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Sirkka Saarinen

Tapani Lehtinen †

Johanna Laakso

Ulla-Maija Forsberg

Anna-Leena Siikala

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The Uralic-Yukaghir lexical correspondences: genetic inheritance, language contact or chance resemblance?

The Uralic language family has often been hypothesized to be related to Yukaghir, even though no widely accepted evidence for this theory has been presented so far. The study of Uralic-Yukaghir relations has in part been held back by the scarcity of basic documentary and comparative work on the Yukaghir languages. The publication of *A Historical Dictionary of Yukaghir* (2006) by Irina Nikolaeva, however, has raised Yukaghir lexicology and historical phonology to a level that allows systematic comparison of Proto-Yukaghir and (Proto-)Uralic to be easily carried out. This paper discusses the lexical correspondences between Uralic and Yukaghir languages, and examines to what extent they can be explained as evidence of genetic relationship, products of language contact, or mere chance resemblances. It is argued that there is no clear lexical evidence supporting a genetic connection between the two families, and that no regular sound correspondences between the two proto-languages can be established. A majority of the Uralic-Yukaghir lexical comparisons suggested in earlier references seem to be chance resemblances, but a smaller corpus of probable loanwords supporting contacts between (Pre-)Proto-Samoyed and Proto-Yukaghir can be established.

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I. Introduction

The Uralic languages are often presented as possibly related to Yukaghir, a family of two closely related and severely endangered languages, Kolyma and Tundra Yukaghir, in Northeastern Siberia. It is curious that even though the Uralic-Yukaghir hypothesis is frequently mentioned in references, the issue has mostly been ignored by specialists in Uralic comparative linguistics. Only few scholars have done detailed work in the field of Uralic-Yukaghir comparison (note especially Collinder 1940; Sauvageot 1969; Harms 1977; Nikolaeva 1988; Piispanen 2013). Besides those who have sought to establish a genetic connection between the two families, Uralic scholars have usually silently ignored the idea. The hypothesis has rarely been criticized in any detail; Angere (1956), Kreynovich (1958), and Rédei (1999) are notable exceptions. Sauvageot (1969) has presented arguments both for and against a genetic relationship, remaining ambivalent on the issue.

While Uralic comparative linguistics is a highly advanced field, the study of possible Uralic-Yukaghir connections has been encumbered by the limited documentation and comparative study of the Yukaghir languages. Recently, the situation has been changing, though, and the possibilities of historical phonological and etymological research have been greatly improved by the publication of *A Historical Dictionary of Yukaghir* (Nikolaeva 2006; henceforth referred to as HDY). There is now also a reference grammar available of Kolyma Yukaghir (Maslova 2003a) as well as a rather extensive grammatical sketch of Tundra Yukaghir (Maslova 2003b).

The purpose of this paper is to examine whether the lexical correspondences proposed between the Uralic and Yukaghir language families provide evidence of genetic relationship. A large number of Uralic-Yukaghir lexical parallels has been proposed by previous research, and these have been varyingly interpreted either as proof of genetic relationship or as loanwords from Uralic to Yukaghir; the latter view is represented by Rédei (1999) and Häkkinen (2012a; 2012b). So far, however, the material has not been sufficiently critically evaluated in light of modern knowledge of Uralic and Yukaghir historical phonology, and hence there is a need to reassess the scope and nature of the entire corpus of proposed Uralic-Yukaghir etymologies.

The lexical material that potentially serves as evidence of genetic relationship between Uralic and Yukaghir is analysed in the following subsections. The analysis is complemented by two appendices: Appendix A

consists of a table listing the Uralic-Yukaghir lexical comparisons presented in HDY, and the sound correspondences involved in the comparisons; Appendix B includes critical commentaries on the individual Uralic-Yukaghir etymologies. While alleged shared features in morphology and on other levels of grammar are not the main topic of this study, the prospects of proving a Uralic-Yukaghir affinity through grammatical correspondences will also be briefly examined, using case morphology as an example.

2. An overview of the material

In order to show that Uralic and Yukaghir are genetically related and share lexical items inherited from a common proto-language, it is necessary to establish a system of regular sound correspondences between Proto-Uralic and Proto-Yukaghir. In this section, the Uralic-Yukaghir lexical comparisons presented in HDY are critically examined in order to find out whether such a system of correspondences can be established.

There are a total of 165 lexical entries in HDY that involve an etymological comparison to Uralic. While the number appears quite large, not all of this material is equally relevant for the purpose of investigating the possible genetic connection between Yukaghir and Uralic.¹ Moreover, it must be noted that Nikolaeva herself refers to the cited forms merely as “potential cognates” (HDY: 9), thus stressing the overall tentative nature of the external comparisons presented in the dictionary.

Of the 165 comparisons, 22 involve only a low-level reconstruction from a single branch within the Uralic family: Ob-Ugric, Khanty, Permic, or Samoyed. Most such cases involve a comparison to a Samoyed word, and it is not clear whether the forms are thought to be potential genetic cognates or whether borrowing is assumed instead. Whichever the case, it is clear that such comparisons cannot serve as good evidence of genetic relationship; due to the great time depth of the Uralic family, there are innumerable lexical items attested in only a single branch, and it would be methodologically highly questionable to project such items back to a Uralic-Yukaghir level of comparison. Trask (2000) calls this kind of procedure “reaching down” for cognates; see also Campbell & Poser (2008: 208, 373) for recent critical discussion.

Of the remaining 143 comparisons, 46 are judged “highly problematic” by Nikolaeva and marked with a question mark (for discussion, see HDY: 9). The problems associated with each etymology are usually not

explained in the dictionary, but in many instances it is obvious that there are phonological, morphological or semantic complications. Some examples can be cited.

A semantic mismatch is obvious, e. g., in the following cases:

YukK *pundu-* ‘tell, narrate’ ~ PU **puna-* ‘spin, weave’ (HDY 1938)

YukT *qal-dawe* ‘tree bark, fish scales’ ~ PU **kala* ‘fish’ (HDY 1982)

YukK *qolil* ‘sound, noise, tinkling’, *qoliñi-* ‘make noise’ ~ PU **kuwli-* ‘hear’ (HDY 2050)

In some cases, there are non-matching segments or parts in the compared forms. In the following examples, PU *-*mi-* and YukK *-žubə* are perhaps thought to be suffixes; the issue is not explicitly discussed in the entries in HDY, however:

YukK *čolo-*, T *čala-* ‘add, join together’ ~ PU **colmi-* ‘knot; tie’ (HDY 309)

YukK *poňžubə* ‘capercaillie’ ~ PU **pünji* ‘hazelhen’ (HDY 1866)

In the following cases, the etymology presupposes that a final *-l* has been reanalysed as a suffix in Yukaghir:

YukK *kē-l* ‘slot’ (cf. *kē-dəgən* ‘through a slot’) ~ PU **ko/ulV* ‘slot’ (HDY 768)

YukK *šā-l*, T *sā-l* ‘tree, wood, stick’ (cf. YukK *šā-n-yār* ‘tree bark’) ~ PU **šili-* ‘elm’ (HDY 2118). Note also the semantic mismatch between the compared forms.

The compared items may also appear to have a sound-symbolic nature:

YukK *kurčəŋ* ‘Siberian white crane’ ~ PU **ku/irki* ‘crane’ (HDY 955)

YukK *ñūjaγa-* ‘walk staggering and moving hands’ ~ PU **n/nVjV-* ‘stretch, expand’ (HDY 1538)

In many instances, though, it is difficult to guess why a particular comparison has been classified as “highly problematic” in HDY. The reason may perhaps be an assumed irregularity of sound correspondences between Uralic and Yukaghir, but as will become clear in the discussion below, also those comparisons that have not been classified as “highly problematic” show sound correspondences that are equally irregular.

Before moving on to deal with Uralic-Yukaghir sound correspondences, however, the validity of the Uralic etymologies themselves must be

examined. Needless to say, if one seeks to establish Uralic and Yukaghir lexemes as cognate, it is necessary for the compared proto-language reconstructions to be solidly established within each family. This is especially crucial in the case of Uralic forms, as the time depth of the family poses many problems for reconstruction. In order to critically evaluate the Uralic reconstructions cited by Nikolaeva, developments in Uralic etymology and historical phonology during recent decades must be briefly summarized.

Prior to the 1980s, the picture of Proto-Uralic phonology was still in many respects unclear, and reconstructions were heavily biased toward the westernmost branches (Saami, Finnic and Mordvin), the historical phonology of which had already been well worked out in the early 20th century; in fact, most of the regular vowel correspondences between Saami, Finnic and Mordvin had already been discovered by Genetz (1896). The Mari and Permic languages had been shown to conform to this framework of reconstruction reasonably well, even though an awkwardly large number of exceptions to sound laws regarding vowels was allowed in these languages (Itkonen 1954). The phonological development of the Siberian branches (Khanty, Mansi, and Samoyed), however, had remained quite unclear, and there were essentially no serious attempts to describe the development of these languages from Proto-Uralic in terms of strict sound laws. The situation changed in the 1980s, though, due to studies by Janhunen (1981) and Sammallahti (1988); these two papers are generally regarded as turning points in the debate on the phonological reconstruction of Proto-Uralic.

The advances in Uralic historical phonology in the 1980s were achieved through a critical re-evaluation of the stock of proposed Uralic etymologies. Janhunen (1981) and Sammallahti (1988) based their studies on Uralic historical phonology on rather strict requirements of phonological regularity, and disregarded a large number of previously proposed etymologies which could not be shown to conform to regular correspondences. Subsequent studies conducted in the phonologically strict framework laid out by Janhunen and Sammallahti have both uncovered many new cognate sets and rehabilitated some of the discarded etymologies through new phonological arguments (e. g., Helimski 1999; Aikio 2002; 2006a; 2013; 2014a; 2014b), but nevertheless, the corpus of Uralic etymologies judged reliable has remained significantly smaller than was assumed prior to the 1980s. Many of the older Uralic etymologies that were discarded by Janhunen (1981) and Sammallahti (1988) are, no doubt, mere chance resemblances

that had not been detected as such within the earlier, inexact frameworks of Uralic historical phonology. On the other hand, it appears evident that a significant number of cases could be explained as loanwords, although studies to confirm this remain yet to be conducted.

Considering the Uralic-Yukaghir comparisons, it is important to note that nearly all of the Uralic reconstructions cited in HDY are taken directly from *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Rédei 1988–1991; henceforth referred to as UEW). This is an unfortunate choice, because UEW does not yet reflect the critical developments that took place in Uralic historical phonology and etymology during the 1980s. This becomes obvious as one compares the following figures which show the number of cognate sets with Uralic, Finno-Ugric or Finno-Permic distributions accepted by UEW on the one hand and by Sammallahti (1988) on the other:

	<u>Uralic</u>	<u>Finno-Ugric</u>	<u>Finno-Permic</u>	<u>total</u>
UEW	284	419	197	900
Sammallahti 1988	124	267	142	533

The difference between UEW’s and Sammallahti’s approach to Uralic lexical reconstruction is rather dramatic, as the former reference accepts nearly 70% more etymologies than Sammallahti does. Every single etymology that is absent in Sammallahti (1988) need not be incorrect, but still, a great majority of the comparisons that are missing from Sammallahti’s list of etymologies turn out to have serious problems. Recently, Ponaryadov (2012) has shown that the etymological material presented in UEW contains pervasive irregularities in vowel correspondences, and concludes that the dictionary contains a large amount of “etymological trash” – i. e., etymologies that actually involve random similarities or borrowings between languages rather than inheritance from Proto-Uralic.

The reader interested in the problems associated with individual Uralic etymologies will find detailed discussion on these in Appendix B. For the sake of evaluating the Uralic-Yukaghir comparisons in HDY, however, it is more illuminating to examine the frequency of various types of problems in the comparanda. Figures enumerating the difficulties posed by the etymologies are given below. A classification of the problems associated with individual etymologies is presented in Appendix A.

The Uralic-Yukaghir lexical correspondences...

Total number of Uralic-Yukaghir comparisons:	165	
Very limited distribution in Uralic (one low-level branch only)	22	(13%)
Classified as “highly problematic” by Nikolaeva	46	(28%)
The Uralic etymology is classified as uncertain in UEW	43	(26%)
The Uralic etymology is problematic, even though included in UEW	60	(36%)
Poor semantic match between Uralic and Yukaghir	18	(11%)
Morphological problems	5	(3%)
Comparisons involving an unproblematic Uralic reconstruction and a good semantic match between Uralic and Yukaghir:	68	(42%)
Comparisons involving an unproblematic Uralic reconstruction and a good semantic match between Uralic and Yukaghir, and not classified as “highly problematic” by Nikolaeva	49	(30%)

Thus, only 42% of the Uralic-Yukaghir comparisons presented in HDY do not involve some kind of serious complication in the Uralic etymology itself or in the semantic correspondence between the two families. This means that the material that can serve as plausible evidence for a genetic relationship has already shrunk to only 68 items – and we would be left with even less, if we also were to exclude all other comparisons that Nikolaeva classifies as problematic for one reason or the other. Such a corpus is small indeed, and in order to serve as proof of a genetic relationship, regular sound correspondences would have to be uncovered from the scarce material.

3. Uralic-Yukaghir sound correspondences

We shall now examine whether regularity of sound correspondences between Uralic and Yukaghir can be shown; let us first consider the initial consonant correspondences shown in Table 1. As the table shows, the material contains a few trivial correspondences which are supported by a reasonable number of parallels. However, there are also obvious problems, in particular unexplained splits where one Uralic phoneme has two or more Yukaghir correspondents, with no obvious conditioning factors accounting for the difference. The correspondences PU *s ~ PYuk *l and PU *s ~ PYuk Ø, both illustrated by only two examples, are a case in point. The nasal correspondences involving PU and PYuk *n- and *ń- are also quite

indeterminate, with four different correspondences attested. In theory, these kinds of instances could result from either mergers in Uralic or splits in Yukaghir, but the examples are too few to verify such hypotheses.

PU	PYuk	examples	PU	PYuk	examples
*p-	*p-	7	*n-	*j-	1
*t-	*t-	8	*ń-	*n-	1
*k-	*k/q- ²	10	*ń-	*ń-	4–5
*s-	∅-	2	*l-	*l-	3
*s-	*l-	2	*l-	*l̥-	3
*ś-	*s-	3	*w-	*w-	5
*ś-	*č-	1	*w-	∅-	1
*m-	*m-	4	*j-	*j-	1
*n-	*ń-	1			

Table 1: Initial consonant correspondences in the 68 “good” Uralic-Yukaghir etymologies in HDY

It is true that one can support some of the initial consonant correspondences from parallels in word-internal positions. For instance, the correspondence PYuk *l ~ PU *l, attested in three cases in initial position, is found in numerous cases word-internally (HDY 33, 309, 311, 672, 704, 1188, 1401, 1406, 1625, 1772, 2273, 2579, 2603; some of these comparisons pose other obvious problems, though). Overall, however, irregularities are compounded rather than solved when word-internal correspondences are taken into account. In particular, consonants in clusters often show unique correspondences, as in the following examples:

PU *mp ~ PYuk *w	PU *lämpi ~ PYuk *lewej- ‘warmth’ (HDY 1048)
PU *r ~ PYuk *rq	PU *särä ‘fork, branched thing, root, blood vessel’ ~ PYuk *larq- ‘root’ (HDY 1007)
PU *rk ~ PYuk *rč	PU *ku/ırki ~ PYuk *kurčə- ‘crane’ (HDY 955)
PU *ŋt ~ PYuk *ŋ	PU *oŋti ~ PYuk *oŋ- ‘hole in a tree’ (HDY 1653)
PU *wl ~ PYuk ∅	PU *lewli ‘spirit, breath’ ~ PYuk *fū- ‘smoke’ (HDY 1112)

Another problem is caused by contradictory correspondences of word-internal consonants. The following serve as examples:

The Uralic-Yukaghir lexical correspondences...

- 1) PU *d ~ PYuk *I PU *edi 'front, ahead' ~ PYuk *efi 'first, while' (HDY 442)
PU *d ~ PYuk *δ PU *pidi 'long, high' ~ PYuk *puðe 'on, above' (HDY 1911)
- 2) PU *m ~ PYuk *m PU *e/ämä ~ PYuk *eme 'mother' (HDY 451)
PU *m ~ PYuk *w PU *imi- ~ PYuk *iw- 'suck' (HDY 611)
PU *m ~ PYuk Ø PU *ama- ~ PYuk *ō- 'scoop' (HDY 1576)
- 3) PU *kt ~ PYuk *q PU *läkti- 'leave, go' ~ PYuk *Iaqa- 'reach, come' (HDY 1004)
PU *kt ~ PYuk *y PU *pukta- 'run' ~ PYuk *pöy- 'run' (HDY 1830)
- 4) PU *kś ~ PYuk *q PU *lakśi- 'carve' ~ PYuk *Iaqa- 'slot in a beam' (HDY 1005)
PU *kś ~ PYuk *qs PU *núkśi 'marten' ~ PYuk *noqsə 'sable' (HDY 1515)

Thus, the consonant correspondences in the Uralic-Yukaghir word comparisons are highly diverse, even though some potentially regular correspondences also occur. Looking at the vowel correspondences, however, simply eradicates any signs of regularity. Even if we ignore Yukaghir vowel quantity because it is believed to be secondary (HDY: 64), no patterns can be detected. As shown in Table 2, the vowel correspondences are completely chaotic.

Four correspondences occur more than three times: PYuk *e ~ PU *e, PYuk *e ~ PU *ä, PYuk *e ~ PU *o, PYuk *o ~ PU *a. However, even these most promising correspondences cannot be securely established, because the etymologies they are based on display other inexplicable irregularities. Let us consider the six comparisons showing the correspondence PYuk *e ~ PU *e as an example:

- PU *edi 'front, ahead' ~ PYuk *efi 'first; while' (HDY 442)
- PU *e- ~ PYuk *en- 'this' (HDY 458)
- PU *neljä ~ PYuk *jelek- 'four' (HDY 672)
- PU *sewi- ~ PYuk *ley- 'eat' (HDY 1019)
- PU *tenä 'price' ~ PYuk *tent- 'wealth' (HDY 2401)
- PU *weni- 'stretch' ~ PYuk *wentä- 'lay out, stretch out' (HDY 2607)

All of these equations turn out to have serious problems. As noted above, etymology 442 shows the unique correspondence PU *d ~ PYuk *I, and contradicts another unique correspondence, PU *d ~ PYuk *δ, attested in PU *pidi 'long, high' ~ PYuk *puðe 'on, above' (HDY 1911). Example 458 involves a mere one-segment match; according to HDY, the nasal in PYuk

PYuk	PU	examples	PYuk	PU	examples
*a	*a	3-4	*ə	*i	0-2
	*ä	3		*u	0-2
	*o	0-2	*e	*ä	4-5
	*u	1-3		*e	6-8
	*j	1		*i	1-2
*o	*a	4-5		*o	5
	*o	3-5		*u	1-2
	*u	0-1	*i	*a	2
	*ä	1		*ä	0-3
	*j	2		*e	0-3
*u	*ä	1		*i	1-2
	*i	1		*ü	0-1
	*o	3	*ö	*o	1
	*u	1-2		*u	1
	*ü	0-1		*j	0-2
	*j	0-1			
*j	*a	1			
	*i	1			
	*o	1			

Table 2: Vowel correspondences in the 68 “good” Uralic-Yukaghir etymologies in HDY

*en- is “probably a pronominal suffix”. Comparison 672 shows the unique correspondence PU *n- ~ PYuk *j-, and the *k in the Yukaghir form is matched with nothing in Uralic; moreover, it would be quite surprising to find a Uralic-Yukaghir cognate numeral for ‘four’, as none of the other numerals in the two families show any chance of being cognate.³ Etymology 1019 displays the correspondence PU *s ~ PYuk *l, which has only one parallel in the material (PU *särä ~ PYuk *larq; HDY 1007), but as noted above, this parallel shows the unique and unexplained consonant cluster correspondence PU *r ~ PYuk *rq. Etymology 2401 involves an unaccounted element *-t- in PYuk *tent-, and the semantic correspondence (‘wealth’ ~ ‘price’) is not very satisfying either. This leaves etymology 2607 as the only plausible example of the correspondence PU *e ~ PYuk

*e. If PYuk *-tə- in *wentə- is a derivational suffix, these words have the possibility of a true etymological connection, but even so, a single hypothetical etymology provides us with no evidence whatsoever for the regularity of the vowel correspondence PU *e ~ PYuk *e.

At this point it is hardly necessary to further elaborate on the phonological problems with the Uralic-Yukaghir word comparisons in HDY; the reader interested in exploring the issue further can easily do so with help of the material provided in Appendix A. It has already become clear that even the reduced corpus containing the 68 “best” Uralic-Yukaghir etymologies merely consists of lexical lookalikes, and that no regular sound correspondences can be detected in the material.

We must, however, also assess the recent study by Piispanen (2013), who supports the Uralic-Yukaghir theory and claims that regular sound correspondences in basic vocabulary occur between the two families. According to him, “the Yukaghir vocabulary with Uralic correspondences consists of Palaeolithic vocabulary not bound to any specific cultural or semantic field. For the most part such found correspondences are phonologically systematically regular” (2013: 171). The specific aim of Piispanen’s paper is to demonstrate regular Yukaghir correspondents for Uralic geminate stops and the vowel *ü.

Unfortunately, though, Piispanen’s study is flawed in regard to both data and method. First, the etymological material he presents – which includes both previously proposed and novel comparisons – contains a large number of doubtful Uralic cognate sets. His material includes 31 Uralic-Yukaghir etymologies, but in a clear majority of cases the cited Uralic reconstruction cannot be considered to represent a valid cognate set; hence, the data used to support the conclusions of the study is in itself in large part invalid. Discussion on many of the individual etymologies cited by Piispanen can be found in Appendix B.

Second, the etymologies presented by Piispanen display a complete inconsistency of sound correspondences, regarding both geminate stops, which are the object of his study, and any other sounds occurring in the forms compared. The following serve as examples:

PU *-pp- ~ PYuk *-p-	PU *ćappa- ‘chop, beat with popping sound’ ~ PYuk *sapa- ‘strike, hit’
PU *-pp- ~ PYuk *-w-	PU *lappe ‘flat’ ~ PYuk *lewē ‘land, earth’
PU *-pp- ~ PYuk *-rp-	PU *ko/uppV ~ PYuk *kōrp- ‘lung’

PU *-pp- ~ PYuk *-mp-	PU *leppV ~ PYuk *limpə ‘soft’
PU *-pp- ~ PYuk *-y-	PU *šoppV-sV ~ PYuk *söy- ‘sack’
PU *-pp- ~ PYuk *-q-	PU *čuppV ~ PYuk *čoqo- ‘pot made of birch’
PU *-pp- ~ PYuk *-j-	PU *lā/eppV ~ PYuk *lājə ‘spleen’
PU *-kk- ~ PYuk *-q-	PU *jakka- ‘reach, go’ ~ PYuk *laqa- ‘reach, come, arrive’
PU *-kk- ~ PYuk *-y-	PU *čukkv(-IV) ~ PYuk *juy- ‘kiss’
PU *-kk- ~ PYuk *-j-	PU *čukkv ~ PYuk *čöjə ‘hill’
PU *-kk- ~ PYuk *-r-q-	PU *ču/okkv ‘curve, bend’ ~ PYuk *čarqə- ‘bent’
PU *č- ~ PYuk *s-	PU *čappa- ‘chop, beat with popping sound’ ~ PYuk *sapa- ‘strike, hit’
PU *č- ~ PYuk *č-	PU *čuppV ‘wedge, tip, point’ ~ PYuk *čupo- ‘sharp’
PU *č- ~ PYuk *j-	PU *čukkv(-IV) ~ PYuk *juy- ‘kiss’

In light of this data, it is actually rather odd to state that the paper “presents and discusses regular sound correspondences between Uralic geminate items and Yukaghiric” (Piispanen 2013: 165). The examples show that in reality, Piispanen (2013) does not operate with regular correspondences as required by the comparative method. Instead, we are presented with a collection of vague lexical lookalikes, accompanied by *ad hoc* and contradictory assertions of sound changes that could be postulated to account for the random similarities between them. When such a flawed methodological approach is applied to a corpus of Uralic etymological material that is already in itself largely invalid, the result is an etymological ghost hunt. Needless to say, none of Piispanen’s claims regarding Uralic-Yukaghir sound correspondences can be accepted.

4.A search for new Uralic-Yukaghir lexical matches

As the entire corpus of proposed Uralic-Yukaghir etyma has turned out to show very fundamental phonological irregularities, it seems highly probable that at least a major part of even the 68 “best” Uralic-Yukaghir word comparisons in HDY are nothing more than mere chance resemblances lacking any actual etymological connection. But we cannot entirely ignore the possibility that some of the words in the list could be true cognates after all. The similarity of some semantically very basic lexical items is especially intriguing:

- PU *jla-, PYuk *äl- ‘place under or below’ (spatial noun root) (HDY 33)
 PU *sula-, PYuk *aľ- ‘melt, thaw’ (HDY 35)
 PU *anĵ, PYuk *aŋa ‘mouth’ (HDY 74)
 PU *e/ämä, PYuk *eme ‘mother’ (HDY 451)
 PU *koĵi ‘man, male’, PYuk *köĵ ‘fellow, boy, young man’ (HDY 855)
 PU *mäľki, PYuk *mel- ‘breast’ (HDY 1188)
 PU *nimi, PYuk *ń/nim (> *ńū) ‘name’ (HDY 1532)
 PU *ńali-, PYuk *ńel- ‘lick’ (HDY 1401)
 PU *pĵini-, PYuk *pö/eń- ‘put’ (HDY 1861)
 PU *pidi ‘long, high’ ~ PYuk *puđe ‘on, above’ (HDY 1911)
 PU *kiwi, PYuk *qĵĵ ‘stone’ (HDY 2101)
 PU *wixi- ‘lead’, PYuk *wey- ‘lead, carry’ (HDY 2499)
 PU *wanča(w), PYuk *wonč- ‘root’ (HDY 2618)

Such resemblances are tantalizing, as they may strike one as being just too good to be all due to chance. However, subjective impressions can prove us nothing, and the relevant question is whether it is possible to uncover any regular Uralic-Yukaghir sound correspondences from the scarce material which is further obscured by numerous coincidental resemblances. To further test the hypothesis of genetic relationship, I made an attempt to combine a more critical approach to the material by conducting a search for new potential cognates with the help of HDY. This search revealed a handful of new word comparisons which could offer support for some assumed consonant correspondences between Uralic and Yukaghir. The most promising comparisons discovered will be briefly discussed here.

The correspondence PU *nś ~ PYuk *nć is suggested by PU *punśV ‘kneecap’ ~ PYuk *pe/i(j)nćə (> YukK *pēďǎ, peĵďǎ* ‘shoulder blade; knot’, YukT *pīďe* ‘front legs of an animal’) (HDY 1785).⁴ A search for other Yukaghir words with the same cluster turned up two more potential matches: PU *kVnśä- (*känśä- ?) ‘cold’ (Aikio 2002: 21) ~ PYuk *qanć- ‘cold’ (HDY 2000), and PU *lonśa ‘calm, soft, mild’ (UEW: 250–251; Sammallahti 1988: 545) ~ PYuk *lanćin- ‘slow, calm’ (HDY 997). Both of these Yukaghir words are compared to other Uralic items in HDY, but the Uralic cognate sets must themselves be rejected due to reconstructural problems (see the discussion in Appendix B).

The correspondences PU *s ~ PYuk *l and PU *s ~ PYuk Ø are each attested in two examples in HDY. The first of these correspondences is dubious, as one of the two examples is PU *särä ‘fork, branched thing,

root, vein’ ~ PYuk *larq- ‘root’ (HDY 1007), which shows the unique correspondence PU Ø ~ PYuk *q already discussed above. Also, my search failed to turn up any further examples of the correspondence PU *s ~ PYuk *l, so PU *sewi- ~ PYuk *ley- ‘eat’ is left as the only potential instance. However, I was able to find three more possible examples of the correspondence PU *s ~ PYuk Ø, including an alternative match for the Uralic root *särä, which has been previously compared to PYuk *larq- ‘root’:

PU *nusi- ‘scrape, scratch’ (UEW: 309; Sammallahti 1988: 538)⁵ ~ PYuk *nō- ‘scrape, scratch’ (HDY 1471)

PU *särä ‘fork, branched thing, root, vein’ (UEW: 437; Sammallahti 1988: 548)⁶ ~ PYuk *ere ‘fork’ (HDY 491)

PU *soŋi- ‘enter, penetrate’ (UEW: 446; Sammallahti 1988: 548) ~ PYuk *oŋ- ‘put on’ (HDY 1651)

On the whole, however, my search for new potential Uralic-Yukaghir cognates yielded only modest results. In addition to the cases above, there are two strikingly similar verb roots: PU *kälä- ‘wade; rise’ ~ PYuk *kile- ‘wade’ and PU *kani- ‘go away’ ~ PYuk *qon- ‘go.’⁷ Beyond this, I was able to uncover only vague resemblances.

While the uncovered similarities may be attractive, the problem is that only very few such instances can apparently be found. They do not significantly increase the size of the corpus of potential Uralic-Yukaghir cognates, and thus they do not help much in demonstrating the overall regularity of sound correspondences. While there may be limited evidence for the “regularity” of some individual correspondences (such as PU *s ~ PYuk Ø and PU *nś ~ PYuk *nć), it seems to be quite impossible to present a set of plausible etymological comparisons where all – or even most – of the sounds in each word could be shown to display regular correspondence between the two families. Hence, the evidence remains entirely inconclusive: there is a handful of suggestive resemblances in basic vocabulary, but they do not suffice to prove a genetic relationship.

It is further worth noting that several of the apparent similarities in basic vocabulary are not limited to Uralic and Yukaghir, but similar word stems are also attested in other language families, in Indo-European in particular. The following potential correspondence sets are especially noteworthy:

The Uralic-Yukaghir lexical correspondences...

PYuk *kef- ‘brother-in-law’ ~ PU *kälw ‘brother- or sister-in-law’ ~ PIE *ǵlh₂ōus
(Latin *glōs*, Greek γαλόωσ, Old Church Slavonic *zōlōva* ‘husband’s sister’)

PYuk *wey- ‘lead, carry’ ~ PU *wixi- ‘lead’ ~ PIE *weg^h- ‘transport, lead’ (Sanskrit
vāhati ‘drives, pulls a chariot’, Latin *vehō* ‘I carry, convey; I ride’)

PYuk *nū (< *ń/nim) ~ PU *nimi ~ PIE *Hnoh₃men- ‘name’ (Sanskrit *nāman*, Greek
ὄνομα, Latin *nōmen* ‘name’)

PYuk *kile- ‘wade’ ~ PU *kälä- ‘wade; rise’ ~ PIE *kelh₂- ‘rise’ (Lithuanian *kēlti* ‘lift’,
kilti ‘stand up’)

Needless to say, such similarities cannot be dealt with in an exclusively Uralic-Yukaghir framework. If we were to interpret resemblances such as the above as evidence of a Uralic-Yukaghir affinity, the demand of consistency would force us also to postulate that both Uralic and Yukaghir are also related to Indo-European.⁸ There are, however, multiple possible explanations for such similarities, including chance. It has been argued, for instance, that some or all of the above Uralic words can be explained as early loans from Indo-European (e. g., Koivulehto 1994). If we accept this conclusion, then there is hardly any alternative to explaining the Yukaghir words as borrowings from Uralic, because even if we assumed Uralic and Yukaghir to be distantly related, it would not make sense to assume that Indo-European loanwords had already been adopted into the common proto-language of Uralic and Yukaghir.

5. Uralic-Yukaghir pronoun correspondences

There are also resemblances between Uralic and Yukaghir pronoun roots. These similarities encompass the first and second person pronouns, two demonstrative pronoun roots and two interrogative pronoun roots (cf. Rédei 1999: 16):

PYuk *mät ~ PU *mun / *minä ‘I’

PYuk *tət ~ PU *tun / *tinä ‘you (sg.)’⁹

PYuk *mit ~ PU *me ‘we’

PYuk *tit ~ PU *te ‘you (pl.)’

PYuk *ti- ~ PU *tä-, proximal demonstrative

PYuk *ta- ~ PU ?*to/u- (reconstruction problematic), distal demonstrative

PYuk *kin ~ PU *ke ‘who’

PYuk *qa/o- ~ PU *ko/u-, interrogative pronoun root

There are, however, several reasons not to draw far-reaching conclusions from these pronouns. First, one must note that the similarities are largely limited to the initial consonants *m-, *t- and *k-, which, as typologically unmarked sounds, are common in grammatical morphemes; beyond this, there is only the vague match in the frontness or backness of the following vowel, and not even that in the case of the 1SG and 2SG pronouns. Such pronoun resemblances are not limited to Uralic and Yukaghir, as similar patterns can be found in many language families of northern Eurasia. While some scholars argue that these should be viewed as evidence of “Nostratic” (Dolgopolsky 1984), “Eurasianic” (Greenberg 2000; 2002) or some other similar deep linguistic affinity (cf. also Janhunen 2008: 236), many others have not found such pronoun-based evidence compelling.

It is obvious that similarities of this kind can also arise due to chance, and they also occur between languages that cannot possibly have any historical connection: e. g., *m- for first person and *t- for second person is also found in some languages of Africa, New Guinea and the Americas (Nichols & Peterson 2008). Moreover, such similarities do not need to imply genetic inheritance even if they have not developed by chance: Nichols (2012) proposes that the prevalence of certain initial consonants in pronouns over widespread geographic areas, such as the Eurasian *m : T* pattern in personal pronouns, results from them being ‘attractor states’ – i. e., forms which historically arise more easily than are lost, and expand more probably than retract. So, it is far from clear that Uralic-Yukaghir pronoun resemblances result from genetic relationship, and even if we were to pursue a genetic explanation here, the pronoun roots would still not offer evidence for any specific relationship between Uralic and Yukaghir, either as a language family in itself or as a branch in some even more extensive and completely hypothetical genetic grouping. For more detailed criticism of the use of pronoun resemblances in long-range comparisons, see the discussion by Campbell & Poser (2008: 212–222).

Finally, it should be mentioned that in addition to pronouns there is one other grammatical word root which shows an intriguing similarity between Uralic and Yukaghir, namely PU *le- ‘become; be’ ~ PYuk *l̥ə- ‘be’. The palatalized lateral in the latter form could be attributed to the influence of a historical front vowel (*l̥ə ? < *le-). While this might at first sight seem to be a promising match, it is worth keeping in mind that the forms compared are short and the matching consonant *l̥ is an unmarked

and a typologically extremely common sound. However, there is an even more serious problem in the comparison. The Uralic data make it fairly obvious that the grammatical function of the verb is not original, but instead the verb once had the meaning ‘be born’, ‘give birth’, or the like. This can still be seen in the polysemy of MariW *liä-*, E *lija-* ‘be, become; give birth (of animals), calve, lamb, foal’, and further confirmed by a previously unnoticed Samoyed cognate, Ngan *dīā-* ‘give birth (of animals)’ (< PSam *jiā-), which lacks the grammaticalization altogether. Yet a further trace of the meaning ‘give birth’ is found in Mde *levks*, Mdm *lefks* ‘young (of animals)’, an obscured derivative consisting of the otherwise unattested root verb *le-* and the suffix *-vks*, *-fks* (< PU *-wiksi), which forms deverbal nouns signifying an outcome or result.

Thus, the semantic and functional development of PU *le- ‘become; be’ has been similar to SaaN *šadda-* ‘become; grow’, which is a loan from Finnish *synty-* ‘be born’. Hence, an assumption of Uralic-Yukaghir cognation would require us to postulate that a grammaticalization ‘be born’ > ‘become’ (> ‘be’) either already occurred in Proto-Uralic-Yukaghir, or that it took place independently in the two families; all this, of course, remains mere speculation. Moreover, the etymology of the Uralic verb presented here introduces an additional phonological complication: both MariW *liä-* as well as Ngan *dīā-* suggest that the root originally had some kind of more complex, disyllabic structure – perhaps PU *lewV-, *lejV- or *lexi-. Disyllabic structure is also implied by the well-known constraints of Proto-Uralic root structure, which required content lexemes to have at least disyllabic roots, whereas monosyllabic roots were confined to grammatical items (see, e. g., Janhunen 1982: 27–28). These restrictions on root structure are still preserved unchanged in Saami, and are clearly traceable also in Finnic and Mordvin, where monosyllabic content lexemes can be shown to have developed through the loss of an intervocalic consonant.¹⁰ Thus, the monosyllabic root of SaaN *lea-* ‘be’ must be interpreted as a result of irregular phonological attrition, which is connected with the transfer of this verb from the lexicon into the sphere of grammar. Given this, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the superficial similarity between SaaN *lea-* ‘be’ and PYuk *lā- ‘be’ is nothing more than an etymological mirage.

6. An excursus to grammatical comparison: the case system

The Uralic-Yukaghir affinity has also been supported by morphological comparisons. A thorough discussion on the grammatical arguments is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is worthwhile to take a brief look at some morphological comparanda in order to give an idea of the nature and quality of the evidence. To begin with, let us consider the following claims made by Collinder:

The features common to Yukaghir and Uralic are so numerous and so characteristic that they must be remainders of a primordial unity. The case system of Yukaghir is almost identical with that of Northern Samoyed. The imperative of the verbs is formed with the same suffixes as in Southern Samoyed and the most conservative of the Fenno-Ugric languages. [...] There are striking common traits in verb derivation. Most of the pronominal stems are more or less identical. (Collinder 1965: 30)

These overblown statements offer a partial explanation as to why the Uralic-Yukaghir theory has been so easily swallowed up by long-range comparative linguists working on multilateral comparisons. Collinder's work is, after all, the one most widely cited in connection with the issue. The passage above is also quoted by Ruhlen (1987: 69–70), who quite uncritically concludes that evidence of this kind “demonstrates beyond doubt the affinity of Yukaghir with the Uralic family”. To put things in proper perspective, however, we can consider the argument based on the Samoyed and Yukaghir case systems. The sets of reconstructed case endings for Proto-Samoyed (Janhunen 1998: 469) and Proto-Yukaghir (cf. Nikolaeva 2000: 98–100; HDY: 79–83) are given in table 3.

The reconstructed paradigms immediately reveal Collinder's claim of the “almost identical” nature of Yukaghir and (North) Samoyed case systems to be grossly exaggerated. In fact, there are only two notable resemblances: the genitive suffixes (PYuk *-nt, PSam *-n) and the presence of a coaffix *-kə- in most local case forms.

Let us first consider the genitive case. In modern Yukaghir languages the suffix shows morphophonological alternation between *-n* (before consonants) and *-d* (before vowels), which shows that the suffix goes back to PYuk *-nt, as reconstructed by Nikolaeva. This already invalidates the comparison to the PU genitive suffix *-n as long as the correspondence PYuk *t ~ PU *Ø is not accounted for. Nikolaeva (2000: 98) suggests that

The Uralic-Yukaghir lexical correspondences...

Proto-Yukaghir		Proto-Samoyed	
nominative	-Ø	nominative	-Ø
predicative	*-k, *-lək, *-ləŋ	accusative	*-m
accusative	*-lə, *-γələ	genitive	*-n
genitive	*-nt	dative	*-kə-, *-ntə(-ŋ)
dative / allative	*-ŋiŋ	locative	*-kə-na
locative	*-ŋ-kə	ablative	*-kə-t(ə)
ablative	*-ŋ-kə-t	prosecutive	*-məna
prolative	*-ŋ-kə-n		
instrumental	*-lə ¹¹		
comitative	*-ńəŋ		

Table 3: Proto-Yukaghir and Proto-Samoyed case endings¹²

the PYuk genitive could correspond to a complex Uralic form *-n-sa where *-n is the genitive ending followed by the 3SG possessive suffix *-sa. This is, however, an *ad hoc* assumption: Nikolaeva herself admits that no known parallels exist for the correspondence PU *ns ~ PYuk *nt, and in lexical comparisons PU *s corresponds instead to PYuk *l or Ø.

This leaves us with the coaffix *-kə- in the local cases. It is a severe problem that this resemblance encompasses only Yukaghir and Samoyed, but not Uralic as a whole. The coaffix *-kə- in Samoyed local cases is quite evidently an innovation, as no trace of a similar element is found elsewhere in Uralic, and even in Samoyed certain archaic elements such as relational noun roots take endings of the type *-na (locative), *-t(ə) (ablative) and *-ŋ (dative) without the coaffix *-kə- (Janhunen 1998: 469). This being the case, the presence of a similar coaffix in Yukaghir local cases provides no evidence of a Uralic-Yukaghir genetic relationship. If the similarity between the Samoyed and Yukaghir coaffixes is not due to chance (which it of course may be), language contact is the only conceivable historical explanation.

Importantly, the similarities between the Samoyed and Yukaghir local cases are in practice limited to the coaffix *-kə-, as the other morphological

elements in the suffix complexes mostly do not match each other. In Yukaghir, *-kə- is preceded by the nasal *-ŋ-, which is the assimilated reflex of the genitive suffix *-nt (Nikolaeva 2000: 99), but this is not the case in Samoyed. As for the suffixes following *-kə-, only the ablative forms are comparable, and here we have a one-segment match involving a high-frequency consonant (*t). While the similarity of the ablative endings PYuk *-ŋ-kə-t and PSam *-kə-t(ə) might look intriguing when viewed in isolation, it turns out to be a spurious match when the case systems and their histories as a whole are taken into consideration.

Other, less transparent connections between the Uralic and Yukaghir case systems have also been proposed, but these can hardly be considered plausible; Rédei (1999: 10–14) provides a detailed critique regarding these suggestions. I will not go into the details of other grammatical categories here; suffice it to say that comparisons in spheres of grammar outside the case paradigms are even less convincing. For instance, claims of verbal morphology shared by Uralic and Yukaghir have also been examined by Rédei (1999: 14–15), who comes to the conclusion that “the Uralic conjugation and the Yukaghir conjugation represent systems so strongly deviating from each other that they cannot genetically have anything to do together” (translated from German). In general, Uralic-Yukaghir morphological comparisons appear to involve vague resemblances between isolated suffixes only; there seem to be no traces of shared, unique grammatical patterns and inflectional paradigms. Moreover, even the isolated similarities between individual suffixes often turn out to be superficial under a critical scrutiny. Thus, it can be said that morphological comparison has so far failed to yield clear evidence for Uralic-Yukaghir; some entirely new arguments and evidence would be needed in this field, too, if Uralic-Yukaghir is to be established as a language family.

7. Previous studies on Uralic loanwords in Yukaghir

The analysis presented above has revealed that lexical comparison of Uralic and Yukaghir does not support the assumption of a genetic affinity between the two families, and that no clear evidence of genetic relationship is found in the domain of morphology either. Even so, there is yet a further criterion for lexical cognation that has not even been touched upon above: in order to serve as evidence of genetic relationship, lexical parallels should be shown not to be loanwords – or at the very least, it must be shown that

cognition provides a more probable explanation for such parallels than borrowing. We shall now turn to investigate to what extent borrowing can account for similarities of word roots between Uralic and Yukaghir. This line of study has been pursued by Rédei (1999) and Häkkinen (2012a; 2012b). I shall first discuss Rédei's contribution, and then turn to Häkkinen's more recent treatment, which is based on a reanalysis of Rédei's research material.

Rédei (1999) rejects the idea of a Uralic-Yukaghir genetic relationship and argues that the purported common Uralic-Yukaghir etymological corpus largely consists of loanwords from Uralic to Yukaghir. It must be noted that before Rédei's paper the question of loanwords had not been properly addressed in Uralic-Yukaghir comparisons. It is true, Kreyovich (1958) maintained that the lexical similarities stemmed from borrowing from Samoyed languages into Yukaghir rather than from genetic inheritance, but he did not provide detailed arguments for this view.

Rédei (1999) lists a total of 121 words which he considers loans from Uralic to Yukaghir; some of the loans are considered uncertain, however. The majority of these words he considers loans from Samoyed to Yukaghir, whereas a minority of words – those not attested in Samoyed, but in Finno-Ugric exclusively – would have been borrowed from Ob-Ugric languages, primarily from Khanty.

There are major problems with Rédei's study in terms of both data and methods. First, the Uralic etymologies and reconstructions cited as the loan originals of various Yukaghir words often contain errors. It is, of course, natural that Rédei chooses to rely on his own etymological dictionary, *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, in this regard. However, as noted above, this etymological dictionary contains many outdated and phonologically unacceptable word comparisons which have been later abandoned in more critical studies on Uralic historical phonology. More detailed discussion on the problems with individual etymologies is presented in Appendix B.

Rédei (1999: 25–28) also presents an extensive list of sound substitution rules supposedly exhibited by Uralic loanwords in Yukaghir. Several of the proposed substitution rules fail to make any sense phonetically, and occasionally the rules also contradict each other. The following among Rédei's loan etymologies serve as examples of such unjustified rules; Proto-Yukaghir reconstructions from HDY have been substituted for Rédei's inaccurate reconstructions:

PU *-m- > PYuk *-mp-: PU *kuma- ‘fall over, turn upside down’ > PYuk *qompə
(> YukK *qobo* ‘down (on the ground, on the floor)’)

PU *-m- > PYuk *-w-: PU *imi- ‘suck’ > PYuk *iw- ‘suck’ (> YukK *ib-*, T *iwi-*)

PU *-m- > PYuk Ø: PU *kumV ‘snow’ > PYuk *kū ‘snow’ (> Omok *ku*)

PU *-ŋ- > PYuk *-nk- (N. B. *nk ≠ *ŋk!): PU *päŋi ‘head; end’ ? > PYuk *punkə
(> YukK *punkə* ‘hill’, T *punke* ‘hummock’)

PU *-ŋ- > PYuk *-γ-: PU *soŋi- ‘enter, penetrate’ ? > PYuk *söy- / *sey- ‘enter; fit in’
(> YukK *šög-*, T *seg-*, *sew-*)

PU *-sk- (> PSam *-t-) > PYuk *-j-: PU *poski (> PSam *pātə-) ‘cheek’ > PYuk *pēja
(> YukK *pēja* ‘cheek’)

PU *-t- / PSam *-r- > PYuk *-nt-: Ugric *pati- ‘freeze’ or PSam *pərā- ‘burn’ > PYuk
*pentə- ‘burn’ (> YukK *pēdə-*)

PSam *-mt- > PYuk *-m(un): PSam *amtə ‘antler’ > PYuk *amun ‘bone’ (> YukK,
T *amun*)

Many of Rédei’s comparisons appear plausible at a superficial level, but in closer examination turn out to be illusory due to errors of reconstruction on the Uralic or the Yukaghir side. Consider the following examples:

- Rédei (1999: 36) cites PU *jama- ‘be sick, die’ as the source of PYuk *jama- ‘be sick, die’, which would appear to be both phonologically and semantically a perfect match. However, the correct PYuk reconstruction of the root in question is *jompə- (HDY 707), in addition to which the reconstruction of the PU verb *jama- must be rejected due to multiple phonological irregularities in the proposed cognates. The vowel correspondence between SaaN *jápmi-* ‘die’, Mde *joma-* ‘get lost’ and MariW *jama-* ‘get lost’ is irregular, and hence the verbs are not demonstrably cognate. The Saami verb is in reality cognate with MariW *jəme-* ‘go numb (of body parts)’ (Aikio 2014b: 81–82). The Md and Mari items are probably connected by borrowing, although the direction is unclear. The Samoyed items cited in this connection, NenT *jaʔmə-*, Enets *jeʔoa-* ‘not be able to’, old Ngan *jamaɟua-* (< *jaʔmə-), certainly cannot have any connection with the aforementioned verbs due to their consonant cluster *-ʔm- (where *ʔ may reflect PSam *t, *č, *s or *k).

- Rédei (1999: 39) considers Yuk *kin-*, *kiŋ-* in YukK *kiŋže*, Old Yuk *kiŋze*, *kinize* ‘moon, month’ a borrowing from PU **kuŋi* ‘moon’. However, the correct reconstruction of the Yukaghir word for ‘moon, month’ is PYuk **kiniŋćə* (HDY 830), in addition to which the nasal **-ŋ-* in the Uralic form is highly uncertain: only dialectal Mde *koŋ* ‘moon, month’ points to it, whereas Ugric and Samoyed do not show the expected reflex of a nasal (cf. KhE *kōyʷ*, S *χāw*, N *χūw*, Hung *hó* ‘month’, Ngan *kičəðə*, Kam *kij* ‘moon, month’). Fi *kuu* ‘moon, month’ is ambiguous, as it can reflect multiple possible proto-forms (**kuxi*, **kuwi*, **kuŋi*, etc.). Hence, the similarity between the Uralic and Yukaghir words is limited to the initial stop **k-*, and such a correspondence is as meaningless as that between the initial *m-* in English *moon*, Shoshone (Uto-Aztecan) *mea* and Hawaiian (Polynesian) *mahina* ‘moon’.

Some of Rédei’s loan etymologies involve an arbitrary segmentation of the Yukaghir form, so that only a part of the word root is matched with a Uralic reconstruction, as in the following examples (note that despite the problem of segmentation all of these examples are considered possible Uralic-Yukaghir matches in HDY as well):

PU **ku/jrki* ‘crane’ > PYuk **kur-* in **kurćə-* ‘crane’ (Rédei 1999: 37; cf. HDY 955)

PU **sără* ‘root, vein, fork’ > PYuk **lar-* in **larq-* ‘root’ (Rédei 1999: 48; cf. HDY 1007)

PU **meni-* ‘go’ > PYuk **men-* in **menmə-* ‘jump’ (Rédei 1999: 40; cf. HDY 1208)

Furthermore, Rédei’s arguments concerning the age and stratification of the Uralic loanwords in Yukaghir are confusing, as he does not employ proper historical phonological and other etymological arguments in determining the age of loanwords. Instead, he maintains that the Samoyed-Yukaghir loan contacts began only after the breaking up of Proto-Samoyed as the North Samoyed sub-branch moved to Northwestern Siberia (Rédei 1999: 18). This conclusion, however, is based on hypotheses regarding the prehistory of Samoyed peoples instead of actual linguistic arguments: Rédei adheres to Hajdú’s (1987: 157) idea of a Samoyed homeland in the region of the Sayan mountains, but this is just one hypothesis among others, as is the idea that there even is a North Samoyed sub-branch in the first place (cf. Janhunen 1998: 459).

Even more problematic is Rédei’s suggestion that certain Yukaghir words could have been borrowed from Ob-Ugric languages, or specifically

from Khanty (1999: 19–20). To validate such a conclusion one would have to show that some of the assumed loanwords in Yukaghir reflect specifically Ob-Ugric or Khanty sound changes, or involve vocabulary attested in Ob-Ugric or Khanty only. Neither of these two criteria, however, is fulfilled by the relevant etymologies in Rédei's corpus (1999: 45–49). Again, Rédei's suggestion of Khanty loans in Yukaghir seems to be based on Hajdú's (1987: 335–336) hypotheses, this time regarding the prehistory of Ob-Ugric peoples. These theories do not seem to be well-argued, however. For instance, it is certainly impossible to date the Ob-Ugric proto-language as late as the 4th century A. D. (cf. Rédei 1999: 20), i. e. contemporaneous with Proto-Finnic (Kallio, forthcoming) and Proto-Saami (Aikio 2012: 76–78). Unlike such transparently closely related language groups as Finnic and Saami, the Khanty and Mansi languages show a relationship obscured by such time depth that no definite phonological reconstruction of Proto-Ob-Ugric has been established so far (for various attempts, see Honti 1982, 1999; Sammallahti 1988: 502–513; Zhivlov 2006).

In general, the Uralic-Yukaghir loan etymologies presented by Rédei (1999) pose much of the same kinds of problems as Nikolaeva's Uralic-Yukaghir cognate etymologies: erroneous reconstructions, irregular sound correspondences, and unjustified segmentations of compared forms. While Rédei makes a plausible case for the existence of Uralic loanwords in Yukaghir, the errors in his analysis are so numerous that it hardly allows for reliable inferences to be made about the nature and age of the Uralic-Yukaghir contacts.

Recently Häkkinen (2012a; 2012b) has re-evaluated the Uralic-Yukaghir etymological material presented by Rédei. Based on the reanalysed data, Häkkinen argues that there has been borrowing first from Pre-Proto-Uralic to Early Proto-Yukaghir and later from 'East Uralic' (a hypothetical branch consisting of Ugric and Samoyed languages) to Middle Proto-Yukaghir. The question of more recent borrowing from Samoyed to (Late) Proto-Yukaghir is not dealt with in Häkkinen's paper. Relying on this stratification of loanwords, he proposes that Pre-Proto-Uralic was spoken in Siberia.

In general, Häkkinen's Uralic reconstructions are on a much more solid foundation than those of Rédei, as he has omitted many problematic etymologies. Nevertheless, Häkkinen's material still calls for further critical scrutiny. Two problems, in particular, must be pointed out. First, some of the comparisons in Häkkinen (2012b) still contain incorrect construc-

tions on either the Uralic or the Yukaghir side; for instance, Häkkinen accepts the comparisons involving the alleged Uralic roots *jama- ‘die’ and *kuŋi ‘moon’, which were shown to be untenable above. The following case serves as a further example:

PU *säla- (acc. Häkkinen: *säla-) ‘load’ > Early PYuk *säli- > Middle PYuk *selə- > PYuk *(w)el- ‘carry, lift’ (cf. HDY 2603: *wele-). – YukT *weli-* ‘lift, carry on the back’ makes it entirely clear that the Yukaghir root must be reconstructed with initial *w-, a fact which is overlooked by Häkkinen. In YukK *eleji-, eli-* ‘carry’ there was a regular change *w- > Ø. Hence, the Yukaghir verb is phonologically incompatible with the Uralic one; also Rédei (1999: 43) had judged the comparison uncertain due to YukT *w-*. It can be added that the etymology is also semantically weak, as the meaning of the Uralic verb cannot actually be reconstructed as ‘load’ (*contra* Sammallahti 1988: 548; cf. UEW: 434). The reflexes mean ‘get in (a boat or a sled)’, ‘mount (a horse)’, which leaves the comparison to a Yukaghir verb meaning ‘carry, lift’ without semantic justification. In Uralic, the meaning ‘load’ is only attested in causative derivatives: Komi *sel̄t-* ‘load’ ← *sel-* ‘mount (a horse), get in (a boat, sled, wagon, etc.)’, KhE *lilt-* ‘load (a boat or a sled)’ ← *lel-* ‘get in (a boat or sled)’, MsE *töält-* ‘load (a boat or sled)’ ← *töäl-* ‘get in (a boat or a sled)’. Also Fi *sälyttää* ‘load, put a burden on’ includes a causative suffix *-ttä-*, but the root verb has not been preserved in Finnic.

Second, there is a fatal problem with Häkkinen’s treatment similar to Rédei’s analysis: the presented Uralic-Yukaghir comparisons often do not show phonetically sensible sound correspondences. Whereas Rédei tried to dodge the problem by postulating many phonetically unmotivated and contradictory sound substitution rules, Häkkinen postulates many unmotivated and contradictory sound changes between his reconstructed Early Proto-Yukaghir and (Late) Proto-Yukaghir forms. Consider the following developments assumed by Häkkinen (2012b):

Middle PYuk *ś	> PYuk *č	Middle PYuk *eśə	> PYuk *ečē ‘father’
	> PYuk *jnč	Middle PYuk *eśə	> PYuk *(w)ejnči ‘spirit protector’
Middle PYuk *t	> PYuk *δ	Middle PYuk *jotə	> PYuk *joδo- ‘tie, bind’
	> PYuk *nt	Middle PYuk *etə	> PYuk *jent- ‘appear’
Middle PYuk *l-	> PYuk *l-	Middle PYuk *lokə	> PYuk *loγo- ‘wash’
	> PYuk *l̄-	Middle PYuk *laqə	> PYuk *laqa- ‘reach, arrive’

Needless to say, the assumption that two homonymous forms could have developed in completely different ways is in direct contradiction with the assumption of regular sound change. Even in other cases where one reconstructed proto-phoneme has two different outcomes in Yukaghir, the specific conditions that would account for the difference seem to be lacking. Yet further problems are caused by the postulation of highly unusual changes, such as nasals or stops appearing out of nowhere:

Middle PYuk *etə > PYuk *jent- ‘appear’

Middle PYuk *eśə > PYuk *(w)ejnčī ‘spirit protector’

Middle PYuk *jomə > PYuk *jompə ‘disease’

Middle PYuk *komə > PYuk *qompə ‘down on the ground’

Leaving questionable reconstructions aside, in the case of more convincing etymologies Häkkinen’s hypotheses regarding the age and stratification of words are often open to alternative interpretations. For example, on the basis of PYuk roots such as *wonč- ‘root’ (< PU *wanča), *mon- ‘say’ (< PU *mana-), and *qon- ‘go’ (< PU *kani-) Häkkinen assumes that Early PYuk *a was substituted for PU *a in loanwords, and that there was a subsequent sound change Early PYuk *a > PYuk *o. However, in Proto-Samoyed the reflex of PU *a is in most instances an open back rounded vowel *â. Hence, PYuk *wonč-, *mon- and *qon- could simply have been borrowed from PSam *wânčo ‘root’, *mân- ‘say’ and *kân- ‘go away’, as in the PYuk vowel system *o would have been the phonetically nearest equivalent of an open back rounded vowel. A similar problem can be seen in Häkkinen’s hypothesis of the change Early PYuk *ä > PYuk *e, supposedly reflected in e. g. PYuk *keĭ- ‘brother-in-law’ < PU *käliw ‘brother- or sister-in-law’. As PYuk had no open front vowel, the substitution of PYuk *e for foreign *ä may have taken place. Here, too, the source could have been Proto-Samoyed, where the word can be reconstructed as *kälü ‘brother-in-law’.

Even though Häkkinen’s (2012a; 2012b) treatment of Uralic-Yukaghir loan etymologies can certainly be characterized as more critical than that of Rédei (1999), his way of applying the comparative method to Yukaghir is nevertheless highly inconsistent. Hence, his conclusions regarding Pre-Proto-Yukaghir phonology and the age of Uralic-Yukaghir contacts cannot be accepted as valid.

8.A reassessment of Uralic loanwords in Yukaghir

In order to shed more light on the contact history of Uralic and Yukaghir, an even more critical and methodologically consistent approach is needed. As an attempt for such an approach, I have reevaluated the material presented by Rédei (1999) and Häkkinen (2012a; 2012b), as well as searched HDY for potential new loan etymologies unnoticed in previous studies. As a starting point for this research, I chose the hypothesis that Uralic loanwords in Yukaghir, at least for the most part, derive from the Samoyed branch. There were two reasons for this assumption. First, for geographical reasons alone a contact scenario between Samoyed and Yukaghir appears *a priori* the most plausible one. Second, it seems that this hypothesis provides the most salient explanation of the previously known material, when sufficiently critically evaluated. Rédei's hypothesis of borrowing from Khanty was abandoned because it does not seem to be supported by any clear evidence. As a result, the search yielded 43 loan etymologies, which are presented in Appendix C. It should be emphasized that even this critically compiled material includes etymologies that must be treated as plausible but hypothetical, rather than certain; as the results presented below depend on the validity of the etymologies themselves, they are to be seen as somewhat tentative.

Based on the etymologies in Appendix C, it is possible to postulate the following two interlocking hypotheses:

- 1) While many of the apparent loanwords seem to derive from Proto-Samoyed or possibly even from later Samoyed language forms, some seem to reflect Uralic phonological features that point to a Pre-Proto-Samoyed period of borrowing.¹³
- 2) Some of the most conspicuous lexical matches between Yukaghir and Finno-Ugric, lacking a counterpart in Samoyed, could be explained by borrowing from Samoyed (instead of Ob-Ugric or Khanty) after all: these Yukaghir words could derive from a more archaic Pre-Proto-Samoyed language, and their absence in modern Samoyed languages would be due to later lexical loss.

The justification for the first hypothesis is phonological; the sound correspondences and phonological nativization strategies of the loanwords will be discussed below. Let us first examine the consonant correspondences

in the material; as a starting point, the consonant inventories of Proto-Yukaghir, Proto-Samoyed and Proto-Uralic are given in Table 4.

As the table shows, the Uralic consonant system was simplified in Samoyed. The Samoyed consonant changes that are relevant to the discussion of the Yukaghir etymologies in Appendix C are listed below together with an example of each sound law; note that the change *l > *j is conditioned by several factors, and did not take place in all instances:

PU *s > PSam *t		PU *sala- ‘steal’ > PSam *tălä-
PU *ś > PSam *s		PU *śilmä ‘eye’ > PSam *säjmä
PU *d > PSam *r		PU *nüdi ‘handle, shaft’ > PSam *nir
PU *d’ > PSam *j		PU *kaďa- ‘leave behind’ > PSam *kăjä-
PU *x > PSam Ø		PU *mexi- ‘give, sell’ > PSam *mi-
PU *l > PSam *j	/#_	PU *lumi ‘snow’ > PSam *jom ¹⁴
	/V_i	PU *tuli ‘fire’ > PSam *tuj
	/_C	PU *śilmä ‘eye’ > PSam *säjmä
	(but:	PU *sala- ‘steal’ > PSam *tălä-)
PU *k > PSam Ø	/_i	PU *ulki ‘pole’ > PSam *uj
		PU *ńrki ‘cartilage’ > PSam *ńer

PYuk				PSam				PU			
p	t		k/q	p	t		k	p	t		k
	č	ć			č				č	ć?	
	s				s				s	ś	š
	δ		γ						d	d’	
m	n	ń	ŋ	m	n	ń	ŋ	m	n	ń	ŋ
	l	l̥			l				l		
	r				r				r		
w		j		w		j		w		j	x

Table 4: Proto-Yukaghir, Proto-Samoyed, and Proto-Uralic consonant inventories (HDY: 65; Janhunen 1981: 251; 1998: 62; Sammallahti 1988: 482, 486)¹⁵

As is well-known, the development of the PU sibilants *s and *ś in Samoyed is for the most part identical to that in Mansi. Furthermore, also in Khanty and Hungarian a change PU *ś > *s took place, whereas the original PU *s is reflected as Hungarian Ø and Proto-Khanty *_L. According to the traditional view, PU *s first changed into a dental spirant *θ in Proto-Ugric, which then merged with *t in Mansi, changed into an unvoiced lateral *_L in Proto-Khanty (which is reflected as *l, l̥, j, t* and θ in the Khanty languages), and was lost in Hungarian. The fact that the development of PU sibilants is identical in Mansi and Samoyed suggests that also the Samoyed development *s > *t involved Pre-Proto-Samoyed *θ as an intermediate stage; this is, indeed, a phonetically plausible path of change, whereas a direct change from a sibilant to a stop is much harder to imagine. Apparently, the restructuring of the sibilant system through the changes *s > *θ and *ś > *s is an old areal phenomenon connecting Samoyed and Ugric.

Against this background it is interesting to note that there are several potential loanwords where Yukaghir Ø corresponds to Pre-Proto-Samoyed (and Ugric) *θ:

PU *nusi- ‘scrape’ > Pre-PSam *nəθ- ? > PYuk *nō- ‘scrape, scratch’

PU *sala- ‘steal’ > Pre-PSam *θälä- ? > PYuk *olo- ‘steal’

PU *särä ‘fork, branched thing (?)’ ? > Pre-PSam *θärä > PYuk *ere ‘fork’

PU *soŋi- ‘penetrate, enter’ > Pre-PSam *θoŋ- ? > PYuk *oŋ- ‘put on, fit in’

PU *sula- ‘melt, thaw’ > Pre-PSam *θälä- ? > PYuk *aI- ‘thaw’

Assuming that at least some of these etymologies are correct, they suggest that Pre-Proto-Yukaghir possessed some kind of weak unvoiced fricative sound (maybe *θ, *f, *φ or *h) or the like, which was substituted for Pre-PSam *θ.

Another possibility is that the words were borrowed before the change *s > *θ in Pre-PSam, in which case Pre-PYuk would have undergone a change *s > Ø. This interpretation is suggested by Häkkinen (2012a), who argues that there is a later stratum of ‘East Uralic’ loans displaying a different correspondence, namely PU *s (> PSam *t) ~ PYuk *l. In Häkkinen’s view, the development *s > *t did not involve *θ as an intermediate stage but an unvoiced lateral fricative *_L instead; this intermediate stage was, then, preserved in Proto-Khanty. He proposes that loanwords showing the correspondence PU *s (> PSam *t) ~ PYuk Ø are very old, deriving

from Pre-Proto-Uralic, and that two words were borrowed into Yukaghir at a stage when **l* occurred: PYuk **larq*- ‘root’ (cf. PU **särä* ‘root, vein, branched thing’) and **ley*- ‘eat’ (cf. PU **sewi*- ‘eat’). As further evidence of the Pre-PYuk change **s* > Ø, he refers to Nikolaeva’s proposal that Yukaghir Ø can correspond to foreign **s* also in loans from other language families (HDY: 67).

The data supporting this interpretation are highly questionable, however. First, as noted above, PYuk **larq*- ~ PU **särä* is very probably a false comparison due to the unexplained **q* in the Yukaghir form, which leaves PYuk **ley*- ~ PU **sewi*- as a likely case of chance resemblance due to the lack of any plausible parallels supporting the correspondence PYuk **l* ~ PU **s*. Second, Nikolaeva (HDY: 67) actually provides only two examples of PYuk Ø corresponding to **s* in other language families: PYuk **ḡer* (> YukK *ijer* ‘pit, hole’) ~ Tungusic **saŋa(r)* (HDY 2641) and PYuk **inčī* (> YukK, T *inđī* ‘sinew, thread’) ~ Proto-Altaiic **siŋri* ‘sinew’ (HDY 580). The second example can be immediately dismissed, as not only the reconstruction itself but also the very existence the Altaic language family is in serious doubt (see, e. g., Georg 2011). As the first example involves a unique correspondence PYuk Ø ~ Tungusic **s*, it may be a mere chance resemblance. Thus, the evidence supporting the hypothesis of a Pre-PYuk sound change **s* > Ø is very weak.

In addition to the correspondence PYuk Ø ~ PSam **t* (< PU **s*), there is another possible Uralic phonological archaism that occurs in potential Samoyed loanwords in Yukaghir. There are two cases where the PYuk lateral **l* occurs in the place of an expected PSam **j* (< PU **l*):

PU **lonša* ‘calm’ > Pre-PSam **lānsā* ? > PYuk **lančīn*- ‘slow, calm’

PU **mälki* ‘breast’ > Pre-PSam **mäl* ? > PYuk **mel*- ‘breast’

Unfortunately, this hypothesis is complicated by the fact that neither of these Uralic words is actually attested in Samoyed. If they were, however, the expected forms would be PSam **jānsā* and **māj* due to the change **l* > PSam **j* (cf. PU **lomi* ‘snow’ > PSam **jom*, PU **ulki* ‘pole’ > PSam **uj* ‘tent pole’). The idea that these words were adopted from Pre-PSam before the change **l* > **j*, and were later lost in Samoyed itself, remains hypothetical.

There are also individual loan etymologies that may testify of some other Uralic phonological archaisms. A loan possibly preceding the change PU **d* > PSam **r* is PYuk **köδ*- ‘tighten’ < Pre-PSam **küdə*- (> PSam **kürə*-

‘tighten; waist band, string for tightening something’); the Samoyed word reflects PU *kāwdi ‘rope, string’ (Aikio 2006a: 19–20). A potential parallel for the correspondence PSam *r ~ PYuk *δ is PYuk *mediń ‘as soon as’ (? < Pre-PSam *mädə > PSam *märə ‘soon’). However, in this case the etymology of the Samoyed word is unknown, so there is no external evidence for the hypothesis that PSam *r in this word really derives from earlier *d, save for the Yukaghir word itself.

Some kind of intermediate stage of the development PU *d̥ > PSam *j, in turn, might be reflected in PYuk *sałqə ‘loon’ (cf. PU *śod̥ka ~ *śodka ‘goldeneye’); note that in Mansi and Permic the reflex of PU *d̥ is *l̥*, and in Samoyed the development may have had *ɭ as an intermediate stage. This remains quite hypothetical, however, as the PU word for ‘goldeneye’ has no known reflex in Samoyed, and furthermore the Permic reflexes (Komi *śuv*, Udmurt *śulj*) suggest PU *d̥ instead of *d̥. A particularly interesting PU archaism may be found in the voiced velar spirant in PYuk *wey- ‘lead, carry’ ? < Pre-PSam *wix- (> PSam *ü- ‘drag’); the verb could be a loan from an archaic Pre-PSam reflex of the PU verb *wixi- ‘lead, take (somewhere)’. However, the seemingly unmotivated vowel correspondence PYuk *e ~ Pre-PSam *i remains an additional problem here.

Next, let us consider vowel correspondences. The Proto-Yukaghir and Proto-Samoyed vowel systems can be seen in Table 5.

PYuk				PSam			
i		ĩ	u	i	ü	ĩ	u
e	ö		o	e	ö	ɛ	o
		a		ä		a	â
	ə				ä	ə	

Table 5: The vowel inventories of Proto-Yukaghir (HDY) and Proto-Samoyed (Helimski 2005)

As the table shows, the vowel inventory of Proto-Yukaghir was much smaller than that of Proto-Samoyed. Therefore, it is predictable that certain Samoyed vowel distinctions have become neutralized in loanwords adopted into Yukaghir. In particular, the following four substitutions must be pointed out:

- PSam *â > PYuk *o: PYuk *mon- ‘say’ (< PSam *mân- / *mon-), PYuk ?*ńomâ ‘hare’ (< PSam *ńâmâ), PYuk *ńorćâ ‘moss, lichen’ (< PSam *ńârso), PYuk *olo- ‘steal’ (< Pre-PSam *θâlâ-), PYuk *qon- ‘go, walk’ (< PSam *kân-), PYuk ?*solijâ ‘intestine, gut’ (< PSam ?*sâlâ), PYuk *so/alqâ ‘loon (Gavia)’ (< Pre-PSam *sâlkâ), PYuk *tono- / *toŋo- ‘follow, chase, drive’ (< PSam *tânâ-t/s-), PYuk *wonč- ‘root’ (< PSam *wânčo)
- PSam *ä > PYuk *e PYuk *ećē ‘father’ (< Pre-PSam ?*ä(j)ćä), PYuk *eme- ‘mother’ (< PSam *ämä), PYuk *ere ‘fork’ (< Pre-PSam *θärä), PYuk *međiń ‘as soon as’ (< Pre-PSam *mäđä-), PYuk *mel- ‘breast’ (< Pre-PSam *mäl), PYuk *pel- ‘old man, husband’ (< PSam *pälä)
- PSam *ę > PYuk *e PYuk *sēr ‘hail’ (< PSam *sēr), PYuk *mej- ‘take’ (< PSam *meĵ-), PYuk *Ĵer- / *Ĵir- ‘shake’ (< PSam *Ĵerâ-)
- PSam *ə, *ǝ > PYuk *a PYuk *aĴ- ‘melt, thaw’ (< Pre-PSam *θälâ-), PYuk *čant- ‘upriver, uphill’ (< PSam *čänčâ-), PYuk *lamtâ- ‘low’ (< PSam *lämto), PYuk *ńoro- ‘moss; bog’ (< PSam *ńarV), PYuk *paj- ‘strike, hit’ (< PSam *päjâ-), PYuk *qanć- ‘cold’ (< PSam *känsä-), PYuk *sapa- ‘hit’ (< PSam *sappâ-)

The first two substitutions have already been discussed in section 7, and they can be straightforwardly explained by the lack of an open front vowel (*ä) and an open back rounded vowel (*â) in Proto-Yukaghir. The same applies to the third substitution: there was no mid back unrounded vowel (*ę) in Proto-Yukaghir, either. As for the fourth substitution, Yukaghir actually had a vowel *ə, but it was confined to unstressed (mostly non-initial) syllables. Therefore, a substitution PSam *ə > PYuk *a in stressed initial syllables seems well motivated, at least if PSam *ə was in fact phonetically an open-mid or near-open vowel (approximately *[a̠]) in the source language; this would be roughly equivalent to the phonetic value of its modern reflex in Nenets, for instance.

There are also a few non-trivial vowel correspondences attested in individual etymologies. Plausible explanations can be proposed for most cases:

- PSam *ə > PYuk *o: PYuk *nō- ‘scrape, scratch’ (< Pre-PSam *nəθ-). – PSam *ə is a reflex of PU *u: PU *nusi- ‘scrape, scratch’. It is conceivable that the verb was borrowed from some intermediate form where the vowel had already become reduced, but not yet lost its labiality (Pre-PSam *nūθ-, *nōθ- or the like).

The Uralic-Yukaghir lexical correspondences...

PSam *a > PYuk *e: PYuk *(w)ejnčī ‘good spirit, shaman’s spirit protector’ (< PSam *wajntut). – Here, probably, the influence of following *j has caused the fronting of the vowel.

PSam *o > PYuk *ö: PYuk *kōj ‘fellow, boy, man’ (< Pre-PSam *koj). – Here, too, the following *j seems to be the cause of front vocalism.

PSam *ə > PYuk *e: PYuk *pē ‘mountain, rock, big stone’ (< PSam *pəj). – Here, too, one can attribute the vocalism to the effect of *j; perhaps the glide had become vocalized in the source language, in the same way as in NenT *pæ* ‘rock’.

PSam *ü > PYuk *ö: PYuk *kōδ- ‘tighten’ (< Pre-PSam *küdə-). – This vowel substitution can be straightforwardly explained by the lack of a close front rounded vowel (*ü) in Yukaghir.

Only in rare cases is there no obvious explanation to an apparently anomalous vowel correspondence. These include an unexpected PYuk *a in *paŋq- ‘seine’ (cf. PSam *poŋkā ‘net’), PYuk *ö in *jō ‘belt’ (cf. PSam *jiə ~ *niə ‘belt’), and PYuk *e in *kē ‘slot’ (cf. PSam *kiä ‘hole’) and *wey- ‘lead’ (cf. Pre-PSam *wix- > PSam *ü- ‘pull, drag’).

Hence, the 43 Samoyed loan etymologies for Yukaghir words proposed in Appendix C are, for the most part, phonologically quite regular and based on well-motivated sound substitutions of both consonants and vowels. There are certain reservations, however, that we must be clear about. The material is relatively small, and there are potential problems with some etymologies involving short forms and nursery words. Matches in lexical roots of the structure *CV- (e. g. PYuk *kē- ‘slot’ ~ PSam *kiä ‘hole’) are more likely than others to involve chance correspondences; on the other hand, matches of roots of the shape *CVCC- (e. g., PYuk *wonč- ~ PSam *wānčo ‘root’) are quite reliable in this respect. The matching forms of ‘mother’ (PYuk *eme- ~ PSam *ämä) and ‘father’ (PYuk *ečē ~ PSam *äjsä) might also be coincidental, as similar nursery words are found in many languages.

Perhaps the most hypothetical feature of the etymologies proposed here is the assumption of borrowing of Pre-Proto-Samoyed words into Yukaghir, which were later lost in Samoyed. However, the number of such etymologies is only eight, i. e. less than one fifth of the material. All of these cases involve Finno-Ugric words which are otherwise very widely attested, so it does seem reasonable to hypothesize that in these cases the absence of a Samoyed cognate reflects lexical loss.

Thus, even though there are uncertainties connected with some of the 43 etymologies, it appears safe to conclude that the material strongly supports the existence of Proto-Samoyed borrowings in Yukaghir, and that there are also strong indications of borrowing already from a Pre-Proto-Samoyed language form into Yukaghir. The assumption of such borrowing can also explain a part of the lexical similarities between Uralic and Yukaghir that have been thought to testify of genetic relationship, even some basic vocabulary items such as PYuk *aŋa ~ PU *aŋi ‘mouth’ and PYuk *ń/nim ~ PU *nimi ‘name’. Nothing in the phonological form of these words prevents us from assuming that they were borrowed from Proto-Samoyed to Yukaghir, and hence they do not provide unambiguous evidence for genetic relationship.

It must be admitted, however, that the high proportion of basic vocabulary items remains a puzzling feature of the corpus of potential Samoyed loanwords in Yukaghir. This is observed also by Piispanen (2013: 169), who criticizes the assumption of borrowing by stating that “the lexicon in Yukaghir with Uralic correspondences does not appear to constitute a particular cultural subgroup of borrowed vocabulary of any given chronological period or culture.” However, it must be noted that the assumption of genetic relationship does not provide a better overall account of the material, even if it seems more attractive from a semantic perspective. First, as we have seen, regardless of similarities in basic vocabulary, it has not been possible to establish any system of regular sound correspondences between Proto-Uralic and Proto-Yukaghir. Second, if we assumed that the corpus of 43 words represent genetic inheritance rather than borrowing, it would become quite difficult to understand why the Proto-Yukaghir forms seem to show a better correspondence with Proto-Samoyed than they do with Proto-Uralic.

It can be tentatively suggested that the high proportion of basic vocabulary in the corpus partially results from selection bias. The majority of the suggested 43 loan etymologies in Appendix C are based on a reinterpretation of Uralic-Yukaghir word comparisons that have initially been claimed to support genetic inheritance, and etymological studies seeking to uncover evidence for genetic relationship have naturally tended to concentrate on basic vocabulary. Therefore, it is conceivable that in-depth etymological research of Samoyed and Yukaghir could reveal more loans outside basic vocabulary; further study in the future will show whether this hypothesis can be verified.

9. Conclusion

The results of the study can now be summarized. Regarding the possibility of a Uralic-Yukaghir genetic relationship, it has been shown that a great majority of the proposed Uralic-Yukaghir lexical comparisons fail to fulfil very basic criteria for etymological cognation, and thus they also fail to provide any evidence whatsoever for a genetic relationship between Uralic and Yukaghir. A critical analysis of the material has left us with so few promising etymologies that it appears to be impossible to establish a system of regular sound correspondences between the two families. This being the case, proof of cognation remains elusive even in the case of conspicuous lexical lookalikes. While one is tempted to hypothesize that some of the tantalizingly similar basic vocabulary items could be genetic cognates, the problem is that only a very small number of such parallels have been found, and in the absence of criteria for phonological regularity, there is no way to verify cognation.

It does not appear very likely that future research could uncover such a large number of new Uralic-Yukaghir etymologies that a system of regular sound correspondences could be established. Hence, if Uralic-Yukaghir will ever be successfully established as a language family, the decisive evidence will probably have to be found at other levels of language. The morphological comparisons presented so far are, however, entirely unconvincing. The two language families seem to share no morphological patterns or paradigms, but merely some isolated suffixes of similar form and function. The compared suffixes are short and contain typologically common and highly frequent consonants, and most important, many of the similarities between them turn out to be only apparent as the reconstructed background of the suffixes in each family is taken into proper consideration.

Thus, a critical examination of the alleged Uralic-Yukaghir parallels has shown that:

1. there are only about two dozen lexical items that could reasonably be suspected to be cognates;
2. many of the lexical similarities, including also ones in basic vocabulary, can be explained as Samoyed loanwords in Yukaghir;
3. no system of regular sound correspondences between Proto-Uralic and Proto-Yukaghir can, apparently, be demonstrated;
4. the proposed correlations in morphology can easily be explained as products of chance.

The inevitable conclusion is that according to our present understanding, Uralic and Yukaghir are not genetically related. Of course, the possibility remains that such a hypothetical relationship will be demonstrated in the future, but in the present state of research such a possibility amounts to nothing more than speculation. The extreme scarcity of promising evidence for the Uralic-Yukaghir theory indicates that if such a genetic relationship nevertheless exists, it must be very remote indeed. Moreover, it has become clear that most of the purported lexical and morphological parallels between Uralic and Yukaghir are simply illusory, and thus irrelevant for any future attempts to validate the theory.

There is a valuable methodological lesson in this result. It is a rather common method for scholars aiming to prove a distant genetic relationship to present a corpus of etymologies that are based on comparisons of reconstructed word roots taken from etymological dictionaries of the language families compared. This is a highly problematic practice for two reasons. First, etymological dictionaries frequently do not reflect the most up-to-date views of the historical phonology and etymological study of the family in question, and thus often contain many outdated and imprecise reconstructions. Second, it is usually not the aim of an etymological dictionary to present only the most reliable and solidly established proto-language etymologies. Even in the case of very thoroughly studied language families such as Uralic and Indo-European, such dictionaries also include large numbers of lexical comparisons and reconstructions that are less certain and even speculative. Hence, by mechanically harvesting reconstructions from etymological dictionaries for the purpose of long-range comparison, it is remarkably easy to produce a superficially plausible-looking corpus of word comparisons which simply loses all validity once the actual primary data within the compared families is taken into critical scrutiny.

The present results have important repercussions for 'long-range' comparisons involving Uralic and Yukaghir. As attempts to demonstrate a genetic relationship between Uralic and Yukaghir with generally accepted methods of comparative linguistics have failed so far, it makes little sense to include both Uralic and Yukaghir as a subgroup in some more far-flung hypothesis of remote linguistic kinship such as 'Nostratic' (e. g., Bomhard 2008), 'Eurasian' (Greenberg 2000; 2002) or 'Uralo-Siberian' (Fortescue 1998); cf. Campbell (1998), who demonstrates the untenability of Uralic comparisons in the Nostratic framework. If Uralic and Yukaghir could first be shown to be genetically related through a pairwise comparison

of the two families, it would then be perfectly reasonable to explore the possible further genetic connections of Uralic and Yukaghir. But from a methodological point of view it would be quite strange to assume that such a demonstration could be achieved by multilateral comparison – i. e., by extending the comparative framework to include several other language families – as long as no genetic relationship can be shown by pairwise comparison.

In regard to the prospects of ‘long-range’ language comparison these conclusions may be rather dispiriting, as Uralic-Yukaghir has nevertheless often been considered one of the better-argued deep phylogenetic connections in Northern Eurasia (see, e. g., Ruhlen 1987: 69–70). It would, however, be a rather one-sided way of thinking to consider the demonstration of genetic connections between languages as the only kind of meaningful result in ‘long-range’ historical linguistics. In demonstrating the invalidity of the theory of a genetic relationship between Uralic and Yukaghir we have, as a by-product, uncovered evidence of the validity of an areal relationship between them – or, more precisely, between Samoyed and Yukaghir.

The areal connection between Samoyed and Yukaghir has a notable time-depth: there seems to be evidence of contact between the two language groups even on a Pre-Proto-Samoyed level of linguistic development. If this result holds, it has important implications for the reconstruction of both Yukaghir and Uralic prehistory. In historical times Samoyed and Yukaghir languages were separated by a large expanse of the Central Siberian Plateau dominated by speakers of Turkic and Tungusic, but of course, this cannot have been the situation in more remote times. It is known that Yukaghirs have earlier inhabited areas far west of their present-day territories, according to some views as far as the Yenisei (Rédei 1999: 2–4). In light of loanwords from Proto-Samoyed and Pre-Proto-Samoyed, this is also the direction where the origin of the Yukaghir language family should be sought. This is a major question for future research into Siberian ethnolinguistic prehistory to solve.

Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Ante Aikio)
Sámi allaskuvla (Saami University College),
Hannoluohkká 45, 9520 Guovdageaidnu, Norway
<ante.aikio@oulu.fi>

Notes

1. This figure excludes entries 1129, 2048 and 2189. According to the language index of HDY, a Samoyed form is supposed to be cited under entry 2048 and a Finno-Ugric form under entry 2189, but none can be found in the entries themselves; the latter entry is a Russian loanword. In entry 1129, a Uralic reconstruction *rVmpV- ‘swing’ is given, together with a reference to UEW (241); no such reconstruction can be found there, however, nor apparently elsewhere in UEW.
2. Nikolaeva states that PYuk *k and *q can probably be treated as allophones of one phoneme, even though she transcribes them with separate symbols (HDY: 66). In this paper I have followed Nikolaeva’s practice.
3. The comparison of YukK *ki-* ‘two’ with PU *kVkta/ä ‘two’ is hardly feasible, as the words show no similarity beyond the initial velar stop; this equation has been suggested in some earlier Uralic-Yukaghir comparisons, but it is no longer cited by Nikolaeva (HDY 209). On the other hand, Piispanen (2013: 170) goes as far as to compare all Uralic and Yukaghir numerals from 1 to 4. However, the roots of the Yukaghir numerals are reconstructed as PYuk *irk- ‘one’, *ki- ‘two’, *ja- ‘three’, and *jelek- ‘four’, and to match them with PU *ükti ‘one’, *kVkta/ä ‘two’, *ko/ulmi ‘three’ and *neljä ‘four’ requires quite a leap of faith. As for *ükti ‘one’, Piispanen postulates the ad hoc development *kt > *tk > *rk, for which no parallels are known in Yukaghir.
4. The Uralic etymology is considered uncertain in UEW (403), but in light of the additional Permic cognates discovered by Helimski (1996: 63), the reconstruction of the PU word *punsV ‘kneecap’ appears plausible: SaaL *butjes* ~ *butjes* ‘kneecap of a reindeer’, Komi *pižes*, Udm *pidés* ~ *pižes* ‘knee’, NenT *punco*, EnT *puda*, Ngan *hünšü* ‘fat on the knee (of a reindeer)’. The vowel *u* of the Saami cognate is irregular, however.
5. Sammallahti only lists cognates from Khanty and Samoyed, but clearly MariE *nuže-* ‘rub, scrape off’ and MdE *nozo-rda-* ‘scratch’ also belong in this cognate set; both are regular reflexes of PU *nusi-.
6. Admittedly, the Uralic cognate set is semantically quite heterogeneous; the meaning ‘fork’ is attested in Saami (e. g., SaaL *sárre*). UEW does not cite the Saami cognate, but it is given by Sammallahti (1988: 548).
7. Nikolaeva compares PYuk *qon- to the Samoyed reflex of this Uralic stem, PSam *kân- ‘go away’. However, the Samoyed verb goes back to PU *kani-. Elsewhere in Uralic the verb root is not preserved in underived form, but it is widely attested in the causative formation *kan-ta- ‘transport, carry’ (Janhunen 1981: 221, 231; Sammallahti 1988: 538).
8. Precisely this logic is, of course, followed by many scholars working in the Nostratic framework. An example is provided by Hyllested (2003), who claims to demonstrate regular correspondences between Indo-European laryngeals and Uralic and Yukaghir stops and affricates. Needless to say, our failure to find any regular sound correspondences between Uralic and Yukaghir in the first place does not lend credence to claims of regular Indo-Uralic-Yukaghir correspondences. On a more general level, one can say that all attempts so far to relate Uralic to “Nostratic” are vitiated by numerous errors in the Uralic data and reconstructions (for detailed discussion, see Campbell 1998); this is also the case with Hyllested’s etymological comparisons.
9. Uralic 1SG and 2SG pronouns fall into two distinct cognate sets with complementary distributions, as first noted by Janhunen (1981: 232–233): Saami, Mordvin and Samoyed

show reflexes of *mun ‘I’ and *tun ‘you’, whereas most other branches have reflexes of the disyllabic front-vocalic forms *minä and *tinä (note, though, that certain Ugric languages show further deviances in personal pronouns: initial Ø- in 1SG and *n- in 2SG). The background of this duality is so far unexplained. This state of affairs poses further problems for external comparisons: as 1SG and 2SG pronouns show serious problems of reconstruction even within Uralic, it is speculative to further connect these pronouns to any Yukaghir forms (or to forms in any other language family, for that matter).

