguists, collectors of folk poetry, architectural historians and artists had travelled in the region. The work conducted during the war can be compared to the collection of material carried out by Estonian scholars in Ingria and east of Lake Peipus, which had been made possible by the German occupation.<sup>71</sup>

During the Finnish-Soviet Continuation War of 1941–1944 some 64,000 Red Army soldiers were taken prisoner by the Finnish forces. It immediately became clear to the Finno-Ugrian Society in 1941 that this provided a rich material that was immediately at hand. The Society began to plan research involving prisoners of war in the autumn of 1941. Professor Konrad Nielsen (1875–1953) of Norway was invited to Finland to collect linguistic material from prisoners of war, but he could not come. An invitation was then sent to Dr. Jenő Juhász (1883–1960) of Hungary to study the Mordvins. Dr. Juhász came to Finland in the spring of 1942 to check his manuscript of a dictionary of the Moksha language. In addition material on various languages was collected by the Society's own researchers.<sup>72</sup>

At the same time, Estonian linguists, such as Julius Mägiste (1900–1978) and Paul Ariste (1905–1990) collected materials from prisoners of war taken by the Germans and brought by them to Estonia.<sup>73</sup>

The Finno-Ugrian Society was also linked in a way to German war plans. In 1942–1943 Paavo Ravila worked in Berlin at the Institut für Grenz- und Auslandsstudien (Institute for Border and Foreign Studies) where he edited cartographic material on the Finno-Ugrian peoples of Russia. The work for preparing the maps was related to German plans for the reorganization of Europe, in which, among others, the Mordvins studied by Ravila were to be given more territory at the cost of the Russians. With German examples in mind, Ravila proposed the founding of a special institute of East European studies in Finland, with both scientific and political duties and assembling the various interests of learned societies with regard to Russia, among other work. The research expeditions of linguists and ethnographers would also have been focused according to political needs, which would also have determined the work of the Finno-Ugrian Society. Ravila condemned Nazism after the war.<sup>74</sup>

The war with the Soviet Union ended in a treaty in the autumn of 1944. Finland was not to have East Karelia and instead it had to accept the peace terms

dictated by the Soviet Union, while not having to surrender. At least some of the prisoners of war who had been in Finland and had been interviewed by the Finno-Ugrian Society were given sentences of 5 to 8 years upon returning to the Soviet Union, but it remains unclear to what degree this was due to serving as informants for linguists. This problem was apparently not recognized in the Finno-Ugrian Society.<sup>75</sup>

## 8. Scholarly, ideological-political and practical factors defining the Finno-Ugrian Society's relationship with Russia

Factors of highly different kinds helped shape the relations of Finnish learned societies with Russia. They can be roughly divided into four groups, i.e. factors of an ideological or ideological-political nature, factors from within the discipline concerned and practical factors. Their relative proportions have varied at different times. Ideological factors include nationalism, internationalism, Finno-Ugrian ethnic affinity and the aim of Finland to establish an image of itself as a Western nation.

On the borderlines of the ideological political spheres were the relationship of Finns with Russians and Finnish anti-bolshevism after 1917. The most purely political impulses were the internal political situation of Russia/the Soviet Union and its political relations with Finland and other countries.

Above all, economic factors controlled relations with Russia among the learned societies.

From within actual research there arose the need to assemble designated material to solve specifically defined questions.

How did the above factors influence the relations of the Finno-Ugrian Society with Russia at different times? The influence of factors within research is the most unequivocal one. The need to collect material on Finno-Ugrian languages spoken in Russia and their related cultures was without exception a "pulling" factor drawing the Society closer to Russia, often neutralizing the "pushing" effect of ideological and political factors.

Nationalism in the 19th-century Herderian sense was a factor of identity permeating the Finno-Ugrian Society throughout its early stages. On the other hand, it was associated with a strong internationalist aspect in the case of several late 19th-century scholars such as Otto Donner, August Ahlqvist and J. R. Aspelin. Otto Donner appears to have sought cooperation with both east and west

from the very beginning. According to Matti Klinge, Ahlqvist's internationalism was above all of a Western orientation, seeking to distinguish itself from Russia and its Finno-Ugrians. On the other hand, his practical work on research expeditions in Russia made it necessary to cooperate with Russians. In addition, he was from Eastern Finland, where a tradition of loyalty to Russia had specifically emerged. During the 1870s J. R. Aspelin still sought to avoid all manner of commitment to the Russians, but by 1890 he, too, had changed his views. Affinity with the Finno-Ugrian peoples had not been particularly common among the early leaders of the Society, although it could already be recognized in some form for example in the case of J. R. Aspelin.<sup>76</sup>

There was a strong need to underscore Western identity. This could be demonstrated, for example, by engaging in research in a discipline where the results could be published for an international readership. In relation to Russia, this also meant the aim of marking a distinction with regard to the Russians, whom Finns did not always regard as a capable of engaging in scientific research. This, however, did not yet involve actual ethnic anti-Russian sentiment of the kind that spread around the turn of the century.<sup>77</sup>

The internal political situation in Russia did not particularly favour Finno-Ugrian research in the 1880s or later. On the other hand, it did not actually restrict such research until the early 1900s. The assassination of Alexander II, however, marked the end of a period of liberalism in the Russian Empire.<sup>78</sup>

The economic conditions of the early decades can easily be summarized as follows. The first thirty years of the Society were a period of growing affluence permitting an increasingly wider range of activity among the Finno-Ugrian peoples of Russia.<sup>79</sup>

The situation began to change in the early 1890s. The new researcher generation of the Finno-Ugrian Society adopted the approach of ethnic affinity more clearly than their predecessors. This brought them closer to the peoples whom they studied and whose own nationalist activities had gained pace, while arousing increasing suspicion of the Finno-Ugrian Society among the authorities. At the same time, Russia's stricter policies in its western border regions such as Finland began to generate increasing anti-Russian feeling. In addition internal unrest in Russia posed difficulties for the work. These factors were also reflected in the conditions upon which recipients of Finno-Ugrian Society grants were able to work in Russia. On the other hand, the Society's economic opportunities for conducting research also in distant eastern areas improved through numerous donations, among other factors.<sup>80</sup>

Major change was caused by the First World War. For practical reasons, research and other activities became impossible in Russia, which was crippled by the difficulties brought on by the war. After inflation had depleted funds,

conditions no longer permitted long-range activities. Ideological-political attitudes to Russia became more pointed as the Finnish independence movement began to gain support. On the other hand, for example E. N. Setälä, president of the Finno-Ugrian Society, still tried to dampen enthusiasm for independence rather than promote it, and the other leading figures of the society did not express their views publicly. In the late summer and autumn of 1917, Setälä was the vice-chairman (“prime minister”) of the Finnish Senate and he tried to negotiate with the interim government of Russia on arranging the position of Finland in the new political situation. Before long, however, he began to support national independence for Finland.<sup>81</sup>