10. It has occasionally been suggested that Proto-Uralic also had content word roots of the shape *CV-. Helimski (1999: 78), for instance, reconstructs verb roots such as *mi-, *wi- and *to-, which correspond to *mexi- ‘sell’, *wixi- ‘lead’ and *toxi- ‘bring’ in Janhunen’s (1981) and Sammallahti’s (1988) reconstructions. To refute this idea we need only to look at Saami data. First, Helimski presents no explanation as to how Saami developed a constraint forbidding the root structure *CV- in content word roots, if such a structure supposedly was originally allowed in Uralic. Second, and more important, those roots that Helimski reconstructs as monosyllabic are reflected in Saami as disyllabic stems ending in *-ke- (< *-ki-): cf. SaaSk *miökkâ-* ‘sell’, *viikkâ-* ‘take’, SaaS *doeke-* ‘sell’ (< Proto-Saami *mieke-, *vike-, *tuoke- < Pre-Proto-Saami *mēki-, *wīki-, *tōki-). The sequence *-ki- cannot be a suffix, because no such suffix is known, and because no monosyllabic roots can be posited as bases of derivatives in Saami in the first place. Thus, to explain the facts one would be forced to postulate a very strange phonological change: PU *CV- > Pre-Proto-Saami *CṼki-, i. e. the emergence of a syllable *-ki- out of nowhere combined with lengthening of the preceding vowel. This change would be made all the more bizarre by having been confined to content word roots and leaving grammatical roots such as *ke- ‘who’, *mi- ‘what’, *tä- ‘this’ and *le- ‘be’ unaffected – the latter are still monosyllabic in Saami (cf. SaaN *gii* : *gea-* ‘who’, *mii* : *ma-* ‘what’, *dát* : *dá-* ‘this’, *lea-* ‘be’). From a typological point of view such a development seems unnatural enough to be regarded as an impossibility.
11. The instrumental case is not attested in Tundra Yukaghir.
12. The Kolyma Yukaghir ‘translative’ and ‘destinative’ listed in the case paradigms in Nikolaeva (2000: 44–47) have been omitted; Maslova (2003a: 126–128) uses the term ‘transformative’ for these and analyses them as imperfective converb forms.
13. Häkkinen (2012a) interprets the same kinds of archaisms as evidence of considerably earlier borrowing from Pre-Proto-Uralic to ‘Early Proto-Yukaghir’. This interpretation, however, is based not so much on actual etymological and phonological arguments, but instead on Häkkinen’s assumptions regarding Uralic prehistory, in particular his theory that Proto-Uralic was spoken in the area surrounding the Volga-Kama confluence (Häkkinen 2009).
14. The change PU *l > *PSam *j did not take place in initial position if the following vowel was PU *j (Aikio 2014b: 86).
15. Janhunen (1981) and Sammallahti (1998) do not reconstruct *ć and *š into Proto-Uralic; Sammallahti considers these two phonemes Proto-Finno-Ugric innovations. It has later turned out, however, that *š occurs in at least two etymologies with a Samoyed cognate: PU *šelki- ‘fly’ > PSam *tej- (Aikio 2002: 26) and PU *kajšV ‘sickness’ > PSam *kajtə (Aikio 2014a: 3–5). The phoneme *ć does not seem to occur in any etymology with a reliable Samoyed cognate, so if one adheres to the traditional binary taxonomy of the Uralic family, then it cannot be reconstructed into Proto-Uralic.

Abbreviations

EnF	Forest Enets	PMari	Proto-Mari
EnT	Tundra Enets	PMd	Proto-Mordvin
Est	Estonian	PMs	Proto-Mansi
Fi	Finnish	PPerm	Proto-Permian
Hung	Hungarian	PSaa	Proto-Saami
Kam	Kamas	PSam	Proto-Samoyed
KhE	East Khanty	PU	Proto-Uralic
KhN	North Khanty	PYuk	Proto-Yukaghir
KhS	South Khanty	SaaI	Inari Saami
Komi	Komi	SaaK	Kildin Saami
MariE	East (Meadow) Mari	SaaL	Lule Saami
MariW	West (Hill) Mari	SaaN	North Saami
Mat	Mator	SaaS	South Saami
MdE	Erzya Mordvin	SaaSk	Skolt Saami
MdM	Moksha Mordvin	Slk	(Proto-)Selkup
MsE	East Mansi	SlkK	Ket Selkup
MsN	North Mansi	SlkTa	Taz Selkup
NenF	Forest Nenets	SlkTy	Tym Selkup
NenT	Tundra Nenets	Udm	Udmurt
Ngan	Nganasan	Veps	Vepsian
PFi	Proto-Finnic	YukK	Kolyma Yukaghir
PIE	Proto-Indo-European	YukT	Tundra Yukaghir
PKh	Proto-Khanty		

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Appendix A: The Uralic-Yukaghir comparisons in HDY

This appendix includes a list of the Uralic-Yukaghir etymological comparisons in HDY. The numbering refers to the entry numbers in HDY. The PU reconstructions have been revised from those given in UEW according to the theory of Uralic historical phonology by Janhunen (1981) and Sammallahhti (1988), taking into account some modifications proposed in Aikio (2012). Questionable reconstructions are marked with a question mark (e. g., ? *mentä-), and rejectable reconstructions are marked with a double asterisk (e. g., **ćaka). Correspondences of initial and medial consonants as well as first-syllable vowels are given for those etymologies where a Proto-Uralic reconstruction can be established. In the column ‘notes’ the following symbols are used:

- ? The Uralic-Yukaghir comparison is classified as “highly problematic” in HDY.
- M The comparison has morphological problems (there is unaccounted stem-final material in one or both of the compared forms).
- S The compared Uralic and Yukaghir forms show a poor semantic match.
- U The Uralic etymology is classified as uncertain by UEW.
- × The Uralic etymology is uncertain or rejectable (due to arguments presented in Appendix B).

entry	PYuk	PU	C-	V	-C-	-C ₂ -	notes
33	*āl- ‘below, under’	*jla-		a/ĵ	l/l		
35	*aľ- ‘melt, thaw’	*sula-	Ø/s	a/u	l/l		
64	*an- ‘speak; word, speech, language’	*āni ‘voice, song’		a/ā	n/n		
65	*an- ‘there’ ¹⁶	*u/o- ‘that’		a/u,o	(n/Ø)		
74	*aŋa ‘mouth, opening’	*aŋa- ‘open’, *aŋi ‘mouth, opening’		a/a	ŋ/ŋ		
139	*awa ‘elder, elder sister’	**apV ‘elder sister’					×
221	*čāqə ‘freeze’	**ćaka ‘thin ice’					× ?
284	*čijičə- ‘darkness, night’	**či/ünV ‘fog, mist’					× M
309	*čolo- ‘add, join’	*čolmi ‘knot; tie’	č/ć	o/o	l/l	Ø/m	? M
311	*čolqə ‘spike for breaking ice; move, stir’	*šjlka ‘pole, rod’	č/s	o/ĵ	l/l	q/k	?
313	*čomo- ‘big, large’	**čama ‘straight, upright’					× ?

The Uralic-Yukaghir lexical correspondences...

entry	PYuk	PU	C-	V	-C ₁ -	-C ₂ -	notes
329	*čor-(qə-) 'clearing, tundra; firm, hard'	**čarV 'firm, hard, strong'					×
362	*čupo- 'sharp; sharpen'	**čuppa					×
403	*ečē 'father'	**äčä					×
436	*əl- (negative marker)	*e/ä/a- (negative verb) ¹⁷		ə/V	(l/Ø)		M
442	*eī 'first; while'	*edi 'front, ahead'		e/e	l/d		
449	*em- 'dark'	**simV 'black / rust'					×
451	*eme 'mother'	*e/ämä		e/e,ä			
458	*en- 'this' ¹⁸	*e-		e/e	(n/Ø)		
467	*eñe 'address to a baby/woman'	**enä 'mother'					×
470	*eñk- 'back of the head'	**se/änkV					×
560	*iīe- 'scold, abuse'	*alV- 'say invocations'		i/a	l/l		?
614	*iw- 'suck'	*imi-		i/i	w/m		
620	*jä 'birch tree'	**juwe					×
671	*jēlā- 'boil; sun'	**jelä					×
672	*jelek- 'four'	*neljä	j/n	e/e	l/l	Ø/j	?
691	*jō 'belt'	**jäji					×
697	*jođo- 'tie, bind'	**jorV- 'roll'					×
704	*jolo- 'behind, after'	*jälki 'trace'	j/j	o/ä	l/l	Ø/k	?
768	*kē- 'through; slot' ¹⁹	? *ko/ulV	k/k	ē/o,u	(Ø/l)		×
778	*kel- 'come'	*kälä- 'wade, rise' ²⁰	k/k	e/ä	l/l		S
780	*keī- 'brother-in-law'	*käliw- 'brother or sister-in-law'	k/k	e/ä	l/l		
781	*kelinčō 'worm'	**kVlV					×
793	*ke/ir- 'drop, fall'	*kirki- 'fall'	k/k	e,i/i	r/r	Ø/k	
806	*kewe- 'go away, leave'	**käwi-					×
819	*kile- 'wade'	*kulki- 'go / flow'	k/k	i/u	l/l	Ø/k	S
823	*kimer 'film, inner hide'	*kama 'skin, crust, peel'	k/k	i/a	m/m		?
824	*ki/u(m)n- 'ten'	*kümmin	k/k	i,u/ü	Ø,m/mm	n/n	?
826	*kin 'who'	*ke/i	k/k	e/e,i	(n/Ø)		

Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Ante Aikio)

entry	PYuk	PU	C-	V	-C ₁ -	-C ₂ -	notes
836	*kire ? 'knife'	*kurV	k/k	i/u	r/r		?
839	*kit/č 'end, beginning'	*kačá 'tip'	k/k	i/a	č,t/č		× ? U
855	*kōj 'fellow, boy, young man'	*koji 'man, male'	k/k	ō/o	j/j		
860	*kōkə 'head (of fish, animal)'	*kokka 'hook, hoe'	k/k	ō/o	k/kk		× U S
878	*kōnčə 'worm, larva'	? *kV(n)čV 'tapeworm'	k/k	ō/V	n/n,Ø	č/č	×
921	*kū 'snow'	**kumV					×
953	*kur- 'clutch'	**kuri-					×
955	*kurčə- 'crane'	*ku/ırki	k/k	u/u,ı	r/r	č/k	
983	*fajə 'spleen'	? *d/lä/epp/pdä	l/d,l	ä/ä	Ø/p	j/d,p	× U
992	*lamtə- 'low, deep'	*lįnti 'low-land, valley'	l/l	į/a	m/n	t/t	
997	*lančın- 'slowly'	**lä(ń)čV ²¹					× U
1004	*faja 'reach, come, arrive'	*läkti- 'leave, go out'	l/l	a/ä	q/k	Ø/t	?
1005	*faja- 'slot in a beam'	*lakši- 'carve'	l/l	a/a	q/k	Ø/s	?
1007	*larq- 'root'	*särä 'root, vein, fiber'	l/s	a/ä	r/r	q/Ø	?
1015	*law- 'floating log'	*loppV	l/l	o/a	w/pp		?
1016	*lV- 'down'	**lV					× U
1018	*fə- 'be, exist'	*le- 'become; give birth'	l/l	ə/e			S
1019	*ley- 'eat'	*sex/wi-	l/s	e/e	γ/x,w		
1022	*lej- 'know, recall'	**lewdä-					× ? U
1038	*lepe- 'break off'	**rVppV-					× U
1040	*lep(k)- 'blood'	**leppä					× ? U S
1045	*lese- '(torn) rags'	**le/iše-					× U S
1048	*lewej- 'summer, warm'	*lämpi 'warmth'	l/l	e/ä	Ø/m	w/p	
1059	*lipə 'spade'	**lippV					× U
1085	*lō/ump- 'top of a boot'	**lampa					× ? U
1112	*fū- 'smoke'	*lewli 'vapour, breath, soul'	l/l	e/ū	Ø/w	Ø/l	
1141	*malč/ljə 'cloudberry'	? *mVđV	m/m	a/o	l/l,đ	č,j/j	×
1188	*mel- 'breast'	*mäiki	m/m	e/ä	l/l	Ø/k	
1208	*menmə- 'jump'	*meni- 'go'	m/m	e/e	n/n	m/Ø	S
1221	*mət 'l'	*minä / *mun	m/m	ə/i,u	(t/n)		

The Uralic-Yukaghir lexical correspondences...

entry	PYuk	PU	C-	V	-C ₁ -	-C ₂ -	notes
1238	*mit 'we'	*me id.	m/m	i/e	(t/Ø)		
1253	*mol- 'body, trunk'	**mVl(k/j)V					× U
1267	*mon- 'say'	**mVnV-					×
1302	*muy- 'row of long hills'	*mäki	m/m	ä/u	ɣ/k		?
1321	*muntə- 'carry, drag (away)'	? *mentä- 'miss'	m/m	e/u	n/n	t/t	× ? U S
1337	*ñā- / *ñaj 'female in-law'	? *nVx/ji 'woman'	ń/n	a/V	j/x,j		×
1366	*ñan- 'big, great'	**nVńéV					× ? U
1375	*ñār 'bare patch on fur'	**ñarV					×
1401	*ñel- 'lick'	*ñola-	ń/ń	e/o	l/l		
1406	*ñelpə- 'shave, skin, cut hair'	*ñülki- 'flay' ²²	ń/ń	e/ü	l/l	(p/k)	M
1409	? *ñēmə 'hare'	*ñoma	ń/ń	ē/o	m/m		
1439	*ñiy-/*ñiŋk- 'bend, stoop'	**ñikV-					× U
1480	*noy- 'wait for, guard'	*ñoxi- 'follow, chase'	n/ń	o/o	ɣ/x		?
1490	*nol 'poplar, willow'	**ñulKV					×
1493	*ñöm- 'press, squeeze'	**ñVmV-					× U
1515	*noqsə 'sable'	*ñukśi 'marten'	n/ń	u/o	q/k	s/ś	
1525	*ñoro- 'moss; bog'	*ñiri 'wet, sticky substance; bog'	ń/ń	o/ĭ	r/r		
1532	*ñū 'name'	*nimi	ń/n	i/ū	m/Ø		
1539	*ñūjə- 'walk staggering'	**n/ńVjV-					× ? U
1552	*n/ñuŋn- 'dream'	? *ñuŋV-	n,ń/ń	u/u	ŋ/ŋ	n/Ø	×
1576	*ō- 'scoop up, ladle'	*ammV- id.		ō/a	Ø/m		
1625	*olo- 'steal'	*sala- id.	Ø/s	o/a	l/l		
1643	*omo- 'good, nice, healthy'	**oma 'own; property'					× ?
1653	*oŋ- 'interval, space'	*oŋti 'hole in a tree'		o/o	ŋ/ŋ	Ø/t	?
1685	*onučə 'quill-back fish'	? *oŋčV 'sheefish'		o/o	n/ŋ	č/č	× U
1723	*pač- 'go here and there'	**pačKV 'through'					× ? U

Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte (Ante Aikio)

entry	PYuk	PU	C-	V	-C ₁ -	-C ₂ -	notes
1749	*para 'basis, essence'	*pa/or(w)V 'raft'	p/p	a/a,o	r/r	Ø/Ø,w	? U S
1758	*pē 'mountain, rock, stone'	**pije 'stone, flint'					× U
1759	*peč- 'run, trot, gallop'	**pučV- 'run, escape'					× U
1762	*peče- 'throw'	? *pi/ečV- 'separate, come off'	p/p	e/i,e	č/č		U S
1770	*pekč- 'leg muscles'	*počka 'shank' ²³	p/p	e/o	k/k	č/č	U
1772	*pel- 'old man, husband, bridegroom'	*pälä 'half, side'	p/p	e/ä	l/l		
1785	*pe/i(j)nčā 'shoulder blade'	*puñčV 'knee'	p/p	e,i/u	n/n	č/č	U
1794	*pere- 'aloof, aside'	*pärtä 'board'	p/p	e/e,ä	r/r	Ø/t	S
1830	*pöy- 'run, jump'	*pukta- 'run'	p/p	ö/u	y/k	Ø/t	
1837	*poj- 'white'	**päji-					× ? U
1851	*poliñ 'many'	**paljV					× ? U
1861	*pö/eñ- 'put, leave, abandon'	*pñni- 'put'	p/p	ö,e/ï	n/n		
1866	*pončuwa 'capercaillie'	*pññi	p/p	o/ü	ñ/ñ	č/Ø	? M
1911	*puðe 'on, on top of'	*pidi 'high, long'	p/p	u/i	ð/d		
1917	*puj- 'blow'	*puwa-	p/p	u/u	j/w		
1938	*pun- 'tell, narrate'	*puna- 'weave'	p/p	u/u	n/n		? S
1948	*punkā 'hill, hummock'	**pu/oñka					× ?
1964	*qa-, *qo- 'wh-'	*ku/o-	q/k	a,o/u,o			
1982	*qal- 'bark, scales'	*kala	q/k	a/a	l/l		? S
2000	*qanč- 'cold, frost'	**konta					× ? U
2018	*qār / *qajr 'skin'	**kori					×
2050	*qol- 'sound, noise'	*kuwli- 'hear'	q/k	o/u	Ø/w	l/l	S
2091	*qoso ? 'clay'	**kVčV sand					× ?
2101	*qij 'stone'	*kiwi	q/k	ï/i	j/w		?
2118	*sā- 'tree, wood, stick'	*šjli- 'elm'	s/s	ā/ï	Ø/l		S
2150	*sapa- 'strike, hit'	**čappi-					× ? U
2169	*sas- 'kind of trap'	**čáčä					× U
2264	*sô/ej- 'small stone, pebble'	**šojwa 'clay'					× ?

The Uralic-Yukaghir lexical correspondences...

entry	PYuk	PU	C-	V	-C,-	-C,-	notes
2270	*sö/ef- 'beat, break'	? *šjli- 'cut, split'	s/š	ö,e/ĵ	l/l		U
2273	*solijə 'intestine, gut'	*šola	s/š	o/o	l/l		
2280	*so/alqə 'loon'	*šod/dka 'goldeneye'	s/š	o,a/o	l/d,d	q/k	
2366	*ta- 'there'	*ta-	t/t	a/a			
2390	*tē- 'give, show'	*toxi- 'bring'	t/t	ē/o	Ø/x		?
2401	*tent- 'wealth'	? *tenä 'price'	t/t	e/e	n/n	(t/Ø)	?
2410	*tət 'thou'	*tinä / *tun	t/t	ə/i,u	(t/n)		
2411	*ti 'this'	*tä/e/i	t/t	i/ä,e,i			
2423	*tit 'you pl.'	*te	t/t	i/e	(t/Ø)		
2470	*tu- 'this'	*to- 'that'	t/t	u/o			
2486	*tur- 'offend, persecute'	*tora 'fight'	t/t	u/o	r/r		?
2568	*wača-/*wočo- 'open mouth'	*woča 'fence, weir'	w/w	a,o/o	č/č		S
2578	*wāl 'near'	**welji 'brother'					× U S
2579	*wa/ol- 'shaman; conjure'	*wala 'word, oath, song'	w/w	a,o/a	l/l		
2599	*wey- 'lead, carry'	*wixi- 'take'	w/w	e/i	γ/x		
2603	*wele- 'carry'	*wolka 'shoulder'	w/w	e/o	l/l	Ø/k	?
2607	*wentə- 'lay out, stretch out'	*weni- 'stretch'	w/w	e/e	n/n	(t/Ø)	
2618	*wonč- 'thin root'	*wanča(w) 'root'	w/w	o/a	n/n	č/č	
2632	*ičə- 'see, look, watch'	*woča- 'wait'	Ø/w	ĵ/o	č/č		
2638	*jmo- 'get into a boat'	*amV- 'sit'		ĵ/a	m/m		× ?

Notes

16. According to HDY *-n- "is probably a pronominal suffix".
17. Cf. PU *ä/e-lä- (negative imperative substem); HDY erroneously speaks of a Uralic "negative particle".
18. Attested in YukT e-diŋ 'this' < *en-tiŋ; according to Nikolaeva, the nasal *-n- "is probably a pronominal suffix".
19. HDY suggests morphological reanalysis: *kēl > kē-l.
20. The Uralic verb could be semantically better compared to PYuk *kile- 'wade'; cf. 819.
21. The Yukaghir word could be better compared to PU *lonša 'soft, mild'.
22. HDY: "the comparison [...] may be valid if *-pə- in Yukaghir is a derivational suffix".
23. Note the assumed metathesis.

Appendix B: Analyses of individual Uralic-Yukaghir etymologies

This appendix presents critical notes on individual Uralic-Yukaghir comparisons presented in HDY and Piispanen (2013). The numbering of the etymologies refers to the entries in HDY. In each case a reference to UEW is also provided, where the Uralic primary data can be located.

- 139: *apV ‘elder sister’ (UEW 15). – Komi *ob* ‘paternal aunt’ cannot belong to this etymology due to its voiced stop *b* (< *mp). The remaining Siberian cognates (PKh *opj̄, PMs *úp, PSam *apã) are probably related via borrowing, because the vowel correspondences are irregular. The similarity of these words to PYuk *awa- ‘elder, elder sister’ (HDY 115) is intriguing, but genetic cognation is out of the question due to the irregularities on the Uralic side. Piispanen (2003: 182–183) speculates on possible alternative connections of these words with PU *j̄ppi ‘father-in-law’ (UEW 14: *appe) and PYuk *epë ‘grandmother, father’s older sister’ (HDY 482), which only makes the etymology more obscure.
- 221: **čaka ‘thin ice’ (UEW 28). – This is a completely arbitrary reconstruction: the vowel correspondences are irregular, the Khanty and Mansi initial consonants (PKh *č-, PMs *s-) do not match each other, the purported Khanty cognate shows an incompatible consonant cluster *ŋk (cf. KhN *śunχ, śonχ* ‘ice floes’ < PKh *čaŋk), and Hungarian shows irregular variation of the initial consonant (*zaj* ~ *szaj* ~ *saj* ‘ice drift; thin ice on water’).
- 284: **či/ünV ‘mist, smoke’ (UEW 59). – Based on PPerm *čj̄ŋ ‘smoke’, PKh *čj̄y and PMs *šj̄ŋkʷ ‘mist’; the vowel correspondence is irregular and PKh *γ (instead of *ŋk) is quite unexpected. One could perhaps dismiss the Khanty form and venture the speculative reconstruction ?*čäŋi on the basis of Mansi and Permic, but the vowel correspondence PPerm *j̄ ~ PMs *i is anomalous.
- 313: **čama ‘straight, upright’ (UEW 52). – Based on Fi *hama* (an intensifying attribute that expresses remoteness: e. g., *hama tulevaisuus* ‘the remote future’, *hamaan loppuun* ‘until the very end’), PKh *čj̄mã ‘even’, PMs *šamã ‘straight, upright’. The vowel correspondences are irregular.
- 329: **čarV ‘coarse’ (UEW 30). – Based on PSaa *čär(r)ēs ‘coarse (of wool), stiff (of hair)’ and PPerm *čurj̄t ‘hard, strong, stale’, but the assumed Saami vowel development *a > *ã (instead of expected *uo) is irregular. SlkTa *šara* ‘strong’ is certainly not cognate because of its incompatible sibilant š-.
- 362: **čuppV ‘tip’, **čuppa ‘narrow’ (UEW 44). – Both reconstructions are considered uncertain by UEW. The former is based on SaaL *tjuhppa* ‘tip (e. g. of a cap)’, Fi *suippu* ‘tip’, Komi *čup* ‘(woman’s) breast’, and Hung *csúp* ‘tip, peak’, the latter on SaaN *čohppi* ‘foot sack on a skin rug’, Fi *suppea*, Komi *šopj̄d* ‘narrow’, and dialectal Hung *szupolya orrú* ‘stubby-nosed’. Both sets show irregular vowel correspondences, and most of the words appear to have sound-symbolic characteristics.

403: **äcä ‘father’ (UEW 22). – UEW bases this reconstruction West Saami *äččē, PKh *äcī, PMs *äcī, NenT *ŋače?*, En *ača?* ‘father!’. The Samoyed forms are phonologically completely incompatible (NenT *-če-* < *-ʔkä-), and moreover dictionaries describe them as child language words. West Saami *äččē, in turn, seems to be an irregular variant of the Proto-Saami word for ‘father’, which appears in somewhat different shapes in East Saami: SaaI *eeči* (< *eačē), SaaSk *ee’čč* (< *ičē), SaaK *á’žž* (< *ęčē) ‘father’. This is traditionally derived from PU *i/ečä ‘father’ (UEW: 78; Sammallahti 1988: 541).

It would, in fact, make much more sense to compare YukK *ečē* ‘father’ to the Uralic words derived from *i/ečä (UEW 78) than to those cited under **äcä (UEW 22), as the latter is certainly an invalid cognate set. But even the former cognate set exhibits notable phonological irregularities. In Finnic and Saami, there is oscillation between *i- and *e- (Fi *isä*, SaaK *á’žž* ‘father’ < *ičä vs. SaaI *eeči*, Old Võro *jedzä* < *ečä). Many of the proposed cognates are phonologically even more obscure: cf. MdM *očä* ‘paternal uncle (older than father)’ (unexplained back vowel *o-*), Hung *ős* ‘ancestor’ (unexplained labial vowel *ő-*), Proto-Samoyed *äjsä ‘father’ (unexplained cluster *-js-). Sammallahti (1988: 541) has not even included the Samoyed words in this cognate set. Koivulehto (2001) has argued that the word is a loan from Proto-Aryan *iśca- > Sanskrit *iśá-* ‘ruler, master, lord; husband’.

449: **simV ‘black / rust’ (UEW 758). – Only attested in two neighbouring branches: PMari *simə ‘black’ and PPerm *sīm ‘rust; dark’. Borrowing is probable, as the vowel correspondence is irregular.

467: **enä ‘mother’ (UEW 624). – Based on PSaa *eannē ‘mother’ and Komi *eń, in* ‘female’; Vote *enne* ‘mother’ and Udmurt *-in* in *kilčín* (an epithet of the supreme deity Inmar) are suggested as further uncertain cognates. The Komi and Saami nasals do not match, and also the vowel correspondence is irregular.

470: **se/änkV ‘upper arm’ (UEW 439: uncertain). – Based on PKh *Lĩŋkər ‘upper arm, shoulder’ and NenT *ŋaŋkadʰ* ‘upper arm’ (< *taŋkátə). Due to the irregular vowel correspondence and attestation in only two neighboring languages, this cannot be a Proto-Uralic item.

620: **juwe ‘tree / pine’ (UEW 107). – The word is found only in Siberian branches: PKh *jüy, PMs *jīw ‘tree’, PSam *je(w) ‘pine’. The vowel correspondences are irregular; hence, borrowing may be involved. Neither the meaning ‘pine’ nor ‘tree’ shows a very good match with YukT *jā* ‘birch’.

671: **jelä ‘light / sun / day’ (UEW 96–97: uncertain). – Based on PSaa *jealekkes ‘cloudless weather’ and PSam *jalä ‘day’, which show an irregular vowel correspondence. Moreover, the comparison to YukK *jelōdā* ‘sun’ is problematic, as the word seems to be related to YukK *jělā-* ‘boil up, get cooked’.

691: **jäje ‘belt’ (UEW 90). – An erroneous reconstruction based on PPerm *ji and PSam *jiə ~ *niə ‘belt’. Both Janhunen (1981: 260) and Sammallahti (1988: 536) match the Samoyed item with SaaN *avvi*, Fi *vyö* and Hung *öv* ‘belt’ instead, and the proto-form can be reconstructed as PU *üwä (Aikio 2012: 230). PSam *n- and *j- are secondary prothetic consonants.

- 697: **jorV- ‘roll’ (UEW 102: uncertain), **jorkV- ‘turn, wind, roll’ (UEW 102). – Two Uralic reconstructions are cited in this entry in HDY. The first reconstruction **jorV- is based on PSaa *jore- ‘spin, go round, roll’ and Hung *jár* ‘goes (about), runs’, and it is clearly erroneous; PSaa *o is the regular reflex of PU *u. However, PSaa *jore- is of Uralic origin after all: it reflects PU *juri- and is cognate with Udm *jjromi-* ‘go astray, lose one’s way’, PKh *jorəyl-, PMs *járəyl- ‘forget’ and PSam *jürä- ‘get lost; forget’ (Aikio 2002: 46–48; cf. UEW: 108). The second reconstruction *jorkV- is based on PSaa *jorkō- ‘turn (over, inside out, etc.)’ and PKh *jowər- ‘get entangled’. The vowel correspondence is not regular, and the Saami word is instead an obscured consonant-stem derivative of *jore- ‘spin, go round’ (Aikio 2002: 47). The proper PU reconstruction is thus *juri- ‘spin, go round; go astray, get lost’, which is both semantically and formally poorly compatible with YukK *jodo-* ‘tie, bind’, *jodul* ‘winding’, *jodutə-* ‘wind, twist’. Piispanen (2013: 188–189) presents a different etymology: he compares the Yukaghir root to PU **jutta- ‘bind’ (UEW: 106). The Uralic reconstruction cannot be accepted, however, because the suggested cognates (Komi *jit-*, Udm *iti-* ‘add, put together, sew together’, NenT *jute-* ‘sew together’) show entirely irregular sound correspondences.
- 768: ? *ko/ulV ‘hole’ (UEW 174). – A questionable reconstruction based on SaaL *gällo* ‘crack, cleft’, Fi *kolo* ‘small hole, crack’, Udm *kwalđi-* ‘split (intr.)’, Komi *kolas*, PKh *kał, PMs *kał ‘space (between), crack’, Hung *halok*, *halk*, *hajk*, *halyk*, etc. ‘cut made in a tree (in order to cut it down)’. The vowel correspondences are not altogether regular, and at least the Hungarian cognate is doubtful due to the extensive irregular variation in dialect forms.
- 778: *kälä- ‘wade’ (UEW 133–134). – The meaning attested in most Uralic languages is ‘wade’. In Ugric this shifted to ‘land, go ashore’, and further to ‘arise, get up’. The earlier meaning can still be traced in old Hungarian *kelet* ‘ford’. None of the meanings in Uralic show a good match with YukK, T *kel-* ‘come’.
- 781: **kVIV ‘intestinal worm, tapeworm’ (UEW 227). – UEW cites cognates from Permic (Komi *kol*, Udm *keł*), Khanty (KhE *kuł*) and Samoyed (NenT *χali*, SlkTa *qō*). The vowel correspondences between these words are completely irregular, so the etymology is not plausible. Moreover, the NenT and Slk items cannot be related to each other due to the irregular correspondence *l* ~ Ø.
- 806: **käve- ‘go’ (UEW 654: uncertain). – Based on PFi *käve- ‘go, walk, visit, happen’ and PMari *käje- ‘go, go away’. The vowel correspondence is irregular, and moreover, PFi *käve- has been convincingly explained as a loan from Germanic *skæwia- ‘go, walk’ (LÄGLOS s. v. *käydä*).
- 819: *kulki- ‘go / flow’ (UEW 198). – The attested Uralic meanings oscillate between ‘run, flow, leak (of water)’ and ‘go, go on, wander, roam’, and hence the comparison to YukK *kile-*, *kil-* ‘wade’ is not semantically altogether clear (but cf. YukK *kildībō* ‘vagrant’). Nikolaeva incorrectly reconstructs the meaning of the Uralic verb as ‘move, wade’; the latter meaning is not found in Uralic at all. YukK *kil(e)-* ‘wade’ would have a much more natural point of comparison in PU *kälä- ‘wade’, which Nikolaeva matches with PYuk *kel- ‘come’ instead (see etymology 778).

- 839: *kača ‘end, tip’ (UEW 110: uncertain). – The erroneous form **kača is given in HDY. The reconstruction *kača might be valid on the Finno-Saamic level (cf. Fi *kasa*, Võro *kadsa* ‘corner (e. g. on the back of an axe blade)’, SaaN *geahči* ‘end, tip’), but this presupposes an irregular vowel development in Saami. Due to the limited distribution this is unlikely to be a Uralic word. The inclusion of Hung *hegy* ‘mountain’ in this etymology is unacceptable: the development *č > *gy* has no plausible parallels, and the front vowel is not regular either. Koivulehto (1991: 23–25) considers Finno-Saamic *kača a loan from Indo-European *h₂ak-ya- (> Germanic *agja- > English *edge*, German *Ecke* ‘corner’).
- 860: **kokka ‘protruding part, hook’ (UEW 171–172: uncertain). – Based on Fi *kokka* ‘keel (of a boat); protruding part’, SaaN *goahkki* ‘wooden hoe’ and PKh *kāyəp ‘wooden hook (for fishing pike)’. The Saami and Finnish items may be borrowings from Germanic *χōka- ‘hook’. Moreover, the Saami item shows a semantically much better match with Fi *kuokka* ‘hoe’, which cannot be a Uralic word for phonotactic reasons (a long vowel *uo* < *ō before a geminate stop). The equation with PKh *kāyəp is unlikely also because *-əp remains unaccounted for; it could be an instrument suffix, but in this case the underlying root *kāy- would have to be a verb. Even if these fatal problems were overlooked, the suggested comparison of the Uralic words to YukK *kōka* ‘head (of a fish or an animal)’ would still be completely unjustifiable for semantic reasons alone. Piispanen (2013: 185) suggests an alternative comparison to YukK *kōkna* ~ *kōkōnək* ‘hook for hanging a kettle over the fire’, which would be semantically better, but HDY (861) considers the Yukaghir word a Tungusic loan (cf. Yakut *kōχō* ‘hook’ < *goko), and also the problems in the Uralic data leave no alternative but to reject the comparison.
- 878: ? *kV(n)čV ‘tapeworm’ (UEW 205). – Based on PMari *kučə, PKh *kūñč and PMs *kunš ‘tapeworm’. Mari points to *č, Khanty and Mansi to the cluster *nč; the vowel correspondence is also irregular. HDY cites an erroneous Uralic reconstruction *kuñčV.
- 921: **kumV ‘thin snow’ (UEW 204). – Based on dialectal Udm *kjm* ‘thin new snow; rime’, Hung *hó* ‘snow’, NenT *xəwʔ* ‘thin but hard snow crust’ and Kam *kamo* ‘snow crust’. The Uralic etymology is incorrect: the Udmurt item is actually the same word as *kjn* ~ *kjm* ‘cold, frost’ (< PPerm *kĭnm < PU *külmä; UEW 663), NenT *χəwʔ* is perhaps a derivative of *χəwə-* ‘fall’ (< PU *kuma- ‘fall over’; cf. UEW 201–202), and Kam *kamo*, in turn, derives from PSam *kampV ‘snow crust; spring’ (Janhunen 1977: 64).
- 953: *kurV- ‘tie together, fasten together’ (UEW 215). – Attested in Finno-Saamic only: Fi *kuro-* ‘gather, draw together (by a thread)’, SaaN *gorra-* ‘bind (without knots)’. PSam *kurā- ‘bind’ must be of different origin, as its vowels do not correspond regularly to the Finno-Saamic *kurV-.
- 955: ? *ku/ırki ‘crane’ (UEW 128). – The inclusion of PSam *kərō is considered uncertain in UEW. The word shows somewhat irregular vowel correspondences: PSaa *kuorke and PMd *kargə presuppose PU *kırki, whereas PFi *kurki and PSam *kərō point to PU *kurki. The word is perhaps onomatopoeic.

- 983: ? *d/lä/epp/pdä ‘spleen’ (UEW 242). – This is a phonologically highly problematic etymology. Doubtlessly related are PMari *lep, PPerm *lop and Hung *lép* ‘spleen’, and they could be straightforwardly derived from a proto-form *leppä. Kh Sur *lǎpät-ne*, Kaz *lepät-ne* ‘spleen’, which UEW cites as an uncertain cognate, is unlikely to belong here, however: even though the semantic development remains unclear, the word looks like a mere compound with the literal meaning ‘limp woman’ (note that Sur *lǎpät-ne* shows an irregular oblique stem *lǎpät-niŋ-*, exactly matching the irregularly declined *ne* : *niŋ-* ‘woman’). On the other hand, if PSaa *θāpδē ‘spleen’ belongs in this cognate set, some kind of more complex proto-form must be postulated. Sammallahti (1988: 543) proposes PU *dāpdä / *dāppä, but there are two problems with this solution: the etymon would be the only example of Uralic word-initial *d-, and moreover the medial *-d- in the cluster *-pd- would show no reflex in the other branches. Hence, it remains very uncertain whether the Saami word even belongs in the cognate set. Nikolaeva (HDY 983) suggests the Uralic reconstruction *δāδwä (= *dādwä), for which there is no justification whatsoever in the Uralic data. Regardless of how the Uralic word is exactly reconstructed, there is no regular correspondence or even superficial resemblance between the Uralic forms and PYuk *lǎjə ‘spleen’.
- 992: *lǎnti ‘lowland’ (UEW 235: *lamte). – This word is reliably attested in Finnic (Fi dial. *lansi* ‘low; lowland’), MariW *landaka* ‘small valley, depression (esp. in a forest)’, PPerm *lūd ‘meadow, pasture’, and Ngan *lǎntə* ‘plain, valley’ (the Ngan cognate is discussed by Aikio 2014b: 86). The inclusion of Saami *luomtV- ‘crouch down’ and Mordvin *lańda- ‘sit down’ (listed as uncertain in UEW) is unlikely for semantic reasons and because of the non-matching cluster *-mt- in Saami: MariW *landaka* and Ngan *lǎntə* can only reflect PU *-nt-, not *-mt-. Contrary to UEW, PSam *lǎmto ‘low’ cannot belong in this cognate set due their irregular vowel *-ə- and the non-matching *-mt-. The Finnic and Permic words have also been considered loans from Indo-European *lomd^ho- > Germanic *landa- ‘land’ (Koivulehto 2003: 287), but this cannot be maintained due to the recent discovery of a regular cognate in Nganasan.
- 997: **lǎ(n)šV- ‘weak, limp’ (UEW 240: uncertain). – Based on MariW *lǎnzərə* ‘worn (of clothes); weak’, Komi *lǎčjd* ‘saggy, slack, loose’, and KhE *lǎsək* ‘weak; loose’; the sound correspondences between these words are completely irregular. Instead of this very weak Uralic etymology, YukT *ladǎdā* ‘slowly’, *ladǎnban-* ‘slow, calm’ (< PYuk *lančǎn-) could be more plausibly compared to PU *lonša ‘loose, soft, mild’, which is securely reconstructed on the basis of PSaa *loańčētē ‘loose, slack’, PKh *lańčəy ‘lukewarm’, PMs *lańčəŋ ‘soft, mild, warm’, and Hung *lǎgy* ‘soft, weak, gentle’ (UEW: 250–251; Sammallahti 1988: 545).
- 1016: **IV- ‘down’ (UEW 258: uncertain). – Based on just two forms: Hung *le* ‘down’ and MariW *lǎwǎl* ‘underside’, *lǎwǎlnə*, *əlwǎlnə* ‘under’ (-wǎl ‘side’). Only the segment *l-* matches, and the vowel cannot be reconstructed. Moreover, UEW presents the alternative and much more convincing suggestion that MariW *lǎwǎl-* was metathesized from *əlwǎl-* << PMari *ül-pel- ‘underside’ (< PU *jla ‘under’ + *pǎlǎ ‘side’).
- 1022: **lewdǎ- ‘find’ (UEW 247: uncertain). – Based on just two forms: PFi *leütä- and Hung *lel* ‘find’. The Finnic verb is more probably a loan from Germanic *χleuta- > Old Norse *hljóta*, Old English *hléotan* ‘get, get by lot’, as argued by Schalin (2004).

- 1038: **rVppV- ‘burst, rupture’ (UEW 427: uncertain). Based on PSaa *repe- ‘open’, PFi *repi- ‘rip, tear’, PMs *ript- ‘decrease, disappear, be destroyed; maim, wound’, and Hung *reped* ‘cracks, bursts, splits’. The vowel correspondences are not regular, and Finnic and Saami point to an original single *-p- whereas Hungarian presupposes *-pp-. Moreover, there are no reliable examples of PU initial *r- (Sammallahti 1988: 482).
- 1040: **leppä ‘alder’ (UEW 689). – Only attested in the west: SaaN *leaibi*, Fi *leppä*, MdE *lepe* ‘alder’. The reconstruction *leppä is arbitrary, as the claimed cognates are phonologically incompatible: Saami presupposes *lejpä, Finnic points to *leppä, and Mordvin would reflect *lippä. The anomalous correspondences are evidently a result of parallel borrowings from Proto-Baltic *leipā- > Lithuanian *liepa* ‘lime tree, linden’ (cf. SSA s. v. *leppä*). The Baltic loan etymology already eliminates any possibility of finding a Yukaghir cognate for the word. Moreover, from a semantic perspective it is hardly reasonable to compare PYuk *lep(k)- ‘blood’ to a Uralic word for ‘alder’, despite the fact that words for ‘alder’ have been used as circumlocutions for ‘blood’ in Uralic. Piispanen (2013: 182) supports the etymology and refers to Fi *puna* ‘red colour; blood’, *punainen* ‘red’ which derive from PU *puna ‘hair’ (UEW 402). However, this does not serve as a parallel to the semantic shift ‘alder’ > ‘blood’: the semantic development of Fi *puna* has been ‘hair’ > ‘appearance, color (of an animal’s hair)’ > ‘reddish color’ (cf. MdE, M *pona* ‘hair, wool; appearance; color’).
- 1045: **le/iši- ‘hull, defoliate’ (UEW 246: uncertain). – Based on Fi *lese* ‘bran’, *lesi-* ‘thresh’ and Hung *liszt* ‘flour’, which are certainly not cognate due to the restricted distribution, the irregular vowel correspondence, and the agricultural semantics which instead suggest a later origin. It is entirely unclear why such a poorly grounded etymology should be further expanded with a semantically far-fetched comparison to YukT *leserke* ‘(torn) rags’.
- 1059: **lippV ‘shovel’ (UEW 690–691: uncertain). – Based on Fi *lippu*, *liippi* ‘birch-bark ladle’ and MdE *lipiš*, *lipuža* ‘one of the boards between the charge threads of a loom’. SSA (s. v. *liippi*) rejects the comparison and analyzes the Finnish word as a derivative of a Finnic verb root *lippa- ‘scoop, ladle, bail’.
- 1085: **lampa ‘ski’ (UEW 234: uncertain). – Based on SaaS *laabje* ‘a type of short and broad ski’, PKh *lōmp ‘skis’, and NenT *lampa* ‘ski’. The Saami word shows a non-matching consonant cluster *-bj-* and the vowel combination *aa-e*, which never occurs in words of Uralic origin, so it obviously cannot have anything to do with the Khanty and Nenets forms. The latter two are certainly etymologically related, but as these are two neighboring Siberian languages, borrowing in one direction or the other must be involved, especially considering the irregular vowel correspondence. NenT *lampa* could not even theoretically be a Proto-Uralic word because it lacks the regular sound change PU *l- > PSam *j-.
- 1141: ? *mVdV (UEW 279: *moV / *modV). – Based on MariE *modo* ‘blueberry’, PPerm *mulj ‘berry, nut’, PKh *wir-mil ‘red currant’ (*wir ‘blood’), and Hung *meggy* ‘cherry’. Even if the forms are cognate (which is far from certain), the phonological reconstruction remains highly unclear. At least the Permic and Mari words could be derived from *mad’a. Sammallahti (1988: 545) excludes the Mari word and postulates the reconstruction

- *međi. The palatalized lateral *l̥ in Khanty is problematic, as the regular reflex of PU *d̥ is PKh *j. The Hungarian geminate -ggy is obscure; also the front vowel -e- is irregular, but this might result from the influence of the following palatal consonant.
- 1208: *meni- 'go' (UEW 272). – The semantics of the compared forms differ considerably: Yukaghir 'jump' vs. Uralic 'go'.
- 1253: **mVI(k/j)V 'breast' (UEW 289–290). – Based on Mari *malās* 'wooden lid on a beehive built in a hollow tree trunk', Udm *mēla* 'breast' and dialectal Hung *mál, máj, mály* 'peritoneum (of an animal); (obsol.) breast'. The meaning of the Mari word does not correspond well to the other forms, and the sound correspondence between Udmurt and Hungarian is irregular. Compare PU *mälki 'breast', which is securely reconstructed, and which Nikolaeva matches with YukK *melut* 'breast' (HDY 1188).
- 1267: **mVnV- 'say' (UEW 290–291: uncertain). – Based on SaaS *moene-* 'say, mention', Fi *mana-* 'conjure, curse', MdE *muña-* 'conjure', PMari *mana- 'say, utter', Hung *mond* 'says, utters', and PSam *mā(n)- 'say'. This purported cognate set is ridden with phonological irregularities, and classified as highly uncertain in UEW; Sammallahti (1988) does not cite the etymology at all. SSA (s. v. *manata*) states that the proposed Saami, Mordvin and Mari cognates are rejectable on phonological grounds and also the comparison to Hungarian and Samoyed is highly uncertain. To this one can add that the vowel correspondence between Hung *mond* 'say' and Fi *mana-* 'conjure' is irregular, and that the latter verb is obviously a loan from Old Swedish *mana* 'conjure'. SaaS *moene-* is a loan from a different Germanic verb, cf. Gothic *man* 'I think, I believe', *ga-man* 'I remember', German *mahnen* 'remind' (Aikio 2006b: 32–33).
- 1321: ? *mentä- 'miss' (UEW 272: uncertain). – Based on two forms only: PSaa *meantē- 'miss (the target), mistake one's way, make a mistake', KhE *mintəytə-* 'miss (the target)'. The Saami word has also been explained as a causative (*men-tä-) of PU *meni- 'go' (Sammallahti 1998: 254). Moreover, the Uralic forms show a poor semantic match with YukK *mudetədej-* 'drag further without stopping', *muddəjl* 'last (of a period of time)'.
- 1337: ? *nVx/ji 'woman' (UEW 297–298: *naje). – UEW reconstructs the form *naje on the basis of PFi *nainen 'woman', *nai- 'marry; have sex', PKh *nāj, PMs *nāj 'dame; fire'; however, the vowel correspondence is not regular. It is crucial to note that in the Finnic words -i- is not a part of the root: the correct morphological segmentation is *na-inen* 'woman', *na-i-* 'marry; have sex'. The root *na-* reflects *nā-, as seen in the derivative *naa-ras* 'female'; the long back vowel is not an expected reflex of earlier PU *-aj-. It should be noted that there are also several other similar words in the Uralic languages, most notably PMd *ni, PKh *nēŋ, PMs *nīw, Hung *nő*, and PSam *nā 'woman, wife' (cf. UEW: 305). The interrelations between these words are not altogether clear, as the sound correspondences are irregular; at best, one could postulate a conjectural reconstruction *nVx/j/ŋi 'woman'. The reconstruction *nāxi suggested by Janhunen (1981: 245–246) is arbitrary, as it is mainly based on just the Samoyed form.
- 1366: **nVnsV 'strong ?' (UEW 310: uncertain). – Based on Komi *naž* 'mean' and Hung *nagy* 'big'. Due to the scarcity of proposed cognates, the irregular vowel correspondence, and the semantic mismatch between the forms, the etymology cannot be accepted.

- 1375: ***ńarV* ‘hairless skin’ (UEW 313). – Based on PPerm **ńar* ‘soft leather, reindeer skin without fur’, PKh **ńūr*, PMs **ńur* ‘strap; hairless’. The vowel correspondence is irregular, which suggests borrowing. Sammallahti (1988: 546) reconstructs **ńori*, but this is not supported by the Permic form.
- 1406: **ńülki-* ‘skin, flay’ (UEW 319). – The comparison to Yukaghir is based on the assumption the *-*pə-* in PYuk **ńelpə-* is a derivational suffix, but there seems to be no motive for such an analysis besides the Uralic-Yukaghir comparison itself.
- 1439: ***ńiki-* ‘bend down’ (UEW 317–318: uncertain). – Based on PSaa **ńęķę-* and NenF *ńiχuw-* ‘bend down, stoop down’. One would expect the sequence *-*ki-* to have become lost in Samoyed: cf. PU **koki-* ‘check’ > PSam **ko-* ‘see, find’ (UEW: 171; Aikio 2002: 26).
- 1480: **ńoxi-* ‘hunt, chase, pursue’ (UEW 323: **ńoŋda-*). – The reconstruction given in UEW and cited by Nikolaeva is clearly incorrect (cf. Janhunen 1981: 245; Sammallahti 1988: 539). The Uralic root can be reconstructed as **ńoxi-*, and in most languages this was augmented with derivational suffixes: e. g., PFi **nou-ta-* ‘fetch’, PKh **ńōγ-əl-*, PMs **ńiγ-l-*, NenT *ńo-da-* ‘pursue’. The underived root is attested in SlkTa *ńo-* ‘pursue’. None of the cognates show any evidence of *-*ŋ-* or *-*d-*. Considering the improved Uralic reconstruction **ńoxi-*, Nikolaeva’s cautious comparison to PYuk **noγ-* (> YukK *noudi-* ‘be in wait for, be on guard, watch over’, *nojdiđajə* ‘guard’) seems slightly better possible; but on the other hand, the Uralic item would compare equally well to PYuk **nuy-* > YukK *nug-*, T *nug-*, *nū-* ‘find; kill’ (HDY 1533).
- 1490: ***ńulkV* ‘fir’ (UEW 327). – This Uralic etymology is phonologically very problematic. Regular reflexes of the form **ńulkV* are found only in two neighboring branches: PMari **nūlgə* and PPerm **ńil*. The proposed cognates in Siberian branches (PKh **ńil(ə)kī*, PMs **ńal*, SlkTa *ńulqī*, Kam *nolγo*) are highly irregular, and Sammallahti (1988: 511) considers them loanwords.
- 1493: ***ńVmV-* ‘press’ (UEW 330: uncertain). – An implausible reconstruction based on MariW *ńəm̄arγe-* ‘be crushed’, Komi *ńamilt-* ‘press, squeeze’ and Hung *nyom* ‘presses; weighs’; the vowel correspondences are irregular.
- 1525: **ńiri* ‘wet, moist; wet, sticky substance; bog’ (UEW 324). – The Finnic and Samoyed cognates listed in UEW do not belong here; instead, NenT *ńer* ‘sap; white of an egg’ and SlkTy *ńar* ‘semen’ can be included in the cognate set (Aikio 2006a: 20–21). However, there is also another very similar Samoyed word, PSam **ńarV* ‘bog’ (> En *noro*, Ngan *ńer^a*, Slk *ńarə*). Nikolaeva also includes Uralic words for ‘moss’ in this set; UEW (325) treats these as separate, uncertain etymology. The NenT word *ńarco* ‘moss’ (~ En *nađudo*, Ngan *ńorsu* < PSam **ńarso*) cited by UEW in this connection shows a conspicuous resemblance to YukT *ńorde* (< **ńorčə*) ‘moss, lichen’.
- 1538: ***n/ńVjV-* ‘stretch’ (UEW: 309). – Based on Komi *ńojd-* ‘get worn out, crumble, disintegrate’, Udm *nuja-* ‘stretch (intr.)’, Hung *nyújt* ‘stretches, extends (tr.)’, *nyúlik* ‘stretches, extends (intr.)’, *nyúl* ‘touches, lays hands on’. Even the Komi and Udmurt verbs do not seem to be cognate due to the irregular correspondence Komi *ń-* ~ Udm *n-*. The semantics of the Hungarian and Udmurt verbs match, but the initial nasals do

- not. Even if the Uralic reconstruction was valid, there would still be no reason to compare it to an expressive verb like YukT *nūjaja-* ‘walk staggering and moving hands’.
- 1552: ? *ńuŋV- ‘rest’. – Based on MdM *nuva-* ‘nod, nap, drowse’, KhN (obsolete) *ńoyol-* ‘sleep’ and Hung *nyugszik* ‘lies, rests; sets (of the sun)’. Hungarian shows the regular change *-ŋ- > *-ŋk- > -g-, whereas Kh *ŋ* is an irregular reflex of *ŋ.
- 1643: ***oma* ‘own; property’ (UEW 717: uncertain). – Bases on SaaN *oapmi* ‘something that belongs to someone, property’, Fi *oma* ‘own’, and Udm *umoj* ‘good’. However, Fi *oma* probably consists of **o-* ‘be’ (< PU **wo-*) and the nominalizer **-ma*, as cautiously suggested by both UEW and SSA (s. v. *oma*). The Saami word shows a narrow distribution and is very probably a Finnic loan. If the morphological analysis of the Finnish word is correct, then Udm *umoj* must be of different origin, and the semantic match between ‘own’ and ‘good’ is not very convincing in any case.
- 1685: ? *oŋčV ‘nelma, sheefish’ (UEW 339). – An uncertain reconstruction based on Komi *už*, PKh **ünč*, PMs **ünš*, PSam ?**āŋčV* ‘nelma, sheefish’. The vowel correspondences are slightly irregular, so this might be a Wanderwort. Note also old Ngan *jintü* and EnT *jiddu* ‘nelma, sheefish’, which UEW also cites as cognate, even though the initial *ji-* is completely irregular.
- 1723: ***pačkV-* ‘through / go through’ (UEW 345–346). – Based on Mde, M *pačk* ‘through’ and SlkTy *pōžǝ-* ‘go through; stick through’, plus a few other phonologically and semantically highly problematic forms that are judged uncertain in UEW (see etymology 1759 for discussion). While the Md and Slk forms could theoretically be related, this is not probable due to the very limited distribution.
- 1749: ?**pa/orV* / ?**pa/or(V)wV* ‘raft, platform’ (UEW 356: uncertain). – A phonologically problematic reconstruction based on PSaa **poarēvē* ‘small raft’, PFi **parvi* ‘loft, raft’, PPerm **pūr*, PKh **pirā*, PMs **pārā* ‘raft’, PSam **pārā* ‘storage platform’. While the words certainly seem related, due to the irregular vowel correspondences this may be a Wanderwort. UEW also connects here the homonymous PFi **parvi* ‘flock’ and PKh **pirā* ‘flock, herd’, and proposes an original meaning ‘heap, pile’ – this would have developed into ‘flock, herd’ on the one hand, and ‘heap of logs’ (> ‘logs attached together, raft’) on the other. Regardless of whether this hypothesis is correct or not, the comparison to YukT *para* ‘basis, essence, origin; bottom, end’ lacks semantic justification.
- 1758: ***piji* ‘stone’ (UEW 378: uncertain). – Based on Fi *pii* ‘flint’ and PSam **pəj* ‘stone, rock’. Both are short forms, and the correspondence Fi *-ii* ~ PSam **-əj* is not regular.
- 1759: ***pučV-* ‘run away’ (UEW 399; cf. 345). – Based on two forms only: Komi *pišji-* ‘run, run away, flee’ and PMs **püş-* ‘run away, flee’. The sound correspondence is not regular; the expected reflex of PU **č* is Komi *ž* or *ẓ̌*, and the vowels do not match either. Furthermore, in another entry on UEW (345–346) further compares the same Komi and Mansi words to Fi *pahki* ‘straight at, colliding with, bumping against’, Mde, M *pačk-* ‘through’ and SlkTy *pōžǝ-* ‘go through; stick through’, and proposes the uncertain reconstruction **pačkV-*; this is neither semantically nor phonologically feasible. See also etymology 1723.

- 1762: ? *pi/ečV- ‘come off, come loose, open’ (UEW 358–359: uncertain). – This stem is reliably attested in Ugric languages only (PKh *piččäyl- ‘untie, disentangle, take apart’, PMs *pīšt- ‘untie, unbind’, Hung *feslik* ‘comes unstitched, bursts’), and its exact phonological reconstruction is problematic. The proposed Saami cognate, SaaS *biehtsegidh* ‘grow; come out (of leaves); expand’, would presuppose a PU form *päčči-ŋki-. Also UEW regards the equation between Saami and Ugric as highly uncertain, and furthermore the Uralic words show a poor semantic correspondence to YukK *peššej-* and *pejži-* ‘throw’.
- 1770: *počka ‘shank’ (UEW 389: uncertain). – Only found in PFi *potka ‘shank’ and PSaa *poackē ‘ankle’; the other cognates proposed by UEW must be rejected. The consonant cluster in PMd *pukšə ‘thick meat, thigh, buttock’ cannot reflect *čk; instead, the Mordvin word can be explained as a borrowing from Proto-Aryan *pakša- (> Sanskrit *pakṣá-* ‘wing, flank, side’). Slk (upper Ob) *paqtur* ‘calf (of the leg)’ cannot have anything to do with the Finnic and Saami words either, as the cluster -qt- does not match, and the vowel correspondence is not regular either.
- 1785: *punšV- ‘kneecap’ (UEW 403: uncertain). – Despite minor irregularities, this Uralic cognate set seems acceptable. UEW lists cognates from Saami and Samoyed only (SaaN *bužes-dákti*, NenT *punco* ‘kneecap of a reindeer’), but the reconstruction receives further confirmation from the Permic cognates discovered by Helismki (1996: 63): Komi *pižes*, Udm *pidēs*, *pižes* ‘knee’.
- 1794: *pärtä ‘board’ (UEW 374: *pertV / *pärtV ‘side, edge’). – UEW cites PPerm *bird ‘wall’, PKh *pärt and PMs *pärt ‘board’ as cognates. Contrary to UEW, also Fi *parsi* ‘beam (in a drying barn); floorboard’ belongs in this cognate set (Sammallahti 1988: 548); it has undergone the same vowel development as e. g. Fi *sappi* ‘bile’ (< *säppä) and *talvi* ‘winter’ (< *tälwä). The original meaning of the Uralic word seems to be ‘board’ rather than ‘side, edge’; the Permic cognates include postpositions with a meaning close to Yukaghir (cf. Komi *berdĭn*, Udm *bordĭn* ‘with, at’, etc.), but these are clearly the result of later semantic abstraction – formally these postpositions are local case forms of Komi *berd*, Udm *bord* ‘wall’. As ‘board’ (or perhaps ‘wall’ or the like) must be reconstructed as the earliest meaning in Uralic, the comparison to YukT *peren* ‘aloof’ and *peredie* ‘a little aside’ is semantically unjustified. Moreover, the Uralic word family has been proposed to be a loan from Indo-European *bʰr̥dʰo- > Germanic *burda- ‘board’ (Koivulehto 1999: 159).
- 1837: **pājV- ‘white; shine’ (UEW 360: uncertain). – An implausible reconstruction based on SaaN *beadju-* ‘shine white (e. g., of someone who is wearing a white parka)’ and Hung *fehér* ‘white’. The Saami word shows a highly specific meaning, attestations are very limited, and the compared forms are short; the matching parts are only *beadj-* (< *peaj-) and Hung *fe-*.
- 1851: **paljV- ‘many’ (UEW 350: uncertain). – Based on Fi *paljo* ‘a large amount’, *paljon* ‘much’, MariW *pülä* ‘quite much’, PMs pāl ‘dense, leafy’, NenT *palʔ?* ‘dense’, En *fodeme* ‘become dense’. The vowel correspondences between all the forms are quite irregular, and the Nen and En forms go back to PSam *pälti (cf. Mat *haldi* ‘dense’) which has an incompatible consonant cluster. Saarikivi (2009: 146–147) has recently argued that Fi *paljo(n)* is a loan from Slavic **bol-jbъ* (Russian *боле* ‘more’, cf. also *большой* ‘big’).

- 1917: *puwa- ‘blow’ (UEW 411: *puwV-). – The Uralic reconstruction is based on PMd *puva-, PMari *pue-, PKh *puw-, Hung *fúj*, and PSam *puə- ‘blow’. While the etymological comparison is probably correct, it seems evident that the Uralic verb is ultimately onomatopoeic in origin. As phonologically similar words for ‘blowing’ are found in many of the world’s languages, the comparison to PYuk *puj- ‘blow’ is not very compelling.
- 1938: *puna- ‘spin, weave, plait’ (UEW 402). – All the Uralic words show concrete meanings ‘weave’, ‘spin’ or ‘plait’; the comparison to YukK *pundu-* ‘tell, narrate’ is semantically far-fetched.
- 1948: **pu/oŋka ‘lump, bump’ (UEW 404). – Based on SaaN *buggi* ‘bump, lump, hump, swollen or expanded object’, *boggi* ‘short and fat person, animal or thing’, Fi *punka* ‘small and fat person’, MdE *pokol* ‘lump, piece’, Komi *bugil* ‘eyeball’, Udm *pog* ‘lump’, KhE *puŋkał* ‘snow stuck on skis’, *puŋkał* ‘boil, ulcer’, KhS *poŋχət* ‘gnarl, burl’, and Hung *bog* ‘knot’. The vowel correspondences are irregular, and Md *-k-* would presuppose PU *-kk-, not *-ŋk-. The semantic correspondences are not very satisfying either. Moreover, some of these words are clearly sound-symbolic, and as such there is little reason to compare them to YukK *punkə* ‘hill’, T *punke* ‘hummock’, which contain the unusual cluster *-nk-* (not *-ŋk-*!).
- 1982: *kala ‘fish’ (UEW 119). – The comparison of YukT *qal-dawe* ‘(tree) bark; fish scales’ to PU *kala ‘fish’ is not semantically feasible.
- 2000: **konta ‘cold, frost’ (UEW 176–177: uncertain). – Based on SaaN *goattis* ‘stiff, inflexible’, Fi *kontta* ‘stiffness’, and NenT *xəŋiʔ* ‘light night-frost in autumn’, En *koddi-*, Ngan *kənti-*, SilTa *qantei-* ‘freeze’. The sound correspondences are highly irregular. Fi *-ntt-* disproves the etymology, as three-consonant clusters do not occur in inherited Uralic vocabulary; the word is thus obviously a Finnic innovation. The Saami word is probably a borrowing from Finnic. The Samoyed word shows original front vocalism (PSam *kəntä-).
- 2018: **kore ‘bark, skin’ (UEW 184: uncertain). – A rejectable reconstruction based on Fi *kuori* ‘peel, skin, shell, bark, crust’, MdE *kař* ‘bast shoe’, Komi *kjrs* ‘tree bark’, KhS *χārə* ‘reddish layer on the inside of birch bark’, *χurəp* ‘crust (of bread); scab’, MsE *χorp* ‘crust’. The vowel correspondences between the forms are irregular, and some of the forms are arbitrarily segmented: Komi *-ř* and Khanty and Mansi *-p* are not accounted for. The sound correspondence between Fi *kuori* and Md *kař* would be regular, though, but the semantic connection is not compelling. Even so, Fi *kuori* seems to derive from Proto-Uralic after all: its regular cognate is NenT *šar* ‘skin (under the hair); surface’ (< PU *kari; Aikio 2012: 233).
- 2050: *kuwli- ‘hear’ (UEW 197: *kule-). – The Uralic verbs mean ‘hear’ (and in some languages also ‘feel’), which does not match semantically very well with YukK *qolil* ‘sound, noise, tinkling’, *qoliiŋ-* ‘make a noise’. Sammallahti’s reconstruction of a Uralic long vowel (*kuuli-) implies an earlier sequence of a vowel and a glide, perhaps *-uw- (Aikio 2002: 243). PSam *kâw ‘ear’, cited as uncertain in UEW, is unlikely to belong here due to phonological reasons.

- 2091: *kVčV ‘sand’ (UEW 226). – Based on Udm *giž* ‘grain of sand’, Komi *kež* ‘stony or gravelly place in river or on a river bank’, and KhE *kič* ‘fine sand’. The vowel correspondences are irregular; the Khanty word may be a Permic loan.
- 2118: *šjli- ‘elm’ (UEW 458–459: *šala). – Basis on PMd *šeľəŋ, PMari *šolə and Hung *szil* ‘elm’; contrary to UEW and Sammallahti (1988: 549), however, Fi *salava* ‘crack willow’ does not belong here; it is instead a borrowing from Germanic *salihō- > English *salrow* (cognate with Latin *salix* ‘willow’) (Koivulehto 2006). The equation of a Uralic word meaning ‘elm’ to YukK, T *sāl* ‘tree, wood, stick’ is semantically unconvincing, and moreover, the final *-l* in *sāl* is a suffix (cf. e. g. YukK *šān-pāj* ‘fungus (on a tree)’ and *šād-āja* ‘crooked knife for carving wood’); the comparison presupposes that this results from morphological reanalysis.
- 2150: **čappV- ‘hit’ (UEW 29: uncertain). – Based on the following forms: PSaa *čuoppę- ‘cut’, Veps *čappa-* ‘hit, thresh’, PMd *čapa- ‘slap, clap’, PPerm *čapk- ‘throw, hit, slap, clap’, Hung *csap* ‘strikes, slaps; throws, flings’. UEW considers the entire equation uncertain; Sammallahti (1988: 543) reconstructs *čappi-, but considers only the Saami and Hungarian words as certain cognates. However, the development *č > Hung *cs*- appears to be hypothetical, as convincing parallels are difficult to find. The rest of the forms are highly problematic. Veps *čappa-* and PMd *čapa- are clearly onomatopoeic verbs due to their initial č- and *č-, which have no regular Proto-Uralic source; cf. Mordvin *čap* ‘slap!’ (an onomatopoeic word imitating a slapping sound). The Permic word shows the unusual cluster *-pk-, which also suggests onomatopoeisis.
- 2169: **čäčä ‘a kind of trap’ (UEW 30–31: uncertain). – Based on SaaK *šie’ šš*, MariE *čüčäš* ‘a kind of bird trap’, KhE *sesəy* ‘trap (for birds or hares)’. The Saami sibilant š has no PU source and it only occurs in loanwords. The Mari and Khanty forms are phonologically incompatible, as neither the consonant nor the vowel correspondences are regular; moreover, the Mari word is perhaps a derivative of the verb *čüče-* ‘make a hole’.
- 2264: **šojwa ‘clay’ (UEW 483). – Based on SaaK *ču’ vj*, PPerm *šuj ‘clay’, Slk *süə ‘mud, clay’, Kam *se* ‘clay’. The vowels do not match, and the correspondence between the Saami consonant cluster *-vj- and Samoyed Ø is highly problematic.
- 2270: ? *šjli- ‘cut, split’ (UEW 459–460: uncertain). – The reconstruction is based on PSaa *čuolę- ‘chop (e. g. wood)’, Fi (dialectal) *sali-* ‘chop wood shingles’ and Hung (dialectal) *szil* ‘cuts, splits, carves’. The equation between Saami and Hungarian might be correct. Fi *sali-*, however, shows a very restricted dialect distribution and it is clearly a mere irregular back-vocalic variant of the more widespread verb *sāli-* ‘chop (e. g. wood shingles)’, which in turn derives from PU *šälä- ‘cut’ (Aikio 2012: 236–237).
- 2401: ? *tenä ‘price’ (UEW 521). – Based on PPerm *don ‘price, value’, PKh *tān ‘dowry’ and PMs *tin ‘price’. As the word is only attested in two neighboring branches, borrowing is possible. The comparison to PYuk *tent- ‘wealth’ involves an unexplained element *-t- in the Yukaghir form.
- 2568: *woča ‘fence, weir’ (UEW 577). – The Uralic cognate set is semantically somewhat heterogeneous: cf. SaaN *oahci* ‘obstacle, barrier (in nature), reef’, Fi *otava* ‘salm-on net; Big Dipper’, Komi *vož* ‘fish weir’, KhE *wac* ‘town’, *wučəm* ‘fish weir’, MsE *ūs* ‘town; fence, enclosure’, *ušəm* ‘fish weir’, NenT *wa?*, Ngan *bə?* ‘fence’, SlkTa *kētj* ‘strait

between two lakes or between a lake and a river (often rich in fish); SlkTy *k^wež* ‘fish weir; inlet’. The Proto-Uralic meaning was probably ‘fence’, which in several languages developed into ‘fish weir’ = ‘fence set up in a river to catch fish’ (cf. German *Fischzaun* ‘fish weir’, literally ‘fish fence’). In Finnic the word mostly survives only as the name of the constellation Big Dipper, but in Finnish dialects also the meaning ‘salmon net’ is found, which derives by metonymy from ‘weir for catching salmon’. In the Slk dialects there was a shift of meaning ‘fish weir’ > ‘place suitable for fishing with a weir’; in the Ty dialect also the meaning ‘fish weir’ survives. The meaning ‘town’ in Ob-Ugric cognates is an extension of ‘fence, enclosure’ (cf. English *town* ~ German *Zaun* ‘fence’). As a side note, also MdE, M oš ‘town’ has been included in this cognate set, but this is not acceptable because PU *č is not reflected as Md š and the vowel *o-* is not regular either. As ‘fence’ appears to be the original meaning, the suggested comparison of the Uralic word family to YukT *wačayarej-* ‘open the mouth (of an animal)’, *wačayaj-* ‘step over; open wide (of an animal’s mouth)’ makes no sense from a semantic perspective.

- 2578: **welji ‘brother’ (UEW 567–568: uncertain). – Only attested in PFi *velji and PSaa *vielje ‘brother’, and borrowing from Finnic to Saami is probable because the vowel *-ie-* in Saami is irregular. The idea that the Finno-Samic word for ‘brother’ could be related to the Hungarian instrumental case ending *-val / -vel* belongs to the realm of pure speculation. Nikolaeva also mentions PSam *wəj ‘half’ in this connection, which due to semantic reasons is unlikely to be cognate with PFi *velji ‘brother’.
- 2579: *wala ‘word / song / oath’ (UEW 812). – UEW cites cognates from Saami, Finnic and Mordvin, but also a Samoyed cognate has been later discovered (Aikio 2006a: 26–27). The meanings of the cognates vary (cf. SaaV *vuolie* ‘yoik, Saami song’, Fi *vala* ‘oath’, MdE *val* ‘word’, Ngan *bəlj*, EnT *bare* ‘song’), but the connecting factor seems to be some sort of ritual use of language. Hence, it is actually conceivable that the word is etymologically connected with YukK *almə*, T *wolme* ‘shaman’, YukK *aldu-* ‘conjure’ (< PYuk *wa/ol-).
- 2632: *woča- ‘wait’ (UEW 334: *oča-). – Only attested in the west: obsolete western Saami <*ādsot-*>, PFi *odotta-, PMd *učə-, PMari *wüče- ‘wait’. The reconstruction *oča- is evidently incorrect; the initial *w- is proved by Mari, and the palatalized affricate *č matches none of the attested forms. UEW also cites Selkup cognates, but confuses two distinct verbs: SlkTa *ati-* ‘be visible’ (< *atə-) and SlkTa *ätti-*, SlkK *āča-* ‘guard’ (< *āččə-). These verbs do not have anything to do with each other, and neither suits formally as a reflex of PU *woča-; the former actually reflects PU *itä- ‘appear, come into sight’ (Helimski 2000: 199).
- 2638: ? *amV- ‘sit’ (UEW 8–9). – Based on PKh *āməs- ‘sit’, *āmət- ‘put down’, PMs *ūnl- ‘sit’, *ūnt- ‘sit down’, PSam *āmtə- ‘sit down’. These forms could be parallel derivatives of a PU root *amV-, but borrowing between Samoyed and Ob-Ugric seems also possible.

Appendix C: Potential Uralic or Samoyed loanwords in Yukaghir

1. PYuk *aĭ- ‘melt, thaw’ (> YukK, T *alā*- ‘melt’, K *alō*-, T *aluo*- ‘melted’, K *alōjə*, T *aluojə* ‘ice hole; thawed patch’)

< Pre-PSam *ʁälä- (not attested in Samoyed). – This verb is not found in Samoyed, but it would be the predictable reflex of PU *sula- ‘melt, thaw’, which has cognates in almost all other branches of Uralic: Fi *sula*-, Mde *sola*-, MariE *šule*- ‘melt, thaw’, Udm *silj*- ‘dissolve’, KhE *löla*-, MsE *täl*-, Hung *olvad* ‘melt, thaw’ (Sammallahti 1988: 548; UEW: 450–451).
2. PYuk *aŋa ‘mouth’ (> YukK, T *aŋa* ‘mouth’)

< Pre-PSam *aŋə or PSam *aŋ ‘mouth’ (> NenT *ńa?*, EnT *e?*, Ngan *ŋaŋ*, SlkTa *āk*, *āŋ*, Kam *aŋ*, Mat *äŋ* ‘mouth’). – The Samoyed word derives from PU *aŋi ‘mouth, opening’, and its cognates include Est *ava* ‘opening, hole’, Komi *vom*, Udmurt *im* ‘mouth, opening’, KhE *öŋ*, *oŋ* ‘mouth (of a bottle, fishing weir, river, etc.)’, and Hung *aj* ‘groove, furrow’ (UEW: 11). Also a verbal correlate *aŋa- ‘open’ is widely attested, cf. e. g. Fi *avaa*- ‘open’, Mde *av-to*- ‘open (wide)’, KhN *eŋχ*- ‘untie, unbind; take off’, MsN *äŋkʷ*- ‘open, take off’ (UEW: 11; cf. Sammallahti 1988: 542).
3. PYuk *awa ‘elder sister’ (> YukK *abō* ‘elder; elder sister’)

< PSam *apā ‘elder sister’ (> NenT *ńaba* ‘stepmother’, *ńabako*, Ngan *ŋahu*, Slk *opə* ‘elder sister’). – The etymology presupposes that there has been a development *p- > *w- in Yukaghir. The Samoyed word is of unclear origin, but a borrowing in the opposite direction can hardly be assumed, as there is obviously some kind of further etymological connection to Khanty and Mansi words with the same meaning; see etymology 139 in Appendix B for discussion.
4. PYuk *čant- ‘upriver, uphill’ (> YukK *čandə* ‘upriver’, T *čandey* ‘upriver, uphill’)

< / > PSam *čəncä- ‘climb, go upriver or uphill?’ (> NenT *təna*- ‘climb, go upriver or uphill’, En *toda*-, Ngan *təntu*- ‘overtake’, SlkTa *čančj*- ‘rise, go out’). – The match is otherwise exact, but the etymology presupposes either a dissimilation *čənc- >> *čant- in Yukaghir or an assimilation *čəntä- >> *čəncä- in Samoyed. Even if the comparison is correct, the direction of borrowing remains unclear.
5. PYuk *ečē ‘father’ (> YukK *ečē*)

< Pre-PSam ?*(j)čä >> PSam *äjsä (> NenT *ńiša*, En *ese*, SlkTa *esj* ‘father’); note also Ngan *desj* ‘father’, which seems to reflect an irregular variant *jäsä. – The etymology is phonologically problematic, as the Samoyed word does not have an affricate. However, an affricate is attested in apparently related Finno-Ugric forms: cf. old Võro *jedsä* ‘father’ (< Proto-Finnic *ecä), MdM *očä* ‘paternal uncle’, MariW *azä* ‘older brother’ (< PMari *ičä), MsE *äš* ‘mother’s father’ (< PMs *äčə). Hence, PSam *-(j)s- might reflect an earlier affricate *-č-. See etymology 403 in Appendix B for further discussion.
6. PYuk *eme- ‘mother’ (> YukK *emej* ‘mother’)

< PSam *ämä ‘mother’ (> NenT *ńeba*, EnT *ē*, Ngan *ńemj*, SlkTa *emj*, Mat *eme*). – The Samoyed word derives from PU *e/ämä ‘mother’ (> Est *ema* ‘mother’, SaaS *jiemie*

‘womb with an embryo’, old Hung *eme* ‘sow’) (UEW 74; Sammallahti 1988: 536). The similarity of the Uralic and Yukaghir words could also be a mere coincidence, as similar nursery words for ‘mother’ are quite common in the world’s languages.

7. PYuk *ere ‘fork’ (> YukK *jēr*, T *ir*, *ire* ‘furcation, fork (in a tree)’) ? < Pre-PSam *θārā ‘fork?’ (> PSam *tārā, not attested in Samoyed). – PSam *tārā would be the expected reflex of PU *sārā. This Uralic cognate set shows considerable semantic heterogeneity: cf. SaaL *sárre* ‘furcation, fork’, Liv *sūor* ‘fiber, vein, blood vessel’, MariE *wūr-šer*, Udm *vir-ser* ‘vein, blood vessel’ (*wūr*, *vir* ‘blood’), Hung *ér* ‘vein, blood vessel’, KhE *ler*, *jer* ‘stripe, groove’, MsE *tōār* ‘root’ (UEW 437; Sammallahti 1988: 548). The meaning ‘fork’ occurs only in Saami, but the meanings of the other cognates can apparently be derived from the concept of some kind of forked or branching object. If there was once also a Samoyed cognate which retained the meaning ‘fork’, this might be reflected in PYuk *ere.
8. PYuk *jō ‘belt’ (> YukK *jō*)
< PSam *jiā ~ *niā ‘belt’ (> NenT *nī*, SlkTa *čū*, Kam *ži*, Mat *ni*); cf. also the derivative *niā-jā (> EnT *niojo*, EnF *nej*, Ngan *nīādā* ‘belt’). – The variant with initial *j- is reflected in Slk and Kam. Both *j- and *n- are secondary prothetic consonants, and only *-iā- reflects the primary stem. The word derives from PU *üwā ‘belt’; see etymology 691 in Appendix B for discussion.
9. PYuk *kē- ‘slot’ (> YukK *kēl* ‘slot’, *kēdagan* ‘through (a slot)’) < / > PSam *kia ‘hole’ (> NenT *šī*, EnF *še*, Ngan *šīā*, Kam *ši* ‘hole’). – As the Samoyed word is itself of unknown origin, borrowing in both directions is possible.
10. PYuk *kēl- ‘brother-in-law’ (> YukT *kelil* ‘brother-in-law’) < PSam *kälü ‘brother-in-law’ (> NenT *šēl*, En *seri*, Old Ngan *šalun*, Slk *šēlā). – The Samoyed word derives from PU *kälüw ‘brother- or sister-in-law’ (> SaaN *gálojeatni*, Fi *käly*, MdM *kel*, Komi *kel* ‘sister-in-law’, KhE *küli* ‘brother-in-law’).
11. PYuk *kōd- ‘tighten’ (> YukK *kōd*- ‘gather, tighten (a rope)’) < Pre-PSam *küäd- (> PSam *kürā- > NenT *šur*?’ ‘waist band of trousers’, Ngan *kirāmā* ‘tighten’, *kirimi* ‘band (e. g., for closing a sack)’). – The Samoyed word derives from PU *kāwdi (> SaaL *kievđā*, Fi *köysi* ‘rope’, Komi *kel*, Udm *kal* ‘string, band’, KhN *keta* ‘leather strap’, MsN *k^wāliy* ‘rope, cord’) (Aikio 2006a: 19–20; cf. UEW 135). The borrowing to Yukaghir must have occurred before the change *d > *r in Samoyed.
12. PYuk *kōj (> YukK, T *kōj* ‘fellow, boy, (young) man, male’) < Pre-PSam *koj ‘man, male’ (not attested in Samoyed). – Cf. SaaSk *kuōjj* ‘(young) husband’, KhE *ku* ‘man, husband; male animal’, *kuj* ‘male’, MsE *kuj-* ‘male’ (< PU *koji). The predictable reflex of PU *koji would be Pre-PSam *koj(ə) > PSam *ko(ə). Note that even though this noun root not attested as such in Samoyed, the PU derivative *koj-ra ‘male animal’ was preserved as PSam *korā ‘reindeer bull’, and further borrowed to Yukaghir as *qoroj ‘two-year old reindeer bull’ (see etymology 34 below). The PYuk vowel *ō could be explained by the palatalizing influence of the following glide *j.

13. PYuk *lamtə- ‘low’ (> Old Yuk (Chuvan) *laudap*, (Ust’-Janskoe) *namdātschit* (assimilated: *lam- > *nam-))
 < / > PSam *lāmto ‘low’ (> NenT *lāmto*, En *loddu*, Slk *lamtu*). – The Samoyed word has often been considered cognate with Fi *lansi* ‘low, wet terrain’, MariW *landaka* ‘depression, small valley’, Komi *lud* ‘meadow, pasture’ and Udm *lud* ‘field, meadow; clearing’ (UEW 235–236), however erroneously: the Finnic, Mari and Permic nouns are instead cognate with Ngan *lįntə* ‘plain, valley’ and reflect PU *lįnti (Aikio 2014b: 86); see the discussion under etymology 992 in Appendix B.
14. PYuk *lančín- ‘slow, calm’ (> YukT *ladīdā* ‘slowly’, *ladīnban-* ‘slow, calm’)
 < Pre-PSam *lānsā ‘calm’ (not attested in Samoyed). – Pre-PSam *lānsā would be the regular reflex of PU *lonša ‘calm, soft, gentle’ (> SaaN *loažži* ‘abated wind’, KhN *luńśā* ‘lukewarm’, MsE *lāńśəj* ‘soft, mild, warm’, Hung *lāgy* ‘soft, weak, gentle’). The substitution PSam *-ns- > PYuk *-nč- is phonotactically motivated: there was no cluster *-ns- in PYuk. See also etymology 31.
15. PYuk *lēr- / *līr- ‘shake?’ (> YukK *irkə*, T *lirke-* ‘tremble, shake’, K *irkej-* ‘get frightened’, *irkušej-* ‘frighten’, T *leruge-* ‘shake lightly’)
 < PSam *lērV- ‘frighten’ (> NenT *leŕo-* ‘be frightened, get frightened’, *lerabta-* ‘scare, frighten’, SlkTa *lērįmpj-*, K *larįmpj-* ‘be afraid’, Kam *nerē-* ‘get frightened’, Mat *ner-* ‘frighten’). – The Samoyed verb derives from PU *lįdi- and is cognate with MariE *lūda-*, MariW *lūdā-* ‘be afraid’ (Aikio 2014b: 85–86). In Kam and Mat there has been an irregular change *l- > *n-.
16. PYuk *međiń ‘as soon as’ (> YukK *medin*, *mōdin*, T *miriń*)
 < / > Pre-PSam *mādə > PSam *mārə ‘soon’ (> NenT *mēr?* ‘soon’, EnF *mār* ‘quickly, soon, early’, Ngan *merə* ‘early’). – The etymology of PSam *mārə is unknown; the Samoyed-Yukaghir comparison presupposes that the *-r- goes back to earlier *-d-.
17. PYuk *mej- ‘take’ (> YukK *mej-nu-*, T *mei-*)
 < / > Pre-PSam *me(x/j)- or PSam *me- ‘take’ (> NenT *me-*, EnT *mu-*, Mat *mę-*). – The form is very short, which adds to the hypothetical nature of this etymology; moreover, PYuk *j has no correspondent in the Samoyed form. The origin of PSam *me- is unknown, but theoretically it could reflect Pre-PSam *me(x)(i)- or *mej(i)-; perhaps PYuk *j is a substitute for a lost Pre-PSam *j or *x. Compare etymology 40, which seems to involve a substitution of PYuk *γ for Pre-PSam *x.
18. PYuk *mel- ‘breast’ (> YukK *melut* ‘breast’)
 < Pre-PSam *māl ‘breast’ (not attested in Samoyed). – Pre-PSam *māl would be the expected outcome of PU *mālki ‘breast’, which is otherwise widely attested in the family (cf. SaaN *mielga*, MariE *mel*, Udm *mīl*, KhE *mōyəl*, MsN *māyəl*, Hung *mell*). The stop *k was lost in the contexts *-l_i- and *-r_i- at an early phase of Pre-PSam (Aikio 2002: 26).
19. PYuk *mon- ‘say’ (> Yuk K, T *mon-* ‘say’)
 < / > PSam *mān- / *mon- ‘say’ (NenT *man-*, Ngan *mun-*, Kam *ma-*). – The Ngan form points to PSam *o, the other forms to PSam *a. The verb is of unknown origin,

so a borrowing from Yukaghir to Samoyed also seems possible. Cognates from other branches of Uralic have been proposed for the Samoyed words, but these must be rejected; see etymology 1267 in Appendix B for discussion.

20. PYuk *ń/nim ‘name’ (> *ń/niw > *ńú > YukK *ńú*; cf. Old Yuk (1692) <*nim*>) < PSam *nim ‘name’ (> NenT *ńim*, *ńum*, EnT *ńiʔ*, EnF *ńi(m-)*, Ngan *ńim*, Slk *nim*, Kam *nəm*, Mat *nim*, *nüm*). – The Samoyed word derives from PU *nimi ‘name’, and it is cognate with SaaN *namma*, Fi *nimi*, MdE *lem*, MariE *lüm*, Komi and Udm *ńim*, KhE *nem*, MsE *näm*, Hung *név* ‘name’.
21. PYuk *nō- ‘scrape, scratch’ (> YukK *nō-*, T *nuo-*) < Pre-PSam *nəθ- ‘scrape’ (> PSam *nət- > NenT *nəʔ-*, EnF *noʔ-*, Ngan *noδ-ur-*, SlkTa *nat-*, Kam *nāʔ-*). – The Samoyed verb derives from PU *nusi- (> MdE *nozorda-* ‘scratch’, MariE *nužə-* ‘scratch off’, KhE *nōL-* ‘scrape’).
22. PYuk ?*ńomə or ?*ńemə ‘hare’ (> Old Yuk (Omok) <нема? = /ńemə/ or /ńomə/; the phonologization of the form is not clear (cf. HDY 1409; Rédei 1999: 40), and the word is not attested in modern varieties of Yukaghir) < PSam *ńámá ‘hare’ (> NenT *ńawa*, Ngan *ńomu*, SlkTa *ńoma*). – The Samoyed word derives from PU *ńoma and is cognate with SaaN *njoammil*, MdE *numolo*, Komi *ńimal* and Hung *nyúl* ‘hare’ (< *ńoma-la) (UEW: 322).
23. PYuk *ńorčə ‘moss, lichen’ (> YukT *ńordé*) < / > PSam *ńárso ‘moss’ (> NenT *ńarco*, EnT *nađúđo*, Ngan *ńorsu*). – Nikolaeva considers this Yukaghir word a derivative of PYuk *ńoro- (see etymology 24), but the match with Samoyed is rather striking. The substitution of PYuk *č for PSam *s is motivated by a phonotactic restriction: there apparently was no cluster *-rs- in PYuk, as such is not attested in the material in HDY. Likewise, PSam *-ns- was rendered with PYuk *-nč-, as the cluster *-ns- was also foreign to PYuk (see etymologies 14 and 31). On the other hand, if the Samoyed word was instead borrowed from Yukaghir, the derivational etymology of the Yukaghir item could still be correct.
24. PYuk *ńoro- ‘moss; bog’ (> YukK *ńoroł*, T *ńoril* ‘pool; moss’) < / > PSam *ńərV- ‘bog’ (> En *noro*, EnF *nor*, Ngan *ńer^ua*, Slk *ńarə). – Note that Nikolaeva also includes YukT *ńordé* ‘moss, lichen’ (< PYuk *ńorčə) in this lexical set, but it could also be a borrowing from a different Samoyed word (see etymology 23).
25. PYuk *olo- ‘steal’ (> YukK *olo-*) < Pre-PSam *θälä- ‘steal’ > PSam *tälä- (> NenT *tälə-*, EnF *tare-*, Ngan *tolij-*, Slk *tuələ-, Mat *tälər-*). – The Samoyed word derives from PU *sala- ‘steal’ and has widespread cognates: e. g., SaaN *suoli*, Fi *salaa* ‘secretly’, MdE *sala-* ‘steal’, MariW *šola* ‘thief’, KhE *laləm-*, *jaləm-*, MsE *tülmənt-* ‘steal’.
26. PYuk *oŋ- ‘put on, fit in’ (> YukT *oŋ-* ‘put on’, *oŋā-* ‘fit in (tr.); hope for’) < Pre-PSam *θoŋ- ‘penetrate, enter’ (> PSam *toŋ-, not attested in Samoyed). – This would be a predictable reflex of PU *soŋi- ‘penetrate, enter’, attested in SaaN *suot-nja-* ‘creep in (e. g., into a cave)’, MariE *šoŋala-* ‘put on (e. g., a coat or a shirt)’, KhE *läŋa-*, MsE *tuw-* ‘go in’, Hung (arch.) *av-* ‘penetrate, become ingrown’ (cf. Sammal-

- lahti 1988: 548, who reconstructs *sōŋi-). The assumed semantic development ‘go in, creep in’ > ‘put on (clothes)’ in Yukaghir also occurred in the Mari cognate (which is a new addition to this Uralic etymology), and further semantic parallels are also found, e. g. SaaN *cáhki-* ‘put in, stick into; put on (a piece of clothing)’ and Fi *puke-* ‘put on, dress; (dialectally also) creep into’. UEW (446) also cites Samoyed cognates (NenT *fú-*, Ngan *čii-*, Kam *šu-* ‘go in, enter’), but this comparison is phonologically impossible: the verb must be reconstructed as PSam *túj- (Janhunen 1977: 167), and both the labial front vowel *ü and the consonant *j are incompatible with PU *soŋi-. Janhunen (1981) and Sammallahti (1988: 548) have rejected the comparison to Samoyed.
27. PYuk *paj- ‘strike, hit’ (> YukK *paj-*, T *pāj-* ‘strike, hit’)
 < PSam *pəj(ä)- ‘strike, hit; chop wood’ (> NenT *pæʔ-*, En *fau(?)*-, Ngan *hoi-* ‘chop firewood’, Slk *pać-al-*, Mat *hāj-äl-* ‘strike, hit’). – The Samoyed word derives from PU *puďa- ‘hit, split, break’ and is cognate with SaaN *bođu* ‘loose, separate(d)’, Fi *putoa-* ‘fall’, MariE *puďarte-* ‘break; chop up’, Udm *pil̆i-*, *pil̆i-* ‘split, break’, and MsE *pal* ‘chip, shaving’ (Aikio 2006a: 22–23).
28. PYuk *paŋq- ‘seine’ (> YukK *paŋul*)
 < / > PSam *poŋkâ ‘net’ (> NenT *poŋka*, EnT *foga*, SlkTa *poqqi*, Mat *honga*). – The Samoyed word is of unknown origin, so a borrowing in the opposite direction seems equally possible. The vowel correspondence PYuk *a ~ PSam *o is deviant, and does not provide an argument for either direction of borrowing. Note also that there is a similar word in Khanty: E *poŋk*, *pāŋk^w*, S *poŋχ* ‘row of nets’ (< PKh *paŋk). Due to the irregular vowel correspondence this cannot be a cognate of PSam *poŋkâ, but the word is no doubt somehow related through borrowing.
29. PYuk *pē ‘mountain, rock, big stone’ (> YukK *pē*)
 < / > PSam *pəj ‘stone, rock’ (> NenT *pæ*, EnF *pu*, SlkTa *pü*, Kam *pi*). – Note that in UEW (378) and Janhunen (1977: 112) this Samoyed cognate set is confused with another, distinct one: Ngan *h^wala*, Mat *hilä* ‘stone’ (< PSam *pələ). – As for the meaning ‘mountain’ in Yukaghir, cf. NenT *Pæʔ* ‘the Ural Mountains’ (literally: ‘rocks’). Note, however, that the near-homonymous PSam *pəj(ä)- ‘strike, hit’ appears to have been borrowed into Yukaghir as *paj-, with the glide preserved (see etymology 27). The origin of the Samoyed word is not clear, although it has occasionally been considered cognate with the isolated Finnish *pii* ‘flint’; the comparison is phonologically problematic. See etymology 1758 in Appendix B.
30. PYuk *pel- ‘old man, husband’ (> YukK *pulut* ‘old man, husband; bear’, T *pelur* ‘id.; bridegroom’). In YukK there apparently was a development *e > *ö > u, i. e., first a labialization caused by *p- and then assimilation to the second-syllable *u.
 < PSam *pälä ‘side; half; relative, companion, spouse’ (> NenT *pēla* ‘half; piece; relative’, Ngan *hel̆i* ‘part, half’, SlkTa *pel̆i* ‘partner, mate, companion’, Mat *hāl̆ä* ‘half, side’). – The Samoyed word derives from PU *pälä ‘half, side’, with widely attested cognates: e. g., SaaN *bealli*, Fi *puoli* ‘half, side’, MdE *pel* ‘side’, *pele* ‘half’, MariE *pele*, Komi *pel*, Udm *pal*, KhE *pel̆k* ‘half, side’, MsE *pöäl* ‘side’, Hung *fél* ‘half, side’. The loan origin of the Yukaghir item is supported by the fact that only the meaning

'husband' (< 'spouse') is found in Yukaghir, which in turn is a secondary semantic development from 'half'.