The need for collecting material for research remained the same even after the revolutions in Russia and Finnish independence, but the ideological-political framework had changed. There was officially a state of war between Finland and Russia until October 1920, and relations remained strained even later. Ethnic-racial anti-Russian sentiment grew in Finland, and became associated with political anti-Bolshevism. In addition, there was emphasis on the national objects and ideals of all science and culture. As the ideology of ethnic affinity, which had become even stronger, now began to underline solidarity with other Finno-Ugrian peoples, the ideological relationship with Russia consisted even more clearly of two aspects – the relationship with the Russians and the relationship with the Finno-Ugrian peoples, which were regarded as opposites. In this situation the sympathies of the leading figures of the Finno-Ugrian Society were on the side of the Finno-Ugrians and against Russia and the Russians. The Society, however, had to avoid any explicit expression of this in order to restore its practical opportunities to work in the east. It thus found itself caught between political ideology and scholarship. This was also understood in the Soviet Union, where ideological factors gained the upper hand in the early 1930s in attitudes regarding the Finno-Ugrian Society and scholarly and scientific cooperation in general with foreign countries. As a result, the Finno-Ugrian Society’s relations with Russia in the interwar years remained random in nature and were marked by a recurring tendency to overcome ideological obstacles and to resume practical efforts in the former areas where it had worked. The Society’s economic situation gradually improved to the degree that such a return could have been possible for it. The Finno-Ugrian Society’s relationship with Russia was marked either by a position of principle or naiveté, which was expressed as the aim of attending to relations with the east upon the same principles as with the west.<sup>82</sup>

During and after the Winter War of 1939–1940 the Finno-Ugrian Society was a national actor in an increasingly distinct manner. The need for national unity that had been emphasized in war-time conditions called for this in outright terms. After the outbreak of the Continuation War (1941–1944), the advance of

the Finnish Army into East Karelia meant that practical obstacles to research were surmounted with arms. Through its activities, the Finno-Ugrian Society appeared to accept Finland's official foreign policy and military aims, although even now it did not express its views regarding them in any open manner. Ideologically, Russia/the Soviet Union as such suddenly ceased to exist; there was now only research material obtained from there. On the other hand, the possibility of research expeditions extending further east than East Karelia or relations with Russia when the war might end were not considered. In war-time conditions and with economic support from the state, the Finno-Ugrian Society tried to make the best possible use of the opportunities that it had at the time.

Attempts to continue collecting research material in Russia continued immediately after the war. While the political situation had changed in principle as Finland and the Soviet Union had arranged their relations, the former mutual ideological suspicion nonetheless survived. Nor had scientific and scholarly relations been arranged at a formal level, and nothing was possible without them. Moreover, the Finno-Ugrian Society's economic situation was so weak that no extensive expeditions according to the former model would even have been possible.

In 1955, after the death of Stalin, the Finnish-Soviet Committee for Scientific-Technological Cooperation was established and it provided the framework for activities. Nonetheless, expeditions were not possible. While the Finno-Ugrian Society gradually lost hope in this respect, individual initiatives were still made until the 1980s. It was only after the collapse of the Soviet Union that it became possible to collect material through extensive fieldwork, but interest in it in the same way as in the past was no longer felt within the Finno-Ugrian Society.<sup>83</sup>



## Endnotes

- 1 Anderson 2006; Hroch 1985; Nisbet 2006; Riikonen 2006; Häkkinen 2006; Branch 2006; Durrans 1994; Jones & Graves-Brown 1996; Díaz-Andreu 1996; Alapuro 1999; Upton 1999; Sihvo 1999; Geyer 1985; Stipa 1990: 241–244; Klinge 1989: 32–33, 39–40; Salminen 2003: 32, 67, 176–184.
- 2 Salminen 2008.
- 3 Stipa 1990: 167–168; Häkkinen 1996: 33–53; Salminen 2003: 36–37; Branch 1999: 129–134; Aalto 1971: 28–29.
- 4 Meinander 2006: 89–99, 108–114.
- 5 Branch 1999: 133–136; Jääts 2005: 40–71.
- 6 KA SUS correspondence: A. Schiefner to Otto Donner 12./24.11.1872, J. Budenz to Donner 30.12.1872, P. Hunfalvy to Donner 7.1.1873. *Pál Hunfalvy ja suomalaiset*, pp. 277–284 (Donner to Hunfalvy 12.11.1872, 19.11.1872, 16.12.1872, Hunfalvy to Donner 7.1.1873); Mikkola 1936: 103–104, 109–116 (Donner to Lönnrot 22.11.1872, 16.2.1873, Schiefner to Donner 12./24.11.1872, Budenz to Donner 30.12.1872, Hunfalvy to Donner 7.1.1873); *József Budenzin ja Otto Donnerin kirjeitä...*, pp. 40–46 (Donner to Budenz 19.11.1872, 16.12.1872, 17.12.1872, Budenz to Donner 30.12.1872). KA Donner 31 J. R. Aspelin to Donner 7.3.1874. Korhonen 1986: 103.
- 7 KA Donner 20: Plan för lingvistiska och arkeologiska forskningar angående de finska folken i Ryssland (three versions). Salminen 2003: 43–64 and references.
- 8 Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran viisikymmenvuotinen..., p. 157; Sulkunen 2004: 137–147, 190–192; Salminen 2003: 63–67, 71, 178–183.
- 9 KA SUS founding documents: Seura Suomen silta (proposed by-laws of the Suomen Silta Society). MV KIR SMY correspondence 1879–1882, unnumbered item pages 837–838: kehotus perust. Suomen Heimokansojen Seuraa (exhortation to establish the Finno-Ugrian Peoples' Society). Setälä 1932: 132–139; Rausmaa 2007: 12–13.
- 10 For more details, see Salminen 2008: 23–24.
- 11 KA SUS minutes 26.1., 23.2.1884, 22.3.1884, 17.1.1885; correspondence: Nikolaj Il'minskij to A. O. Heikel 28.9.1883, Heikel to Il'minskij 4./16.10.1883, the FUS to its honorary members 26.1.1884. Jääts 2005: 54–59, Appendix A (p. 267–); Lallukka 2003: 146–149; Salminen 2008: 13, 26.
- 12 KA SUS minutes 14.2., 16.5.1891, 20.2.1892. Salminen 2008: 31–36.
- 13 KA SUS minutes 16.5.1891. KA Setälä/K: Yrjö Wichmann to E. N. Setälä 16.9., 17.9.1891. Korhonen et al. 1983: 79–86. KA SUS/tut Wichmann copy of Yrjö Wichmann's travel journal 1901–1902 (31.5.1902) and of Wichmann's letter to Helmi Setälä 27.6.1902.
- 14 KA SUS/tut Wichmann, copy of Yrjö Wichmann's letters to Emil Forsström 10.8., 4.9.1891, 24.3.1892, copy of travel journal 1901–1902 (28.7.1902); see also e.g. SUS/tut Karjalainen: A. R. Niemi to K. F. Karjalainen 17.9.1898, s. d. 1899. KA Mikkola: Heikki Paasonen to J. J. Mikkola. d. 1902. KA Setälä/K: Wichmann to Setälä 16.9.1891, Mikkola to Setälä 9.2.1894, Paasonen to Setälä 2.7.1902, U. T. Sirelius to Setälä 7.7.1897. KA Donner 24: Paasonen to Donner 19.11.1899. SKS KIA Krohn: Karjalainen to Kaarle Krohn 12.2.1900. Karjalainen 1921: 73 (Karjalainen to Elsa Cleve 13.10.1898). Salminen 2003: 45.
- 15 Salminen 2003: 32, 67, 176–184; Salminen 2007: 101, 103–104.
- 16 KA SUS minutes 23.3.1889, 27.5.1898; correspondence: National Board of Industry to the FUS 19.4.1898. SFOu compte-r. annuel 1900: 38–39. Smeds 1996: 163–172; *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran julkaisut*, p. 1; Lilja 2007: 89.
- 17 KA SUS minutes 2.12.1893, 17.4.1894; correspondence: Vilhelm Thomsen to the FUS 26.11., 29.12.1893. Thomsen 1894, 1896; Salminen 2003: 71–100, 108–110; Hovdhaugen et al. 2000: 283–284.
- 18 KA SUS press clippings: Die deutsche Turfan-Expedition, von Professor Dr. Karl Geldner (Marburg), clipping from an unidentified newspaper ca. 1906. Lehtonen 1972: 35–36; Salminen 2003: 110–114; Le Calloc'h 1987: 13–15.
- 19 Salminen 2003: 91–107; Salminen 2007.
- 20 Mannerheim 2008: 6–8; Salminen 2008: 57–58.
- 21 Donner, O. 1897, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1904, 1908. See also KA SUS correspondence: Donner to the FUS, September 1898. Luntinen 2004a: 292–294; Luntinen 2004b: 304–305, 308–312, 323–326.
- 22 KA SUS board meeting minutes 2.4.1912; correspondence: G. J. Ramstedt to Karjalainen 15.1.1912. SFOu compte-r. ann. 1912: 33–34, 38. Halén 1998: 172–190.
- 23 Klinge 1997: 330, 344–358; Salminen 2008: 50, 214 (note 79).

- 24 See e.g. KA SUS correspondence: D. I. Richter's letters to Mikkola and the FUS 1902–1903, M. V. Latkin to the FUS 9.9.1906. SFOu compte-r. annuel 1900–1917. Cf. Lilja 2007: 44.
- 25 KA SUS correspondence: Sirelius's report draft s. d. 1907, copy of Wichmann's travel report to the Senate of the University of Helsinki 18.5.1907. SUS/tut Wichmann: copies of Wichmann's travel journal 1905–1906. SFOu compte-r. annuel 1907: 61–62. Paaskoski 2008: 49.
- 26 More extensively in Salminen 2008: 94–96.
- 27 SFOu compte-r. annuel 1910: 39–40.
- 28 KA SUS correspondence: Sergej Oldenburg to the FUS 6.4., 10.5.1911. KA Setälä/A 67: Draft of a letter from the FUS/Setälä to Oldenburg s. d. SFOu compte-r. annuel 1911: 23–24; 1912: 25. Korhonen et al. 1983: 214–219; Salminen 2008: 89; Tiitta 1994: 150–163.
- 29 KA SUS minutes 24.4.1909; board 18.11.1911; correspondence: Hannu-Pekka Lappalainen to the FUS 29.4.1981, attached with copies of documents concerning Wachtberg from the Office of the Governor-General (1909). SFOu rapp. ann. 1907: 56; 1909: 26, 31; 1910: 40. Ilomäki 2005: 77–79, 85–87.
- 30 KA SUS board 3.5.1908, 29.1.1910; correspondence: Vasilij Nalimov's letters to the FUS 1909. SFOu compte-r. ann. 1907: 60–61; 1908: 17–18; 1910: 37–38; 1913: 39.
- 31 Jääts 2005: 286–289; Sihvo 1999: 185–188; Sihvo 2003: 106–110, 119–126, 349; Salminen 2008: 42, 259–262; Salminen 2003: 100, 108, 111, 119, 129.
- 32 KA SUS board 26.10.1912, 21.1.1928. KA Setälä/K: Wichmann to Setälä 9.7.1912, Sirelius to Setälä 19.8.1912. Wichmann 1932: 2.
- 33 KA SUS correspondence: A. O. Väisänen to the FUS s. d. 1915, T. I. Itkonen to the FUS 29.2.1916; press clippings: Kuolanniemeltä, Esitelmä, jonka maist. T. I. Itkonen piti Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran viime kokouksessa, *Uusi Suometar* 19.10.1915. SFOu compte-r. ann. 1914: 49–51; 1915: 63. Korhonen et al. 1983: 240–244; Lehtisalo 1959: 157; Kettunen 1945: 222–223; Louheranta 2006: 220–226.
- 34 KA SUS press clippings: Suomen asiat venäläisissä lehdissä, clipping (*Uusi Suometar?*) 7.5.1915. SFOu compte-r. ann. 1915: 63–64. On Borodkin's polemic relationship with Finland, see Jussila 2004: 575–581, 592–595.
- 35 KA SUS minutes 20.2.1915; board 1.3., 17.4.1915; SUS/tut Karjalainen: Setälä to Karjalainen 1.3.1915. KA Setälä/A 67: draft of a letter from the FUS/Setälä to the Senate of Finland s. d. 1915. SFOu compte-r. ann. 1916: 42. Klinge et al. 1989: 906–916.
- 36 KA SUS minutes 19.5.1917; correspondence: The Volga Region Federation of Small Peoples to the FUS 24.3.1917 and the text of the reply from the FUS s. d. SFOu compte-r. annuel 1917: 50–51. Lallukka 2003: 153–162.
- 37 Klinge et al. 1990: 19; Sihvo 2003: 375.
- 38 KA SUS correspondence: the FUS to the Finnish Senate 28.5.1918. SFOu compte-r. ann. 1917: 45–47.
- 39 KA SUS minutes 22.4., 9.11.1922; correspondence: Toivo Kaukoranta to the FUS 22.10.1926. Michelsen 2002: 149, 180–181; Häkkinen 1993: 28–29, 35; Nygård 1978: 45; Vares & Häkkinen 2001: 369–371, 382–392; Ahti 1987: 14, 43, 47, 84, 105–111, 131–146, 153, 183; Louheranta 2006: 161–162; Karemaa 1998: 126–127, 131–132; Sepp 2005: 148–164; Kuusi & Aitola 1991: 368–492.
- 40 Vares & Häkkinen 2001: 440–446.
- 41 KA SUS minutes 2.12.1921, board 21.9.1933. SFOu compte-r. ann. 1921: 68–69. Setälä 1932: 96–101, 121–123; Nygård 1980: 61–65, 72, 96; Nevalainen 1999: 21–35, 40–42 etc.; Salminen 2008: 117–121.
- 42 KA SUS board 16.2.1924; correspondence: Igon Mössheg to the FUS 18.3.1959. Mössheg 1922: 5–7, 15–22; Mössheg 1924: 167–175; Mössheg 1930 etc.
- 43 Halén 1998: 290–293.
- 44 KA SUS minutes 21.10.1922, 2.12.1924, 21.11.1925; correspondence: the Tjumen' Scientific Association to the FUS 25.3.1922. Paaskoski 2008: 120–122.
- 45 KA SUS minutes 9.11.1922, 16.2.1924, 25.4.1925, 19.2.1927 etc., board 26.5.1923, 16.2., 31.5.1924, 19.2., 21.5.1927, 17.11.1928, 19.1., 23.2.1929 etc.; correspondence: the Finnish Embassy in Moscow to Sirelius 24.2.1927, Timofej Evsev'ev to the FUS 29.3., 6.10.1928. SFOu compte-r. ann. 1924: 9; 1928: 60; 1929: 104–105.
- 46 KA SUS minutes 20.2.1926, 2.12.1926, 19.2.1927, board 19.2.1927; correspondence: the Finnish Embassy in Moscow to the FUS 5.4.1924; Mikkola and Jalo Kalima to the FUS 20.11.1926, V. I. Lytkin to the FUS 15.1., 22.8.1927, 29.1.1929, the FUS to Lytkin 6.11.1928. Turkin 1997.
- 47 Gerd 1993: XIII–XIV; Kokkonen 1996; Vihavainen 2004: 404–407, 413–414; Lehtinen 1985: 18; Попов 1992: 106–108, 111; Juntunen 1999.
- 48 KA SUS board 23.4., 21.5.1927, 21.1.1928.