31. PYuk *qanč- 'cold' (> YukT *qadu* 'cold', *qande* 'winter', *qañqa* 'grow cold'; K *qadilət* 'temper')
 < PSam *känsä- 'cold; get cold' (> NenT *χanco* 'cool', EnT *kode-*, Slk *kašə-, Kam *kənzə* 'cool down, get cold'). – The Samoyed word quite probably derives from PU *kVnsä- (? *känsä-) (> MariW *kiže* 'freeze', Komi *kežid*, Udm *kežit* 'cold'), although the PSam vowel *ə does not correspond regularly to the Mari and Permic forms (Aikio 2002: 21). As for the substitution PS *-ns- > PYuk *-nč-, see etymology 14.
32. PYuk *qon- 'go, walk' (> YukK, T *qon-*)
 < PSam *kän- 'go (away)' (> NenT *xan-*, En *kañi-*, Ngan *konj-*, Slk *quən-*, Kam *kâ(n)-*). – The Samoyed word derives from PU *kani- 'go (away)'. This verb stem has no underived cognates in the other Uralic branches, but it is widely attested in the causative derivative *kan-ta- 'carry' (cf. UEW 124, where reflexes of *kanta- 'carry' are listed, but the derivational etymology is not acknowledged; cf. Janhunen 1981: 221, 231). Note that in Yukaghir there is also a similar causative formation: YukK *qontə* 'carry'. This looks strikingly similar to the Uralic causative *kan-ta-, but nevertheless, it seems to be an independent formation because PYuk *-nt- would be reflected as YukK *-d-*.
33. PYuk *qontə- ~ *köntə- 'lie' (> YukK *qodō-*, T *quduo-*, *kuduo-* 'lie', K *kudē-*, T *kudie-* 'put down')
 < / > PSam *kontä- 'fall asleep' (> NenT *χona-*, EnT *koda-*, Ngan *kuntu-*, SlkTa *qontj-*), *kont-ö- 'sleep' (> NenT *xoño-*, EnT *kodu-*, Kam *kunō-*). – The origin of the Samoyed verb is unclear, so one could also consider borrowing in the opposite direction. The alteration between front and back vocalic forms in Yukaghir is irregular.
34. PYuk *qoroj 'two-year-old reindeer bull' (> YukK *qoroj*)
 < PSam *korä 'reindeer bull' (> NenT *xora*, EnF *kura*, Ngan *kuru*, Slk *qora*, Kam *kora*). – This is a Siberian Wanderwort of Samoyed origin; compare further Chukchi *qorañə*, Kerek *qojaña*, Alutor *quraña*, Itelmen *qos*, and Central Siberian Yupik *qujjik* 'domesticated reindeer' (Fortescue 2005: 238). The Samoyed word derives from PU *koj-ra and is cognate with Fi *koira* 'dog', *koiras* 'male animal', Komi *kjir-* 'male', KhE *kar*, MsE *kēr* 'male; reindeer bull', Hung *here* 'drone; testicles' (UEW 168–169). The Uralic word is a derivative of *koji 'man, male' (see etymology 12).
35. PYuk *sapa- 'hit' (> YukK *šapaj-* 'hit', *šapayədj-* 'strike, hit', *šapayaj-* 'tumble, fall down')
 < / > PSam *səppə- 'hit' (> NenT *səpə-* 'hit with an axe', *səpəda-* 'hit (the target)', EnF *sopu-* 'cut down, fell', Mat *sabəd-* 'hit'). – The origin of the Samoyed verb is unknown, so both directions of borrowing are possible. The geminate *-pp- suggests that the Samoyed verb is a post-PU innovation.
36. PYuk *sēr 'hail, snow?' (> YukK *sēril* 'snow on trees', T *sierul* 'hail')
 < PSam *sēr 'ice' (> NenT *ser*, NenF *χeL*, EnF *sj(r-)*, Ngan *sir* 'ice; salt', Mat *sər-ət* 'hail'). – The Samoyed word has no cognates elsewhere in Uralic, but it is probably

etymologically identical to the homonymous PSam adjective *sēr ‘white’ (> NenT *ser*, EnT *sj?*, Ngan *sīr*, SlkTa *serj*, Kam *sirä*). Moreover, as PSam *sēr goes back regularly to Pre-PSam *sīr, there is probably a more remote connection to PSam *sīrā ‘snow; winter’ (> NenT *sira*, EnT *sīra*, Ngan *sirü* ‘snow; winter’, SlkTa *sīrj*, Kam *särä*, Mat ?*sirä* ‘snow’), although the morphological relationship of the two words remains unclear. As for the semantic correspondence between Samoyed and Yukaghir, note especially the Mator derivative *sergt* ‘hail’ and the NenF cognate *χελ* in the expression *χελ χалу* ‘hail shower’ (literally “ice rain”).

37. PYuk ?*solijə ‘intestine, gut’ (> Old Yuk (RS) <*šolje*>)
 < PSam *sälä ‘intestine, gut’ (not attested in Samoyed). – This word is not found in Samoyed, but PSam *sälä would be the predictable reflex of PU *šola ‘intestine, gut’, which is widely attested in other branches: cf. SaaN *čoalli*, Fi *suoli*, MdE *šulo*, MariE *šolo*, Komi and Udm *šul*, KhE *sol* ‘intestine, gut’ (UEW 483–484).
38. PYuk *so/ałqə ‘loon (Gavia)’ (> YukK *sal’ya*)
 ? < Pre-PSam *sälkä ‘goldeneye (or some similar bird)’ (not attested in Samoyed).
 – The PU word *šodka ~ *šod’ka ‘goldeneye’ is not attested in Samoyed, but it has widely attested cognates in other branches: cf. SaaN *čoadgi*, Fi *sotka*, MdE *šulgo*, MariE *šoe*, Udm *šed-šulj*, KhE *saj* and MsE *sēl* ‘goldeneye’ (UEW 482). The Permic forms require a proto-form *šodka, whereas Khanty and Mansi presuppose *šod’ka; the other forms are ambiguous. The regular Samoyed cognate of the latter form would be PSam *sājka, and PYuk *sałqə could reflect an intermediate stage in the shift PU *d’ > *l’ > PSam *j.
39. PYuk *tono- / *tonjo- ‘follow, chase, drive’ (> YukK *tonjo-*, *tono-*, T *tono-*).
 < / > PSam *tânât/s- (> Ngan *tonu?* ‘chase, drive on’). – There is no certainty of the direction of borrowing. Also, the irregular alteration between *-n- and *-ŋ- in Yukaghir is obscure.
40. PYuk *wey- ‘lead’ (> YukK *egē-* ‘lead by hand’, T *wegie-* ‘lead; carry’)
 < Pre-PSam *wix- ‘take (somewhere), lead’ > PSam *ü- ‘pull’ (> NenT *ñux’le-* (derivative), SlkTa *ü-*). – The Samoyed verb is cognate with SaaSk *viikkä-*, Fi *vie-* ‘take (somewhere)’, MdE *vije-* ‘bring, take’ and Hung *visz* ‘carries, takes, transports’ (< PU *wixi-) (Aikio 2013: 170–171; cf. UEW: 573).
41. PYuk *(w)ejnčī ‘good spirit, shaman’s spirit protector’ (> YukK *ejdī*)
 < PSam *wajjtut ‘spirit’ (> NenT *jint?* ‘breath, steam, air’, EnF *bedu* ‘vapor (from the breath); deep breath, sigh’, Ngan *bačü?* ‘soul’). – The Samoyed root *wajj- derives from PU *wajni and is cognate with SaaN *vuoignä* ‘spirit; breath’, *vuoignat* ‘breathe’ (UEW: 552).
42. PYuk *wentə- ‘stretch’ (> YukT *wedegej-* ‘stretch out; extend, expand (intr.)’, *wenni-* ‘keep stretched’, *wennə-* ‘stretched’)
 < PSam *wentə- ‘straighten out (intr.)’ (> Ngan *bjntə-*). – The Samoyed verb is confined to Nganasan, but it apparently reflects PU *wen-ti-, a derivative of *weni- ‘stretch (intr.)’ (> SaaN *vatna-*, Fi *veny-*, MdE *veñeme-*). The comparison between

Yukaghir and the aforementioned western Uralic forms has already previously been suggested, but the Nganasan cognate is a new addition to this etymology (cf. UEW 819; SSA s. v. *venyä*).

43. PYuk *wonč- ‘root’ (> YukK *ožū* ‘thin root used as a thread for fastening boats’, T *warulū* ‘root’)
< PSam *wânčo ‘root’ (> NenT *wano*, Ngan *bəntu*, Slk *končə, Kam *mona*, Mat *mon-do*). – The Samoyed word derives from PU *wanča(w) and is cognate with Komi *vuž* and Udm *vįžj* ‘root’ (UEW 548; Sammallahti 1988: 541).

Wilhelm Schott als Wegbereiter der deutschen Finnougristik¹

The article deals with the German scholar Wilhelm Schott (1802–1889), who is widely known for his Altaic, Chinese and other Asian language studies but whose significance for Uralic studies in Germany is underestimated. The article shows, however, that Schott actually paved the way for Finno-Ugric studies in Germany by conveying the works of August Ahlqvist (1826–1889), Mathias Alexander Castrén (1813–1852), Pál Hunfalvy (1810–1891) and others to a German public. Schott abundantly published on numerous Uralic languages, using mostly two widespread periodicals of the 19th century: the *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* (1832–1880) and the *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland* (1841–1867). In the article, a systematic account of his more than 200 contributions concerning Uralic languages or cultures, forming about a third of his entire production, is given.

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I. Zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Finnougristik und ihrer Periodisierung

Wie jede Geschichte lässt sich auch die Geschichte der Finnougristik nach verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten und Prinzipien einteilen. Die in unserem Fach sicherlich als einschlägig zu bezeichnende wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Darstellung von Günter Johannes Stipa (1990) beispielsweise, die die Entwicklung bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts nachzeichnet, setzt vier Phasen an, wobei der Autor sich an den geistesgeschichtlichen Epochen Europas orientiert: 1) Renaissance und Reformation; 2) Aufklärung; 3) Neuhumanismus und Romantik, 4) Positivismus. Innerhalb dieser Perioden nimmt Stipa dann eine ausgesprochen detaillierte Unterteilung nach Sprachen und Fachgebieten vor, was dazu führt, dass man manche Namen mehrmals an verschiedenen Orten nachschlagen muss. Im Falle von Martinus Fogelius (1634–1675) gibt es zum Beispiel allein vier Unterkapitel, die den Titel „M. Fogel“ tragen (1.3.1.2.3., 1.3.2.1.2., 1.3.2.5.2., 1.5.2.1.2.). Hierdurch sowie durch das etwas eigenwillige Verweissystem und die unruhige Typographie mit übertrieben viel gesperrt gedruckten Passagen und eingerückten Absätzen in Petit wird eine gewisse Unübersichtlichkeit erzeugt, worunter der Gebrauchswert des Buches leidet. Trotzdem ist die Fülle der Information, die Stipa in seinem Werk zusammengetragen hat, natürlich wertvoll und unerreicht.

Denkbar sind freilich auch andere Periodisierungen (vgl. die knappe Darstellung Fazekas 2001 für einen Überblick), und in meinen eigenen einführenden Lehrveranstaltungen zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte des Faches habe ich eine Einteilung bevorzugt, die sich stärker auf die entscheidenden Schritte innerhalb des (entstehenden) Faches selbst konzentriert. Die gesamteuropäischen geisteswissenschaftlichen Strömungen spielen natürlich auch hier eine Rolle, nur sind sie nicht erstes Gliederungskriterium. Auf diese Weise gelangt man zu einer etwas anderen Einteilung, wobei als Zäsuren, die den Übergang von einer Periode in eine andere markierten, nur Ereignisse oder Publikationen dienen konnten, die tatsächlich einen qualitativen Unterschied für das Fachgebiet bedeuteten. Meiner Meinung nach lassen sich in der Geschichte der Finnougristik zunächst drei solcher mehr oder weniger eindeutiger Einschnitte feststellen, und zwar die folgenden:

- 1) die erste zu Papier gebrachte Sprachvergleiche etwas größeren Ausmaßes und über das rein Lexikalische hinausgehend, also das Manuskript von Fogelius, das auf das Jahr 1669 datiert werden kann (vgl. Setälä 1892,

Kangro 1969, Lakó 1969, Veenker 1986, Wis 1983 – Fogelius hat bekanntlich keine Forschungstradition begründet, da sein Werk nicht veröffentlicht wurde, und es gibt aus dem 17. Jahrhundert auch noch einige andere bahnbrechende Beiträge wie zum Beispiel das ebenfalls unpublizierte Wörterbuch von Bengt Skytte (1614–1683), vgl. hierzu Larsson 1999, aber Fogelius' Manuskript sei hier stellvertretend für derlei Bestrebungen erwähnt);

- 2) die ersten sprachwissenschaftlichen Beweisführungen, die auch heute noch standhalten, also die Bücher von Joannes Sajnovics (1735–1785; *Demonstratio* 1770) und Samuel Gyarmathi (1751–1830; *Affinitas* 1799);
- 3) die Gründung der ersten universitären Lehrstühle für das Gesamtfach, d. h. 1872 in Budapest oder – bei etwas weiträumigerer Auslegung – bereits 1866 in Christiania. Denn der Lehrstuhl von Jens Andreas Friis (1821–1896) war dem Saamischen und Finnischen gewidmet, behandelte also ausdrücklich zwei finnougriische Sprachzweige. Darin kann man die Anfänge einer institutionalisierten Sprachvergleichung sehen, auch wenn klassischerweise der Budapester Lehrstuhl von 1872 als Geburt des Faches genannt wird. (Inhaltlich betrachtet befasste sich freilich auch schon Mathias Alexander Castrén als erster Inhaber des Lehrstuhls für finnische Sprache und Literatur in Helsinki (1850) mit vielen uralischen Sprachen, aber nominell war dieser Lehrstuhl eben nur dem Finnischen gewidmet, vgl. Suutari/Salo 2001: 16).

Diese drei Zäsuren würden die folgenden vier Phasen der Geschichte der Finnougristik ergeben:

- 1) Frühe Wahrnehmungen, Entdeckungen und erste Beschreibungen bis zum ersten (halb)sprachwissenschaftlichen Beweis (–1669)
- 2) Expeditionen, ausführlichere Beschreibungen, bis zum vollständigen sprachwissenschaftlichen Verwandtschaftsbeweis (1669–1770/1799)
- 3) Entstehung einer Disziplin (die zwei ersten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts)
- 4) die Institutionalisierung eines Faches (1866/1872–)

Da am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts aber eine Entwicklung einsetzte, deren Folgen mittlerweile durchaus spürbar sind, kann man die vierte Phase vermutlich mit der Gründung der Wiener Finnougristik als abgeschlossen betrachten. Es folgte ein Vierteljahrhundert Stillstand, ehe möglicherweise mit der Schließung des Osloer Lehrstuhls eine neue Phase eingeleitet wurde. Die beiden letzten Phasen sähen dann folgendermaßen aus:

- 4) die Institutionalisierung eines Faches (1866/1872–1974)
- 5) die De-Institutionalisierung eines Faches (1999–)

Die Ansetzung einer fünften Phase lässt sich mit den folgenden Ereignissen begründen: An einigen Universitäten wurde der Lehrstuhl für Finnougristik, der meistens ein eigenes Institut formte, Bestandteil einer größeren Einheit, wobei unter Umständen der gesamte Lehrstuhl verloren ging, wie 1993 in Bloomington bei der Gründung des *Department of Central Eurasian Studies*. In anderen Fällen blieb der Lehrstuhl trotz Neustrukturierung erhalten (Tartu 1999, Uppsala 2004, Wien 2005, Helsinki 2009 – überall ist der Finnougristik-Lehrstuhl nunmehr Bestandteil eines größeren (Sprach) Instituts). Andere Universitäten haben den Lehrstuhl einfach gestrichen, so geschehen beispielsweise 1999 in Oslo und 2013 in Groningen.

Es liegt in der Kulturgeschichte der finnougrischen Völker begründet, dass die Erforschung der finnougrischen Sprachen und ihrer Verwandtschaft zum Teil von Außenstehenden, d. h. nicht Finnougriern geleistet wird bzw. dass ausländische Universitäten o. ä. eine wichtige Rolle spielten. Das lässt sich bereits an den oben genannten Zäsuren ablesen: der Deutsche Fogelius korrespondierte mit einem italienischen Fürsten, die Bücher von Sajnovics und Gyarmathi sind in Kopenhagen bzw. Göttingen erschienen, der erste Lehrstuhl wurde – bei obiger Interpretation – in Oslo errichtet oder, in der traditionellen Sichtweise, mit einem Deutschen aus Göttingen, József Budenz (1836–1892), besetzt. Ohne die bahnbrechenden Arbeiten der Finnen, Esten und Ungarn schmälern zu wollen, kann sicherlich behauptet werden, dass das Ausland eine erhebliche Rolle bei der Etablierung des Faches gespielt hat. Vor diesem Hintergrund lohnt es sich, die Rolle eines deutschen Gelehrten, der in der dritten Phase, also während der Entstehung einer Disziplin, eine Menge auf dem Gebiet der Finnougristik geleistet hat, ein wenig näher zu beleuchten.

2. Wilhelm Schott als Gelehrter des 19. Jahrhunderts

Wilhelm Schott ist kein Unbekannter in der deutschen Wissenschaftslandschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts. Seine vielfältige Tätigkeit ist schon frühzeitig dokumentiert (vgl. Babinger 1918) und erst kürzlich mit einer ausführlichen Monografie gewürdigt worden (Walravens 2001, enthält auch Babinger 1918). Der Grund, sich im vorliegenden Artikel nochmals ausführlich dieser Forscherpersönlichkeit zuzuwenden, liegt darin, dass Schott in der

Regel als Orientalist und Sinologe wahrgenommen wird und er im Rahmen der Finnougristik oft über Randerwähnungen nicht hinausgekommen ist (s. 2.2.). Hier soll gezeigt werden, dass er für die Etablierung des Faches jedoch Bedeutendes geleistet hat (s. 3.)

Dabei ist es im Interesse einer angemessenen Einordnung von Schotts Leistung notwendig, sich kurz zu vergegenwärtigen, in welchem wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Umfeld wir uns befinden. Natürlich kam Schott nicht aus dem luftleeren Raum, im Hinblick auf Landeskunde und Sprachvergleiche lagen beispielsweise die Arbeiten von August Ludwig Schlözer (1735–1809) vor (vgl. Stipa 1978). Aber die historisch-vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft nahm in Deutschland mit Franz Bopp (1791–1867) und Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) – beide übrigens später Berliner Kollegen von Schott – gerade erst ihren Anfang, nachdem im 18. Jahrhundert Sir William Jones (1746–1794) die Verwandtschaft zwischen dem Sanskrit und einigen europäischen Sprachen nachgewiesen hatte (Beekes 1995: 13). Die Systematisierung und Erstellung von Lautgesetzen bzw. die Annahme von ihrer Regelmäßigkeit erfolgte erst ca. in den 1860er Jahren (Beekes 1995: 17), und von ihrem Durchbruch als anerkannte Methode kann man erst seit Hermann Pauls (1846–1921) *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* sprechen, die 1880 zum ersten Mal veröffentlicht wurden und zum Leitfaden der Junggrammatiker avancierten. Zu jenem Zeitpunkt war Schotts Werk aber schon weitgehend abgeschlossen.

2.1. Biografisches

2.1.1. Wissenschaftlicher Werdegang

Wilhelm Christian Schott wurde am 3. September 1802 in Mainz als Sohn des Kaufmanns Johann Christian Schott und dessen Frau Elisabeth (geb. Wahl, verw. Holzmann) geboren. In den Quellen und Dokumenten zur Person finden sich auch andere Geburtsdaten (vgl. Walravens 2000: 584, 591), doch ist in den jüngsten Publikationen mehrheitlich von diesem Datum die Rede, weswegen es hier als gesichert angesehen wird (so auch bei Walravens 2007: 497).

Ab 1819 studierte Schott in Gießen Theologie, aber sein Interesse für Sprachen überwog, und so wechselte er im Frühjahr 1821 nach Halle. Dort widmete er sich ganz den philologischen Studien, zumal hier auch die orientalischen Sprachen unterrichtet wurden. Ihnen galt sein vornehmliches

Interesse, während er die Theologie allmählich links liegen ließ. Als er 1823 beauftragt wurde, zwei Chinesen zu unterrichten, die zu einem dreijährigen Aufenthalt in Deutschland weilten, taten sich dem wissbegierigen Studenten noch ganz andere Möglichkeiten auf, und er begann mit der Erlernung des Chinesischen. Zwar wurde er im gleichen Jahr noch mit einer Arbeit über die Sunna promoviert, aber danach wandte er sich mehr und mehr der Sinologie zu. In diesem Fach habilitierte er sich 1826 in Halle mit der Arbeit *De indole linguae sinicae*.

Dennoch konzentrierte sich seine Lehrtätigkeit danach weiterhin auf das Hebräische und Arabische, da es für Chinesisch kaum Interessenten gab (Babinger 1918: 255). In letzterem Fachgebiet publizierte Schott jedoch eifrig, und vornehmlich in seinen Publikationen dürfte auch die Ursache für so manchen Konflikt liegen. Denn Schott entpuppte sich als scharfzüngiger, manchmal spöttischer Kritiker, der im Interesse des Gegenstandes auch vor großen Namen nicht zurückschreckte. So muss er 1826 eine scharfe Kritik an Julius Klaproths (1783–1835) *Supplément au dictionnaire chinois du Père Basile de Glemona* (Paris 1819) verfasst haben, die ihm eine anonyme, aber Klaproth zuzuordnende Schmähkritik seiner Konfuzius-Übersetzung eintrug und vermutlich für eine bleibende Verstimmung zwischen den beiden, wenn nicht gar für einen Karriereknick gesorgt hat. Zumindest geht Hartmut Walravens (2008: 14) davon aus, dass der Vorfall „Schott das weitere Fortkommen sehr“ erschwerte (leider konnte Schotts ursprüngliche Kritik an Klaproth bislang nicht ermittelt werden, vgl. Walravens 2001: 16).

Das Verhältnis zu dem berühmten Orientalisten Klaproth blieb, vorsichtig ausgedrückt, gespannt. Mit zunehmender Dauer und akademischer Konsolidierung von Schott wandelte es sich schlicht in ein leicht boshafes Herabblicken. Nach Klaproths Tode noch spottet Schott über dessen Etymologisierungsversuche einiger Wörter des Mongolischen, das Klaproth zufolge an einheimischen Haustierbezeichnungen nur die Wörter für Pferd und Ochse gekannt habe:

Seiner Theorie zufolge müsste man also entweder auch das Rindvieh überhaupt den Ur-Mongolen entziehen, oder annehmen, dass diese Nation ursprünglich nur den verschnittenen Stier, den Ochsen, besessen habe, der sich vermöge eines zwiefachen Wunders so lange durch sich selbst fortpflanzte, bis endlich die Türken mit Stieren und Kühen aushalfen – ein interessantes Problem für Naturforscher! (Schott 1836a: 13.)

Selbst dreißig Jahre später hat er noch kein gutes Wort für ihn übrig und stellt fest, dass Klaproth „auf altajischem gebiete ein höchst unzuverlässi-

ger Führer ist. Wer von der groben Unwissenheit dieses Schriftstellers im türkischen, ungarischen, finnischen, ja in der tatarischen Sprachklasse überhaupt sich überzeugt hat, der kann ein Lächeln nicht unterdrücken ...“ (Schott 1866d: 142.)

Im vierten Teil seiner „Altajischen Studien“ (s. u. 3.2.2.1.) heißt es lapidar, dass etwas „auf dem Grunde Klaproth'scher Zusammenstoppelungen“ entstanden sei, was wenig später in einer Fußnote noch präzisiert wird:

Bei Vergleichung des Klaproth'schen Wörterverzeichnisses tungusischer Dialekte (s. 72ff. seines eben so ‚brillanten‘ als inhaltarmen ‚Verzeichnisses(es) Chinesischer und Mandsch. Bücher der Berl. Bibliothek‘) wird dem Kenner (s. 87) ein derber Schnitzer und auch dem Nichtkenner eine aberratio mentis nicht entgehen. (Schott 1869d: 267–268.)

Und wenn ein Kollege Klaproth zitierte, blieb das ebenso wenig unkommentiert:

Den von ihm beiläufig erwähnten J. Klaproth nennt er [Ahlqvist, CH] einen „berühmten Sprachforscher“. Dieses Epithet kommt aber demselben durchaus nicht zu: Klaproth's angebliche Sprachforschungen sind oberflächliche, zum Theil sehr fehlerhafte Vergleichen, meist auf der Basis dürftiger Wörterverzeichnisse, und einen wahrhaft wissenschaftlichen Charakter hat überhaupt nichts was er geschrieben. (Schott 1875c: 459.)

1830 wechselte Schott nach Berlin, wo er an der Königlichen Bibliothek mit der Sortierung der chinesischen Büchersammlung betraut wurde. Gleichzeitig blieb er der Forschung treu und habilitierte sich 1832 für die Berliner Universität mit einer Probevorlesung „Über das Wesen der chinesischen Schrift und die notwendige Einrichtung der Wörterbücher.“ Sechs Jahre später wurde er außerordentlicher Professor „für das Fach des Chinesischen, der tatarischen und anderer ostasiatischer Sprachen“, wie der Text im Anstellungsdekret vom 23. Juli 1838 (Babinger 1918: 256) lautete. Weitere zwei Jahre später erhielt er einen Ruf nach St. Petersburg, wo ein neuer Lehrstuhl für Chinesisch eingerichtet werden sollte. Schott lehnte jedoch ab, da ihm zur Bedingung gemacht wurde, sein Leben lang dort zu bleiben und da ihm die nordische Residenz schlicht „ein bisgen verzweifelt kalt“ schien, wie er im Oktober 1840 an den deutschen Politiker und Sprachwissenschaftler Hans Conon von der Gabelentz (1807–1874) schrieb (Walravens 2008: 51 – hier auch der Hinweis darauf, dass eine Sinologie dann erst 1855 in St. Petersburg gegründet wurde, und zwar durch die Verlagerung der gesamten orientalischen Fakultät von Kasan in die Hauptstadt!).

In Berlin wurde Schott 1841 zum Mitglied der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften ernannt. Im gleichen Jahr traten auch die vom preußischen König Friedrich Wilhelm IV. berufenen Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859) ihren Posten an der Berliner Akademie an, so dass zwischen den Gelehrten bald ein freundschaftlich-kollegialer Kontakt entstand. Am 1. September 1843 wurde Schott zum Ehrenmitglied der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft in Tartu gewählt, 1850 wurde er korrespondierendes Mitglied der Finnischen Literaturgesellschaft.

„Die folgenden Schicksale Wilhelm Schotts sind mit wenigen Worten berichtet; denn kein bedeutender Zwischenfall brachte Abwechslung in das Leben des stillen, ganz für seine Wissenschaft tätigen Gelehrten“, schreibt sein Biograf Babinger (1918: 256), und tatsächlich war das weitere, intensive Forscherleben arm an äußerlichen Veränderungen. Als beinahe Sechzigjähriger heiratete Schott 1861 Elise Wilhelmine Auguste Meyer, Kinder sind aus der Ehe nicht hervorgegangen.

Wilhelm Schott starb am 21. Januar 1889 und wurde als „Nestor der deutschen Orientalisten“ (Babinger 1918: 257) gewürdigt. So wurde er im weiteren auch meist wahrgenommen, wie der Titel der Monografie von Hartmut Walravens (2001) beweist. Ebenso verzeichnet ihn eine Liste der Mitarbeiter, die für das *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* Übersetzungen anfertigten, ausschließlich mit der Sprache Chinesisch, obwohl er nachweislich auch aus einer Reihe von finnougri-schen Sprachen übersetzt hat (Appel 1953: 17). Erst in einer aktuelleren Darstellung von Walravens (2007: 497) lautet die Berufsbezeichnung endlich „Orientalist, Sinologe, Finnougrist, Altaist“, und diese Charakterisierung dürfte zutreffender sein, da sie die ganze Bandbreite des Berliner Gelehrten erfasst.

2.1.2. Persönliches

Wie im 19. Jahrhundert nicht unüblich, war Schott ein eifriger Briefschreiber, und einige seiner Korrespondenzen sind kürzlich in Editionen von Hartmut Walravens veröffentlicht worden: 2008 mit Hans Conon von der Gabelentz, 2010/2011 mit dem estnischen Schriftsteller und Verfasser des Nationalepos *Kalevipoeg*, Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (1803–1882) – sie war vorher schon auf Estnisch publiziert worden, s. Lepik 1961–, und voraussichtlich 2015 (im Druck) mit der estnischen Dichterin Lydia Koidula (1843–1886) und ihrem Bruder, dem Publizisten Harry Jannsen (1851–1913). Schotts Briefe enthüllen, über das rein Wissenschaftliche hinaus, auch eine

Reihe von Details aus seinem Privatleben und ermöglichen einen Blick auf persönliche Facetten. Wir lernen den Berliner Gelehrten – wie in seinen wissenschaftlichen Publikationen – als eloquenten und scharfzüngigen Schreiber kennen, aber ebenso auch als geistreichen und bisweilen sogar grotesken oder geradezu spielerisch-albernen Autor.

In seinen Anfangsjahren muss Schott wirklich relativ arm gewesen sein, zumal die Universitätslehrer nach Studentenanzahlen bezahlt wurden und er wenige Hörer für seine Sprachen hatte. Walravens (2008: 14) zufolge habe er „buchstäblich am Hungertuch“ genagt. Und wiewohl Walravens (ebenda und 2007: 498) hinsichtlich der späteren Zeit bemerkt, dass sich durch die Berufung zum Mitglied der preußischen Akademie 1841 Schotts „angespannte materielle Lage ein wenig besserte, da er eine der wenigen besoldeten Stellen erhielt“, kann diese doch nicht rosig gewesen sein. Wiederholt klagt er in seinen Briefen über finanzielle Engpässe. So musste er sich 1844 eine Reise zur Philologen-Versammlung (in Dresden vermutlich, wenn es sich um die gleiche Versammlung handelte, die von der Gabelentz zuvor als Orientalische Versammlung bezeichnet hatte, vgl. Walravens 2008: 64–66) versagen, auch später, 1860, ist die Rede davon, dass er um seine „Existenz zu kämpfen“ hatte (Walravens 2008: 69), 1861, also im Jahre seiner Eheschließung (!), klagt er darüber, dass „vierzig Thaler von der Universitäts-Wittwenkasse allein verschlungen werden“ (Walravens 2008: 85), und noch im Januar 1873 erscheint ihm Ferdinand Johann Wiedemanns (1805–1887) Wörterbuch, das 1869 in Sankt Petersburg erschienen war und beim Leipziger Kommissionär über 8 Taler kostete, zu teuer (Walravens 2010/2011: 53–54). Gerade letzteres muss ihn sehr gewurmt haben, denn noch zwei Jahre später schreibt er in einer Rezension bezüglich des am Rande erwähnten Wiedemanns, dass dieser „sich mit seinem großen (leider aber nicht wohlfeilen) Ehstnischen Wörterbuche den tiefsten Kennern dieser seiner Muttersprache anreihet“ (Schott 1875b: 12).

Andererseits waren in späteren Jahren regelmäßig längere Urlaubsreisen möglich, die ihn mit seiner Frau an die Ostsee oder auch in die Schweiz führten. Auch von solchen, häufig monatelangen Urlaubsaufenthalten schrieb er Briefe, und hier erweist er sich manchmal als entspannter Erzähler, wie aus einer Passage an Kreuzwald, geschrieben am 27. Juli 1868, hervorgeht:

Dieses Mal haben wir jedoch dem lieben Meere und dem was nordöstlich daran gränzt, ausnahmsweise uns abzuwenden beschlossen und wollen einmal den wirklichen Zugvögeln nach (resp. voran) ziehen d. h. eine südsüdöstliche Richtung einschlagen mit den Alpen als Zielpunkt. Ich möchte einmal den schönen grünen Rhein,

an dessen oberen (doch nicht obersten) Lauf meine Wiege einst gestanden wenn auch nicht so buchstäblich wie der improvisirte Behälter des kleinen Moses am Nil! – Diesen heimatlichen Rheinstrom also möchte ich einmal in seiner eigenen Wiege kennen lernen und zugleich erproben ob es mit dem Klettern noch ebenso gut geht wie mit dem Schwimmen; denn hier verlernt man das Erstere vollkommen wenn man nicht zu Dachdeckerpartien sich entschließen will. (Walravens 2010/2011: 25–26.)

Dieser Plauderton lappt geradezu ins Alberne, als er Kreuzwald ein paar Jahre später die Ursache einer Verzögerung erläutert:

Daß ich Ihren freundlichen Brief vom 15/1 jetzt erst taliter qualiter beantworten kann, liegt weniger an *via inertiae* oder *laborum cumulus*, als an kaum geheilter Verletzung des linken Auges, einer starken Hämatoze, die ich mir durch einen Stoß, nicht etwa von der Faust eines Liebknechtianers oder Hasencleveristen (Verweis auf zeitgenössische sozialistische bzw. sozialdemokratische Politiker, CH), sondern von besser *an* meinem Nachttische d. h. an der mir zugekehrten Ecke desselben zugezogen. Denn ich schwang mich an jenem fatalen Morgen ziemlich spät, daher ziemlich verdrießlich und ohne Rücksicht auf längere oder kürzere Distanzen aus dem Bette, kurz – mit solcher Gewalt wie höchstens ein Feuer-Lärm sie entschuldigen mag. Zum Glück war der „Apfel“ oder das „Ei“ (*silma muna*) unversehrt und einfache Camillen Aufschläge führten die Genesung langsam herbei. (Vom 21.2.1872, Walravens 2010/2011: 47.)

Einen philosophisch-kontemplativen Unterton konnte seine Korrespondenz mit Lydia Koidula annehmen, die er verehrte und deren Werke er in Deutschland vorstellte (s. u. 3.2.2.10.3.). Am 3. Mai 1872 zitiert der beinahe Siebzigjährige aus einer Niederschrift aus seinen „jüngeren Jahren“:

Die Sternbilder der südlichen Erdhälfte werden hin und wieder von ganz sternleeren Räumen unterbrochen die man (unpoetisch genug) *Kohlensäcke* benamdt hat. So unterbricht die geistige Thätigkeit öfter ein *zeitlicher* Kohlensack (mag er im Innern entstehen oder von Außen uns oktroyirt sein) d. h. eine kürzere oder längere Periode der Productionslosigkeit. Je gewaltsamer wir solche Perioden abkürzen möchten desto bedenklicher verwickeln wir uns in dem dunkeln Sacke. Mit Geduld und Besonnenheit gelangt man am Sichersten wieder zum Lichte und überzeugt sich dann vielleicht bald daß man nur einen stärkenden Winterschlaf gethan hat. (Walravens (im Druck).)

Gesellschaftspolitische Äußerungen finden sich nicht allzu viel in seinen Briefen, obwohl Kommentare zu aktuellen politischen Entwicklungen wie etwa dem deutsch-dänischen Krieg (1864) oder der Reichsgründung (1871) nicht fehlen. Manchmal konnte er sich auch gewisse Spitzen oder Stellungnahmen nicht verkneifen. So zitiert er in einer Rezension August Ahlqvist, der über die Frühgeschichte der Finnen schrieb: „Das Christentum ist unseren vorvätern zu allererst vermutlich von russischer seite gepredigt wor-

den“, und fügt hinter dem Wort Christentum in eckigen Klammern seinen Kommentar bei: „[nach rechtgläubig sein wollender griechischer verunstaltung]“ (Schott 1871a: 32) – denn für einen preußischen Protestanten war das orthodoxe Christentum natürlich ein rotes Tuch.

Was die Sprachkenntnisse von Schott anbetrifft, so werden diese meist als umfangreich und phänomenal (Walravens 2008: 15) bezeichnet. Walravens nennt global die klassischen und „modernen europäischen Sprachen, einschließlich des Russischen“, wobei offen gelassen wird, welche Sprachen exakt damit gemeint waren. An anderer Stelle wird bemerkt, dass er bereits als Kind fließend Spanisch sprach (Walravens 2001: 14). Und schließlich zählt Walravens die Objekte seiner Studien auf: Türkisch, Chinesisch, Thai, Kassia (in Nordindien), Finnisch, Ungarisch, Mandschu, Mongolisch, Japanisch, Tibetisch (Walravens 2008: 15). Hier wären mindestens noch das Persische, das in seinen Lehrveranstaltungen begegnet, und das Estnische, das er sich in späteren Jahren ebenfalls aneignete, zu ergänzen. Zwar hegte Kreuzwald noch 1859 in einem Brief an Franz Anton Schiefner (1817–1879), Wissenschaftler an der St. Petersburger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Zweifel, ob Schott „so firm im Estnischen“ sei, „daß er Untreue dem Übersetzer nachweisen konnte“ (Walravens 2013: 137), und 1860 schreibt Kreuzwald an den deutschbaltischen Literaten Georg Schultz-Bertram (1808–1875), dass Schott nur dürftig Estnisch könne (KKV IV: 60), aber unklar bleibt, worauf Kreuzwald seine Meinung begründet, denn er selbst hatte zum damaligen Zeitpunkt noch überhaupt keinen Kontakt mit Schott. Der hatte aber bereits 1854 aus dem Estnischen übersetzt, wie man seinen Publikationen entnehmen kann (Schott 1854d und 1854e, vgl. 3.2.2.10.3.).

Über seine Finnischkenntnisse sind keine gesicherten Angaben zu machen, höchstens gibt es indirekte Evidenz. 1839 behauptet er gegenüber von der Gabelentz in einem Brief, „meine Finnische Sprachkenntniß ist noch so gut als Null“ (Walravens 2008: 47), und dies stimmt überein mit einer späteren Behauptung, die er bezüglich seines Buches von 1836 tätigt: „Auf das Finnische konnte ich damals, da ich diese Sprache nicht studirt hatte, nur an der Hand des Ungarn Gyármathi, der selbst keine tiefere Kenntniss davon besass, einige schüchterne Blicke werfen.“ (Schott 1847b: 463.) Zu jenem Zeitpunkt konnte er aber durchaus Finnisch, wie seine Publikationen (seit 1842) ausweisen und wie ihm auch Herman Kellgren, der 1846/1847 bei ihm studierte, in seiner Korrespondenz attestierte, wobei er sich sogar noch über Schotts Savo-Dialekt amüsierte (zitiert bei Castrén 1945: 238; vgl. auch Jänicke 1991: 24). Jedoch dürfte das Ungarische die erste

finnougrische Sprache sein, die Schott erlernt hat, denn hierzu liegt seine früheste Publikation vor (Schott 1836b).

Bei all dem ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass Schott in den meisten Fällen Autodidakt war und seine Forschungsgebiete nie bereist hat. Auch in Ungarn ist er nie gewesen, wie er einmal beiläufig in einer Rezension erwähnt (Schott 1874a: 135). Ebenso wenig hat er wohl an Tagungen oder Konferenzen teilgenommen. Wenigstens aber lebte er in Berlin, wo der eine oder andere Kollege vielleicht einmal vorbeikam und wohin es auch immer wieder ausländische Studenten verschlug. Neben dem erwähnten Herman Kellgren (1822–1856; vgl. Castrén 1945: 237–238) war auch Antal Reguly (1819–1858) bei ihm in Berlin, außerdem besuchte Otto Donner (1835–1909) Schott 1869 (Walravens 2010/2011: 28), und Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann hat er im gleichen Jahr am Rande einer Akademiesitzung getroffen (Walravens 2010/2011: 34).

Auffällig ist dahingegen der Zwist mit Anton Schiefner bzw. ihr späteres gegenseitiges Ignorieren. Als Schiefner 1863 in Berlin ist, besucht er „Albrecht Weber, Jacob Grimm, Kiepert, Rödiger, Lepsius, Petermann u. einige andere“, wie er an von der Gabelentz schreibt (Walravens 2008: 163) – aber über Schott kein Wort. Schon 1859 hatte Schiefner Kreuzwald gegenüber beiläufig über Schott fallen lassen, dass er „mich eben so wenig als meinen Freund Böhlingk leiden kann“ (Walravens 2013: 94), was aber sicherlich auf Gegenseitigkeit beruhte, da Schiefner 1864 in einem Brief an Kreuzwald überheblich über Fehler in einer Abhandlung von Schott herzieht (Walravens 2013: 238). Die Ursache für diese Animosität liegt gewiss in der in verschiedenen Medien (*Ermans Archiv, Inland*) geführten Auseinandersetzung über Schiefners deutsche Kalevala-Übersetzung, worauf weiter unten (3.2.2.9.1.) noch einzugehen sein wird.

2.2. Die wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Wahrnehmung von Schott

Wohl einer der ersten, der die im weitesten Sinne finnougriistische Tätigkeit von Schott wahrnahm, war sein Zeitgenosse August Ahlqvist. In seiner Antrittsvorlesung von 1863 gab er einen Überblick über den Forschungsstand seines Fachgebiets und erwähnte beiläufig, dass ein gewisser Professor Schott an der Berliner Universität sich bereits seit dreißig Jahren dieser Sprachen annehme und dass er in letzter Zeit sogar finnische Geistesprodukte einem größeren Publikum bekannt gemacht habe (Suutari/Salo 2001: 122).

Weniger auf Schotts Vorlesungstätigkeit als vielmehr auf seine Publikationen geht Otto Donner in seiner Forschungsgeschichte des Faches

ein. Am Ende nennt er den „vielseitigen Gelehrten“ (*mångkunnige lärde*) Schott als ersten, der die „hochasiatischen mit den finnischen Sprachen zu einem Stamm“ vereinte und verweist auf dessen Abhandlung von 1836. Danach werden noch weitere Arbeiten von Schott (1849[a], 1853[a] sowie seine Altajischen Studien) in der Fußnote genannt, bevor kurz Wiedemann (mit seiner Abhandlung von 1838) und Kellgren (1847) erwähnt werden (Donner 1872: 106–107).

Mehr als nur eine Randbemerkung hatte Emil Nestor Setälä für Schott übrig. In seiner Darstellung zum Fach Finnougristik weist er darauf hin, dass Schott über einen Zeitraum von beinahe vierzig Jahren Vorlesungen zu finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen gehalten hat. Er gibt einige Beispiele von Schotts Themen und schließt mit der Bemerkung:

Es soll hervorgehoben werden, dass SCHOTT'S vorlesungen, soweit man jetzt weiss, ausserhalb Finlands die ersten über finnisch-ugrische sprachwissenschaft gewesen sind. (Setälä 1901: 62.)

Setälä war es auch, der für die erste finnische Enzyklopädie einen Eintrag zu Schott verfasste, der 1916 erschien und in der Version der Neuauflage von 1936 Stipa als einzige Quelle diente. In diesem immerhin knapp dreißig Zeilen umfassenden Eintrag – die Erstveröffentlichung von 1916 war sogar noch ein paar Zeilen länger und hatte überdies das korrekte Geburtsjahr 1802, während sich im Eintrag von 1936 das Jahr 1807 findet – wird Schott als deutscher Sprachforscher (*kielentutkija*) bezeichnet, der seit 1838 in Berlin Professor war. Setälä zählt die wichtigsten Werke von Schott auf und charakterisiert ihn als einen der besten Kenner der chinesischen Sprache und Literatur seiner Zeit. Erst im folgenden Satz wird daraufhin gewiesen, dass er sich auch mit finnougrischen Sprachen befasste (*harrastaja*). Weiter wird dann aber betont, dass er schon ab 1846 darüber las und dies jahrzehntelang fortsetzte. Ebenso weist Setälä auf Schotts Beschäftigung mit dem Kalevala hin, das seit 1847 zu seinen regelmäßig wiederkehrenden Vorlesungsthemen gehört habe. „Vermutlich auf Anregung von J. Grimm“ fügte Setälä in Klammern hinzu, wobei unklar bleibt, worauf diese Aussage fußt. Nicht ausgeschlossen ist, dass lediglich die Bekanntheit Grimms sowie das Wissen um dessen berühmten Aufsatz über das Kalevala von 1845 Setälä zu dieser Annahme brachte, denn Schott hatte (spätestens) bereits 1840 vom Kalevala Kenntnis genommen – im übrigen vermutlich aus der gleichen Quelle wie Grimm, nämlich dem ersten Heft der *Verhandlungen der gelehrten estnischen Gesellschaft* (s. u., vgl. Hasselblatt 2010: 165).

Ebenfalls 1936 erschien der siebte Band der ersten estnischen Enzyklopädie, der neun Zeilen zu Schott enthält. Auch hier wird er als deutscher Sprachwissenschaftler (*keeletheadlane*) bezeichnet, der seit 1838 Professor in Berlin war und Arbeiten zum Chinesischen und Finnougrischen (*soome sugu keeltest*) veröffentlicht habe. Besonders erwähnt werden seine Befassung mit dem Kalevipoeg und seine Korrespondenz mit Lydia Koidula und Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (EE 7, 1936: Spalte 610).

In Deutschland selbst war, zumindest aus dem Blickwinkel der Finnougristik, vermutlich Karl Bouda der erste, der Schott gebührend würdigte. In seiner zehnteiligen wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Darstellung hebt er Schott als Schöpfer des Begriffs „uralaltaisch“ hervor, nennt seine „Arbeitskraft als Forscher und Lehrer bewunderungswürdig“ und bemerkt, dass man manche seiner Ausführungen „auch heute noch mit Nutzen studieren“ kann (Bouda 1937: 174).

Erich Kunze erwähnt Schott in seiner Abhandlung zu Jacob Grimm mehrmals, und jedes Mal äußerst positiv: Zunächst stellt er klar, dass es niemand anders als Schott, „der um die damalige Kenntnis der Sprache und Kultur der finnisch-ugrischen und asiatischen Völker hochverdiente Orientalist, auswärtiges Mitglied der Finnischen Literaturgesellschaft seit 1850“, war, der Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) zur Wahl zum korrespondierenden Mitglied der Berliner Akademie vorschlug, und nicht etwa Jacob Grimm wie häufig angenommen (Kunze 1957: 38). Später heißt es im Zusammenhang mit den Periodika *Ermans Archiv* und *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*: „Die Seele der hier erstmals in Deutschland betriebenen fortlaufenden Finnlandkunde war Wilhelm Schott, der Berliner Orientalist und Akademiekollege Jacob Grimms.“ (Kunze 1957: 73.) Er war damit einer der „Marksteine auf dem Wege, der Grimm in das finnische Neuland führte.“ (Kunze 1957: 92.) Im Gegensatz zu der oben angeführten Bemerkung von Setälä mag es also umgekehrt gewesen sein und eher Schott derjenige gewesen sein, der Grimm zum Finnischen geführt hat. Beachtung verdient hier außerdem der Aspekt der *Finnlandkunde*, also gewissermaßen der Verbreitung von Wissen über ein Land im Gegensatz zur reinen Forschung. Gerade diese Kombination von wissenschaftlicher Forschung einerseits und der Popularisierung und Verbreitung von Wissen andererseits war jedoch, wie sich zeigen wird, Schotts Stärke.

Die wohl wichtigste wissenschaftliche Würdigung von Schott erfolgte von Béla Szent-Iványi, nur ist sie wegen der etwas abseitigen, zumindest nicht ganz leicht zugänglichen Publikation möglicherweise nicht gebührend

beachtet worden. Er stellte Schott neben Grimm, was die „Pionierarbeit zur Pflege der finnischen Philologie“ (Szent-Iványi 1959–1960: 46) betraf, und schreibt ihm – korrekterweise – den Beginn der ural-altaischen Sprachvergleichung zu, die er mit seinem Werk von 1836 eingeleitet habe. Des Weiteren habe Schott großen Einfluss auf die ungarische Sprachwissenschaft ausgeübt (vgl. hierzu Loványi 1957, insbesondere S. 13), was mit Selbstzeugnissen von Hunfalvy auch belegt wird (Szent-Iványi 1959–1960: 50). Im übrigen hat auch József Budenz Schott gelesen und ihn rezensiert (Lakó 1974: 17). Szent-Iványi geht sogar soweit, dass er Regulys Berlin-Aufenthalt (1839) unter anderem der Tatsache zuschreibt, dass Schott hier gewirkt habe (Szent-Iványi 1959–1960: 50). Seiner Meinung nach „wurde die Berliner Universität [in der zweiten Hälfte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts] durch SCHOTTS Tätigkeit zu einem wichtigen Faktor der bereits international gewordenen finnisch-ugrischen sprachwissenschaftlichen Forschung.“ (Szent-Iványi 1959–60: 51.)

Auch Erkki Itkonen (1960: 5–6 bzw. 1966: 15) erkennt die Leistung Schotts, wenigstens auf dem Gebiet der ural-altaischen Sprachvergleichung, an:

In der Reihe der Untersuchungen, die sich für eine ural-altaische Sprachverwandtschaft einsetzten, kommt dem Werk von W. SCHOTT „Versuch über die tatarischen Sprachen“ (1836) grundlegende Bedeutung zu. Viele bekannte Forscher, wie M. A. CASTRÉN, F. J. WIEDEMANN, BERNÁT MUNKÁCSI, HEINRICH WINKLER, ZOLTÁN GOMBOCZ, D. R. FOKOS-FUCHS, COLLINDER sowie MARTTI RÄSÄNEN haben sich SCHOTT angeschlossen.

Analog dazu wird bei Mikko Korhonen (1986: 60) der Fokus auf die ural-altaische Sprachvergleichung gesetzt, während andere Bereiche nicht genannt werden:

The concept of an Altaic language family was not actually invented by Castrén. Wilhelm Schott (1807[sic, CH]–89) had already linked the Finno-Ugric languages and the Turkic languages of Central Asia before Castrén, mainly on grammatical evidence, and used the term “Altaic languages” for this combination.

Es ist dann wieder einem Esten zu verdanken, dass auch andere Aktivitäten von Schott gewürdigt werden, wie Otto-Alexander Webermann (1968: 32) zeigt, wenn er die Bedeutung von Schotts Arbeiten zu Kreutzwalds Kalevipoeg unterstreicht. Auch weist er darauf hin, dass Schott wohl der erste war, „der auf einer ausländischen Universität über die estnische Literatur Vorlesungen gehalten hat.“ (Webermann 1981: 202.)

Etwas widersprüchlich ist die Aussage von Wolfgang Veenker (1988), der die ausführlichste Darstellung zur Geschichte der Finnougristik im deutschsprachigen Raum vorgelegt hat. Zunächst wird Schott gleichsam nur als einer unter vielen in einem Atemzug mit Hans Conon von der Gabelentz (1807–1874), Anton Boller (1811–1869), August Leskien (1840–1916), Franz Misteli (1841–1903), Hugo Schuchardt (1842–1927) und Franz Nikolaus Finck (1868–1910) genannt, alles Personen, „die sich auch mit der einen oder anderen finnougri-schen Sprache in komparativer Fragestellung befaßt haben“. Eine „Kontinuität läßt sich jedoch nicht nachweisen.“ (Veenker 1988: 120) Weiter unten heißt es jedoch völlig korrekt, Schott habe im Wintersemester 1846/47 in Berlin Vorlesungen gehalten „de linguis quae dicuntur Fennicae“ und zu ähnlichen Themen im Laufe seiner Lehrtätigkeit bis 1882/83.“ Das waren immerhin genau die bereits erwähnten „beinahe vierzig Jahre“ von Setälä (1901: 61), was wohl durchaus als eine gewisse Kontinuität bezeichnet werden kann, wie auch das Verzeichnis bei Walravens (2001: 99–118) zeigt (s. u. 3.1.).

Schließlich ist Stipas Monografie auf ihren Schott-Befund hin zu prüfen. Hier findet sich zweimal etwas zum Thema. Zunächst in einer Art Haupteintrag, nämlich einem eigenen Unterkapitel 3.3.1.3.4., das eine Seite umfasst und das sich Schott mit dem Wiener Indogermanisten Anton Boller teilen muss. Immerhin wird Schott hier aber unter Nennung seiner Arbeiten von 1836 und 1849 als „Bahnbrecher“ der Altaistik bezeichnet, ferner folgen in einem nächsten Absatz Beispiele seiner Lehrveranstaltungen, wozu der Autor konstatiert, dass Schott „als erster außerhalb des finnisch-ugrischen Sprachbereichs Vorlesungen über die finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen“ hielt (Stipa 1990: 295). Auch sein Einfluss auf die Sprachwissenschaft in Finnland wird anhand seines Schülers Kellgren genannt, während die Kontakte zu Ungarn erst an anderer Stelle gewürdigt werden (Stipa 1990: 317, 319). In Stipas Bibliografie sind drei Titel verzeichnet (1836[a], 1849[a], 1853[a]).

Zuletzt hat, wie erwähnt, Hartmut Walravens dankenswerterweise eine Reihe von Arbeiten und Briefeditionen zu Schott angefertigt. Sie rücken den Berliner Gelehrten tatsächlich ein wenig besser ins Licht der Finnougristik, zumal sie auch eine einzigartige Materialsammlung (vor allem Walravens 2001) bieten. Sie machen die hier anvisierte Konzentrierung auf den finnougri-stischen Aspekt von Schotts Schaffen jedoch nicht überflüssig, im Gegenteil: Sie haben sie vielleicht auch ausgelöst und stimuliert, nicht im Sinne einer Korrektur, sondern eher als Ergänzung und

leichte Schwerpunktverlagerung mit nur einem Ziel, nämlich der Feststellung, dass Wilhelm Schott eben *auch* ein Finnougrist war.

Es konnte übrigens auch früher schon mal geschehen, dass Schotts Leistung oder Position eher über- als unterschätzt wurde. Dies geschah häufig innerhalb eines estnischen Kontexts, wo Schott – vermutlich auch durch seine Korrespondenz mit Koidula und Kreutzwald – einen nachhaltigeren Eindruck hinterlassen zu haben scheint. So behauptet Rudolf Pöldmäe (1960: 342) in seinem Artikel über den estnischen Augenarzt Paul Blumberg, dass dieser seinerzeit an der Berliner Universität Vorlesungen bei Schott besucht habe, der dort den Lehrstuhl für Finnisch und Estnisch innehatte, und Ähnliches suggeriert Helgi Vihma (1969: 225) innerhalb eines Artikels über Hupel, wenn sie beiläufig über Schott als den Finnougristik-Professor der Berliner Universität spricht.

Alles in allem kann somit vielleicht konstatiert werden, dass Schott keineswegs als „vergessener“ Gelehrter rehabilitiert werden muss, denn er hat, wie wir gesehen haben, durchaus deutliche Spuren hinterlassen. Aber die Würdigung erscheint doch sporadisch und selektiv, weniger umfangreich oder sein Oeuvre als Ganzes betrachtend. Daher sei es angebracht, an dieser Stelle noch einmal intensiver auf seinen Beitrag zur Finnougristik einzugehen und seine Rolle neu zu definieren.

3. Wilhelm Schotts Beiträge zur Finnougristik

3.1. Lehrveranstaltungen

Dank der erhaltenen Vorlesungsverzeichnisse der Berliner Universität konnte Hartmut Walravens (2001: 99–118) ein vermutlich vollständiges Verzeichnis von Schotts Lehrveranstaltungen an eben dieser Berliner Universität liefern. Da es keinerlei Hinweise darauf gibt, dass Schott sich bereits in Halle mit den finnougrischen Sprachen befasst hätte, darf man davon ausgehen, dass das mehrfach genannte Wintersemester 1846/1847 das erste war, in welchem sich Schott mit Finnougrischem befasste. Jedenfalls lautet der Eintrag zum Sommersemester 1847:

Die im vorigen Halbjahre angefangenen Vorlesungen über das finnische Sprachengebiet wird derselbe [= Schott, CH] fortsetzen und damit die Erklärung ausgewählter Gesänge der epischen Dichtung Kalewala verbinden, Montags, Mittwochs und Freitags von 1–2 Uhr privatim. (Walravens 2001: 103.)

Von nun an gab es bis zum Wintersemester 1882/83 auf Basis der Vorlesungsverzeichnisse kein einziges Jahr, in dem Schott sich *nicht* mit einem finnougriechischen Thema befasst hätte, allenfalls gelegentlich ein Semester. Insgesamt listet Walravens 79 Lehrveranstaltungen zum Thema Finnougristik auf, wobei nicht auszuschließen ist, dass es noch mehr waren, da der entsprechende Teil zum Sommersemester 1865 in Walravens Exemplar fehlte (Walravens 2001: 108).

Allerdings darf man sich durch diese Anzahl aus zwei Gründen nicht täuschen lassen. Zum ersten ist im 19. Jahrhundert zu unterscheiden zwischen öffentlichen und privaten Lehrveranstaltungen. Letztere beruhten auf Vereinbarungen mit den (potenziellen) Hörern, auch hinsichtlich des Honorars, und fanden häufig nicht in den Räumen der Universität, in der Regel nämlich beim Dozenten zu Hause statt. Im Lehrveranstaltungsverzeichnis ist bei fast allen Vorlesungen angegeben, welcher Kategorie sie angehörten. Dreißig der oben genannten finnougriechischen Veranstaltungen von Schott sind als „privat“ oder „privatissime“ kategorisiert, und bei diesen ist keineswegs als gesichert anzusehen, dass sie überhaupt stattgefunden haben. Zwar haben wir auch für die öffentlichen Vorlesungen keine Garantie, dass sie stattgefunden haben, aber bei den als „privat“ gekennzeichneten muss man davon ausgehen, dass es sich zunächst um ein Angebot von Schott gehandelt hat, mehr nicht. Wie viele davon Gebrauch gemacht haben, ist nur schwer zu sagen. Überhaupt lassen sich keine exakten Angaben zum Umfang von Schotts Zuhörerschaft ermitteln. Gelegentlich lassen sich seinen Briefen aber Aussagen entnehmen, die Schlussfolgerungen ermöglichen. So schrieb Schott 1860 an Conon von der Gabelentz:

Aber an der Universität komme ich mir wie ein Invalide vor, indem Jahre vergehen ehe dann es Einem oder dem Anderen beikommt, etwas bei mir zu hören. (Walravens 2008: 73.)

Man kann also, gelinde gesagt, davon ausgehen, dass Schott nicht in überfüllten Hörsälen doziert hat. Hier unterscheidet sich die (beginnende) Finnougristik im 19. Jahrhundert nicht von der des 21. Jahrhunderts. Die Gesamtzahl der Studenten im Deutschen Reich belief sich in jenem Zeitraum auf vielleicht 15.000 (Boockmann 1999: 196) und für 1837 sind für die Berliner Universität knapp 1700 Studierende registriert worden (Koch 1839: 2).

Der zweite Grund zur Vorsicht ist der, dass die Titel der Lehrveranstaltungen oft über Jahre hinweg gleich blieben und die Bandbreite von Schotts finnougriechischen Themen insofern nicht überwältigend groß gewesen ist.

Genaugenommen lassen sich sechs verschiedene Vorlesung(styp)en bestimmen:

- 1) Schott begann wie gesagt mit dem finnischen Sprachengebiet und Betrachtungen zum Kalevala, dem er auch einige separate Vorlesungen widmete (7x, 1846–1860);
- 2) danach las er einige Semester über „die finnischen Sprachen und ihr Verhältnis zu denen der Mongolen, Tungusen und Türken“ (3x, 1848–1849);
- 3) es folgte ein Zyklus über „die finnische Sprache mit vorausgeschickter Übersicht der verwandten Sprachen“ (9x, 1850–1858);
- 4) ab 1859/60 wurden vier Semester lang die finnische und die estnische Literatur behandelt (5x, 1859–1861, 1871);
- 5) schließlich gab es vom Sommersemester 1862 bis zum Wintersemester 1882/83 beinahe jedes Semester eine Vorlesung „Von den Geisteswerken der sogenannten finnischen Völker“. Der Titel variierte hier, ab 1869 lautete er durchgehend „finnisch-ugrisch“ (mit einer einmaligen Ausnahme 1877/78: „finnisch-uralisch“), und es konnte sich auch um „Geisteserzeugnisse“ oder „Denkmäler des Geistes“ handeln (35x, 1862–1883);
- 6) parallel dazu, allerdings ein erstes Mal schon 1848, bot Schott privatim einen finnischen Sprachkurs an, von 1872 bis 1881 fast in jedem Semester (20x).

Nun soll keineswegs behauptet werden, Schott habe in Veranstaltungen mit gleichlautendem Titel immer dasselbe heruntergeleiert. Er wird sich zweifelsohne branchenüblich stets auf dem Laufenden gehalten und seine Vorlesungen aktualisiert haben, daran besteht kein Zweifel. Aber zumindest das Grundgerüst stand und allzu große Abweichungen davon wird es nicht gegeben haben. Auffällig ist beispielsweise, dass er ausschließlich Finnisch anbot und kein einziges Mal Ungarisch, was er nachweislich beherrschte, oder Estnisch, wofür er in späteren Jahren bekanntlich eine große Sympathie hegte.

Ein Grund für diese relative Beschränkung lag schlicht darin, dass das eingangs zitierte Anstellungsdekret die finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen eindeutig nicht enthielt, mit anderen Worten: es blieb eine Nebenbeschäftigung, quasi eine Art Hobby, ein Gebiet, wofür sich Schott schlichtweg interessierte und in das er sich selbst vertieft hatte. So gesehen ist Setäläs oben zitiertes *harrastaja* gar nicht so verkehrt, wenigstens im Hinblick auf die Lehrtätigkeit. Der Wirkung und Bedeutung tut das jedoch wenig Ab-

bruch. Erstens war, wie im Folgenden gezeigt wird, Schotts Publikations-tätigkeit (vermutlich) wesentlich bedeutender, zumindest sichtbarer und auch noch mit dem Abstand von bald anderthalb Jahrhunderten besser messbar, und zweitens war in dieser vorbereitenden Phase die bloße Sicht-barkeit des (entstehenden) Fach bzw. des Sprachraums schon ein Erfolg an sich. Durch Schotts Anwesenheit in Berlin war an der Berliner Universität auch das Finnisch-Ugrische vertreten, und das war zu jenem Zeitpunkt an keiner anderen Universität im deutschsprachigen Raum in dieser Intensi-tät und Kontinuität der Fall.

3.2. Publikationen

Wie aus den oben angeführten Briefzitate bereits hervorgeht, hatte Wil-helm Schott eine lockere Feder. Das Schreiben fiel ihm sicherlich nicht schwer, und daher kann es nicht überraschen, dass seine publizistische und wissenschaftliche Produktion außerordentlich groß ist. Sein Schriftenver-zeichnis umfasst – basierend auf Walravens (2001: 15–80, Namenregister S. 81–83) und um schätzungsweise weitere 50 Funde ergänzt – deutlich über 600 Beiträge, von denen nach meiner Auszählung 211 in finnougri-stischer Hinsicht relevant sind (siehe Auflistung unter 6.1.). Das macht, zumindest was die Anzahl der Titel anbetrifft, ungefähr ein Drittel aller Arbeiten Schotts aus. Der Umfang der jeweiligen Beiträge, ganz zu schweigen von der inhaltlichen Gewichtung, konnte hier freilich nicht in die Berechnung mit einbezogen werden. Es versteht sich von selbst, dass zu den finnougri-stisch relevanten Einträgen neben Monografien und Zeitschriftenartikeln auch viele kürzere Beiträge bis hin zu Rezensionen, Inhaltsreferaten, Über-setzungen oder bloßen Buchanzeigen, Repliken und Miszellen gehören. Überdies sind einige Zeitschriftenbeiträge später in monografischer Form noch einmal erschienen, und schließlich gibt es noch einen gewissen Un-sicherheitsfaktor, da eine ganze Reihe von Artikeln ungezeichnet erschie-nen ist und nur indirekt Schott zugeschrieben werden konnte (Walravens 2001: 8; vgl. u. 4.). Außerdem ist bei manchen Beiträgen die Klassifizierung als „finnougri-stisch relevant“ schwierig bzw. willkürlich. Dennoch möge eines deutlich sein: Wer ungefähr ein Drittel seiner wissenschaftlichen Pro-duktion einem bestimmten Fachgebiet widmet, ist vermutlich doch mehr als nur ein *harrastaja*, ein Liebhaber oder einer, der sich nur für etwas inter-essiert. Er verdient es, von diesem Fachgebiet als wichtiger Vertreter, oder eben als Wegbereiter, wahrgenommen zu werden.

3.2.1. Monografien

Schott hat etliche monografische Veröffentlichungen vorzuweisen, von denen viele allerdings zuvor in den Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften erschienen sind. Die meisten Bücher betreffen das Chinesische, was seine Hauptwahrnehmung als Sinologen zweifellos gerechtfertigt erscheinen lässt. Aber auch aus finnougristischer Perspektive sind einige Monografien von Bedeutung.

Zunächst ist selbstverständlich das schon mehrfach angeführte Buch von 1836, der *Versuch über die Tatarischen Sprachen*, zu nennen. In dieser Abhandlung geht es, wie der Titel bereits verrät, vornehmlich um die heute in der Regel als altaisch bezeichneten Sprach(grupp)en Türkisch, Mongolisch und Tungusisch bzw. Mandschu. Aber gleich zu Beginn stellt Schott klar:

In seinen „*Recherches sur les langues Tartares*“ machte Abel-Remusat auf die logische Verwandtschaft des Mandschuischen (bekanntlich der gebildetste Tungusische Dialekt), des Mongolischen, Ost-Türkischen und Tübetanischen aufmerksam. Dieselben charakteristischen Eigenthümlichkeiten finden wir aber auch in der sogenannten Finnischen Sprachen-Classe, und in dem Ungarischen oder Magyarischen wieder. (Schott 1836a: 2.)

Wenig später spricht er von „einer vierten Haupt-Nation Hoch- oder Nord-Asiens, zu welcher die Ostjaken, Wogulen, Samojeden u. s. w. gehören“ (Schott 1836a: 7), und so zieht sich durch das ganze Buch hin eine Spur von Vergleichen zwischen den uralischen und altaischen Sprachen. Zwar stehen die drei erstgenannten Sprachen im Zentrum, Schott geht es in erster Linie um die Nebeneinanderstellung des Türkischen, Mongolischen und Tungusischen, jedoch finden sich in den Randbemerkungen und Fußnoten regelmäßig Hinweise auf vergleichbare Zustände in den uralischen Sprachen – mehrheitlich exemplifiziert am Ungarischen. Diese Sprache muss Schott zum damaligen Zeitpunkt schon recht gut beherrscht haben, während die als „finnisch“ gekennzeichneten Beispiele stellenweise etwas rätselhaft anmuten oder sogar direkt fehlerhaft sind. Alles in allem finden sich hier aber zahlreiche korrekte Observationen, die sich vor allem auch nicht auf den lexikalischen Bereich beschränken. Somit ist Schotts Ruf als Begründer der Hypothese von der ural-altaischen Urverwandtschaft sicherlich begründet (Korhonen 1986: 60).

Schotts Abhandlung *De lingua Tschuwaschorum* (Schott 1841c) ist an dieser Stelle durchaus erwähnenswert, denn sie erlangt durch den erstma-

ligen Nachweis, dass das Tschuwaschische *nicht* zum Kreis der finnisch-ugrischen, sondern der türkischen Sprachen gehört, auch finnougriistische Relevanz. Bekanntlich hat sich die Unsicherheit über die Zugehörigkeit des Tschuwaschischen noch lange gehalten – sogar der französische Linguist Lucien Tesnière (1980 [1959]: 132) klassifiziert diese Sprache noch als finnougriisch! –, was möglicherweise auch daran lag, dass diese lateinisch verfasste Schrift von Schott nicht genügend Bekanntheit erlangt hat. So weist Eberhard Winkler (2007: 120) beispielsweise darauf hin, dass Ahlqvist das Werk offenbar nicht kannte.

1849 kam dann die Monografie heraus, mit der Schott explizit diese ural-altaische Verwandtschaft beweisen wollte. Der Text war 1847 bereits in den *Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* erschienen und wurde dann zwei Jahre später noch einmal separat herausgegeben. Nach einer weitschweifigen Einleitung mit etlichen Exkursen bis hin zu nordamerikanischen Sprachen und ausführlicher Berücksichtigung der altchinesischen Geschichtsschreibung folgt eine Charakterisierung der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen, die mit einer beiläufigen Fußnote zum Ungarischen beginnt:

Obwohl so lange schon von dem Mutterboden losgerissen, und starker lexicalischer Wirkung einiger slawischen Sprachen, des Walachischen und zum Theil auch des Deutschen hingegeben, hat die magyarische Sprache doch auf ihrem eigensten Gebiete den Fremdlingen keinen Zoll Boden geräumt. Ihre Grammatik ist wesentlich finnisch geblieben: um aber davon Überzeugung zu gewinnen, genügt es nicht, daß man nur eine, wenn auch die vollkommenste Sprache des tschudischen Stammes, ins Auge fasse; denn schon das Lappische steht dem Ungarischen in mehreren grammatischen Erscheinungen näher. Noch mehr gilt dies von den bekannteren tschudischen Idiomen am Ural; und die wenigen übrigen Räthsel der Grammatik wird das von Reguly erforschte Wogulische (Ugrische) befriedigend lösen. (Schott 1849a: 22–23.)

Im weiteren klingt hier eine Sympathie für seinen Gegenstand, fast eine Schwärmerei an, wie sie immer wieder bei Schott begegnen wird:

...und so haben denn auch die Ostsee-Finnen einen Schatz von Sagen und Liedern aufzuweisen, der Alles was andere Völker des großen Geschlechts [gemeint ist das ural-altaische, CH] in dieser Art hervorgebracht, tief in Schatten stellt. Hier allein ist wahre Volkspoesie zu Hause. (Schott 1849a: 23.)

Sodann folgen einige lexikalische Vergleiche, bevor die (lange) Einleitung mit einigen strukturellen Besonderheiten und Parallelen zwischen den fraglichen Sprachen endet. Den „Nachträgen zur Einleitung“ (S. 38–41)

schließt sich der eigentliche Kern des Buches an, der mit „Verwandtschaft finnisch-tatarischer Wurzeln mit Rücksicht auf Lautverwandlung“ überschrieben ist. Dieser Teil ist nur noch in zwei Unterkapitel gegliedert, nämlich in ein Kapitel über „Selbstlauter“ (S. 45–98) und eines über „Mittelauter“ (S. 99–144). Hier beschränkt sich Schott aber keineswegs auf grammatische und lexikalische Übereinstimmungen, sondern er geht auch auf die interne Struktur der Einzelsprachen ein, freilich immer mit dem Ziel, die Verwandtschaft der Sprachen zu beweisen. Viele seiner etymologischen Bemerkungen zum inneruralischen Bereich sind auch heute noch stichhaltig. Auch ist sich Schott darüber im Klaren, dass seine Fülle an Wortgleichungen, die hier vorgelegt wird, nicht ausreichend sein kann für einen Verwandtschaftsbeweis. So schließt er mit der Bemerkung:

Wenn der Beifall das Mißfallen überwiegen sollte, so denke ich nach einigen Jahren eine grammatische Vergleichung der hier behandelten Sprachen folgen zu lassen. (Schott 1849a: 147.)

Diese Abhandlung ist nie gekommen (sofern man seine später erschienenen *Altajischen Studien* nicht damit gleichsetzt, s. u.), wohl aber eine kompakte Abhandlung zum Zahlwort der genannten Sprachen, die im gleichen Jahr zuvor in den Akademieabhandlungen erschienen war (Schott 1853a). Erneut versucht Schott hier, sich auf umfangreiches Belegmaterial stützend, die Verwandtschaft des Uralischen mit dem Türkischen, Mongolischen und Tungusischen zu beweisen. Manche seiner hier vertretenen uralischen Etymologien sind auch nach heutigem Forschungsstand noch korrekt, und zu Recht ist darauf hingewiesen worden, dass Schott als erster eine derartige Materialsammlung veranstaltet hat (Honti 1993: 120). Was den größeren Verwandtschaftszusammenhang mit den anderen Sprachen betrifft, werden die meisten Hypothesen zum gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkt aber mit größerer Skepsis betrachtet.

Als die beiden letzten relevanten Monografien sind zwei Akademievorlesungen zu nennen, die zuvor in den *Abhandlungen* erschienen waren. Die kürzere zu Kullervo erschien im gleichen Jahr (Schott 1852a, s. 3.2.2.9.1.), die wesentlich umfangreichere zu Kalevipoeg kam erst im Jahr danach als Separatdruck heraus (Schott 1862a). Mit diesen Texten verließ Schott die Sprachwissenschaft und begab sich auf literaturwissenschaftliches Terrain, oder zumindest auf ein mythologisch-folkloristisches Gebiet. Im Falle der zweiten Abhandlung, seiner Kalevipoeg-Monografie, gilt allerdings, dass er sich zu jenem Zeitpunkt bereits über zwanzig Jahre mit

Estland befasst hatte, auch und gerade außerhalb des rein Linguistischen. Insofern kann nicht überraschen, dass er nun eine gründliche Würdigung von Kreuzwalds Epos Kalevipoeg vorlegt, die bis heute eine der umfangreichsten deutschsprachigen Arbeiten zum Thema ist (vgl. ausführlicher hierzu Hasselblatt 2011: 59–63 sowie u. 3.2.2.10.4.).

3.2.2. Andere Forschungsbeiträge, Rezensionen und Inhaltsreferate

Die nicht-monografischen Beiträge von Schott lassen sich nach verschiedenen Kriterien klassifizieren. Hier ist eine thematische Einteilung nach Sprach(gebiet)en vorgenommen worden, weil so das Spektrum und die Schwerpunktsetzung des Wissenschaftlers am besten dokumentiert werden. Dabei ergab sich das folgende Bild (in absteigender Folge nach der Anzahl der Beiträge):

Finnisch: 70 (von denen vier auch Estnisches enthalten)	Mansisch: 6
Estnisch: 50 (bzw. 54, wenn die vier obengenannten mitgerechnet werden)	Mordwinisch: 5
Ungarisch: 29	Marisch: 5
Finnougrisch allgemein: 26	Samojedisch: 5
Saamisch: 7	Kleinere ostseefinnische Sprachen: 3
	Chantisch: 3
	Komi: 1
	Udmurtisch: 1

Somit ist eine klare Vorliebe für das Ostseefinnische erkennbar, das deutlich über die Hälfte aller Beiträge abdeckt (123 von 211). Was Schott an diesem Winkel Europas so faszinierte, lesen wir in einer Rezension des ersten Heftes der *Verhandlungen der gelehrten estnischen Gesellschaft*. Nachdem er den Zweck eben dieser Gesellschaft kurz dargestellt hat, referiert er den Inhalt der Publikation, der ihm zufolge allein „schon darum durchweg anziehend ist, weil er besonders uns westeuropäischen Lesern fast lauter Neues bietet, und wie ein wohlthätig frischer Lufthauch in die etwas verschwülte Atmosphäre des Bekannten und Alltäglichen eindringt.“ (Schott 1841b: 455.) Damit legt Schott seine Karten offen und gibt unumwunden zu, dass ihn das nicht-Alltägliche und Exotische anzieht. Diese Triebfeder war es, die ihn zu seinen wissenschaftlichen Leistungen angespornt hat.

Die nächste Gruppe sind dann das Ungarische und allgemein finnougrische Themen. Die anderen Sprachen erscheinen marginaler, aber beachtenswert ist, dass letztlich alle Sprachzweige in der einen oder anderen

Form behandelt werden und sogar einige kleinere ostseefinnische Sprachen an die Reihe kommen. Nur die Vernachlässigung des Permischen fällt ein wenig auf.

Ein anderes Klassifizierungskriterium wäre das Genre. Hier gibt es eine große Bandbreite von eigentlicher wissenschaftlicher Forschung über Forschungsberichte bis hin zu Buchanzeigen, Kommentaren oder bloßen Übersetzungen. Dazwischen finden sich ausführliche Rezensionen, bisweilen auch Polemiken, Mitteilungen, Literaturberichte und Nekrologe sowie Jubiläumsartikel. Aufs ganze gesehen scheint die referierende, mitteilende, popularisierende und einfach Kenntnis verbreitende Ader die Oberhand gehabt zu haben, aber es wäre falsch, die Publikationen des 19. Jahrhunderts mit den Evaluierungsmesslatten des 21. Jahrhunderts zu beurteilen. Gerade in der Verbreitung von Kenntnis lag eine wichtige Aufgabe der Wissenschaft, und häufig enthalten scheinbar nur referierende oder vorstellende Artikel auch ein Forschungselement. Daher ist eine Auflistung nach Genre schwierig, aber grob gesprochen findet sich etwa die folgende Verteilung:

Eigenständige Forschungen: 22

Berichte, Vorstellungen (z. B. von Sprachen, Völkern oder auch Autoren): 12

Buchanzeigen und Rezensionen: 104

Übersetzungen (auch literarische): 58

Kleinere Mitteilungen, Personalialia (Nekrologe, Jubiläen): 15

Es versteht sich von selbst, dass die jeweilige Anzahl der Titel noch nichts über den Umfang sagt. Die hier als eigenständige Forschung charakterisierten Beiträge waren selbstverständlich wesentlich länger als die Rezensionen. Immerhin ist aber bezeichnend, dass beinahe die Hälfte aller Artikel Buchbesprechungen waren und über ein Viertel Übersetzungen. Die hohe Anzahl der Publikationen kommt also vor allem durch diese referierenden, vermittelnden und Kenntnis verbreitenden Beiträge zustande.

Schließlich kann eine Klassifizierung nach den Erscheinungsorten bzw. Publikationsorganen erfolgen, was wiederum einen recht interessanten Befund zutage fördert: Annähernd sieben Achtel aller Beiträge sind in zwei Foren erschienen, nämlich im *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland* (68) und, weit über die Hälfte, im *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* (116). Alle andere Organe sind marginal: acht bzw. zehn Beiträge in den *Abhandlungen* und den *Monatsberichten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, je drei in den *Jahrbüchern für wissenschaftliche Kritik* und der *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, sowie je-

weils ein Beitrag in der *Deutschen Literatur-Zeitung*, den *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* und der *Allgemeinen Zeitschrift für Geschichte*.

Unter diesem Aspekt lohnt es sich, einen genaueren Blick auf die beiden Hauptpublikationsorgane von Schott zu werfen. Sie sind von der Anlage her ziemlich verschieden. Das *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland* wird nach seinem Chefredakteur Adolf Erman meistens als *Ermans Archiv* (EA) bezeichnet. Adolf Erman (1806–1877) war ein Berliner Physikprofessor, der u. a. an einer Sibirienexpedition teilgenommen und auch eine Weltreise gemacht hatte. Hierüber legte er einen fünfbändigen Bericht vor (Berlin 1833–1848), der auch aus finnougriestischer Perspektive nicht gänzlich uninteressant ist, da Erman beispielsweise über eine chantische Wörtersammlung verfügte, wie Schott im September 1834 an Hans Conon von der Gabelentz schrieb (Walravens 2008: 22), die Castrén offenbar nicht gekannt hat (s. die Fußnote in Schott 1853a: 18). Später teilt Schott beiläufig mit, dass man bei Ermans erstem Teil seiner Reisebeschreibung (Berlin 1833: 385–386 und 657–666), „an Ort und Stelle gesammelte Proben des Wogulischen und Ostjakischen findet, denen die augenscheinlich entsprechenden ungarischen Wörter beige-schrieben sind.“ (EA 3 (1843): 30, und ähnlich in einer Fußnote in EA 10 (1851–1852): 366.)

Dieser Adolf Erman wollte die Kenntnis über das Russische Reich im Westen erweitern und handelte damit ganz im Interesse der russischen Regierung, in der er einen Bundesgenossen fand – oder diese in Erman, was an dieser Stelle aber nicht von Bedeutung ist. In jedem Fall ist es nicht verkehrt, das Archiv als russische Propagandapublikation zu bezeichnen, denn

[d]ie Zeitschrift wurde mit erheblichem finanziellen und organisatorischen Aufwand seitens der zaristischen Regierung gegründet und über Jahrzehnte hinweg am Leben gehalten, um russische Interessen wahrzunehmen, und sie war in jeder Phase ihrer Existenz von der russischen Regierung abhängig. [...] Zar Nikolaj I. bewilligte höchstpersönlich einen Jahresetat von 2000 Silberrubeln. Der Chefredakteur erhielt für seine Tätigkeit und die seiner Mitarbeiter eine jährliche Renumeration in Höhe von 800 preußischen Talern. Ein eigens als Kontaktpartner bestallter Beamter des russischen Finanzministeriums erhielt jährlich 500 Silberrubel. (Kretschmar/Kouschil 1996: 103–105.)

Eine direkte Konsequenz hiervon war, dass die russische Gesandtschaft in Berlin, wo die Zeitschrift erschien (vgl. aber unten), Zensur ausübte und dass gewisse Themen, die als subversiv galten bzw. subversiven Zwecken dienen konnten, prinzipiell ausgeklammert waren. Das waren zum Bei-

spiel Belletristik, Politik und Militärwesen. Mit den vier festen Rubriken „Physikalisch-mathematische Wissenschaften“, „Historisch-linguistische Wissenschaften“, „Industrie und Handel“ sowie „Allgemein Litterarisches“ blieben aber noch genügend unschuldige Themen übrig, so dass die Zeitschrift mit ihren 25 zwischen 1841 und 1867 erschienenen Jahrgängen große Bedeutung für die Vermittlung russischer Forschungsergebnisse und allgemein von Kenntnis über Russland in den Westen erlangte. Sie wurde weit über die Grenzen Berlins hinaus rezipiert, neben Alexander von Humboldt zählte beispielsweise Carl Friedrich Gauß zu seinen Lesern, und „[s]ogar in Wien wurde das Erman-Archiv hin und wieder ausgewertet“. (Kretschmar/Kouschil 1996: 125.)

Ein pikantes und für die hier gestellte Frage durchaus relevantes Detail ist dabei, dass ursprünglich Paris als Erscheinungsort für dieses *Archiv* vorgesehen war. Dann wäre die Publikation zweifelsohne französischsprachig geworden, was als übliche Wissenschaftssprache damals jeder verstanden hätte. Und dann wären knapp 70 Beiträge von Schott sicher nicht auf Deutsch erschienen, vermutlich sogar überhaupt nicht. Aber der russisch-französische Gegensatz war damals zu groß, sicher nach Niederschlagung des polnischen Aufstandes (1830), der zur Bildung einer starken polnischen Exilgemeinschaft in Paris geführt hatte. Deswegen wurde russischerseits Berlin als Erscheinungsort gewählt, und deswegen kam *Ermans Archiv* als deutschsprachige Publikation zustande (Kretschmar/Kouschil 1996: 117).

Wilhelm Schott wurde zwar nicht auf dem Titelblatt als Mitherausgeber genannt, aber er war dies inhaltlich sehr wohl. Das wird an Ermans Bemerkung im Vorspann des ersten Heftes deutlich:

Von Carl Ritter uns verheissene Unterstützungen bei diesen Arbeiten, mögen schon jetzt über die Richtung unseres Journales, und die thätige Mitwirkung der Herrn W. Schott und Varnhagen von Ense über dessen linguistische und historische Competenz, manche Zweifel beseitigen. (EA 1 (1841): 1.)

Und ebenso klar ist die Aussage im letzten Heft, mit dem sich Erman im Oktober 1867 verabschiedete:

Indem ich das Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland mit dem vorliegenden fünfundzwanzigsten Bande desselben abschließe, erkläre ich in Herrn W. Schotts und in meinem eigenen Namen dass wir auch fernerhin die Zwecke dieses Werkes durch eigene Arbeiten und durch Berichte über wissenschaftliche Leistungen in Russland zu fördern gedenken. (EA 25 (1866/67): 683.)

Übrigens nennt Erman keinen Grund für die Einstellung der Zeitschrift. Schott schrieb dagegen im November 1867 lapidar an Kreuzwald, dass „auf keine fernere Unterstützung von Russischer Seite“ (Walravens 2010/2011: 23) mehr gerechnet werden kann, mit anderen Worten: Die Finanzierung der Propagandaunternehmung wurde eingestellt.

Das *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* war, wie der Name bereits vermuten lässt, ein völlig anderes Organ. Hier ging es nicht um Wissenschaft, sondern um allgemeine literarische Information, getragen vom Konzept der „Weltliteratur“ Goethescher Prägung und dem Prinzip der Völkerverständigung (Appel 1953: 22–26). Und es ging auch um Zerstreuung, wozu das Blatt, das auch formal betrachtet eher eine Zeitung als eine Zeitschrift war, in seiner Anfangsphase (1832–1859) dreimal, danach einmal pro Woche erschien. Die Auflagenhöhe betrug anfangs 1.200 Exemplare (Appel 1953: 8), stieg bis Ende 1836 auf 1.700 (Schmid 2000: 107) und betrug um die Jahrhundertmitte 1.750 (Kirchner 1962: 139). Die Zeitung war vor allem ein Spiegel der ausländischen Presse und brachte sehr viele Übersetzungen. Aus den gängigen Sprachen übersetzte der Chefredakteur Joseph Lehmann (1801–1872) selbst, für Exotischeres hatte er verschiedene Mitarbeiter, und einer von ihnen war Wilhelm Schott. Wie oben bereits erwähnt, wurde er zwar in erster Linie als Übersetzer aus dem Chinesischen geführt (Appel 1953: 17), aber er hat nachweislich auch aus den drei großen finnougri-schen Sprachen und aus dem Russischen übersetzt. Da viele der Beiträge im *Magazin* ungezeichnet sind, ist leider häufig nicht auszumachen, ob Schott tatsächlich hinter einer bestimmten Publikation stand. Hier gibt es einen großen Unsicherheitsfaktor bzw. Ermessensspielraum, weshalb die gegebenen Zahlenangaben auch nur Annäherungswerte darstellen (vgl. unten 4.).