- 49 KA SUS board 21.1., 18.2., 25.2., 7.5., 19.5.1928; correspondence: drafts of FUS application to the Finnish Ministry of Education 8.9., 18.11.1927, Ministry of Education to the Governor of Uusimaa Province 15.12.1927, the FUS to the Soviet Academy of Sciences 26.3.1928, the FUS to Pontus Artti s. d. 1928, the FUS to D. V. Bubrix 24.3.1928, Artturi Kannisto to the Soviet Ambassador to Finland 26.4.1928, Paavo Ravila to the Institute of the Eastern Peoples of Leningrad 21.5.1928, Ravila to the Soviet Ambassador to Finland s. d. 1928, Ravila to an unidentified recipient 21.5.1928.
- 50 KA SUS board 15.9.1928, 23.2., 20.4.1929; correspondence: Artti to the Finnish Foreign Ministry 9.2.1928, the FUS to Artti. KA SUS/tut Ravila: Bubrix's letters to Ravila *passim* (16 letters from 1928). SKS KIA Wichmann: Kannisto to Wichmann 19.8.1928, Julius Mark to Wichmann 13.2.1928. SFOu compte-r. ann. 1928: 56–58, 60.
- 51 KA SUS board 20.2.1926; correspondence: Mark to the FUS 18.2.1926, 18.1.1928. KA SUS/tut Kannisto: Mark to Kannisto 22.4., 11.6.1928. Mark 1932; Ariste 1987: 677; Vihavainen 2004: 390–392.
- 52 KA SUS board 2.6.1928; correspondence: A. M. Tallgren to the FUS 21.5.1928. KA SUS/tut Ravila: Bubrix to Ravila 2.11.1928. Salminen 2003: 147.
- 53 KA SUS board 18.2., 2.6.1928, 20.4., 21.9.1929; correspondence: the FUS to Oldenburg 23.8.1927, the FUS to V. G. Bogoraz-Tan 23.8.1927, Oldenburg to the FUS 16.9.1927, the FUS to P. I. Vorob'ev 15.10.1927, the Institute of the Eastern Peoples of Leningrad to the FUS 25.1., 2.2., 30.5.1928, the FUS to Vorob'ev s. d. 1928 (two letters), the Consulate General of Finland in St. Petersburg to the FUS 1.6.1928, the Finnish Embassy in Moscow to the FUS 21.2., 14.3.1929. KA SUS/tut Kannisto: Bubrix to Kannisto 24.2.1928. SFOu compte-r. ann. 1928: 56–58. Lehtisalo 1930; Sotavalta 1930; Salminen 2008: 127–129.
- 54 KA SUS minutes 25.5.1929; correspondence: Artti to Kannisto 24.1.1929, Artti to the Finnish Foreign Ministry 18.9.1929, Kannisto to Artti 22.10.1929. KA SUS/tut Kannisto: Ravila to Kannisto 12.6., 17.6.1929. SKS KIA Wichmann: Kannisto Wichmann 23.7.1929. SFOu compte-r. ann. 1929: 103. Ravila 1932; Alhoniemi 2004.
- 55 KA SUS board 19.10.1929, 18.2., 17.3., 22.9.1932; correspondence: the FUS to P. V. Filipov 5.1.1930. KA SUS/tut Kannisto: Ravila to Kannisto 9.10., 13.11., 27.11.1929. SFOu compte-r. ann. 1930: 117.
- 56 KA SUS minutes 2.12.1927, 19.5.1928, board 25.5.1929; correspondence: Pontus Artti to the Finnish Foreign Ministry 19.11.1927, Kaarlo Blomstedt to the FUS 30.11.1927, the Finnish Historical Society to the FUS 4.5.1928, the State Archives et al. the Ministry of Education 5.3.1928, Albert Hämäläinen and Ragnar Rosén to the Archive Research Committee 19.2.1929; Hämäläinen and Kalima to the FUS S 12.2.1935.
- 57 KA SUS minutes 19.5.1932, board 27.5.1933, 25.1.1934, 25.4.1936. SKS KIA Wichmann: Uotila to Wichmann 21.5., 19.6., 19.7.1930. SFOu compte-r. ann. 1930: 118–119; 1932: 24. Halén 1989: 101–102.
- 58 KA SUS board 21.1., 19.5.1932; correspondence: Kauno Järvinen to the Finnish Foreign Ministry 10.12.1931, 14.4.1932, Garri Kazakov & Olyk Ipaj to the FUS 6.2., 6.4.1932. Bartens 2007: 166–171.
- 59 Tallgren 1932; Tallgren 1936; Худяков 1931: 29; Худяков 1934; Гольмстен 1932; Быковский 1932; Salminen 2003: 147–149 and references; Leete 2007: 137–144, 158–159, 167–180, 189–220, 274–288, 328–335 etc.; Halén 1989: 4–6.
- 60 Пальвадре 1931; Salminen 2003: 148 and references.
- 61 Donner, K. 1932, especially page 11.
- 62 KA SUS board 24.9.1931, 21.4.1932, 26.5.1934; correspondence: Lauri Kettunen to the FUS 23.5.1934, S. Makar'ev to the FUS 14.5.1931, 29.3.1932, 29.11.1933, VOKS/A. Majskaja letter of attachment 4.6.1931. KA SUS/tut Kannisto: Kettunen to Kannisto 10.7., 13.7., 17.8.1934. KA Setälä/K: Mikkola to Setälä 23.7.1932. SFOu compte-r. annuel 1934: 54–55. Kettunen 1941–1942; Tunkelo 1946: XXII; Suhonen 1988: 255.
- 63 KA SUS minutes 27.4.1935, board 27.4.1935; correspondence: Mikkola et al. to the FUS s. d. May. 1935. Tallgren 1936; Salminen 2003: 149 and references; Kinnunen 1998: 34; Salminen 2008: 121–132 and references.
- 64 KA SUS board 27.4.1935; correspondence: Wolfgang Steinitz to Setälä 14.2.1934, Steinitz to the FUS 20.4., 27.4.1935, 19.5.1950, the FUS to Steinitz 9.6.1950. Winkler 2000: 14–; Герасимова 2000: 32; Vihavainen 2004: 409.
- 65 KA SUS minutes 23.10.1937. Kettunen 1960: 247.
- 66 KA SUS minutes 18.1.1930, 4.3.1935; correspondence: Research Association of the Institute of the Northern Peoples to the FUS 23.5.1935, Bogoraz-Tan to the FUS 9.2.1939. The Institute of the Northern Peoples was the former Northern Faculty of the Institute of the Eastern Peoples, which became a separate organization in the late 1930s.