Im Übrigen gibt es doch eine Parallele zwischen dem *Magazin* und dem *EA*, nämlich die Förderung seitens der Regierung, in diesem Falle der preußischen. Mehr als zehn Jahre lang erschien das *Magazin*, das unter anderem einer Anregung von Alexander von Humboldt zu verdanken ist, gemeinsam mit der *Allgemeinen Preussischen Staats-Zeitung*. Erst 1843 löste es sich hiervon und wurde Lehmann „als unbeschränktes Eigentum überlassen“ (Appel 1953: 7). Ihm gelang es dann in der Folge, dem Blatt hohes Ansehen zu verschaffen, was unter anderem daran abzulesen ist, dass Artikel aus dem *Magazin* häufig und gerne im In- und Ausland kopiert wurden, wie es damaligen Gepflogenheiten entsprach. Lehmann wusste dies und reagierte gelassen darauf, auch wenn „im Laufe der Jahre eine

ganze Reihe von Blättern im „Magazin“ des unkorrekten Nachdruckes bezichtigt“ wurden (Appel 1953: 12). Ferner spricht auch der lange Erscheinungszeitraum für einen gewissen Status: Das *Magazin* erschien bis 1880, wurde danach unter dem Titel *Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes* bis 1890 weitergeführt und kam als *Das Magazin für Litteratur*, *Das Neue Magazin für Literatur, Kunst und soziales Leben*, *Das Magazin* o. ä. noch bis zum Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs heraus.

Wenn in einer solchen Zeitung 116 Beiträge eines Autors zu finnougri-schen Themen erscheinen, so kann man nicht umhin, eben diesem Autor eine nicht geringe Bedeutung bei der Verbreitung von Wissen über ein Fachgebiet zuzuschreiben. Und damit gleichzeitig bei der Etablierung der Finnougristik im deutschsprachigen Raum.

3.2.2.1. Allgemeine Finnougristik

Von den allgemein finnougri-schen Schriften sind zunächst die Altajischen Studien zu nennen, die zwischen 1859 und 1871 in fünf Lieferungen in den Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie erschienen. Sie sind wegen ihres Titels seitens der Finnougristik wenig wahrgenommen worden und sie behandeln tatsächlich in der Mehrheit auch den heute als altaisch bezeichneten Bereich, also Mongolisch, Tungusisch und die Turksprachen. Andererseits kommen neben Exkursen zum Chinesischen auch immer wieder Verweise auf uralische Sprachen vor, was bei einem Autor, der von einer ural-altaischen Urverwandtschaft ausgeht, nicht verwundern kann. Und um der Wahrheit die Ehre zu geben, muss bemerkt werden, dass im Quellenverzeichnis von SSA zum Beispiel diverse Arbeiten von Schott verzeichnet (und verwendet, vgl. s. v. *hiiri*) sind, und auch bei Honti (1993) finden sich beispielsweise einige Hinweise. Dennoch scheint mir aufs Ganze gesehen die Berücksichtigung von Schott seitens der Finnougristik noch etwas unterbelichtet.

Im ersten Teil (Schott 1859e) behandelt Schott eine Reihe von Eigenheiten finnougri-scher Sprachen wie etwa die objektive Konjugation, Besonderheiten bei der Wortbildung oder überhaupt Fragen der historischen Morphologie. Die meisten Beispiele sind dem Finnischen und Ungari-schen entnommen, aber zumindest auch das Saamische, Estnische, Mordwinische, Mansische und Chantische finden Erwähnung. Vielfach werden etymologische Überlegungen angestellt, aber dabei geht Schott über reine Wortvergleichen und Parallelen hinaus und erkennt auch andere Kontaktphänomene wie zum Beispiel im Falle des estnischen Diminutiv-

suffixes *-ke(ne)*, das er einerseits korrekt zum finnischen *-kainen* stellt, andererseits aber auch unter deutschem Einfluss entstanden sieht:

kene muss also dem finnischen *kainen* entsprechen und *ke* eine selbständige estnische abkürzung des *kene* sein. Auffallen kann uns mit recht nur, dass statt des diphthongen *äi*, obgleich er dem Esten so mundrecht wie dem Finnen, *e* gewählt ist; vielleicht darf man die verwandlung in *e* mit dem vielhundertjährigen anhören deutscher diminutiven in *-chen* oder *-ken* seitens der Esten motiviren, was mit anderen worten hiesse: der Este hat sein *kene* zwar aus ganz anderer quelle als der Deutsche sein *ke (chen)*, aber ersteres ist unter dem einflusse des letzteren diesem beinahe gleich geworden. (Schott 1859e: 596.)

Im zweiten Teil (Schott 1861c) liefert Schott zunächst Nachträge zum ersten und stellt dann einige Wortfelder seiner Sprachen vor, wobei die Vorgehensweise onomasiologisch ist. Schott untersucht hier die Wörter für ‚Hinteres‘ in den verschiedenen Sprachen und schöpft dabei aus seiner umfassenden Sprachkenntnis. Er schreibt assoziativ und schweift gelegentlich weit ab, sicherlich in den Fußnoten, so dass sich seine Beiträge wie Vorträge oder Vorlesungen, was sie vor der Akademie ja auch waren, lesen. Dabei gilt wie auch für seine früheren Arbeiten, dass aus heutiger Sicht längst nicht alles mehr stichhaltig ist, dass aber nach wie vor durchaus noch korrekte Observationen und Verweise zu finden sind. So wird zum Beispiel seine Erklärung von ung. *farkas* ‚Wolf‘ als ‚mit Schwanz versehener‘ „in analogie des finnischen *hännikäs*“ (Schott 1861c: 161) auch heute noch vom EWUng (358) vertreten. Überhaupt konzentriert sich dieser zweite, mit 24 Seiten allerdings zehn Seiten kürzer ausgefallene Teil viel mehr auf das Finnische und Ungarische als auf die altaischen Sprachen und ist allein schon daher von Interesse.

Auch der dritte Teil liefert zunächst Ergänzungen zu den vorangegangenen Heften (Schott 1866d: 89–98) – darunter ein ausführlicher Verweis auf einen Artikel von Budenz zu ung. *meg* in *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* (Band 2), den er für seine Untersuchung für relevant hält –, bevor mit der gleichen onomasiologischen Methode fortgefahren wird. Schott nimmt sich die Wörter für verschiedene Begriffe vor, insgesamt acht: ‚Feuer, Wärme, Brennen, Rauchen‘ (S. 98–102), ‚Kälte‘ (S. 102–104), ‚Schlaf‘ (S. 104–107), ‚Leere‘ (S. 107–109), ‚Ausdehnung‘ (S. 109–112), ‚Zeichen machen, malen, schreiben‘ (S. 112–114), ‚blicken, schauen‘ (S. 114–116) und ‚sterben‘ (S. 116–119). Sodann folgt eine Passage „Namen gewisser vögel“ (S. 119–128), gefolgt von Betrachtungen über die „Bedeutung von fingernamen“ (S. 129–135). Man sieht also auch hier, dass es sich nicht um eine kompakte und abgeschlossene Untersuchung handelt, sondern eher um

verstreute Erörterungen, denen die ganz große Linie oder Systematik zu fehlen scheint. Das trifft auch auf die drei abschließenden Unterkapitel zu: „Chinesische und altajische kernwörter“ (S. 135–138), „Wohin gehört das wort schamane?“ (S. 138–141) und „Etwas über Hunnen und über dravidische sprachen“ (S. 141–153 – eine Kritik an, besser: ein Verriss von Sakari Yrjö-Koskinens (1830–1903) Versuch, die Hunnen als Uralier darzustellen [*Tiedot Suomen suvun muinaisuudesta*, 1862]).

Auch für diesen dritten – mit 65 Seiten umfassendsten – Teil der Altajischen Studien gilt, dass längst nicht alle Gedanken überholt sind und dass man die Ausführungen von Schott immer noch mit Gewinn lesen kann. Außerdem weiß der Autor selbst, was er tut, wenn er am Ende seiner Betrachtungen über Vogelnamen einräumt:

Ich habe in diesem artikel gegen meine sonstige gewohnheit wörter aus den verschiedensten sprachgeschlechtern zusammengeworfen, nicht in der abenteuerlichen voraussetzung einer gemeinsamen abstammung aller, sondern vielmehr um vor einer solchen annahme, die besonders bei dilettanten leicht fixe idee wird, zu warnen. (Schott 1866d: 128.)

Im Übrigen gilt auch für diese dritten Altajischen Studien, dass sich die Mehrheit der Artikel ausführlich mit uralischen Sprachen befasst – und zwar mit allen Sprachzweigen vom Samojedischen bis zum Saamischen. Schließlich ist auch noch auf eine vorsichtige Kritik an Jacob Grimm hinzuweisen, wenn er diesen in einer Fußnote (Schott 1866d: 112) behutsam korrigiert. Aber selbstverständlich kannte sich Schott in diesen Sprachen besser aus als Grimm.

Der vierte Teil (Schott 1869d) ist in seiner finnougristischen Ausbeute tatsächlich magerer, da er sich wirklich vorwiegend mit mongolisch-tungusischen Fragen befasst. Aber auch hier kommen immer wieder Abschweifungen und Vergleiche zum Uralischen vor. Ferner ist hier ein Zusatz zu den Zahlwörtern (vgl. Schott 1853a) und ein Nachtrag zum dritten Heft der Studien enthalten.

Der fünfte Teil schließlich behandelt unter anderem den ostseefinnischen Partitiv – freilich heißt er bei Schott noch *indefinit* – und erkennt unter anderem dessen aspektuelle Bedeutung (Schott 1871a: 7–9). Danach besteht diese Lieferung nach dem Abschnitt „Ergänzendes und berichtendes zu den früheren heften“ (21–27) in der Hauptsache aus einer kritischen Würdigung von Ahlqvists „Kulturwörtern“, und zwar der schwedischen Originalausgabe von 1871: „Einige randbemerkungen zu herren Ahlqvist's West-

finska Kulturord“ (27–44) bringt zunächst ausführliche Zitate aus Ahlqvists Einleitung in Schotts Übersetzung, bevor die eigentlichen „randglossen“, d. h. inhaltliche Kommentare, Kritik und Ergänzungen zu den von Ahlqvist vorgeschlagenen Etymologien folgen. Hier widerspricht er Ahlqvists Meinung, der zufolge die Ostseefinnen den Stabreim von den Germanen übernommen hätten, und zeigt mit Hilfe Hunfalvys, dass es sich hierbei um ein finnougrisches Erbe handeln muss (vgl. u. 3.2.2.9.3. und Schott 1877a). Abgeschlossen werden diese Studien mit einigen Nachträgen zum vierten Heft.

Die weiteren allgemeinfinnougristischen Beiträge sind mehrheitlich kurze Personalia oder Rezensionen. In einem vierseitigen Aufsatz im *EA* stellt Schott 1843 kurz allgemein die finnisch-ugrische – bei ihm freilich noch finnisch oder tschudisch oder hyperboreisch genannte – Sprachfamilie dar und berichtet dann über Antal Reguly, der sich schon seit mehreren Jahren in St. Petersburg aufhalte. Er zitiert aus Regulys Bericht an die ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften, der 1842 in der *Petersburger Zeitung* erschienen war, und ist davon überzeugt, dass Reguly „von den Sprachschwindeleien eines Beregszaszi, der alle Sprachen des Orients in das Magyarische hineinbeschwören will, entfernt bleiben werde.“ (Schott 1843a: 32.)

Die beiden nächsten Beiträge erschienen in den Monatsberichten der Akademie. Beim ersten (Schott 1849b) handelt es sich um eine Vorstudie zu seiner späteren Monografie über die Zahlwörter (vgl. oben Schott 1853a), während der zweite (Schott 1851c) seinerseits eine Ergänzung zu seiner Monografie von 1849 ist (vgl. oben Schott 1849a), der wiederum einen kleinen Nachtrag zu den Zahlwörtern, also zu 1849b, enthält.

Es folgt ein Nekrolog auf Castrén, der laut Schotts einleitenden Worten auf einer finnischen Vorlage beruht. Castrén war den Lesern des *EA* längst kein Unbekannter mehr, nachdem mehrmals über seine Reisen berichtet worden war, häufig auf Grundlage seiner Korrespondenz mit dem Petersburger Akademiemitglied Anders Johan Sjögren (1794–1855), die im Petersburger Bulletin der Akademie abgedruckt wurde und so ins *EA* gelangte (*EA* 6 (1846–1847): 640–641; *EA* 7 (1848–1849): 66–87, 183–191, 513–523; *EA* 10 (1851–1852): 374–383). Hier wird Schott zweifellos der Vermittler und Übersetzer gewesen sein, zumal er auch in direktem Kontakt mit Castrén stand, was auch aus der abschließenden Fußnote des Nekrologs hervorgeht:

In einem Briefe, den mir der edle Freund am 16. December 1851 aus Helsingfors schrieb, hatte er den Vorsatz ausgesprochen, im Sommer oder Herbst 1852 mit seiner kleinen Familie Berlin zu besuchen und einen ganzen Winter daselbst zu verweilen. Er wollte hier – wie er sich ausdrückte – „in ungestörter Ruhe und unter besseren, für

wissenschaftliche Studien günstigeren Umständen sowol seine Samojedische Grammatik, als ein Paar andere angefangene Arbeiten fortsetzen.“ (Schott 1853d: 69.)

Man kann davon ausgehen, dass auch der kurze Nekrolog, der zuvor im *Magazin* erschienen war, von Schotts Hand stammt (Schott 1852f).

Als ein Jahr später der erste Band der deutschen Übersetzung von Castréns *Reisen im Norden* (der von Henrik Helms übersetzten Ausgabe, Leipzig 1853) erschien, wurde dies im *Magazin* vergleichsweise ausführlich angezeigt. Gleichzeitig wird Hintergrundinformation über Castrén gegeben bzw. darauf hingewiesen, dass er ja schon öfter mit seinen Reiseberichten im *Magazin* aufgetreten sei. Das spricht dafür, dass dieser ungezeichnete Artikel aus der Feder von Schott stammt (Schott 1854h).

Vergleichbar seinen „Altajischen Studien“ ist ein kurzer Beitrag über Himmelsbenennungen, der am Rande auch finnisches, ungarisches, marisches und chantisches Material enthält (Schott 1855g). In einem folgenden Beitrag ist Schott ungenannt, wird aber zweifellos der Übersetzer gewesen sein. Er hat die Einleitung eines Artikels von Hunfalvy über das Mordwinsche (aus *Magyar Nyelvészeti* 1857: 290–312; 323–360) übersetzt, wobei er sich allerdings völlig an Hunfalvy orientiert und nur sehr vorsichtig mit Fußnoten eingreift, so dass das Tschuwaschische hier noch in einem Atemzug mit Mari und Mordwinen genannt wird (kommentiert von einer Fußnote mit Verweis auf Schott 1841c) und eine verkehrte Formulierung wie „Wotjaken (Woten)“ stehen bleiben konnte. Ansonsten wird in dem nur eine Spalte langen Artikel dem literarischen Publikum des *Magazins* jedoch praktisch ein Schnellkurs in Finnougristik geboten, da hier eine kompakte Übersicht über die Sprach(gruppen) gegeben wird (Schott 1857k).

In zwei weiteren Beiträgen trat Schott – abermals ungenannt – lediglich als Übersetzer auf, aber durch seine kommentierenden Fußnoten und richtigstellenden Bemerkungen erweist er sich gewissermaßen als Koautor. Der Bericht „Ueber Tschudische Ausgrabungen. Nach E. J. Eichwald.“ ist tatsächlich vornehmlich archäologischer Natur, aber da in ihm auch alle möglichen Vermutungen über die Tschuden als mögliche Vorfahren der Finnen (lies: Finnougrier) angestellt werden und der Übersetzer sich deutlich einmischt – „Von Etymologien sollte Herr E. sich fernhalten, da nicht bloss die finnischen sondern selbst die scandinavischen Sprachen ihm augenscheinlich fremd sind, ...“ (Schott 1860a: 69) –, erhält er durchaus eine philologisch-historische Dimension. Der zweite Artikel basiert auf einem Artikel aus *Magyar Nyelvészeti* und bezieht, ganz im Sinne Hunfalvys, der

auch herangezogen wird, Stellung gegen die so genannte Türkenhypothese mancher ungarischer Forscher. Auch hier bleibt Schott ungenannt, doch da der Artikel auf einer ungarischen Quelle beruht, muss er der Verfasser sein, da er im Umfeld des EA vermutlich der einzige war, der sich mit dem Ungarischen befasste (Schott 1860b).

Schließlich verfasste Schott noch sechs Rezensionen bzw. Anzeigen zu finnougriatischen Büchern. Die erste erschien im *Magazin* und erlangte insofern besondere Bedeutung, als sie dadurch einem breiteren Publikum moderne wissenschaftliche Erkenntnisse vermittelte. Es ist eine lobende Besprechung von Pál Hunfalvys *A Török, Magyar és Finn szók egybehasonlítása* [Vergleichung türkischer, ungarischer und finnischer Wörter] (1855):

Der Verfasser gibt eine klare Uebersicht und gute Würdigung aller Verirrungen, zu denen falsche und vorurtheilsvolle Sprachvergleichung (an der noch jetzt so Viele kränkeln) in Ungarn geführt hat. Dem ebenso besonnenen, als scharfsinnigen Niklas Révai (mit Fußnote und Hinweis auf dessen Grammatik, CH) folgte ein Stephan Horvát, dessen Hirngespinnste (seit 1825) Alles überboten, was vergangene Jahrhunderte in dieser Art ausgeheckt hatten. Er und der nicht viel weniger unsinnige Dankovßky trieben gerade damals ihr Wesen, als das wissenschaftliche Sprachstudium bei Deutschen und Franzosen bereits edle Früchte trug und noch edlere verhiß. (Schott 1856c: 188.)

Eine kurze Anzeige erfolgt zu Sjögrens gesammelten Werken, die von der Petersburger Akademie herausgegeben wurden. Allerdings wird hier nur auf den ersten Band eingegangen, während auf den zweiten Band, der die von Wiedemann edierte livische Grammatik enthalten würde, immerhin hingewiesen wird (Schott 1862c). Im Übrigen gibt es noch mehr Arbeiten mit finnougriischen Bezügen in *Ermans Archiv*, aber die Urheberschaft oder auch nur Beteiligung Schotts bleibt dabei häufig im Dunkeln. Beispielsweise sind im 12. Band (1853: 519–576) lange Auszüge „Aus den Reiserinnerungen von Alex. Castrén. (Reisen in Lappland, Karelrien, dem nördlichen Russland und Sibirien in den Jahren 1838–1844)“ abgedruckt, wobei eine Petersburger Zeitung als Quelle angegeben ist. Auch hier wird Schott zumindest vermittelnd tätig gewesen sein, da aber weiter keine konkreten Spuren seiner Beteiligung sichtbar sind, wurde ein solcher Beitrag nicht zum hiesigen Korpus gerechnet. Umgekehrt gelangten ebenso manche Arbeiten, die eindeutig aus Schotts Feder stammten, aber nur am Rande auch Finnougriisches erwähnen, nicht ins Korpus. Zu denken wäre hier an eine Rezension „Ueber Herrn v. Pauly's Ethnographische Beschreibung Russlands“ (EA 22: 369–384), die selbstverständlich die eine oder an-

dere Aussage auch zu finnougrischen Völkern enthält, in ihrer Gesamtheit aber nicht als finnougristische Publikation gewertet wurde.

Andererseits konnte es vorkommen, dass Schott sich beim Übersetzen mit seinen Kommentaren dermaßen auffällig einmischte, dass man hier von einem Eigenanteil sprechen muss. So ist der Bericht „Historische Skizze des Culturzustandes im Gouvernement Perm“ oberflächlich betrachtet nur die Übersetzung aus einer ungenannten russischen Quelle; die bissig-spöttischen Fußnoten aber weisen eindeutig auf Schott, wenn es zum Beispiel lapidar heißt:

Was der Verf. hier und weiter hinaus über Biarmen vernünftelt, ist wahrer Kohl, und weiter unten schlägt er sogar, wie man bald sehen wird, sich selber ins Angesicht. (Schott 1863a: 85.)

Durch dieses Zurechtrücken der Dinge und auch Verweise auf Ahlqvist oder Castrén, die es besser wüssten, wird der Text zu einem Beitrag von Schott. Im zweiten Teil, der nur noch eine Geschichte der Eroberung Sibiriens ist, hält sich Schott dagegen zurück.

Ein kaum weniger spöttischer Ton ist auch in einer mit „Kunden aus der finnischen Vorzeit“ betitelten Rezension von Yrjö-Koskinens *Tiedot Suomen suvun muinaisuudesta* (Helsinki 1862) zu erkennen. Zunächst referiert Schott bloß den Inhalt des Buches, am Ende aber überwiegt die Kritik:

Herr Koskinen liefert in seinem ganzen Werke den Beweis, dass er von turanischen Sprachen keine als das Suomi versteht, und wo es darüber hinausgeht, leicht abhängig wird von irgend einer Pseudo-Autorität. (Schott 1865f: 347–348.)

Und kurz danach folgen noch einige Seitenhiebe auf Klaproth, der eine der von Koskinen bemühten Autoritäten war, vor Schott aber selbstverständlich keine Gnade findet:

... aber die (von Herrn Koskinen mit kratzfüssigen Bücklingen aufgenommenen) Beweisgründe Klaproth's beukunden nichts Anderes als dessen mit einer guten Dosis Frechheit gepaarte grobe Unwissenheit im Türkischen (wie überhaupt im ganzen Turanischen oder Altaischen Sprachgebiete). (Schott 1865f: 351)

Die letzten drei Rezensionen sind gebündelt in der *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* erschienen und betreffen Arbeiten von Budenz, David Emanuel Daniel Europaeus (1820–1884) und Hunfalvy. Von Europaeus wird dessen *Tietoja suomalais-ungarilaisten kansain muinaisista olopaikoista* [Kunde von vorzeitlichen Aufenthaltsorten der fin-

nisch-ugrischen Völker], womit die Onomastik in Finnland ihren Anfang nahm (Itkonen 1961: 163), vorgestellt. Zunächst bemerkt der Rezensent korrekt, dass Europaeus „der Hirngespinnste valet gesagt [habe], welches die finnisch-ugrische Sprachgruppe der arischen (indo-slavo-germanischen) näher verwandt wissen wollte als der türkischen“ (Schott 1869a: 498), allerdings wird in der Folge Europaeus' Annahme, dass früher Saamen, Komi und Chanten in Finnland gelebt hätten, kritiklos übernommen, so dass der Schwerpunkt der Rezension auf Annahmen liegt, die heute als überholt gelten müssen.

Hunfalvys Arbeit *Földirati és helynevek* [Geografische und Ortsnamen], die in den *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* (1868) erschienen war, wird nur ganz knapp in zwei Absätzen angezeigt. Schott referiert hier Hunfalvys Erklärungen der Flussnamen *Héjő* und *Sajó* (Schott 1869b). Etwas ausführlicher geht Schott auf József Budenz' *A Magyar és Finn-Ugor nyelvekbeli szóegyezések* [Wortübereinstimmungen im Magyarischen und in den finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen] (ebenfalls in *NyK* erschienen) ein. Er hebt hier Budenz' Bedeutung für die vergleichende Sprachforschung hervor, gerade auch im Gegensatz zu anderen zeitgenössischen Werken:

Der Verfasser lässt sich nirgends von oberflächlicher Aehnlichkeit fortreißen und offenbart überhaupt einen der heutigen vergleichenden Sprachforschung würdigen Standpunkt, während das sonst schätzenswerthe Wörterbuch der magyarischen Academie in dieser Beziehung oft noch um ein Jahrhundert zurück ist. (Schott 1869c: 500.)

Ohne näher auf den türkisch-ugrischen Krieg einzugehen, bezieht er dennoch deutlich Stellung und verschafft dem Werk durch seine Besprechung in einem wichtigen westlichen Forum Bekanntheit.

Am Rande erwähnt werden muss ein anonymes Hinweis auf den Aufsatz eines Herrn Judas, in dem die Numeralia des Baskischen mit denen des Finnougrischen verglichen werden. Da hier auch ungarische Zahlwörter und Schotts „Altai'sche Studien“, „deren viertes Heft bald erscheinen wird“, erwähnt werden, könnte Schott durchaus der Verfasser gewesen sein (Schott 1870c). Den Abschluss bildet eine Arbeit „Über einige tiernamen“, die Schott anlässlich Ahlqvists „Kulturwörter der westfinnischen Sprachen“ (1875) angefertigt hat, die aber keineswegs eine Rezension des Werkes ist. Vielmehr nimmt sich Schott hier die Freiheit zu weitschweifigen etymologischen Erörterungen vornehmlich aus dem altaischen Bereich. Zu einem geringen Teil werden allerdings auch finnougrische Etymologien beleuchtet, weswegen der Aufsatz hierher gehört (Schott 1876a).

3.2.2.2. Samojedisch

Dem Samojedischen sind fünf Beiträge gewidmet, von denen die beiden ersten ungezeichnet sind. Im *Magazin* wird 1847 eine 1844 auf Russisch erschienene Schrift von Islawin angezeigt (Schott 1847c), und fünf Jahre später bringt das *EA* zwei samojedische Märchen, die von Castrén mitgeteilt worden waren und aufgrund der kommentierenden Fußnote auf Schott als Vermittler und Übersetzer zurückgehen dürften (Schott 1852e).

Auch beim dritten Beitrag handelt es sich um ein Märchen, das Schott Castréns Sammlungen entnommen hat (Schott 1858c). Der im selben Jahr erschienene vierte Beitrag ist linguistischer Art und beruht auf einem ungarischsprachigen Artikel von Hunfalvy, der seinerseits wiederum in der Hauptsache Castrén referiert. Schott beschränkt seinen eigenen Anteil auf eine Reihe von Fußnoten, die häufig Verweise auf Türkisches enthalten, aber auch Mongolisches und sogar Chinesisches wird bisweilen herangezogen. Dies sind aber nur als erläuternde Analogien aufzufassende Zusätze, keine grundsätzlichen Erörterungen hinsichtlich einer möglichen Verwandtschaft. Auf jeden Fall wird in diesem Artikel ein gründlicher Einblick in einige Aspekte der samojedischen Grammatik, aber auch der anderer finnougrischen Sprachen, gegeben (Schott 1858f).

Auch Schotts fünfter Beitrag zum Samojedischen beruht auf Castrén, diesmal ist es eine ausführliche Referierung von dessen Grammatik des Koibalischen und Karagassischen. Verbunden ist dies mit einer einleitenden Darstellung über die Samojeden allgemein, ferner sind in üblicher Schottischer Manier hier und da erläuternde oder richtigstellende Fußnoten eingeflochten. Am Ende nimmt der Artikel den Stil einer Rezension an, wenn der Autor sich über die von Castrén beigefügten Proben der Volksdichtung äußert:

Die angehängten „Koibalischen Heldensagen“, in 1427 Quasi-Verse abgetheilt, sind wahre Monstra einer hirnerbrannten Steppenphantasie und nur als Sprachproben schätzenswerth, was auch eigentlicher Zweck ihrer Publication ist. (Schott 1865b: 18).

Möglicherweise ist dies aber auch eine Spitze gegen Schiefner, der die Ausgabe ja besorgt hatte und selbst die koibalischen Heldensagen, die also nicht von Castrén stammten, angefügt hat. Auch wird danach an einigen Stellen die deutsche Übersetzung eben dieser Sagen korrigiert, was in die gleiche Richtung weist.

3.2.2.3. Obugrisch

Zum Obugrischen liegen insgesamt neun Beiträge vor, drei zum Chantischen und sechs zum Mansischen.

Beim Chantischen beschränkt sich Schotts Aktivität auf Besprechungen von Grammatiken. Zunächst stellt er gründlich Castréns Grammatik vor (Schott 1852d), wobei er überwiegend positiv ist und nur wenig kritische Anmerkungen hat. Zehn Jahre später folgt eine sehr knappe Anzeige der von Schiefner besorgten Neuauflage dieser Grammatik, die einen kritischen Unterton nicht verhehlen kann, zumal die neue Ausgabe offenbar einige Druckfehler aufwies, die die erste nicht hatte. Trotzdem endet die einseitige Anzeige eher versöhnlich:

Das Wortregister ist etwas vervollständigt; auch hat Herr Schiefner dieses Mal dem ostjakisch-deutschen einen recht dankenswerthen deutsch-ostjakischen Theil folgen lassen. (Schott 1862d: 468.)

Und auch der dritte Beitrag ist eine Rezension, diesmal zu Ahlqvists nordchantischer Grammatik von 1880. Sie erschien in der *Deutschen Literatur-Zeitung*, einem 1880 begründeten neuen Rezensionsorgan, und scheint überhaupt die letzte Publikation des 80-Jährigen zur Finnougristik gewesen zu sein. Wichtig an dieser Rezension ist ein kleines Detail des Schlusssatzes. Dort heißt es nach einem Verweis auf Hunfalvy und dessen Arbeiten zum Chantischen:

Der gelehrte ungarische Akademiker berücksichtigt auch Castréns südostjakische Sprachlehre, die W. Schott im 10. Bande des Ermanschen Archivs für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland (1852 S. 366 ff.) recensiert hat. (Schott 1882.)

Die Rezension ist mit „W. Schott“ unterzeichnet, mit anderen Worten: Schott sprach in derlei Texten von sich selbst mit Namensnennung in der dritten Person, was den Stil des 19. Jahrhunderts gut illustriert. Dies ist auch ein Argument für die Zuordnung einiger anonymer Texte zu Schott, da der explizite Verweis auf Schott kein Argument dafür sein kann, dass der Verfasser nicht doch Schott selbst gewesen ist.

Im Bereich des Mansischen ist Schott etwas vielfältiger und beginnt mit einer Sage, die er dem Anzeiger der Ungarischen Akademie entnommen hatte, wo Hunfalvys Antrittsvorlesung an eben dieser Akademie abgedruckt war. Schott übersetzte die Schöpfungssage aus dem Ungarischen und dementsprechend fällt der Beitrag auch in die Rubrik „Ungarn“ und

enthält lediglich als Untertitel „Wogulische Sprache und Sage“ (Schott 1859c). Nach einem einleitenden Absatz über den „finnisch=uralischen“ Stamm und das dazugehörige Mansische teilt Schott die Sage mit, die im *Magazin* gut aufgehoben war und sicherlich auf ein interessiertes Publikum stieß. Rein Linguistisches passte vielleicht weniger, aber in seinem Schlusssatz weist der Autor den Interessenten den Weg:

Auf die Wogulen=Sprache selber werden wir in einem für Erman's Archiv bestimmten Artikel näher eingehen. (Schott 1859c: 494.)

Inhaltlich zum Mansischen gehört auch eine Anzeige des Nachlasses von Reguly, der freilich unter der Rubrik „Ungarn“ im *Magazin* erschien. Aber nach einer Kurzcharakteristik von Reguly und dessen Berlin-Aufenthalt wird lediglich auf den von Hunfalvy herausgegebenen Reguly-Nachlass eingegangen, und zwar auf den ersten Band, *A Wogul föld és nép* (1864), aus dem der Leserschaft des *Magazins* einige Proben in Aussicht gestellt werden (Schott 1865d).

Die kommen dann auch im nächsten Jahr, in dem Schott abermals auf die mansische Mythologie eingeht, und zwar auf Basis eines Kapitels des erwähnten Reguly-Nachlasses. Der Beitrag weist Überschneidungen mit dem oben erwähnten Artikel von Schott (1859c) auf, ist aber wesentlich ausführlicher. Das *Magazin* war relativ großformatig und zählte 61 Zeilen pro Seite, so dass man in einem vierspaltigen Artikel wie dem vorliegenden eine Menge unterbringen konnte. Schott referiert mehrere mythologische Elemente und Nacherzählungen von zwei Sagen: von der Weltentstehung und von der „heißen Überschwemmung“. Auffällig ist, dass dem Artikel, der diesmal unter der Rubrik „Asien“ figuriert, keine erläuternde Einleitung vorausgeschickt wird, mit anderen Worten, Schott ging vermutlich davon aus, dass man mittlerweile wisse, wer die Mansen sind und wohin sie gehören. Denn auch die mehrmaligen Fußnoten mit Querverweisen auf Vergleichbares im Finnischen oder Estnischen – allerdings auch auf Hebräisches und Japanisches – werden mit keiner weiteren Erklärung ausgestattet (Schott 1866b).

Der 1859 im *Magazin* angekündigte Artikel erscheint dann auch postwendend im nächsten Jahr in *Erman's Archiv*, und er stützt sich auf dieselbe Quelle, d. h. Hunfalvys Antrittsvorlesung an der Ungarischen Akademie. Hier wird eine ausführliche Skizze des Mansischen gegeben und auch die Schöpfungssage noch einmal nacherzählt. Ferner geht Schott auf das Wörterverzeichnis von Hunfalvy ein, in dem einige finnougristische Wortgleichungen mitgeteilt werden. Da ist der Autor plötzlich in seinem Element

und kommentiert die gegebenen Etymologien. Interessant ist allerdings die eingangs gegebene Charakterisierung des Ungarischen und Mansischen:

Das Magyarische bildet mit dem Mordwinischen, Wogulischen und Ostjakischen eine besondere Sprachengruppe welche gewissermassen die Mitte einnimmt zwischen den eigentlich finnischen und den türkisch-tatarischen Idiomen. (Schott 1860c: 289.)

Hier folgt Schott Hunfalvy und zeigt sich ganz als Vertreter der ural-altaischen Hypothese, in der kein Platz für eine finnougriische Unter- oder Zwischengruppe scheint. Dasselbe wiederholt er auch einige Jahre später noch bei einem erneuten Referat eines Werks von Hunfalvy (Schott 1867b: 80).

Ein Jahr später liefert Schott eine ausführliche ethnografische Studie der Mansen, die laut Fußnote auf einem Artikel von August Ahlqvist beruht, den er aus dem Finnischen übersetzt hat. Der Beitrag ist nicht unterzeichnet, aber Schotts Urheberschaft dürfte aufgrund der Thematik und der Sprache als erwiesen gelten. Im Übrigen mischt er sich diesmal auffallend wenig ein und kommentiert den Text nur sparsam, indem er einmal einen Widerspruch bei Ahlqvist feststellt oder ein andermal eine andere kritisch-fragende Bemerkung hat. „Wohnsitze und Lebensweise“, so der Titel des Beitrags, waren offenbar nicht das Hauptinteressegebiet von Schott, weswegen es sich im Großen und Ganzen lediglich um ein Referat von Ahlqvists nicht näher mit einer Quelle belegtem Artikel handelt (Schott 1861a).

Der sechste Beitrag zum Mansischen ist eine Art Rezension, wenngleich nicht explizit als solche gekennzeichnet. Unter dem Titel „Neuestes über die Wogulen“ berichtet Schott über den von Hunfalvy edierten Nachlass von Reguly und gibt detailliert, stellenweise mit Seitenangaben über thematische Blöcke, den Inhalt des Werkes wieder. Da das Buch auch einen umfangreichen Abschnitt über die Sprachverwandtschaft zwischen dem Ungarischen und Mansischen enthält, geht Schott erneut auf die immer noch virulente Herkunftsfrage der Ungarn ein und ist hier voll des Lobes:

Reguly wollte die Frage entscheiden; an seiner Stelle übernahm dies Herr Hunfalvy, und in bessere Hände hätte das gelehrte Unternehmen nicht kommen können. (Schott 1867b: 80.)

3.2.2.4. Ungarisch

Das Ungarische nimmt insofern eine Sonderstellung ein, als es – neben dem Saamischen – als einzige Sprache nicht zum Russischen Reich gehörte und daher natürlich nicht in *Ermans Archiv* behandelt werden konnte.

Überdies war Ungarn, zumindest was Land, Leute, Kultur und Geschichte anbetrifft, selbstverständlich nicht in einen Topf zu werfen mit Samojedisch oder Chantisch. Das Land war im deutschsprachigen Raum ein Begriff, sozusagen ein Nachbar. Daher nimmt es nicht Wunder, dass bis auf einen alle Ungarn betreffenden Beiträge von Schott im *Magazin* publiziert wurden. Von dessen Leserschaft konnte man annehmen, dass sie schon das eine oder andere von diesem Land wusste und gerne aktuelle Informationen bekam.

Der einzige anderswo erschienene Beitrag war eine Vorlesung an der Berliner Akademie, die in den *Berichten* publiziert wurde. Hierin behandelte Schott zwei ältere ungarische Gedichte aus dem 14. oder 15. Jahrhundert, die später ediert worden sind: *magyar orzság megvételeről* (von der Einnahme des Ungarlandes) und *a császár leány* (die kaisertochter). Nach einer kurzen Inhaltswiedergabe – wobei in der Fußnote auf Parallelen zu Cervantes aufmerksam gemacht wird – erfolgt ein eingehender Kommentar zum Metrum der Gedichte, das in Schotts Augen relativ unbeholfen ist, vor allem im Vergleich etwa zum zeitgenössischen ungarischen Dichter Mihály Vörösmarty (1800–1855). Von letzterem werden dann auch zwei sprachige Gedichtbeispiele gebracht, die die Besonderheiten des Ungarischen illustrieren sollen. Und auch hier arbeitet Schott gewissermaßen „finnougristisch“, indem er auf das Finnische verweist:

Da der wortton im magyarischen stets die erste silbe trifft, so lässt sich die vorwaltende neigung zum absteigenden rythmus bei den Ungarn (wie bei den Finnen), sehr wol erklären. (Schott 1855a: 689.)

Im gleichen Zeitraum, in der zweiten Hälfte der 1850er-Jahre, ist der Großteil von Schotts auf Ungarn bezogenen Beiträgen im *Magazin* erschienen, die Hälfte stammt aus dem Zeitraum 1855–1859, nur drei sind deutlich früher erschienen. Der Rest verteilt sich gleichmäßig auf die 1860er- und 1870er-Jahre.

Den Auftakt bildete eine Rezension, genauer gesagt ein Verriss eines Artikels, der in der Pester Zeitschrift *Társalkodó* erschienen war und alle Sprachen der Welt aus dem Ungarischen herleiten wollte.

Man sollte zwar glauben, daß dies Alles nur ein Scherz sey, aber die ungarischen Blätter sind ganz ernsthaft bey der Mittheilung dieser Dinge. (Schott 1836b.)

Dies war Schotts erste nachweisbare finnougristische Publikation, gleichsam der Auftakt, dem drei Jahre später ein dreispaltiger Artikel über das Ungarische folgte. Diese Skizze, wie Schott selbst sie bezeichnet, war aus

einem konkreten Anlass heraus verfasst worden: In Ungarn hatte man beantragt, Eingaben an den König nur noch auf Ungarisch unter Weglassung des Lateinischen zu machen, woraufhin deutsche Kreise offenbar das Ungarische als rohe und kindische Sprache verspottet hatten. Dem tritt Schott nun entschieden entgegen, indem er das Ungarische charakterisiert als eine

durchgebildete Sprache, die nicht bloß für die meisten abstrakten Begriffe in jedem Sinne des Wortes vollkommen selbständige Wurzeln und Derivata besitzt, sondern auch die meisten philosophischen Kunstwörter der civilisirten Nationen in vaterländischem Gewande sich angeeignet hat. Sie zeigt uns keinen rohen Luxus, [...] sondern weise Oekonomie in der Fülle und zarte Abschattung in der Mannigfaltigkeit (Schott 1839: 617).

Es folgt eine Darstellung einiger wichtiger Besonderheiten wie Quantitätskorrelation, Vokalharmonie, Postpositionen, reiche Wortbildung, objektive Konjugation – freilich in anderer Terminologie –, womit der Autor die Skeptiker von der Schönheit und der Funktionalität der Sprache zu überzeugen versucht. Denn er schließt mit dem Satz:

Preisen wir also den Ungarn vielmehr glücklich, wenn man ihm gestatten sollte, an der Stelle schlechten Lateins gutes Magyarisch zu schreiben, die Sprache seiner kraftvollen ruhmgekrönten Väter, die ihn, mag er nun verständig raisonnierend oder dem Herzen Stimme leihend sein Inneres erschließen wollen, niemals im Stiche lassen wird. (Schott 1839: 618.)

Das einzig Auffällige an diesem Artikel ist, dass das Finnische mit keinem Wort erwähnt wird, sondern nur eine Parallele zum Tatarischen. Das mag aber daran liegen, dass Schott zu jenem Zeitpunkt tatsächlich noch nicht allzu viel vom Finnischen wusste.

Der nächste Beitrag ist wiederum eine Rezension, und zwar von Selig Cassels 1847 in Berlin erschienenem historischen Werk „Magyarische Alterthümer“. Hier kommentiert der ungenannte Rezensent Cassels Ablehnung der Verwandtschaft der Ungarn mit den Finnen, deren Sprachähnlichkeit der Autor nicht in Abrede stellt, folgendermaßen:

Diese Sprach=Aehnlichkeit sucht übrigens der Verfasser durch die Berührungen und den nahen Verkehr der Magyaren mit den Chazaren zu erklären, welche Letzteren allerdings zu den finnischen Stämmen zu gehören scheinen. Sie also hätten der Sprache der Magyaren ihre finnischen Elemente mitgetheilt, neben welchen sich aber auch ganz unverkennbar indo=germanische Elemente finden, die weder auf Finnen, noch auf Chazaren zurückzuführen sind, sondern für den Ursitz der Magyaren jenseits

der Wolga sprechen, wie denn auch der Bericht, welchen der unter der Benennung Anonymus Belae Notarius bekannte älteste Historiker der Ungarn über ihre Einwanderung in das Land giebt, mit dieser Konjektur übereinstimmt. (Schott 1848c.)

Es ist keineswegs gesagt, dass Schott der Verfasser dieser Rezension ist; da aber auch noch auf Reguly verwiesen und deutlich auf eine finnisch-chasarische – mit anderen Worten: ural-altaische – Parallele hingewiesen wird, erscheint die Ansetzung von Schott als Autor vertretbar.

Nach einer Pause von sieben Jahren behandelt Schott dann in einem zweiteiligen Artikel die ungarische Mythologie, genauer gesagt „Mythologische Thiere der Ungarn“, wie der Untertitel lautet. Dieser Artikel basiert auf dem Buch von Arnold Ipolyi (*Magyar mythologia*, Pest: Heckenast 1854), das laut Fußnote schon vorher im *Magazin* angekündigt war. Es handelt sich also strenggenommen um einen Auszug aus dem genannten Buch und Schott tritt lediglich als Übersetzer auf (Schott 1855c).

Im gleichen Jahr bringt Schott eine Miszelle zur ungarischen Verslehre (Schott 1855d) und stellt die Zeitschrift *Magyar Nyelvészet* (Die ungarische Sprachwissenschaft) vor, die bekanntlich große Bedeutung für die Durchsetzung der Finnougristik in Ungarn bekommen sollte. Er zitiert Hunfalvy's Vorwort, weist auf dessen Zuordnung des Ungarischen zum „altaischen oder finnisch=tatarischen“ Stamm hin und lässt auch noch den neben Hunfalvy wichtigsten zweiten Vertreter der seriösen Sprachwissenschaft, Szende Riedl (1831–1873), zu Wort kommen, der in seinem Artikel schrieb:

Verwandtschaft zwischen dem Magyarischen, Finnischen und Lappischen hatte man schon seit dem siebzehnten Jahrhundert bemerkt; allein maßloser Nationalstolz, der hierdurch die Abstammung des Magyarenvolkes von Attila, der „Geißel Gottes“, gefährdet glaubte, wendete sich mit Entrüstung von Bestrebungen ab, die längst auf den richtigen Weg geleitet hätten. (Schott 1855e: 455.)

Ein paar Nummern später wird das zweite Heft von *Magyar Nyelvészet* besprochen (Schott 1855f). So sorgte Schott abermals auch in dieser eher literarischen Zeitschrift für eine Verbreitung „korrekter“ Information über das Ungarische.

Die Berichterstattung über diese ungarischsprachige Zeitschrift wird zwei Jahre später fortgesetzt, indem die drei ersten Hefte des zweiten Jahrgangs (Schott 1857g) und wenig später das letzte Heft (Schott 1857o) angezeigt werden. Zwischendurch formuliert Schott noch schnell seine Enttäuschung über eine in Klausenburg publizierte „Praktische ungarische

Sprachlehre“ von Samuel Kovács (Schott 1857m). Im selben Jahr bringt er dann auch literarische Nachrichten aus Ungarn. In einem zweiteiligen Artikel wird die „Neueste ungarische Literatur“ dargestellt, deren Schwerpunkt laut dem Rezensenten auf historischen Werken liegt:

Ungarische Geschichte ist bis zur Einseitigkeit der Lieblingsgegenstand der Lektüre und des Studiums. (Schott 1857n: 617.)

Folgerichtig wird im zweiten Teil zunächst die neue Zeitschrift *Magyar törtéelmi tár*, die seit 1856 von der ungarischen Akademie herausgegeben wird, besprochen. Danach findet aber auch die schöne Literatur Raum, denn:

Haben wir doch Romanschreiber, die es mit Dumas Vater und Sohn aufnehmen! An der Spitze steht der unerschöpfliche Jókai, der das heißhungrige Publikum befriedigen kann, und immer gern gelesen wird. [...] Neulich hat er einen Jahrgang von zehn Bänden, jeden mit zehn Erzählungen, angekündigt, also einen ungarischen Decamerone! (Schott 1857n: 623.)

Hier ist der übliche Mechanismus erkennbar, mit dem literarischer Wert generiert wird: man bemüht international bekannte Größen aus der Weltliteratur. Der Artikel ist zwar ungezeichnet und die Urheberschaft Schotts nicht gesichert, aber aufgrund der ungarischen Thematik darf man vermuten, dass er aus seiner Feder stammte.

Im nächsten Jahr finden sich abermals fünf Beiträge mit ungarischer Thematik im *Magazin*. Dreimal wird in einer halben Spalte Aktuelles aus der ungarischen Sprachwissenschaft mitgeteilt: zunächst eine Inhaltsangabe des 1. Heftes des dritten Jahrgangs von *Magyar Nyelvészeti* (Schott 1858l), dann der Hefte 2 bis 5 (Schott 1858m) und schließlich des 6. Heftes desselben Jahrgangs (Schott 1858o). Während der erste mit „W.Sch.“ unterzeichnet ist, sind die beiden anderen Beiträge anonym, und besonders beim letzten könnte man sich fragen, ob Schott tatsächlich der Verfasser ist, denn hier wird ein Artikel über ihn selbst, den Hunfalvy verfasst hatte – *Schott Vilmos észrevételei* (Bemerkungen Wilhelm Schotts) – dahingehend beschrieben, dass er „eine Auswahl kritischer und ergänzender Mittheilungen des deutschen Gelehrten, aus Briefen an den Herausgeber“ (Schott 1858o: 404) enthalte. Eine derartige Formulierung scheint nicht zu dem im allgemeinen recht bescheiden auftretenden Schott zu passen, andererseits ist nicht anzunehmen, dass sich damals im Umfeld des *Magazins* eine zweite Person mit ungarischen sprachwissenschaftlichen Themen befasst hat, insofern mag Schott doch für diese Zeilen verantwortlich gewesen sein. Im Übrigen ist

aus anderen Publikationen (s. o.) ja bekannt, dass Schott manchmal durchaus von sich selbst in der dritten Person sprach.

Auch eine Rezension zu Ballagis *Nyelvújítás és nyelvrontás* unter dem übersetzenden Titel „Sprachneuerung und Sprachverderbung“ erfolgte ohne Angabe des Verfassers. Sie wird aber aus Schotts Feder stammen (Schott 1858k). Allerdings fällt auf, dass weniger auf das Ungarische selbst eingegangen, sondern vielmehr neben allgemeinen Erörterungen am Ende die Überflutung des Deutschen mit französischen Fremdwörtern angeprangert wird.

Der fünfte Artikel dieses Jahres ist wiederum eine Übernahme aus *Magyar Nyelvészeti*, und zwar eine Rezension von Hunfalvy, die mit Finnougristik nichts zu tun hat. So gesehen ist ihre Behandlung an dieser Stelle problematisch. Es handelt sich um einen Verriss eines Buches von L. Roß (*Italiker und Gräken*, Halle 1858) und fällt von daher in den Bereich der Indoeuropäistik. Da Schott, sofern er der Verfasser war, hier aber eine Reaktion der ungarischen Sprachwissenschaft auf eine deutsche Publikation bringt, kann man im weitesten Sinne von einem Akt der Ungarn-Rezeption sprechen, insofern gehört die Rezension hierher (Schott 1858n).

Die Berichterstattung über die neuen Hefte von *Magyar Nyelvészeti* setzt sich in den nächsten Jahren fort, jedoch nicht mit der gleichen Intensität (Schott 1859b und 1860g). Manchmal wurde auch ein Artikel aus dieser Zeitschrift übersetzt, wobei sogar politische Themen zur Sprache kommen konnten, wie in einem Beitrag von Hunfalvy, den Schott vermutlich vermittelt hatte (Schott 1861f). In der Regel bleibt Schott aber bei seinem Fach, zumal zur ungarischen Literatur und Politik bald andere Autoren im *Magazin* schrieben. Ein rein sprachwissenschaftliches Werk wie Samuel Brassais *A Magyar Mondat* [Der ungarische Satz] wird aber selbstverständlich von Schott besprochen, und zwar recht ausführlich in beinahe drei Spalten unter dem Titel „Brassai's Sprachphilosophie“, und nun auch unterzeichnet mit „Sch...“ (Schott 1862f).

Dann tritt eine kleine Pause ein und erst 1869 werden die *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* angezeigt (Schott 1869g), ein paar Jahre später dann einige Werke aktueller sprachwissenschaftlicher Literatur und die neue Zeitschrift *Magyar Nyelvőr*, wobei auch eine Inhaltsreferierung des zweiten und dritten Heftes der *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* mitgeliefert wird (Schott 1872e).

Nach einer Würdigung von Pál Hunfalvy anlässlich dessen Ernennung zum korrespondierenden Mitglied der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Schott 1873c) schließt Schott seine ungarischen Beiträge im

Magazin mit fünf Rezensionen ab. Zunächst werden in einer Drittelspalte in der Rubrik „Kleine literarische Revue“ zwei Werke von August Greguss (*August Greguss Tanulmányai*) angezeigt (Schott 1873g), danach erfolgt eine ausführliche Würdigung von Franz von Löhers *Die Magyaren und andere Ungarn* (Leipzig 1874; Schott 1874a). Hier wird der Autor im Großen und Ganzen gelobt, nur sobald er sich an sprach(wissenschaft)lichen Beschreibungen versucht, muss Schott hart mit ihm ins Gericht gehen:

Sollte er vom Magyarischen einige Kenntniß besitzen, so kann er diese nur mechanisch und mit Unlust, vermuthlich sogar ohne innern Beruf zu Sprachstudien überhaupt erworben haben, sonst würde er wohl (S. 142) seine gar naive Aeußerung, daß die Wörter dieses Idioms sich, wie bei den Indianern, aus lauter einsilbigen Stämmen zusammenbacken sollen, unterdrückt haben. Auf den in gewisser Hinsicht wesentlich verschiedenen Sprachbildungsprozeß amerikanischer Naturvölker, der finnisch=ugrischen Familie gegenüber, einzugehen, ist hier nicht am Orte. (Schott 1874a: 135.)

Und auch von Löhers späterer Einschätzung, dass sich niemand die Mühe mache, das Ungarische zu erlernen, wird entschieden widersprochen: „Schon seit ein Par Jahrzehnten ist das Finnische (die Suomi=Sprache) Gegenstand eifrigen Studiums in Pesth wie nicht minder *das Magyarische in Helsingfors, ...*“ (Schott 1874a: 135, Hervorhebung im Original), und schließlich sei an der Berliner Akademie „das finnisch=ungarische Sprachgebiet von einem ansässigen und einem korrespondirenden Mitgliede vertreten.“ (Ebenda.) Hier zeigt sich bei Schott also – mit dem Hinweis auf sich selbst und Hunfalvy – echte Empörung angesichts der Unwissenheit, die über das Fachgebiet immer noch herrscht. Wie sehr sich Schott offenbar darüber erregte, mag man daran ablesen, dass er am Ende seiner nächsten Rezension noch einmal das „manche Unbesonnenheit enthaltende[...] Werk[...]“ (Schott 1874c: 312) von v. Löher erwähnt und demgegenüber die „besonnenen Forschungen“ von Emil Török von Ponor hervorhebt. Des- sen Preisschrift über „Grundsätze des rechten magyarischen Stils“ (*A helyes magyarság elvei*, 1873) hatte er nämlich zuvor recht lobend besprochen (Schott 1874c).

Ein strenger Verriss dagegen ist die nächste Besprechung, in der ein „Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Magyarischen Sprache, genetisch aus chinesischen Wurzeln und Stämmen erklärt“, das 1877 in Paris erschienen ist, angezeigt wird. Die Rezension ist anonym, aber der Stil und die Kenntnis des Chinesischen machen Schott als Autor plausibel. Selbstverständlich lässt Schott kein gutes Haar an dem Buch und schließt lapidar:

„Solche Bücher sind traurige Beiträge zum Kapitel der Verirrungen des Menschengestes.“ (Schott 1877c: 475.) Schließlich werden noch knapp „Gabriel Bálint’s Studien“ zum Tatarischen und Mongolischen vorgestellt (Schott 1877e). Anliegen der Studien sei, den Beweis zu liefern, „daß der Mongole wenigstens gleichen Anspruch auf Verwandtschaft mit den Söhnen Arpad’s habe wie der Uralier. Wir nehmen in dieser Sache nicht Partei, ehren aber Herrn Bálint’s redliche, von tüchtiger Gelehrsamkeit unterstützte Bestrebungen.“ Damit endet die Rezension und es ist erneut fraglich, ob Schott der Autor war, da er in der so genannten Türkenfrage ja eindeutig auf Seiten Hunfalvys, d. h. der Finnougristik stand. Andererseits war er als Anhänger der ural-altaischen Hypothese natürlich nicht völlig abgeneigt, auch einen größeren Zusammenhang anzusetzen, und so mag diese Rezension auch von ihm stammen.

3.2.2.5. Permisch

Auf die relativ stiefmütterliche Behandlung des Permischen ist oben bereits hingewiesen worden. Möglicherweise liegt die geringe Ausbeute in diesem Bereich darin, dass die hauptsächlich finnougri(sti)schen Kontaktpersonen von Schott – Ahlqvist und Hunfalvy – sich ebenfalls kaum damit beschäftigt haben. Die einzigen beiden Arbeiten von Schott zu den permischen Sprachen sind eine Anzeige bzw. Rezension der Grammatik von Hans Conon von der Gabelentz (Schott 1840) und ein landeskundlicher Bericht über die Udmurten, bei dem es sich vermutlich um eine Übersetzung aus dem Russischen handelt, die Schott besorgt und um einige Fußnoten bereichert hat (Schott 1856a).

Hans Conon von der Gabelentz’ *Grundzüge der Syrjänischen Grammatik* sind 1841 erschienen und unmittelbar von Schott besprochen worden. Der fragliche Band der *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* trägt die Datumsangabe „Dezember 1840“ (sic), dürfte aber mit leichter Verspätung erschienen sein. Schott selbst teilte dem Verfasser im September 1841 mit, dass er das Buch angezeigt habe (Walravens 2008: 55). Die knappe Rezension referiert in erster Linie den Inhalt des Buches, ist also eine Kurzdarstellung bzw. Vorstellung der Sprache. Auffällig sind die relativ häufigen Vergleiche zum Ungarischen und Türkischen, womit Schott sich schon eingehend befasst hatte – im Gegensatz zum Finnischen. Seine oben zitierte Aussage von 1839, dass er vom Finnischen noch nicht viel wisse, findet nämlich ihre Bestätigung in Schotts Erstaunen über das Negationsverb:

Sehr merkwürdig und, wie es scheint, dem Syrjänen ganz eigenthümlich ist die Bildung des *Verbi negativi*: die Negation wird im Singular Praesentis und Imperfecti der blossen Wurzel vorgesetzt, und die Personen nur durch die wechselnde Form derselben Negation bezeichnet. (Schott 1840: 983–984.)

Hätte er Finnisch gekonnt, wäre ihm das Negationsverb ja nicht so außergewöhnlich erschienen, da es dort bekanntlich auch auftritt. Alles in allem liefert Schott keine inhaltliche Kritik an der Grammatik, sondern nur eine informative Mitteilung über das Buch, insofern ist die Charakterisierung als „Anzeige“, die Schott selber in der Korrespondenz mit dem Autor verwendete, korrekt.

Der Bericht „Einiges über die Wotjaken“ im *EA* ist ungezeichnet, wird aber laut Zehnjahresregister Schott zugeschrieben. Die Quelle ist nicht genannt, und es handelt sich bei dem Text lediglich um eine knappe, oberflächliche und mit den üblichen Klischees ausgestattete volkskundliche Beschreibung der Udmurten, die kaum Neues bringt. Das einzig Interessante ist allenfalls, dass gleich im ersten Satz davon die Rede ist, dass die Udmurten ein „bekanntlich zum grossen Finnischen Stamme gehörende[s] Völkchen“ (Schott 1856a: 240) seien, d. h. der finnougriische Zusammenhang wird als bekannt vorausgesetzt. Weiter wird darauf aber nicht eingegangen und der ganze Artikel hinterlässt einen eher blassen Eindruck.

3.2.2.6. Marisch

Zum Marischen liegen fünf Arbeiten von Schott vor, die alle in *Ermans Archiv* erschienen sind. Es handelt sich daher mehrheitlich um mit Kommentaren versehene Übersetzungen aus russischen Quellen und Rezensionen.

Der erste Beitrag behandelt, ganz dem damaligen Forschungsstand entsprechend, das Marische gemeinsam mit dem Tschuwaschischen und ist die Übersetzung von brieflichen Nachrichten von Alexandra Fuchs (Schott 1841a). Der Schwerpunkt liegt auf dem Tschuwaschischen, aber eingeschoben ist auch ein ausgebreiteter Bericht über einen marischen Feiertag (S. 377–379), innerhalb dessen auch ein längeres Gebet in deutscher Übersetzung zitiert ist. Am Schluss (S. 379–381) gibt Schott noch einen bibliografischen Überblick:

Der Referent nimmt hier Gelegenheit, eine Uebersicht dessen mitzutheilen, was über beide Völker, über ihre Sprachen und in ihren Sprachen geschrieben worden ist.

Er beginnt bei Peter Simon Pallas (1741–1811), geht dann aber fast ausschließlich auf das Tschuwaschische ein, lediglich der letzte Abschnitt behandelt das Marische:

Nachrichten über die Tschereimisen finden sich ebenfalls in den oben erwähnten Reisewerken u. s. w. Eine Tschereimische Uebersetzung der Evangelien erschien 1821; eine Grammatik der Sprache bereits im Jahre 1775. Vor drei Jahren hat die geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit von Kasan eine neue Tschereimische Grammatik herausgegeben (Kasan 1838). (Schott 1841a: 381.)

Der folgende Beitrag ist eine ausführliche Besprechung von Castréns *Elementa grammatices Tscheremissae* (Kuopio 1845) – freilich ohne diese exakte bibliografische Angabe. Die Rezension ist lediglich überschrieben mit „Castréns tschereimische Sprachlehre“ und es bleibt der Phantasie der Leserschaft überlassen, wo und wann (und in welcher Sprache) diese Grammatik erschienen sein mag. Davon abgesehen ist der Artikel jedoch eine gründliche Darstellung von Castréns Buch, die viele Beispiele bringt und gelegentlich als Kommentar auf Parallelen im Türkischen verweist. Schott geht hier deutlich von einer Urverwandtschaft aus, trennt aber sorgfältig zwischen Finnougrisch und Tatarisch, wenn er Castrén vorwirft, dies nicht deutlich gemacht zu haben, da dieser das Marische gemeinsam mit dem Mordwinischen und Tschuwaschischen zu einer eigenen Familie zusammenstellte:

Wir sind im Ganzen mit ihm einverstanden und müssen nur gegen das Tschuwaschische Protest einlegen, indem dieses überhaupt gar nicht zu dem vorliegenden Sprachengebiete gehört, sondern zum türkischen, welche Wahrheit wir längst ausser Zweifel gestellt zu haben hoffen. (Schott 1850b: 634.)

1858 folgt der Artikel „Ueber die Religion der heidnischen Tschereimisen im Gouv. Kasan“, der laut Quellenvermerk am Ende den russischsprachigen Mitteilungen der Kaiserlichen geografischen Gesellschaft entnommen ist. Dass es sich bei dem Übersetzer um Schott handelte, geht allein schon daraus hervor, dass in den Fußnoten gelegentlich etymologische Erläuterungen gegeben werden, die neben dem Finnougrischen auch das Mongolische und Mandschu anführen. Im Übrigen ist dies ein informativer Beitrag zur Religion der Mari, der auch einige Schöpfungsmythen referiert und stellenweise auf islamische Einflüsse verweist (Schott 1858e).

Der nächste Beitrag basiert auf einem finnischsprachigen Artikel von August Ahlqvist, der in der Zeitschrift *Suomi* erschienen war. Hier ist der Titel – „Nachrichten über die Tschuwaschen und Tschereimisen. Von Au-

gust Ahlqvist.“ – leicht irreführend, denn der Löwenanteil des über 25 Seiten umfassenden Artikels handelt allein von den Tschuwaschen. Lediglich auf den Seiten 55–58 wendet sich Ahlqvist kurz dem Berg-Marischen zu, über dessen lexikalische Zusammenstellung er treffend bemerkt:

Das Tscheremissische besonders ist in solchem Grade gemischt, dass man wohl ein Drittheil seiner Wörter tatarisch, und ein Sechstheil russisch nennen kann; nur die eine Hälfte ihres Wortvorraths ist noch rein finnischen Ursprungs. (Schott 1859a: 56.)

Danach behandelt Ahlqvist jedoch wieder das Tschuwaschische, stellt Überlegungen zu dessen Ursprung an und bringt auch einige Sprachproben. Hier fühlte sich der Übersetzer – zweifellos Schott – dann bemüßigt einzugreifen. In einer Fußnote erwähnt er seine Abhandlung von 1841 und fügt lapidar hinzu:

Wir bemerken hier zugleich, dass in dieser Abhandlung schon vollkommen nachgewiesen ist, was Herr Ahlqvist erst nachzuweisen sich anschickt, nemlich die türkische Abstammung der Tschuwaschen-Sprache. (Schott 1859a: 59),

und wenig später muss er den Autor regelrecht korrigieren:

Wenn Herr Ahlqvist bessere Bekanntschaft mit dem Türkischen gemacht hätte, so würde er sich überzeugt haben, dass ein ansehnlicher Theil dieser von ihm für ächt finnisch erklärten Wörter des Tschuwaschischen mit viel grösserem Rechte ächt türkisch heissen kann. (Schott 1859a: 61.)

Der letzte Beitrag ist kürzer und umfasst nur zehn Seiten, ist dafür aber ein Originalbeitrag von Schott. Sein „Die Sprache der Wald-Tscheremissen“ ist abgefasst nach Anleitung der von Budenz herausgegebenen Materialien von Reguly (*Cseremisiz Tanulmányok*), und zwar des ersten Theils von 1864. Schott zitiert Budenz' deutliche Kriterien, nach denen zu beurteilen ist, ob ein Wort im Marischen als aus dem Tschuwaschischen oder Tatarischen entlehnt zu betrachten ist, und stellt im folgenden eigene Betrachtungen zum marischen Wortschatz an, wobei er gelegentlich auf seine eigenen früheren Werke verweist. Leider ist die Abhandlung durch das allzu dürftige Verweissystem und bisweilen fehlende Anführungszeichen, so dass man nicht weiß, wo ein Zitat endet, in einigen Passagen etwas unklar. Aber letztendlich ist Schott in seinem Urteil über Budenz sehr positiv:

Man darf behaupten, dass die tscheremissische Sprache, wie früher die tschuwaschische, durch Herrn Budenz schon manche Beleuchtung erhalten habe [...] und dass die grammatisch-etymologische Bearbeitung Beider nicht leicht in bessere Hände kommen könnte. (Schott 1865a: 10.)

Es gibt in *Ermans Archiv* noch mehr zum Marischen, nur ist hier die Zuordnung zu Schott fraglicher. Aber ein Beitrag wie „Die Tscheremissen und ihre Sprache“ (*EA* 7 (1848–1849): 415–428), der laut dem Inhaltsverzeichnis „Nach Wiedemann“ erfolgt und dem 2. Heft des 1. Bandes der *Arbeiten der kurländischen Gesellschaft für Litteratur und Kunst* entnommen ist, wird natürlich irgendwie durch Schotts Vermittlung im *EA* gelandet sein. Hierauf weisen auch manche Kommentare in den Fußnoten hin, die eindeutig Schotts Stil sind. Da der Beitrag jedoch aus einer ursprünglich schon deutschen Quelle stammt, ist der Anteil von Schott deutlich niedriger, weswegen der Artikel hier nicht mitgerechnet wurde. Aber letztlich ist die Entscheidung natürlich willkürlich, und die Existenz eines solchen Beitrags mag zeigen, dass es hier eine Grauzone und einen gewissen Übergangsbereich gibt. Schotts finnougriester Anteil war außerhalb der Urheberschaft und des Übersetzens durch reine redaktionelle Arbeit vermutlich eben noch größer.

3.2.2.7. Mordwinisch

Zum Mordwinischen liegen fünf Beiträge von Schott vor, von denen der erste lediglich eine Übersetzung aus dem Russischen war. Die Beteiligung von Schott geht allein aus einer Fußnote hervor, in der Parallelen zum Marischen, Tschuwaschischen und Türkischen gezogen werden (Schott 1852c).

Dann gibt es drei Artikel, die auf Arbeiten von Ahlqvist beruhen. Beim ersten handelt es sich um eine allgemeine Darstellung, wobei getreu dem Titel „Die Mordwinen, ihre Sprache und Sitten“ nicht nur auf einige Besonderheiten der Sprache eingegangen wird, sondern auch Proben der Volksdichtung gegeben bzw. nacherzählt werden. Der Text ist, wie die Fußnote angibt, nach „einem Reisebericht in finnischer Sprache, von August Ahlqvist“ abgefasst, d. h. aus dem Finnischen übersetzt worden. Dass diese Übersetzung von niemand anderem als Schott besorgt wurde, geht aus einigen Fußnoten hervor. So kommentiert er beispielsweise Ahlqvist, nachdem dieser eine „merkwürdige Eigenheit“, von der er nicht wisse, „ob sie irgend anderswo zu finden“ sei, erwähnt hatte, und zwar die objektive Konjugation. Schotts lapidare Fußnote dazu lautet:

Der Verf. würde dieselbe Eigenheit im Ungarischen, Wogulischen, Samojedischen, Ostjakischen wiedergefunden haben; auf ihr beruht die sogenannte objective Conjugation, die bei den Mordwinen am vollständigsten sich entwickelt hat. Vergl. Hunfalvy's lehrreiche Abhandlungen über das Mordwinische, das Samojedische

und das Ostjakische in den Jahrgängen 1857–1859 des Magyar Nyelvészeti, ferner die grammatische Einleitung zu der (1859) von demselben herausgegebenen Wogulischen Sage (V. monda). (Schott 1860e: 561.)

Dies beweist einmal mehr, dass Schott 1860 schon über einen gründlichen Überblick über die uralischen Sprachen verfügte.

Drei Jahre später wird Ahlqvists 1861 in Sankt Petersburg erschienene mokschamordwinische Grammatik vorgestellt, wobei diesmal laut Fußnote am Beginn des Artikels „im wesentlichen ein Artikel Elias Lönnrot's in der Zeitschrift *Mehiläinen*“ referiert wird. „Wir haben uns Kürzungen und einige Zusätze gestattet.“ (Schott 1863c: 400.) Diese Zusätze sind die üblichen, typisch Schottschen Kommentare zu einigen Etymologierungsversuchen, die Lönnrot auf den ersten Seiten vorgenommen hatte und die nicht auf die ungeteilte Zustimmung des Bearbeiters stießen. Ab Seite 404 wird dann auf die eigentliche Grammatik des Mokschanischen eingegangen, indem einige Deklinationstabellen und Vergleiche zum Finnischen gebracht werden. Hier werden die Kommentare spärlicher, aber die Vermittlerrolle Schotts ist dennoch unübersehbar. Übrigens wurde dieselbe Grammatik von Ahlqvist auch kurz im *Magazin* (1862: 132) angezeigt, was vermutlich gleichfalls auf Schott zurückgeht, hier aber nicht als eigener Eintrag gewertet wurde, da es sich nur um eine zehneinhalbzeilige Mitteilung handelt.

Der vierte mordwinische Beitrag erscheint im *Magazin* und hat damit eine andere Zielgruppe. Es handelt sich um einen rein literarischen bzw. zumindest folkloristischen Text, „Eine Schöpfungssage der Mordwinen“ (Schott 1873f). Auf Finnisch war sie im *Kirjallinen Kuukauslehti* [Literarisches Monatsblatt] (1866–1880, vgl. Kauppinen 1952) erschienen, einer wichtigen Quelle für Schott, aus der er häufig Informationen bezog und diese dann auf Deutsch weiterreichte. Die Quellenangabe erfolgte in einer Fußnote, und dies ist auch der einzige Hinweis auf einen finnougri-schen Kontext. Ansonsten wird nichts hierüber gesagt, und da der Artikel unter der Rubrik „Asien“ erschien, mag ein Teil der Leserschaft des *Magazins* keinerlei finnougri-sche Bezüge erkannt haben. Dies hat Schott aber offenbar nicht für notwendig befunden und man kann dies als einen Akt der Entextotisierung betrachten: Schott fand die Weltentstehungssage, in der Satan aus dem Speichel des Schöpfers entsteht und vom Boden des Meeres Sand holen muss, mit dem die Erde erschaffen werden soll, schlicht interessant und gab sie kommentarlos weiter an das literarische Publikum.

Eine Herkunftsdiskussion tat nichts zur Sache, es ging ihm nur um den Inhalt. Der Text sollte als literarisches Dokument aufgefasst werden. Auch dies ist natürlich *eine* Form der Verbreitung von finnougrischen Inhalten.

Abschließend muss noch eine Buchanzeige des 1866 von Budenz herausgegebenen Reguly-Nachlasses erwähnt werden, der dessen mordwinschen Sammlungen umfasste (Schott 1867e).

3.2.2.8. Kleinere ostseefinnische Sprachen

Der auf zwei Nummern des *Magazins* verteilte Artikel zum Wotischen (Schott 1856e) nimmt insofern eine Sonderstellung ein, als er einer der wenigen explizit einem kleineren ostseefinnischen Volk gewidmete Beitrag ist. Andererseits passt er gut ins Bild, da es sich wie so oft wieder einmal um die Übernahme eines Artikels von Ahlqvist handelt. Ein wenig überraschend scheint seine Veröffentlichung im *Magazin*, da dies auf einen popularisierenden Charakter zu verweisen scheint, den dieser Artikel jedoch nicht direkt hat. Möglicherweise aber war Schott daran gelegen, Informationen über ein Volk, von dem bis dahin im deutschsprachigen Raum kaum jemand etwas gehört haben dürfte, zu verbreiten. Mit beinahe fünf der oben bereits als vielzeilig erwähnten Spalten des *Magazins* mag ihm das durchaus gelungen sein.

Trotz des Untertitels „Nach August Ahlquist“ lässt Schott es sich zunächst nicht nehmen, in einem ersten ausführlichen Absatz den Autor selbst gebührend vorzustellen, wobei er überhaupt ein Bild des aktuellen Geisteslebens in Finnland zeichnet. Dabei ist sofort deutlich, wem die Sympathie gilt, und hier sind schwärmerische Züge, wie sie bereits weiter oben im Zusammenhang mit Zitaten aus den 1840er-Jahren erwähnt waren – ein „wohlthätig frischer Lufthauch“ (Schott 1841b: 455), „wahre Volkspoese“ (Schott 1849a: 23) –, unüberhörbar:

Bereits einige Mal ist in diesem Magazin für die außerdeutsche Literatur darauf hingedeutet worden, welch' regen Lebens seit kaum zwei Dezennien die Behandlung der finnischen Sprache und Literatur in Finnland sich erfreut und wie die sogenannte Fennomanie allmählich den Suecismus und Germanismus in Finnland zu verdrängen berufen zu sein scheint. In neuerer Zeit ist nun aus dem kräftigen Volke der Finnen ein Mann erstanden, der zu den größten Hoffnungen berechtigt. Es ist August Ahlquist, aus Savolaks gebürtig, jetzt etwa 24 Jahre alt, kräftig an Geist und an Körper, hervorragend durch seine Verstandeskräfte wie durch seine Eigenschaften des Gemüths. (Schott 1856e: 425.)

In diesem Stile werden die Leistungen Ahlqvists gebührend gewürdigt, bevor Schott sich anschickt, „in folgender Uebersetzung der Vorrede zu Ahlquist’s wotischer Grammatik sein Verhältniß zu der Geschichte des Studiums dieser Sprache, sowie das Verhältniß der wotischen Sprache zu dem finnischen Sprachen=Stamme überhaupt, vorzulegen.“

Damit ist eigentlich schon angedeutet, dass der Titel des Beitrags leicht irreführend ist. Es geht mitnichten allein um die Woten, und es wird auch keineswegs ein Gesamtüberblick über sie gegeben. Vielmehr wird in den zitierten Passagen aus Ahlqvists Vorwort (Ahlqvist 1856a: I–VIII) detailliert auf die Klassifizierung der ostseefinnischen Sprachen eingegangen und die Zweiteilung in Südwest- und Nordostostseefinnisch (jämisch vs. karelistisch) erläutert, wobei Ahlqvist u. a. Sjögren kritisiert. Da Ahlqvist dies alles aber natürlich im Zusammenhang mit seiner wotischen Grammatik und angespornt durch seine intensivere Befassung mit dieser ostseefinnischen Sprache tat, und weil am Ende auch noch etwas spezifischer auf die Woten eingegangen wird, erscheint hier die Klassifizierung als „Wotisch“ dennoch als gerechtfertigt.

Bei den beiden anderen ostseefinnischen Beiträgen handelt es sich um Rezensionen bzw. schlicht Buchvorstellungen. Zunächst bringt Schott eine ausführliche Rezension eines Buches von Yrjö-Koskinen. Der Beitrag ist mit der folgenden Fußnote ausgestattet: „Aus und über Yrjö Koskinen’s Abhandlung „Sur l’antiquité des Lives en Livonie“. Gedruckt 1866 in Helsingfors und zu haben bei Dürr in Leipzig.“ (Schott 1867d: 393) – d. h. Schotts Urheberschaft ist nicht notwendig, da Französisch auch von anderen beherrscht wurde. Die Fußnoten und Kommentare scheinen jedoch auf Schott als Autor zu verweisen. Dabei geht er weniger streng mit Yrjö-Koskinen ins Gericht als in der oben zitierten Rezension eines anderen Buches desselben Autors (Schott 1865f: 351) und entwickelt vielmehr seine eigenen Gedanken zur Geschichte der Liven. Dass diese heute als überholt anzusehen sind, schmälert die Bedeutung nur geringfügig. Wichtig war, dass diese Frage überhaupt in einem derartigen Forum behandelt wurde.

Schließlich stellt er 1873 Wiedemanns Untersuchung zum Krewinischen aus dem Jahre 1871 vor und lobt das Werk als eine „der gründlichsten historisch=linguistischen Abhandlungen [...], die wohl überhaupt existieren“. Tatsächlich handelt es sich hierbei nur um eine 24zeilige Kurzmittelteilung, doch es ist bemerkenswert, dass auf diese Weise die deutsche Leserschaft sogar über eine ausgestorbene ostseefinnische Volksgruppe informiert wurde (Schott 1873d).

3.2.2.9. Finnisch

Dem Finnischen galt wie gesagt das Hauptinteresse Schotts und hierzu liegen dementsprechend die meisten Beiträge vor. Die siebzig Artikel aus einem Zeitraum von vierzig Jahren (1842–1881) können grob in die folgenden fünf thematischen Gruppen eingeteilt werden:

- 1) Kalevala und Volksdichtung allgemein;
- 2) Mythologie;
- 3) Sprache;
- 4) Literatur;
- 5) Geschichte, d. h. auch allgemeine(re) Information zu Finnland und zum dortigen geistigen Leben.

Über die Hälfte der Beiträge erschien im *Magazin*, der Rest mehrheitlich in *Ermans Archiv*. Fünf Artikel kamen im Rahmen der Publikationen der Berliner Akademie heraus, einer davon danach auch als Separatdruck (Schott 1852a).

3.2.2.9.1. Kalevala und Volksdichtung allgemein

Dem Kalevala widmete Schott ein gutes Dutzend Beiträge, wobei einige sehr kurz sind und vor allem seinen Disput mit Schiefner betreffen (s. u.). Über das finnische Epos erfolgte überhaupt der Einstieg in seine Befassung mit dem Finnischen, denn seine ersten finnlandspezifischen Wortmeldungen betreffen das Kalevala. Dabei kommt die erste Wahrnehmung und Erwähnung gleichsam durch die Hintertür, nämlich in Form einer Rezension des ersten Heftes der *Verhandlungen der gelehrten estnischen Gesellschaft* (Schott 1841b), mithin einer Publikation, die hier dem estnischen Kontext zugewiesen wird (s. 3.2.2.10.1). Aber im genannten ersten Heft befand sich bekanntlich eine erste deutsche Inhaltsangabe des Kalevala sowie die erste deutsche Probeübersetzung einiger Verse, was Schott – wie bereits mehrfach erwähnt – freudig registrierte.

Ein Jahr später erscheint im *Magazin*, und damit für ein breiteres Publikum bestimmt, ein erster längerer, über drei Ausgaben verteilter Beitrag über „Die Götter= und Zauberlehre der Finnen“, der laut Anmerkung „aus Finnländischen Blättern“ stammt und ungezeichnet ist. Er dürfte jedoch auf Schott zurückgehen, da für gewöhnlich er es war, der für das *Magazin*

die finnischen Presseerzeugnisse auswertete. Außerdem herrscht in ihm der gleiche schwärmerische Ton wie in der oben genannten Rezension der *Verhandlungen*. Nach einer einleitenden Bemerkung über die Stellung des Schwedischen als Sprache der Oberschicht in Finnland konstatiert der Autor, dass man in jüngster Zeit begonnen hat, die „Lieder, welche der Finnländer noch in seiner Muttersprache singt“, zu sammeln.

Die größte Ueberraschung dabei war, daß sich aus den im Munde der vielen hier vorhandenen Volkssänger (Rhapsoden) fortlebenden Gesängen oder Runen, wie sie genannt werden, ein sehr langes, vollständig zusammenhängendes und außerordentlich schönes, uraltes National=Epos zusammenstellen ließ, welches von Elias Lönnroth, 37 Bogen stark, unter den Namen *Kalewala* herausgegeben worden. (Schott 1842a: 343.)

So erfolgte gleich im ersten Absatz der Hinweis auf das Kalevala, dem einige Abschnitte über finnische Gottheiten folgen, wobei die finnische Mythologie und Geisteswelt meistens anhand des Kalevala illustriert werden. Immer wieder schimmert die Sympathie für die in Schotts Augen friedvollen und ruhigen Finnen durch, die keine Kriege geführt haben und daher auch keine Heldensage haben:

Die Finnen, als ein verdrängtes und in politischer Hinsicht stets unbedeutendes Volk, äußerten schon früh eine bittere Ironie über alle äußere Macht, Ehre und Ansehen, und kehrten sich nach innen, indem sie den Preis, den historische Völker den Thaten und physischer Kraft zollen, nur dem Wissen, d. h. der Zauberei, zuerkannten. (Schott 1842a: 351.)

Nach dieser als allgemeine Heranführung an das Thema zu betrachtenden Einleitung kommen nach einer Pause von einigen Jahren mehrere Arbeiten, die sich direkt mit dem Kalevala befassen. Zunächst wird in *Ermans Archiv* (6 [1847–1848]: 210–215) ein Artikel über „Die Würdigung des finnischen Epos in Deutschland“ abgedruckt, der aber laut Quellenangabe der *St. Petersburger Zeitung* (1846, No. 76) entnommen war und somit nicht auf Schott zurückzugehen braucht. Die *St. Petersburger Zeitung* wurde von mancher Redaktion in Deutschland ausgewertet, und besagter Artikel fand sich dann auch 1847 in einem Tageblatt des Verlagshauses Cotta, *Das Ausland* (Nr. 232 vom 28. September 1847, S. 925–926, vgl. Webermann 1981: 203).

Schott mag den oben genannten Artikel für das *EA* ausgewählt haben, doch ist diese Art redaktioneller Tätigkeit hier nicht als Urheberkriterium hinreichend. Sehr wohl eine eigene Urheberschaft kann man dann aber bei zwei längeren Artikeln von Robert Tengström (1823–1847) erkennen,

die Schott übersetzte und kommentierte. Sie erschienen hintereinander im dritten Heft des gleichen Jahrgangs von *Ermans Archiv*, wodurch dies quasi zu einer Kalevala-Sondernummer wurde. Der erste Beitrag trägt den allgemeineren Titel „Ueber die finnische Poesie“, enthält jedoch zahlreiche Zitate aus Kalevala und Kanteletar (Schott 1848a); der zweite wendet sich unter der Überschrift „Ueber das finnische Epos Kalewala“ konkreter dem Epos zu und würdigt es auch und gerade innerhalb eines internationalen Kontextes (Schott 1848b).

Im Zusammenhang mit dem Kalevala ist übrigens auffällig, dass nach dem oben genannten Artikel von 1842 alle anderen nicht im *Magazin*, sondern in anderen, und zwar eher wissenschaftlichen, Organen erschienen sind. Im *Magazin* gab es lediglich 1848 (S. 99) noch eine kurze Notiz zum finnischen Epos. Sie war ursprünglich Schott zugeschrieben worden (Walravens 2001: 43), wurde nun aber ausgesondert, da sie allzu offenkundig auf dem oben zitierten, ursprünglich der *St. Petersburger Zeitung* entnommenen Bericht basiert, was man allein schon daran sieht, dass die gleichen Namen – Jacob Grimm, Friedrich Rückert (1788–1866), Hermann Brockhaus (1806–1877), Herman Kellgren – vorkommen. Aber es gibt noch einige andere Auffälligkeiten: Der Bericht in *Ermans Archiv* war im 2. Heft des 6. Jahrgangs erschienen, das die Jahreszahl 1847 trägt. Es kann dann nicht verwundern, dass dort ein Bericht aus der *Petersburger Zeitung* von 1846 aufgenommen wird, in dem es korrekt heißt, dass Grimm „im vorigen Jahr in der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften“ (EA 6 [1847–1848]: 213) einen Aufsatz über das finnische Epos gelesen habe. Denn das entspricht der Wahrheit und führte dann zu dem bekannten und berühmten Kalevala-Aufsatz von Grimm (1845). Dies 1848 im *Magazin* zu wiederholen ist aber nicht mehr korrekt, und dasselbe trifft auf die Formulierung „vor etwa einem Jahrzehend“ (EA 6 [1847–1848]: 212, identisch im *Magazin* 1848: 99) zu, wenn es darum geht, wann Lönnrot das Kalevala zusammengestellt hat. Schott wusste sehr genau, dass das Epos 1835 erschienen war und hätte sich nicht hinter solch schwammigen Formulierungen versteckt. Der Verweis auf sich selbst braucht, s. o. 3.2.2.3. im Zusammenhang mit einer Rezension (Schott 1882), noch kein Argument gegen eine Urheberschaft Schotts zu sein, nur sprach er dort von „W. Schott“ und nicht von „Professor Schott“, wie es hier im *Magazin* geschah, als auf seine Arbeiten im EA verwiesen wird. Und schließlich wäre Schott auch nicht der Lapsus unterlaufen, eben dieses EA als „Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kenntniß [pro recte Kunde, CH] von Rußland“ zu bezeichnen. Gründe genug, diese kurze Notiz also aus seiner Publikationsliste zu entfernen.

Die nächste relevante Publikation ist eine Rezension eines Buches von Europaeus, die an diese Stelle gehört, da es in dessen *Pieni runoseppä* [Kleiner Runen-Schmied] (Helsinki 1847) vor allem um Volksdichtung und das Kalevala-Versmaß geht. Schott verbindet die Vorstellung des Buches mit einer gründlichen Darstellung der finnischen Prosodie, die mit Beispielen illustriert wird. Seine Kenntnis des Finnischen war nun längst solide, wie bereits aus der Fußnote zu seiner Übersetzung des Buchtitels hervorgeht:

Für *Runenschmied* stünde wohl besser *Runenkünstler*, da das Wort *seppä* Schmied in dieser Verbindung eine viel edlere Bedeutung hat als in dem deutschen *Reimschmied*. Es war uns aber um strenge Wörtlichkeit zu thun. (Schott 1851b: 597.)

Im Jahr darauf folgen zwei profunde Beiträge, die Schotts Beschäftigung mit dem Epos im engeren Sinne abschließen. Zunächst zeigt er das Erscheinen des Neuen Kalevala (1849) ausführlich an, indem er – nach einer kurzen Einleitung – kurzerhand die von Lönnrot mitgelieferten Inhaltsangaben der fünfzig Runen ins Deutsche übersetzt (Schott 1852b). Danach liefert er eine ausführliche Behandlung des Kullervo-Zyklus, der in der neuen Ausgabe ja auf sechs Runen angewachsen war, nachdem er im alten Kalevala nur eine (die 19.) bekommen hatte. Die Hälfte des Beitrags besteht aus einer Inhaltsangabe des Zyklus, wobei längere Zitate, die Schott selbst übersetzt hat, nicht fehlen. Danach werden noch einige Varianten aus der Kanteletar erwähnt und mehrfach auf estnische Parallelen, d. h. den Kalevipoeg verwiesen. Diese Arbeit ist ein echter eigener Forschungsbeitrag und keineswegs nur eine Vermittlung ausländischer Forschungsergebnisse. Dementsprechend erschien sie auch in den Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften und später noch einmal als Separatdruck (Schott 1852a).

Das komparatistische Element findet sich auch in den drei nächsten Artikeln, die allerdings vom Typ her ziemlich verschieden sind. 1861 erscheinen als eine Art Miszelle oder auch Rezension im *Magazin* „Einige Parallelen zwischen serbischer und finnischer Poesie“. Der Artikel ist ungezeichnet und beruht auf einer schwedischsprachigen Untersuchung von R. Collan, jedoch ist nicht zuletzt aufgrund einer kritischen Fußnote Schott als Urheber plausibel (Schott 1861e). Ausführlicher ist der nächste Beitrag, in dem die Parallelen zwischen der russischen Iwaschko-Sage aus Perm und Kullervo aufgezeigt werden (Schott 1863d). Seltsamerweise findet sich eine nahezu textidentische Passage noch einmal gut 20 Seiten später im selben Heft von *Ermans Archiv* (22: 617–620), hier muss es also eine redaktionelle Unachtsamkeit gegeben haben. In eben diesem Heft folgte

nämlich ein Artikel von Schiefner (1863), der einer russischen Quelle entstammte und den Schott vermutlich vermittelt, auf jeden Fall aber kommentiert hat. Und zwar sachlich und ohne Polemik, nicht einmal kritisch, sondern eher ergänzend, obwohl die Beziehung zwischen den beiden Gelehrten zum damaligen Zeitpunkt schon einigermaßen gestört war (s. u.). Auch Schiefners Beitrag, hinter dessen Titel „Versuch einer Erklärung des Zusammenhangs finnischer Sagen mit russischen“ man eine Polemik gegen den vorangegangenen Artikel von Schott (1863d lautet „Beiträge zur Verwandtschaft russischer und finnischer Ueberlieferungen, nebst russisch-chinesischem Anhang“) hätte vermuten können, ist alles andere als polemisch. Die von Schott hinzugefügte Ergänzung ist durchaus passend, nur stand sie im gleichen Wortlaut schon in seinem vorgenannten Beitrag.

Dieselbe Iwaschko-Sage wird noch ein drittes Mal von Schott erwähnt, und zwar in seinem letzten vergleichenden Artikel zu diesem Themenbereich, der nur bedingt als eigenständiger Beitrag anzusehen ist. In der Hauptsache erfolgen hier eine Synthese seiner bisherigen Forschungen und eine Zusammenstellung von Ergänzungen. Nach der Nebeneinanderstellung von Iwaschko, Kullervo und Kalevipoeg verweist Schott auf seine früheren Untersuchungen zu Kullervo (1852a) und Kalevipoeg (1862a, s. u. 3.2.2.10.4) und liefert zu beiden Nachträge, die mehr als die Hälfte des knapp 11seitigen Aufsatzes einnehmen (Schott 1866a).