- 67 More extensively in Salminen 2008: 133–141.
- 68 KA SUS board 10.10.1941. Kinnunen 1998: 57–58, 60; Herlin 1993: 136–138.
- 69 KA SUS minutes 16.11., 2.12.1940, board 16.11.1940. Dehnel 2006; Lixfeld 1991; Paaskoski 2008: 149–152. Nikolaj (Nikolaus, Nicholas) Poppe, elected as an associate member of the FUS in 1930, worked from 1943 to 1945 at the Wannsee Institute, operating under the authority of the SS. The Institute's ethnic reports concerning the Soviet Union were also used to trace and exterminate Soviet Jews. Although Poppe denied any participation in the persecution of the Jews, the nature of his activities has remained unclear. Oppenheimer 1997.
- 70 KA SUS minutes 10.10.1941, board 2.12.1941.
- 71 KA SUS board 24.1., 21.2.1942; correspondence: the FUS and other societies to the State Scientific Committee for East Karelia 23.2.1942. Sihvo 1999, 2003; Hietala 2006: 99; Kaarninen 2006: 182–183, 191–200; Laine 1993: 100–164; Michelsen 2002: 189–193; Hietala 2002: 513; Talve 1990; Mägiste 1959: 11–13; Rui 2006: 325; Tanner 2007: 128–133; Pimiä 2007: 103–104; Salminen 2008: 148–151; see also Ariste 1985: 746.
- 72 KA SUS minutes 20.2.1943, board 2.12., 17.12.1941, 21.2., 18.4.1942, 20.2., 20.3.1943; correspondence: Kaino Heikkilä to Kannisto 7.4., 10.5., 10.6.1942, the FUS to Jenő Juhász s. d. 1941, Juhász to the FUS 2.1., 28.1., 10.2., 2.3., 28.3., 16.5.1942. SFOu compte-r. ann. 1942: 25–26. Pimiä 2007: 14, 148, 201–226.
- According to records received by Lauri Posti in June 1942 from the Prisoner of War Office of the Finnish GHQ, the prisoner of war camps at the time contained 430 Mordvins, 120 Maris, 86 Udmurts, 130 Komis, one Saami, three Khantys, and 101 Vepses. Information was later received concerning at least two Khantys and two Mansis. Posti to Kannisto 18.6.1942. Penttilä 1942: 148–157.
- 73 KA SUS correspondence: Julius Mägiste to the FUS 29.11.1949. See e.g. Virtaranta 1984: 220.
- 74 Hietala 2006: 91–93, 114–117; Eskola 2004: 293; Pimiä 2007: 233; Paaskoski 2008: 152–153.
- 75 Pimiä 2007: 231, 237; Frolov 2005.
- 76 Klinge et al. 1989: 569, 633–634; Joki 1977: 60–61; Väisänen 2001; Salminen 2001; Salminen 2003: 46–47, 96–97, 168, 176–184; Sulkunen 2004: 95–96, 106, 135–137.
- 77 Smeds 1996: 165–166; Salminen 2008: 19–20; Salminen 2003: 31–33, 45–46, 52, 65, 101.
- 78 Jussila 2004: 249–256; Luntinen 2004a: 261–264, 280–282, 285.
- 79 Summarized in Salminen 2008: 269.
- 80 Luntinen 2004a: 291; Karemaa 1998: 18–20; Salminen 2008: 31–36; Jussila 2004: 467–691; Klinge 1997: 344–358. Cf. also Karjahärm & Sirk 1997: 275–277.
- 81 Zetterberg 2004: 327–333; Vares & Häkkinen 2001: 302–331.
- 82 Karemaa 1998 passim; Salminen 2008: 103–113, 121–132.
- 83 More extensively in Salminen 2008: 166–170, 189–200.

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English translation by Jüri Kokkonen

Seppo SUHONEN (Helsinki)

## Keitä olivat Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran perustajat?

*Puhe Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran juhlaillallisilla 2.12.2008 Hotel Kämpin peilisalissa*

Tänä juhlaillatana voisimme kysyä, millaista väkeä oikeastaan olivat seuramme perustamisasiakirjan 113 allekirjoittajaa? Heistä on kyllä lyhyt katsaus Timo Salmisen (2008) uudessa historiateoksessa, mutta kysymystä on aihetta pohdittava vielä tarkemmin. Olen käynyt läpi heidän henkilöhistoriansa niin pitkälle kuin on onnistunut. Heidän historiallista merkittävyyttään voi päätellä siitakin, että uudessa Kansallisbiografiassa heistä on mainittu 80 eli 70 %. Tämä joukko on varmaan edustavimpia tieteellisten seurojemme historiassa. Varsinaisessa perustavassa kokouksessa oli läsnä vain 18 henkeä, jotka sisältyvät tuohon 113:n joukkoon.

Ensiksi on pantava merkille, että perustajien joukossa on mainittu Matias Aleksanteri Castrénin poika, historiantutkija ja valtiopäiväedustaja *Robert Castrén*, joka ehti kuolla samana vuonna. Hän oli Matiauksen ainoa lapsi ja vain yhdeksänkuinen isän kuollessa. Seuran perustamisen aikoihin hän oli *Helsingfors Dagbladin* päätoimittaja. Pieninä finesseinä kannattaa ehkä mainita, että J. V. Snellman oli ollut yksi Robertin tädin Sofi Tengströmin kosijoista, ja Robertin äidin ja tädin äitipuoli Carolina Tengström taas oli J. L. Runebergin puolison Fredrikan sisko.

Sitten voi perustajista poimia muutamia miehiä yhteiskunnan huipulta. Ensinnäkin silloinen kenraalikuvernööri *Feodor Logginovitš Heiden*, arvolutaankin jalkaväenkenraali. Edelleen joukkoon kuuluvat Suomen sotaväen päällikkö *Georg Edvard Ramsay*, Munkkiniemen kartanon omistaja, prokuraattori eli oikeuskansleri *Robert Montgomery*, ministerivaltiosihteeri ja yliopiston vt. kansleri *Theodor Bruun* ja edellinen ministerivaltiosihteeri *Emil Stjernvall-Walleen* sekä Suomen asiain komitean jäsen (Pietarissa) *Victor von Haartman*.

Silloisia senaattoreita olivat *Leo Mechelin*, *Herman Molander*, *Christian Theodor Oker-Blom* (Helsingin yliopiston entisen rehtorin Nils Oker-Blomin sukua) ja *Johan Philip Palmén*. Heistä *Herman Molander* on seuramme kannalta erityisen tärkeä, kun hänestä tuli seuran ensimmäinen esimies yhdeksäksi vuodeksi. Hän oli vapaaherra ja sekä todellinen valtioneuvos (1860) että salaneuvos



Professor Seppo Suhonen delivering his speech in the Mirror Room at Hotel Kämp on December 2nd, 2008. On the left, Professor Juha Janhunen and Docent Aura Korppi-Tommola; on the right facing, Professor Ulla-Maija Kulonen, Harry Halén, Doctor of Honour, and Professor Sirkka Saarinen. In front with backs to camera, Professors Riho Grünthal, M.M.Jocelyne Fernandez-Vest and Alho Alhoniemi.

(1875). Hän osallistui ritariston ja aatelin edustajana kaikkiin valtiopäiviin 34 vuoden aikana.

Valtiopäiväedustajia oli kahdeksan: *Jaakko Forsman, Wilhelm Hackman, Joachim Kurtén, Gustaf Adolf Lindblom, Agathon Meurman, Christian Theodor Oker-Blom, Ernst Gustaf Palmén ja August Schauman.*

Kun kyseessä on tieteellinen seura, voi ensiksi katsoa sitä, millainen oli akateemisen väen ja nimenomaan professorien edustus perustajissa.

## 1. Professorit

Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran perustajiin kuului 18 virassa olevaa professoria kaikista tiedekunnista, ja lisäksi muutamat olivat hoitaneet aikaisemmin jotakin toista professuuria: teologisesta (2), oikeustieteellisestä (1), lääketieteellisestä (3) ja filosofisen tiedekunnan kummastakin osastosta, historiallis-kielitieteellisestä (8) ja matemaattis-luonnontieteellisestä (4). He edustivat 18:aa eri oppiainetta.



Heidän edustamansa oppiaineet olivat (\* = filosofinen tiedekunta) \*Pohjoismaiden arkeologia, eläintiede ja vertaileva anatomia, \*estetiikka ja nykyiskansain kirjallisuus, \*filosofia, fysiologia, geologia ja mineralogia, \*Kreikan kieli ja kirjallisuus, käytännöllinen teologia, \*yleinen historia, \*Suomen ja Skandinavian historia, kemia, lapsenpäästöoppi ja lastentaudit, patologinen anatomia ja oikeuslääkeoppi, \*sanskrit ja vertaileva kielentutkimus, siviilioikeus ja roomalainen oikeus, \*suomen kieli ja kirjallisuus sekä tähtitiede.

Lisäksi joukkoon kuului 11 emeritusta, mukana mm. suomen kielen professori *Elias Lönnrot* ja historian professori *Zachris Topelius*. He edustivat seuraavia tiedekuntia: filosofisen tiedekunnan historiallis-kielitieteellinen osasto (4), matemaattis-luonnontieteellinen osasto (2), teologinen (2) ja oikeustieteellinen tiedekunta (3). Emeritusten edustamista oppiaineista tuli edellä mainittujen 18:n lisäksi kuusi oppiainetta, niin että edusteilla oli 24 oppiainetta. Nämä emeritusten lisäaineet olivat \*kasvatus- ja opetusoppi, dogmatiikka ja siveysoppi, matematiikka, lainoppi ja valtio-oikeus, siviililainoppi ja roomalainen oikeus, rikos- ja valtio-oikeus sekä venäläinen lainoppi.

Siten neljännes seuramme perustajista oli yliopiston professoreita. Voi huomata, että vaikka oli kyseessä humanistisen tieteellisen seuran perustaminen, niin humanistiprofessoreja oli alle puolet (kaikki 29 professoria huomioon ottaen historiallis-kielitieteellisestä osastosta 12 professoria, 41 %).

Professoreihin kuuluivat myös kolmen tiedekunnan dekaanit: historiallis-kielitieteellisestä osastosta *August Ahlqvist*, lainopillisesta tiedekunnasta *Jaakko Forsman* ja teologisesta tiedekunnasta *Herman Råbergh* sekä pari entistä dekaania. Kreikan kirjallisuuden professori *Wilhelm Lagus* oli yliopiston rehtori.

## Virassa olevat professorit

Filosofisen tiedekunnan historiallis-kielitieteellinen osasto (8)

### Arkeologia:

- pohjoismaisen arkeologian ylimääräinen professori (1878–1885) *Johan Reinhold Aspelin*

### Filosofia:

- käytännöllisen filosofian ylimääräinen professori (1880–1884) *Frithiof Perander*

### Historia:

- yleisen historian professori (1880–1913) *Johan Richard Danielson-Kalmari*
- Suomen ja Skandinavian historian vt. professori (1882–1884) *Ernst Gustaf Palmén*

## Kielitiede:

- sanskritin ja vertailevan kielentutkimuksen (ylimääräinen) professori (1875–1905) *Otto Donner*
- suomen kielen ja kirjallisuuden professori (1863–1888) *August Ahlqvist*

## Kirjallisuudentutkimus:

- estetiikan ja nykyiskansain kirjallisuuden professori (1868–1898) *Carl Gustaf Estlander*
- Kreikan kirjallisuuden professori (1866–1886) *Wilhelm Lagus*

## Filosofisen tiedekunnan matemaattis-luonnontieteellinen osasto (4)

- eläintieteen professori (1882–1884) *Johan Axel Palmén*
- geologian ja mineralogian professori (1877–1898) *Fredrik Johan Wiik*
- kemian professori (1882–1907) *Edvard Immanuel Hjelt*
- tähtitieteen professori (1883–1915) *Anders Donner*