Zum Abschluss von Schotts intensiver Befassung mit dem finnischen Epos muss auf den unrühmlichen und überflüssigen Konflikt mit Schiefner eingegangen werden, denn es war vermutlich das Kalevala, das die beiden endgültig entzweit hat. Es ist allerdings gut möglich, dass die Animosität auch andere, tieferliegende Gründe hat, denn ihre Bekanntschaft dürfte älter sein. Schließlich hatte Schiefner zwischen 1840–1842 in Berlin studiert, und da könnte er Schott in dessen Eigenschaft als Professor durchaus begegnet sein, auch wenn er mit Indologie ein Fach studierte, das nicht direkt unter Schott fiel. Wie dem auch sei, anhand der folgenden drei Publikationen von Schott wird das sich anbahnende Zerwürfnis deutlich:

Zunächst kündigte Schott relativ neutral die zu erwartende deutsche Übersetzung des Kalevala von Schiefner an. Aber in dieser Ankündigung lag ein wenig Wehmut, die Schiefner dahingehend auslegen konnte, dass Schott sich beklagte, dass ihm jemand die Übersetzung weggeschnappt habe. Jedenfalls meint Gisbert Jänicke (1991: 24), dass Schiefners Wahl als Übersetzer „Schott ganz deutlich verbitterte“, was man aber nur bedingt aus dieser kurzen Notiz herauslesen kann. Sie lautete nämlich im Kern folgendermaßen:

Es gibt eine apocryphe buddhistische Sage von einem Prinzen [...], der mit so eiserner Ausdauer in den Sûtra's studierte, dass seine von ihm vernachlässigte jugendliche Gemahlin eines schönen Morgens davon lief. Lange spürte man ihr vergebens nach, bis sie endlich jenseit des Meeres, in den Armen eines ritterlicheren und besser befriedigenden Beschützers, wieder gefunden ward. Mit der Lage jenes betrogenen indischen Eheherrn ist nun die meinige zu vergleichen: durch Arbeiten viel trocknerer Art (zum Theil allerdings ohne meine Schuld) abgezogen, kehrte ich der mir so lieben Kalevala den Rücken, und was geschah? die erzürnte Schöne „segnete mich ins Angesicht“ und suchte in Herren Schiefner einen beständigeren (gewiss auch vorzüglicheren) deutschen Bearbeiter. Die Ueberzeugung, dass unser Publicum dabei nur gewonnen haben muss, kann mir allein zum Troste gereichen. (Schott 1853e: 70.)

Wie immer man diese Passage auch interpretieren mag – damit war das Kind offenbar in den Brunnen gefallen und die Kommunikation zwischen Schott und Schiefner gestört.

Schotts Ankündigung war Ende 1852 erschienen, vermutlich mehr oder weniger zeitgleich mit Schiefners kompletter Übersetzung des Kalevala. Mit dieser Übersetzung ist August Ahlqvist (1853) dann relativ streng ins Gericht gegangen, worauf Schiefner (1855) ausführlich reagierte. In dieser Replik zeigt er sich recht empfänglich für die Kritik und schlägt eine Reihe von Verbesserungen vor. Schott wird hierbei nur einmal erwähnt, nämlich im Zusammenhang mit einer Passage aus dem Kullervo-Zyklus, wo Schiefner (1855: 147) bemerkt: „Schott, über die finnische Sage von *Kullervo* (Berlin 1852) S. 13, hat es unterlassen, die genannten vier Verse deutsch wiederzugeben.“ Auch hier ist fraglich, ob man dies als Spitze gegen Schott interpretieren muss, vielmehr beweist dies nur, dass Schiefner immerhin Schotts Abhandlung zu Kullervo gelesen und vielleicht sogar bei seiner Übersetzung herangezogen hatte. Als Vorwurf ist die Passage auch deswegen schwer zu werten, weil Schott (1852a) ohnehin immer nur Auszüge übersetzte und nirgendwo prätendierte, die kompletten sechs Gesänge zu verdeutschen.

Ahlqvists negative Rezension kam auch Schott zu Gesicht, der die Gelegenheit nutzte, „es seinem Rivalen heimzuzahlen“ (Jänicke 1991: 28). Tatsächlich kann man es kaum anders nennen, denn die auf der Grundlage von Ahlqvists Rezension publizierte Besprechung der Schiefnerschen Übersetzung ist ein übler Verriss: Schiefner sei „bis zum Ekel unpoetisch“ (Schott 1857a: 117), an anderer Stelle setze er „eine allgemeine Reflexion die ziemlich saftlos ist“ (Schott 1857a: 119) und das Schlussurteil lautete:

Aber auch abgesehen von ihren zahlreichen *blunders* hat die in Rede stehende Uebersetzung geringen ästhetischen Werth und bietet wenig was an die homerische

Einfalt und sinnliche Naturfülle des Originals erinnerte. Wer nicht als Mythologe oder Ethnologe darüber kommt, der wird schwerlich die Geduld haben, den ganzen Band durchzulesen. (Schott 1857a: 120.)

Darauf nun reagierte Schiefner ziemlich scharf in einem Artikel im *Inland* (Schiefner 1857), der in Tartu erscheinenden deutschsprachigen Wochenzeitung, die auch Schott rezipierte (s. u. 3.2.2.10.1.). Zunächst referierte er Schotts Anzeige seiner Übersetzung aus dem *EA* (Schott 1853e), nicht ohne diese mit einer bissigen Fußnote auszustatten: „Den Kennern indischen Alterthums braucht nicht erst gesagt zu werden, daß diese apocryphe Sage erst an den Ufern der Spree dem Buddhismus vindiciert worden ist“ (Schiefner 1857: 384); sodann erläuterte er den Werdegang seiner Übersetzung und verwies auf Ahlqvists Kritik und seine eigene Replik dazu (Schiefner 1855); und dann holte er zum Schlag aus, indem er Schotts auf Ahlqvist basierende Kritik im *EA* als eine „für sein eigenes Seelenleben sehr charakteristische Weise“ beschrieb:

Wir müssen die Leser ersuchen, sich die einzelnen Punkte selbst näher anzusehen, um sich zu überzeugen, wie geläufig dem Referenten (Schiefner nennt Schott nicht beim Namen, CH), außer verschiedenen Spree=Witzen, namentlich Anspielungen auf gewisse dem Physiologen interessante Beziehungen sind. (Schiefner 1857: 385.)

Sodann entdeckte er noch einen Übersetzungsfehler aus dem Schwedischen und schloss mit der lapidaren Bemerkung: „Solche Mittheilungen nennt man „wissenschaftliche Kunde von Rußland.““ (Schiefner 1857: 385.)

Einen Teil dieser Kritik, nämlich den, der die Übersetzungsfehler betrifft, hatte Schiefner offenbar an die Redaktion des *EA* geschickt, wo Schott sie umgehend am Ende des dritten Heftes (*EA* 16 (1857): 489), das vermutlich im Herbst erschien, an das Publikum weiterreichte. Den Artikel im *Inland* kannte er zu jenem Zeitpunkt noch nicht. Als er diesen dann zu Gesicht bekommen hatte, reagierte er ungewöhnlich heftig:

Nachdem wir Herrn Schiefners schriftliche Zusendung die Ehre erwiesen, den edelsten Extract daraus auf S. 489 dieses Bandes, d. h. am Schlusse eines Heftes, abdrucken zu lassen, damit sie unseren Lesern um so unauslöschlicher sich einpräge, nachdem wir diesem Herrn ausserdem die zarte Rücksicht bewiesen, das Publicum kaum diviniren zu lassen, wer der gütige Einsender gewesen: schickt er uns nun noch einen wüthigen *gedruckten* Herzensgruß, bereits zu finden im Dorpater Inland vom 10. Juni laufenden Jahres! (Schott 1857d: 649.)

Im folgenden verwarhte er sich in ironischem Ton gegen Schiefners Anschuldigungen, nannte diesen ein „geistiges Pappelkind, das sich nur zu helfen weiß, wenn irgend ein hülfreicher Amanuensis ihm etwas einpöppelt“, und disqualifizierte Schiefners Kritik als „moralisierende Salbaderei“, nicht ohne vorher darauf hingewiesen zu haben, dass „Herrn Schiefners buddhistische Arbeiten [...] nemlich das Verdienst eminentester Langweiligkeit“ hätten (Schott 1857d: 650). Mit dieser anderthalbseitigen Replik endete der Disput, aber es dürfte deutlich gewesen sein, dass damit wirklich alle Brücken zwischen den beiden abgebrochen waren.

3.2.2.9.2. Mythologie

Eng verbunden mit dem Kalevala ist die finnische Mythologie, zu der Schott fünf Beiträge vorgelegt hat. Sie fußen in der Regel auf finnischen Publikationen, sind also in der Mehrzahl Übersetzungen, Referate oder Bearbeitungen.

Der erste, beinahe zehn Seiten umfassende Beitrag basiert auf Castrén und behandelt eine ganze Reihe von Götternamen, wobei der Autor sich keineswegs auf den finnischen Bereich beschränkt, sondern auch andere finnougriische Mythologien berücksichtigt (Schott 1853h). Der zweite, ähnlich lange und gleichfalls im *EA* erschienen, nennt als Quelle einen Artikel von Eero Salmelainen (Rudbeck, 1830–1867) aus *Suomi* und stellt ausführlich die vorchristlichen religiösen Gebräuche der Finnen dar (Schott 1856g).

Die beiden nächsten Artikel erschienen im *Magazin*, was aber Umfang und Charakter nicht beeinflusste. Sie reihen sich nahtlos in die vorgenannten ein, wobei der *Suomi* entnommene Artikel über die „Beschwörung von Krankheiten bei den Finnen“ allenfalls durch eine, dem *Magazin* angemessene, besonders poetische Formulierung besticht, wenn es zum Beispiel um den Ursprung des Eisens, das ja eine Ursache von Krankheiten sein kann, geht:

aus schwarzer Milch einer Tochter der Lüfte entstanden, mußte sich dieses Metall, von seinem stärkern Bruder Feuer übel zugerichtet, lange hüfllos im Wasser herumtreiben, bis es endlich in Ilmarinens Schmiede Aufnahme fand. (Schott 1861d: 92.)

Hier wird also ein Bezug zum Kalevala, das am Ende auch erwähnt wird, deutlich, aber hauptsächlich handelt dieser Artikel allgemein von der finnischen Mythologie. Dasselbe trifft auf den nächsten Aufsatz zu, der den schlichten Titel „Zur finnischen Mythologie“ trägt (Schott 1865c). Er basiert laut Fußnote auf „einer schwedisch geschriebenen Abhandlung von

Dr. Donner: „Vorstellungen der Hindu's von der Weltschöpfung, verglichen mit denen der Finnen“. Helsingfors, 1864“ und ist eine recht ausführliche Darstellung des Themas. Neben korrekten etymologischen Bemerkungen finden sich Verweise auf zahlreiche Fachgelehrte und wird auch die Diskussion mit Jacob Grimm nicht gescheut. Schott erwähnt hier sogar Schiefner, dessen Behauptung, die Finnen hätten die Thor-Anbetung von den Germanen übernommen, er aber erwartungsgemäß ablehnt. Am Ende werden noch estnische Parallelen genannt, so dass der Schwerpunkt eindeutig auf dem Ostseefinnischen liegt, während die hinduistischen Vorstellungen, die Donners Buch ja primär zum Gegenstand hatte, völlig in den Hintergrund treten. Da das *Magazin* wie erwähnt vergleichsweise großformatig war und dieser Artikel über sechs volle Spalten reicht, ist er vom Umfang her mit einem zehneitigen Aufsatz im *EA* vergleichbar.

Der letzte Beitrag zur Mythologie orientiert sich vorwiegend an Lönnrots *Suomen kansan muinaisia loitsurunoja* (Die Beschwörungsformeln des finnischen Volkes, 1880), das Schott als wertvolle Quelle nennt. Es handelte sich um einen Vortrag in der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, in dessen Publikationsreihe der Beitrag, der am Ende noch eine Reihe von metrisch-trochäisch übersetzten Kostproben bringt, folgerichtig auch erschienen ist (Schott 1881).

3.2.2.9.3. Sprache

Die Anzahl der Arbeiten Schotts, die sich mehr oder weniger direkt mit der finnischen Sprache beschäftigen, ist überraschenderweise nicht sehr groß, es sind gerade einmal acht Artikel bzw. Rezensionen, die sich diesem Gebiet zuordnen lassen.

Er beginnt mit einer Miszelle zu fi. *tarvas*, jenem rätselhaften Tier, das im Alten Kalevala im 30. Gesang vorkommt (im Neuen Kalevala 3: 170), und stellt Vergleiche zum Mongolischen, Mandschu und Chinesischen an (Schott 1847a). Sie werden auch in seinem im gleichen Jahr erschienenen Artikel „Ueber Nationalität und Abkunft der Finnen“ (Schott 1847b, s. u., hier S. 469–471) wiederholt. Zwei Jahre später kommt er noch einmal darauf zurück, indem er eine Theorie von Schiefner, die dieser 1848 im Bulletin der Petersburger Akademie veröffentlicht hatte, referiert und mit eigenen Kommentaren ausstattet (Schott 1849f). Alle diese Erklärungsversuche müssen heute aber als unbefriedigend bzw. überholt betrachtet werden, da mittlerweile die baltische Herkunft des Wortes als erwiesen gilt (SSA 3: 274).

Bei den meisten anderen sprachwissenschaftlichen Beiträgen handelt es sich um Buchanzeigen bzw. Rezensionen. Dabei musste das anzuzeigende Buch gar nicht unbedingt aus dem sprachwissenschaftlichen Bereich kommen, wie die kurze Besprechung eines finnischen Geometrie-Lehrbuchs von Volmari Kilpinen (Schildt, 1810–1893) zeigt. Hier will Schott nur auf die neue finnische Terminologie aufmerksam machen (Schott 1849c). Wesentlich ausführlicher geht er dann allerdings auf Matthias Akianders (1802–1871) schwedischsprachige Lautlehre des Finnischen ein (Försök till Utredning af Finska Språkets Ljudbildning. Helsingfors 1846), die sehr positiv besprochen wird. Gleichzeitig greift Schott die Gelegenheit beim Schopfe und flicht zahlreiche eigene Erläuterungen zur Aussprache des Finnischen ein, die teilweise auf eigener Erfahrung mit Muttersprachlern beruhen müssen, die ihn in Berlin besucht haben (Schott 1849d). Ähnlich positiv wird ein paar Jahre später Gustaf Erik Euréns (1818–1872) finnische Sprachlehre (Finsk språklära. Åbo, 1849) besprochen und auf ihre Popularität hingewiesen. Neben minimalen Kritikpunkten mit Blick auf die Terminologie liefert Schott hauptsächlich eine Inhaltsreferierung, wobei er sich die für deutsche Muttersprachler interessantesten Rosinen herauspicks, wie zum Beispiel den Partitiv (hier freilich als casus infinitivus) und dessen aspektuelle Bedeutung oder die Partizipialkonstruktionen (Schott 1853f). Hier sieht man, dass Schotts Kenntnis des Finnischen zu jenem Zeitpunkt schon recht gut war. Deswegen fällt es ihm auch nicht schwer, die Spreu vom Weizen zu trennen und minderwertige Bücher dementsprechend zu behandeln. So bemängelt er gnadenlos das Deutsch und Finnisch eines viersprachigen (deutsch-russisch-schwedisch-finnischen) Sprachführers und kann am Ende nur feststellen:

Der letzte Spruch lautet: ‚Ende gut, Alles gut‘. Dass der Verf. hier endet, mag gut sein; daraus folgt aber keineswegs, dass Alles im Buche gut ist. (Schott 1853c: 64.)

Vollständig auf Ahlqvist beruht ein Artikel über „Russische Wörter im Finnischen“ (Schott 1864a). Da er in den Fußnoten aber zahlreiche Kommentare und stellenweise auch Korrekturen anführt, kann hier von einer eindeutigen Eigenleistung gesprochen werden. Das ist sicher auch bei seinem letzten sprachwissenschaftlichen Artikel zum Finnischen der Fall, der kleinen Untersuchung „Über den Stabreim bei Finnen und Tataren“ (vgl. hierzu schon oben unter 3.2.2.1. Schott 1871a: 27–44). Im Wesentlichen geht es hier um einen Disput zwischen Ahlqvist und Hunfalvy: Ersterer wollte die Alliteration als germanische Entlehnung erklärt wissen, während Hunfalvy für finnourgrischen Ursprung plädierte. Schott tendiert zu Hunfalvy und bringt

Argumente gegen Ahlqvists Entlehnungstheorie, die im übrigen wieder den Nordland-Schwärmer in ihm zum Vorschein bringen und beweisen, dass Schott auch im Alter nichts von seiner Faszination verloren hatte:

Wäre Finnlands poesie durch die vorzugsweise sogenannte nordische erst *geweckt* worden – was ohnehin bei einem dichterisch anerkannt sehr begabten volke schwer vorauszusetzen – so würde sie doch wohl auch von seiten ihres characters, nicht bloß irer art zu reimen, scandinavisch geworden sein. (Schott 1877a: 233.)

Außerdem verweist er – erwartungsgemäß – auf das Tungusische, Mongolische und Türkische, wo seiner Meinung nach auch stabreimähnliche oder zumindest dem Stabreim vergleichbare Zustände vorherrschten. Mittlerweile wird eine Entlehnung aus dem Germanischen abgelehnt (vgl. Leino 1970: 13–14).

Bei den sprachwissenschaftlichen Arbeiten zum Finnischen fällt auf, dass sie alle in *Ermans Archiv* oder in den Akademie-Schriften erschienen sind, keine einzige im *Magazin*, obwohl Schott dort bei anderen Sprachen durchaus auch linguistisch auftreten konnte. Das mag damit zusammenhängen, dass das Finnische halt doch weniger exotisch war als das Saamische (Schott 1856b, s. u.) oder das Mansische (Schott 1859c, s. o.), worüber man auch im *Magazin* Informationen finden konnte. Beim Finnischen hingegen hielt sich Schott an den Titel des *Magazins* und beschränkte sich auf Literarisches, Mythologisches und Historisches.

3.2.2.9.4. Literarisches

Unter literarischen Arbeiten werden hier, was im 19. Jahrhundert in Anbetracht der Genese der finnischen Literatur auch nicht weiter überraschen kann, in erster Linie Beiträge aus dem Bereich der Volksliteratur verstanden, was jedoch nicht ausschließt, dass Schott später auch moderne zeitgenössische Autoren wie etwa Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804–1877) oder Ahlqvist behandelt. Aber der Schwerpunkt liegt eindeutig auf den Märchen, worauf bereits Walravens in seiner Monografie hinweist, die dankenswerterweise eine ganze Reihe von Schotts Übersetzungen wiederabdruckt (Walravens 2001: 131–171). Hier hatte Schott etwas gefunden, was er interessant fand und einer breiteren Öffentlichkeit mitteilen wollte.

Insgesamt liegen 27 Beiträge aus diesem Bereich vor, von denen 12 als reine Übersetzungen anzusehen sind. Sie sind schwerpunktmäßig in den 1850er-Jahren erschienen, in denen sich Schott intensiv finnischen The-

men zugewandt hatte. Er hatte offenbar Salmelainens finnische Märchensammlung in die Hände bekommen (*Suomen kansan satuja ja tarinoita*. 1. Helsinki 1852) und daraufhin nach der Lektüre derselben beschlossen, dem deutschen Publikum Kostproben hieraus zu präsentieren. In seinem ersten diesbezüglichen Artikel gibt er eine kurze Einleitung zu Salmelainens Sammlung und liefert danach drei Märchen in deutscher Übersetzung (Schott 1854f, wiederabgedruckt in Walravens 2001: 132–141). Dies findet ohne weitere Einleitung seine Fortsetzung im gleichen Jahrgang von *Ermans Archiv*, wo ein weiteres Märchen von Salmelainen in deutscher Übersetzung erscheint (Schott 1854g, wiederabgedruckt in Walravens 2001: 141–145). Danach folgen noch im gleichen Jahr zwei Märchen im *Magazin* (Schott 1854k, wiederabgedruckt in Walravens 2001: 169–171).

Mit Texten aus Salmelainens zweiter Lieferung geht es 1857 weiter (Schott 1857b, wiederabgedruckt bei Walravens 2001: 160–167; sowie Schott 1857h, wiederabgedruckt bei Walravens 2001: 148–150), und auch 1858 legt Schott drei Lieferungen vor (Schott 1858a, wiederabgedruckt bei Walravens 2001: 150–154; Schott 1858b, wiederabgedruckt bei Walravens 2001: 154–160; Schott 1858i, wiederabgedruckt bei Walravens 2001: 145–147).

Als nächstes bringt Schott dann auf drei Ausgaben des *Magazins* verteilt 14 „Finnische Erzählungen des Mondes“, die der Sammlung *Mansikoita ja mustikoita* (Erdbeeren und Heidelbeeren) entnommen sind, wie in einer Fußnote mitgeteilt wird (Schott 1863f). Hier ist zwar ein Druckfehler im Finnischen (*Momsikaita*) und der Autor bzw. Übersetzer ist ungenannt, aber man darf davon ausgehen, dass auch hier Schott dahintersteht. Diese Erzählungen von Julius Krohn (1835–1888), die er unter seinem Dichterpseudonym Suonio im zweiten Band von *Mansikoita ja mustikoita* (1860) veröffentlicht hatte, befinden sich an der Schnittstelle zwischen Kunstmärchen, Kurzgeschichte und Sage, zumal teilweise auch real existierende Ortsnamen und historische Begebenheiten vorkommen. Schotts poetische Ader tritt an diesen ausdrucksstarken Übersetzungen besonders eindrucksvoll hervor, wie der folgende Auszug vom Anfang der zweiten Erzählung, die im übrigen eine Hommage an Castrén ist, illustrieren mag:

Einst kam ich auf meiner einsamen Wanderung in den äußersten Norden, in das Land, dessen bloßer Name schon Schrecken einflößt – nach Sibirien. Ich sah, wie der Obj seine schlammigen Gewässer dem kalten Busen des Eismeereres zuwält, wo der Tod seiner wartet. Am Ufer stand eine halb in den Boden eingesunkene Samojuden=Jurte. Die ganze Gegend war schauerliche Todesöde. Ueber Haidekraut und melancholische Sümpfe hatte der Schnee seine weiße Decke ausgebreitet und

strahlte den Schein des Nordlichtes zurück. Man sah nichts Lebendes, man hörte nichts als hungernder Wölfe Geheul, das in die klagenden Weisen des Nordwindes sich mischte. Die Sonne war schon geraume Zeit in gesegnetere Länder entflohen und ein Grabesdunkel hätte hier geherrscht, wäre nicht mein Schein von Zeit zu Zeit auf die todtte Flur gefallen, und hätten nicht die Nordlichter dann und wann ihre zitternden Strahlen über das Firmament schießen lassen. (Schott 1863f: 236.)

Abgeschlossen werden die Märchenübersetzungen mit einer abermals dreiteiligen Serie im *Magazin*, die allerdings ohne Quellenangabe und wiederum ungezeichnet erfolgt, jedoch kann man von Schotts Urheberschaft ausgehen (Schott 1868b). Danach kommen aus dem Bereich der Primärliteratur nur noch ein paar Gedichtproben von August Ahlqvist, die Schott im Rahmen einer Vorstellung des Dichters bringt (Schott 1869h). Ahlqvist war noch mehrmals Gegenstand von Schotts Berichten und Mitteilungen, nur ging es dann weniger um den rein literarischen Aspekt, weswegen die anderen Beiträge weiter unten behandelt werden (3.2.2.9.5.)

Schott kombinierte häufiger Primär- und Sekundärliteratur. So stellt er in einer Ausgabe des *Magazins* auf Basis der von Lönnrot herausgegebenen Sammlung *Paawo Korhosen wiisikymmentä runoa ja kuusi laulua* [P. K.s fünfzig Gedichte und sechs Lieder] (1848) den finnischen Gelegenheitsdichter Paavo Korhonen (1755–1840) vor (Schott 1854l) und bringt ein paar Nummern später „Einige Lieder des Bauern Korhonen“ (Schott 1854m).

Vorstellungen von Autoren oder Werken liefert Schott dann regelmäßig, denn er wollte dem deutschen Publikum offenbar zeigen, dass es in Finnland so etwas wie moderne Literatur gab. Er stellt ein Schauspiel von Fredrik Cygnaeus (1807–1881) vor (Schott 1856f), referiert bzw. rezensiert die Märchen-sammlung von Salmelainen (Schott 1857f), bevor er die erwähnten Proben daraus übersetzte, und behandelt ausführlich Aleksis Kivi (1834–1872), der „als erster Dramatiker in der Landessprache [...] mit drei in kleinen Pausen aufeinander gefolgtten Bühnenstücken sich Ruf erworben“ hat (Schott 1866c: 469), und auf den er in späteren Beiträgen noch mehrmals zurückkommt (Schott 1869f; 1872d; 1875c; vgl. Kauppinen 1952: 270). Schließlich ist auch Runeberg zweimal Gegenstand von Schotts Mitteilungen, einmal in Gestalt einer Rezension von dessen „Könige von Salamis“ (Schott 1870d), ein zweites Mal mit einer Miszelle nach seinem Tode (Schott 1877d). Im Falle Runebergs ist übrigens darauf hinzuweisen, dass dieser relativ häufig im *Magazin* erwähnt wurde, ein erstes Mal bereits 1838 (S. 144), dann 1840 (S. 17, 22–24) auf Basis einer russischen Quelle, dann 1842 (S. 453–454, 458–459) mit einem Auszug aus dem *Helsingfors Morgonblad*, 1852 (S. 463–464) mit einer Rezen-

sion seiner in Leipzig in deutscher Übersetzung erschienenen gesammelten Schriften und so weiter. Bei all diesen Artikeln ist Schotts Beteiligung nicht ausgeschlossen, aber da Runeberg auf Schwedisch schrieb, war er natürlich auch für andere zugänglich. Außerdem sind einige der genannten Beiträge mit anderen Kürzeln, als Schott sie verwendete, unterzeichnet, so dass die auf Runeberg bezogenen Artikel im *Magazin* nur dann Schott zugeschrieben wurden, wenn sie eindeutig mit „Sch.“ unterzeichnet waren.

Die meisten Arbeiten von Schott waren vorstellend-referierender Art, nur selten lieferte er kleinere Untersuchungen oder auch nur wissenschaftliche Randbemerkungen. Dies ist noch am ehesten der Fall bei der Betrachtung einer Ballade aus einer nicht näher bezeichneten Sammlung Lönnrots, die in seinen Augen auffällige Parallelen mit schottischem Material aufweist, wobei er zu dem Schluss kommt, dass beide das Material aus dem Skandinavischen entlehnt haben müssen, da sie untereinander schließlich keinen Kontakt hatten (Schott 1863g). Ein andermal erwähnt er im Rahmen einer Literaturvorstellung Lönnrots Übersetzungsprobe der *Odyssee*, deren Hexametern

man einen gewissen Grad von Vollendung nicht absprechen kann, wenngleich die Laut=Entwicklung der Suomi=Sprache (bei aller sonstigen harmonischen Schönheit) sie zur Nachbildung antiker Versmaße weniger geschickt macht, als ihre esthnische Schwester, und viel weniger, als das entfernter verwandte Magyarische. (Schott 1857e.)

Letztere Bemerkung erfolgt innerhalb eines Berichts, der „Zur finnischen Literatur“ (Schott 1857e) überschrieben ist, und derlei Artikel produziert Schott in den 1860er-Jahren mit einer gewissen Regelmäßigkeit, wobei nur die Titel leicht variieren: „Finnische Literatur“ (Schott 1857f), „Neueste Erscheinungen der finnischen Literatur“ (Schott 1861h und 1864c), „Finnische Literatur aus dem letzten Lustrum“ (Schott 1862b), „Neueste Erscheinungen der finnischen und esthnischen Literatur“ (Schott 1866c), „Neue Erscheinungen der Litteratur Finnlands“ (Schott 1867a) oder „Zur neuesten Literatur Finnlands“ (Schott 1869f und 1872d). Die meisten von ihnen erscheinen im *Magazin*, zweimal stellt das *EA* Raum zur Verfügung. Bei einem dieser Beiträge (Schott 1862b) handelt es sich allerdings nahezu um die Wiederholung eines *Magazin*-Beitrags (Schott 1861h), was bei Schott eigentlich eher selten vorkam. Der zweite *EA*-Beitrag (Schott 1867a) ist eine rein bibliografische Auflistung finnischsprachiger Neuerscheinungen mit deutschen Übersetzungen, die nur sehr knapp kommentiert wird. Am Ende werden auch noch einige neue Zeitschriften und einige schwedische Werke genannt.

Die Literaturschauen im *Magazin* sind weniger trocken und können deutliche Stellungnahmen und Kommentare von Schott enthalten. So erwähnt Schott 1861 auch ein historisches Werk von Yrjö-Koskinen, dem er kurzerhand sein eigenes Geschichtsbild hinterherschickt:

Während ihre esthnischen Brüder unter den deutschen Rittern in harte Sklaverei geriethen, wurden die Suomalaiset Pflegekinder des damals freiesten Volkes in Europa, welches den Beherrschten dieselben Vortheile gönnte, deren es selber sich erfreute: abendländische Kultur und politische Freiheit des Landmanns. (Schott 1861h: 599.)

Im gleichen Bericht behandelt Schott auch Übersetzungsliteratur ins Finnische wie Ahlqvists Schiller-Übersetzungen, und dasselbe tut et ein paar Jahre später, wenn er Übersetzungen von Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816) oder Theodor Körner (1791–1813) ins Finnische anzeigt (Schott 1864c). Zunehmend berichtet Schott nun über das gestiegene Ansehen des Finnischen, das mehr und mehr an Status gewinne:

Die stolze Schwedin muß ihrer ehemaligen Kammerzofe aus turanischem (altajischem, tatarischem) Geschlechte gern oder ungerne huldigen, und bald wird ein Schriftsteller Finnlands auf Entschuldigungen sinnen müssen, wenn er im Idiome der früheren Beherrscher des Landes etwas drucken lässt. (Schott 1864c.)

Viele dieser Literaturberichte schweifen auch ins Allgemeine (s. u. 3.2.2.9.5.), so dass es hier gewisse Überschneidungen gibt und die Klassifizierung willkürlich erscheint. Das ist insbesondere bei der Einordnung der Gesammelten Werke von Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739–1804) der Fall, auf die mehrmals hingewiesen wird (Schott 1869f, 1872d und 1874b). Wenn aber auch auf Aleksis Kivi und eine ungarische Übersetzung des Kalevala eingegangen wird (Schott 1872d), scheint eine Einordnung in diese Rubrik gerechtfertigt. Den Abschluss bildet eine Rezension einer deutschsprachigen Anthologie finnischer Lyrik, die Hermann Paul 1877 in Helsinki herausgebracht hatte (Schott 1877f).

3.2.2.9.5. Geschichte und Allgemeines

Als letzte große Gruppe sind diejenigen Schriften zu nennen, die im weitesten Sinne Information zu Finnland beinhalteten und sich nicht auf den literarischen Bereich beschränkten, wengleich es, wie gesagt, hier Überschneidungen geben konnte. Schott wertete ziemlich viel – und verschie-

denes, schwedisch- wie finnischsprachiges, aber möglicherweise auch russischsprachiges – Material zu Finnland aus und teilte der *Magazin*-Lektorschaft mit, was ihm wichtig schien. Nur ein Titel ist ein längerer Beitrag in einer wissenschaftlichen Zeitschrift, nämlich die Abhandlung „Ueber Nationalität und Abkunft der Finnen“, die in der *Allgemeinen Zeitschrift für Geschichte* erschien (Schott 1847b). Hierin gibt Schott einen gründlichen Überblick über seinen Gegenstand, es ist gleichsam der Auftakt für seine danach über drei Jahrzehnte fortdauernde Beschäftigung mit Finnland. „Seit einigen Jahrzehnten hat das geistige Leben Finnlands einen sehr erfreulichen Aufschwung genommen“ – so lautet der erste Satz, in dem man sogleich den von seinem Gegenstand eingenommenen Wissenschaftler Schott erkennt. Es folgt dann eine Übersicht über die Volksdichtung beginnend mit Hans Rudolf Schröter (1798–1842) und endend bei den wichtigsten Zeitgenossen Lönnrot, Sjögren und Castrén. Im Zusammenhang mit dem Kalevala verweist Schott auf „die berühmte Abhandlung unseres Jacob Grimm“ (Schott 1847b: 457), die offenbar als bekannt vorausgesetzt wird, da nicht einmal eine Quelle, geschweige denn ein Jahr angegeben wird. Anschließend wird unter Berufung auf einen Artikel aus der Zeitschrift *Suometar* über die Hauptstämme Finnlands berichtet, was mit der Schlussfolgerung endet, dass die Savoer eine Mischung aus Tavastländern und Kareliern seien. Dann wird der grundsätzliche Unterschied zwischen den indoeuropäischen und finnougriechischen Sprachen (freilich mit etwas anderer Terminologie) erwähnt und darauf hingewiesen, dass nur 1000jährige Nachbarschaft der beiden manche Übereinkünfte erklären könne (Schott 1847b: 460–461). Schott ist voll des Lobes für die finnische Folklore (S. 464), lehnt die früher übliche falsche Etymologie für *suomi* aus *suo* ab (S. 465) und geht am Ende nochmal referierend auf einen *Suometar*-Artikel über die Urgeschichte Finnlands ein. Schließlich folgt noch eine Abschweifung zum Kalevala und sogar zu einer kalmückischen Sage (S. 469), die Analogien zum finnischen Epos aufweise, das seinerseits durch das gemeinsame Motiv der Schwängerung durch die Beere Überschneidungen mit asiatischem Material (Hindu, Mandschu) habe. So hatte Schott einen Schnellkurs in einer bis dahin in Mitteleuropa nicht allzu bekannten Kultur gegeben und durch die Publikation in einer einschlägigen Zeitschrift auch für die Verbreitung in Fachkreisen gesorgt. Er verwies später mehrmals auf diesen Artikel als grundlegende Darstellung zum Thema.

Fast alle anderen Beiträge wurden im *Magazin* publiziert, wobei üblicherweise nicht immer die Urheberschaft von Schott eindeutig nach-

gewiesen werden konnte. So ist beispielsweise der erste Beitrag über die Universität Helsinki und deren 200-Jahr-Feier ungezeichnet und einer russischen Quelle entnommen, so dass man auch andere Autoren vermuten könnte. Aber die Art und Weise, wie Castrén erwähnt wird, nämlich als „Dozent[...] des Finnischen und der alten Nordischen Sprachen, schon bekannt als Uebersetzer des herrlichen Finnischen Epos Kalewala ins Schwedische“, weist doch auf Schott als Verfasser (Schott 1842b). 14 Jahre später erfolgt abermals ein Artikel über die Universität auf der Grundlage des (schwedischsprachigen) Tätigkeitsberichts, doch ist er diesmal mit „-t.“ unterzeichnet, was sehr gut auf Schott verweisen könnte. Auch könnten der leicht bewundernde Ton und einige verwendete Bilder für ihn sprechen, man vergleiche der ersten Satz:

Das „Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes“ hat in der letzten Zeit die Kultur=Geschichte Finnlands nicht außer Acht gelassen, es hat Artikeln seine Spalten geöffnet, deren Inhalt vielleicht weniger durch die Zahl und die Größe der kulturhistorischen Momente, als durch den Boden, auf dem diese erstanden, durch das seltene Beispiel des Sich=Emporhebens eines Volkes aus bisherigem Dunkel ans Licht, durch die Naturwüchsigkeit der Kultur=Bestrebungen, die Leser interessiert haben und z. B. in der deutschen *St. Petersburger Zeitung* einen unveränderten Abdruck fanden. (Schott 1856d: 419.)

Auch in diesem thematischen Bereich sind allgemeine Literaturberichte in der Überzahl. Wie oben mehrfach erwähnt, hat Schott immer wieder Artikel der Zeitschrift *Suomi* entnommen, und zweimal besteht ein Artikel von ihm auch lediglich aus einer Inhaltsreferierung dieser Zeitschrift (Schott 1854i und 1860f). Der erste ist auf zwei Nummern des *Magazins* verteilt und stellt ausführlich den 11. Jahrgang (1852) vor, indem die Inhaltsangabe detailliert abgedruckt wird. Danach wird der gesamte erste Beitrag, ein von Fabian Collan (1817–1851) am 19. Oktober in Helsinki gehaltener Vortrag über die „Geschichte von Savolaks und Karelen unter König Gustav I.“ mitgeteilt, mithin ein Überblick über die Geschichte Finnlands im 16. Jahrhundert gegeben. Die zweite Anzeige von *Suomi* fällt deutlich knapper aus und geht nach einer Inhaltsübersicht der Jahrgänge 1857 und 1858 etwas konkreter lediglich auf zwei Schriften von Ahlqvist und Lönnrot ein (Schott 1860f).

August Ahlqvist war, wie bereits deutlich geworden sein mag, überhaupt einer der wichtigsten Bezugspersonen Schotts. Als Ahlqvist nun seine Reiseeindrücke aus Russland zu Papier bringt, ist Schott sehr schnell zur Stelle und liefert dem deutschen Publikum einige Kostproben davon – und zwar noch vor Erscheinen von Ahlqvists Buch: 1858 erscheint unter

dem Titel „Bilder aus der russischen Provinz. (Von einem reisenden Finnländer)“ die erste Lieferung, die Schott *Suometar* entnommen hatte. Allerdings ist nirgendwo der Name von Ahlqvist genannt, doch stimmt die Passage inhaltlich mit Ahlqvist (1859: 149–156) überein, so dass kein Zweifel an seiner Urheberschaft besteht. Und dann wird Schott auch der Übersetzer gewesen sein (Schott 1858g). Beim zweiten Auszug aus Ahlqvists Erinnerungen wird die Quelle und damit der Autor in der Fußnote genannt – das Buch war nun ja auch erschienen –, aber der Übersetzer hält sich noch im Hintergrund (Schott 1862e). Und noch ein drittes Mal wendet Schott sich seinem finnischen Kollegen zu, indem er einige seiner Beiträge – sowohl wissenschaftliche wie literarische – kritisch würdigt (Schott 1875c).

Nach Ahlqvist hat allenfalls noch Yrjö-Koskinen eine vergleichbare Aufmerksamkeit seitens Schott genossen. Vor allem dessen historische Werke stießen bei ihm auf Interesse. Wie oben erwähnt hatte Schott bereits 1861 ein historisches Werk von Yrjö-Koskinen angezeigt (Schott 1861h), nun brachte er Auszüge aus einem Geschichtslehrbuch desselben Autors (Schott 1870e), dessen erste Lieferung er in einer Literaturschau neben Schriften von Ahlqvist, Oskar Blomstedt (1833–1871) und Donner auch anzeigte (Schott 1871b). Nachdem alle drei Lieferungen (*Oppikirja Suomen kansan historia-ssa* [Lehrbuch in der Geschichte des finnischen Volkes] 1869–1893) erschienen sind, rezensiert er das Gesamtwerk zwar nur knapp, aber ausgesprochen positiv (Schott 1873h). Und schließlich geht er später noch einmal auf Yrjö-Koskinens „Leitende Ideen in der Geschichte der Menschheit“ ein, die zwar die Weltgeschichte im allgemeinen behandeln und im engeren Sinne nichts mit Finnland zu tun haben, die hier aber als Beispiel von Schotts allgemeiner Finnlandrezeption angeführt werden können (Schott 1880a).

Dass Schott sich neben Sprache und Literatur auch für Geschichte interessierte, mag auch aus dem zweiten nicht im *Magazin* erschienenen Beitrag hervorgehen, einer Übersetzung aus der finnischen Zeitschrift *Mehiläinen*, die im *EA* veröffentlicht wurde. Dies ist ein rein archäologischer Beitrag, wie er für das *EA* mit seinem leicht naturwissenschaftlichem Schwerpunkt charakteristisch war (Schott 1863b). Ein anderer historischer Beitrag, der wiederum einer finnischen Quelle, diesmal Fredrik Wilhelm Pippings (1783–1868) Vorwort zu seiner Bibliographie (1856–57), entnommen war, passte dagegen gut ins *Magazin*, weil es hier um finnische Buchgeschichte ging (Schott 1858h).

Zum Abschluss können noch zwei Beiträge erwähnt werden, die das Bild von Schotts Beschäftigung mit finnischen Themen komplettieren.

Zunächst gibt es da den Verriss eines auf deutsch abgefassten Buchs von Europaeus (*Vorläufiger Entwurf über den Urstamm der indo=europäischen Sprachfamilie und seine vor=indo=europäischen Abzweigungen*, Helsingfors 1863), der anonym ist, wegen des bissig-ironischen und spöttischen Tons aber ganz sicher von Schott stammt:

Dieser Herr [...] gehört zu der Klasse von Patrioten, die politische Geringschätzung und in deren Folge politische Unterdrückung ihrer Landsleute befürchten, wenn sie – *mit gewissen Völkern näher als mit gewissen anderen verwandt sein sollen*. (Hervorhebung im Original, CH.) Wie es gar viele Stock=Magyaren giebt, die knirschend an ihre Säbel schlagen, wenn man ihre Muttersprache als eine wesentlich tatarische ihnen darstellt: so kann Finnland wenigstens *eines* Gelehrten sich rühmen, der seine Sprache und Nationalität durch Nachweisung näherer Verwandtschaft mit denen der Türken, Mongolen und Tungusen beschimpft glaubt. Doch reicht unser finnischer Eiferer wenigstens den Magyaren die Bruderhand, während die Mehrheit der Letzteren selbst den Finnen wie ein unreines Thier von sich stößt, weil sie dann konsequenter Weise auch Lappen, Ostjaken, sogar Samojuden als ihre Vettern begrüßen müssen. (Schott 1864b: 461).

In diesem Stil geht es weiter, und man fragt sich, wer wenn nicht Schott soll der Autor eines so eleganten Verrisses gewesen sein?!

Schließlich stellt er, und dann sogar mit „Sch.“ unterzeichnet, in einer 33zeiligen Miszelle die scheinbar harmlose Frage: „Was sind Finnomanen?“ (Schott 1870b), die sich jedoch als leidenschaftliches Plädoyer gegen großrussische Vereinnahmungsversuche erweist. Denn die Antwort auf die Frage kommt sofort im ersten Satz:

Diesen Ehrentitel ertheilen moskowitzische Zeitungen, besonders der ehrsame Golo, der großen Mehrzahl gebildeter Finnländer, weil sie für ihre Nationalität wenigstens soviel Vorliebe zeigen, daß der Verdacht auf ihnen ruht, im Russenthum – nicht untergehen zu wollen.

Tatsächlich aber sei es in russischen Augen nur eine Frage der Zeit, wann die Finnen „in der panslavistischen Weltseele selig zu versinken“ hätten. Da aber erwacht in Schott der zornige Kämpfer für die Kleinen und Unterdrückten. Mit einer rhetorischen Schlussfrage ergreift er glühend Partei für die Finnen:

Finnland, das in alter und neuer Zeit so viel thätigen wie duldenden Heldensinn bewiesen, das mit seinem Schatze von Mythen und Sagen den begabtesten großen Nationen an die Seite treten darf, mit dessen Runeberg kein Dichter, mit dessen Lönnrot und Castrén kein Sprachforscher der vierzimal überlegenen Russen

vergleichbar, dieses Finland sollte, dem Gewäch eines „Golos“ demuthsvoll sein Ohr leihend, nur in und für Rußland existiren, d. h. ohne Ehre und geistige Selbständigkeit vegetiren bis an's Ende der Tage? (Schott 1870b.)

Wohl kaum eine andere Passage kann das Engagement von Schott besser illustrieren. Ihm ging es eben nicht nur um ein paar exotische Sprachen, die viele nicht kannten und deren Grammatik ein wenig anders eingerichtet war, es ging ihm um die Gesamtheit der Diversität, die unter der Vormachtstellung großer Sprachen und Völker gefährdet war. Damit formulierte er bereits 1870 ein Problem, das bis heute aktuell ist.

3.2.2.10. Estnisch

An zweiter Stelle stand bei Schott wie erwähnt das Estnische, dem er 50 Beiträge widmete – bzw. 54, wenn man die gemeinsam zum Finnischen und Estnischen verfassten Artikel dazurechnet. Auffallend ist jedoch, dass sich eigentlich keiner von ihnen direkt mit der Sprache befasst, obwohl Schott diese Sprache seit Mitte der 1860er-Jahre beherrschte (s. o. 2.1.2.) und obwohl er auch regelmäßig im Rahmen seiner Abhandlungen zum Kalevipoeg (s. 3.2.2.10.4.) auf sprachliche Probleme einging und nicht zuletzt auch Bücher sprachwissenschaftlichen Inhalts gelegentlich in seinen Buchanzeigen oder Rezensionen berührte. Trotzdem ist das linguistische Material zu dürftig, als dass man hier ein eigenes Unterkapitel dafür ansetzen könnte, und die thematische Einteilung von Schotts auf Estland bezogenen Beiträgen sieht folgendermaßen aus:

- 1) Zeitschriftenschau;
- 2) Folklore;
- 3) Literatur;
- 4) Kalevipoeg.

Wie beim Finnischen ist auch hier der Löwenanteil im *Magazin* erschienen, nämlich fast dreiviertel aller relevanten Arbeiten. Der Rest vorwiegend in *Ermans Archiv* und in den Akademie-Schriften, einer davon später auch als Separatdruck (Schott 1862a). Ähnlich dem Finnischen erschienen die Arbeiten zum Estnischen über einen Zeitraum von vierzig Jahren (1841–1880).

3.2.2.10.1. Zeitschriftenschau

Noch stärker als beim Finnischen, wo er ebenfalls häufig Publikationen vorstellte und deren Inhalt referierte, konzentrierte sich Schott im Falle Estlands und des Estnischen auf die systematische Anzeige von Neuerscheinungen. Dies wurde vermutlich noch dadurch begünstigt, dass die seit 1840 erscheinenden *Verhandlungen der gelehrten estnischen Gesellschaft* sich für eine Vorstellung aller Estland-Themen geradezu aufdrängten. Bekanntlich war diese Publikation in ihren Anfangsjahrzehnten – bis ungefähr zum 5. Jahrgang, der die letzten Lieferungen des Kalevipoeg enthielt, dann setzte eine Art Stagnation ein (vgl. zur Periodisierung der Geschichte der Gesellschaft Taal 2006: 9) – sehr bedeutend für die estnische Emanzipationsbewegung, weil viel Information über Sprache, Literatur, Kultur und Geschichte der Esten und ihres Landes in ihnen enthalten waren. Durch seine ausführliche Vorstellung der einzelnen Lieferungen konnte Schott somit estnische Themen nach Deutschland vermitteln (vgl. hierzu auch Hasselblatt 2011: 40–54).

Insgesamt sind den *Verhandlungen* elf Beiträge gewidmet, die ein Heft nach dem anderen vorstellen, wobei die ersten drei Jahrgänge (= zehn Hefte) beinahe komplett erfasst sind, lediglich die erste Lieferung des zweiten Bandes (1847) scheint in Schotts Bibliothek gefehlt zu haben, worauf er bei der Anzeige des zweiten Heftes eben dieses zweiten Bandes bedauernd hinwies (Schott 1850a: 253). Nach dem dritten Band endet die systematische Erfassung, da der vierte und fünfte Band bereits in die Kalevipoeg-Rezeption (s. u. 3.2.2.10.4.) gehören. Schott verteilte, mit geringen Überschneidungen, seine Rezensionen auf *Ermans Archiv* (7), das *Magazin* (2) und die *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* (2), um ein möglichst breites Publikum zu erreichen.

Seine erste Rezension ist oben (3.2.2.) bereits herangezogen worden, weil Schott hierin – bewusst oder unbewusst – seine Beweggründe für eine Hinwendung zu Nordosteuropa offenlegte: es war der erwähnte „wohlthätig frische[...] Lufthauch“ (Schott 1841b: 455), der ihn begeisterte. Hier wurde Neues geboten, und zwar keineswegs beschränkt auf ein einziges Volk, wie Schott bei der Besprechung des ersten Heftes sofort anmerkt:

Man darf wohl annehmen, daß die Wirksamkeit dieses Vereines nicht ausschließlich in den Gränzen des einen Völkchens Finnischer Race bleiben werde, nach welchem er sich benannt hat; daß wenigstens auch die Sprachen und Alterthümer der übrigen zu dem so weit verzweigten Hauptstamme gehörenden Völkertrümmern im nordwestlichen und nördlichen Rußland – eigentlich sogenannte Finnen,

Lappen, Samojeden – mit in den Kreis ihrer Forschungen gezogen werden dürften, was schon zur Aufhellung mancher Dunkelheiten in der Sprache und den älteren Schicksalen der Ehsten selber nothwendig sein wird. (Schott 1841b: 455.)

Man beachte, wie selbstverständlich er hier, noch vor Castréns diesbezüglichen bahnbrechenden Publikationen, von der finnougriech-samojischen Verwandtschaft spricht. Im weiteren gibt er anhand des Artikels von Dietrich Heinrich Jürgenson (1804–1841) über die Hauptdialekte des Estnischen erste Basisinformationen über Land und Leute, stellt incl. eines längeren Zitats von Nikolai Mühlbergs (1810–1855) deutscher Übersetzungsprobe das Kalevala vor, das wie erwähnt auf den Seiten der *Verhandlungen* seine ersten Schritte nicht nur auf dem Terrain der deutschen Rezeption, sondern wohl auch der Auslandsrezeption überhaupt tut, und referiert auch Friedrich Robert Faehlmanns (1798–1850) Sagen – darunter das berühmte „Kochen der Sprachen“, wovon auch Jakob Grimm fasziniert war (Hasselblatt 2011: 37–38). Diese Sagen waren ganz generell für die ausländische Wahrnehmung der estnischen Kultur bedeutend.

Eine Sammelrezension vom ersten und zweiten Heft kommt wenige Jahre später in den *Jahrbüchern für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, wo abermals große Teile des Inhalts nacherzählt werden (Schott 1844a). Da im zweiten Heft mit Faehlmanns Darstellung zur estnischen Flexion und Jürgensons kurzer estnischer Literaturgeschichte bedeutende Texte zu Sprache und Literatur der Esten geliefert wurden, eignete sich eine derartige Inhaltsreferierung hervorragend als allgemeine Information über Estland und vor allem auch über das Estnische, dessen Verben in Konjugationstabellen vorgestellt wurden. Ein zweites Mal nimmt sich Schott, wenn auch wesentlich knapper, die zweite Lieferung im *Magazin* vor, wo er ebenfalls kurz auf Jürgensons Literaturgeschichte eingeht (Schott 1844c).

Das dritte Heft wird wiederum in den *Jahrbüchern für wissenschaftliche Kritik* angezeigt, und da es durch neuerliche Beiträge von Faehlmann, diesmal über die Flexion der Nomina, und Jürgenson, dessen Literaturgeschichte fortgesetzt wurde, wichtige Basisinformationen lieferte, kann Schott seine Aufklärungstätigkeit fortsetzen. Als drittes Standbein ist wie so häufig die Folklore vertreten, diesmal mit der kaum weniger als das „Kochen der Sprachen“ berühmten Sage „Koit und Ämarik“, die Schott nacherzählt (Schott 1844b). Dasselbe dritte Heft wird auch im *Magazin* angezeigt, erneut mit Referierung der Sage „Koit und Ämarik“ (Schott 1844d; vgl. zur Verbreitung von „Koit und Ämarik“ Hasselblatt 2011: 38–40).

Das vierte Heft des ersten Jahrgangs wird wieder in aller Ausführlichkeit in *Ermans Archiv* besprochen. Schott referiert Faehlmanns Ergänzungen zu seiner Deklinationslehre und nutzt eine ganze Seite zur Erläuterung des Partitivs (bei ihm wie bei Faehlmann freilich als „Indefinit“). Da in Faehlmanns (deutschsprachigem) Artikel die estnischen Beispiele jedoch nicht übersetzt sind, weil das bei einem Vortrag vor den Mitgliedern der Gesellschaft, aus dem der Artikel hervorging, nicht nötig war, musste Schott sie selbst übersetzen. Hier zeigt sich, dass er 1849 noch nicht ganz firm im Estnischen war, da er Faehlmanns Beispiel (in alter Orthografie) *södab lamba sureks* (heutige Orthografie wäre *söödab lamba suureks*) mit deutsch ‚er füttert das Schaf zu Tode‘ (Schott 1849e: 368) übersetzt, d. h. *surnuks* ‚zu Tode‘ mit *su(u)reks* ‚groß‘ (Translativ) verwechselte. Eine korrekte Übersetzung würde lauten ‚er päppelte das Schaf auf‘ oder ‚er fütterte es, bis es groß war‘.

In drei weiteren Beiträgen in *Ermans Archiv* werden dann nacheinander das zweite, dritte und vierte Heft des zweiten Jahrgangs der *Verhandlungen* in bewährter, ausführlicher Manier vorgestellt (Schott 1850a, 1851a und 1854b). Beim ersten Beitrag konzentriert sich Schott auf Sprache, Folklore und Mythologie, indem er die entsprechenden Artikel eingehend behandelt und mit längeren Zitaten illustriert. Andere Artikel, etwa über Geschichte, werden nur kurz am Ende genannt. Ebenso verfährt Schott mit der Vorstellung des dritten Heftes, das seiner Meinung nach „drei Artikel von allgemeinstem Interesse“ (Schott 1851a: 589) enthält, was für Schott bedeutet: Mythologie (von Kreutzwald), Volkssagen und Traditionen (von Johann Boubrig, 1788–1852) und ein estnisches Märchen, das ebenfalls von Kreutzwald mitgeteilt wurde. Eine rein historische Abhandlung wie der erste Beitrag des anzuzeigenden Heftes, die allerdings infolge des Todes des Verfassers (August Hansen, 1813–1849) auch unvollendet geblieben war, wird aber nicht zuletzt deswegen von Schott nicht weiter berücksichtigt, „da wohl nur sehr wenige unserer Leser der specielleren Geschichte Estlands ihre Aufmerksamkeit zugewendet haben dürften.“ (Schott 1851a: 595.) Das ist, vorsichtig ausgedrückt, eine gewagte Aussage, denn es ist sehr fraglich, wie viele Leser von *Ermans Archiv* sich wohl mit estnischen Deklinationsfragen befasst haben dürften. Schott folgte hier bloß seinen eigenen Neigungen, was völlig legitim ist und daher eigentlich nicht dieser vorgeschobenen Scheingründe bedurft hätte. Die letzte Anzeige zum vierten Heft ist dann sehr knapp und begnügt sich beinahe mit einer Referierung von Kreutzwalds Nekrolog auf Faehlmann (Schott 1854b).

Die beiden Hefte des dritten Bandes werden dann wieder in altbewährter Weise relativ ausführlich in *Ermans Archiv* referiert (Schott 1855b und 1857c), wobei Schott in der zweiten Anzeige in vollem Umfang ein in den *Verhandlungen* gebrachtes Märchen zitiert (Schott 1857c: 349–351), d. h. die Konzentration auf die Folklore wird in diesen Rezensionen sichtbar. Danach hört die regelmäßige Anzeige der *Verhandlungen* auf, was teilweise auch daran gelegen haben mag, dass der dritte Band mit seinen zwei Heften unvollständig blieb und im Anschluss mit den Bänden 4 und 5 der Kalevipoeg folgte. Nach dessen Abschluss entstand aber eine längere Pause vor dem 4. Heft des 5. Bandes (1869), so dass Schott später in einer knappen Anzeige einiger „Schriften der gelehrten estnischen Gesellschaft“ sogar davon ausgeht, diese seien „an die Stelle der früheren „Verhandlungen“ der erwähnten Gesellschaft getreten[...]“ (Schott 1869i). In jedem Fall wird die Berichterstattung nun sporadisch, nur einmal noch wird Bezug genommen auf einen einzelnen Band der *Sitzungsberichte* (1873) der gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft, weil Schott hier sprachwissenschaftlich Interessantes entdeckt hat. Dabei kommentiert er einige Etymologien, wobei er allerdings fälschlicherweise die ungarische Herkunft von dt. *Tolpatsch* ablehnt, die heute anerkannt ist (vgl. Kluge/Seebold 2002: 919; Keszytüs 1999: 104–105). In der gleichen Rezension wird am Schluss auch noch kurz das erste Heft des achten Bandes der *Verhandlungen* erwähnt (Schott 1875b).

Abschließend seien zwei Besprechungen genannt, die nur marginal hierher gehören: Schott unternimmt es zweimal, ein ganzes Halbjahr einer in Tartu erscheinenden deutschsprachigen Wochenzeitung vorzustellen. Da die Zeitung *Inland* aber auch viel landeskundliche Information enthielt, scheint die Aufnahme der beiden Beiträge vom Standpunkt der Estland-Rezeption jedoch gerechtfertigt (Schott 1853g und 1854c).

3.2.2.10.2. Folklore

Da Kreutzwalds Kalevipoeg erst ab 1857 erschien, ist die thematische Reihenfolge beim Estnischen anders als beim Finnischen, wo die Beschäftigung mit dem Kalevala als Einstieg in die Welt der Folklore fungierte. Im Falle Estlands kamen zunächst andere folkloristische Sparten zum Zuge, ehe sich Schott intensiv Kreutzwalds Epos zuwandte. Die Mehrheit der Beiträge in diesem Bereich sind Primärtexte, und alle bis auf einen sind im *Magazin* erschienen.

In *Ermans Archiv* bringt Schott lediglich eine Rezension von Heinrich Neus' (1795–1876) dreibändiger Sammlung estnischer Volkslieder (Reval 1850–1852), die aber durch ihre Ausführlichkeit und zahlreichen zitierten Beispiele einem eigenen Beitrag gleichkommt. Auch illustriert sie noch einmal gut Schotts Beweggründe für seine Hinwendung zum Nordosten, wie am Einleitungssatz abzulesen ist:

Die Volkspoese der Finnen und Ehsten bestärkt uns in einer Behauptung, die wir schon öfter ausgesprochen: dass nämlich wahre und tiefe Innerlichkeit, wahre Glut und Stärke der Gefühle nicht im warmen Süden, sondern im kalten Norden zu Hause sind. Was von südeuropäischen Völkerstimmen zu unserer Kenntniss gekommen, das hat, verglichen mit ähnlichen Leistungen des Nordens, einen frostigen Character; ... (Schott 1854d: 374...)

Die dann folgende, weitgehend positive Rezension enthält zahlreiche Textbeispiele aus der zweisprachigen Sammlung, wobei es sich Schott nicht nehmen lässt, bisweilen von Neus' deutscher Übersetzung abzuweichen und eine eigene vorzuschlagen.

Die weiteren Wortmeldungen von Schott in *Ermans Archiv* sind marginaler Art und werden hier nicht als eigene Beiträge gewertet. So ergreift er beispielsweise in einer Berichtigung zu einem Artikel von Julius Altmann (1855) das Wort (*EA* 14: 166), und auch der Nekrolog auf Sjögren (*EA* 14: 432–436), der der *Petersburger Zeitung* entstammt, könnte letztlich auf Schotts Redaktionstätigkeit zurückgeführt werden.

Das *Magazin* nutzte Schott, um der deutschen Leserschaft den estnischen Sagenschatz näherzubringen. Bereits 1843 erfolgt eine Übernahme aus dem zweiten Heft der *Verhandlungen*, die mehr oder weniger wörtlich ist, allerdings kleine oder größere Auslassungen und Umformulierungen aufweist. Hier ist, obwohl der Beitrag ungezeichnet ist, deutlich Schotts Hand spürbar, wenn zum Beispiel in einer Fußnote ein (korrekter) Etymologisierungsvorschlag für estn. *ristma* ‚taufen‘ aus griech. *χρισμα* geliefert wird (Schott 1843b).

Danach trat eine kleine Pause ein, aber ab 1857 kümmert sich Schott wieder intensiv um die estnische Sagenwelt. Zunächst bringt er eine Miscelle (Schott 1857l), die allgemeiner auf die Geschichte der Esten und ihr Verhältnis zu den Deutschen einzugehen scheint, sich aber eindeutig auf die Folklore bezieht, da sie einen Kommentar zu einer früheren Veröffentlichung im *Magazin* darstellt, die allerdings nicht auf Schott zurückgeht. Dort war anhand der Vorstellung eines Buches von M. Lazarus (*Das Leben der Seele*, Berlin 1856/1857) die bereits erwähnte Sage vom „Kochen der Sprachen“ wie-

dergegeben worden (*Magazin* 1857: 511–512), und Schott glaubt nun erläutern zu müssen, warum die Deutschen in der genannten Sage nicht so gut wegkämen:

Die ältesten Besieger und Zwingherren Est- und Livlands, welche den Eingebornen, nachdem sie lange verzweifelten Widerstand geleistet, das Geschenk der Leibeigenschaft brachten, waren echte und vollblütige *deutsche Ritter*, die sich *Sachsen* nannten (daher noch jetzt ein Deutscher dort *Saksa* genannt wird, welches Wort oft gleichbedeutend mit *Herr* oder *Gebietler* [alle Hervorhebungen im Original, CH] ist). Daß diese deutschen Eindringlinge den Eingebornen ihre Ueberlegenheit noch lange nach der Eroberung auf nicht sehr gelinde oder bescheidene Weise fühlen ließen, darf man wohl voraussetzen. (Schott 1857l).

Wieder einmal versteht sich Schott hier also als Anwalt der Unterdrückten.

Ebenfalls als Kommentar beziehungsweise Ergänzung zu einer früheren Veröffentlichung – diesmal von ihm selbst (Schott 1844d) – ist die nächste Publikation zu sehen, in der Schott eine neue Version, genauer gesagt eine um das Motiv von Widewik, dem Mond und den Stieren erweiterte Variante von „Koit und Ämarik“ mitteilt (Schott 1858p), die er Ahlqvists (1856b) estnischer Literaturgeschichte entnommen hatte. Auf „Koit und Ämarik“ geht Schott noch ein drittes Mal ein, und zwar in Gestalt einer Korrektur, nachdem im *Magazin* 1871 (S. 748–749, sicher nicht von Schott) wieder mal eine Version der Sage abgedruckt war. Sie enthielt jedoch einige Fehler, weswegen Schott sich genötigt sah, in einer kurzen Replik das Wort zu ergreifen (Schott 1872a).

Nach dem Erscheinen von Kreutzwalds Märchensammlung (1866) bringt Schott zweimal Sagen hieraus, die er offenbar selbst übersetzt und mit einer kurzen Nachbemerkung ausgestattet hatte (Schott 1867f und 1867g). Die weiteren Märchenproben, die Schott im *Magazin* publiziert, entstammen dann verschiedenen Lieferungen des Jahrbuchs der Estnischen Literarischen Gesellschaft (Schott 1876c, 1876d und 1880b).

Dreimal liefert Schott dann noch sekundäre Beiträge zur Folklore: eine Miszelle, eine Rezension und eine kleinere Untersuchung bzw. Darstellung eines Kultus auf Basis einer estnischen Quelle. Die Miszelle besteht aus einer Mitteilung über den Heerwurm (Prozessionsraupe, estn. *waenu kōis* in damaliger Orthografie), wozu Schott eine Passage aus dem Kalevi-poeg (16: 924–931) gefunden hatte (Schott 1872c). Bei der ungezeichneten Rezension, die das Buch von W. J. A. von Tettau (1873) zum Gegenstand hat und insofern Finnland und Estland betrifft, ist nicht ganz klar, ob wirklich Schott der Verfasser war. Da aber bei ihm die Erwähnung seiner selbst

durchaus vorkam, könnte man seinen Einleitungssatz auch so verstehen, dass er seiner Genugtuung ein wenig Ausdruck verleihen wollte:

Freiherr von Tettau in Erfurt ist Verfasser eines so überschriebenen gehaltreichen Vortrags, der neues Zeugniß davon giebt, daß die Bemühungen Jakob Grimms, Wilhelm Schott's u. A., den Sinn für finnische und ehstnische Geistesblüten in Deutschland zu wecken, nicht Samenkörner gewesen, die in steinigem Boden fielen. (Schott 1873e.)

Die Rezension ist recht knapp und im Weiteren verhalten positiv, lediglich zum Schluss wird auf die hohe Anzahl von Druckfehlern hingewiesen, „zumal wo *finnische* (Hervorhebung im Original, CH) Wörter auftreten.“ Gerade letzteres könnte ein Argument für Schotts Urheberschaft sein.

Die Darstellung zur gebietsweise in Estland noch lebendigen Tönnis(Antonius)-Verehrung ist ebenfalls anonym. Sie passt aber sowohl von Thematik und Stil als auch von der Art und Weise ihres Zustandekommens – nämlich auf Grundlage einer estnischen Quelle, d. h. schlicht als Übersetzung aus dem Estnischen – so gut zu Schott, dass man ihn gestrost als Verfasser vermuten kann (Schott 1876e).

3.2.2.10.3. Literatur

Vielleicht mehr als im Falle des Finnischen (vgl. 3.2.2.9.4.) beschäftigte sich Schott auch mit der zeitgenössischen estnischen Literatur, und zwar über die bloße Mitteilung von Märchen und Sagen hinaus. Das wird schon an seiner ersten Publikation in diesem Themenbereich deutlich, die trotz der Überschrift „Ueber Graf Manteuffel's Aiawite pero walgussel“ weit mehr ist als eine Rezension von Peter August von Ma(n)nteuffels (1768–1842) Büchlein von 1839: Hierbei handelt es sich um die erste Prosaübersetzung estnischer Literatur ins Deutsche, denn Schott hatte einige Beiträge aus diesem für die Entwicklung einer eigenständigen estnischen Prosa wichtigen Buch übersetzt. Zwar war die Veröffentlichung in *Ermans Archiv* nicht unbedingt der Wahrnehmung dieser Passagen als moderne Literatur förderlich, weswegen der Umstand rezeptionsgeschichtlich auch weitgehend übersehen worden ist (s. Hasselblatt 2011: 46–47), aber Schott hatte die Bedeutung des Buches vermutlich erahnt:

Ein unansehnliches, aber recht erquickliches Büchlein, welches Fabeln und Erzählungen für den ehstnischen Landmann in dessen Muttersprache enthält. In ächtem Volkstone geschrieben, hat dieser „Zeitvertreib“ gewiss heilsame Wirkungen auf sein Publicum gehabt. (Schott 1854e: 391.)

Der einzige weitere Beitrag in *Ermans Archiv* war eine knappe Literaturanzeige, die u. a. ein 1864 erschienenes Orthografie-Lehrbuch von Jakob Hurt (1839–1907) und eine im gleichen Jahr publizierte Bibliografie estnischer Schriften von M. Jürgens anzeigte (Schott 1867c).

Alle anderen literarischen Arbeiten sind im *Magazin* erschienen, wo Schott erstmals 1861 ausführlich auf die estnische Literatur eingeht. Auf Basis von Ahlqvists Literaturgeschichte (1856b) liefert er eine kleine Gesamtdarstellung von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart (Schott 1861g). In einer früheren Darstellung (Hasselblatt 2011: 49) war ich davon ausgegangen, dass möglicherweise jemand anders als Schott für diesen Artikel verantwortlich war, doch lässt eine eingehendere Befassung mit dem Gegenstand Schotts Urheberchaft mittlerweile plausibel erscheinen. Wer sonst im Umkreis des *Magazins* sollte so intensiv die finnischsprachige Literatur verfolgt und rezipiert und sich auch noch mit dem Estnischen befasst haben? Die Erwähnung seines eigenen Namens ist, wie mehrfach festgestellt, kein Hinderungsgrund. Das Grotiske an diesem Beitrag ist dann übrigens noch, dass er ein paar Wochen später im *Inland* (1861: 637–644; 650–651) wiederabgedruckt wurde, wobei sogar die im *Magazin* fabrizierten Druckfehler sklavisch übernommen wurden. So erfolgte in Estland selbst die Wahrnehmung der estnischen Literatur über den Umweg Helsinki und Berlin, und aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach war also auch Schott daran beteiligt.

Ungewöhnlich war hier allerdings nur die Richtung, denn dass Finnland bei der Estland-Rezeption in Deutschland eine wichtige Rolle spielte (und möglicherweise immer noch spielt), ist am Beispiel Schotts ja mehrmals gezeigt worden. Immer wieder hat er aus finnischen Quellen auch Estland-relevante Dinge ins Deutsche übersetzt. In seinen Literaturberichten werden die beiden Völker und Sprachen auch häufig miteinander verglichen, wobei nicht selten der bekannte romantisch-schwärmerische Ton durchklingt. So heißt es beispielsweise einmal innerhalb eines Artikels beim Übergang von Finnland nach Estland:

Auf ehstnischem Boden und in Ehstlands Sprache ist seit dem epischen Cyclus vom Kalewi sonst wenig Nennenswerthes erschienen. Der vielhundertjährige Druck, unter welchem die National=Ehsten zu seufzen gehabt, hat sie für die Geistesschöpfungen und Herzergüsse ihrer eigenen Väter stumpf gemacht, und die im Lande angesessenen Deutschen blicken im Ganzen noch mit vornehmer Verachtung auf das barbarische Landvolk und die Denkmäler seiner Vorzeit. Welch begeisterte Anerkennung würde die aufopfernden Mühen eines Kreuzwald belohnt haben, lebte er inmitten so empfänglicher Naturmenschen, wie der Ehsten Brüder im Norden der „Finnenbrücke“ noch immer sind! (Schott 1866c: 470.)

Zwei Jahre später erwähnt Schott zum ersten mal innerhalb eines aus dem finnischen *Kirjallinen Kuukauslehti* für das *Magazin* übernommenen Berichts über das estnische Zeitungswesen den Namen Koidulas, freilich nur im Zusammenhang mit ihrer Tätigkeit für die Zeitung ihres Vaters und selbstverständlich ohne das erst später entstandene Pseudonym:

Alleiniger Redakteur der drei Zeitschriften ist Johann Jannsen, ein ehemaliger Schullehrer, dem seine talentvolle, auch als Dichterin bekannte Tochter Lydia bei der Redaktion wackeren Beistand leistet. (Schott 1868a.)

Während dies noch eine reine Übernahme und somit Übersetzung war, beginnt danach eine intensive und direkte Koidula-Rezeption, die an Schwärmerei grenzt und später auch zu einem Briefwechsel zwischen Schott und Koidula führt (zwischen 1870–1875, s. Walravens (im Druck)). Vorher hatte Schott Kreuzwald gegenüber, mit dem er seit 1866 im Briefwechsel stand, geäußert, dass er gerne ein Bild von der Dichterin hätte (August 1869), im nächsten Brief (Oktober 1869) Kreuzwald jedoch davon abgehalten, ihm sein eigenes zu schicken, danach Mutmaßungen über Koidulas Augenfarbe angestellt (Oktober 1871) und seine Besorgnis wegen ihrer bevorstehenden Heirat geäußert (Februar, Mai 1872, Nachweise bei Walravens 2010/2011).

In sechs weiteren Beiträgen kommt Koidula danach zur Sprache. Zunächst wird am Ende einer Kurzanzeige der *Schriften der gelehrten ehstnischen Gesellschaft* Koidulas Prosatext *Ojamölder ja temma minnia* (von Schott mit ‚Bachmüller und seine Schwiegertochter‘ übersetzt) neben Kreuzwalds Märchen als nennenswert hervorgehoben (Schott 1869i), und einige Monate später erfolgt eine Kurzrezension des Büchleins (Schott 1869m). Vorher hatte Schott schon ausführlich den ersten Gedichtband von Koidula besprochen und sogar fünf Gedichte in eigener Übersetzung vorgestellt, ohne allerdings zu wissen, dass sie die Autorin war, da ihre Gedichtbände bekanntlich anonym erschienen sind (Schott 1869l). Erhalten hatte er das Buch von Kreuzwald, den er auch für einen der Autoren des Büchleins hielt, wie aus einem Brief an Kreuzwald hervorgeht (vom 13. April 1869, Walravens 2010/2011: 30). Danach bespricht Schott, der mittlerweile weiß, dass Koidula die Autoren des zwei Jahre zuvor angezeigten Gedichtbandes ist, ihr Theaterstück *Saaremaa Onupoeg* [Der Vetter aus Saaremaa], worin er eine Bearbeitung von Theodor Körners *Der Vetter aus Bremen* erkennt (Schott 1871c). Wiederum zwei Jahre später wird Koidulas erstes eigenständiges und als „ehstnisches Original=Schauspiel“ titulier-

tes Drama *Säärane mulk* – ‚Solch ein Mülk‘ übersetzt Schott, wobei die nachfolgende Erklärung dieses Namens allerdings nicht ganz korrekt ist – gewürdigt (Schott 1873a). Und schließlich, als Koidula bereits in Kronstadt wohnt und sich Schotts Befürchtungen hinsichtlich ihrer Eheschließung erfüllt zu haben scheinen, ruft er am Schluss einer kurzen Literaturschau über Finnland und Estland aus:

Möchte Ehistlands Nachtigall, die edle und geistvolle Dichterin des „Bachmüller“, der „Hundert Scheffel Grützesalz“, und manches herzerquickenden Liedes, in ihrem neuen Wirkungskreise nicht für immer verstummen! (Schott 1874b.)

Und auch zwei Jahre später versäumt es Schott nicht, wenigstens in einer Fußnote auf „die edle Dichterin Lydia Michelson (geb. Jannsen)“ hinzuweisen (Schott 1876b: 93). Damit hatte er innerhalb von fünf Jahren für eine Verbreitung von Koidulas Namen im deutschsprachigen Raum gesorgt, wie es damals allenfalls den beiden Eposautoren, Lönnrot und Kreutzwald, widerfahren war.

Bei den anderen Literaturberichten handelt es sich dann eher um die Anzeige von Sachliteratur. Schott verfolgt mit großem Interesse die Entwicklung des estnischen Schrifttums und berichtet regelmäßig über Neuerscheinungen. Den ersten Bericht dieser Art – „Zur neuesten ehstnischen Literatur“ – nutzt Schott zur Vorstellung der einige Jahre zuvor gegründeten *Eesti Kirjameeste Selts* (in seiner Übersetzung ‚Ehstnische Literaten=Gesellschaft‘), die bekanntlich eine große Rolle bei der estnischen Emanzipationsbewegung spielte. Danach geht er auf deren Publikationstätigkeit ein (Schott 1876b). Im nächsten Jahr werden linguistische Arbeiten von Jakob Hurt und Mihkel Veske (1843–1890), die in den *Verhandlungen* erschienen waren, vorgestellt, außerdem einige Jahrbücher der *Eesti Kirjameeste Selts*, die zum Teil literarisches enthielten (Schott 1877b). Das nächste Jahrbuch wird zwei Jahre später besprochen (Schott 1879), und ein letztes Mal wird 1880 ein ganzer Stapel Sachbücher vorgestellt (Schott 1880c).

Schließlich gibt es nach wie vor reine Übernahmen und Übersetzungen. Hierunter fällt auch der einzige politisch zu nennende Artikel, „Das nationale Ehstenthum“, der dem finnischen *Kirjallinen Kuukauslehti* entnommen war (Schott 1869e). Dass Schott es war, der den Artikel vermittelt hatte, geht aus seiner Mitteilung an Kreutzwald hervor (vom 5. Februar 1869, s. Walravens 2011/2011: 28). Ähnlich verhält es sich mit einem Reisebericht von Hunfalvy über Estland und Livland, aus dem Schott einige Passagen (noch vor Erscheinen der deutschen Ausgabe von 1874) übersetzt

hat und die eher allgemeinen Charakters sind. Da hier aber auch das Liederfest von 1869 behandelt wird, haftet ihm etwas Literarisches an (Schott 1872b, zur Urheberschaft s. Walravens 2011/2011: 49).

3.2.2.10.4. Kalevipoeg

Wie am Beispiel des Finnischen gesehen wurde, war aber im 19. Jahrhundert in Deutschland ein Epos – am besten lang und wenn möglich authentisch! – das beste Produkt, mit dem man Eindruck machen konnte. Daher stieß auch Kreutzwalds Kalevipoeg, wenn auch nicht in dem Ausmaß wie das Kalevala, auf großes Interesse (vgl. Hasselblatt 2011: 55–77). Hieran hatte Wilhelm Schott großen Anteil, obwohl er nicht – wie bei den finnischen und estnischen Sagen und Märchen – als Übersetzer in Erscheinung trat. Das brauchte er nicht, weil Kreutzwalds Epos bekanntlich in einem zweisprachigen deutsch-estnischen Paralleltext erschienen ist (1857–1861 in den Bänden 4 und 5 der *Verhandlungen*; die ersten 15 Gesänge wurden von Carl Reinthal (1797–1872) übersetzt, die letzten fünf von Kreutzwald selbst, der sie von Georg Schultz-Bertram gegenlesen ließ).

Da Schott besagte *Verhandlungen* bezog und regelmäßig besprach (s. o. 3.2.2.10.1.), konnte er Kenntnis über Kreutzwalds Epos sozusagen druckfrisch in Deutschland verbreiten. Eine erste Meldung erfolgt somit bereits 1855, als er das erste Heft des dritten Bandes der *Verhandlungen*, das eine Vorankündigung des Kalevipoeg enthält, anzeigt und folgerichtig auch auf das Epos hinweist (Schott 1855b: 444–445). Und als die erste Lieferung zwei Jahre später erscheint, kann Schott sie unmittelbar im *Magazin* anzeigen. Er tut dies in einer ausführlichen zweiteiligen Vorstellung der ersten drei Gesänge, aus denen die erste Lieferung besteht, und bringt auch Textbeispiele. Hervorzuheben ist, dass es ihm gelang, mit seinem Artikel auf die erste Seite zu kommen. Am 24. September 1857 war Estland mit dem Kalevipoeg der Aufmacher im *Magazin*, das zu jener Zeit dreimal pro Woche erschien, sich also nicht wesentlich von einer Tageszeitung abhob. Und was ebenfalls hervorzuheben ist: Seine Begeisterung für den Gegenstand hatte Schott immer noch nicht verloren, wenn man auf den Beginn dieses Artikels schaut. Er enthält eine ganz ähnliche Formulierung wie 16 Jahre zuvor, als er das Kalevala ankündigen konnte (Schott 1841b: 455):

Die Sagen des Esten=Volkes sind eine Galerie edler, aber von Trauerflor umzogener Bilder. Ihr Grundton ist schwermüthige, mit inniger Gemüthstiefe verbundene,

jedoch keineswegs schlafe Sehnsucht nach einer verlorenen, glücklichen Selbständigkeit. [...] Nachdem diese lieblichen Phantasie=Schöpfungen viele Jahrhunderte lang unter armen Leibeigenen in der Nachbarschaft des Peipus=See's ihr Dasein gefristet, treten sie nun endlich, gleichsam Hand in Hand mit den verschwisterten Geistesblüthen des nachbarlichen Finnlands, auf den Schauplatz der großen europäischen Welt und bringen vielleicht auch von ihrer Seite einen erfrischenden Luftstrom in die verschwülte und dumpfige Atmosphäre unserer Gegenwart. (Schott 1857i: 457).

Sobald die nächste Lieferung eingetroffen ist, wird auch diese im *Magazin* angezeigt (Schott 1859d), und um dem Ganzen noch mehr Gewicht zu verleihen, fasst Schott seine beiden Beiträge aus dem *Magazin* zusammen und publiziert sie noch einmal in *Ermans Archiv* (Schott 1860d). Dieser Artikel unterscheidet sich also nur geringfügig von den vorangegangenen, lediglich die Anzahl der Textbeispiele ist niedriger.

Mehrmals behandelt Schott das estnische Epos dann auch in Vorträgen an der Berliner Akademie. Zum ersten Mal am 31. Oktober 1859, dann nach Erscheinen der letzten Lieferung am 15. Mai 1862, und später noch einmal gemeinsam mit dem finnischen am 7. Mai 1866 (was zur oben erwähnten Publikation Schott 1866a führte).

Der Vortrag von 1862 hatte eine von Schotts umfangreichsten Arbeiten auf einem Teilgebiet der Finnougristik zur Folge, seine 1862 in den *Abhandlungen* der Akademie und im Jahr danach als Monografie veröffentlichte Studie *Die estnischen Sagen von Kalewi-Poeg* (Schott 1862a, vgl. hierzu Hasselblatt 2011: 59–63). In diesem 75seitigen Text, der zu zwei Dritteln aus einem ausufernden Anmerkungsapparat besteht, bringt Schott nicht nur eine detaillierte Inhaltsangabe des Kalevipoeg, sondern kritisiert auch die deutsche Übersetzung von Carl Reinthal, indem er korrigierende eigene Übersetzungen daneben stellt. Darüber hinaus leistet er einen substantiellen Beitrag zur (entstehenden) Kalevipoeg-Forschung bzw. markiert überhaupt den eigentlichen Beginn der wissenschaftlichen Beschäftigung mit Kreutzwalds Werk. Denn auch in Estland selbst begann die echte Rezeption des Kalevipoeg ja erst später. Der einzige andere Forscher, der sich ähnlich früh mit dem Kalevipoeg befasste, war niemand anders als Anton Schiefner, der ebenfalls noch vor Abschluss des Epos eine Studie dazu veröffentlichte, die – was ihren Wert indes nicht mindert – genaugenommen ein Auszug aus dem von Schiefner und Wiedemann verfassten Votum für den Demidov-Preis war (Schiefner 1860).

Schotts Kalevipoeg-Studie war der unmittelbare Anlass für eine Kontaktaufnahme zwischen Schott und Kreutzwald, auch wenn sich dies noch

einige Jahre hinzog. Kreutzwald hatte die Studie im Oktober 1864 empfangen (KKV IV, 340), aber erst im Spätwinter oder Frühjahr 1866 wurde der erste (nicht überlieferte) Brief von Kreutzwald geschrieben, auf den Schott am 9. April 1866 antwortete (Walravens 2010/2011: 14–15). In seinem ersten Brief muss Kreutzwald einige Korrekturen zu Schotts Studie geliefert haben, die letzterer dann in dem oben erwähnten Vortrag vor der Berliner Akademie im Mai des gleichen Jahres vortrug (Schott 1866a). In den weiteren Briefen werden allerlei Probleme des Estnischen und der estnischen Sprache und Literatur behandelt – bis hin zu der Frage Kreutzwalds, ob Schott, der Reinthals Übersetzung des Kalevipoeg stellenweise harsch kritisiert hatte, nicht für eine neue Übersetzung sorgen könnte. Dies lehnte Schott jedoch wegen Zeitmangels und dem zu erwartenden Desinteresse bei deutschen Verlegern ab (Walravens 2010/2011: 20). Von der Sprachkenntnis her hätte er es sicherlich gekonnt, wie er wiederholt unter Beweis stellte, wenn er in seinen Abhandlungen eigene Übersetzungen anfertigte. Auch in der oben erwähnten Miscelle zum Heerwurm (Schott 1872c) hatte er seine eigene Version und nicht die von Kreutzwald bzw. Schultz-Berttram angefertigte Übersetzung verwendet.

Die folgenden Beiträge zum Kalevipoeg sind alle wesentlich kürzer, sie zeigen aber, dass Schott sich kontinuierlich weiter mit dem Thema befasste bzw. sich und seine Leserschaft wenigstens auf dem Laufenden hielt. Als 1862 die einsprachige estnische Volksausgabe in Kuopio gedruckt wird, teilt Schott dies den Lesern des *Magazins* mit (Schott 1863e). In der gleichen Anzeige nutzt er die Gelegenheit, um auf das baldige Erscheinen seiner Abhandlung zum Epos hinzuweisen.

Als zwei Jahre später auf der Grundlage von Schotts Abhandlung eine französische Schrift *L'hercule de l'Esthonie* (Büchner 1865) erscheint, zeigt Schott diese natürlich ebenfalls im *Magazin* an (Schott 1865e). Hier glaubte er auch einen Fehler (frz. *flammes* als Übersetzung von *Flammen*, wo im Deutschen jedoch *Flaumen* stand) entdeckt zu haben, doch stellte sich später in der Korrespondenz mit Alexandre Büchner heraus, dass dieser absichtlich diese Veränderung angebracht habe, wie Schott Kreutzwald brieflich mitteilte (Walravens 2010/2011: 15).

Als Gustav Blumbergs (1834–1892) „Quellen und Realien“ zum Kalevipoeg erschienen sind (Blumberg 1869), zeigt Schott dies im *Magazin* an und rezensiert im gleichen Beitrag Kreutzwalds zweites Hauptwerk, seine Märchensammlung, von der 1869 in Halle der erste Teil der deutschen Übersetzung erschienen war (Schott 1870a). Die Übersetzung wird als „in

jeder Hinsicht wohlgelungen[...]“ charakterisiert, was nicht verwundern kann, da Schott vorher als Gutachter herangezogen war, wie er Kreuzwald im November 1867 brieflich mitteilte (Walravens 2010/2011: 15). Interessant ist nur, dass Schott sein Gutachten für die Dümmlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung in Berlin abgefasst hatte, das Buch aber dann im Hallenser Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses erschien. Die Gründe hierfür dürften jedoch weder an der Übersetzung noch bei Schott gelegen haben.

Ganz kurz nur wird eine deutsche Nacherzählung des Kalevipoeg (Israël 1873, vgl. hierzu Hasselblatt 2011: 67–69) im *Magazin* angezeigt. Schott zeigt sich hier überraschend milde und findet, dass sich die

naive Märchen=Prosa [...] ganz angenehm liest. [...] Der saubere und zierliche Druck des [...] Büchleins von nur sechs Bogen in Duodez gereicht ihm auch zur Empfehlung. (Schott 1873b.)

Zuvor hatte er sich in einem Brief an Kreuzwald noch eher spöttisch über das Büchlein geäußert:

Statt „frei nach dem Estnischen“ hätte der Herr pastor extra ordinem übrigens besser „frei nach dem Deutschen“ gesagt, denn Kenntniß Ihrer Sprache ist bei ihm nicht nachzuweisen. (Walravens 2010/2011: 53.)

Es ist ein passender und würdiger Abschluss von Schotts auf Estland bezogenen Publikationen, dass seine letzte Wortmeldung der Person gilt, der er in diesem Bereich am meisten zu verdanken hatte, nämlich Friedrich Reinhold Kreuzwald selbst. Zu dessen siebzigstem Geburtstag im Dezember 1873 war in Estland ein Strauß Gelegenheitsgedichte publiziert worden, den auch Schott erhalten hatte (Walravens 2010/2011: 61) und aus dem er eine kleine Kostprobe der Leserschaft des *Magazins* weiterreichte (Schott 1874d).

3.2.2.11. Saamisch

Zum Saamischen liegen sieben Texte vor, die recht unterschiedlicher Art sind. Zunächst erfolgt mit Inhaltsangabe und längeren Zitaten eines epischen Gedichts ein mehr oder weniger rein literarisch-folkloristischer Beitrag (Schott 1853b). Als Nachtrag hierzu werden im Jahr darauf noch einige Anmerkungen gebracht, die bei der Übersetzung aus der ursprünglichen Quelle weggefallen waren (Schott 1854a).

Sodann folgt ein wesentlich kürzerer, aber deswegen nicht unbedeutender, linguistischer Beitrag im *Magazin*, der allein schon durch die Wahl

des Publikationsorgans Bedeutung erlangte. Hier will Schott einem größeren Publikum etwas „Zur Kenntniß der lappischen Sprache“ mitteilen, wobei er gleich zu Beginn die Verwandtschaft des Saamischen mit dem Finnischen klarstellt. Weiter gönnt er sich auch einen Absatz zur Kultur; in dem Schotts Faszination für diesen Teil Europas erneut durchschimmert:

Bis auf die neueste Zeit hat man dem schlichten und dünn gesäten Same=Völkchen Alles, was den Namen Volkspoesie verdient, unbarmherzig abgesprochen. Auch dieses Vorurtheil ist jetzt widerlegt durch die theilweise Veröffentlichung eines kleinen National=Epos aus der schwedischen Lappmark: „Die Sonnensöhne“, welches beweist, daß Sonnenblicke wahrer Poesie selbst in den höchsten und eisigsten Norden unserer alten Welt gedungen sind. (Schott 1856b: 84.)

In der Fußnote erfolgt selbstverständlich der Verweis auf die Publikation in *Ermans Archiv*, wobei Schott gewissermaßen in höflicher Zurückhaltung verschweigt, dass er selbst ja für diesen „Sonnenblick wahrer Poesie“ bzw. für dessen Veröffentlichung verantwortlich zeichnete.

Daran schließt sich eine ebenso knappe Charakterisierung der Sprache an, der – und das macht mehr als die Hälfte des insgesamt nur gut eine Spalte umfassenden Beitrags aus – ein Zitat aus einer saamischen Evangeliumsübersetzung folgt, die einige Jahre zuvor in Christiania erschienen war und, wie den einleitenden Sätzen zu entnehmen ist, der Anlass für diese Skizze zum Saamischen war. Das Besondere hieran ist, dass Schott volle sieben Verse (Matthäus 7, 21–27) auf Saamisch inklusive einer deutschen Interlinearversion, also sozusagen Glossierung, wenn auch ohne morphologische Analyse, bringt. Damit nicht genug, habe er sogar eine eigene

deutsche Orthographie des Lappischen angestrebt; *dh* ist ein gelispeltes *d* und *gh* ein aspirirtes *g*. Doppelt geschriebene Konsonanten hinter einfachen, z. B. *ldd*, *rgg*, *lkk*, *lvv*, *rvv*, halte man nicht für Schreib= oder Setzfehler: die Aussprache ist merklich schärfer, als wenn einfaches *d*, *g*, *v*, *k* hinter *l* oder *r* stände, für uns aber schwierig. Die lappische Sprache hat übrigens einen weichen Charakter, den man ihr kaum zutrauen sollte, wenn man sie nicht gehört hat. Der Haupt=Accent jedes Wortes trifft immer die erste Silbe.

Dies alles war in einer Fußnote verpackt worden, und so gelang es Schott auf kleinstem Raum tatsächlich, der Leserschaft eine Vorstellung von dieser Sprache zu vermitteln (Schott 1856b).

Als landeskundlicher Beitrag kann der kurze Artikel über Rentierzucht in Lappland gewertet werden, den Schott aus *Suometar* übersetzt hatte. Er

enthält zwar keinerlei Kommentare des Übersetzers, aber die zahlreichen saamischen Wortbeispiele für bestimmte Bezeichnungen von Rentieren (oder ihrem Geweih) lassen den Philologen durchblicken (Schott 1858d).

Der fünfte Artikel ist dann eine recht ausführliche Abhandlung zur saamischen Religion, die Schott *Suomi* entnommen hatte. Als Autor wird ein A. Andelin aus Utsjoki genannt. Es ist dies ein inhaltsreicher Beitrag zum Thema, der durch Kommentare oder Erläuterungen von Schott noch angereichert wird. Das hindert den Übersetzer freilich nicht daran, gelegentlich eine bissige Replik loszulassen, wenn ihm etwas an der Darstellung zu seltsam vorkam. So heißt es einmal in einer Fußnote:

Diesen ganzen Satz (und noch manchen anderen, den wir übergangen) muss der Verfasser in wahrer Abwesenheit des Geistes geschrieben haben; wir versuchen keinen Commentar dazu. (Schott 1861b: 176.)

An anderer Stelle deckt er Unstimmigkeiten in der Darstellung des Autors auf und ruft in der Fußnote aus: „Welche Confusion!“ (Schott 1861b: 354). Unbenommen bleibt jedoch, dass dieser 30seitige Artikel profunde Information zur vorchristlichen Religion der Saamen bot.

Der sechste Beitrag ist dem finnischen *Kirjallinen Kuukauslehti* entnommen bzw. basiert auf einem dortigen Artikel von Friis (1/1868: 7–10). Schotts Anteil liegt nicht nur in der Übersetzung aus dem Finnischen, sondern auch in der teilweisen Zusammenfassung und Kommentierung, so dass der Artikel als eigener Beitrag gewertet wurde. Außerdem war der Ort des Erscheinens, das *Magazin*, wo er zweieinhalb volle Spalten umfasste, von Bedeutung, denn so wurde einem breiteren Publikum etwas über den „Sampo Finnlands und des Lappen Zaubertrommel“ mitgeteilt (Schott 1869k).

Der letzte Beitrag entstammt den *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* und ist der Bericht über einen Vortrag von Schott, den er vor besagter Gesellschaft gehalten hatte. Anlass hierzu war der Besuch von vier Saamen gewesen, die dem Publikum vorgeführt worden waren. Weiter heißt es dann:

Herr Schott, Ehrenmitglied der Gesellschaft, prüfte zunächst die Sprache der Leute und hielt dann einen Vortrag über Land und Volk der Lappen. (Schott 1875a: (28).)

Dieser wird sodann auf den folgenden drei Seiten referiert. Auffällig ist, dass Schott gleich zu Beginn auf den Namen eingeht und sie wie auch schon in seinen früheren Publikationen zu den Finnen stellt:

Beide Völker, einem weit ausgedehnten zumeist aber dünn gesäeten Hauptstamm angehörend, den man jetzt den finnisch-ugrischen zu nennen pflegt, führen seit undenklicher Zeit auch einen gemeinschaftlichen Nationalnamen, dessen einfachste Form in lappischem Munde *Saame* oder *Sabme*, im finnischen *Soome*, *Suome* lautet. (Schott 1875a: (29).)

Sodann verweist er auf Castrén und Porthan, führt saamische Ortsnamen im südlicheren Finnland an, nennt abermals das epische Gedicht „Die Sonnensöhne“ und referiert auf einer halben Seite sogar seinen Inhalt. Nach Erwähnung der Bedeutung saamischer Zauberer auch für die finnische Mythologie schlägt er einen Bogen zum Kalevala und der dortigen Rolle des Nordlands, ehe er mit einigen Bemerkungen zur Charakteristik der saamischen Sprache endet. Diese relativ knappe Mitteilung bringt wenig Neues, zeigt aber, dass Schott auch in fortgeschrittenem Alter immer noch bereit war, Informationen über „seine“ Völker und Sprachen zu liefern – diesmal der Berliner Gesellschaft für Ethnologie. Und die Publikation beweist, dass Schott mittlerweile – 1875 – auch den Namen „finnisch-ugrisch“ akzeptiert hat.

Schotts saamische Beiträge sind auffallend divers und fassen seine Tätigkeit noch einmal gut zusammen. Neben Übersetzungen relevanter Artikel aus dem Finnischen und Schwedischen – die er freilich niemals unkommentiert lässt! – gibt es allgemeinere Mitteilungen, Berichte und Anzeigen, aber auch detaillierte Beschreibungen und Textproben, wie das zweisprachige Beispiel aus dem *Magazin* andeuten mag.

4. Zweifelsfälle

Es mag aus dem Vorangegangenen deutlich geworden sein, dass es eine ganze Reihe von unsicheren Fällen gab, bei denen nicht eindeutig bewiesen werden konnte, dass Wilhelm Schott der Urheber war. Tatsächlich ist die Mehrheit der Beiträge, vor allem im *Magazin*, ohne Angabe des Verfassers gedruckt. Es ist gut möglich, dass im Übereifer der Entdeckungsfreude Artikel Schott untergeschoben sind, die überhaupt nicht von ihm stammen, aber ebenso gut ist möglich – und sogar wahrscheinlich –, dass ein Teil seiner anonym publizierten Texte nicht entdeckt worden sind. Es bleibt nur zu hoffen, dass sie einander die Waage halten, so dass die oben (s. 3.2.2.) gemachten Zahlenangaben ungefähr stimmen.

Einige Beispiele mögen an dieser Stelle zur Illustrierung der Problematik genügen: 1834 erschien im *Magazin* auf Seite 348 in der Rubrik „Mannigfaltiges“ eine 38zeilige Mitteilung über „Das Russische Gouver-

nement Wologda“, das einer russischen Quelle entnommen war. Es enthält erwartungsgemäß auch einen Hinweis auf die Komi, sogar auf Stephan von Perm und auf die Nähe des Komi zum Finnischen, und könnte somit als (minimaler) Beitrag zur Finnougristik gewertet werden. Der Artikel könnte auch von Schott übersetzt oder zusammengefasst oder vermittelt worden sein. Wenn der Unsicherheiten und Konjunktive jedoch zu viele waren, wurden derlei Artikel nicht in Schotts Bibliografie aufgenommen.

Ähnliches gilt für einen Bericht, der dem offiziellen Journal des Russischen Unterrichtsministeriums entnommen ist und unter dem Titel „Die Literatur Finnlands“ (*Magazin* 1837: 599–600) einen Überblick über Land und Leute einschließlich der Auswirkungen des Brandes von Turku gibt. Sogar das Kalevala wird hier am Schluss erwähnt. Andererseits wird der positive Einfluss der russischen Behörden dermaßen stark herausgestrichen, dass man den Text beinahe als Propaganda werten muss, weswegen er nicht Schott untergeschoben werden sollte. Aber mit Sicherheit lässt sich auch dies nicht sagen.

1836 erschien im *Magazin* (S. 584) der Artikel „Der Finnen älteste Vorstellungen von der Gottheit. (Nach einem Aufsätze in dem Finnischen Blatte Mehiläinen)“, der ganz deutlich auf Schott zu verweisen scheint. Umso mehr, als er inhaltliche Parallelen mit einem sechs Jahre später erschienenen Artikel aufweist, der hier sehr wohl Schott (1842a) zugeschrieben wird. Nur wissen wir aus anderen, und zwar Schotts eigenen Quellen, dass er 1836 wirklich noch kein Finnisch konnte (s. 2.1.2.), weswegen der Artikel hier ausgesondert wurde. Es bleibt freilich die bislang ungeklärte Frage, wer dann, wenn nicht Schott, in den 1830er-Jahren finnische Quellen für das *Magazin* ausgewertet hat.

In einigen Fällen konnten auch Korrekturen im Hinblick auf Walravens Bibliographie vorgenommen werden. So ist ein Artikel von 1848 vermutlich doch nicht von Schott (s. die Diskussion oben unter 3.2.2.9.1.), und ein anderer, der obendrein mit „W.Sz.“ unterzeichnet war (*Magazin* 1856: 313, 317–318, 322–324), ist trotz seines typisch Schottischen Titels („Literarische Zustände in Finnland in den Jahren 1854 und 1855“) ausgesondert worden: Schott hat sonst nirgendwo dieses Kürzel verwendet, und der Artikel fußt auf schwedischen Quellen, die auch anderen zugänglich waren.

1846 erfolgte im *Magazin* (S. 410) unter dem Titel „Ein samojedischer Philosoph“ eine immerhin 38zeilige Mitteilung, die Castréns Reiseberichten entstammte. Selbstverständlich könnte Schott hier der Vermittler gewesen sein. Die Reiseberichte waren jedoch in Petersburger Zeitungen

bereits auf Deutsch erschienen, und diese Zeitungen wurden von der *Magazin*-Redaktion sicherlich ausgewertet, da war man nicht auf Schott angewiesen. Derartige Übernahmen aus deutschsprachigen Publikationen wurden hier in der Regel dann nicht Schott zugeschrieben.

1856 erschien im *Magazin* über vier Nummern verteilt (S. 349–350; 354–356; 358–359; 362–364) „Die Attila=Sage nach magyarischer Tradition. (Nach Amédée Thierry)“, was durchaus unter Schotts Vermittlung zustande gekommen sein könnte. Gerade aber im ungarischen Bereich hatte das *Magazin* noch andere Mitarbeiter, so dass hier weitgehend nur eindeutig unterzeichnete oder eindeutig sprachwissenschaftliche Beiträge Schott zugeschrieben wurden.

Die oben unter 3.2.2.7. erwähnte Anzeige von Ahlqvists mokschanischer Grammatik im *Magazin* (1862: 132) geht natürlich höchstwahrscheinlich auf Schott zurück, andererseits konnten selbstverständlich auch andere Menschen Petersburger Buchprospekte lesen, außerdem ist die Mitteilung vielleicht doch zu kurz, um als eigener Beitrag gewertet zu werden (obwohl quantitative Argumente nicht ausschlaggebend sein können).

Schwierig ist auch ein Beitrag wie „Protestantische Kirche und Schule in Ungarn. Nach den Aufzeichnungen eines Finnländers“, der 1866 im *Magazin* (S. 719–721) erschien und laut Fußnote dem *Kirjallinen Kuukaulehti* entnommen ist. Diese Dinge hat in der Regel Schott besorgt, trotzdem wurde der Artikel nicht aufgenommen, da er auch thematisch zu sehr von der Finnougristik entfernt ist.

Ein anderer Fall wäre ein kurzer Nekrolog auf Oskar Blomstedt (*Magazin* 1871: 431), der einer finnischen Quelle entnommen ist. Da mit zunehmenden Jahren Schotts Beiträge aber immer häufiger gekennzeichnet sind, wurde dieser Nekrolog hier nicht gewertet. Es sollte jedoch klar sein, dass die Dunkelziffer der ungeklärten Beiträge doch noch recht hoch ist und die hier gegebenen Zahlen also nur einen Annäherungswert darstellen.

5. Fazit

Wilhelm Schott war vielleicht nicht der bahnbrechende Wissenschaftler, der der Nachwelt nach ihm benannte Lautgesetze oder dergleichen hinterlassen hat. Und er war auf dem Gebiet der Finnougristik ein Autodidakt, der die Länder seines Studiums nie gesehen hat. Diese Tatsachen haben dazu geführt, dass ein bedeutender Gelehrter des 19. Jahrhunderts im 21. Jahrhundert schnell in Vergessenheit gerät. Hierbei sind jedoch zwei Din-

ge zu beachten: erstens ist die Anzahl der „Großen“, die in Methoden oder Lautgesetzen weiterleben, tatsächlich sehr klein, und zweitens waren die meisten Finnougristen im 19. Jahrhundert Autodidakten, solange es die Studienmöglichkeiten noch gar nicht gab (s. o. 1.).

Daher müssen bei der Bewertung und wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Einordnung andere Kriterien herangezogen werden. Damals wie heute, das ist kein Unterschied, lag ein Schwergewicht allerdings auf den Publikationen, nur waren Stil und Veröffentlichungsmöglichkeiten verschieden. Und damals wie heute, das sei ebenso wenig verschwiegen, gab es zweifellos verschiedene *Wissenschaftstypen*.

Schott zeichnete sich dadurch aus, dass er ein relativ breites Interesse hatte und neben Linguistik auch literarische oder Kulturstudien betrieb. Hierin war er Jacob Grimm vergleichbar, der ebenfalls auf mehreren Gebieten tätig war. Natürlich war eine solche Forschungshaltung im 19. Jahrhundert noch wesentlich weiter verbreitet – und leichter möglich – als heute, dennoch sollte man sie nicht mit dem Verweis auf frühere Zeiten abtun. Sie spiegelt auch eine gewisse ganzheitliche Überzeugung wider, die den Arbeiten von Schott zugute kam. Letztendlich wurde er damit auch wegweisend für eine Form der Auslandsfinnougristik, die häufig bemüht war, das Fach in seiner ganzen Breite zu bestreiten. Stellvertretend kann hier Wolfgang Steinitz genannt werden, dessen Arbeiten zur Folklore mindestens so bedeutend sind wie seine etymologischen oder lautgeschichtlichen Werke.

Das besondere Verdienst von Schott besteht darin, dass er praktisch aus dem Nichts heraus und weitgehend auf sich alleine gestellt ein Fach in Deutschland aus der Taufe gehoben hat. Dies ist bislang so nicht gesehen und gewürdigt worden, weil seine Aktivität in institutioneller Hinsicht keine Früchte trug. Darum hat er sich soweit bekannt auch gar nicht gekümmert. Und es ist vielleicht auch übersehen worden, weil die – nicht weniger wichtigen – frühen Grammatiken eines Hans Conon von der Gabelentz einfach auffälliger waren. Ohne hiermit die Tätigkeit von letzterem schmälern zu wollen (vgl. dazu Bartens 2002), sollte jedoch festgehalten werden, dass neben der Generierung von Wissen auch die Verbreitung und Popularisierung von eminenter Bedeutung ist. Und genau auf diesem Gebiet lag die Stärke von Wilhelm Schott.

Seine Vorgehensweise bestand darin, dass er schlicht eine Reihe von Periodika auswertete und ihm interessant und relevant scheinendes Material übersetzte, exzerpierte, zurechtstutzte, kommentierte und weiterreichte. Und da es das Fach Finnougristik noch nicht gab, gab es auch noch

kaum Fachpublikationen, sieht man von der seit 1841 existierenden *Suomi*-Serie ab. Die wichtigen Organe *NyK* (1862), *Magyar Nyelvészet* (1865), *Magyar Nyelvőr* (1877) oder *JSFOu* (1886) wurden erst begründet, als Schotts Werk schon weitgehend abgeschlossen war, ganz zu schweigen von den nach seinem Tode gegründeten Zeitschriften wie *FUF* oder *Virittäjä*. Im deutschsprachigen Raum selbst gab es außerhalb der Akademien auch sehr wenig, weswegen Schott seine Beiträge in den verschiedensten anderen Organen publizieren musste. Sicherlich spielte hier auch eine Rolle, dass er sein Gehalt durch seine Beiträge in *Ermans Archiv* und im *Magazin*, die ja Honorare zahlten, aufbessern konnte. Trotzdem bleibt unbenommen, dass dank seiner Tätigkeit Namen wie Ahlqvist, Castrén, Hunfalvy oder Kreutzwald in Deutschland in gewissen Kreisen bekannt geworden sind. Und mit ihnen ihre Muttersprachen und ihr Fachgebiet. Dies ist ein nicht unerheblicher eigener Vermittlungsbeitrag, und Vermittlung ist in diesem Sinne Wegbereitung: Am Anfang von Schotts Tätigkeit wussten nur wenige in Deutschland etwas von finnougrischen, geschweige denn finnougristischen Gefilden, aber ein halbes Jahrhundert später hatte sich das Bild gewandelt. Ebenso war am Anfang seiner Tätigkeit die Terminologie, auch bei Schott selbst, noch schwankend, und auch hier hatte sich am Ende das Bild gewandelt und war die Terminologie – einigermaßen, Unebenheiten gibt es ja bis heute und wird es immer geben – stabil.

Ziel des vorliegenden Artikels war, wie gesagt, nicht die Rehabilitierung eines vergessenen Gelehrten. Denn wie gezeigt werden konnte (s. o. 2.2.), ist Schott keineswegs vergessen. Ziel war vor allem, die Aufmerksamkeit noch einmal auf diesen Gelehrten des 19. Jahrhunderts zu lenken und dazu anzuspornen, bei der einen oder anderen Fragestellung und der Betrachtung ihrer historischen Dimension vielleicht auch einmal bei Wilhelm Schott nachzuschauen. Denn als Wegbereiter für ein Fach, das erst nach seinem Tode in Deutschland überhaupt entstand, hat er eine erstaunliche Bandbreite an den Tag gelegt.

Cornelius Hasselblatt
Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
<cornelius@hasselblatt.com>

Anmerkung

1. Mit Dank an Helmut Walravens und zwei anonyme Gutachter für wertvolle Hinweise.

6. Literatur

6.1. Arbeiten von Schott

In Hartmut Walravens Biografie (2001: 15–77) findet sich ein ausführliches Schriftenverzeichnis von Wilhelm Schott, das jedoch kleine Lücken aufweist, da Schotts Arbeiten nicht immer namentlich gekennzeichnet sind. Eine erneute Aufführung seiner aus finnougriestischer Perspektive relevanten Arbeiten an dieser Stelle erscheint daher gerechtfertigt. Hinter dem Titel ist jeweils in eckigen Klammern angegeben, in welcher Form der Autor genannt ist. Fehlt diese Angabe, ist davon auszugehen, dass der Beitrag anonym war. Es werden die folgenden Zeitschriftensigel verwendet:

AP = Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Berlin.

EA = Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland. Berlin: G. Reimer 1 (1841) – 25 (1867), digitalisiert:

<http://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/no_cache/dms/load/toc/?IDDOC=122805>

Magazin = Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes. Berlin, Leipzig 1832–1880.

MB = Monatsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Berlin. Diesen Titel trugen die Berichte von 1856–1881, vorher (1836–1855) lautete der offizielle Titel *Bericht über die zur Bekanntmachung geeigneten Verhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* und war keine Trennung nach Klassen erfolgt – hier wird jedoch (wie bei Walravens 2001) einheitlich die Abkürzung MB verwendet. Später wurde die Reihe unter dem Titel *Sitzungsberichte* fortgesetzt, die hier jedoch irrelevant ist.

1836a: *Versuch über die Tatarischen Sprachen*. Berlin: Verlag von Veit & Comp. [Wilhelm Schott]

1836b: Das Magyarische, die Ursprache der Völker. – *Magazin* 1836: 532.

1839: Die Ungarische (Magyarische) Sprache. – *Magazin* 1839. 617–618: [W. Schott]

1840: H. C. v. d. Gabelentz: Grundzüge der Syrjänischen Grammatik. Altenburg, 1841. 75 Seiten. – *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* 1840, Dez.: 982–984. [W. Schott]

1841a: Briefliche Nachrichten über die Tschuwaschen und die Tscheremisen des Gouvernements Kasan. – *EA* 1/1841: 374–381. [Schott]

1841b: Verhandlungen der gelehrten Esthnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat. – *EA* 1/1841: 454–460. [Schott]

1841c: *De lingua tschuwaschorum*. Berolini: Veitii et socii sumptibus. [Guilelmus Schott]

1842a: Die Götter= und Zauberlehre der Finnen. – *Magazin* 1842: 343–344; 346; 350–351.

1842b: Aus der Chronik der Finnländischen Universität. – *Magazin* 1842: 580.

1843a: Die tschudischen Sprachen und Reguly Antal. – *EA* 3/1843: 30–34. [Schott]

1843b: Ehtsnische Volkssagen. – *Magazin* 1843: 511–512.

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- 1844a: Verhandlungen der gelehrten Esthnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat. Ersten Bandes erstes Heft. 1840. 96 Seiten. Zweites Heft. 1843. 93 Seiten. [...] – *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* 1844: 30–40. [Schott]
- 1844b: Verhandlungen der gelehrten Ehnstnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat. Ersten Bandes drittes Heft 1844. 99 S. 8° – *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* 1844: 637–640. [Schott]
- 1844c: Verhandlungen der gelehrten ehstnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat. – *Magazin* 1844: 48. [-ô-]
- 1844d: Verhandlungen der gelehrten ehstnischen Gesellschaft. – *Magazin* 1844: 171–172.
- 1847a: Hr. Schott las über das in einem finnischen Runo erwähnte Thier Tarwas oder Tarwaha. – *MB* 1847: 206–207.
- 1847b: Ueber Nationalität und Abkunft der Finnen. – *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Geschichte*. 8/1847: 456–471. [Wilhelm Schott]
- 1847c: Ein Werk über die Samojuden. – *Magazin* 1847: 368.
- 1848a: Ueber die finnische Poesie, von R. Tengström. – *EA* 6/1848: 369–382. [Schott]
- 1848b: Ueber das finnische Epos Kalewala, nach R. Tengström. – *EA* 6/1848: 383–408. [Sch. in der Fußnote]
- 1848c: Cassel's Magyarische Alterthümer. – *Magazin* 1848: 532.
- 1849a: Über das Altaïsche oder Finnisch-Tatarische Sprachengeschlecht. – *AP* 1847: 281–427. – Auszug: *MB* 1847: 425–426; Separatum: Berlin: G. Reimer 1849. [Wilhelm Schott]
- 1849b: Hr. Schott las über einige Zahlwörter des finnisch-tatarischen Sprachengeschlechts. – *MB* 1849: 5–13.
- 1849c: Euklid in finnischer Uebersetzung. – *EA* 7/1849: 168–169. [Schott]
- 1849d: Ueber Akiander's finnische Lautlehre. – *EA* 7/1849: 214–222. [Schott]
- 1849e: Verhandlungen der gelehrten Esthnischen Gesellschaft. – *EA* 7/1849: 367–373. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1849f: Ueber das Thier Tarvas bei den Finnen, nach Anton Schiefner. – *EA* 7/1849: 409–414. [Schott]
- 1850a: Verhandlungen der gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat. Zweiten Bandes zweites Heft. 1848. – *EA* 8/1850: 253–262. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1850b: Castrén's tscheremissische Sprachlehre. – *EA* 8/1850: 634–645. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1851a: Verhandlungen der gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft. – *EA* 9/1851: 589–596. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1851b: Der Kleine Runen-Schmied, von Herrn Europäus. – *EA* 9/1851: 597–602. [Schott]
- 1851c: Hr. Schott las zusätze und berichtigungen zu seiner abhandlung ‚über das finnisch-tatarische sprachengeschlecht‘. – *MB* 1851: 433–446.
- 1852a: Über die finnische sage von Kullervo. – *AP* 1852: 209–236; Separatum: *Über die finnische Sage von Kullervo*. Berlin: G. Reimer. [Schott]
- 1852b: Kalewala, das finnische Nationalepos. – *EA* 10/1852: 122–139. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1852c: Denkmäler des Alterthums der Mordwinen. – *EA* 10/1852: 323–328.
- 1852d: Castrén's Versuch einer Ostjakischen Sprachlehre. – *EA* 10/1852: 366–373. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1852e: Poetische Denkmäler der Samojuden. Von Dr. Castrén. – *EA* 10/1852: 374–383.

- 1852f: M. A. Castrén. – *Magazin* 1852: 388.
- 1853a: Das Zahlwort in der tschudischen Sprachenclasse, wie auch im türkischen, tungusischen und mongolischen. – *AP* 1853: 1–29, 1 Tabelle; Separatum: *Das Zahlwort in der tschudischen Sprachenclasse, wie auch im türkischen, tungusischen und mongolischen*. Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler's Verlagsbuchhandlung. [Wilhelm Schott]
- 1853b: Die Sonnensöhne. Ein episches Gedicht der Lappen. – *EA* 12/1853: 54–61.
- 1853c: Uebungen in der Russischen, Finnischen, Schwedischen und Deutschen Sprache. – *EA* 12/1853: 62–64.
- 1853d: Necrolog des Sprachforschers Castrén. – *EA* 12/1853: 65–69. [Sch. in der Fußnote und laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1853e: Deutsche Uebersetzung der Kalevala. – *EA* 12/1853: 70–71. [Schott]
- 1853f: Ueber Eurén's finnische Sprachlehre. – *EA* 12/1853: 105–112. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1853g: Das Inland, eine Wochenschrift für Liv-, Ehst- und Kurlands Geschichte, Geographie, Statistik und Litteratur. – *EA* 12/1853: 577–585. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1853h: Ueber Jumala und Ukko. – *EA* 12/1853: 634–642.
- 1854a: Nachwort zu dem Artikel „die Sonnensöhne“, ein episches Gedicht der Lappen. – *EA* 13/1854: 1–4. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1854b: Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Ehstnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat. – *EA* 13/1854: 315–318. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1854c: Das Inland, eine Wochenschrift für Livland, Ehstland und Kurland. – *EA* 13/1854: 319–324.
- 1854d: Ueber Neus's ehstnische Volkslieder. – *EA* 13/1854: 374–390. [Sch.]
- 1854e: Ueber Graf Manteuffels Aiwite pero walgussel. – *EA* 13/1854: 391–399. [Sch.]
- 1854f: Finnische Märchen. Herausgegeben von Salmelainen. – *EA* 13/1854: 476–491. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1854g: Die auf der Insel Lebenden. Finnisches Märchen. – *EA* 13/1854: 580–586. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1854h: Castrén's Reisen im Norden. – *Magazin* 1854: 20.
- 1854i: Die finnländische Zeitschrift Suomi. – *Magazin* 1854: 65–66; 70–71.
- 1854k: Finnische Märchen. – *Magazin* 1854: 172; 191–192.
- 1854l: Der poetische Bauer Korhonen. – *Magazin* 1854: 478–479. [W. Sch.]
- 1854m: Einige Lieder des Bauern Korhonen. – *Magazin* 1854: 540. [W. Sch.]
- 1855a: Hr. Schott las über zwei ungarische Dichtungen aus älterer Zeit. – *MB* 1855: 683–690.
- 1855b: Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Ehstnischen Gesellschaft. (Dritten Bandes erstes Heft. 1854.) – *EA* 14/1855: 437–446. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1855c: Mythologische Thiere der Ungarn. – *Magazin* 1855: 222–223; 226–227. [Sch...]
- 1855d: Der indische Sloka bei den Magyaren. – *Magazin* 1855: 284.
- 1855e: Philologische Zeitschrift in magyarischer Sprache. – *Magazin* 1855: 454–455. [Sch...]
- 1855f: Magyarische Sprachkunde. – *Magazin* 1855: 548.
- 1855g: Hr. Schott las über einige Benennungen des Himmels in der altaischen Sprachenclasse. – *MB* 1855: 695–701.
- 1856a: Einiges über die Wotjaken. – *EA* 15/1856: 240–247. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1856b: Zur Kenntniß der lappischen Sprache. – *Magazin* 1856: 83–84. [W. S.]

- 1856c: Neuestes Werk des Sprachforschers Hunfalvy. – *Magazin* 1856: 187–188.
- 1856d: Triennial=Bericht des Rektors der Universität zu Helsingfors. – *Magazin* 1856: 419–420; 424. [–t.]
- 1856e: Das finnische Völkchen der Woten. Nach August Ahlqvist. – *Magazin* 1856: 425–426; 430–431.
- 1856f: Herzog Johan's Jugendträume. – *Magazin* 1856: 491–492. [W. Sch.]
- 1856g: Etwas über religiöse Gebräuche der alten Finnen. – *EA* 15/1856: 362–372.
- 1857a: Ueber Schiefners Version der Kalevala. – *EA* 16/1857: 115–124.
- 1857b: Anton Puuhaara. Ein finnisches Märchen. – *EA* 16/1857: 236–247. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1857c: Verhandlungen der gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft. – *EA* 16/1857: 349–357.
- 1857d: Eine Reclamation in der Zeitschrift „Inland“. – *EA* 16/1857: 649–650. [Sch.]
- 1857e: Zur finnischen Literatur. – *Magazin* 1857: 11.
- 1857f: Finnische Literatur. – *Magazin* 1857: 11–12.
- 1857g: Zur Sprachforschung in Ungarn. – *Magazin* 1857: 163–164. [W. Sch.]
- 1857h: Finnische Volkssagen. – *Magazin* 1857: 215–216.
- 1857i: Kalewi=pöeg (der Sohn des Kalew), eine estnische Sage. – *Magazin* 1857: 457–458; 462–463. [W. Sch.]
- 1857k: Die Magyarensprache und ihre nächsten Verwandten. – *Magazin* 1857: 515–516.
- 1857l: Esten und Deutsche. – *Magazin* 1857: 532. [Sch.]
- 1857m: Ungarische Sprachlehre von Samuel Kovács. – *Magazin* 1857: 588.
- 1857n: Neueste ungarische Literatur. – *Magazin* 1857: 617–618; 622–623.
- 1857o: Zur magyarischen Sprachforschung. – *Magazin* 1857: 624.
- 1858a: Die Weissagungen. Ein finnisches Märchen. – *EA* 17/1858: 14–20.
- 1858b: Nicht-so-was. Ein Märchen aus dem finnischen Karelän. – *EA* 17/1858: 21–30.
- 1858c: Proben samojedischer und sibirisch-tatarischer Märchenpoesie. – *EA* 17/1858: 307–318. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1858d: Die Renntierzucht in Lappland. – *EA* 17/1858: 358–361.
- 1858e: Ueber die Religion der heidnischen Tscheremissen im Gouv. Kasan. – *EA* 17/1858: 386–396. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1858f: Ueber die Samojedische Sprache. Mit besonderer Beziehung auf die objective Conjugation derselben. – *EA* 17/1858: 620–634. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1858g: Bilder aus der russischen Provinz. (Von einem reisenden Finnländer). – *Magazin* 1858: 51–52.
- 1858h: Matts Pohto, der finnische Bibliomane. – *Magazin* 1858: 99–100.
- 1858i: Die sprechenden Fichten. Finnisches Volksmärchen. – *Magazin* 1858: 107–108.
- 1858k: Sprachneuerung und Sprachverderbung. – *Magazin* 1858: 111–112.
- 1858l: Zur Sprachforschung in Ungarn. – *Magazin* 1858: 188. [W. Sch.]
- 1858m: Zur Sprachforschung in Ungarn. – *Magazin* 1858: 304.
- 1858n: Ein ungarisches Urtheil über L. Roß': „Italiker und Gräken“. – *Magazin* 1858: 399–400.
- 1858o: Zur Sprachforschung in Ungarn. – *Magazin* 1858: 404.
- 1858p: Zur Estnischen Sage. – *Magazin* 1858: 463–464.
- 1859a: Nachrichten über Tschuwaschen und Tscheremissen. Von August Ahlqvist. – *EA* 18/1859: 39–64. [Schott laut Zehnjahresregister]
- 1859b: Sprachforschung in Ungarn. – *Magazin* 1859: 220.

- 1859c: Wogulische Sprache und Sagen. – *Magazin* 1859: 493–494. [W. Sch.]
- 1859d: Kalewi Poeg, eine esthnische Heldensage. – *Magazin* 1859: 503–506. [W. Sch.]
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The counterfactive mood in Forest Enets and its origin

The description of the counterfactive mood (Siegl 2013: 298) reported that this mood has fallen out of use in the speech of the last generation of fully fluent speakers. Although it is remembered and some examples from elicitation are attested, it could no longer be found in transcribed narratives representing the language of the last fully fluent speakers recorded between 2006 and 2011. By contrast, the counterfactive mood is very frequent in narratives from the parental generation on which this study is based. Apart from a functional description and an analysis, the article discusses the history of this mood. The article ends with a collection of thoughts concerning the history of the Proto-Samoyedic tense system, as this mood is historically closely connected to the Proto-Samoyedic aorist marker **-ŋǎ*.

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1. The counterfactive mood – introductory remarks

The counterfactive mood in Forest Enets belongs to a series of minor and less-frequently appearing moods. It is almost extinct in the language of the generation of speakers underlying Siegl (2013). Although the speakers recognize this mood and can produce forms in elicitation, it has fallen out of use.¹ By contrast, this mood is reasonably well attested in the language of the parental generation. Both structurally and semantically, this mood is different from morphosyntactically regular moods such as the necessitative (Siegl 2013: 284, 307), and in the following a short overview of its peculiarities will be provided. The counterfactive mood is built on the negative auxiliary *i-* and the negated lexical verb, which surfaces, as expected, in the connegative (Siegl 2013: 298, 302ff). In principle, a specialized mood marker *-ŋa* seems to be segmentable, as the following example suggests:

- (1) *eńci?* *i-ŋa* *kadi-r?* *torsixun*
 person NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG be.ill-FREQ.CN SO.LOC.SG
 ‘Of course, a person would be ill in such circumstances.’ [71:53]

However, this segmentation is incorrect, as *-ŋa* – occasionally also *-ŋi* – is not attested in the affirmative. When appearing on a finite lexical verb, *-ŋa* is an allomorph of the frequentative aspect (see Siegl 2013: 270ff). Although homonymous, the modal function and the aspect function cannot be conflated and both functions must be analyzed separately. In the following, the aspectual function will be shortly discussed. As already mentioned, *-ŋa* appears only on finite verbs:

- (2) *tonuju* *tina?* *okan* *kadi-ŋa-č*
 summer.ADV reindeer.PX.PL.1PL many.PROL be.ill-FREQ-3PL.PST
 ‘In the summer, our reindeer were very ill.’ [LDB Plundered Sled]

In negation, the suffix *-ŋa* is dropped and its allomorph *-r* appears on the lexical verb; person marking is, as expected, transferred to the auxiliary verb. Example (3) demonstrates again that the homonymous *-ŋa* from examples (1) and (2) belongs to two different morphemes. Functionally, (2) and (3) belong together as (3) is the negated variant of (2):

- (3) *bu* *ńi* *kadi-r?*
 3SG NEG.AUX.3SG be.ill-FREQ.CN
 ‘He is not ill.’

In the following example, the regular negation of the perfect tense, which requires the negative auxiliary, is shown. In the affirmative, the perfect suffix *-bi* appears on the finite verb (4a); in negation, it is transferred to the negative auxiliary (4b):

- (4) a. *nä äčiku d'iri-bi*
 [woman youngster] live-PERF.3SG
 'A young girl lived.' [NKB Auka]
- b. *budu[?] i-bi-[?] d'ođi-r[?] kuxuru-[?] [...]*
 3PL NEG.AUX-PERF-3PL go-FREQ.CN PRO.NEG-LAT
 'They have not gone anywhere...' [ZNB Weekend]

Based on the data presented, the introductory example (1) can now be approached for reanalysis. Although it is possible to isolate a potential mood marker *-ŋa*, the whole negated predicate must be analyzed as the meaning-bearing unit, as similar forms in the affirmative are absent. Consequently, the counterfactive mood consists of a complex predicate:

- (1) *eñči[?] i-ŋa kadi-r[?] torsixun*
 person [NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG be.ill-FREQ.CN] so.LOC.SG
 'Of course, a person would be ill in such circumstances.' [71:53]

Turning from morphology to semantics, several equally unusual features accompany the counterfactive mood. Although the underlying construction is morphosyntactically clearly negative, as both a negative auxiliary and a lexical verb in the connegative appear, its meaning is not negative. Furthermore, the Russian translations of examples containing this mood offered by native speakers were never negative. Very often, they are translated with the addition of the Russian adverb *конечно* 'of course', as is the case for the translation of example (1) in the text collection *Энецкие тексты* (Sorokina & Bolina 2004; further ET): "Человек, конечно, будет болеть при таких условиях."

Concerning its function, examples with the counterfactive mood appear in situations when something has happened or is done against a general expectation of the speaker. A certain mirative connotation (see DeLancey 1997) may be constructed in several examples, but the counterfactive *-ŋa* does not prototypically encode mirativity to motivate such a label. Therefore, the label counterfactive was chosen in Siegl (2013).²

Finally, as is the case with several other moods in Forest Enets, the counterfactive mood seems to possess an inherent tense value. Whereas in English translations, present and past tense are possible (occasionally also future), in all examples which were analyzed for Siegl (2013), tense and aspect morphology were absent; all examples encountered were in the aorist.³ The task of this more detailed study is to compare this description with data from ET.

2. The counterfactive mood in older Forest Enets texts

As already stated in the introduction, the data for this investigation derives exclusively from the published texts in ET. The analysis of the Forest Enets part of ET produced 55 examples.⁴ However, the attested data is severely biased and as such not representative of Forest Enets. Out of 55 examples, 45 come from the idiolect of Nikolaj Pal'čin, the major consultant of both N. Tereščenko and I. Sorokina.⁵ In particular, his stories 8, 12 and 61 contain extraordinarily many examples in this mood. Another eight examples are from other speakers from the parental generation.⁶ Two examples in ET come from speakers who are representatives of the current generation of speakers, but the recordings were made before the turn of the millennium.

The discussion of attested data is organized as follows. In section 2.1, representative examples encoded in conjugation I will be discussed. In 2.2, all examples in conjugation II will be presented as their number is small; examples in conjugation III are absent in the data available. In section 2.3, a number of unclear examples are presented. The data is given following the same principles as in Siegl (2013); obvious errors and misprints are corrected and examples are normalized where required.

2.1. Examples in conjugation I

The following section contains examples in conjugation I (trad: subjective conjugation). As verbal endings of conjugation I can be found on predicates belonging to several different predicate types, a more fine-grained syntactic overview is required.

2.1.1. Locative and possessive predication

Both locative predication (locative copula *ηaš* ‘be located at’) and possessive predication (*tonāš* ‘exist’)⁷ are compatible with the counterfactive mood. In Forest Enets, both predicate types belong to the sphere of intransitive predication:

- (5) *mensida māknida i-ηa ηa-[?]*
 old.woman.PX.3SG house.LOC.SG.PX.GEN.3SG [NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG be_{loc}-CN]
 ‘His wife, of course, is at home (Lit: in his/her house).’ [12:5]
- (6) [...] *tukađa i-ηa tonā-[?]*
 axe.PX.3SG [NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG exist-CN]
 ‘Of course he has an axe.’ [78:11]

2.1.2. Predicative attributive clause

A particularly interesting syntactic example in the sphere of non-verbal predication is found below. Before this example can be approached, some further background information concerning non-verbal attributive predication is necessary. In Forest Enets, predicative adjectives may be encoded verbally under certain conditions (see Siegl 2013: 335–336). When an attributive non-verbal predicate is negated, a negative construction with the negative auxiliary in *ñe*+VX and the locative copula *ηaš* in the connegative must be added to the non-verbal predicate:

- (7) a. *koru poju*
 knife sharp.3SG
 ‘The knife is sharp.’ [ZNB I 32]
- b. *koru poju ñi ηa-[?]*
 knife sharp NEG.AUX.3SG be_{loc}-CN
 ‘The knife is not sharp (lit: the knife is sharp, it is not).’ [ZNB I 32]

In the following example, which is semantically again affirmative, the relationship between negation and the counterfactive mood can be seen particularly well. Compare examples (7) and (8):

- (8) *pagii koru i-ηa poi ηa-[?][...]*
 [cut.cloth.PTCP.PFT knife] [NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG sharp be_{loc}-CN]
 ‘Of course, a knife for cutting cloth is sharp.’ [12:103]

2.1.3. Intransitive verbs in conjugation I

In the following, several examples for intransitive verbs encoded in conjugation I are provided:

- (9) *D'oa i-ŋi kodi-ʔ, kiuđnuju neridʔ*
 PN [NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG sleep-CN] morning.ADV raise.INCH.R.3SG
 ‘Of course, D’oa slept. In the morning, he rose.’ [14:2]
- (10) *obu d’od’igon d’iđiđa i-ŋi pi-ʔ*
 [what_[GEN] time.LOC.SG kettle.PX.3SG [NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG COOK-CN]
 ‘After a while, his kettle (=his food) is cooking, of course.’ [9:21]
- (11) *onai nä ŋoxuđa bugulaš, i-ŋa ad-ʔ*
 real woman foot.PX.DU.3SG stretch.CON [NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG sit-CN]
 ‘The Enets woman, stretching her feet, of course, sat down.’ [12:45]
- (12) [...] *i-ŋa-đʔ koma-ʔ ted*
 [NEG.AUX-CTF.1SG want-CN] reindeer.LAT.SG
 ‘Of course, I want a reindeer.’ [52:21]

2.1.4. Transitive verbs in conjugation I

A number of examples with ambitransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs in conjugation I are subsumed here:⁸

- (13) *ŋu-go i-ŋa-iʔ níg-ʔ [...]*
 grass-INDEF_[ACC] [NEG.AUX-CTF-1DU gather-CN]
 ‘Of course, we two are gathering some grass.’ [12:26]
- (14) *D’oa i-ŋa oo-rʔ*
 PN [NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG eat-FREQ-CN]
 ‘D’oa, of course, ate.’ [8:33]
- (15) *busi mana šidđiʔ i-ŋa-đʔ boira-ʔ [...]*
 old.man say.3SG 2DU.ACC [NEG.AUX-CTF.1SG take.across-CN]
 ‘The old man said: “Of course I will take you two across (the river).” [13:54]
- (16) *Inak i-ŋa kari misʔ D’oad,*
 PN [NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG fish_[ACC] give-CN] PN.LAT.SG
kari miʔä
 fish_[ACC] give.3SG
 ‘Inak, of course, gave fish to D’oa, he gave fish.’ [8:39]

2.3. Unclear examples

The following two examples, both from one and the same narrative by Nikolaj Pal'č'in, are problematic. As these forms cannot be compared with original sound recordings to clarify whether they would be instances of disfluency, they must be interpreted as they appear in the text collection.

Here, in contrast to all examples from above, the negative auxiliary is not followed by a negated lexical verb and in both instance *iŋa* appears as a free particle:¹⁰

- (24) *ańʔ iŋa, onai enčiʔ mana* [...]

FOC of.course real person say.3SG

'So, of course, the Enets said...' [61:15]

The second example looks indeed more like an instance of disfluency; first, the demonstrative *to* is not attested in my materials as a freestanding element but only in equivalents of English 'during, in this period' as *to d'od'igon*. Second, the echo question is equally problematic.¹¹ This means that this example remains currently incomprehensible:

- (25) *to mensi-r iŋa koma-sau, isiu*

that old.woman-PX.2SG of.course want-PROB_{PST}.3SG PTCL

'That old woman, of course, wanted or not.' [61:39]

2.4. Conclusions

The preceding section presented examples for the counterfactive mood in conjugation I and II; examples in conjugation III are absent in ET. Although not mentioned separately, all examples represented here and as a matter of fact all attested examples in ET and my own materials show neither tense nor aspect morphology.¹² Consequently, the counterfactive mood allows only an aorist interpretation. Returning to the example mentioned in the introduction, the frequentative allomorph *-ŋa* and the counterfactive mood element *-ŋa* are suspiciously close; further, the aorist tense interpretation of the counterfactive mood is suspiciously close to the assumed Proto-Samoyedic aorist marker **-ŋã*. This discussion will be taken up again later. For the time being, a syntactic peculiarity of the counterfactive complex predicate must be mentioned here. In standard negation as investigated in Siegl (in print), the negative verb and the connegative form

a tight constituent, which cannot be split. In sharp contrast, in several examples above, one could observe how another constituent can split the complex predicate. This may be a predicative adjective (26), an object (27), an adjunct (28) or an adverb (29):

- (26) *pagii koru i-ŋa poi ŋa-[?]* [...] [_{cut.cloth.PTCP.PFT} knife] [_{NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG} sharp _{be_{loc}-CN}]
 ‘Of course, a knife for cutting cloth is sharp.’ [12:103]
- (27) *Inak i-ŋa kari mis[?] D’oad,*
 PN [_{NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG} fish_[acc] give.CN] PN.LAT.SG
kari mi[?]ä
 fish_[acc] give.3SG
 ‘Inak, of course, gave fish to D’oa, he gave fish.’ [8:39]
- (28) *ñib’o-da i-ŋa-đa mät čuri-[?]*
 mother-PX.3SG [_{NEG.AUX-CTF-SG.3SG} chum.LAT.SG carry-CN]
 ‘His mother, of course, he carried her into the chum.’ [8:95]
- (29) *mod’ mana-ď[?] d’ire-d koma-ñidu[?] i-ŋi-u*
 1SG say-1SG live_{NLZ}-LAT.SG want-ASS.1SG [_{NEG.AUX-CTF-SG.1SG}]
mär mä-[?]
 quickly make-CN]
 ‘I said: “I want to live, of course, I will do it quickly.”’ [66:34]

Apart from these examples, there are several more instances attested in ET, e. g. [8:45], [10:19], [12:8], [12:47], [12:292], [12:143] and [32:17]. Still, with the exception of example [32:17], all instances, again, derive from the speech of Nikolaj Pal’čin. This makes an evaluation of this syntactic peculiarity impossible. Although this feature is prominent in his idiolect, the question of whether this is representative of Forest Enets in general cannot be answered satisfactorily. I was at least able to identify another example in a transliterated narrative from a different speaker of the same generation. Here, the complex predicate is split by an adjunct:

- (30) *aija-đa i-ŋi tod’ai ŋa-[?]*
 body-PX.3SG [_{NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG} feather.COM _{be_{loc}-CN}]
 ‘Of course, his body was covered with feathers.’ [VNB Witch]

This demonstrates that this feature does not seem to be restricted exclusively to the idiolect of Nikolaj Pal’čin. Due to the lack of further data, a more thorough description remains impossible.

3. Parallels in other Northern Samoyedic languages

In the following section, some potential cognates in other Northern Samoyedic languages will be sought. Whereas cognates seem to be absent in both Nenets languages, Tundra Enets and Nganasan show some interesting parallels. The cognates in the latter are to be found in the field of interrogativity.

3.1. Tundra Enets

Due to the absence of a comprehensive corpus, the situation in Tundra Enets can only be sketched. First, in the available texts reproduced in ET, the category under investigation could not be found. However, a number of paradigms and isolated example phrases can be found in Labanauskas' sketch grammar (Labanauskas 2002). Further examples derive from Hellimski's unpublished grammatical notes on Tundra Enets.¹³ As both authors present diverging data, their accounts will be presented separately.¹⁴

Before we have a look at this data, a short introductory note is in order. Similarly to Forest Enets, the Tundra Enets etymological cognate of the Proto-Samoyedic aorist marker **-ŋâ* is restricted to the same inflection class and, at least synchronically, cannot be considered a tense marker. The following examples show that we are dealing with the same frequentative aspect marker, which shows identical distribution of *-r* and *-ŋa*:

- (31) TE a. *modi fiši-ŋa-đoʔ*
 1SG laugh-FREQ-1SG
 'I am laughing.' [Labanauskas 2002: 42]
- b. *modi ńe-đoʔ fiši-ro-ʔ*
 1SG NEG.AUX-1SG laugh-FREQ-CN
 'I am not laughing.' [Labanauskas 2002: 42]
- (32) FE a. *tonuju tinaʔ okan kadi-ŋa-č*
 summer.ADV reindeer.PX.PL.1PL many.PROL be.ill-FREQ-3PL.PST
 'In the summer, our reindeer were very ill.' [LDB Plundered Sled]
- b. *bu ńi kadi-rʔ*
 3SG NEG.AUX.3SG be.ill-FREQ-CN
 'He is not ill.'

3.1.1. Labanauskas' interrogative conjugation

In the section on interrogative conjugation in Tundra Enets, Labanauskas subsumed a number of different morphemes, which were grouped by onomasiological and not by semasiological principles. The first interrogative subparadigm in conjugation II with singular object reference shows a suffix *-ba*. This can also be negated regularly with the negative auxiliary in *i-*. Semantically, both past tense reference and interrogativity seem to be attested, which makes a past interrogative function quite likely:

- (33) a. *modi fu-ba-bo*
 1SG put-IROG.PST-SG.1SG
 'Did I put it?' [Labanauskas 2002: 60]
- b. *modi i-ba-bo funo-?*
 1SG NEG.AUX-IROG.PST-SG.1SG put-CN
 'Did I not put it?' [Labanauskas 2002: 60]

In addition, a clausal example can be found:

- (34) *sira tia pođaroe šio šito tabada-ba?*
 white reindeer_[ACC.SG] harness.CON who 3SG.ACC order-IROG.PST.3SG
 'Who ordered you to harness a white reindeer?' [Labanauskas 2002: 61]

Labanauskas' next subparadigm, now in conjugation I, is based on a morpheme in *-doba*. This appears to be a combination of the future tense marker *-do* and the same past interrogative suffix *-ba* mentioned above. Negation seems to operate regularly:¹⁵

- (35) a. *modi kane-do-ba-đo?*
 1SG go-FUT-IROG.PST-1SG
 'Did I really go? (How could I go?)' [Labanauskas 2002: 60]
- b. *modi i-ba-đo? kane-do-?*
 1SG NEG.AUX-IROG.PST-1SG go-FUT-CN
 'Did I really not go? (How could I not go?)' [Labanauskas 2002: 60]

The next paradigms in Labanauskas' discussion are based on a morpheme *iŋa*, which matches the Forest Enets forms. In contrast to Forest Enets, Labanauskas' data shows both affirmative and negative forms:

- (36) a. *modi d'u[?]-iŋa-bo*
 1SG lose-IROG-SG.1SG
 'Did I lose it? (How could I lose it?)' [Labanauskas 2002: 60]
- b. *modi i-iŋa-bo d'osu-[?]*
 1SG NEG.AUX-IROG-SG.1SG lose-CN
 'Did I not lose it?' [Labanauskas 2002: 60]

For this form, only one clausal example is given:

- (37) *inexoŋi sooe-đo[?], miiro ote-iŋa-đo*
 brother.LAT.SG_{POSS}.PX.GEN.1SG drive-1SG what_[ACC] wait-IROG-1SG
 'I went to my brother, for what should I wait?' [Labanauskas 2002: 61]

Finally, Labanauskas mentions another form in this section. Based on its translation, it seems to be a past tense equivalent of the preceding form, but more morphological material is required. Again, negative forms seem to be possible. In contrast to the forms mentioned above, the formally affirmative form (38a) is also rendered by a negated clause in Russian. The formally negative form (38b) at least has a negative auxiliary in this complex predicate:

- (38) a. *modi kane-sii a-iŋa-đo[?]*
 1SG go-IROG? be-IROG-1SG
 'How could I not go?' [Labanauskas 2002: 60]
- b. *modi i-sii-(đo[?]) a-iŋa-đo[?] kane-[?]*
 1SG NEG.AUX-IROG?-(1SG) be-IROG-1SG go-CN
 'How could I not go? Really, I could not go?' [Labanauskas 2002: 61]

The morphological structure of such complex modal predicates is indeed problematic. Other forms mentioned in this section show optional vx marking on the negative auxiliary, which were given in brackets:

- (39) *modi fu-dii a-iŋe-no*
 1SG put-IROG? be-IROG-PL.1SG
 'How could I put many? (Really, I put many?)' [Labanauskas 2002: 61]

In other examples, however, vx marking is absent:

- (40) *modi i-sii a-iŋe-no funo-[?]*
 1SG NEG.AUX-IROG? be-IROG-PL.1SG put-CN
 'How could I not put many? (Really, I could not put many?)'
 [Labanauskas 2002: 61]

Due to scarcity of textual materials, a more detailed syntactic analysis remains impossible. In all attested examples (Labanauskas 2002: 61), the negative construction is not split by other constituents.

3.1.2. Helimski's account of *-iŋa*

Helimski's unpublished grammatical notes on Tundra Enets discuss a morpheme *-iŋa*, which he classified as an interrogative-predicative suffix.¹⁶

- (41) a. *mamiŋado* 'Would you say?'¹⁷
 b. *ômiŋado* 'Would you eat?'
 c. *puo'iŋado* 'Would you be fed?'
 d. *kaneiŋado* 'Would you go?'

Helimski's manuscript also contains examples showing standard negation:

- (42) a. *iŋa-ro* *me-ʔ*
 NEG.AUX.IROG-SG.2SG make-CN
 'Would you not do it?'
 b. *mod'i iŋa-đoʔ* *tu-ʔ*
 1SG NEG.AUX.IROG-1SG make-CN
 'Lest I come.'

What makes his account interesting is the fact that Helimski's data (41) presents two verbs that show irregular stem distribution, namely 'say' and 'go'. Their stems *mam-* and *kane-* suggest that the stems followed by *-iŋa* are the connegative forms. The glottal stop in example (41c) would also suggest this. If such an interpretation is correct, then we are dealing with an inverse negative construction that serves as a finite predicate. Otherwise, similar to Forest Enets, the potentially underlying complex predicate is semantically affirmative; an interrogative function is also clearly attested. When comparing Helimski's data with Labanauskas', it is somewhat surprising to see that in Helimski's account, this category is compatible with the future tense *-da* or the durative aspect *-gu*. In Labanauskas' data, only the future tense morpheme is mentioned, but in his examples for *-doba* the morpheme is complex and contains both the future tense marker as well as the past interrogative marker *-ba*:

- (43) a. *paḍodoiŋa* <write.FUT.IROG.3SG> ‘He looks as if he is writing.’
 b. *tôtagudoiŋa* <read.DUR.IROG.3SG> ‘He looks as if he is reading.’

Further, Helimski’s manuscript contains several negative examples where the forms subsumed under predicative interrogative lack an interrogative translation. In such instances, the Forest Enets counterfactive interpretation becomes possible. Apart from (43), one finds the following examples, shown here in (44). (44a) and (44b) are semantically neither identifiable as interrogatives nor were they translated as such; (44c) however matches the expected pattern:

- (44) a. *ńitoda śikoneda paḍodoiŋa*
 3SG self.PX.GEN.3SG¹⁸ write.FUT.IROG.3SG
 ‘He considers himself to be able to write.’
- b. *mod’i śikoneńi? kaneijaḍo?*
 1SG self.PX.GEN.1SG go.CN.IROG.1SG
ńia texo? tekare?
 door_[GEN] back.LAT hide.R.3SG
 ‘Apparently, I myself went and he hid behind the door.’
- c. *śio śī tabulaiŋa.*
 who 1SG.ACC keep.IROG.3SG
 ‘Who can hold me back?’

Finally, one example with *-ba* from Helimski’s manuscript is given here too. In contrast to *iŋa*, this morpheme was not labeled. Similarly to Labanauskas’s example, Helimski’s example also has a clear past tense interrogative function:¹⁹

- (45) *sira tia poḍaroe śio śito tabada-ba?*
 white reindeer_[ACC.SG] harness.CON who 3SG.ACC order-IROG.PST.3SG
 ‘Who ordered you to harness a white reindeer?’ [Labanauskas 2002: 61]
- (46) *t’ike mekito tu-ba-do*
 DEM chum.ABL.PL come-IROG.PST-2SG
 ‘Did you come out of these chums?’

3.2. Nganasan

A potential cognate for the aforementioned Forest Enets and Tundra Enets forms in Nganasan can be found in the tensed interrogative series. More precisely, the aorist interrogative mood in *-ŋV* appears to be relevant:

- (47) *маадя баң логя-ңы?*
 why dog bark-IROG.AOR.3SG
 ‘Why is the dog barking?’ [NgJa 48]
- (48) *тубтугуй-һу-ң хотүрэмту?*
 read-IROG-2SG letter.ACC.PX.3SG
 ‘Is he reading his letter?’ [NgJa 49]

Further, its negation is unproblematic:

- (49) *мāнизе эмны ни-ңы-ры'' нилы-''*
 because.of.what here NEG.AUX-IROG-2PL live-CN
 ‘Why don’t you live here?’ [Tereščenko 1979: 262]

Although we seem to be dealing with an etymological cognate, the functional variation is quite drastic. The interrogative function of Nganasan can be traced in Tundra Enets, but the Forest Enets counterfactive mood does not show any signs of interrogation. This relation seems to be meaningful and a comparative analysis will be attempted in the next section.

4. Comparative analysis

When comparing the Nganasan data with both Tundra and Forest Enets, it becomes obvious that Nganasan operates according to a different pattern. Although negation is asymmetric in the sense of Miestamo (2005), it is also symmetric (not in the sense of Miestamo (2005)), meaning that the Nganasan and Tundra Enets interrogative forms are negated regularly; morphological material appearing on the finite verb appears on the negative auxiliary too:

- (50) TE a. *modi d'u²-iŋa-bo*
 1SG lose-IROG-SG.1SG
 ‘Did I lose it? How could I lose it?’ [Labanauskas 2002: 60]
- b. *modi i-iŋa-bo d'osu-²*
 1SG NEG.AUX-IROG-SG.1SG lose-CN
 ‘Did I not lose it?’ [Labanauskas 2002: 60]

- (51) Ng a. *маадя баҥ логя-һы?*
 why dog bark-IROG.AOR.3SG
 ‘Why is the dog barking?’ [NgJa 48]
- b. *мāнизе эмны ни-һы-рвы” нилы-”*
 because.of.what here NEG.AUX-IROG-2PL live-CN
 ‘Why don’t you live here?’ [Tereščenko 1979: 262]

By contrast, Forest Enets, at least in the stages of the language for which material is available, has undergone change and apparently also simplification, and the historically negative forms were reanalyzed as an affirmative complex predicate:

- (52) FE *D’oa i-һа оо-р?*
 PN [NEG.AUX-CTF.3SG eat-FREQ.CN]
 ‘D’oa, of course, ate.’ [8:33]

Concerning tensed interrogative moods, this investigation has further shown that the three Taimyrian languages show a higher degree of convergence. Nganasan has a variety of interrogative forms in different tenses (Katzschmann 2008: 429ff). Here only aorist and past forms are given:

- (53) Ng a. *маадя баҥ логя-һы?*
 why dog bark-IROG.AOR.3SG
 ‘Why is the dog barking?’ [NgJa 48]
- b. *куниа сыты коны-бы*
 PRO.LAT 3SG go-IROG.PST.3SG
 ‘Where did he go?’ [NgJa 49]

Closest to Nganasan is Tundra Enets, which has a rather similar tensed interrogative mood system.²⁰ Again, only forms for past and aorist tense reference are given:

- (54) TE a. *кома-ба-до, i-ба-до, мет*
 want-IROG.PST-2SG NEG.AUX-IROG.PST-2SG chum.LAT.SG
кәне-да-до?
 go-FUT-1SG
 ‘Whether you want or not, I will go into the chum.’
 [Labanauskas 2002: 61]
- b. *мода d’u’-иҥа-бо*
 1SG lose-IROG-SG.1SG
 ‘Did I lose it? How could I lose it?’ [Labanauskas 2002: 60]

In contrast, Forest Enets has only one tensed interrogative mood (Siegl 2012; 2013: 285), which is not shared with Nganasan and Tundra Enets, but with the Nenets languages:

- (55) FE *obu-š* *Potabu-xuđ* *to-sa-d*
 what-TRSL Potapovo-ABL.SG come-IROG-2SG
 ‘Why did you come from Potapovo?’ [ZNB I 69]

- (56) TN *pıđar* *xinna* *pađnə-sa-n*
 2SG PRO.LOC write-IROG-2SG
 ‘Where did you study?’ [TMP I 1]

Further, all three Taimyrian Samoyedic language show a clear extension concerning the development of the assumed Proto-Samoyedic aorist marker *-*ŋā* into an interrogative aorist mood marker. Whereas the Nganasan development aorist → interrogative aorist mood is comparatively well known (see e. g. Katzschmann 2008: 412–413 for a survey), there are clear parallels in Tundra Enets, which so far seem to have been overlooked:

- (57) Ng *тубтугуй-һу-һ* *хотүрэмтү?*
 read-IROG-2SG letter.ACC.PX.3SG
 ‘Is he reading his letter?’ [Ng]a 49]

- (58) TE *inexoñi* *sooe-đo?* *miiro* *ote-iŋa-đo?*
 brother.LAT.SG_{POSS}.PX.GEN.1SG drive-1SG what_[ACC] wait-IROG-1SG
 ‘I went to my brother, for what should I wait?’ [Labanauskas 2002: 61]

Further, Forest Enets should also be subsumed in this grammaticalization scenario, but Forest Enets has gone much further than Nganasan and Tundra Enets. Although morphosyntactically negative, the category itself cannot be separated from the negative auxiliary any longer and the complex predicate serves as the meaning-bearing unit. Second, although the category is morphosyntactically negative, it is semantically affirmative. Third, an interrogative function can no longer be attached to this category. Fourth, interrogative intonation is absent.²¹ To be sure, the polarity switch from negative to affirmative must be considered the crucial step separating the Forest Enets form from its cognates in Tundra Enets and Nganasan.²² Apparently, the counterfactive mood construction derives from the transition of a negative echo question ‘did X not do’ to an affirmative modal ‘X did do so contrary to my expectation’, which has then acquired a constructional meaning ‘of course X did so, contrary to my expectation’:²³

- (59) FE *D'oa* *i-ŋa* *oo-rʔ*
 PN [NEG.AUX-CTF,3SG eat-FREQ.CN]
 'D'oa, of course, ate.' [8:33] (← D'oa did not eat, did he?)

As the data has shown, the similar function of *-ŋV* in the languages under discussion is hardly an instance of chance. Further, it is unlikely that the suffix *-ŋV* is anything other than the reflex of the Proto-Samoyedic aorist marker **-ŋǎ*. The Enets data has not been discussed in print so far, as these forms have remained unnoticed. In this respect, it appears that the interrogative function of the old Proto-Samoyedic aorist marker **-ŋǎ* is attested not only in Nganasan, as was previously known, but to varying degrees also in Tundra and Forest Enets.

5. Instead of a conclusion: aorist **-ŋǎ* → interrogative – areality or else?

The aforementioned apparent etymological parallels between Forest Enets, Tundra Enets and Nganasan, which are absent from the Nenets languages (and apparently from Southern Samoyedic too), impose several questions which are beyond the scope of this paper. The gradual demise of interrogativity connected to this form does, in principal, reflect the areal proximity and the potential contact history of the three Taimyrian Samoyedic languages. It does not come as a surprise to see that Tundra Enets and Nganasan are much closer than Forest Enets to any of the two other languages. Still, this point holds several questions for future research. The fact that the Proto-Samoyedic aorist marker now shows related interrogative aorist functions in three Northern Samoyedic languages is intriguing. In principal, this would permit two speculative interpretations at the current moment. A conservative approach would most likely attempt to explain this feature being of recent origin, of an areal nature and perhaps of individual or at best contact-induced origin in the languages under discussion. Another and clearly more radical approach would attribute this development to linguistic prehistory and early shared innovations in Enets and Nganasan, which date to a period long before Taimyrian areality. Initially, such an assumption does not look too impossible given the fact that the history of Proto-Samoyedic tenses and the development of interrogative moods now show similar grammaticalization paths. Whereas in Forest Enets and Nenets languages the Proto-Samoyedic past tense marker **-sǎ* has developed into an interrogative mood with past tense reference, in Nganasan

the Proto-Samoyedic aorist marker $*-\eta\acute{a}$ was grammaticalized as an interrogative mood with aorist reference. The accumulated data above suggests that the Nganasan innovation $*-\eta\acute{a}$ aorist \rightarrow interrogative aorist mood has also happened in Tundra Enets and shows reflexes in Forest Enets.

Proto-Samoyedic tense marker	Forest Enets	Tundra Enets	Nganasan	Tundra Nenets
Proto-Samoyedic past tense $*-s\acute{a}$ \rightarrow interrogative past tense	+	-	-	+
Proto-Samoyedic aorist tense $*-\eta\acute{a}$ \rightarrow interrogative present tense	+	+	+	-

Table 1: Development from tense to tensed interrogative marker

Although currently only a highly speculative proposal, if the grammaticalization aorist \rightarrow interrogative aorist mood is indeed an older and shared development, it could have implications for the genetic grouping of Samoyedic. Whereas the Enets and Nenets languages are generally seen as most closely related in both taxonomies (see Janhunen 1998), the interrogative function of $*-\eta\acute{a}$ separates the Nenets languages clearly from the Enets languages and Nganasan. In this point, the Enets languages and Nganasan are indeed very close and much closer than the Nenets languages to the Enets languages.

In the light of this paper, the development of the Proto-Samoyedic aorist suffix $*-\eta\acute{a}$ and the Proto-Samoyedic past tense marker $*-s\acute{a}$ as subsumed by Mikola (2004: 115–116) needs to be revised substantially. The resulting historical questions are reserved for the specialists.

Florian Siegl

Finno-Ugrian Studies

P.O. Box 24, 00014 University of Helsinki

<florian.siegl@helsinki.fi>

Notes

1. As a matter of fact, transliterations of narratives from a speaker of the current generation (collected by me in Potapovo in 2007 but unprocessed until late fall 2014 for a variety of reasons) produced several examples for this mood in spontaneous speech. All examples follow the pattern as found in the speech of the parental generation.

2. Although Irina Sorokina has been aware of this morpheme and examples appear in the text collection, the co-authored dictionaries and her grammar, a description is absent. In her grammar (Sorokina 2010: 390–391), forms in *iŋi* appear in the section on particles. In addition, other negative auxiliaries were classified as particles, which is a gross misinterpretation. Some preliminary observations on *iŋi* can be found in a grammatical comment in ET (page 46–47). In Tereščenko's writings, such as her sketch grammar on Forest Enets (1966) and her comparative syntax (1973), examples for this construction are absent.
3. Apart from the few instances that appeared in my own corpus of contemporary Forest Enets (all representing data from elicitation), this analysis was based on several transliterated recordings featuring speakers from the parental generation.
4. [8:23], [8:33], [8:39], [8:45], [8:53], [8:95], [8:102], [9:21], [9:50], [9:55], [9:68], [10:19], [12:5], [12:8], [12:26], [12:45], [12:47], [12:64], [12:94], [12:103], [12:125], [12:143], [12:181], [12:213], [12:214], [12:269], [12:292], [13:54], [13:8], [14:2], [15:41], [15:48], [23:12], [23:40], [32:17], [38:50], [45:8], [45:25], [52:21], [52: 26], [60:52], [61:8], [61:15], [61:32], [61:39], [61:42], [61:50], [66:34], [66:70], [71:38], [71:53], [71:68], [78:11], [78:11], [78:38].
5. The Forest Enets speech community's criticism of the speech of Nikolaj Palč'in has been addressed in Siegl (2013: 64–65) and should be consulted for further background information.
6. There are several more instances in other unpublished narratives from the parental generation which the author has transcribed with several Forest Enets assistants. Quantitatively, these narratives represent, again, the speech of Nikolaj Palč'in and to a lesser degree another speaker from the parental generation. With the exception of one example, this data has not been brought into the corpus used for this investigation.
7. The difference between existential and possessive predication is encoded by *px*-marking on the subject. A *px*-marked subject triggers a possessive reading; a non-possessed NP together with a locative adverb must be understood as existential (see Siegl 2013: 334ff).
8. This is intended to re-emphasize my position that transitivity and conjugation II do not go hand in hand in Forest Enets and that the function of conjugation II (trad: objective conjugation) is concerned with information structure (Siegl 2013: 249ff).
9. The first NP *niboda* represents a possessive Tundra Nenets form. The regular lexeme for 'mother' in Forest Enets is *ää+px*.
10. In fact, these two examples would support Sorokina's interpretation mentioned in footnote 1. As these examples are outnumbered by regular negative constructions, it is unlikely that they should be understood as instances of prototypical use.
11. The element *isiu* is classified by Sorokina as another particle (Sorokina 2010: 390–391); in Siegl (2013: 297f) as a mood marker of the assumptive mood (based on the negative auxiliary *i-*) which occasionally follows the connective verb. The fact that *isiu* appears here freestanding after a finite verb is problematic for both Sorokina's and Siegl's account and would require the original recording to see whether any meaningful intonation breaks would help to segment this example.
12. Unsurprisingly, all attested examples are affirmative.
13. Both accounts are based on Tundra Enets spoken in and around Voroncovo.

14. Labanauskas' data was published in Cyrillic script. These examples have been transliterated following my Forest Enets conventions. English translations of the examples follow Labanauskas' Russian translation.
15. For this form, too, numerous examples are given, but these do not contribute to this discussion and are therefore not reproduced.
16. In the manuscript *-иҥа* [вопр.-предл.?). The manuscript represents Helimski's sorted reading notes but cannot be called a grammar in the strict sense of the term as inflectional nominal morphology as well as syntax remained uncovered. I have cited only forms that are comprehensible from a Forest Enets perspective. Helimski's transcription is unaltered, while translations from Russian are mine. The glossing is also mine, as the manuscript does not contain morphological information.
17. Helimski's translations contain the Russian conditional particle *бы*, which is followed here. Whether this really implies a modal connotation or serves as a rough translation of the interrogative function cannot be answered.
18. Preliminary glossing and translation; the function of this and the related form below are not clear as similar forms are not attested in Forest Enets.
19. All examples with *-ba* in his manuscript are affirmative.
20. It appears that the Tundra Enets interrogative forms in *-ba* are indeed the etymological cognates of the Nganasan past tense interrogative forms in *-bV-/-xV-* (Katzschmann 2008: 430). Consequently, Mikola's attempt to reconstruct the Proto-Samoyedic tense system must be dismissed. Contrary to his assumption, Tundra Enets has not preserved the Proto-Samoyedic past tense marker **-sã* in this function: "Auch das Enzische hat PS **-sã-* als Interrogativzeichen bewahrt. Prokof'jew und Tereščenko haben einige Formen des Interrogativs aus der Bajicha-Mundart aufgezeichnet [...]. Aus der Chantaika Mundart haben wir keine Beispiele für den Interrogative, doch kann seine Existenz postuliert werden" (Mikola 2004: 115). The resulting implications must be postponed for the time being.
21. See Siegl (2012) for some remarks on intonation and interrogation.
22. Siegl (in print) discusses other examples which seem to have undergone a similar polarity switch development.
23. Note that the Tundra Enets examples (43) and (44 a,b) point toward a development into the same direction. Strikingly similar examples from Nganasan were presented by Wagner-Nagy (2011: 132).

Glossing

Forest Enets

[GEN]	non-possessed case	CTF	counterfactual
ADV	adverbializer	FOC	focus particle
ASS	assumptative mood	FREQ	frequentative
be _{loc}	locational copula	INCH	inchoative aspect
CAUS	causative	INDEF	indefinite marker
CN	connegative	LAT	lative case (postposition)
COM	comitative	LAT.SG	lative singular
CON	converb	LOC.SG	locative singular

The counterfactive mood in Forest Enets and its origin

NEG	negative suffix	PX.GEN.3SG	possessive suffix genitive series, singular possessum, 3 singular possessor
NEG.AUX	negative auxiliary		
NLZ	nominalization		
PERF	perfect	PX.PL.1PL	possessive suffix nominative series plural possessum, 1 plural possessor
PP	postposition		
PROB _{PST}	past probabilative mood		
PROL	prolative case	R.3SG	vX conjugation III
PST	general past	SG.3DU	vX conjugation II
PTCL	particle	TRSL	translative-essive case
PTCR.PFT	perfective participle		

Tundra Enets

CN	connegative	IROG.?	currently unclassifiable interrogative element
CON	converb		
DUR	durative aspect	IROG.AOR	interrogative mood aorist
e. g. PL.1SG	vX conjugation II	IROG.PST	interrogative mood past
e. g. .1SG	vX conjugation I	LAT	lative case (on postposition)
e. g. [GEN]	non-possessive case	LAT _{POSS}	lative allomorph
e. g. R.3SG	vX conjugation III		possessive declination
FREQ	frequentative aspect	NEG.AUX	negative auxiliary
FUT	future tense	PX.GEN	PX belonging to genitive series

Nganasan

ACC	accusative
AOR	aorist
CN	connegative
IROG	interrogative mood
NEG.AUX	negative auxiliary
PX	possessive suffix

Tundra Nenets

-2SG	vX conjugation I
2SG	pronoun
IROG	interrogative mood
PRO.LOC	interrogative locative pronoun

Origin of examples

Forest Enets [text:line] = Сорокина, И. П. & Болина, Д. С. 2005: *Энецкие тексты*. Санкт-Петербург: Наука. E. g. [ZNB Weekend] = data deriving from transcribed narrative; e. g. [ZNB I 32] = data deriving from elicitation.

Tundra Enets Helimski = Хелимский, Е. А. (n. d.): *Выписей по энецкой грамматике*.

Nganasan NgJa = Жовницкая, С. Н. (n. d.): *Нганасанский язык*. Красноярск.

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Indirectivity and resultativity in Tundra Nenets

This article deals with indirective and resultative predicates in Tundra Nenets. The focus is on two different categories of verbal inflection marked with the suffix *-we*, the resultative past participle and the narrative mood. The article discusses the functions, syntactic properties and common origin of these two predicate structures. It will be argued that the narrative mood developed from the past participle predicate in an earlier stage of the Nenets languages through reanalysis of the resultative predicate as a perfect/evidential form and transition of the non-finite predicate into a finite conjugation.

1. Introduction
2. The narrative mood and indirective evidentiality
3. The past participle and orientation
4. The resultative predicate *-we*
5. The derivational resultative *-bej*
6. Development of the resultative and perfect/evidential constructions
7. Conclusion

I. Introduction

In Tundra Nenets, the suffix *-we*¹ is used in two different functions and to mark two different categories of verbal inflection. First, it is the suffix of past participle and second, in finite conjugation, the suffix is used to denote evidentially marked past events. The past participle occurs commonly as a modifier of a noun (1). In addition to this, the past participle appears in predicative position in resultative or impersonal passive constructions, as in (2):

(1) *xoba-xəd səd-wī pīwa-ʔ*
fur-ABL sew-PTCP.PST boot-PL
'boots **sewn** of leather' (of-leather sewn boots) (NW: 21.9.2006)

(2) *ηopoj śanaku toxoča-xəd səd-wī*
one toy patch-ABL sew-PTCP.PST.3SG
'one toy **is sewn** of patches' (one toy (is) of-patch sewn) (NW: 19.7.2008)

The participle *sædwī* ‘sewn’ in example 1, modifying the head noun ‘boots’, appears in attributive position, which is typical of participles in general, as they are characterized as verbal adjectives (see Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993: 42; Haspelmath 1994: 152). In predicative position, in Tundra Nenets participles (*sædwī* ‘is sewn’ in 2), as well as verbs and nouns in indicative affirmative clauses, may act as predicates of a clause with no copula.

The suffix used in the finite conjugation has been earlier referred to as *perfect* (e. g. Labanauskas 1974), *narrative* (e. g. Collinder 1957: 441; Salminen 1997: 98²) and *inferential* (Nikolaeva 2014: 93–96). In this paper, I will use the term *narrative mood* based on the categorical status of the suffix, which morphologically belongs to the mood paradigm in Tundra Nenets (Salminen 1997: 98). In finite conjugation, the narrative mood *-we* most commonly denotes indirect information source of a past event, reported or inferred information or distance between the speaker and the stated action or event (3).

- (3) *jilē-wa-n-ta* *jampə-nh mələ* *ŋoka pəni-mʷ* *sæd-wī*
 live-NMLZ-GEN-3SG.POSS long-LAT already many clothing-ACC sew-NARR.3SG
 ‘During her lifetime she **has sewn** many clothes. (NW: 20.3.2008)

As can be noted in examples 2 and 3, when affixed to the predicate verb, the suffix *-we* can be either the past participle in a nominal predicate (2), or the narrative mood in a finite verbal predicate (3), both referring to a past event or action and its results or current relevance. Due to the identical form of the past participle and narrative mood suffixes and their similar function in predicative position, the narrative mood has not been distinguished as a separate category in many descriptions of the language.

For example, Tereščenko (1947: 182, 190; 1965: 902, 905; 1973: 144), Kuprijanova et al. (1985), Décsy (1966: 59–60), and Hajdú (1968: 51, 65) treat the predicate forms in *-we* as special forms of the past participle with personal inflection. This has led to misinterpretations repeated in typological studies, such as Aikhenvald (2004: 118) doing her best to interpret the references (Tereščenko 1973; Perrot 1996) and suggesting that the past participle is used in Nenets folklore as narrative technique. This is a misunderstanding, as a distinctive finite evidential marker can be distinguished both syntactically and semantically from the past participle predicate. Labanauskas (1974: 46–47) points out that the narrative mood (*perfect* in Labanauskas’ terminology) combines with all three conjugation types of Tundra Nenets: it takes the personal suffixes of the subjective, objective

and reflexive conjugation. Based on the morphology and function of the finite *-we* form, Labanauskas defines it a mood marker that has developed from the past participle. The same conclusion is supported in the modern grammar of Tundra Nenets (Nikolaeva 2014: 93).

Most of the earlier studies refer to some kind of connection between the past participle and the narrative, either by analysing them as one and the same form with different uses (Castrén 1845; Tereščenko 1947: 182, 190; 1973: 144), or by referring to the origin of the narrative mood in the past participle (Labanauskas 1974: 47, Nikolaeva 2014: 93; see also Salminen 1997: 109). Nonetheless, the distribution of the two forms in predicate constructions and the mechanisms behind the assumed grammaticalization have not gained attention thus far. This is what the present study aims to contribute to the discussion. In this study, I will investigate the differences and similarities between the narrative mood and the past participle predicate. Moreover, I will discuss the preconditions for and processes of the possible grammaticalization of the participle into the narrative mood marker. In this study, I will give special consideration to the semantics and syntax of the structures from the perspective of similar grammaticalization processes known from other languages.

The study is organized in the following way: Section 2 gives an overview of the functions of the narrative mood in Tundra Nenets. Sections 3–5 analyse the syntax and semantics of the past participles and the related suffix *-bej*, particularly in predicate position, where their main function is to denote resultativity. In section 6, I will argue that the history of the two homonymous morphemes is intertwined and that it reflects the tendency of resultatives to develop into perfects and indirectives, which is attested in languages areally and structurally close to Tundra Nenets. Finally, section 7 draws conclusions based on the findings.

The data consists of selected texts and recordings of spoken language. The texts consulted include Nenets folklore stories (JamLa) and newspaper articles in Tundra Nenets (the column *Ялумд* from the years 2005–2012, appearing in *Няръяна вындер* (= NW), the local newspaper of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug) as well as the sample sentences in Tereščenko 1965 (T65). The spoken data consist of fieldwork materials from the Taimyr Peninsula (NenTay 2011), including spontaneous stories as well as elicited translation sentences that were recorded in autumn 2011.³ In addition to these, I will refer to previous studies on the topic (Labanauskas 1974; Salminen 1997: 97; Tereščenko 1947; 1973; Ljublinskaja & Malčukov 2007:

456–462). I will give the examples in a transcription based on the Nenets orthography transliterated into the Finno-Ugric transcription (FUT). However, I have made some modifications to the orthography in order to present the most essential morphological oppositions⁴.

2. The narrative mood and indirective evidentiality

In all types of data used in this study, the narrative mood is the most frequently used non-indicative mood marker. The narrative mood is mutually exclusive with any other mood markers. However, it co-occurs with tense markers, the future and the general past (preterite), as well as the habitual aspect. Combined with the future tense, it denotes past intention or necessity (Nikolaeva 2014: 93), and combined with the preterite marker, it encodes more remote past (Ljublinskaja & Malčukov 2007: 459–461). Most commonly, however, the narrative mood appears with no additional tense marking, denoting a past action or event. Consider the following examples, which represent the three finite conjugation types of Tundra Nenets, the subjective (4), objective (5), and the reflexive (6).

(4) *pida xibāwa-mʔ pī-xəna məne-mī*
 she someone-ACC outside.LOC see-NARR.3SG
 ‘She saw/has seen someone outside.’ (NenTay2011_TMP)

(5) *tiki šer-mʔ jī-sawej-h šerta-we-da*
 this thing-ACC smart-COMIT-GEN make-NARR.SG<3SG
 ‘He has done this smartly.’ (T65: 150)

(6) *jiʔ xulca-wīʔ*
 water get.muddy-NARR.3SG.REFL
 ‘The water has become muddy.’ (T65: 779)

When referring to past events and actions, the narrative mood marker is often used to create certain distance between the speaker and the stated event or action. This usually means that the speaker is retelling something that she has not witnessed herself and has heard or learned from an unknown source, or source that is not necessary to be mentioned. It may also be something that the speaker infers from traces, results or consequences that she has access into, or a past event that the speaker tells in order to give background or relevance for something on discussion. This is why it is often used when telling something about other people (example (7)), something that the speaker has not witnessed and that cannot be considered as

a generally known fact, but rather something that the speaker has learned from other sources or something that she infers from visual evidence (example 8).

(7) *škola-xəna toxolko-wa-n-ta mal'ijkəna səwa-wna padtaŋko-wī*
 school-LOC study-NMLZ-GEN-3SG.POSS during good-PROS draw-NARR.3SG
 'At the time when he studied at school, he was good at painting.' (NW: 16.2.2006)

(8) *Etno-kulturnij ćentr-xəna Wəŋje-h jala-mʹ meʹ-manć*
 ethno-cultural centre-LOC crow-GEN day-ACC spend-PURP
ŋoka xibəfi-ʹ məʹle-jdə-ć;
 many person-PL gather-REFL.3PL-RET
xadako-ʹ, ŋudəko ŋəćekī-ʹ, ŋəć-mpoj ŋe-ʹ;
 grandmother-PL small child-PL young-MODER woman.PL
nəni-ʹ, pīribta-ʹ to-wī-ʹ
 boy-PL girl-PL come-NARR-3PL
 'Many people gathered in the ethno-cultural centre in order to partake in the Crow's day celebration. Old women, small children, young women, boys and girls had come there.' (NW: 24.4.2008)

In example (8), the narrative mood (*to-wī* 'had come') is contrasted with the general past tense, the preterite (*məʹlejdəć* 'gathered'). The first part, reporting that many people gathered to celebrate the Crow's day, is told in the preterite tense and the focus is on the action. The second part, telling that different kinds of people had come to the celebration, is told in the narrative mood, and the focus is on the relevance of a prior action, an action that has results that hold at the reference point (the people came → they were present).

In earlier studies, the narrative mood has been labelled as *perfect* (Labanauskas 1974; Ljublinskaja & Malčukov 2007: 456–459). Perfect (in some studies labelled *anterior*) has usually been defined as past action with current relevance (Dahl 1985; Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988: 15; Bybee et al. 1994: 54, 61). According to the definition given by Dahl & Velupillai (2013) in *The World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS)*, the perfect has at least two related but distinguishable uses: resultative use ("of an event, which has results that hold at the time of speech") and experiential use ("i. e. to say that a certain type of event took place one or more times over an interval of time ---: *I have seen worse things in my life.*"). The resultative use of the perfect illustrates well the function of the narrative mood form in example 8 above, and in many respects, the definition of perfect corresponds to the functions of the narrative mood. However, the

definition of perfect does not cover the evidential meaning, the indirect or distanced status of the information, which will be illustrated in the following examples.

In addition to reporting events about other people and events that the speaker has not witnessed herself, the narrative mood can also be used with the first person, telling about actions and events that the speaker has experienced and taken part in herself. Also in these cases, the narrative mood denotes some kind of distance between the speaker and the past event. It can be used when telling about events and experiences that the speaker does not remember well or events that have taken place without the speaker's control or active involvement, consider 9:

- (9) *Xada-mi* *ši'úi wada-wi-ś*
 grandmother-1SG.POSS I.ACC bring.up-NARR.3SG-PRET
 'My grandmother raised me.' (NenTay2011_VIZ)

A special instance of retelling past events that the speaker has not witnessed herself is telling narratives and folktales. The name of the mood *narrative*, relatively widely used in the studies of Samoyedic languages, is easily associated with certain genres of language use. However, tales in Tundra Nenets are usually not told in the narrative mood, and the events in narratives are commonly told in present tense of the indicative, sometimes also in the general past tense. Nevertheless, the narrative mood is also used, and it appears to be a conventionalized habit to begin a narrative using the narrative mood. Of the 44 narratives in the Nenets folklore text collection JamLa, 40 start with a couple of sentences told in the narrative mood. The beginning part of the folklore texts, told using the narrative mood, usually presents the main characters and the environment of the story before going into the actual events of the storyline, which are typically told in present tense. Consider examples 10 and 11, which represent the opening sentences of narratives:

- (10) *Nardalo xada-n-ta* *ńa*
 Ngardalyo grand.mother-GEN-3SG.POSS with
śida-mpoj-ŋe *jile-we-xeh*
 two-MODER-ESSTR live-NARR-3DU
 'Ngardalyo lived alone with her grandmother (the two of them)' (JamLa: 61)

- (11) *Ńawnanta xunananta ji[b]ća ȳabćena jaw-h war-xəna*
 once sometime salty smelling sea-GEN shore-LOC
ȳobh mađi-koća təńa-wī.
 one tent-DIM exist-NARR.3SG
T'iki mađi-koća-xəna ńe jilē-wī.
 this tent-DIM-LOC woman live-NARR.3SG
Ńum-ťa Tab Ed Xewko ȳæ-wī.
 name-3SG.POSS Tab Ed Xewko be-NARR.3SG
Wəsako-da juŋku-wī. Weńe-koća-nta
 husband-3SG.POSS not.exists-NARR.3SG dog-DIM-GEN.3SG.POSS
ńa jała-nfih síđa-mpoj-ȳe jilē-we-xeh
 with day-GEN.2DU.POSS two-DER-ESSTR live-NARR-3DU
 ‘Once upon a time on a salty seashore, there was a small tent. In the tent
 there lived a woman. Her name was Tab Ed Xewko. She had no husband.
 She lived all their days with her dog, just the two of them. (JamLa: 41)

After the introduction part where the prevailing conditions are described using the narrative mood, the actual storyline of the narrative is told in present tense and in the indicative mood. The narrative illustrated in example 11, from the beginning of the tale, continues as demonstrated in 12:

- (12) *Ńobȳkuna xūbta-xəna weńe-koća-da tofe-jʔ*
 one.time morning-LOC dog-DIM-3SG.POSS bark-REFL.3SG
Tab Ed Xewko ȳin-h təp-īʔ
 Tab Ed Xewko out-LAT go.out-REFL.3SG
ja-[h] síđa jan-[h] səŋo-m-ta ȳədara.
 land-GEN two part-LAT look-ACC-3SG.POSS send.3SG
 ‘One time the dog started barking in the morning. Tab Ed Xewko
 went out of the tent and looked to both sides.’ (JamLa: 41)

It can be noted that in the tale illustrated in examples 11 and 12, the narrative mood is used to indicate the theme and general setting of the tale, including the main characters and the circumstances they live in, and when the actual events are told, the indicative present or past tense is used.