## Teologinen tiedekunta (2)

- kirkkohistorian professori (1872–1892) *Herman Råbergh*
- käytännöllisen teologian professori (1883–1897) *Otto Immanuel Colliander*

## Oikeustieteellinen tiedekunta (1)

- rikoslainopin ja oikeushistorian professori (1880–1881, 1883–1885) *Jaakko Forsman*

## Lääketieteellinen tiedekunta (3)

- fysiologian professori (1882–1899) *Konrad Hällstén*
- lapsenpäästöopin ja lastentautien professori (1870–1887) *Josef Adam Joachim Pippingsköld*
- patologisen anatomian professori (1859–1885) *Otto Edvard August Hjelt*

## Emeritukset

## Filosofisen tiedekunnan historiallis-kielitieteellinen osasto (4)

- kasvatusta ja opetusopin professori (1862–1882) *Zacharias Cleve*
- suomen kielen professori (1853–1862) *Elias Lönnrot*

- Suomen, Venäjän ja Pohjoismaiden historian professori (1863–1876) *Zachris Topelius*
- Suomen, Venäjän ja Pohjoismaiden historian professori (1863–1876) *Yrjö Koskinen* = *Yrjö-Koskinen*, vuoteen 1884 *Georg Zacharias Forsman*

Filosofisen tiedekunnan matemaattis-luonnontieteellinen osasto (2)

- eläintieteen professori (1869–1874) *Anders Johan Malmgren*
- matematiikan professori (1857–1874) *Lorenz Lindelöf*

Teologinen tiedekunta (2)

- käytännöllisen teologian professori (1867–1875) *Carl Gustaf von Essen*
- dogmatiikan ja siveysopin professori (1854–1870) *Axel Fredrik Granfelt*

Oikeustieteellinen tiedekunta (3)

- lainopin ja valtio-oikeuden professori (1874–1882) *Leo Mechelin*
- lainopin (siviililainopin ja roomalaisen oikeuden) professori (1870–1882) *Robert Montgomery*
- lainopin (rikos- ja valtio-oikeuden sekä venäläisen lainopin) professori (1844–1857) *Johan Philip Palmén*

## 2. Talouselämän edustajat

Perustajiin kuului myös 24 talouselämän vahvaa vaikuttajaa eri puolilta Suomea. Heidän edustamistaan laitoksista monet ovat aivan keskeisiä nyky-Suomessakin. He olivat seuraavat:

Nokia Ab:n perustaja, hallituksen puheenjohtaja ja toimitusjohtaja *Fredrik Idestam*.

Teollisuudenharjoittaja, kauppaneuvos *Antti Ahlström*. Hän oli *Otto Malmin* ohella Suomen varakkaimpia henkilöitä.

Hackman & Co:n pääjohtaja *Wilhelm Hackman*.

Teollisuusyrittäjä *Wilhelm Rosenlew* Porista, Porin kaupunginvaltuuston varapuheenjohtaja. Hän loi kauppuhuoneestaan yhden Suomen merkittävimmistä teollisuusyrityksistä, jonka perustana olivat menestyvät höyrysahat.

Kauppaneuvos ja tupakkatehtailija *Fredric Rettig* Turusta, myöhemmin aateloituna *von Rettig*.

Ja luettelo jatkuu:

Paperitehtaan perustaja *Gustaf Adolf Serlachius*. Hän rakensi Mäntästä teollisuuskeskuksen, johon kuuluivat puuhiomo sekä pahvi- ja paperitehdas.

Kauppias ja teollisuudenharjoittaja *Gustaf Ranin* Kuopiosta. Hän oli olutpanimon omistaja ja Koljonniemen höyrymyllyn perustaja ja toimi aktiivisesti myös pankkimaaailmassa, mm. Kuopion säästöpankin perustajana ja 18 vuotta sen johtokunnan puheenjohtajana.

Tervakosken paperitehtaan johtaja *Adolf Fredrik Wasenius*. Hänen hyvät liikesuhteensa Venäjälle ja Baltiaan osoittautuivat 1860-luvun nälkävuosina elintärkeiksi Suomelle.

Kauppaneuvos, teollisuusyrittäjä *Gustaf Adolf Lindblom*, joka oli Akaan höyrysahan johtaja ja jolla oli kauppa- ja laivanvarustusliike Turussa, ja hän kuului Kymi-yhtiön perustajiin.

Kauppaneuvos *Otto Malm*, Malmin kauppahuoneen omistaja ja johtaja Pietarsaaresta.

Sahanomistaja ja tehtailija *Johan Parviainen*, joka oli Rautatehtaan osakas Karstulassa ja oli perustanut Jyväskylän Viina-keittiö-Osakeyhtiön.

Karhulan tehtaiden perustaja ja johtaja *William Ruth*. Tähän teollisuuskeskukseen kuuluivat saha, puuhiomo, lasitehdas ja konepaja.

Teollisuudenharjoittajat ja suurlahjoittajat *Ernst* ja *Magnus Dahlström*. Näiden Dahlströmin veljesten lahjoitusten huipentumat olivat Turun Taide museo ja Åbo Akademi.

Turusta oli myös Pohjoismaiden Osakepankin Turun konttorin johtaja *Victor Forselius*.

Vaasaa edusti Vaasan Osake-Pankin johtaja *Joachim Kurtén*, paleontologi Björn Kurténin isoisä.

Tunnettuja helsinkiläisiä talouselämän edustajia olivat seuraavat:

Tehtailija, kauppias, kauppaneuvos *Leonard Borgström*.

Valtiokonttorin tirehtööri *Isak Fellman*.

Weilin & Göösin toimitusjohtaja *Karl Gustaf Göös*.

Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Kirjapainon toimitusjohtaja (1878–) ja myös yksi painoyhtiön pääomistajia *Viktor Löfgren* (myöhempi *Lounasmaa*).

Kauppias ja kauppaneuvos *Georg Franz Stockmann*, joka oli tullut Suomeen 1852 Lyypekistä. Liike oli silloin nykyisen Kiseleffin Talon tiloissa ja työntekijöitä oli tusinan verran.

Olutpanimo Sinebrychoffin johto oli mukana kolmen hengen voimin: ainoana perustajana osena kauppaneuvoksetar *Anna Sinebrychoff* ja hänen poikansa *Nicolas* ja *Paul*, joista *Nicolas* oli silloin tehtaan johtaja.

### 3. Perustajia suvuittain ja perheittäin

Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran perustajien joukossa oli useita sellaisia, jotka olivat keskenään lähisukulaisia. Tällaisia ryhmiä oli seitsemän.

Veljeksiä olivat estetiikan ja taidehistorian dosentti (myöhemmin estetiikan ja nykyiskansain kirjallisuuden professori) *Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä* ja pohjoismaisen arkeologian professori *Johan Reinhold Aspelin* sekä teologian emeritusprofessori *Axel Fredrik Granfelt* ja teologian tohtori *August Edvard Granfelt*. Tätä Granfeltien sukuahan oli sittemmin myös akateemikko Matti Kuusi.