The preterite form of the narrative mood (also the *pluperfect*) is described as denoting a more remote temporal distance between the time of speech and the topic time (Ljublinskaja & Malćukov 2007: 459–461). In the data used in this study, the preterite of the narrative mood is not very frequently used in folklore texts (JamLa), and there are fewer than twenty examples in T65⁵. However, in the newspaper texts (NW), which represent the western variety of Tundra Nenets, the preterite of the narrative mood

is the most common strategy used to encode past tense and more commonly used than plain narrative mood or plain preterite. Whereas JamLa, which represents the eastern varieties, contains only a couple of examples of the narrative preterite, and the narrative mood with no preterite marking is more frequent than the general past (indicative preterite), NW has many more examples of the narrative preterite than the indicative preterite, and the narrative mood with no preterite marking is relatively rarely used.⁶ Most newspaper texts are written in the present tense, as they give information on current news. However, reference to past tense is needed in the texts when they provide the background information and history of the people and events that are the topic of the news. A typical text in newspapers is a biography of a currently interesting person, written mostly in the narrative preterite. Consider example 13:

- (13) *Leonid Aleksejevič* *Jamal-[h]* *ńana* *1955* *po-xəna*
 Leonid Aleksejevič Jamal-GEN POSTP.LOC 1955 year-LOC
maj? *jifi-xəna* *soja-wi-ś*
 May month-LOC be.born-NARR.3SG-PRET
 ‘Leonid Aleksejevič was born in May 1955.’ (NW: 16.2.2006)

It is possible that the fact that newspaper articles represent a different genre of text than folklore narratives could explain the difference in the frequency of the preterite of the narrative mood. It seems more likely, however, that the explanation can be found in dialectal variation. The texts in NW represent the western variety of Tundra Nenets and might therefore differ from other varieties. Comparison to newspaper texts published in *Taimyr* in the easternmost area where Tundra Nenets is spoken supports this hypothesis. It seems that in the texts published in *Taimyr*, the frequency of the preterite of the narrative mood is as low as in the folklore narratives.

Furthermore, in addition to the high frequency of the preterite forms of the narrative mood, another special characteristic of the newspaper texts from the western area is that deverbal adjectival resultative forms in *-bej* are relatively frequently used as predicates. In the texts, there are examples of the forms in *-bej* used in the function of the resultative perfect, as demonstrated in 14 (see also Nikolaeva 2014: 108). The forms in *-bej* will be further discussed in section 5.

- (14) *pida ηoka ηəmke-mʔ ηerm-h ja-h jeʔəmńá śerta-bej*
 (s)he much thing-ACC north-GEN land-GEN for do-RES.3SG
 ‘She has done a lot for the Northern land.’ (NW: 15.11.2005)

Another function of the narrative mood, in addition to encoding perfect and non-witnessed past, has been described with the concept of mirativity (Ljublinskaja & Malčukov 2007: 456–459; Nikolaeva 2014: 95). Usually the narrative mood is used in clauses where there is temporal distance between the time of speech and the topic time, as demonstrated in the previous examples. However, the narrative mood can also refer to current situations. Consider examples 15 and 16:

- (15) *xij fuko-xəna me-we-n!*
 EXCLAM this-LOC be-NARR-2SG
 ‘Hey, you appeared to be here!’ (T65: 790)

Introduction for 16: [An old man and a giant decide to compete about which one of them owns the sun. The old man wins the game with his cleverness.]

- (16) *tərća serʔ ηədīm-ć śodbā-ja ma:*
 this thing turn.up-CNV giant-AUG say.3SG
məń xajer-ńi juηku-wī
 I sun-1SG.POSS not-exist-NARR.3SG
 ‘Noticing how things were, the giant said: apparently
 the sun does not belong to me.’ (JamLa: 130)

In both examples above, the speaker discovers the current state of affairs, which is new information or even surprising to her/him. Encoding new information or immediate perception of events (Lazard 2001: 361), in addition to the speaker’s surprise or unpreparedness for the observed situation (DeLancey 1997: 36) as well as sudden discovery and counter-expectation (Aikhenvald 2012: 437, 473), are the meanings usually connected to the concept of mirativity. Mirativity, as defined by DeLancey (1997), has been questioned both as a cross-linguistic function and as an independent language-internal category (Hill 2012). However, contrary to this, it has been convincingly argued that in many languages, unexpectedness or new information is one of the central usages of those categories that encode indirect evidentiality (Slobin & Aksu 1982: 197–198; Aikhenvald 2004: 195–215; Lazard 1999).⁷ In these languages, a perfect or indirective,

like the narrative mood in Tundra Nenets, expresses different types of non-first-hand information, as well as different aspects of mirativity.

An indirect evidential form that encodes such functions as hearsay, inference and mirative, something similar to the Tundra Nenets narrative, is a characteristic of several languages of the Central Eurasian area (Lazard 2001: 361–363; Comrie 2000; see also “pan-Eurasian evidential perfect” in Nichols 1986: 253). Lazard (1999) refers to these categories as *mediative*, while Johanson (2000) and Lindstedt (2000: 375) have suggested the term *indirective*. In addition to Turkish and Balkan Slavic languages, the area of these indirect evidentials appears to extend from the Turkic languages to many of their neighbouring languages (Johanson 2000: 83–84; Aikhenvald 2004: 289) covering all Turkic languages (Johanson 2000: 61) as well as for example Armenian and Albanian (Slobin & Aksu 1982: 197–198; Friedman 2003; Lazard 2001: 361–363). They can also be found in Eastern Uralic languages such as Khanty, the Permic languages and Mari, as well as Tungusic languages (Nikolaeva 1999; Leinonen 2000: 421–422; Malchukov 2000). The semantics of these indirect evidentials vary from one language to another, but their functions can typically be described with the concepts of hearsay, inference and mirative, similar concepts that have been used to describe the various functions of the narrative mood in Tundra Nenets⁸ (Labanauskas 1974; Ljublinskaja & Malčukov 2007: 456–459).

The narrative mood in Tundra Nenets is used for encoding indirect information and backgrounding the narratives as well as for expressing mirativity, but it also denotes past action with current relevance, which is the primary definition of perfect. In fact, there is a cross-linguistically documented tendency for perfects to develop into indirect evidentials (Bybee et al. 1994: 95; Lindstedt 2000: 371–374). Aikhenvald (2004: 112) explains the semantic connection of non-first-hand information and perfect with the main function of perfect and its focus on the results of a past event. Traces or results of a past action or event are the basis for drawing the inference on the actual past event. However, inference based on traces of a past event requires observation of the results as they appear in the current moment (see also Dahl 1985). A more fine-grained analysis of the interconnection of this development and the relation of perfect and indirective meaning to resultatives will be given in section 4.

Despite the fact that the narrative mood conveys a wide range of information sources and meanings related to evidentiality, it is only one of the

many non-first-hand evidential markers in the language. Morphosyntactically speaking, the finite suffix in *-we* belongs to the mood category of the language (Salminen 1997: 98). The mood category consists of 17 different suffixes used in expressing different person and temporal reference of altogether 13 evidential, epistemic, deontic functions as well as clause type. Members of the mood category can combine with all conjugations, the subjective, objective and reflexive, they apply verbal negation affixing to the negative verb instead of the non-finite connegative form of the main verb, and they are mutually exclusive, so that in one verb form there can be only one mood marker (Salminen 1997: 97).

In addition to the narrative mood, the category includes several other suffixes that express different types of non-first-hand evidentiality. These are modal-evidential suffixes such as inferentials in *-nake/-weke* encoding inference and reasoning, and simulative-evidentials in *-naraxa*, *-wəntaraxa*, *-raxawe* denoting information inferred on basis of visual observation, similar to English ‘seemingly’ (see also Labanauskas 1981, 1982; Kuznecova & Usenkova 2006; Ljublinskaja & Malčukov 2007: 448–452). Two of these mood markers, namely *-weke* and *-raxawe*, consist of compound suffixes, where the element *-we* is apparently originally the same element as in the narrative mood. In these compound suffixes, too, the marker *-we* denotes past tense, while the other part denotes the evidential meaning (Labanauskas 1981, 1982; Jalava 2012). Consider example 17:

- (17) *pida* *ŋəmkewa-mʔ* *temta-wekī*
 he something-ACC buy-PROB.PST.3SG
 ‘She probably bought something.’ (NenTay2011_TMP)

These mood markers have variants for other tenses, the present and the future, where they apply different temporal elements (*-na* for present, *-wənta* for future) compounded with the evidential-marking part of the suffix. In addition to the indirect evidential suffixes, there is one direct evidential suffix in Tundra Nenets, the auditive, which is used to encode direct non-visual perception but sometimes also reported information.

In the modal-evidential system of Tundra Nenets represented by the mood category, the narrative mood has its place as an indirect evidential. In some contexts, its function is close to other mood suffixes that denote different shades of non-first-hand evidentiality, but unlike many other non-first-hand suffixes, the narrative mood usually does not denote epistemic evaluation, but instead emphasizes the indirectness of the informa-

tion source or distance between the told events and the moment of speech. Categories with similar functions appear in many languages of the so-called Central Eurasian area. These categories (indirectives, mediatives, etc.) are typically linked to small evidentiality systems such as “non-first-hand versus everything else” (Aikhenvald 2004: 29–31). In Tundra Nenets, however, the narrative mood is included in a rich system of grammatical modal-evidential suffixes.

3. The past participle and orientation

The past participle in *-we* (~ *-wī* ~ *-me* ~ *-mī*), e. g. *māncara-wī* ‘the one who worked’, is one of the four participles in Tundra Nenets. The others are the present (aorist) participle with the suffix *-na* (e. g. *māncara-na* ‘working’), the future participle with the suffix *-wānta* (e. g. *māncara-wānta* ‘the one who will/must work’), and the negative participle with the suffix *-wātawej* (e. g. *māncara-wātawej*).

The past participle can be either active or passive with relation to its head, depending on the transitivity of the verb. With intransitive verbs, the past participle is oriented towards the verb’s agent participant, as in 18, and the reading is active:

- (18) *wīŋ-kəd* *to-wī* *ŋáčekī*
 tundra-ABL come-PTCP.PST child
 ‘the child who **has come** from the tundra’ (T65: 846)

As for transitive verbs, when affixed to these, the past participle is oriented towards the verb’s patient participant, and it has passive meaning. Consider example 19 (= 1 in section 1):

- (19) *xoba-xəd* *səd-wī* *ǰīwa-ʔ*
 fur-ABL sew-PTCP.PST boot-PL
 ‘boots **sewn** of leather’ (of-leather sewn boots) (NW: 21.9.2006)

In some languages, there are different participial markers for active and passive participles. For example, in Finnish, the participle *-NUT* is always oriented towards the verb’s agent: *tul-lut* ‘the one who came’ and the participle *-TU* is oriented towards the verb’s direct object: *ommel-tu* ‘(the item that was) sewn’. In a language such as Tundra Nenets, where the same participial suffix is used for active and passive interpretation, the notion of *orientation* (see Haspelmath 1994: 152–154, adopted from Lehmann 1984: 152)

describes the active-passive distinction. Table 1 below illustrates the past participles and their orientation in Tundra Nenets and Finnish. In Tundra Nenets, there is only one past participle that can be oriented either towards the agent or the patient, depending on transitivity of the verb. In Finnish, past participles are inherently oriented so that the marker specifies the orientation.

	Tundra Nenets	Finnish	
Agent-oriented	<i>towī</i> (WE)	<i>tullut</i> (NUT)	‘the one who came’
Patient-oriented	<i>sædwī</i> (WE)	<i>ommeltu</i> (TU)	‘(the item that was) sewn’

Table 1: Orientation of the past participles in Tundra Nenets and in Finnish

The agent of the patient-oriented participle can also be overtly expressed with a possessive suffix equivalent to the person of the agent and a genitive form of the agent noun. Consider examples 20 and 21 below, where the past participle forms *jo-me* ‘lost [by someone]’ and *ηəwlampə-we-mi* ‘fed by me’ take the possessive suffix according to the person of the agent, the first person singular in 20 and the third person singular, *Nina*, in 21.

- (20) *ηəwlampə-we-mi* *weńako* *tedah* *xa-wī*
 feed-PTCP.PST-1SG.POSS dog now die-PTCP.PST.3SG
 ‘the dog I used to feed is now dead’ (NenTay2011_TMP)
- (21) *Nina-h* *jo-me-da* *telefon-ta* *tukū-na* *ηa*
 Nina.GEN loose-PTCP.PST-3SG.POSS telephone-3SG.POSS this-LOC be.3SG
 ‘The telephone that Nina lost is here.’ (NenTay2011_TMP)

In predicate position, the past participle of a transitive verb is also patient-oriented. This can be seen by contrasting examples 22 with past participle predicate and 23 with narrative mood (= examples 2 and 3 in section 1).

- (22) *ηopoj* *śanaku* *toxóca-xəd* *sæd-wī*
 one toy patch-ABL sew-PTCP.PST.3SG
 ‘one toy is sewn of patches’ (one toy (is) of-patch sewed) (NW: 19.7.2008)
- (23) *jilē-wa-n-ta* *jampə-nh* *məla* *ηoka*
 live-NMLZ-GEN-3SG.POSS long-LAT already many
pəni-mʔ *sæd-wī*
 clothing-ACC sew-NARR.3SG
 ‘During her lifetime she has sewn many clothes.’ (NW: 20.3.2008)

In both examples, the form of the transitive verb looks the same, *sædwī* ‘sewn’, but the examples differ in their orientation. In example 22, the subject *śanaku* ‘toy’ is not the agent but the patient or the action expressed by the predicate, whereas in 23, the third person subject is the agent, the active performer of the action, and the patient, the direct object ‘many clothes’, is marked with the accusative. The same difference between the patient-oriented participial predicate and the active narrative mood is illustrated in examples 24 and 25.

- (24) *ťuku xər xurka jeśa-xəd śerta-wī?*
 that knife which metal-ABL make-PTCP.PST.3SG
 ‘What kind of metal is that knife made of?’ (T65: 111)
- (25) *ťiki śer-m? jīsawejh śerta-we-da*
 this thing-ACC smartly make-NARR.SG<3SG
 ‘He has done this smartly.’ (T65: 150)

The agent of the patient-oriented past participle can also be added to a passive construction. Nikolaeva (2014: 239–245) gives several examples of passive clauses with syntactically expressed agents. However, in text collections and the data of this study, the overt expression of the agent in the passive construction is rare, and most of the patient-oriented past participle predicates are agentless, as in examples 24 and 25 above. The agent of the passive construction can be marked either with genitive (26) or with locative (27), and in cases with a first or second person agent, the participial takes the possessive suffix according to the person of the agent:

- (26) *ťiki xən mēlad-h śerta-wī*
 this sledge master-GEN make-PTCP.PST.3SG
 ‘This sledge was made by a master.’ (T65: 247)
- (27) *mañ weńako-xəna śakal-me-da ŋæ-we-dm?*
 I dog-LOC bite-PTCP.PST-3SG.POSS be-NARR-1SG
 ‘I was bitten by a dog.’ (NenTay2011_TMP)

An agent in genitive, as in 26, corresponds with the strategy that is used when the participle is in modifying position, as in 21 earlier. The locative agent appears in translations and elicited data, possibly due to Russian influence. In Russian, the instrumental case is used to encode the agent in passive constructions, and in Tundra Nenets, the locative case

is also used to express instrumental function. According to Nikolaeva (2014: 241), the locative agent is used in the western varieties, but it also occurs in my field data deriving from the Eastern area, however only in elicited sentences.

4. The resultative predicate -we

In predicate position, the Tundra Nenets past participle encodes a state or quality that derives from a past action or event, as in the previous examples 24 ‘is made of metal’ and 22 ‘is sewn of patches’, and it can be considered a *resultative*. Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988: 6) define resultatives as constructions that signal that a state exists as a result of a past action. Making the patient the subject, as in the same patient-oriented examples from Tundra Nenets, is also a characteristic of resultatives in different languages (Bybee et al. 1994: 54).

In predicate position, participles behave syntactically like nominal predicates. In indicative affirmative clauses, non-verbal predicates are formed by adding the verbal suffixes of the subjective (intransitive) conjugation directly onto the nominal stem, and in the case of participial predicates, after the participial suffix. Participial predicates cannot agree with the subject using suffixes of the objective or the reflexive conjugation, and only suffixes of the subjective conjugation are acceptable. Furthermore, in negation, past participial predicates, like any other nominal predicates, use the copula verb *ŋa* ‘be’, to which the connegative marker is suffixed, see 28.

- (28) *ŋobfiki jewaku dolgan jilē,*
 also.there orphan dolgan live.3SG
śa-ta pad-wī ŋī ŋa-ʔ
 face-3SG.POSS draw-PTCP.PST NEG.3SG be-CNG
 ‘An orphan Dolgan also lives there, and his face is not tattooed.’ (JamLa: 17)

In the case of verbal predication, the connegative marker is affixed to the predicate verb, and the copula is not used:

- (29) *Narka Tašinij ŋi-w mane-sʔ, ŋi-wī tu-ʔ*
 Older Tasinij NEG-1SG>SG see-CNG NEG-NARR.3SG come-CNG
 ‘Old Tasinij, I cannot see him; apparently, he did not come.’ (JamLa: 59)

In addition to negation, the copula is also used in the expression of non-indicative moods in past participle predicates just like in any nominal predicates, and the mood markers cannot be affixed to the participial stem. Examples 30 and 31 represent different inferential moods with a past participle predicate.

- (30) *ηαχα[?]na* *to-wī* *ηα-wanηkαβa*
 long.time.ago come-PTCP.PST be-PROBII.3SG
 ‘He has probably come a long time ago.’ (T65: 390)
- (31) *pαne-koča-dīh* *jilēbc-h* *xoba-xad*
 clothing-DIM-PL.3DU.POSS wild.reindeer-GEN fur-ABL
sæd-wī *ηα-ja[?]*
 sew-PTCP.PST be-OPT-3PL
 ‘Let their clothes be sewn of wild reindeer’s fur.’ (JamLa: 119)

The copular strategy is also applied for past participle predicates with narrative mood marking. In this case, the predicate construction consists of a past participle and a copula suffixed with the narrative mood marker. The proposed resultative state is indicated with the past participle of the main verb, while the narrative mood in the copula adds the evidential meaning. Consider examples 32–33:

- (32) *pαne-koča-dīh* *jilēbc-h* *xoba-xad*
 clothing-DIM-PL.3DU.POSS wild.reindeer-GEN fur-ABL
sæd-wī *ηα-wī-[?]*
 sew-PTCP.PST be-NARR-3PL
 ‘Their clothes were sewn of wild reindeer’s fur.’ (JamLa: 120)
- (33) *ti* *xa-wī* *ηα-wī*
 reindeer die-PTCP.PST be-NARR.3SG
 ‘The reindeer turned out to be dead.’ (NenTay2011_LNF)

The examples of negation in 28 vs. 29 and non-indicative mood marking in 30–33 indicate that regardless of the homonymy of the two suffixes, the syntactic structure of the past participle and the narrative is different. Moreover, with transitive verbs, the two forms have different orientations with respect to the subject of the clause (narrative mood in agent-oriented or active expression, past participle in patient-oriented or passive expression), as was demonstrated in section 3 (examples 22–25). Furthermore, as a nominal predicate, the past participle cannot agree with the subject using the personal suffixes of the objective or reflexive conjugation.

However, with certain verbs, the syntactic structure of the two forms is also the same. The constructions look similar in indicative affirmative clauses with those intransitive verbs that denote a change of state. In these kinds of clauses (34 and 35), without a wider context, both interpretations, the narrative mood and the resultative past participle, would be possible.

- (34) *ti xa-wī*
 reindeer die-PTCP.PF.3SG/-NARR.3SG
 ‘The reindeer is dead/has died.’ (NenTay2011_LNF/TMP)
- (35) *ńe-h p̄nī-da womtara-wī-ʔ*
 woman-GEN clothing.PL-3SG.POSS become.ragged-PTCP.PF-3PL/-NARR-3PL
 ‘The woman’s clothing is/has become ragged.’ (T65: 56)

Both examples 34 and 35 denote a past event that affects the subject and changes its state. However, the clauses can both refer to either the past event (‘The reindeer has died’), or the state resulting from the event (‘The reindeer is dead’). Bybee et al. (1994: 63) demonstrate the difference between these functions, the past event with current relevance (perfect) and state resulting from a past event (resultative), with the following examples from English:

- (36) *He is gone.* *He has gone.*
The door is closed.⁹ *The door has closed.* (Bybee et al. 1994: 63).

In English, the constructions with *be* are resultative, whereas the constructions with *have* represent the perfect. In Tundra Nenets, the difference is clear when it comes to transitive verbs, because the subject of the resultative past participle formed from a transitive verb is its patient, and the subject of the narrative mood is its agent. Therefore, the resultative state in example 22 in section 3 (‘the toy **is sewn** of patches’) follows from a past action similar to what is illustrated in example 23 in the same section (‘she **has sewn** many clothes’).

Time adverbials can be used as test for distinguishing perfects and related categories, as only resultatives, but not perfects, can combine with time adverbs expressing unlimited duration (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988: 15–16; Lindstedt 2000: 370). In Tundra Nenets, the time adverbial *tedah* ‘now’ as in example 37 (= 20 in section 3) appears with the perfect participle predicates that encode state. Thus, in this context, the predicate *xawī* ‘dead’ can more naturally be interpreted as resultative encoding state than as a narrative that would refer to the past event.

- (37) *ηəwlampə-we-r̥i* *weńako* *tedah* *xa-wī*
 feed-PTCP.PST-1SG.POSS dog now die-PTCP.PST.3SG
 ‘The dog I used to feed is now dead.’ (NenTay2011_TMP)

In my data, there are no certain examples of imperfective/continuative verbs such as ‘live’ in past participle predicates: there are no examples of nominal negation, modal marking with copula, appearance with time adverbials of unlimited duration, etc. Consequently, the -we forms of these verbs in predicate position are analysed as examples of the narrative mood. Consider the verb ‘live’ in example 38:

- (38) *xər-ta* *xoj-xəna* *soja-wī*,
 him/herself-3SG tundra-LOC be.born-NARR.3SG
wado-wī, *jile-wī*
 brow.up-NARR.3SG live-NARR.3SG
 ‘She herself was born in the tundra, and grew up
 and lived there.’ (NW: 21.10.2010)

Thus, only the past participles formed from verbs that have perfective lexical aspect, such as ‘make’, ‘sew’ and ‘die’ in the previous examples 22, 24 and 33, can act as predicates. However, the past participle forms of imperfective verbs such as ‘run’ and ‘live’ appear in modifying position, usually specified by an adverbial that expresses time or location:

- (39) *xoj-xəna* *jile-wī* *ńe*
 tundra-LOC live-PTCP.PST woman
 ‘the woman who lives in the tundra’ (NW: 19.8.2010)

In Tundra Nenets, it is possible to form past participle predicates from perfective verbs expressing telic events that are complete at least in some sense. These events have affected their participants and caused the state that characterizes the participant as a result of the event. Haspelmath (1994: 157–161) argues that resultative participles from intransitive verbs are usually possible only if the situation is telic (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988: 5) use the concept *terminative*). This follows from the fact that atelic events are not considered to result in any state (Haspelmath 1994: 160). In this sense, the Tundra Nenets past participle can be defined as a prototypical resultative participle only in predicate position. However, past participles from imperfective verbs, such as ‘lived’ in 38, are also used to characterize the head noun with a past completed event or experience that has probably affected the subject.

In addition to the telicity condition, another feature typical of resultative participles their orientation towards a non-agentive participant. Haspelmath (1994: 157–159) gives examples of different languages, where passive past participles are formed from transitive verbs and active participles are formed from telic intransitive verbs or unaccusative verbs, whose argument is not the agent but resembles more the patient of a transitive verb. Following Nedjalkov’s and Jaxontov’s (1988: 6) definition of resultatives, Haspelmath (1994: 159–161) suggests the notion *resultative participle* for these morphemes that create past passive participles from transitive verbs (abused child) and past active participles from telic intransitive or unaccusative verbs (wilted dandelion).

In Tundra Nenets, too, the majority of past participle predicates are typically oriented towards their patient or experiencer. Past participles from transitive verbs are patient-oriented (passive), and many of the past participles from intransitive verbs are formed from unaccusative verbs such as ‘become ragged’, ‘die’ or ‘be born’, as in the previous examples 38, 33, 34 and 36. The common property of these verbs is that their only participant is not the agent but rather resembles the patient that is affected by the action expressed by the verb. For this reason, participles from unaccusative verbs can be considered patient-oriented, even if they are not passive. Table 2 summarizes the appearance and semantic orientation of the past participles from different types of verbs in Tundra Nenets: past participles from transitive verbs and unaccusative intransitive verbs are patient-oriented, while past participles from agentive (unergative) intransitive verbs are agent-oriented.

	Participial modifier in NP	Participial predicate
Transitive verb	P (‘sewn’)	P
Intransitive unaccusative verb	P (‘was born’)	P
Intransitive agentive perfective verb	A (‘came’)	A
Intransitive agentive imperfective verb	A (‘lived’)	no examples

P = participant equivalent to patient, A = agent participant

Table 2: Orientation of the past participles from different types of verbs in Tundra Nenets

In the data, there are no examples of past participles from intransitive imperfective verbs, which can be explained by the telicity condition of the resultatives. Furthermore, it can be concluded that it is the patient-oriented past participle predicates in Tundra Nenets appear in (agentless) passive and anticausative (unaccusative) constructions. Both of these constructions express a state resulting from an event that has affected the state of the subject. Moreover, agent-oriented past participles can be formed from intransitive agentive verbs, which in modifying position tend to appear in a context that limits the range of the process. In predicate position, it appears that only past participles of perfective verbs can be used as resultative predicates.

5. The derivational resultative *-bej*

In the context of the resultative participle *-we*, another resultative suffix, *-bej* (~ *-pej*), must also be mentioned. In the western and middle dialects of Tundra Nenets, this deverbal suffix can also be used for expressing properties very similar to the resultative states expressed by the past participle (see Tereščenko 1956: 180–181; 1965: 910; Hajdú 1968: 51). Consider examples 40 and 41 with the word *tirabej* ‘dry; thin; weak’ from *tira(š)* ‘to wither; to dry’:

(40) *tira-bej xoba*
 dry-RES fur
 ‘dried fur’ (T65: 681)

(41) *ša-ta šidortā-š tira-bejə-š*
 face-3SG.POSS pale.3SG-PRET dry-RES.3SG-PRET
 ‘she was pale and weak’ (T65: 681)

Despite the resultative, participle-like use of the suffix *-bej*, it is not considered a participle but rather a deverbal adjectival derivative suffix. Despite the fact that participles are often characterized as verbal adjectives because of their syntactic position, they are not real adjectives in the sense that they would only denote a property; they instead to the action or event expressed by the verb. Consequently, in modifying position, the event they refer to can be specified using adverbials of time, place, manner or cause (43). As for *-bej* forms, they are not participial forms of verbs, but rather adjectives derived from verbs that express property, and they do not usually appear with adverbials of time and place or expression of manner or cause (42).

The difference between *-we* participles and *-bej* suffixes can be illustrated by the following examples of Tereščenko (1956: 181).

(Tereščenko 1956: 181)

- | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------------|--------------|-------------|------|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| (42) | <i>pəra-bej</i> | <i>ńan-h</i> | <i>xoba</i> | (43) | <i>tu-xəd</i> | <i>pəra-wī</i> |
| | burn-RES | bread-GEN | peel | | fire-ABL | burn-PTPC.PST |
| | ‘a burned bread crust’ | | | | <i>ńan-h</i> | <i>xoba</i> |
| | | | | | bread-GEN | peel |
| | | | | | ‘a bread crust that burned in fire’ | |

The dictionary (Tereščenko 1965) gives many of these forms in *-bej* as dialectal variants of the past participle forms of the same verb, or the other way around: *śamtbej* ≈ *śamtwī* ‘smoked (transitive)’, *jurwī* ≈ *jurbej* ‘forgotten’, *pərawī* ≈ *pərabej* ‘burned’. The orientation of the *-bej* forms depends on the transitivity of the verb in the same way as with past participles, as can also be seen in examples 42–43.

In the data, in the material deriving from the eastern dialectal area on Taimyr Peninsula (JamLa and NenTay2011), the suffix *-bej* appears only with a few forms, which may be lexicalized. It appears in certain deverbial derivations, the most common being *xabej* ‘dead’ (instead of *xawī* as in example (37) above):

- | | | | |
|------|--|---------------|-----------------|
| (44) | <i>məńije-pnan-ta</i> | <i>wari</i> | <i>ńa-ta</i> |
| | see-SUB-3SG.POSS | barely | tent-PL3SG.POSS |
| | <i>ter[ʔ]</i> | <i>xa-bej</i> | <i>ńæ-rxa</i> |
| | resident[PL] | die-RES | be-SIMEV.3SG |
| | ‘When he saw it, the residents of the tent seemed to be dead.’ (JamLa: 26) | | |

In addition to *xabej* ‘dead’, such deverbial adjectives as *ńarmpej* ‘aged’, *ńajabej* ‘young’, *xińebej* ‘decent’ also appear in the data from the Taimyr Peninsula. As for the data from the western dialect, the newspaper texts in NW include several examples of resultative adjectives in *-bej* derived from different verbs, in both modifying and predicative position:

- | | | | | |
|------|--|------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| (45) | <i>Vasilij Ledkov</i> | <i>səć</i> | <i>ńoka-wna</i> | <i>padnə-bej,</i> |
| | Vasilij Ledkov | very | much-PROS | write-RES.3SG |
| | <i>xabi-xən-ta</i> | | <i>məńcara-bej</i> | <i>xībəri-ś</i> |
| | with.all.one’s.might-LAT-3SG.POSS | | work-RES | person.3SG-PRET |
| | ‘Vasilij Ledkov has written very much. He was a person who has worked with all his might.’ (NW: 23.3.2006) | | | |

- (46) 1942 *po-xəna tipærfa-[h]* *semja-xəna soja-bej*
 1942 year-LOC reindeer.herder-GEN family-LOC be.born-RES.3SG
 ‘He was born in 1942 into the reindeer herder’s family.’ (NW: 14.5.2005)

In the data from in the western varieties of Tundra Nenets (NW), the forms in *-bej* appear to be replacing past participles and also the narrative mood in many contexts (see also Nikolaeva 2014: 107–108). The newspaper texts in NW include several examples of predicates in *-bej*, some of them also in transitive clauses, as in 47 (= 14), where the predicate is agent-oriented and the object is overtly expressed. In other varieties of the language, the narrative mood would be used in this context (cf. 23 in section 3).

- (47) *Pida ηoka ηəmke-m[?] ηerm-h ja-h je[?]əmna śerta-bej*
 (s)he much thing-ACC north-GEN land-GEN for do-RES.3SG
 ‘She has done a lot for the northern land.’ (NW: 15.11.2005)

It is noteworthy that although the syntax and semantics of the *-bej* forms in affirmative clauses resembles the narrative mood, in negation it uses the nominal strategy in the same way as participial predicates (48), and in the data, there are no examples of the verbal negation strategy applied to the predicate in *-bej*.

- (48) *ńeneć-je[?] kultura-m[?] wada-m[?] nəmtə-bej ńi-[?] ηa-[?]*
 Nenets-GEN.PL culture-ACC language-ACC comprehend-RES NEG-3PL be-CNG
 ‘They did not understand the Nenets culture and language.’ (NW: 14.1.2010)

The negation strategy suggests that also in the western varieties of the language, the status of forms in *-bej* is nominal and syntactically closer to the past participle than the narrative mood. However, it seems that in the western varieties, in addition to the resultative predicate function, the form is also gaining functions of the narrative mood, and it might be in process of replacing it in these varieties. As was pointed out in section 2, the preterite form of the narrative mood is much more common in the data of NW than the plain narrative mood. This also indicates that the functions expressed by the narrative mood in other varieties are often replaced by other strategies in the western varieties.

6. Development of the resultative and perfect/evidential constructions

The resultative past participle and the narrative mood in Tundra Nenets are identical, and also semantically close to each other. For this reason, it is plausible that they also have a common origin. The past participle predicate refers to a state that results from a past action, whereas the narrative mood expresses various evidential functions of a past event including functions closely connected to the definition of perfect. Resultative and perfect are, in a way, different perspectives on the same event or action (see also Dahl 1985; Aikhenvald 2004: 112). Traces or results of a past action or event are evidence for inferring that the past event has taken place. However, inference based on traces of a past event requires observation of the results as they appear in the current moment. Using the examples of Bybee et al. (1994: 63), the state *He is gone* results from the past action *He has gone*. Respectively, the past action *He has gone* can be inferred from the existing state *He is gone*.

Past	→	Current moment
Action/event	→	results
<i>He has gone</i>	←→	<i>He is gone.</i>
<i>The door has closed</i>	←→	<i>The door is closed</i>
perfect (past action)	←→	resultatives (state resulting from a past action)

Moreover, as well as evidentiality, also mirativity, which characterizes a proposition as newsworthy, unexpected, or surprising, may grammaticalize from resultative (Hengeveld & Olbertz 2012: 498–500). This way, mirativity can be considered to include both discovering the resultative state and expressing unexpectedness or importance of the state or the event that it results from.

Although the suffixes of the past participle and the narrative mood are identical in Tundra Nenets, comparison to the closest related language shows that in an earlier stage of the language, they have probably been morphologically distinct. In Forest Nenets, the suffix for past participle is *-mä* whereas for narrative mood, the suffix is *-mâj* (Salminen 2012: 342; see also Sammallahti 1974: 81–82, 93). The past participle suffix of the Nenets languages derives back to the past participle reconstructed to Proto Samoyedic as **-mø(-yø)*, which goes back to Proto-Uralic (Janhunen

1998: 473). The narrative mood, perfect or similar finite verbal category has not been reconstructed to Proto-Samoyedic, and it appears to be of more recent origin. However, the close functions of the resultative past participle and the narrative mood in the contemporary languages as well as their similarity in form indicate that the origin of the two forms is common. Table 3 illustrates the development of the past participle and narrative suffixes in the Nenets languages.

	Past participle (non-finite)	Narrative mood (finite)
Proto Samoyedic	*-mø-yø	–
(Pre-)Proto Nenets	Emergence of the finite predicate and divergence of the two categories	
Forest Nenets	-mä	-mâj
Tundra Nenets	-we (~ mī = miə)	-we (~ mī = miə)

Table 3: Development of the past participle and narrative in the Nenets languages

If there were already two formally different suffixes in Proto-Nenets, the narrative mood would already have developed before this stage of the language, but probably after the Proto-Samoyedic period, as there are no finite cognates in the other Samoyedic languages. If the narrative mood developed from the past participle form, the resultative past participle form was then reanalysed as a finite predicate, the perfect, which later developed evidential meanings. The emergence of the differentiated suffixes can probably be explained by the different morpho(syn)tactic position of the non-finite form and the finite predicate. Later, in Tundra Nenets, the two suffixes merged, but in Forest Nenets they have remained differentiated.

The current situation in Tundra Nenets, where the two different functions are morphologically homonymous, reflects a similar situation assumed to have existed in an earlier stage of the language, called Pre-Proto-Nenets in Table 3. Assuming that the resultative predicate encoded by the past participle has developed into the narrative mood, it must also be assumed that the two functions were first encoded by one suffix. A precondition for the emergence of a new form in this kind of situation is polysemy of the original form, which leads to its reanalysis as a new category (see Hopper 1991: 22; Hopper & Traugott 2003: 124–126). This means that different functions and perhaps later also differentiated forms exist in the lan-

guage side by side. From this perspective, analysing the two homonymous forms in Tundra Nenets gives information about the original situation in an earlier stage of the language before the two forms started to differentiate. Thus, Tundra Nenets can be used as an example language illustrating the reanalysis of the resultative construction as perfect and evidential in the history of the language.

It was demonstrated in the earlier sections that the non-finite (past participle) and finite (narrative) predicate in *-we* differ from each other in their basic semantics and orientation as well as in syntax in many contexts. In order to trace the construction in which the reanalysis of the original form would have been possible, we must examine the contexts where the two constructions are identical. Looking at the orientation of the past participles from different types of verbs and their appearance in predicate position (Table 4), we can conclude that participial and narrative predicates of intransitive unaccusative verbs and intransitive agentive verb of perfective aspect are those with a similar orientation.

	Participial modifier in NP	Participial predicate	Finite predicate
Transitive verb	P ('sewn')	P ('x is sewn')	A ('y sewed x')
Intransitive unaccusative verb	P ('was born')	P	P
Intransitive agentive perfective verb	A ('came')	A	A
Intransitive agentive imperfective verb	A ('lived')	no examples	A

P = participant equivalent to patient, A = agent participant

Table 4: Orientation of the past participles from different types of verbs in Tundra Nenets

Because the orientation in the non-finite and finite predicate are the same, predicates of intransitive unaccusative verbs and intransitive agentive verbs of perfective aspect are the best candidates for the original polysemous construction that led to the reanalysis of the resultative construction. The reanalysis of these verbs expressing situations that change the state of a participant has produced the new perfect or evidential construction. Example 49 shows the polysemy of the Tundra Nenets constructions and illustrates the assumed reanalysis that took place in Pre-Proto-Nenets:

RESULTATIVE	>	(PERFECT) NARRATIVE
(49) <i>ti xa-wī</i>		
reindeer die-PTCP.PST.3SG	>	die-NARR.3SG
'The reindeer is dead.'	>	'The reindeer has (apparently/reportedly) died'

As was argued in section 4, examples 34 and 35 can be interpreted either as resultative (nominal predicate in past participle) or evidential (narrative mood). From the perspective of grammaticalization, the polysemy of the construction (is dead/has died) has opened up the possibility for reanalysis of the construction as a finite predicate and the resultative predicate suffix as a mood suffix. The reanalysis of the form as a mood suffix has made it possible to conjugate the form also in objective and reflexive conjugation and to apply verbal negation strategies.

A very similar development is currently taking place in the western varieties of Tundra Nenets, where the suffix *-bej*, which in other varieties is used as a deverbial adjectival suffix, is used as resultative participle suffix that also appears to have partially replaced the narrative mood as a finite perfect-like suffix. This suffix originates from a Proto-Samoyedic past participle **-pVju¹⁰* (Mikola 1988: 259), and some of its cognates in other Samoyedic languages are used as finite suffixes. Most importantly, in Forest Enets, the suffix *-bi* – a cognate of the Tundra Nenets *-bej* (ibid.) – is the perfect marker (Siegl 2013: 263–264)¹¹. Originating from an earlier participial or verbal noun marker, the Forest Enets perfect is a result of the same grammaticalization process that its cognate suffix is undergoing in the western varieties of Tundra Nenets: *xabej* 'dead' (resultative adjective) → *xabej* 'has died' (perfect). The *-bej* forms are considered non-finite forms and their negation is nominal (see 3.3., example 48), but they still have some properties of finite predicates (see 3.3., examples 46 and 47). This is why they can be considered an example of an ongoing grammaticalization process of a non-finite resultative into finite perfect construction, the parallel case for what has been suggested for the development of the Tundra Nenets narrative mood in this study, and probably also for the development of the Forest Enets perfect.

The development of resultatives into perfects and further into indirect evidentials or past tense markers is a tendency in many languages of Eurasia but also in languages spoken in other parts of the world (Comrie 2000: 3, 6; Bybee et al. 1994: 95).¹² The notion of perfect appears to be a link between resultative state and indirect evidentiality illustrated by examples

drawn from many languages. However, perfect is typically not the only function of a marker, and it is very common for perfects to develop further into past tenses or indirectives (Lindstedt 2000: 378). As was discussed in section 2, most languages spoken in the Central Eurasian area (South-Eastern Europe and Western Asia) have an indirect evidential category deriving via perfect interpretation from resultative constructions (Comrie 2000: 3; Lindstedt 2000; Lazard 2001: 360). Contact with Turkic languages is one plausible source of the development in all these languages (Johanson 2000: 83–84; Friedman 2000: 357; Aikhenvald 2004: 289), but the typological perspective and the structure of the languages must also be considered (Friedman 2000: 357).

What has not been emphasized in earlier studies of resultatives developing into perfects and indirectives is that the change from resultative into perfect/indirective often involves a change in predicate type from non-verbal to verbal. In many languages, perfects develop from past participial forms of the main verb appearing with or without a ‘be’ auxiliary¹³ (Bybee et al. 1994: 95–96). However, what is noteworthy about indirectives and perfects from the perspective of many languages of the Central Eurasian area is that in the same languages where perfects and indirectives develop from resultatives at the functional level, their origin at the syntactic level is in non-finite past participle constructions. For example, the East Old Turkic *-miš* (> e. g. Turkish *-miş*) was used both as a finite and non-finite unit (Johanson 2000: 62), and the two different uses of the morphologically identical forms, resultative in non-finite constructions and evidential in finite constructions, remain in contemporary Turkish (Csató 2000: 33). In Balkan Slavic languages, the evidential form also derives from a common Slavic resultative participle (Friedman 1986: 171). Moreover, in Ob-Ugric and Permic languages, as well as Northern Tungusic languages, evidential markers are similar to participles and originate from them (Johanson 2000: 62; Nikolaeva 1999; Leinonen 2000: 421–422; Malchukov 2000: 457). It appears that in languages that use copula-less non-finite predication for participles, like Tundra Nenets, the evolution of resultatives into evidentials or perfects is directly linked to nonverbal predicates becoming part of verbal predication strategies.

Looking from an areal-typological perspective, it is evident that resultatives are a common source for perfects and indirect evidentials in many languages, especially in the area of Central Eurasia. The clear semantic similarity of the functions of resultative and perfect is an obvious precon-

dition for this development. Another factor seems to be the expressing of resultativity with past participial predicates, which seems to be the strategy used by most of the languages of the area. Thus, instead of grammatical replication as result of direct language contact, the grammaticalization of the narrative mood in Nenets might be an expected consequence of the syntactic structure used for certain functions, namely expressing resultativity with past participle predicates. The potential of resultatives to develop into perfects is actualized when the syntactic structure allows for a reanalysis of the original construction. This is also what is happening with the *-bej* forms in the western varieties of contemporary Tundra Nenets. However, even if direct language contact would not be the only plausible source of these grammaticalization processes in Nenets, the earlier contacts of Proto-Samoyedic with Turkic and also later contacts with other Siberian languages cannot be ignored, considering the structural similarities of the languages where the development of resultative participles into perfects and evidentials has taken place.

7. Conclusion

Languages acquire evidentials through contact, borrowing categories rather than forms (Aikhenvald 2004: 302), and the development of resultatives into perfects and indirective evidentials is a well-known tendency attested in many languages. This tendency has also been regarded as an areal phenomenon in an area covering the usage areas of Turkic and its neighbouring languages (Dahl 1985: 152; Johanson & Utas 2000; Lazard 2001: 360). In the context of Eurasian languages, the evolution of resultative predicates in Nenets seems to follow the same development paths attested in many other languages.

In this study, I have analysed two identical suffixes in Tundra Nenets, the past participle (*-we*) and the narrative mood (*-we*) from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. Synchronically, the forms have different main functions, as the past participle denotes resultativity, while the narrative mood is used to express different evidential functions, most importantly, an indirect source of information or some sort of distance between the speaker and the proposition. However, both forms refer to the past: past participles denote the resultative state of a past event, while the narrative mood encodes information about a past event. In predicate position, the past participle is a non-finite predicate, whereas the narrative

mood is finite. Consequently, they use different strategies in certain syntactic positions, for example in negation. Furthermore, the past participles from transitive verbs are patient-oriented or passive in that their subject is the patient, whereas the predicate in narrative mood agrees with its subject, which is the agent.

I have argued that the narrative mood *-we* has developed from the past participle through reanalysis of the resultative predicate as perfect/evidential. This development most probably took place by the Proto-Nenets period, as in addition to Tundra Nenets, the narrative mood appears in its closest related language, Forest Nenets. Forest Nenets material indicates that in Proto-Nenets, the past participle and the narrative mood suffix were differentiated in form, meaning that their homonymy in Tundra Nenets is result of a later merger. A development of a resultative suffix into a perfect-like finite suffix is currently going on in the western varieties of Tundra Nenets, where the deverbal adjectival suffix *-bej*, used in predicate position, has features of both nominal and verbal predication, and therefore seems to be grammaticalizing from a resultative marker into a marker of perfect tense.

The data from Nenets provides additional evidence of the tendency of resultatives grammaticalize into perfect markers and evidentials of indirectivity. The path of development and the functions of the narrative mood have parallels in many other languages of Central Eurasia, as well as in languages spoken relatively close to Nenets and other Samoyedic languages. The evidence from Nenets can be seen as expanding the borders of the area of Central Eurasian evidentials derived from resultatives. Furthermore, the evidence can be interpreted from the perspective of participial predicates as a precondition for the grammaticalization of resultatives into evidentials. The semantic potential of resultatives to develop into perfects is actualized in a certain syntactic construction, the predication of past participials.

Lotta Jalava
General Linguistics
P.O. Box 24 (Unioninkatu 40)
00014 University of Helsinki
<lotta.jalava@helsinki.fi>

Notes

1. Alternation *-we* ~ *-wī* (*-wiə*) affixed to vowel stems, *-me* ~ *-mī* (*-miə*) affixed to consonant stems.
2. In his analysis of the form in Tundra Nenets, Salminen (1997: 98) follows Sammal-lahti's (1974: 82).
3. The fieldwork was conducted together with Florian Siegl. Some of the recordings were made by the author of this paper, some of them together with Siegl.
4. In these modifications I apply the principles of the (morpho)phonology of Tundra Nenets (see Salminen 1997). However, the transcription used here does not correspond with the phonological transcription used by Salminen, and it not aim to show the deep phonemic form of the words. For example, the special schwa phoneme marked with /^o/ by Salminen (1997) is not marked here in the contexts where it is not pronounced. Furthermore, the characters I use differ from the characters used in Salminen's transcription (1997) in many respects. For example, I use the apostrophe for palatal consonants (e. g. [h́]) instead of [Cy] (e. g. [ny]) used by Salminen, and the glottal stop is here marked with [ʔ] instead of [q] (as also in Wagner-Nagy 2011 and Siegl 2013).
5. Altogether approximately 10 000 sample sentences.
6. Approximately 1300 clauses in preterite tense of the narrative mood, approx. 6000 clauses in the general past tense (the preterite tense of indicative), and approx. 600 clauses in narrative mood with no preterite marking in NW (consisting of roughly 30 000 clauses).
7. In some other languages, mirativity can also be considered as an independent category that characterizes a proposition as newsworthy, unexpected, or surprising (Hengeveld & Olbertz 2012: 490–498). Among those languages that express unexpected information with the same strategies which they use for expressing reported or inferred information are for example Turkish (the *mİş*-past) and the Balkan Slavic languages (the *I*-past) (Slobin & Aksu 1982: 197–198; Friedman 2003; Lazard 2001: 361–363).
8. According to Ljublinskaja & Malčukov (2007: 456–459), the main functions of the Nenets narrative mood (“perfect”) are resultative (stative perfect), actional perfect, evidential perfect and admirative.
9. Often regarded as the “stative passive” in English (Bybee et al. 1994: 63).
10. According to Janhunen (1998: 473) a proto-Samoyedic verbal noun **-mpa-γə* that derives back to Proto-Uralic.
11. The Nganasan cognate suffix *-HU* (~ *-bi*, etc.) is used as marker of past tense questions (Wagner-Nagy 2002: 113).
12. A number of well-studied examples are known from languages spoken in Eurasia such as Turkish and related languages (Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1986: 165), as well as Bulgarian, Armenian, Macedonian and Georgian (Dahl 1985: 152), Germanic and Romance languages (Bybee et al. 1994: 68), and Eastern Uralic languages (Nikolaeva 1999; Leinonen 2000: 421–422).
13. In addition to past participle constructions, perfects may develop from possessive constructions (as in Germanic languages), from constructions with the main verbs and a particle meaning ‘already’, or from constructions with verbs such as ‘finish’ or ‘cast aside’ (Bybee & Dahl 1989: 67–68).

List of abbreviations

1SG, etc.	person and number of subject or possessor	MODER	moderative suffix
		NARR	narrative mood
1SG>SG, etc.	person and number of subject and number of object in objective conjugation	NEG	negative auxiliary
		NMLZ	nominalization
		OPT	optative mood
		POSS	possessive
ABL	ablative	PRET	preterite (past tense)
ACC	accusative	PROB	probabilitative
AUG	augmentative suffix	PROBII	probabilitative II
CNG	connegative	PROS	prosecutive
CNV	converb	PST	past
COMIT	comitative suffix	PTCP	participle
DIM	diminutive suffix	PURP	purposive converb
EXCLAM	interjection	REFL	reflexive conjugation
FUT	future (derivative tense)	RES	resultative adjective suffix
GEN	genitive	SIMEV	similitive-evidential
LAT	lative	SUB	conditional converb (subordinative)
LOC	locative		

Data

JamLa = LABANAUSKAS 2001 (ed.) = К. И. Лабанаускас: *Ямидхы” лаханаку”* – Сказы седой старины. Москва: Русская литература.

NenTay2011 = Field recordings collected on the Taimyr Peninsula in autumn 2011 by Lotta Jalava and Florian Siegl.

NW = the column *Ялумд”* from the years 2005–2012 that appears in *Няръяна вындер*, the local newspaper of the Nenets Autonomous Okrug.

T65 = ТЕРЕШЧЕНКО 1965 = Н. М. Терещенко 1965: *Ненецко-русский словарь*. Москва: Советская Энциклопедия.

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The grown-up siblings: history and functions of Western Uralic *kse

In this paper, it is claimed that the case suffix *kse, known as translative, dates back to the Finnic-Mordvin proto language, where it functioned as a functive. It is illustrated using synchronic data from Finnic-Mordvin languages that the functions of *kse do not display an inherent feature of directionality ‘into’, or in other terms, lative. It is even possible that the suffix was neutral with respect to time stability, as it is in contemporary Erzya. Further, it is assumed that since the Northern Finnic languages have acquired a new stative case, the functive labelled *essive* *nA, formerly applied as an intralocal case, the functions of *kse have changed in these languages: *kse has become mainly the marker of a transformative, with an inherent feature of dynamicity.

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1. Introduction

The translative suffix *kse is included among the specific morphological features of the Finnic-Saami-Mordvin languages. According to Jaakko Häkkinen (2013: 196), it is one of the features that permit the assumption that there has been a shared Western Uralic (WU) proto-language. There are many areas in Uralic morphosyntax that are still understudied, with the

present one, however, not belonging to these. The *kse element has been a target of interest for several linguists, and thus, there is quite a large body of previous research concerning its use and development. The aim of the present treatise is to show that the theme is, however, worthy of re-evaluation. In line with Ante Aikio and Jussi Ylikoski (2007: 60), this paper focuses on the history of the morpheme, paying more attention to its functions. The case endings displaying functions such as those of *kse suffixes have been recently studied also in a wider typological context by Martin Haspelmath and Oda Buchholz (1998), as well as by Denis Creissels (2013). The present paper utilizes the theoretical tools offered by typological linguistics.

The functions of *kse in the Finnic-Mordvin languages are partly shared, but there is also variation, making it a very fruitful subject for a comparative approach. In the present study, it is assumed that the synchronic data drawn from Erzya, Estonian, Livonian and Finnish are able to illustrate all the core functions that the inflectional suffix *kse might have had in the previous stages of the languages. It is of course possible that with additional data, the picture might become more fine-graded, and this is the direction that future research should take.

The functions of the inflectional suffix *kse in the contemporary Finnic-Mordvin languages have been studied in detail at least in Finnish by Eero Voutilainen (2011), and partly in Erzya by Rigina Turunen (2011). The suffix in Estonian has gained attention as well at least in the works of Kristiina Pai (2001) and Mati Ereht & Helle Metslang (2003). The grammatical descriptions of smaller Finnic languages include the antecedents of the suffix in their case paradigms. Because of the clear contact-induced change the suffix *kse has undergone in Livonian due to Latvian influence,¹ it is not necessary to discuss the functions of the Livonian translative-comitative here, but see Grünthal 2003.

In this paper it is suggested that the suffix *kse was applied as a case suffix also in the Western Uralic period, and thus dates back to that stage of the proto-language. The main hypothesis of the present paper is that *kse was inherently a derivational suffix that has been reanalysed as a functive, equative or similitive, as well as a suffix expressing purpose. It still has these functions in Erzya, and to varying extents in the sister languages as well. If the suffix has a cognate in Samoyedic, as suggested by Juha Janhunen (1989: 301), the relationship between case ending and derivational suffix must be reconsidered. Jaakko Häkkinen (2013: 196) agrees that in terms of phonology, Proto-Samoyedic *-tâ corresponds perfectly to

a Uralic *ksi translative. He adds, however, that Proto-Samoyedic *t may also originate from many other phonemes, and the correspondence might also be a consequence of coincidence. To my mind, it is methodologically questionable to refer to coincidences, and hopefully further research will shed light on the issue in more detail.

In line with the main hypothesis of this paper, it is assumed that the suffix does not have an inherent feature of directionality ‘into’, or in other terms, lative. It is even possible that it has been neutral with respect to time-stability, as it is in contemporary Erzya. Further, it is assumed in the present treatise that as the Northern Finnic languages have acquired a new stative case, the functive labelled *essive* *nA, formerly applied as an intralocal case, the functions of *kse have changed in these languages: it has become mainly the marker of a transformative, with an inherent feature of dynamicity.

The structure of the paper is as follows. Firstly, the typological background for the discussion is sketched. Secondly, the achievements and suggestions of previous research are dealt with, and the main arguments against the lative hypothesis are presented. Thirdly, functions of translatives are discussed with broader data from contemporary languages, and the functional space of the *kse suffixes is described. In the end, the development of *kse is discussed.

The data employed in this paper is from multiple sources. Data representing Erzya is from Šatko journals, from the electronic corpus of Research Unit for Volgaic Languages at the University of Turku. Finnish data is from Eero Voutilainen’s (2011) master thesis, which is based on a massive corpus of authentic data, but Google has also been used to search to find authentic examples from the Internet. The examples originating from Internet sources are not necessarily written in standard Finnish, but reflect also colloquial Finnish. Examples from other languages are from varying sources, always indicated before the example.

2. Typological background: *kse as a functive

A functive involves the notion of function or role, secondary predicate, which is the same as Haspelmath & Buchholz’s (1998) definition for *role phrases*: they express the role or function in which a participant appears, ‘as an N’. The examples in Table 1 illustrate functives in English, Hungarian, Erzya, Estonian and Finnish. The original sentences were in English;

the Hungarian, Erzya, Estonian and Finnish ones are translations. Hungarian was chosen here because of its multiple encoding strategies, not to demonstrate a diachronic relationship between the suffixes. All sentences were translated by native speakers². It must be noted that the word order of the constituents could vary.

- | | | |
|----|-----------|--|
| a. | English | John is working as a teacher . |
| | Hungarian | János tanár-ként dolgozik. |
| | Erzya | J. tonavtića-ks važodi. |
| | Estonian | John töötab õpetaja-na . |
| | Finnish | J. työskentelee opettaja-na . |
| b. | English | I got these books as a gift . |
| | Hungarian | Ezeket a könyveket ajandék-ba kaptam. |
| | Erzya | Nét' knígaťneń kažńe-ks sajiń. |
| | Estonian | Ma sain need raamatud kingi-ks . |
| | Finnish | Sain nämä kirjat lahja-ksi . |
| c. | English | I mentioned this as an example . |
| | Hungarian | Ezt pél-da-ként említettem. |
| | Erzya | Teń ńevťevks-eks ľedšťija. |
| | Estonian | Tõin selle näite-ks . |
| | Finnish | Mainitsin tämän esimerkki-nä . |
| d. | English | I am talking to you as your friend . |
| | Hungarian | Barát-ként mondom neked. |
| | Erzya | Jalga-ks kortan tońeť. |
| | Estonian | Räägin sinuga kui sõber . |
| | Finnish | Puhun sinulle ystävä-nä . |
| e. | English | We were given ham as a first course . |
| | Hungarian | Előétel-nek nekünk sonkát adtak. |
| | Erzya | Vašeńće-ks makssť' teńek vétčina. |
| | Estonian | Eelroa-ks meile anti sinki. |
| | Finnish | Alkupaloi-ksi meille annettiin kinkkua. |
| f. | English | I used my sweater as a pillow . |
| | Hungarian | A pulóveremet párna-ként használtam. |
| | Erzya | Pulóverem putija přalkso-ks . |
| | Estonian | Kasutasin oma kampsunit padja-na . |
| | Finnish | Käytin paitaani tyyny-nä . |

Table 1: Examples of functives in English, Hungarian, Erzya, Estonian and Finnish

When there are multiple patterns used to encode the functive, the case marking, or the choice of analytic construction such as in Estonian in Example d, depends also on the verb in the corresponding sentence. The role of the verb and the construction type is discussed to some extent below, but definitely should be studied in more detail elsewhere.

The grammatical category of the functive is rather fuzzy. Creissels (2013) shows that there are many grammatical functions that often get the same formal encoding as functive in the world's languages. In his cross-linguistic study it was observed that in many languages at least some of the functions (functive, similative, equative, transformative) were encoded by one and same formal element. There are languages in which all these functions get the same formal encoding; Erzya would belong to these, but there are many languages that employ the same suffix only in some of the functions. The boundaries are language-dependent. The categories that tend to receive the same formal encoding are the following ones:

- 1) Functive: 'as an N', 'function in a role'
- 2) Equative: 'identification of an entity with reference to relatively stable properties'
- 3) Transformative: 'into an N' (contextual variant of equative)
- 4) Similative: 'like an N', 'in the same way as an N'

The formal devices vary from language to language, and the constructions may be either analytic ones or grammatical morphemes. It is also possible that a specific function may be optionally encoded using some other formal device, and some examples are given also in this paper.

The separate WU languages employ their *kse translatives varyingly also with regards to the frequency of functions. In Erzya, similative is a frequent function of the Erzya translative, see Example 1. In Finnish, the functions of similative as well as equative seem at first glance to be absent, but this is not the case, as will be shown below. Translative-encoded NPs occur as equatives in Estonian, as in Example 2. All of the Finnic-Mordvinic languages employ their translatives in the transformative function, as illustrated with Finnish in Example 3.

Erzya (Śatko 2003: 10)

Function: similitive

- (1) *ardo-m-sto miń čol'ed'-ińek tundo-ń narmuń-ńe-ks, /.../*
 drive-INF-ELA we warble-1PST.1PL spring-GEN bird-DIM-TRA
 'While driving we warbled like small spring birds.'

Estonian (Raud 1998: 33)³

Function: equative

- (2) *kas kirikuõpetaja-ks on ikka seesama Moosel?*
 Q priest-TRA be.3SG still the.same M.
 'Is the same Moosel still (working) as the priest?'

Finnish (Voutilainen 2011: 15)

Function: transformative

- (3) *lainaussäännö-t on teh-ty samanlais-i-ksi*
 borrowing.rules-PL be.3SG make-PTCP.PST.PASS similar-PL-TRA
 'Borrowing rules have been made similar/harmonized.'

Creissels' (2013) observations on the functions often related to each other as far as their formal encoding is regarded, did not cover the functions of reason and purpose. These seem, however, to be some of the functions that translatives – the language-specific cases encoding comparative concepts of functives, equative, similitives and transformative – have in the Uralic languages, e. g. in Nenets (Jalava, forthcoming).

The function of purpose is clearly attested not only the question words for 'why', but also in Finnish non-finite verb structures, see Example 4. In Finnish, there are also other non-finite verb constructions in which translative occurs, see VISK § 453, § 513. A common feature of the non-finite verb forms is that the translative suffix *kse does not display transformative or lative-like functions, not even together with the semantics of specific verbs.

Finnish (<<http://kiloklubi.fi>>)

- (4) *Syö-n elää-kse-ni,*
 eat-1SG live-TRA-1SG.PX
e-n eläi syödä-kse-ni
 NEG-1SG live.CNG eat-TRA-1SG.PX
 'I eat to live but don't live to eat.'

From a diachronic point of view, translative also occurs in one of the modal categories of Erzya verbal inflection, see Example 5. Desiderative mood also occurs with a slightly different suffix in Moksha. (Bartens 1999: 133.)

Erzya (Bartens 1999: 133)

- (5) *mor-i-ks-elĭ-ń*
 sing-PRS.PTCP-TRA-COP-1PST.1SG
 sing-DES-1SG
 'I wanted to sing.'

The semantics of the category are not related to purpose. The Erzya category of Desiderative shows that the translative has also occurred with the stative copula at previous stages of the language (compare Bartens 1999: 99). The path of grammaticalization must have been something like that illustrated in Figure 1. The Desiderative is formed historically from a present tense agent participle inflected in translative, to which the stative copula verb inflected in the first past tense has fused (VERB-PRS.PTCP + 'be'-1PST-PERSON):

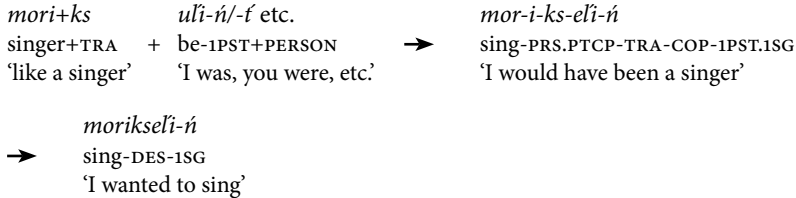


Figure 1: The rise of the Erzya desiderative

The non-finite verbal categories of Finnish and Erzya are very different from each other, and they have surely emerged during independent development of Finnic and Mordvin languages. The non-finite structures would merit a study of their own, a task still waiting to be completed.

3. Translatives in the case systems of Finnic-Mordvin languages

The case ending *kse belongs to the core paradigms of the Finnic-Mordvin languages, with a good type and token frequency which makes it easy to approach with large amount of empirical data available. The occurrence of the *kse suffix in the grammatical systems of separate languages demonstrates the problems that arise when cases labelled with the same term, but having different functions, are compared (see, Haspelmath 2010). Translative *kse occurs in all Finnic languages, and it can be included in the productive cases. In Finnic languages, with the exception of southern Finnic, such as Livonian and Estonian dialects, there is a case labelled *essive*, deriving from the ancient locative marker *nA. In those languages where the *essive* is productive, it is a rival for translative: the functional space of the two cases partly overlaps. In Erzya, where the *nA case definitely does not exist as a function, translative fulfils the functions typical for *nA cases in Finnic languages. At least according to EK 2000: 79 and my data, the possessive suffixes are not employed in nominals inflected in Erzya translative, and it has no definite or plural declension.

In Livonian, the *kse case is labelled as instrumental because of its contemporary functions, which differ from the functions of the *kse cases in other languages. This is, however, the result of a later development (see Grünthal 2004). The Livonian case *kse is still also employed in functions typical of translatives; see Example 6, in which it is a transformative.

Livonian (Norvik 2013b: 154)

(6) *aš ta īdāks āigast vjīb bāz rjkt un bāz naḡrēmət nu'opi'lə*

<i>siz</i>	<i>tām</i>	<i>vēl'i-d</i>	<i>sā-bəd</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>rištingə-ks</i>
then	s/he.GEN	brother-PL	get-3PL	PREP	human-TRA

'If s/he can go without talking and laughing for nine years,
then his/her brothers will turn into human beings.'

Table 2 illustrates the Western Uralic case system, provided in Aikio & Ylikoski (2007: 12). As it shows, the translatives have cognates in the Saami languages as well, but in these languages they are observed only in adverbs, not as productive cases. The historical development of the case systems is dealt with below, with emphasis placed on translatives and *essives*.

Case	Suffix	Saami languages	Finnic languages	Mordvin languages
nominative	*-Ø (pl. *-t)	+	+	+
genitive	*-n	+	+	+
accusative	*-m	+	+	+
essive	*-nA	+	+	-
translative	*-ksi	(+)	+	+
partitive/ ablative	*-tA	+	+	+
lative	*-ŋ (? ~ *-k, *-n)	(+)	(+)	+
prolative	*-ko	(+)	-	+
inessive	*-snA	+	+	+
elative	*-stA	+	+	+
illative	*-s ~ *-sin	+	+	+
comitative	*-jnV	+	+	+
abessive	*-ptak	+	+	-

Table 2: Reconstructed case endings in the Saami, Finnic and Mordvin languages. The symbol (+) indicates that the ending is found only in adverbs or relic forms, but not as a productive part of the case system. Table is adapted from Ylikoski & Aikio (2007: 12)

Karl Kont (1955) divides the Finnic languages into two groups according to whether or not they display two functives, a stative and a dynamic one. In other words, there are languages which employ essive as a stative functive and translative as a dynamic functive. In Estonian dialects, Livonian and Veps, translative cases are employed to encode both dynamic and stative functions. The Mordvin languages, Erzya and Moksha, behave similarly in this respect. In Finnish, Karelian, Ingrian and Votic, as well as to some extent Standard Estonian, the translative and essive cases share the functional domain in a way that translatives occur in constructions that are employed to encode dynamic relations and essives in those that encode stative relations that are prone to change or temporary. In other words, in

Kont's southern group, *kse is employed as an equative and transformative, whereas in the northern group, it is used only as a transformative, while the *nA cases encode the functions of equative. This division into two groups illustrated in Figure 2.

Finnic-Mordvin



Erzya,
Estonian (Dial.),
Livonian,
Veps

stative and dynamic -ks, -ksi/-kse
--

stative -n(A) dynamic -ks, -ksi/-kse
--

Finnish,
Estonian (Standard),
Karelian,
Ingrian,
Votic

Figure 2: Translatives in the Finnic-Mordvin languages from the perspective of time-stability

In Votic, however, translativum may also be used to express the situation or the state in which something is, see Example 7 (Ariste 1968: 30). This feature resembles the functions of Votic essive: it is employed also in stative expressions, which is typical of the languages of the southern group.

Votic (Ariste 1968: 31)

(7) *taht-e* *eL-La* *keikkē-a* *ülepä-ssi*
 want-1PST,3SG be-INF all-PRT superior-TRA
 'he wanted to be superior to everyone.'

A similar kind of nominative-oblique switch in class membership and property predication is also typical of other northeastern European languages, including Russian (Stassen 2001; see discussion in Turunen 2011). The languages that have essives, see Figure 2, for encoding equative (or temporary but stative nonverbal predicate) do not generally employ their translatives as a main device for this function, with translativum occurring instead in change-of-state constructions, see Figure 3.

Stative verb + Nominative	Stative verb + Essive	Dynamic verb + Translative
<i>Ole-n opettaja.</i>	<i>Ole-n opettaja-na.</i>	<i>Tule-n iloise-ksi.</i>
be-1SG teacher	be-1SG teacher-ESS	become-1SG glad-TRA
'I am a teacher.'	'I am a teacher (now).'	'I become happy.'

Contemporary state	Change of state
Time-stable	Less time-stable

Figure 3: The Nominative-Essive-Translative switch in Finnish (adapted from Turunen 2011)

On the contrary, those languages that do not have essives employ suffixes developed from *kse to encode both static and dynamic functions. Example 8 is from Estonian, although Estonian has some usage of essive as well, see also Lehiste (1972: 216); Erelt & Metslang (2003).

Estonian (presentation at a conference, 13.6.2014)

- (8) *Ol-i-te hea-de-ks kuulaja-te-ks!*
 be-1PST-2PL good-PL-TRA listener-PL-TRA
 'You were a good audience!'

In this section, it was shown that the existence of translative and essive as cases for encoding functives is observed only in some of the Finnic-Mordvin languages, as there are languages which employ translative also to encode stative functives. It seems to me that the southern group, with only one functive *kse, represents an older stage. According to this view, essive as a case of stative functive is of younger origin, having developed in the northern Finnic languages. The view is supported by the fact that there are many constructions in Finnish in which translative *kse does not display any dynamic functions. It also evident that essive was not originally a case expressing functive, but a case encoding concrete location (Janhunen 1982: 30). Below we will deal in more detail with the historical development of *kse, and it will be claimed that it has originally been a functive, neutral with respect to time-stability, in similar manner as can be observed in contemporary Erzya, as well as Estonian dialects and Veps.

3.1. The Finnish case system revisited

In the descriptions of the Finnish case system, there has been a tradition of separating the local cases from the others, represented below, adapted from Eero Voutilainen (forthcoming).

	Directionality Separative	Inclusive	Lative
Quality			
Internal	elative <i>lasi-sta</i> ‘from the glass’	inessive <i>lasi-ssa</i> ‘in the glass’	illative <i>lasi-in</i> ‘into the glass’
External	ablative <i>kato-lta</i> ‘from the roof’	adessive <i>kato-lla</i> ‘on the roof’	allative <i>kato-lle</i> ‘onto the roof’
“General”	(elative) [changing] <i>poliisi-sta</i> ‘from police’	essive [being] <i>poliisi-na</i> ‘as police’	translative [changing] <i>poliisi-ksi</i> ‘(in)to police’

Table 3: The Finnish local cases (see e. g. Siro 1964: 29–30; Voutilainen forthcoming)

The so-called general local cases are the focus of the present paper. This category includes essive and translative, as well as the non-local separative use of elative illustrated in Table 3 above. Voutilainen (2011: 3) suggests that the notion of locality does not adequately suit the function of translative expressions, in spite of a few lexicalized local adverbs. Furthermore, he claims that the same problem is evident in the use of essive. To overcome this descriptive inadequacy, Voutilainen (forthcoming) presents a new preliminary categorization for the Finnish cases based on **dynamicity** and **stativity**, see Figure 4.

Voutilainen (2011) offers plenty of examples in which translative encoding does not allow any lative-like interpretation. Example 9 seems to contain a translative of reason, expressing why someone goes to a flat viewing, and in Example 10, translative expresses purpose. In Example 11, the expression in translative is identifiable as encoding a manner of doing something. Example 12 seems to me to contain the function of purpose or reason.

Finnish (Voutilainen 2011: 79)

- (9) *käy-t=kö koskaan ihan vaan huvi-kse-si*
 go-2SG=Q ever just only fun-TRA-2SG
asunonäyttely-ssä
 flat.viewing-INE
 ‘Do you ever go just for fun to a flat viewing?’

Finnish (Voutilainen 2011: 89)

- (10) *lapse-t järjest-i-vät arpajaise-t*
 child-PL arrange-1PST-3PL lottery-PL
pakolaisäiti-en hyvä-ksi
 refugee.mother.PL-GEN good-TRA
 ‘The children arranged a lottery to benefit refugee mothers.’

Finnish (Voutilainen 2011: 79)

- (11) *Siltanen pela-a ammatti-kse-en NHL:n Edmonton Oilersi-ssa*
 S. play-3SG profession-TRA-3SG.PX NHL-GEN E. O. -INE
 ‘Siltanen plays as a professional for the Edmonton Oilers in the NHL.’

Finnish (Voutilainen 2011: 89)

- (12) *asevoim-i-en päivä-n kunnia-ksi julkais-tu artikkeli*
 army-PL-GEN day-GEN honour-TRA publish-PST.PTCP article
 ‘an article published in honour of the day of the army’

As regards the historical development of the translative, Voutilainen’s observations support the view that the translative should not be regarded synchronically or historically as a case closely related to latives. I will return to this question after having provided more examples.

Translative in the Finnish case system

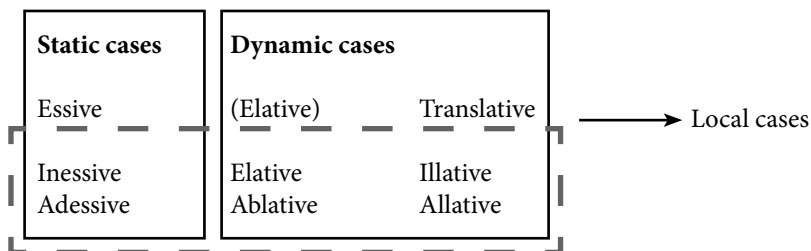


Figure 4: Voutilainen (forthcoming): Finnish dynamic and static adverbial cases

3.2. Functives as non-verbal predicates

In the present paper, I suggest using the term *functive*, following Creissels (2013), to describe the cases such as translative *kse and essive *nA in the Finnic-Mordvin languages. There is a special morphosyntactic context in which functives function as predicates. Payne (1997: 114) calls these predicate nominal clauses, into which belong clauses expressing equation and proper inclusion. Payne (1997: 120) also treats predicate adjectives under the predicate nominal category. In the Uralic languages, in these clause types, there is either no verbal predicate at all, or a copula, such as ‘be’ or ‘become’ (see Turunen 2010: 56). The clause types involved in non-verbal predication in Erzya, Finnish and Votic are illustrated in Table 7.

Non-verbal predication and expressions of present and future			
	Erzya	Finnish	Votic
Present	<i>(mon) ava-n</i> (I) woman-1SG ‘I am a woman’	<i>ole-n äiti</i> be-1SG mother ‘I am a mother’	<i>minu bratko</i> I.GEN brother <i>on rēbakkə</i> be.3SG fisherman ‘my brother is a fisherman’
Future	<i>ulā-n ava(-ks)</i> be-1SG woman(-TRA) ‘I will be a woman’	<i>tule-n</i> become-1SG <i>äidi-ksi</i> mother-TRA ‘I will be a mother’	<i>minu siso lē-B utšitelā</i> I.GEN sister be-3SG teacher ‘My sister will be a teacher’
	<i>karma-n</i> be.FUT-1SG <i>ava(-ks)</i> woman(-TRA) ‘I will be a woman’	<i>minu-sta</i> I-ELAT <i>tule-e äiti</i> become-3SG mother ‘I will be a mother’	<i>minu siso</i> I.GEN sister <i>lē-B utšitelā-n</i> be-3SG teacher-ESS ‘My sister will be a teacher’
			<i>tämä nē-B papi-ssi</i> he become-3SG priest-TRA ‘He will become a priest’
			<i>tämä nēB</i> (s)he become-3SG <i>tämä najzē-n</i> (s)he wife-ESS ‘She will become his wife’

Table 4: Functives and expression of tense in Erzya, Finnish and Votic

In the light of the data collected from the worlds' languages, the Finnic languages are very simple: the employment of copula is obligatory in all tenses and persons. The Mordvin languages are, on the contrary, very complex (for further reading, see Stassen 1999 and Turunen 2010). Table 4 illustrates, however, that the variation occurring in encoding 'becoming something' is remarkable in the Finnic languages, and it is plausible that the lack of inflectional future has led to the emergence of multiple solutions. In Finnish, the verb *tule-* 'come' has acquired the meaning 'become', and its nominal arguments display case marking: either the non-verbal predicate is in translative (*tulen äidi-ksi*) or the subject is in elative (*minu-sta tulee äiti*). This distinction between two types of change-of-state constructions is typical of Finnic languages: the goal-marking clauses involve a translative predicative (represented as NP_{Nom} V NP_{Tra}), and in the source-marking clauses the source is marked with the elative case (NP_{Ela} V NP_{Nom}) (Erelt 2005; Norvik 2013b).

Example 13, adapted from Norvik (2013b: 140), illustrates a goal-marking clause from Veps. It also shows that Veps makes use of the same *lē-verb as Votic (see Table 7) and on the history and functions of *lē-, see Norvik 2013b: 132. In Veps, the case marking in the goal-marking constructions is in translative. In Votic, the case marker *essive* can occur with *lē-* 'will be', but translative cannot. Translative occurs with another verb for becoming, *nē-*. Votic *lē-* and the non-verbal predicate occurring with it in nominative form an equative sentence in future tense. Both Votic and Finnish display translatives only in transformative functions with verbs that are dynamic (with some exceptions, see below).

Veps (Norvik 2013b: 140)

- (13) *Nece li-nne-b hüvä-ks tradicija-ks*
 this be-POT-3SG good-TRA tradition-TRA
i vedoväge-ks lapsi-le, kudambad sa-ba vaiše ”viž”-arvsana-n.
 'This will become a good tradition and motivation
 for the children who only get As.'

In the traditional descriptions of Finnish grammar, a clear difference has been made between the clause types *ole-n äiti* (be-1SG mother.NOM) 'I am a mother' on the one hand, and *tule-n äidi-ksi* (be-1SG mother-TRA) 'I will be a mother' and *ole-n äiti-nä* (be-1SG mother-ESS) 'I am (as) a mother' on the other. The nominative-encoded non-verbal predicate *äiti* is labelled as *predikatiivi* 'predicative' (the term is a noun), while translative- and essive-

encoded nominal arguments are labelled as *predikatiiviadverbiaali* ‘predicative adverbial’. My suggestion is that the confusion is due to fact that there is no inflectional future tense in Finnish. The constructions refer to a) stative relation and b) dynamic relation and future tense. This difference is expressed in Finnish not only by marking the second nominal argument but also by changing the verbal copula from stative *olla* ‘be’ to dynamic *tulla* ‘come, become’. The dynamicity is thus doubly expressed by the copula and translative suffix. Depending on the context, the only semantic difference between the clause types *olen äiti* and *tulen äidiksi* is tense. Thus, there is no clear difference in the function of the nominative- and translative-encoded second nominal arguments of these types of clauses, but a proper label for both of them would be *nominaalinen predikaatti*, or in English *non-verbal predicate*.

Further, I suggest that the employment of Finnish *tulla* ‘come, become’ in the function of an auxiliary expressing future has affected the employment of translative in other constructions with the same verb. Namely, in Finnish, the employment of *tulla* ‘come’ is in the first place associated with semantic content such as ‘come to place X’. It is possible that the expressions where translative encodes time limit, such as in Example 14, might also have originally been translatives with the function of purpose (see below), which were then reanalysed together with the verb as an expression of time limit. In other words, in expressions such as that in Example 14, the original interpretation might also have been ‘I will come home because of Christmas’. Thus, the interpretation of time limit, such as that illustrated in Example 15, might have developed only later, when translative had first been reanalysed as an expression of time and not reason in constructions such as Example 14. This theory is supported e. g. by the fact that the non-finite construction of Finnish, illustrated in Example 4 above, is clearly related to the function of purpose.

Finnish, personal knowledge

- (14) *tule-n koti-in joulu-ksi*
 come-1SG home-ILL Christmas-TRA
 ‘I will come home because of/for/until Christmas.’

Finnish, personal knowledge

- (15) *tule-n koti-in aamu-ksi*
 come-1SG home-ILL morning-TRA
 ‘I will come home by morning.’

4. The emergence of *kse as a case suffix

In the search for the diachronic background of *kse as a case suffix, two developmental paths have been suggested, labelled here as the *lative theory* and the *derivation theory*.

Firstly, the less complex option is supplied by the lative theory. According to this approach, translatives have their origin in compounded latives, the ancient Uralic lative suffixes of the form *k and *s. The theory is supported by the facts that coaffixes are typical in the Uralic languages, and that of the functions of translatives, transformative partly overlaps with or is at least related to lative functions. This view has been supported by e. g. Szinyei (1910: 77), Bereczki (1988: 323), Riese (1993: 59), Bartens (1999: 77–78) and most recently Creissels (2013). Hakulinen (1978: 101) suggests that it emerged from two latives, but in the footnote on the following page (102), he admits that the explanation involving two latives is methodologically suspicious.

As shown by Mikko Korhonen (1981: 230), the dynamic function of ‘into a location X’ is found in some Saami adverbs as well: there are adverbial expressions such as South Saami *luk’sâ* ‘into the south’, compared with *lulle* ‘south’. In the Saami languages, such lative-like expressions seem to date back to words consisting of three syllables, which can also be seen in the quality of the second vowel. On the other hand, in Inari Saami, the same adverbs display consonant gradation, which hints that the words originally consisted of only two syllables, and thus, of latives of the type *-s. Erkki Itkonen (1966b: 273) has considered these adverbs in the Saami languages to be mixtures of the original *s lative and translative. Interestingly, Korhonen’s viewpoint on the diachronic relationship between *s lative and *kse translative is opposite to the general view: he summarizes that it is due to Finnic-Mordvin systems, in which latives and translatives form separate case suffixes, while other researchers have not considered that the *s lative could have developed from the *kse translative. This suggests that Korhonen’s viewpoint is that the translative is the original one, and lative a later development. (Ibid.)

Secondly, according to the derivation theory, the inflectional suffix *kse – the case ending labelled translative – is related to the identical derivational suffix *kse. This view was presented by Arvid Genetz (1890: 167–168). He points out that there are no traits of local (lative) meaning in Mordvin, Livonian, Estonian or Votic. In fact, over the last century

not much has been added to what Genetz wrote. His view is supported by Bubrih (1953: 60, 62, 63), Kont (1955: 164), Serebrennikov (1967: 26–27), Häkkinen (1985: 82), Saarinen (2001: 245) and Turunen (2011). Laanest (1975: 107) adds that it is possible that translative belongs to the same three-dimensional paradigm of separative-inclusive-lative cases, and that its attachment to this paradigm is from the period when essive already had its function as a functive. According to Laanest (*ibid.*), this makes the assumption that translative has developed from two latives very unlikely. The inflectional suffix occurs only in the Finnic-Mordvin languages, but the derivational suffix *kse occurs not only in the Finnic-Mordvin languages, but also in the Permic, Saami and Samoyedic languages, due to which it has (logically) been suggested that it might be of Uralic origin (Aikio & Ylikoski 2007: 58; Lehtinen 2007: 67–68; Häkkinen 1985: 82). Lehtinen (*ibid.*) has suggested that it is even possible that the suffix already functioned as a case ending in Proto-Uralic. This study aims to uncover the background of *kse in the Finnic-Mordvin languages, while the previous stages of development still wait to be studied.

The following arguments support the derivational theory:

- i. The difference between derivational and inflectional suffixes in the Finno-Ugric languages may be quantitative rather than qualitative, and there are examples of derivational suffixes having become inflectional. (Laakso 2005: 102.)
- ii. The lative-like words such as Finnish *luokse* and *taakse* contain a glottal stop (*taakse* < **tayakse*); the *k suffix reconstructed in the end is regarded as an old lative suffix. Similar kinds of adverbs can be attested in Karelian. The adverbs *kauaksi* and *ulommaksi* alternate with the forms *kauas* and *ulommas*, all sharing the function of lative. There are not many examples of employing (apparent) translatives in concrete local lative functions, and the distribution of concrete local, lative like functions is also concise. (Genetz 1890: 167–168; Laanest 1975: 106, Häkkinen 1985: 82.)
- iii. Lative -ka/-k + some other suffix, that is, lative as a coaffix, is not typical for Uralic languages. Suffixes made through the fusion of two case suffixes are not typical in the worlds' languages. (Serebrennikov 1967: 27; Aikio & Ylikoski 2007.)

- iv. The Mordvin languages display many *ks*-derivations which are totally identical in form to translative inflected nouns, such as *surks* ‘ring’ and *sur-ks* ‘finger-TRA’, *čevks* ‘log for a shingle’ and *čev-ks* ‘shingle-TRA’, *kefks* ‘bracelet’ and *ked-ks* ‘hand-TRA’ (e. g. Kont 1955: 167; Serebrennikov 1967: 27). Reanalysis of the suffix may have happened easily in constructions in which the derivational suffix occurs.
- v. In the Mordvinic languages, Estonian dialects, Livonian and Veps, the translative case is used to encode both dynamic and stative predicative adverbials (Kont 1955). The suffix does not have an inherent semantic property of dynamicity but can be regarded as neutral in this respect.
- vi. Lative theory suffers from methodological weaknesses, as already pointed out by Hakulinen (1968: 102). Aikio and Ylikoski (2007) claim that actually the creation of new derivational suffixes or case suffixes can hardly take place merely through unmotivated conjunction of two (or more) existing case endings. As they write, such a development would be quite an extraordinary morphosyntactic innovation and postulating that such an innovation has taken place in a reconstructed proto-language ought to require extraordinary evidence as well.
- vii. The frequently suggested lative suffixes include at least *-*n*, *-*ń*, *-*ŋ*, *-*k*, *-*j*, and *-*s*. The variety of different directional case endings, or so-called ‘latives’, reconstructed is simply too large, as suggested by Aikio & Ylikoski (2007).

In this paper, it is claimed that the suffix *kse is easily reanalysable as an equative, functive and similitive. In the sense of Harris and Campbell (1995: 30, 61), it is suggested that reanalysis is possible if there are two or more different interpretations of a construction that is/are novel. To my mind, Häkkinen (1985: 82) states the idea of the original functions of *kse clearly in the following argument: translative *kse emerged from the derivational suffix *kse with the meaning ‘being/functioning as something’ or ‘changing into something’. The assumed explanation has already been provided for Finnish by Genetz (1890: 167) and then Uotila (1945: 335): the ending could be equated with a homonymous derivational suffix *-*ksi* ‘material for X’: cf. e. g. Finnish *aida-kse-t* ‘stakes (for building a fence)’ ← *aita* ‘fence’.

The same can be demonstrated with contemporary Erzya data, namely how the reanalysis of derivational suffix *kse might have happened. The case fulfils the conditions and illustrates a process of reanalysis affecting only the semantic interpretation and the function of the construction, not the form. It is plausible that reanalysis has taken place in different constructions simultaneously: in stative clauses, the suffix has been reanalysed as equative ('being an N **temporarily**', 'being/functioning as an N/in the role of an N') as well as similative ('being **like** an N'), the interpretation of which is closely related to the functive in stative nonverbal predicate clauses. It is not hard to imagine that a clause like in Example 10, with the derived lexeme *surks* ← *sur* 'finger' can be interpreted in all these ways, depending on the context, even including the function of reason:

- (16) *T'e surks.*
 'This is a ring.'
- Reason 'This is to be put on the finger (= a ring),
 'This is for the finger (= a ring).'
 - Equative 'This is now a ring.'
 - Functive 'This is (used) as a ring.'
 - Similative 'This is like a ring'

Of course, this explanation must be abandoned if Janhunen's (1989: 301) suggestion that the suffix derives from Proto-Uralic and is cognate with the Proto-Samoyed marker of the predestinative declension *-tə- is proved to be correct. For examples from Tundra Nenets -də-, see Salminen (1998: 539). As Aikio and Ylikoski (2007: 58) summarize, the suffix labelled as predestinative, when occurring in genitive forms, also comes functionally close to Finnish (Finnic-Mordvin) translatives, see Example 17:

Nenets (Tereshchenko 1965: 291; cited through Aikio & Ylikoski 2007: 58)

- (17) *tyuku° wəsakoh nye nyúm nyed°nta me°da*
 'he took that old man's daughter **as a wife for him**'

5. The functions of *kse in contemporary Finnic-Mordvin languages

In this section, the functions of *kse in the contemporary languages will be inspected in detail. Firstly, in Figure 5, a summary of the functions is provided. It is suggested that translatives have at least the functions in the contemporary Finnic-Mordvinic languages as presented in Figure 5. The definitions of the functions are based on Creissels' (2013) definitions (see above), except for the functions of reason and purpose.

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 89, 113) state that the semantic interpretation of an argument is a function of the logical structure in which it occurs and the predicating element defines the interpretation. In other words, the lexical-semantic properties of predicates have an important impact on grammatical relations (e.g. Witzlack-Makarevich 2011: 100). Thus, states of affairs are basic, and participant roles are derived. Translative-encoded noun phrases occur in many kinds of constructions. Consequently, the semantic content of the translative suffix varies depending on the properties of the construction and its core element, the predicate verb. The verbs' lexical properties as well as clause level constructions have central role in marking the arguments and complements, as illustrated

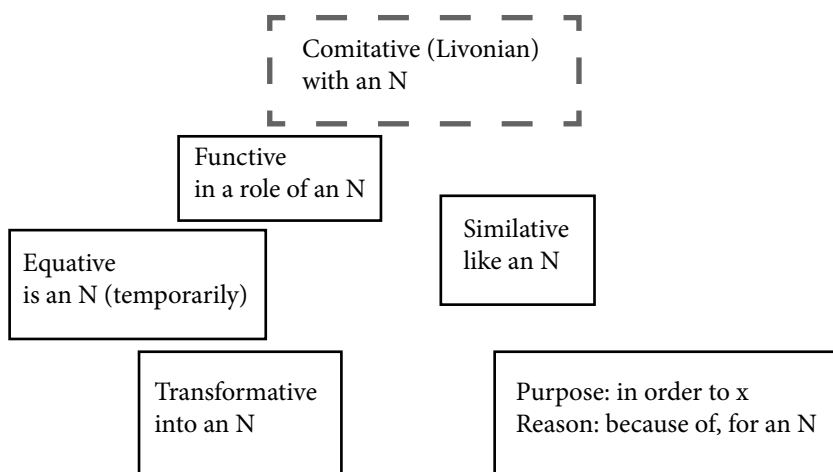


Figure 5: Semantic-functional interpretation of the Finnic-Mordvinic translatives

recently with regard to Estonian (Metslang 2013: 23–26.) The core functions of translatives, illustrated in Figure 5, illustrate an attempt to define their functions after having undressed the constructions from the specific lexical-semantic properties of their lexical elements, namely verbs, nouns and adjectives (see also EK 2000: 86–87), but in this area, more research should be made. Namely, it is likely that functional-semantic properties of *kse suffixes could be better defined in terms of the meanings of constructions.

The functions of translative-encoded NPs are examined with regards to their occurrence in clause-level constructions. According to this division, translative-encoded NPs occur in non-verbal predication and secondary predication, and as predicative complements and depictives (see de Groot's project's forthcoming volume on Uralic *essive*). Translative-encoded NPs can occur as either nonverbal predicates or secondary predicates, or in other words, translative-encoded NPs are themselves predicates or part of the predicate. Thus, a nominal element encoded in translative fulfills a role atypical for a nominal, which may explain partly the atypical behaviour of translative suffixes: in Erzya, the translative-encoded NPs do not get plural inflection, neither definite declension. Finnish descriptions of grammar, however, have not regarded translative-encoded nonverbal predicates as predicates but as *predicative adverbials*. In the present study, it was suggested in section 3.2 that the Finnish translative-encoded NPs should, however, be labelled with better known terms, also shifting the definition of translative-encoded NPs into a direction that makes them similar to other nonverbal predicates in Finnish.