Sanskritin ja vertailevan kielentutkimuksen (ylimääräinen) professori *Otto Donner* oli tähtitieteen professori *Anders Donnerin* setä. He olivat myös perustavassa kokouksessa 15.11.1883.

Patologisen anatomian professori *Otto Edvard August Hjelt* oli kemian professori *Edvard Immanuel Hjeltin* isä. Hekin olivat myös perustavassa kokouksessa.

Eläintieteen professori *Johan Axel Palmén* oli historian professori *Ernst Gustaf Palménin* velipuoli, ja he olivat senaattori *Johan Philip Palménin* poikia. Historian professori *Ernst Gustaf* oli meidän monien tunteman rehtorin ja kanslerin *Ernst Palménin* isoisä.

On jo tullut mainituksi, että *Anna Sinebrychoff* oli poikiensa *Nicolaksen* ja *Paulin* kanssa mukana.

Sukulaisia keskenään olivat myös Suomen Pankin johtokunnan puheenjohtaja *Axel Gustaf Samuel von Troil* ja Helsingin kaupunginvaltuuston ensimmäinen puheenjohtaja *Samuel Werner von Troil*. Kumpikin olivat eri aikoina myös senaattoreja.

Sama sukunimi oli myös lääninprovasti, tohtori *August Edvard Granfeltillä* ja professori *Axel Fredrik Granfeltillä*, eversti *Lars Emil von Haartmanilla* ja senaattori *Victor von Haartmanilla* sekä professori *Osvald Wasastjernalla* ja senaattori *Wiktor Wasastjernalla*.



Perustavassa kokouksessa olivat läsnä *Eliel Aspelin*, *Johan Reinhold Aspelin* (arkeologia), *Uno Cygnaeus* (yli-inspehtori eli kansakoulujen ylitarkastaja, pappi), *Johan Richard Danielson* (historia), *Anders Donner* (tähtitiede), *Otto Donner* (sanskrit), *Jaakko Forsman* (lakitiede), *E. Hj. Furuhjelm* (vuorimestari), *Berndt Fredrik Godenhjelm*, *Karl Gustaf Göös*, *Edvard Immanuel Hjelt* (kemia), *Otto Edvard August Hjelt* (anatomia), *Wilhelm Lagus* (Kreikan kirjallisuus),

*Anders Johan Malmgren* (eläintiede, em.), *Agathon Meurman*, *Adolf Moberg* (valtioneuvos), *Frithiof Perander* (filosofia; ylioppilastutkintolautakunnan jäsen, Härmäläis-Osakunnan inspektori) ja *August Schauman* (ritariston ja aatelin edustaja valtiopäivillä). 18 läsnäolleesta professoreita oli 8, joista filosofisesta tiedekunnasta 5; lisäksi dosentti *Eliel Aspelin* (-*Haapkylä*) (kirjallisuudentutkimus), ja *Berndt Fredrik Godenhjelm* lienee ollut kielten lehtori eli niukka humanistien enemmistö.

Muut perustajat olivat kuvernööri *Edvard von Ammondt*, tohtori *Carl Henrik Bartram*, senaattori *Sune Björkstén*, kanslianeuvos *Carl Gustaf Borg*, hovineuvos *Alexander Wilhelm Brummer*, hovioikeuden asessori *Ludvig Gustaf Leonhard Clouberg*, kreivi, kuvernööri *Carl Magnus Creutz*, vapaaherra, pankintirehtori *Johan Cronstedt*, kenraaliluutnantti *Casimir Ehrnrooth*, yliopettaja *Karl Ervast*, Hämeenlinnan normaalilyseon yliopettaja *Johan Gabriel Geitlin*, senaattori *Gustaf Fredrik Gejtelt*, lääninprovasti, tohtori *August Edvard Granfelt*, salaneuvos *Jakob Grot*, eversti *Georg Oskar Gräsbeck*, kauppias *J. G. Grönfors*, eversti *Lars Emil von Haartman*, senaattori *Victor von Haartman*, asessori *Herman Hallonblad*, yliopiston voimistelulaitoksen yliopettaja *Frans Victor Heikel*, vapaaherra, maanviljelijä *Edvard Hisinger*, Tilastollisen päätoimiston johtaja ja Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen puheenjohtaja *Karl Emil Ferdinand Ignatius*, konsuli *John Julin*, yli-inspektori *Axel Fredrik Laurell*, kenraalimajuri, Suomen Taideteollisuusyhdistyksen puheenjohtaja *Julius af Lindfors*, kalastuksentarkastaja, Helsingin kaupunginvaltuuston varapuheenjohtaja *Anders Johan Malmgren*, Liuksialan kartanonomistaja ja talonpoikais-säädyn valtiopäiväedustaja, kunnallisneuvos *Agathon Meurman*, raatimies *Gabriel Revell*, presidentti *Gustaf Fredrik Rotkirch*, pormestari *J. G. Sahlman*, *Hufvudstadsbladetin* perustaja ja julkaisija, Helsingin kaupunginvaltuuston jäsen *August Schauman*, kapteeni ("katteini") *Carl Gustaf Sanmark*, senaattori *Theodor Sederholm*, tullinhoitaja *Wilhelm Sourander*, varatuomari *Hjalmar Sundel*, kauppaneuvos *Carl Wilhelm Sundman*, *Kasvatusopillisen Yhdistyksen Aikakauskirjan* päätoimittaja, yli-inspektori (kouluhallituksen ylitarkastaja) *Carl Synnerberg*, pormestari *Isidor Taucher*, senaatinkamreeri *Axel Tavaststjerna*, pankin tirehtori *Eugen Wallenius*, professori *Osvald Wasastjerna*, senaattori *Wiktör Wasastjerna*, kirjanpainaja *Gustaf Wilhelm Wilén*, kenraalitrehtori *Felix von Willebrand* ja Mustialan maanviljelysopiston rehtori *Carl Anders Zitting*.

Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran perustajat olivat siis harvinaisen ja voi sanoa uskomattoman arvovaltaista ja ihmeellisen monialaista väkeä. Se on ymmärrettävää sitä taustaa vasten, että silloin oltiin luomassa sivistys-Suomea. Elettiin seurojen perustamisbuumia. Useat olivat monen muunkin seuran perustajia tai toimimiehiä. Myös talouselämä ja virkavalta tunsivat kiinnostusta uusien tie-

teellisten yhteisöjen luomista kohtaan. *Otto Donner* halusi selvästikin hankkia seuralle sekä henkisen että taloudellisen selkänöjan. Hänen kaukonäköisyydestään voimme olla hyvin kiitollisia nytkin seuramme toisella ja kalendaarisesti kolmannella vuosisadalla.

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