In the following, I will go through some examples of each of the functions translatives have in the contemporary languages, concentrating on the kinds of constructions which best illustrate that *kse is used in functions not actually related to lative-like functions. In other words, I will give mostly examples in which *kse functions as an equative, functive or similitive, or expresses purpose or reason.

5.1. Translative with stative copula in Finnish: similitives and functives

There are some petrified expressions in Finnish in which translative occurs together with the stative copula *ole-* 'be'. My hypothesis is that these expressions (NP.NOM+*olla*-COP+NP-TRA) preserve the older functions of translative, which were lost after the development of *essive* *nA. In other

words, the grammaticalization of *nA from a concrete local case into a functive has reshaped the domain profoundly. In the petrified expression, as illustrated in Example 12, translative encodes the NP in a role or as likely, it functions as a marker of a similitive. Example 19 from Estonian is analysed as similitive by Kibbermann and Madisson (2014).

Finnish (<www.facebook.com>)

- (18) *Hyvä-äjuhannus-ta!* *Ol-kaa* *ihmis-i-ksi,*
 good-PRT mid.summer be-IMP.2PL human-PL-TRA
äl-kää-kä *paleltu-ko!*
 NEG.IMP-IMP.2PL=and freeze-IMP
 ‘Happy midsummer! Behave as/like human beings, and don’t freeze!’

Estonian (Kivirähk 2000: 27)

- (19) *See ol-gu ta-lle õpetuse-ks /.../*
 it be-IMP.3SG (s)he-ALL lesson-TRA
 ‘This shall be like a lesson for him/her’/.../

In Finnish Example 20, the interpretation of translative is similitive, very closely related to functive. Example 20 originates from a very well-known psalm, which is a translation. The sentence also contains an argument in allative (*tei-lle* ‘for you’), which can be considered an obligatory element of the construction. Translatives in Livonian and Estonian are employed in a very similar manner, as illustrated by the Bible translations in Examples 21–22.

Finnish (Psalm book from 1886, Psalm 21)

- (20) *ja tää on tei-lle merki-ksi*
 and this be.3SG you-ALL sign-TRA
 ‘and this is as a sign for you’

Courland Livonian (Mark 13:04) (cited though Norvik 2013a)

- (21) *Kīt mādđōn, kuna se lī-b ja mis*
 Tell.IMP we.DAT when this will.be-3SG and what
lī-b tādķō-ks, ku se ama sā-b tāutōt?
 will.be-3SG sign.INS when this all get-3SG fulfil.PTCP
 ‘Tell us, when will these things happen? And what
 will be the sign when all this gets fulfilled?’

Estonian (Piibel.net) (cited though Norvik 2013a)

- (22) *Ütle* *mei-le,* *millal see* *kõik* *tule-b* *ja* *mis*
 tell.IMP we-ALL when this all come-3SG and what
on tunnustähe-ks /.../?
 ‘Tell us, when will these things happen? And what will be the sign /.../?’

In Example 23, there is a stative verb *elä-* ‘live’, with the translative-encoded noun *herra* ‘lord’. This can also be considered a highly petrified expression in Finnish, as the noun cannot be changed to some other lexeme, and the translative-encoded noun *herro-i-ksi* is always inflected in plural, even when the subject is in singular. Remarkably, the interpretation of the clause allows us to assume that the translative-encoded noun is applied as a similitative. A similar expression occurs in Erzya, as illustrated in Example 24.

Finnish (<<http://www.suomifutis.com/>>)

- (23) *entinen Real Madrid* *-pelaaja* *elä-ä* *herro-i-ksi*
 former Real Madrid player live-3SG lord-PL-TRA
 ‘The former real Madrid player lives like lords.’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (24) *Sinst* *vešeme-st* *ul'-i,* *katka-st=kak* *bojaro-ks*
 3PL.GEN all-DEF be-3SG cat-3PL=too lord-TRA
eř-i-ř – *vaňks* *sivel'-de* *jarš-i-ř.*
 live-PRS-3PL pure meat-ABL eat-3PL
 ‘They have everything, even their cats live like lords, they eat pure meat.’

There are also other stative expressions in Finnish in which only some lexemes can occur with translative encoding. These expressions include the following: *jokin on hyvä-ksi ~ paha-ksi ~ haita-ksi ~ vaara-ksi* ‘something is for good, bad, harm, danger’. It is interesting that in this expression type, the NP can be inflected in relative, if not in translative: *jokin on hyvä-stä ~ paha-sta* ‘something is for good ~ bad’. (VISK § 456.) Relative encoding as semantically equal variant for a lative-like case seems controversial, but it is less problematic if we assume that translative is not related to latives. Of course, the variation and changes in valence patterns should be studied in detail in the future.

All the Finnic-Mordvin languages also share the expression ‘speak in language X’, illustrated by Example 19–21, in which the language is encoded in translative. In these expressions, translatives seem to encode the

manner or mode of doing something (e. g. Bartens 1999: 99), but it can also be considered a similitive. This means that in Erzya, as illustrated in Example 1 above, translative is employed in the expression ‘I sing like a bird’, and to my mind, in a similar manner also in expression *erža-ks korta-n* ‘I speak like an Erzya’. In Finnish, the origin could be the same, i. e. ‘speak like an N’, which can be compared to the expression ‘live like lords’, see Example 23 above. Notably, if the same content is expressed with a longer structure including the word *kieli* ‘language’, translative can no longer be applied. This seems natural if the origin of the expression is in simile construction. If the expression contains the word for language, ‘in some language’, the word for language is inflected in Erzya in inessive (*eržan keļ-se*) and in Finnish in adessive (*suomen kiele-llä*).

Finnish, personal knowledge

- (25) *On=ko kirja suome-ksi?*
 is=Q book Finnish
 ‘Is the book in Finnish?’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (26) *Ul-i iśfamo val: ”udača”.*
 be-3SG such word successful
Ruz-ks=kak son feke, erža-ks=kak.
 Russian-TRA=too 3SG like.that Erzya-TRA=too
 ‘There is a word: *udača*. It is the same in Russian and in Erzya.’

Central Ludic (Norvik 2013b: 151)

- (27) *Kui rod’i lüđ’i-kse? – „Nadu”!*
 how be.born.3SG Central.Ludic-TRA sister.in.law
 ‘How would it be in Central Ludic? – “Nadu”!’

In some stative constructions, the interpretation of Finnish translative is functive, see Examples 28 and 29. In these expressions one might expect essive encoding, which is generally the case applied in stative clauses. Example 30 illustrates similar expression ‘to be as a gift’ in Erzya.

Finnish (<www.bodylehti.fi>)

- (28) *Eryyisesti halua-n kiittä-ä valmentaja-a-ni Jerry Ossi-a,*
 especially want-1SG thank-INF coach-PRT-1SG.PX J. O. -PRT
joka on ol-lut suure-ksi avu-ksi.
 who be-2SG be-PST.ACT.PTCP great-TRA help-TRA
 ‘Especially I wish to thank my coach Jerry Ossi, who has been (as) a great help.’

Finnish, personal knowledge

- (29) *Kuva on lahja-ksi.*
 picture be.3SG gift-TRA
 ‘The picture is (as) a gift.’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (30) *Šehte pokš kažne-ks feň ul'-i*
 SUP big gift-TRA 1SG.DATbe-PRS.3SG
Petrozavodskoje-v pačkođema-zo.
 P-ILL arrival-3SG.PX
 ‘The biggest gift for me will be his arrival in Petrozavodsk.’

It was suggested above that the semantics of translatives are construed in relation to a construction containing a verb, the meaning of which defines the characteristics of the translative as well (see e. g. Sinha & Kuteva 1995). In the following, some ditransitive constructions that consist of a semantically full verbal predicate and a secondary nominal argument in translative are dealt with. Firstly, there are at least two Finnic-Mordvinic constructions in which the verbs are cognates and the secondary nominal argument is encoded in translative. The constructions with the verbs Finnish *jakaa*, Erzya *javoms* ‘divide into something’ are illustrated in Examples 31–32.

Finnish (<<http://keskustelu.afterdawn.com>>)

- (31) *Miten jaka-a os-i-ksi/ editoi-da mp3:s-i-a?*
 how divide-INF part-PL-TRA edit-INF mp3-PL-PRT
 ‘How to divide into parts/edit mp3s?’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (32) *Lija jon-do, a eřavi javo-ms*
 other side-ABL NEG must divide-INF
ejkakš-tńeň vadřa-ks di beřaňe-ks,
 child-DEF.GEN.PL good-TRA and bad-TRA
meže-ś eřs-i ńeje-ń škola-tńe-se.
 what-DEF happen-3SG now-ADJZ school-PL.DEF-INE
 ‘On the other hand, one should not divide the children into good and bad, a thing that happens in contemporary schools.’

The other etymologically shared verb with this valence pattern is Finnish *lukea*, Erzya *lovnoms* ‘to read/consider (as) something’, see Examples 33 and 34. Votic, too, employs its translative with this verb, see Example 35. In Finnish, however, translative is not the case typically used with this verb, but it is a possible one. According to SSA, the employment of the verb *lukea* to encode ‘consider’ is probably of Russian influence (SSA *lukea*). In Finnish, the argument is more generally in illative.

Finnish (<www.makuja.fi>)

- (33) *Myös kurpitsa lue-taan oikeastaan hedelmä-ksi.*
 also pumpkin read-PASS actually fruit-TRA
 ‘Also pumpkin is actually considered a fruit.’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (34) *Sě ška-ńe moń kudo-m*
 it time-TEMP 1SG.GEN house-1SG
loviž velf' vadřaks, (...)
 consider-PST.PTCP very good-TRA
 ‘At that time, my house was considered a very good one.’

Votic (Markus and Rozhanskiy, forthcoming)

- (35) *tämä luğe-B minnu-a nõre-ssi*
 3SG consider-3SG 1SG-PRT young-TRA
 ‘(S)he considers me young.’

There are also many constructions in which etymologically different verbs occur, however with the same encoding of the secondary nominal argument: *sams inže-ks/tulla vieraa-ksi* ‘come for a visit’, actually ‘come as a guest’, *maksoms/kažńe-ks/antaa* or *saada lahja-ksi* ‘to give/to receive as a gift’; *lemđems Niina-ks/kutsua Niina-ksi* ‘call (someone) Nina’. Notably, many of these do not contain any semantic content related to lative. These shared constructions will be dealt with in more detail in Voutilainen & Ajanki (forthcoming), Examples 36 and 37 illustrate feel + NP-TRA constructions in Finnish and Erzya.

Finnish (<www.uusipori.fi>)

- (36) *Kati tuns-i itsensä usein*
 K. feel-1PST.3SG herself often
väsynee-ksi, pää-tä särk-i, masens-i.
 tired-TRA head-PRT ache-1PST.3SG depress-1PST.3SG
 ‘Kati often felt (herself) tired, her head was aching, she was depressed.’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (37) /.../ *di maŕ-ŭf pŕa-st vejke-vejke-ńeń eŕavikse-ks.*
 /.../ and feel-3PL head-3PL one-one-ALL necessary-TRA
 ‘and they feel (themselves) necessary to each other.’

One verb with a valence pattern in translative has gained quite a lot of attention in Finnish, namely *jääda* (see discussion in Huumo 2005; Leino 2005). The Erzya verb *kadovoms* shares the same meaning ‘to be left as an N, to stay as an N’. It seems to me that the Finnish translative only reflects the original function of *kse as a case that has been neutral with respect to time-stability, as it is nowadays in Erzya. Example 38 is enlightening also with regard to the time-oriented functive expression ‘as a child, when he was a child’, which in Erzya triggers translative encoding. Example 40 illustrates the employment of translative in Estonian with the verb that is cognate with the Finnish one.

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (38) *Sergej Filippovič poŕaka ejkakšo-ks kado-v-ś urozo-ks: /.../*
 S. F. infant-TRA leave-REFL-1PST.3SG orphan-TRA
 ‘S. F. was left as an orphan as an infant.’

Finnish (<www.iltasanomat.fi>)

- (39) *Moni lapsi jä-i orvo-ksi*
 many child to.be.left-1PST.3SG orphan-TRA
Latvia-n turma-ssa.
 Latvia-GEN accident-INE
 ‘Many a child was left as an orphan in the accident in Latvia.’

Estonian (Kivirähk 2000: 44)

- (40) *Nüli nii, et silmaaugu-d terve-ks jää-ksi-d /--/.*
 skin.IMP so that eye.hole-PL whole-TRA remain-COND-3PL
 ‘Skin so that the eyeholes will remain whole!’

Interestingly, the verb *īedō* is the most general change-of-state verb in Livonian, see Example 10. Also in Estonian, the cognate *jääda* can be used for expressing negative/passive change (Norvik 2013a: 146–147). As shown above, translative encoding is also related to change-of-state constructions. Norvik (ibid.) notes that in Example 41, the sense ‘become’ is supported by the preposition *pa*, which is a loan from Latvian. According to Norvik (p. c.), this may reflect the fact that the translative marker is no

longer enough in itself to express change, which is understandable also due to its multiple functions.

Courland Livonian (Setälä 1953: 135; cited through Norvik 2013a: 128)

- (41) *ni mulki nai ie-nd pa kovāla-ks*
 now fool women remain-PTCP PREP smart-TRA
 ‘now the fool woman became smart’

Most occurrences of Erzya obligatory NP arguments in translative are functives rather than transformatives, and there are constructions in Finnish as well in which the translative has traditionally been interpreted as a dynamic case. In Erzya, the translative-encoded secondary predicates and complements of the following verbs can be regarded as functives: perception verbs *ñejams* ‘to see as an N’, *mařams* ‘to feel like an N’, *tonavtñems* ‘study as/to be an N’, *važodems*, *robotams* ‘to work’ *kadoms*, *kadovoms* ‘to leave, to be left as an N’ *lovoms* ‘to consider to be an N’, *lemdems* ‘to call an N’. If we do not assume lative origin, it also easier to understand the following kind of variation in valence patterns. In Erzya the verb *ñejavoms* triggers either translative or elative (Bartens 1999: 98–99), see Example 42. Semantically, the difference between lative-like functions and elative (ablative) -like functions is remarkable, if not opposite.

Erzya (Bartens 1999: 98)

- (42) *son ñejav-š viška ejkakšo-ks/-sto*
 3SG see-REFL-1PST.3SG small child-TRA/ELA
 ‘(s)he looked like a small child’

5.2. Finnish ditransitive constructions displaying translative-essive variation

There are several secondary predicates that can be encoded in Finnish using both translative and essive (VISK § 1260). The hypothesis presented in this paper is that the existence of constructions that display free essive-translative variation may be due to the historical background of *kse, when it was employed also in stative functions. The Finnish constructions in which variation occurs are those which have as their core element the verbs *kokea* ‘experience’, as in Examples 43–44, *mainita* ‘mention’, as in Examples 45–46 and *nähdä* ‘see, consider’, shown in Examples 47–48. In these constructions, the essive- or translative-encoded NPs are secondary predicates, obligatorily belonging to the valence patterns of the verbs.

Finnish (VISK § 126o)

- (43) *Ihmise-t koke-vat yhteiskunna-n levottomaksi, /.../*
 people-PL experience-3PL society-GEN restless-TRA
 ‘The people experience that society is restless.’

Finnish (VISK § 126o)

- (44) */.../ he koke-vat se-n vieraa-na*
 they experience-3PL it-GEN strange-ESS
oma-lle elämismaailma-lle-en.
 own-ALL living.world-ALL-3PL.PX
 ‘they experience it as strange with regard to the world they live in’

Finnish (<www.wikipedia.fi>)

- (45) *Nauportus maini-taan kuitenkin heidän*
 N. mention-PASS however their
tärkeä-nä kauppapaikka-na-an.
 important-ESS market.place-ESS-3PL.PX
 ‘Nauportus is mentioned as their important marketplace.’

Finnish (<www.erilaistenoppijoidenliitto.fi>)

- (46) *Yksi äide-i-stä mainitse-e tärkeä-ksi*
 one mother-PL-ELA mention-3SG important-TRA
tukihenkilö-kse-en kollega-n työpaika-lta.
 support.person-TRA-3SG.PX colleague-GEN work.place-ELA
 ‘One of the mothers mentions as an important supportive
 person her colleague at the workplace.’

Finnish (VISK § 126o)

- (47) *Näe-n aiheellise-ksi puuttu-a häne-n toiminta-ansa.*
 see-1SG justified-TRA intervene-INF 3SG-GEN activity-ILL-3SG.PX
 ‘I regard it as justified to intervene in his/her activities.’

Finnish (<www.vauva.fi>)

- (48) */.../ mutta e-n näe kyseis-tä*
 but NEG-1SG see.CNG particular-PRT
instituutio-ta tarpeellise-na.
 institution-PRT necessary-ESS
 ‘(...) but I do not regard the institution as necessary.’

Furthermore, there are two closely related constructions, in which the secondary argument is encoded either in essive and translative, but in these constructions the difference also reflects semantic distinctions between the constructions, see Examples 49 and 50.

Finnish (VISK § 1260)

- (49) *Tuulikki ol-i myös=kin hakijo-i-sta pätev-in*
 Tuulikki be-1PST.3SG also=too applicant-PL-ABL competent-SUP
sekä pappi-na että teologi-na.
 also priest-ESS and theologian-ESS
 ‘Tuulikki was also the most competent among the
 applicants, both as a priest and as a theologian.’

Finnish (VISK § 1260)

- (50) *Hän-en mukaansa Väyrynen on ehdottomasti*
 (s)he-GEN according.3SG.PX Väyrynen be.3SG absolutely
kokene-in ja pätev-in
 experienced-SUP and competent-SUP
tasavalla-n presidenti-ksi.
 republic-GEN president-TRA
 ‘According to him/her, Väyrynen is (/would be)
 absolutely the most experienced and the most competent
 person to be the president of the republic.’

According to VISK (§ 1260), the NP in essive in Example 49 expresses a function in which the subject referent already functions, while the NP in translative in example 50 expresses a function in which the subject referent does not necessarily function, but with this construction, the suitability of the subject referent for the function in question is evaluated. This resembles the constructions found in Erzya folklore, in which translative-encoded nonverbal predicates are thus conjugated: the predicate is a non-finite verb, the present tense participle *but’i sajiksats, sajemak* ‘if you are (suitable to be) a taker, then take me’ (Serebrennikov 1967: 166).

5.3. Erzya and Finnish expressions of order in translative

Translative encoding also typically occurs in Erzya and Finnish in adverbials expressing order. The word *mejčéks* is applied as a clause level adverbial and it occurs often with its semantic opposite *vašénčéks* ‘first’, also used as a clause-level adverbial. Both words are applied also as obligatory arguments in constructions with reference to order, i. e. ‘to become first/last’. When functioning as a clause-level adverbial, translative inflection can be regarded as neutral with respect to time stability. In Example 51 there are two occurrences of translative. In Erzya, the construction *kučoms kazńéks* ‘to be sent as a gift’ contains optional complement ‘as a

gift’ in translative, and in my opinion translative functions here as a func-
tive. Finnish Example 52 illustrates a similar kind of construction with the
expression ‘as a gift’.

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (51) *Mejelće-ks mon kutmord-ín čora-tńeń di šukpra-ń*
last-TRA 1SG hugg-1PST.1SG man-DEF.PL.GEN and thank-GEN
jovta-m-ga alt-ín fenst kučo-ms kazńe-ks eś kńiga-n.
tell-INF-PROL give-1PST.1SG they.DAT send-INF gift-TRA own book-1SG
‘As for the last thing, I hugged the men and, saying thanks,
gave them my own book to be sent as a gift.’

Finnish (<<http://munpoikanimun.blogspot.fi>>)

- (52) *Mi-tää itse halua-isi-t baby shower lahja-ksi?*
what-PRT self want-COND-2SG baby shower gift-TRA
‘What would you yourself like to receive as a baby shower gift?’

6. The developmental path of translative *kse

Ylikoski (forthcoming) suggests that although it is typologically less
common, the development of similative morphemes is related to future
markers in the Saami languages. The use of the non-finite in *-nláhkai*
as a marker of purposives and future events has spread to its use as a
marker of similative. Thus, Ylikoski supposes the following development
of *-nláhkai*: purpose → future → similative. He writes (2013: 24):

Even in the absence of known parallels for a diachronic pathway from similative
to future meanings, with or without a purposive intermediate stage, it is obvious
that the future constructions (...) ultimately stem from the most original simila-
tive meaning of *-nláhkai* and the postposition *láhkai*. Not only do the occurrences
of *-nláhkai* future have connotations of deontic and dynamic modalities, but they
specifically refer to states of affairs that are already in the process of taking place or
accomplished in the immediate future.

In the present treatise, it has been claimed that *kse translatives do not
originate from latives, but rather from a derivative suffix. The hypoth-
esis gets support from Ylikoski’s observations on the Saami languages.
Accordingly, the following developmental path is suggested for Finnic-
Mordvin, see Figure 6. The hypothesis is that as the suffix is employed in

future tense clauses, it acquires the semantic content of change (a state that is not valid now but will be valid in the future).

purpose → future → CHANGE → similitive

Figure 6. Developmental path of *kse

Fortescue's (2010) scale of SAME-LIKE-DIFFERENT shows the relationship of equative and similitive constructions: permanently being the same usually triggers nominative encoding in Finnic-Mordvin languages, but being the same temporarily (in Creissels' terms, equative) is marked by cases such as essive and translative. If somebody is not the same as an N, (s)he might be very much like an N (similitive), or perhaps acting in the function of an N at the moment (functive). Transformatives are future-tense equatives (Creissels 2013). It seems at first glance that the function of purpose is not so easily related to the other functions of *kse, but Ylikoski's observations on Saami provide a parallel developmental path.

Last, the question should then be answered as to how characteristic the function of purpose is for *kse. As illustrated in Finnish examples 4, 8, 9 and 11, purpose is one of the core functions of Finnish translative. In the Finnic-Mordvin languages, the question word 'why' is also made through translative encoding, e. g. Finnish *miksi*, Erzya *meks*. Estonian Examples 53–56 and Erzya Examples 57–59 also illustrate purpose.

Estonian (<www.epl.delfi.ee>)

- (53) *Palju õnne sünnipäeva-ks, Nelson Mandela!*
 lot happiness.PRT birthday-TRA N. M.
 'Many congratulations on (your) birthday, N. M.!'

Estonian (Kivirähk 2000: 113)

- (54) */-/ tema ehita-b kratt-i sootuks muu-ks eesmärgi-ks, /-/*
 3SG buil-3SG kratt-PRT totally another-TRA purpose-TRA
 '(s)he builds 'kratt' for a totally different purpose'

Estonian (Kivirähk 2000: 28)

- (55) *Nad /-/ ei paota-nud suu-d isegi haiguta-mise-ks, /-/*
 3PL NEG crack-PTCP mouth-PL even yawn-VN-TRA
 'They did not crack their mouths even in order to yawn'

Estonian (Kivirähk 2000: 41)

- (56) „*Mis tei-l täna lõuna-ks ol-i?*“
 what 2PL-ALL today lunch-TRA be-1PST.3SG
 ‘What did you have for lunch today?’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (57) *Přalkso-ks, eřavi-něřaj, sa-ink vana*
 pillow-TRA must-COND.PRS.3SG take-1PST.2PL>3SG look
će tařto řuba-ńť, – něvť-ś Elyuva...
 this old fur-DEF.GEN show-1PST.3SG Elyuva
 ‘As a pillow, if it is necessary, you took, you see,
 this old fur coat, Elyuva showed.’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (58) *Časo-řka-ń jutaź, źele-ks řembe-ste*
 moment-COMP-GEN pass-PST.PTCP winter-TRA warm-ELA
orřně-ź, ...
 dress-PST.PTCP
 ‘After a while, warmly dressed for the winter, ...’

Erzya (Šatko 2003: 10)

- (59) *Moń će řka-s jala řumord-i ředeje-m, me-ks*
 1SG this time-ILL always grief-PRS.3SG heart-1SG what-TRA
kevksťe-ms=kak řeřa-ń eźiń ćařkoďe,
 ask-INF=TOO father-GEN NEG.1PST.1SG understand.CNG
ul’it-araś kilangs jarmako-nzo, ...
 there.is-there.is.not on.the.road money-3SG.PX
 ‘Then my heart always grieves, why did I not even understand
 to ask father whether he has money for the road, (...)’

7. The emergence of *essive* and its consequences for the functions of **kse*

My hypothesis is that the core functions of Finnic-Mordvinic **kse* must have previously been broader than they are in modern Finnish, covering also the area of stative nonverbal predication. The development of *essive* **nA* has reshaped the domain profoundly and the original functions of **kse* can still be seen in some constructions, many of which have been regarded as marginal or petrified expressions, see Examples 11 and 12. In Example 5, translative encoding is applied in a very similar manner as in

Erzya: it encodes the NP in a role, that is, it is a functive, or in a temporal state, which means that it is an equative. In Example 6, the interpretation of Finnish translative can be functive or even similative.

In the Finnic languages, the essive cases originate from the Proto-Uralic intra-local case, locative *nA. The employment of essive for expressing temporality and location in local adverbs and postpositions, instead of the contemporary local case endings, reflects the original function of the suffix (e. g. Hakulinen 1979: 103). It seems that the development of translative *kse into a pure transformative is connected to the development of the local case systems. In other words, the employment of new local cases has triggered a development whereby the old cases have acquired new, more grammatical functions, such as essive or partitive in Finnish. Figure 7 illustrates the emergence of stative non-verbal and secondary predicate inflected in -nA, labelled essive in Finnish, and its consequences to development of stative and dynamic functive *kse: *kse has lost ground, giving way to *nA.

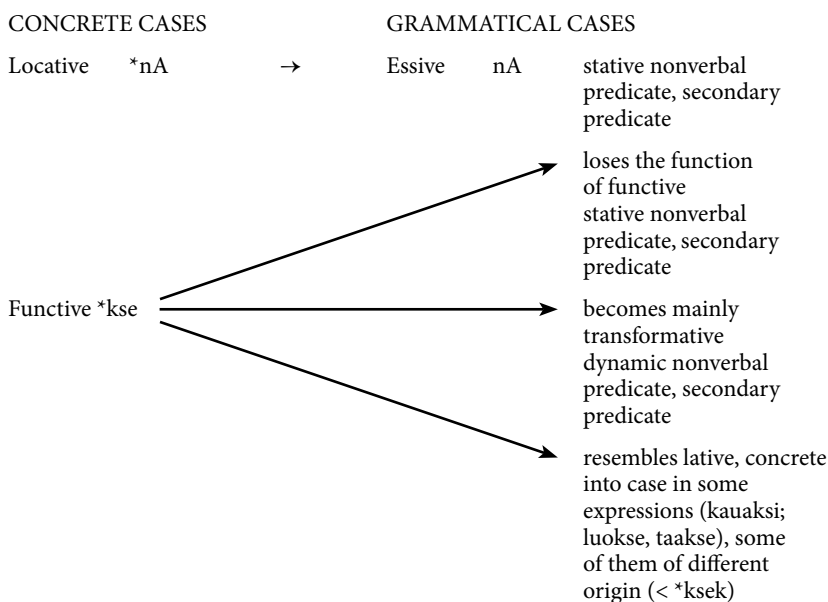


Figure 7: Sketch of the development of the Finnish case system, with emphasis on essive and translative

Laanest (1975: 107) suggests that essive *nA, which occurs in Finnish, Karelian Votic and some Estonian dialects, may already have had the functions it still has when still being used a locative. He goes on to explain that this view is supported by corresponding situation observed in the functions of cases in the Permic languages and Hungarian. In Veps, essive has become phonologically identical to genitive, and in Livonian to Dative, and it has thus disappeared from these languages. The hypothesis of this paper is opposite to Laanest's view in that I have suggested that translative was the case used for functive in the Finnic-Mordvin period. However, variation and multiple encoding strategies for functive can be observed in contemporary languages, and there are no reasons to assume that it would have not been the case earlier as well.

To summarize, in this paper it has been claimed that in Finnic-Mordvin period the inflectional suffix *kse has presumably been used in a wider context, which became more concise when essive *nA adopted new functions as a stative nonverbal predicate and secondary predicate in the northern group of Finnic languages. The inflectional suffix *kse has developed from a derivational suffix, through reanalysis in constructions where it has been interpreted as a suffix expressing purpose. Expressions of purpose may develop a semantic content of future reference, and in Saami, a similar expression has developed through future time reference (Ylikoski, forthcoming). The functions of purpose and transformative are close to each other, but so are also the functions of functive and transformative, as well as equative and transformative. The constructions have presumably affected each other, and as the functions are semantically closely related, the similarity in formal encoding is plausible.

Previously it has been suggested that the functions of the Erzya translative may have developed further due to Russian influence, e. g. by Bartens (1999: 99), referring to Koljadenkov (1954; 1959), and why not also in other smaller Finnic languages under Russian pressure. The question of the role of contacts seems, however, be complicated. If and when *kse has also previously had more stative functions, it is not impossible but rather plausible that its occurrence in stative copula constructions is of native origin. It is, however, remarkable that the Erzya translative occurs in a specific type of copula clause in the function of equative or a as relatively empty suffix, especially in translations. This hints that the construction type has acquired more usage due to a Russian model – but the basis may still be its own, demonstrating again a case where the causes of a change

may be multiple, in the terms of Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 57), language-internal and language-external, as well as in the terms of Farrar & Jones (2002), even extra-linguistic.

Translative is special compared to the other cases in the sense that it is not inflected in definite declension or in plural. Bartens (1999: 99) has suggested that because of this feature, the Erzya translative is closer to an adverbial than to a real case ending: the lack of inflection in the typical nominal declension really makes it such. Thus, it is as well possible that the Mordvinic translative *kse has been employed as some kind of a predicative element – a question to be addressed in the future.

REANALYSIS of the derivational suffix *kse

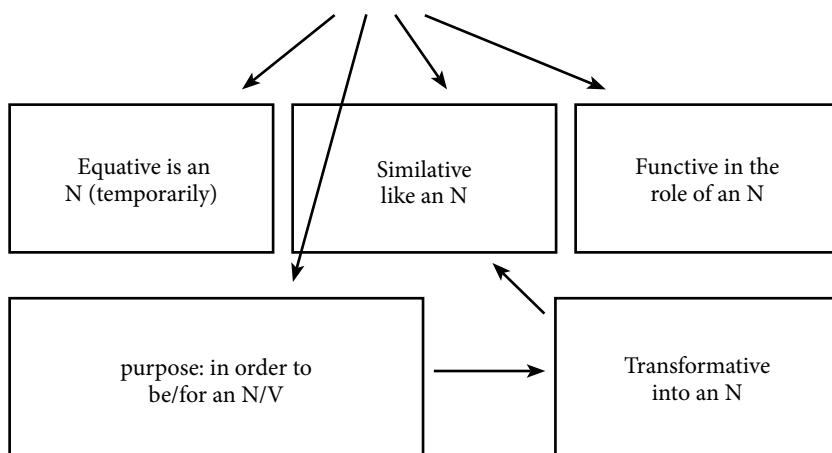


Figure 8: Sketch of the development of the inflectional suffix *kse (contemporary Finnic-Mordvinic translatives)

Rigina Ajanki
 Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies,
 P.O. Box 3, FI-00014 University of Helsinki
 <rigina.ajanki@helsinki.fi>

Notes

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3. Examples from Estonian originating from prose (Raud 1998 and Kivirähk 2000) have been adapted from Kerttu Kibbermann's (University of Latvia) and Merle Madisson's (University of Tartu / Institute of the Estonian Language) presentation held in Tartu, at the conference *Typology and contacts of Baltic and Finnic languages and literatures*, 13.6.2014. I am very grateful to them for letting me use their data.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	INS	instrumental
ACC	accusative	LOC	locative
ACT	active	NEG	negative verb
ADJZ	adjectivizer	NOM	nominative
ALL	allative	NP	noun phrase
CNG	connegative	PASS	passive
COMP	comparative	PL	plural
COND	conditional	PREP	preposition
COP	copula	PRS	present
DAT	dative	PROL	prolative
DEF	definite	PRS	present tense
DES	desiderative	PRT	partitive
DIM	diminutive	PST	past
ELA	elative	PTCP	participle
ESS	essive	PX	possessive suffix
FREQ	frequentative	REFL	reflexive
FUT	future	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	SUP	superlative
ILL	illative	TRA	translative
IMP	imperative	Q	question marker
INE	inessive	V	verb
INF	infinitive	VN	verbal noun

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Adaptation of loanwords of the suffix type **-eTA* in Finnish and Saami

This article concerns loanwords that have been adapted to the adjective suffix type **-eTA* in Finnish (*-eA*) and North Saami (*-at*). The questions to answer are: From which languages the loanwords have been borrowed and adapted to this adjective type? Which processes have been used to adapt loanwords to the suffix type **-eTA*? Can we say something about the productivity of a suffix by studying the loanwords it has adapted? According to the data, the loanwords have been gained especially from Germanic and Scandinavian languages. Also, the North Saami and Finnish do not have common loanwords. They have borrowed words from same source but separately, i. e. they cannot be reconstructed to common Finno-Saamic form. However, both languages have used the same methods in adapting loanwords to the suffix type **-eTA*. Both Finnish and North Saami has also young loanwords in suffix type **-eTA* which indicates that the suffix has been productive enough to adapt loanwords perhaps longer than thought. It is likely that the Finnish *-eA* adjectives would be even now adapted to *-at* in North Saami.

1. Introduction
 - 1.1. Loanword adaptation
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 - 1.3. The aim of this study
2. Borrowing
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 - 3.1. The development and function of the suffix **-eTA*
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4. Processes of assigning loanwords containing **-(e)TA*
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I. Introduction

I.1. Loanword adaptation

All languages have loanwords. Loanwords tend to require adaptation in order to be usable in the recipient language (Haspelmath 2009: 42). Languages with gender and inflection need to assign words to a gender and inflection class in order to be able to use the words in syntactic patterns that require gender agreement or inflection (*ibid.*). There are many different methods, even within a single language, through which loanwords are adapted to the language system.

Loanwords tend to undergo changes that make them fit better with both the phonological and morphological systems of the recipient language. These changes are called *loanword adaptation*. (Haspelmath 2009: 42.) Another term is *nativization*, as used by Hock and Joseph (1996: 262):

Many languages nativize foreign borrowings to make them conform to native restrictions on word or syllable structure.

The adaptation may be purely phonological. In Finnish, for example, word-initial consonant clusters have been simplified because Finnish does not have consonant clusters in its native phonological system, e. g. Finnish *takki* ‘jacket, coat’ < Old Swedish *stakker* ‘a shirt-like garment’ (SSA 3: 259). It can be also morphological: languages with inflection, such as Finnish and Saami, need to adapt loanwords in order to make them usable, e. g. when they are employed as parts of syntactic units that require inflection. The adaptation methods depend on the word class to which the loanword is assigned, the source and form of the loanword, and, perhaps, whether or not the donor language and the recipient language are related. For example, nouns borrowed into Finnish do not require much adaptation, e. g. Eng *net* > Fi *netti* ‘Internet’ (see e. g. Bentlin 2008: 266). Verbs, on the other hand, require some more adaptation in order to be used, e. g. Eng *to skate* > *skeita-ta* (inf.): *skeittaa* ‘(s/he) skates’.

1.2. The study of loanwords in Finno-Ugric studies

The history of loanword research regarding Finnish is long (e. g. Tunkelo 1913–1918). The focus of loanword studies in Finno-Ugric studies has been on sound correspondences and substitutions between the donor and recipient languages (see e. g. Koivulehto 1999; Sammallahti 1999). Some studies of loanword adaptation have been conducted, one even concerning *-eTA adjectives in Finnish by Terho Itkonen (1982), who has studied variation in words such as *laaja*, *lavea* ‘wide’. Muusa Ojanen (1985) has studied the category of adjectives in language contact between Lude and Russian. She has noticed that Russian loan adjectives have been adapted to the domestic inflection type (Ojanen 1985: 283). Marko Pantermöller (2003) has studied the orthographical adaptation of new loanwords in Finnish. Osmo Nikkilä (1981; 1998) has turned his focus to suffixal variation, particularly in Finnish adjectives (including loanwords), and has tried to identify the mechanisms behind this variation. Vesa Jarva (2003) has continued this research and extended it to sound-symbolic vocabulary. He has studied the eastern dialects of Finnish and concentrated on possible Russian loanwords in their vocabularies. He has found that the word groups are not always simply loanwords or domestic formations. The border between loanwords and sound-symbolic formation is not clear due to folk etymology and cognitive association, which blur the distinction between polysemy and homonymy.

Loanword research regarding Saami has not been as crowded as that of Finnish, but its history is also long, dating back to the 19th century (e. g. Friis 1887; Qvigstad 1893). Modern loanword research has been mostly in the hands of Pekka Sammallahti (esp. 1998) and Ante Aikio (e. g. 2006; 2007). Aikio in particular has studied the loanword adaptation methods used in North Saami, and in this study, I have also used his term *etymological nativization*, which suggests that strong contacts and bilingualism between Finnish and Saami have significantly affected loanword adaptation in Saami.

1.3. The aim of this study

This article¹ deals with the question of how else loanwords have been assigned to the adjective class, to the suffixal type *-eTA, in Finnish (PFS *-eTA > Fi -eA, e. g. *makea* ‘sweet’) and Saami (PFS *-eTA > SaaN *-at : -ada, modifier -es – e. g. *njuolgat*, gen.-acc. *njuolgada*, mod. *njulges* ‘straight’).

In Finnic and Saami languages this formation type includes both native words and loanwords. Traditionally, it has been considered that the Uralic suffixes were consonant-initial (Lehtisalo 1936: 2), and thus the adjective suffix has been reconstructed in the form **-TA* in the Finno-Saamic protolanguage as well (Korhonen 1981: 322). However, in both Finnish and Saami, the suffix includes a vowel that can be reconstructed in the Finno-Saamic protolanguage as **-e*. It is possible that this vowel has separated from the stem to become part of the suffix (Lehtisalo 1936: 2), but because the vowels in the Saami and Finnic suffixes can be traced back to the same vowel, we may assume that the vowel was already part of the suffix in the Finno-Saamic protolanguage.

The category of **-eTA* adjectives in Finnish and North Saami includes loanwords that have been adapted to this adjective system. Most of the loanwords are so old that they have been fully adapted to the system and etymological research is needed in order to find out whether the word is a loanword or a native derivation. In the present paper, I have classified the loanwords based on the method by which they have been adopted into Finnish and Saami. The methods can be divided into different developmental processes: *derivation*, *morphological adaptation*² and *affixation*. I have further divided the category of morphological adaptation into three separate subcategories: *morphophonological adaptation*, *etymological nativization* and *analogical adaptation*. These terms are discussed in greater detail in section 4. Derived words tend to be treated as native formations and have an existing, free stem, e. g. *rust* > *rusty*. Words formed through morphological adaptation and affixation look like derivations but lack a basic word, meaning they are bound-stem words, e. g. *nasty* is not derived from the form ***nast*, although it has the same adjectival function as other *-y* derivations, such as *rusty* or *nouny*. In Finnish studies, Alpo Räsänen (1978: 338) has noted that cognitive derivation is not only a process of adding suffixes to a stem. Suffixes never occur alone, and thus new words are more likely to be derived by using correlative patterns and model words.

After establishing the developmental paths through which the **-eTA* adjectives have developed in Finnish and North Saami, there are other issues to address:

- Based on the data, is it possible to identify a golden age of **-eTA* formations, e. g. by monitoring the age and direction of loanwords assigned to this suffix type in Finnish and Saami?
- If we have an adjective that is not formed through regular derivation, should we regard the word as a derivative? For example, the Finnish word *makea* ‘sweet’ does not have an underived stem, although a speaker can recognize it as an adjective due to the ending *-ea*. In other words, what is the relationship between regular derivation and other adaptation methods?
- The previous question is related to suffixal productivity: can a suffix be regarded as productive if it is employed in loanwords that are not actually formed by derivation but by morphological adaptation? If we understood the adaptation mechanisms better, we could perhaps study diachronic suffixal productivity in languages that do not have a long written history. According to Koivisto (2013: 237), productivity may concern a formal type (word form, model) as well as the suffix. Thus, we may view a word form as productive even when the derivations do not have free stems.

The data used for this study consists of **-eTA* adjectives in Finnish and Saami that have a loanword etymology or have been derived from a borrowed stem. The data has been collected from the following etymological dictionaries and databases: *Álgu* – the “Etymological database of the Saami Languages” (<<http://kaino.kotus.fi/algus>>) and *Suomen sanojen alkuperä* (1992–2000, later called SSA 1–3). In the contemporary languages, the productivity of this suffix is considered low or non-existent, and thus words formed with **-eTA* tend to be well presented in dictionaries. The Finnish data (ca. 180 words) has been collected from a traditional etymological dictionary whereas the North Saami data (ca. 110 words) is from an etymological database where the dependencies and relatedness are marked with arrows, not words. Most of the loanwords in this data have been borrowed into Proto-Finnic or Proto-Saami. The data presented here represents the most reliable loanwords in SSA. Some etymologies that have been suggested as loanword etymologies have been discarded in SSA³, although the explanation for these in SSA is “descriptive”, which essentially means “unknown”. I have not included such etymologies in this article, although the loanword etymologies may later prove valid.

2. Borrowing

2.1. What tends to be borrowed?

Anything can be borrowed; not only words, but also morphological and syntactic structures. However, in order to assume structural borrowing one must find lexical borrowing. This is because words are the least resistant to borrowing, and loanwords may arise even in the case of rather scarce contacts, unlike morphological and syntactic structures, which demand intensive contacts between languages. Of vocabulary, nouns tend to be borrowed easily as they do not require much grammatical adaptation into the language. Due to the need for grammatical adaptation, verbs are more resistant to borrowing. (Haspelmath 2009: 35.) What about adjectives? Muusa Ojanen (1985: 40) refers to earlier loanword studies (e. g. Haugen 1953, Roos 1980, Lagman 1971), according to which adjectives are even more resistant to borrowing than verbs. However, Uri Tadmor (2009: 61) suggests that the borrowability of adjectives and verbs is around the same. According to Tadmor (*ibid.*), ca. 15% of adjectives and adverbs is borrowed, while the figure for verbs is 14%. The difference between Ojanen's and Tadmor's notions is that Ojanen presents results of sporadic languages such as Estonian and Norwegian, whereas Tadmor presents an average of 41 languages that represent different linguistic families (WOLD). The difference in borrowability of different word classes between languages is rather high, depending on the language systems, i. e. how much adaptation a word needs in order to fit the word class. The more adaptation the loanword needs, the less likely it is to be borrowed. In addition, the derivations of a borrowed stem are usually seen as domestic formations, and thus they tend to be left out of loanword statistics, not to mention that there are different ways of defining an adjective.

Any word can be borrowed, but some semantic fields are more borrowable than others. Language contacts are also cultural contacts, and usually a new cultural item comes with a word. Thus, we may make assumptions on e. g. where agriculture and herding has come to Finnic speakers. On the other hand, words denoting everyday life tend to be frequently used and thus well preserved (Häkkinen 1997: 176). Everyday words may also be borrowed, usually for reasons of prestige (Campbell 2004: 64–65). Thus, Finnic has borrowed the PFi word **kakla* 'neck' (> Fi *kaula*, dial. *kakla* 'id.')

from Baltic (SSA 1: 331) although it had a word of its own; PFi **sepä*

‘neck’ (SSA 3: 169). Campbell (2004: 65) also mentions *derogatory* borrowing. This is the opposite of prestige borrowing, meaning that borrowed words have a negative evaluation. Such an example from Finnish is *koni* ‘old, bad horse’, which is borrowed from Russian *koń* ‘horse’ (Campbell 2004: 65; SSA 1: 396).

Loanwords in the World’s languages: A Comparative Handbook (2009, later called WOLD) presents studies of loanwords in various languages. These languages are a selection from around the world, representing different language families (Swahili, Romanian, Kildin Saami, Lower Sorbian, British English, Old High German, etc.). The scholars had a list of denotations, consisting of ca. 1100 meanings (WOLD). Uri Tadmor (2009: 64) presents semantic fields and calculates the percentage of loanwords in each. He lists fields such as *religion and belief, food and drink, cognition, time, quantity, the physical world, the body, spatial relations* and *sense perception*. The semantic fields with the most loanwords are, unsurprisingly, *religion and belief* and *clothing and grooming*. Both are cultural areas and cultural words tend to be borrowed alongside new phenomena. The fields most resistant to borrowing are *the body, spatial relations* and *sense perception*. (ibid.)

The list in WOLD also includes ca. 120 adjectival denotations (adjectives treated as a semantic word class), such as ‘black’, ‘bright’, ‘sweet’, etc. The nine most resistant semantic adjectives belong to two semantic fields: *sense perceptions* (e. g. ‘bright’, ‘loud’, ‘bitter’, ‘black’) and *spatial relations* (‘wide’, ‘right (side)’, ‘long’). The Finnish and North Saami *-eTA adjectives also include loanwords from these denotations, although they should be the most resistant to borrowing (e. g. SaaN *girkat* ‘bright (of eyes)’ < Fi *kirkas* ‘bright’ and Fi *lakea* ‘wide’ < PScand **flakja-*). Even more loanwords can be seen if we look at all adjectives in Finnish and North Saami (e. g. Fi *musta* ‘black’ is a Germanic loanword, see Koivulehto 2001: 71; Rauhala 2011b: 276–278).

2.2. Layers of loanwords

One difficult issue in this study and with this type of morphological data is that suffixes tend to change over time. An earlier derivation may have disappeared or it may occur only in certain dialects or related languages. Sometimes a new suffix does not replace the old one. Instead, both continue to exist, causing variation that makes the word group appear fuzzy and confusing. Adjectives such as *valkea* and *valkoinen* both mean ‘white’,

but the suffix *-eA* has been replaced with *-inen*, which is the default adjective suffix in contemporary Finnish. Another pattern is *punainen* ‘red’, *punakka* ‘red (of skin)’, and *punerva* ‘reddish’, all of which are derived from *puna* ‘red (colour, substance)’, a word which exists nowadays in Finnish mostly in compounds such as *punaposki* ‘one who has red cheeks’ (SSA 2: 427).

In studies of Indo-European languages, the vast variation in suffixes has been interpreted so that the etymon in the Indo-European protolanguage was an underived stem, and the suffixes were added later in the independent languages (Beekes 1995: 196). In Finno-Ugric languages, the need to add a suffix to mark adjectives can be seen especially in Saami, where the adjective system requires a marker indicating whether the adjective is a modifier or predicative. The marker has also been added to old Uralic adjectives, such as SaaN *ođas*, mod. *ođđa* ‘new’, where the predicative form *ođas* has the element *-s* and the attribute form *ođđa* is the phonological cognate of Proto-Uralic **wude* ‘new’ (Álgu, s. v. *ođas*).

Loanword studies help us to estimate the approximate time when a word has been borrowed. In derivative morphology, this means that a derivation cannot be made before the word has been borrowed. Loanwords are divided into layers depending on which language they come from. In dating these layers, we utilize knowledge of neighbouring languages and language contacts, as well as knowledge of language-internal phonological and morphological processes.

For the Finno-Saamic protolanguage, the main source for loanwords was Proto-Baltic (e. g. Fi *halla* ‘frost’, SaaN *suoldni* ‘dew; haze, mist, steam, over water or on ground’ = PFS **šalna* < PBalt **šalnà*, SSA 1: 133). At the same time and later on, Proto-Finno-Saamic and later Proto-Finnic, as well as Pre- and Proto-Saami, were under a strong Proto-Germanic influence (see map in Aikio 2006: 45). There are hundreds of words in Finnic for which a Proto-Germanic etymology has been suggested (see LÄGLOS 1–3).

Saami has had separate connections with Indo-European languages (Sammallahti 1999: 81–82; Koivulehto 1999: 211; Aikio 2006). Recently, Aikio (2006: 39) proposed that the contacts between Saami and Proto-Germanic were tighter and dated further back than assumed in previous studies. Aikio suggests that the Saami people had independent connections with Germanic peoples, whereas earlier it was assumed that the words from Proto-Germanic in Pre- and Proto-Saami would have spread mostly via Pre- and Proto-Finnic. The northward expansion of Proto-Saami has

been dated to the Iron Age. Aikio (ibid.) dates the contacts with Proto-Germans to the Bronze Age, when the major sound changes in Proto-Saami had not yet emerged (the Pre-Saami phase). He assumes that Proto-Saami disintegrated during the Iron Age, around 0–500 AD.

Later on, the Finnic languages acquired words from the Slavic and Scandinavian directions, and loanwords were acquired from Low German as well (Thomsen 1869; Bentlin 2008). These contacts have lasted up until modern times, with recent loanwords coming from Swedish, Russian and, most recently, English. The Saami have had independent contacts with their neighbours the Norwegians, Swedes, Finns, Karelians and Russians. The contacts have left their mark on the contemporary languages.

North Saami has a total of ca. 110 *-at* adjectives, of which 34 are loanwords. Finnish has ca. 180 *-eA* adjectives, of which only 17 are given a loanword etymology in SSA. The number of loanwords in the Finnish data is surprisingly low. The primary reason for this is the large number of unknown etymologies. The Finnish data consists quite largely of *expressive* words, i. e. words that either denote affective concepts or attach a positive or (more commonly) negative affect to a neutral concept (Aikio 2009: 26–27). *Sound-symbolic* words are words that formally describe their entity (ibid.). About half of the **-eTA*-adjectives in Finnish are either of unknown origin or described as expressive, although expressive words may also be of loan origin.

3. Development of the suffix **-eTA*

3.1. The development and function of the suffix **-eTA*

The suffix **-eTA* (< PFP **(e)TA*) still exists at least in Permic, Finnic and Saami (Uotila 1933), but cognates have also been suggested in Mordvin and Mari (Beke 1911: 129; Hallap 1983). The oldest words formed with the suffix **-eTA* are Fi *pimeä* ‘dark (of light)’ (< PFP **pilmitä* or **pilmetä* ‘id.’, cognates in Komi *peמיד* and Udmurt *peміт**), and *pireä* ‘lively’ (= Ko *perid* ‘id.’).

The assumption that adjectives were not a separate category in the Uralic (or Finno-Permic) protolanguage has created the need to assume some other earlier function than adjectival for the suffix **(e)TA*. Hakulinen (1979: 121) suggests that the previous function would have been possessive, e. g. *makea* ‘sweet’ < ‘thing that has taste in it’. Hakulinen’s suggestion is possible, but as the suffix has no other function than adjectival in the

present languages, it is not possible to reconstruct other functions for the protolanguages either.

There are some non-derived, common Uralic words that are semantically adjectives (e. g. PU **wud'e* 'new' > Fi *uusi*, SaaN *ođđá* 'id.'). In addition, the suffix **-eTA* has only an adjectival function in the languages in which it still most certainly exists (the Finnic, Saami and Permic languages). Thus, we may expect that there has been some system dividing adjectives from other classes, or at least there has been a need to mark adjectival function. Janhunen (1982: 28) claims that one cannot distinguish a subclass of adjectives in Proto-Uralic based on morphological criteria. Even though such derivational forms would not demonstrate the existence of a basic word class of adjectives (Post 2008: 350), they may indicate the importance of defining an adjectival meaning or function.

In the Finnic and Saami languages, the adjective system has changed much since the time of their common protolanguage. In both language groups, the modifier has undergone major changes. In the Finno-Saamic protolanguage, the modifier was presumably morphologically unmarked and did not agree with its head in number or case (Ravila 1960: 28; Pajunen 1998: 78). In Saami, adjectives have gained a grammatical function as the attribute form has become formally different from the nominative form. Finnic adjectives, on the other hand, have developed agreement both in number and case with their heads in attribute position.

The suffix **-eTA* seems to have been a denominal adjective suffix (see Rauhala 2011a) that was added to nouns ending in **-a* and **-i*, e. g. Finnish *tahmea* 'sticky' < *tahma* 'sticky substance', and North Saami *čuovgat* 'light (adj.)' < *čuoŋga* 'light (n.)', which probably dates back to Finno-Saamic **šonji* (Bergsland 1964: 144; Sammallahti 1998: 235). The loss of the phonological rule may be explained if we assume that the *-e* in the suffix was reanalysed from being part of the root to being part of the suffix. Thus, it has been possible to make new adjectives by adding the bisyllabic suffix to the monosyllabic root and the last syllable has become irrelevant with regard to word formation.

3.2. Derivative or stem type?

The Uralic languages have a rich suffixal morphology. They are more agglutinative than fusional, although some, e. g. Estonian and North Saami, show more fusional features than others, mostly due to erosion in their morphol-

ogy (cf. Laanest 1982). Word formation in Finnish also uses other methods than purely suffixal ones. Regarding Finnish word formation processes, Alpo Räisänen has identified four types of patterns: 1. derivation (Räisänen assumes that this may be a pattern that is not used at all by the average speaker), 2. correlational derivation (*korrelaatiojohto*), 3. model derivation (*mallisanajohto*), and 4. structure-internal derivation (*vartalonsisäinen johto*). The structure-internal derivation of colloquial Finnish -eA-adjectives may produce such words as *pähee* ‘cool’, *sähee* ‘id.’ (-eA > coll. -ee), which are possibly formed by using the model of *kähee* ‘coarse (of voice); cool’.

According to Räisänen, correlational derivation is based on derivational patterns, such as *kala* ‘a fish’, *kalastaa* ‘to fish’, *kalastella* ‘to fish (freq.)’, *kalastelu* ‘fishing (freq.)’. This pattern has probably been a model for *erä* ‘wilderness’, *?erästää*, *erästellä* ‘to wander in wilderness; hunt, fish’, *erästelty* ‘being in the wilderness’. The verb ***erästää* does not exist in SMS. (Räisänen 1978: 332.)

In this article, I have used a slightly different naming system for the loanword adaptation patterns, but I also compare the adaptation patterns to Räisänen’s word formation patterns.

Such terms as word form (*sanahahmo*) and model (*muotti*) are also widely used when speaking of using models to adapt new words to a language (e. g. VISK § 147–148; Koivisto 2013: 167–210). However, both of these terms may be combined under the term *analogy*. As the international literature does not use the term *model*, I use only the term *word form* here when referring to irregular methods of loanword adaptation.

In Finnish, as well as in Saami, many *-eTA adjectives do not have a free stem. In the tradition of research on Finnish, the derivativeness of a word form has been seen as continuum (VISK § 149). Only the *-eTA adjectives with a free stem are considered derivations, and VISK (ibid.) does not mention even one of such adjectives as pure derivations. Some *-eTA adjectives are mentioned as blurred derivations, such as *lempeä* ‘gentle’ < *lempi* ‘love’ and *pyöreä* ‘round’ < *pyörä* ‘wheel’. Correlational derivations are a separate group and include words such as *synkeä* ‘dark, dim’, which has correlate *synkkä* ‘id.’, as well as *jyreä* ‘steep’ ~ *jyrkkä* ‘id.’. Such variation in suffixes is typical of derivation in Finnish. Completely opaque *-eTA formations include e. g. *säyseä* ‘calm, tame’ (VISK §149)⁶, and these are called non-derivatives.

The phenomenon of suffixal variation has been approached from different angles in many studies. Mauno Koski (1982: 74–99) presents two dif-

ferent approaches for how to treat opaque word forms; a criterion based on the stem (*alkukriteeri*), and a criterion based on the ending (*loppukriteeri*). If we look at the stem of the word, the forms that have no stem correlate are monomorphemic, e. g. of the nouns with the ending *-e*: *vene* ‘boat’ has no correlate. However, the word *haaste* ‘challenge’ is a derivation, as it has a correlate verb *haastaa* ‘to speak; to challenge’.

The criterion based on the ending treats all words that have the same ending alike. Koski (1982: 74–99) uses nouns with the ending *-e* as an example here as well, and says that words such as *vene* ‘boat’ and *haaste* ‘challenge’ would be both treated as derivations accordingly. However, he sees this as problematic, as derivations would also include words that have no correlates, and the morpheme *-e* has no semantic contents: it does not act as modifier or word class changer. Most of the **-eTA* formations in Finnish and North Saami have no such problem regarding their semantic contents. They are almost all adjectives. Many of them have also correlates, as we will see in this study, the etymological relations may be different from the cognitive relations. However, in forming new words the correlative pairs work as models for new formations (Räisänen 1978: 332). Koski (1982: 99) emphasizes that the diachronic word formation process and synchronic monitoring of derivations are not alike. In examining the synchronic lexicon, the focal point is pinpointing the correlates, although the correlations can be different both morphologically and in their formal derivational processes.

Osmo Nikkilä (1981; 1998) refers to variation of the type *vireä*, *virkeä*, *virkku* ‘lively’, and also *nopea*, *nopsa* ‘swift’ using the term *suffix change* (*suffiksinvaihto*). This is based on structural re-interpretation of a word form, in which the last syllable of a diachronically morphophonemic word is interpreted as a suffix that can be replaced with another. Koski (1982: 89) presents the word pair *kuningas* ‘king’ and *kuningatar* ‘queen’ as an example: the word *kuningas* has been restructured so that the last *-s* has been interpreted as a suffix. By replacing the *-s* we create a female form by adding the domestic feminine suffix *-tar* to the stem *kuninga-*. The stem *kuninga-* is bound, as it cannot occur alone. Still, forms can be derived from it using suffixes. Koski (ibid.) says that the ending *-s* has not become marked, e. g. +MASCULINE, due to the word pair (*koiras* ‘male’ ~ *naaras* ‘female’, of animals and plants). In fact, it may be interpreted as a masculine marker in words denoting humans, e. g. *ruhtinas* ‘duke’ and *ruhtinatar* ‘duchess’.

Adjectives have a strong tendency to exhibit allomorphic variation, probably due to the need to enliven and refresh their expressive capabilities. Nikkilä (1998: 79) says that the aim of etymological research concerning such words with varying suffixes (or endings) is to find out the possible etymon from which the variation originates. Nikkilä shows patterns of variation and reminds us that the variation should not be explained based on “descriptivity” or sound-symbolism.

In general linguistics, word-form recognition is an important part of cognitive categorization and has been studied especially in psycholinguistics. The process by which a suffix is added to a non-word stem is called *pseudo-affixation* (see e. g. McQueen & Cutler 1998). For instance, the English word *bulky* is a regular derivation from *bulk*, but although the word class is the same, the word *nasty* has no basic word. Despite the lack of a base, it is recognized as the same word type as *bulky*. Aronoff and Fudeman (2005: 111–2) include the word *nasty* in word-form recognition and count this type of words under term *affixation*, just like the regular derivation *bulky*. The stems are either free (*bulk* > *bulky*) or bound (***nast* / *nasty*). In this article, I use the term *affixation* when speaking of adding a suffix to a foreign stem that does not occur independently in the language (section 4.3.).

Räisänen (1978) also presents a cognitive approach to the suffixal variation, although he does bear in mind the diachronic approach alongside the synchronic. He points out that derivation patterns do not tend to follow the rule $a > b > c$ in a speaker’s cognition, even if it were etymologically true. The speaker uses word-forms and models as patterns in deriving new words, and these patterns do not need to be complete. Räisänen (1978) has discussed how speakers understand the border between derivation and stem. He also has doubted the generativist viewpoint on the regularity of derivation processes and studied empirically how speakers associate derivations with stems. He argues that the cognitive contact between stems and derivations differs from the diachronic development of derivations. However, the cognitive association may lead to the formation of new words, and thus the cognitive approach should be kept in mind also when dealing with the etymological point of view.

Based on his empirical test, Räisänen (1978: 330) argues that the word derivation is based more on semantics than on morphological structure, although the structure, if it has semantic contents, seems to play an important role in structural re-interpretation of a word form, as presented

above using the English examples. I have noticed that the word structure is important when a speaker assumes derivation patterns. One example is a question of derivation made to senior-secondary students. They assumed that adjective *makea* ‘sweet’ is derived from *maku* ‘taste’, although diachronically the noun *maku* is a derivation of *makea*. However, the three-syllable word is recognized as a derivation, as it is longer than the two-syllable *maku*, in which case one must study historical linguistics in order to know that the endings *-o* and *-u* are derivations. Räsänen (1978: 330) argues that such thing as a stem, or only one stem, is not very usable in the word formation process. For a speaker, there is only a group of words with a similar stem, and this knowledge is used in forming new words.

By studying words etymologically, we can see which words are derivations and which have been borrowed as a whole. Here we come to a question: should we treat these words differently? The only way to detect whether a word is a derivation or not is through etymology. This means that for a speaker it does not make a difference which background the word has. Word-form recognition is more significant than the etymological background of the word because the form tells the speaker the function of the word (McQueen & Cutler 1998: 415–416). Most of **-eTA*-words in Finnish and all in Saami are adjectives and this feature is much more important than whether it has an existing stem or not. Thus, we may assume that all adapted words have affected or at least indicated the productivity of this suffix and it is unnecessary to make a difference between the bound-stem and free-stem forms, as long as they are recognized as adjectives. Based on this, we may call **-eTA* a derivative type, although in research on Finnish, the **-eTA* type has also been called an inflectional or stem type.

3.3. Productivity

When we speak of suffixes and derivation, it is important to pay attention to *productivity*. Morphological productivity is nowadays considered more of a continuum than a polar phenomenon (e. g. Bybee 1985: 132–135; Aronoff & Anshen 1998; Aikhenvald 2007). At one end of the continuum are the dead or completely unproductive affixes that are not likely to be used in coining new words at all. At the other end are highly productive affixes that can be added whenever syntactic conditions are appropriate and there are no other forms blocking them. (Aronoff & Anshen 1998: 243.) Vesa Koivisto (2013: 234) adds that it is not only suffixes that are productive, but

also word forms. In this study, it is impossible to study the level of productivity because the study concentrates on only one adjective suffix. However, it can be argued that the suffix is productive at some level if new words can be formed using it. Thus, we can assume that if the derivative type has gained loanwords, it has been productive enough to accept new words at the time when the loanword was assigned to the language, regardless of the adaptation method. A large influx of new loanwords may have an increasing effect on the productivity of a derivative type (Koivisto 2013: 207).

3.4. Finnic *-eδA

In the Finnic branch, the PFP suffix *-(e)TA has developed into Proto-Finnic *-eδA and occurs e. g. in Finnish in the form -eA (*kapea* ‘narrow’, dialectally also in forms -ee, -ie, -ia), in Karelian as -ie (*kapie* ‘narrow’ < **kapia* < **kapea*, Ojansuu 1918: 110, 118), in Veps as -ed and in Estonian as -e in nominative and -eda in partitive (e. g. nom. *pime*, part. *pimeda* ‘dark (of light)’).

The function of the suffix *-eδA is primarily adjectival in all present Finnic languages. The derivation type includes only a handful of nouns, such as the Finnish *hopea* ‘silver’⁷. All of these nouns have been semantically lexicalized from adjectives. The original adjectival denotation ‘soft’ of *hopea* is still visible in its cognates e. g. in Lule Saami *suohpē* ‘soft, elastic; easy to work with’⁸ (SSA 1: 172; Lehtiranta 2001: 128). Adjectives with the ending *-eδA are largely represented at least in the dictionaries of Finnish and Karelian. Although the type-frequency (Bauer 2001: 48) of this derivative is highly attested, the suffix is usually considered unproductive. However, the suffix also occurs with loanwords, ones that date back to the Finnic protolanguage and ones that have appeared later in individual languages.

The Finnic suffix *-eδA shows allomorphic variation with the suffixes *-keδa and -kkV (Hallap 1983; Nikkilä 1998; Rauhala 2011). Usually the suffix *-keδa is an allomorph that does not significantly change the meaning or function of the adjective. It is common for the suffix of an adjective to change without changing its meaning, e. g. Finnish *vireä* ~ *virkeä* ~ *virkku* ‘lively’. Apparently the suffix *-keδa has also been used as an independent suffix, as the adjective *vaikea* ‘difficult’ seems to be derived from the noun *vaiva* ‘trouble; pain’ (Nikkilä 1993: 283). Nikkilä (ibid.) suggests that the form *vaikea* would have been derived from *vaiva* by means of suffix change.

He assumes that the ending *-va* in *vaiva* has been interpreted as a suffix, and that it has been changed to the adjective suffix *-kea*. However, it is not necessary to assume a reanalysed suffix for *vaiva*. Instead, we may assume a regular derivation whereby the adjective suffix *-kea* has been added to the stem *vai-*, because the suffix can be added only to monosyllabic stems. Phonologically it would have also been possible to form ***vaivea*, but this does not seem to exist, at least not in Finnish. In the eastern dialects of Finnish and in Karelian this type of suffixal variation is more regular than elsewhere in Finnish. The variation is connected to the “expressive” nature of the vocabulary with which it is used. In this study, I use the term “expressive” as a semantic term. Expressive words are words that denote affective concepts and/or carry either negative or positive affect (Kulonen 2006: 323–324; Aikio 2009: 26–27). Thus, words with the ending *-eA* are used widely in colloquial Finnish (where *-eA* > *-ee*): *rouhee* ‘cool’, *kähee* ‘coarse (of a voice); cool’.

The traditional, Neo-grammarian idea is that suffix development has phases. For example, the adjective suffix studied here has supposedly been **-TA* in the Finno-Permic (or Finno-Ugric) protolanguage. It has then gained the stem vowel **-e-*, perhaps in the Finno-Saamic protolanguage, as suggested in section 1. At this point, the stem has been reduced to a monosyllabic form. This causes large variation as well as homonymy with other words. It also may have led to the contemporary situation in Finnic, where the suffix **-eTA* exhibits much variation and is used in expressive vocabulary. In order to preserve productivity, the suffix must have some meaning that withstands homonymy. Expressive and sound-symbolic vocabulary may better withstand homonymy because the focus is not on clear denotation, but on affect.

Finnish gained new *-eA*-derivations in the 19th century via language planning; e. g. *jauhea* ‘floury (in botanical terminology)’ < *jauho* ‘flour’ (Pitkänen 2008: 193). Päivi Rintala (1978: 154–155) considers suffixal productivity in language planning to be a special case of productivity. Language planning in Finnish has used domestic elements, stems and suffixes, and it has also employed suffixes that were no longer productive. This type of intentional word formation process is traditionally called *creativity* and e. g. Bauer (2001) does not count it as part of productivity. Aronoff & Anshen (1998: 246) criticize the scholars who tend to discard such intentional word creation, as it entirely rules out the study of unproductive morphology. The less productive affixes tend to be used in order to make a special

point or emphasize the terminological sense. From Aronoff & Anshen's point of view, it is understandable that language planning has used such unproductive suffixes in new terminology.

3.5. Saami *-etē

In the Saami languages, the Finno-Permic suffix has developed into Proto-Saami *-etē (Aikio 2006: 36) which in North Saami has developed into *-at*. As in Finnish, the suffix *-at* in Saami is added to monosyllabic stems and produces trisyllabic words.

The adjective class in Saami is morphologically distinguished from nouns in a way that is unique among Uralic languages. Most of the adjectives have two morphologically separate forms, one for predicative adjectives and one for modifiers. The adjectives can be coarsely divided into three groups according to the form of the modifier: 1. the modifier is the same as the singular nominative (*gielalaš* 'linguistic', *divrras* 'expensive'), 2. the modifier ends with *-s* (*čeahppi*, mod. *čeahpes* 'skilled', *njuolgat*, mod. *njulges* 'straight'), 3. the modifier ends with *-a* (*allat* mod. *alla* 'high', *garas* mod. *garra* 'hard, harsh', *ođas*, mod. *ođđa* 'new') (Nickel 1994: 80). The *-at* adjectives studied here belong to the second group: the adjectives with the ending *-at* (in genitive-accusative *-da*, e. g. *ruoksat:ruoksada*) usually have *-es* in the modifier form: *ruoksat* 'red (predicative)', *rukkses* 'red (modifier)':

- a. *biila lea ruoksat* 'the car is red'
- b. *dat lea rukkses biila* 'that is a red car'

Sometimes the modifier may be in the form *-adis*, which seems to be an analogical long form in which the suffix *-is* is added to the genitive form. The change in merging the modifier concerns only adjectives, at least in North Saami. Demonstrative pronouns and numerals act a bit differently from adjectives. Demonstratives and numerals agree partly with their heads, i. e. the agreement concerns some cases, not all (Nickel 1994: 89, 116; Rauhala 2013).

The need to mark adjectives separately from other word classes means that new words have to be categorized. Thus, adjectives tend to need adaptation so that the new word fits the native system. Today, the default adjective suffix for forming new adjectives is *-laš*, e. g. *magnehtalaš* 'magnetic'. It has no separate modifier form.

4. Processes of assigning loanwords containing *-(e)TA

In the following section, I analyse the loanword data of Finnish and North Saami *-eTA adjectives. I have divided the data into three categories based on the method by which the words have been adapted to the language. Derivation (4.1.) is the most transparent way of adapting loanwords to the language. Derivation is divided into two types. The first, regular derivation (4.1.1.) is for cases where the words follow the regular rule of adding the *-eTA suffix to the monosyllabic root. The section “Other derivations (4.1.2.)” is reserved for word forms that do not follow the suffixation rule perfectly but are still derived from an existing stem.

The second method is morphological adaptation (4.2.), in which the borrowed word form has been adapted to the derivative type *-eTA. Morphological adaptation (Haspelmath 2009) can be divided into different types based on the way the words are adapted. In morphophonological adaptation (4.2.1.) the word is adapted to the *-eTA formal type based on its phonological form in the donor language and the closest form in the recipient language. The morphological aspect comes into the picture when a speaker reanalyses the borrowed form as a derivation and gives it the adjective function that *-eTA words have. Etymological nativization (4.2.2.) (Aikio 2007) is used when borrowing from a related language. In etymological nativization, the adaptation is based on etymological cognates, which work as models for new formations. New loanwords are adapted to the system analogically to the old cognates. A similar process to etymological nativization is analogical adaptation (4.2.3.), where the donor language and recipient language are not necessarily related, but words are analogically adapted to the *-eTA suffix type based on the earlier borrowed vocabulary.

Affixation (4.3.) (Aronoff & Fudeman 2005: 110) is, in a way, related both to derivation and morphological adaptation. The suffix *-eTA is added to a foreign stem that does not occur in basic form in the language, e. g. North Saami *roaffat* ‘coarse’.

4.1. Derivation

4.1.1. Regular derivation

Regular derivation is usually considered a mechanical formation process, wherein a suffix is added to a stem to form a new word. Unlike inflection, derivation usually forms new words and derivative suffixes are used e. g. to change the word class of a word (Bybee 1985: 81–87), e. g. *bulk* (noun) > *bulky* (adjective). The derivative suffix *-eTA marks adjectives. In regular derivation, the suffix *-eTA is added to an existing stem using the following rule: the suffix *-eTA is added to the first syllable of the stem. Regular derivation is usually used to change a noun into an adjective, but there are some examples where the word class does not change: the adjective is changed into another adjective. The meaning may be slightly altered in the process, but the semantic change is not regular.

The data presented here demonstrates the regular derivation used in loanwords, or better put, borrowed stems. Usually derivations are not considered loanwords, although they have been formed from loanwords. However, in studying the ability to adapt new words to a suffix type it is also crucial to look at the loanwords from which the new forms have been derived.

Finnish

Baltic loanwords

- 1) *hallea* (dial.) ‘light grey’ ? < Fi *halli* ‘greyish, light grey brown animal; grey seal’ < Fi *halla* ‘frost’ < PFS **šalna* (> PSa **suolnē* > SaaN *suoldni* ‘dew; haze’) < PBalt **šal-* (> Lit *šalnà* ‘frost; mild freeze’ *šalns* ‘roan’) (SSA 1: 133; Sammallahti 1998: 124).

Derived from either *halla* or *halli*. The form *hallea* has no cognates in other Finnic languages.

- 2) *kärmeä* ‘sharp (of axe); fast, slippery’ < (dial.) *kärmes* ‘snake’ (literary Fi *käärme* ‘id.’) < PBalt, cf. Lit *kirmis* ‘worm’ (SSA 1: 476).
= Vot *kärmiä* ‘fast’; Est *kärme* ‘quick, agile’ (ibid.).

Germanic loanwords

- 3) *pullea* ‘plump, chubby’ < PFi **pullV-* < PFS **pulna* (> PSa **polnē* > NS *boldni*) < PreGerm **fulna-* (> PGerm **fulla* ‘full’) (Aikio 2006: 18).
= Kar *pullakka* ‘plump, chubby; bloated’; Est (dial.) *pullas* ‘chubby’.

The variation in the forms of *pullea* in the Finnic languages suggests that the adjective suffix has been acquired independently in different areas.

Scandinavian loanwords

- 4) *karp(p)ea* ‘hard crusted (of bread); scrubby, stunted’ < *karppa* ‘frozen snow, hard, frozen ground; salt coating on meat; soot’ < Scand cf. Swe *skarp*, Eng *sharp* (SSA 1: 316).

No formal cognates in other Finnic languages.

- 5) *pramea, ramea* ‘handsome; pretentious, puffy’ < *prami* ‘handsomeness’ < Swe *bram* ‘handsomeness, pride, pretentiousness’. (SSA 2: 408; NSES 2004: 954.)

No cognates in other Finnic languages.

The Finnish adjective *pramea* (example 5) is a rather young loanword, and it is regularly derived from *prami* ‘handsomeness’, which is borrowed from Swedish. The derivative *pramea* occurs in literary texts from the end of the 18th century, although *prami* is older and also occurs in Agricola’s texts (NSES 2004: 954). However, in the Old Finnish there has been a derivative *pramius* ‘handsomeness’ (ibid.), which indicates the existence of *pramia* (the south-western dialectal form of *pramea*). This suggests that the derivation process has been productive at some level in the 18th century. The *-eA* derivatives made by Lönnrot in the 19th century (Pitkänen 2008: 193–194) may also have been possible in spontaneous language use, not only in intentional terminology.

The Finnish data presents old Baltic and Germanic loanwords, of which some still also exist as underived words (examples 1, 2 and 4). Only the germanic loanword *pullea* ‘plump’ (example 3) does not seem to have an existing stem. The data also includes a rather young Swedish loanword (5) that has been regularly derived with suffix **-eTA*. Sometimes the **-eTA* derivations also exist in other Finnic languages than Finnish. However, the examples above demonstrate that their existence is mostly restricted to Finnish.

North Saami

Germanic loanwords

- 6) *sáhppat* ‘bluish, purple’ < *sáhppi* ‘berry juice’ < some form based on PGerm **saf/ppan-* (> Eng *sap*) (the PGerm. reconstruction is from Kroonen 2013: 420).

No formal cognates in other Saami languages. The distribution of cognates for *sáhppi* ‘berry juice’ is wide in both the east and the west. (Álgu.) – New etymology.

Scandinavian loanwords

7) *roadđat* 'fiery red' < *roadđi* 'sunrise or sunset' < Old Norse *roði* 'id.' (Álgu).
= SaaLu *rātē* 'red sky'; SaaIn *roadī* 'red morning sky'.

Does not occur as a derivative in other Saami languages.

Finnish loanwords

8) *veahkat* 'strong, potent; powerful' < *veahka* 'men, help; crowd; strength, potency; manure, fertilizer' < Fi *väki* 'people' (Aikio 2007: 35).

North Saami also has some regular derivations of loanwords (6–8) that are diachronically interesting; the oldest loanword is from Proto-Germanic (6) and the latest is from Finnish (8). The word *sáhppat* (6) is a bit complicated. It is probably derived from *sáhppi* 'berry juice'. In dictionaries, the denotation 'berry juice' has been connected to *sáhppi* 'gall'¹⁰. These two denotations of *sáhppi* are presumably homonyms and do not belong together etymologically. The claim is based on semantic development. It is not probable that the denotation 'gall' could develop into 'sweet juice', nor does such a development occur in any other Finno-Ugric languages. The only semantic development from 'gall' into something to drink is into 'booze', which has happened in Mordvin (MdWb: 1968). In Mordvin, the adjective derived from the noun 'gall' also means 'gallish, bitter' (ibid.). A more plausible explanation for *sáhppat* is a rather early borrowing from the Proto-Germanic **saf/ppan* (> Eng *sap*) or the Scandinavian protolanguage to Proto-Saami. The Swedish *saft* 'juice' has been borrowed from Old High German *saft* (Hellquist 1922: 685). This etymology suggests that the Proto-Scandinavian has had a cognate to PGerm **saf/ppan* but it has disappeared.

Nielsen (1938: 380) has translated the word *sáhppat* as 'bluish'. He gives an additional explanation that the word *sáhppat* is used in some dialects used to denote a red face cloth that does not have a clean red colour. The word actually means 'purple', which is a typical colour of berry juice. The colour term *sáhppat* is restricted to North Saami, which suggests that it could be a rather young derivation.

4.1.2. Other derivations

Not all derivations can be considered regular, even though the root forms exist. Problematic features include the lack of a change in word class, where an adjective produces another adjective (examples 9, 11–12). However, the forms can be recognized as derivations, as they have existing basic stem.

- 9) *helpeä* ‘weak, thin; light; quiet, slow; comfortable’ < *helppo* a. ‘easy; small; light; cheap, worthless; slow; mild’ < PGerm. **xelpō* (> Swe *hjälp*, Eng *help*) (SKES 1955: 67; SSA 1: 154).
 = Kar *helpie* ‘weak, thin; quiet, slow; nice’.
 The PFi word **helppo* has a wide distribution in Finnic. It occurs also as a noun, which would partly explain the need for derivative form with *-*eTA*. (LÄGLOS 1: 93.)
- 10) *vaikea* ‘difficult’ < *vaiva* ‘trouble; illness’ (also in Karelian) < PGerm **waiva-* (> Old Swedish *vē, vā* ‘unhappiness, misery; pain’) (Nikkilä 1993: 283; on the etymology of *vaiva*, see SSA 3: 394; LÄGLOS 3: 357).
 = Ing *vaikia* ‘difficult’; Kar *vaikie* ‘difficult, burdensome’; Vot *vaiķea* ‘difficult, burdensome; tough (of wind); strange (of a person); (n.) difficulty’ (SSA 3: 391).
- 11) *lauhkea* ‘mild; soft’, *lauhea* ‘id.’ < *lauha* ‘mild (of weather); soft’ ? < PGerm **lausa-z* (Tunkelo 1913–18: 14–16; LÄGLOS 2: 177).
 = Ing *lauhkia* ‘mild (of weather)’, Kar. *lauhkie* ‘mild (of weather); gentle’, *lauhie* ‘mild, soft’ (LÄGLOS 2: 177).

In particular, the Finnish *helpeä* (example 9) is difficult to see a regular derivation for two reasons: firstly, it is not derived from a noun. Instead, it is derived from an adjective that has the same meaning. Secondly, it is not derived from a form ***helpa*. It has been assumed that the suffix *-*eTA* would have been able to be added to words ending *-a* or *-i*. However, it seems that in Finnish this phonological rule has disappeared and the suffix has also been added to other words. The reason for this may be the appearance of nouns ending in *-o* and *-u* in the Finno-Saamic protolanguage. Another possibility is to consider this an instance of correlational derivation (Räisänen 1978). This would mean that the word *helpeä* has been formed from *helppo* by using word pairs, such as *valkea* ‘white’ and *valkko* ‘white animal’, or *virkeä* ‘bright, alert’ and *virkku* ‘id.’ as correlates. Nikkilä (e. g. 1998) would probably add the forms *helppo* and *helpeä* under suf-

fix change, if one assumes that the form *helppo* has been structured as a derivation, and the *-o* as a derivational suffix.

It is known (e. g. Hallap 1983) that the suffix *-eTA has an allomorphic variant *-keTA, at least in Finnic. This allomorphic variation can be seen e. g. in example 11, where the form *lauha* has produced both derivations *lauhea* and *lauhkea*. The adjective *vaikea* (example 10) is also formed with *-keTA, although the parallel form **vaivea* is not attested. The suffix *-eTA also alternates with the suffix *-kkV*, as in Finnish *navea* ~ *navakka* (example 31). In North Saami, the form *čuoŕri* ‘grey’ (example 12) is phonologically closer to the Proto-Aryan form; I assume that the form *čuorgat* has been derived from *čuoŕri*. In assuming that the form *čuorgat* is a derivation of *čuoŕri*, one also has to assume that *-keTA was an existing variant in Saami. A possible parallel to support this is the adjective *njuolgat* ‘straight’, which could be derived from *njuolla* ‘arrow’. It is noteworthy that both in Finnic and in North Saami the most common consonant before the suffix *-eTA is *k* (of Finnic, see Nikkilä 1981 and Hallap 1983; the calculations for North Saami vocabulary are my own). If both suffixes *-eTA and *-keTA already existed prior to Proto-Finnic, it would perhaps explain the vast existing variation involving *-eTA and *-keTA in the Finnic languages. In addition, it would mean that the speakers of Proto-Finnic had parallels (or correlations, as called in Finnish studies) to use in the formation of new words.

North Saami

Aryan loanwords

- 12) *čuorgat* ‘grey (of hair)’ ? < *čuoŕri* ‘grey’ << PFS **śaras* < PAr **śará* (Sammallahti 2001: 399).

Wide distribution in the Saami languages.

North Saami

Baltic loanwords

- 13) *šearrat* ‘bright, clear’ < PS **šearētē* < PBalt. **žer-* (> Lit *žėrėti*, *žėruoti* ‘to shine brightly, to sparkle’) (Sammallahti 2001: 401; Aikio 2009: 199).

Wide distribution in Saami.

- 14) *lávгат* ‘tight-fitting’ ? < *lávгат* ‘fit tightly’ < PS **lāŋve* < Scand. cf. ON *lagga*, perf. part. *lögðr* ‘fold’ > Swe *log* (Álgu).

The North Saami *šearrat* ‘bright, clear’ (example 13) is a loanword from the Baltic protolanguage. The Baltic stem occurs in many other words, e. g. *šearus* ‘clear (of sound, voice, intellect); sharp (of a picture), free from dirt (of a window)’ and *šearrát* ‘be clear’ (Álgu). Aikio (2009: 199) has assumed that *šearrat* (< PS *šearētē*) is derived from the PS root **šearē-*, which does not occur as a free stem in any contemporary Saami language. Räsänen (1978: 331) argues that such a stem does not need to have existed at all, which may be the case for the word group of *šearrat*. The same thing may be true of *lávгат* ‘tight-fitting’ (example 14), unless it is derived from the verb *lávгат* ‘fit tightly’. If this is the case, then this adjective suffix would be not only denominal but also deverbal, at least in North Saami.

4.2. Morphological adaptation

One way to attest loanwords is through morphological adaptation, in which loanwords are adapted as whole entities and assigned to specific word types. According to Räsänen (1978: 334), it is easier to memorize and spread a word that has been adapted to the domestic system, e. g. by morphological adaptation, than to memorize a completely foreign word. This reminds us that grammar is not independent from cognition. Thus, in the word formation process, both memory and the morphological rules of language are relevant (ibid.).

Some stems may have been developed from the borrowed derivatives as a result of back-derivation (on back-derivation, see also Räsänen 1978: 332–333). Strictly speaking, this is not a derivational process, as the word is borrowed as whole and the stem is a non-word, i. e. a stem that has no independent meaning. However, the speakers recognize the word as consisting of more than one morpheme although the stem itself has no independent function (Aronoff & Fudeman 2005: 111–112). Instead of a derivative type, this can be seen as inflectional type that increases also by adopting new loanwords as whole instead of by derivation. However, morphological adaptation should not be overlooked in studies of morphological productivity. In addition, the formal variation seen in adjectives in Finnic languages suggests that not only free stems but also bound stems are recognized as stems that can be varied with suffixes (Nikkilä 1998). Räsänen (1978: 339) calls this type of derivation model-word derivation, for which it is typical that the stem of the derivative is a non-word.

Morphological adaptation can be divided into different types. Morphophonological adaptation is the type in which loanwords are adapted to the recipient language with changes to their phonological form (example 15). Etymological nativization is close to morphophonological adaptation, but the nativization in this case is based on the knowledge of a common etymological form between the languages, such as Saami and Finnish (Aikio 2007). Such knowledge is possible for an average speaker due to long and intensive language contacts, and bilingualism. The common Finno-Saamic words can be recognized and new words can be created using the same rules. For example, the SaaN word *haddi* ‘price’ is a loanword from Finnish *hintä* ‘id.’, but only the initial *h* reveals it a loanword, as the Finnish *h* is a new consonant and usually traceable back to *š*, which should be *s* in North Saami. If the Saami word were common with Finnish, it would occur in the form *saddi*. The first syllable *-i-* and the second syllable *-a-* are substituted using the same rule as that occurring with common words, e. g. SaaN *albmi* ‘sky; storm; air’ = Fi *ilma* ‘air’. The consonant cluster is also substituted using the same rule as for common words, e. g. SaaN *guoddit* ‘to carry’ = Fi *kantaa* ‘id.’ (Álgu, s. v. *guoddit*). Thus, it is a form of analogy and may also take place with late borrowings (examples 19–30). The last adaptation type is analogical adaptation. One could argue that etymological nativization and analogical adaptation should be seen as a common type. Both types use the same analogy. New loanwords of a certain type (e. g. words ending with *-as*, no matter which language) are borrowed into the same suffixal type as the older ones.

4.2.1. Morphophonological adaptation

(Morpho)phonological adaptation is based on substitution rules by which the loanwords are assigned to the language. If the loanword’s sound system is close to some suffix type of the recipient language, the word may be substituted into it. Of course, the substitution requires the borrowing to fit semantically with the suffix type. The suffix *-eTA marks adjectives, so the borrowing has to be an adjective or it has to be able to become an adjective.

Finnish

Russian loanwords

- 15) *apea* ‘depressed, unhappy; rueful’ < Rus. *obída* ‘insult’ (SSA 1: 78).
 = Kar *apie* (n./adj.) ‘grief; sad, wistful’; Lud *abid* (n.) ‘sorrow, pain; insult’; Vep *abid* (n.) ‘grief’; VepN *abed* (adj.) ‘annoying, irritating’. (ibid.).

The only word filling the substitution rules is the Russian loanword *apea*. Phonological similarity may lead to a change in word class in the process of acquiring a loanword. The Russian noun *obída* ‘bitterness; insult’ (example 15) has been borrowed by various Finnic languages: Finnish, Karelian and the north dialect of Veps have adapted the loanword to the derivative type **-eTA* and, due to the adjectival function of the suffix, the word class has changed from noun to adjective. The Veps *abid* is still a noun, but it is also formed differently as it has been borrowed directly without changing the last vowel into *-e-*. It is probably borrowed later than the adjective form. Lude has also a form *abid*, which is a noun, not an adjective. In Lude, the adjective suffix **-eTA* has developed into *-ed*, e. g. *pimed* ‘dark (of light)’.

Another way to see the Russian loanword is as an instance of structural reinterpretation. It does fit well in light of the etymology and change in word class. In the process of borrowing the Russian *obída* into Finnic, the reinterpretation has led to a change in word class from noun to adjective.

4.2.2. Etymological nativization

North Saami has adapted a large number of loanwords from the Proto-Finnic formal type **-eδA* (examples 16–18) and later from Finnish *-eA* (examples 19–30). This type of adaptation is easy to make, as the suffixes are cognates (see more on Aikio 2007). This process suggests that the speakers of the receiving language have recognized the Finnish suffix *-eA* in the donor language as being the same as *-at* in their own language, plausibly due to long, intensive contacts and bilingualism (Aikio 2007: 17). Etymological nativization is not restricted only to suffixal similarities: other phonemes are also substituted with former cognates, although in regular loans they should be substituted differently. For example, the word *haddi* ‘price’ < Fi *hinta* ‘id.’ is a loanword, although the vowels make the words look like cognates (see the explanation in the introduction of 4.2.). However, etymological nativization does not necessarily affect every phonological segment in a word (Aikio 2007: 44).

North Saami

Proto-Finnic loanwords:

- 16) *goarrat* ‘arrogant; fastidious’ < PS **kore-* < PFi **koreδa* (> Fi *korea* ‘beautiful; colourful, bright; excellent; proud, picky’) (SSA 1: 402). Wide distribution across the Saami languages.

- 17) *ráhpat* ‘decent, convenient; ample’ < PS **rāpetē* < PFi **rapeδa* (> Fi *rapea* ‘quick, brisk; ample’) (SSA 3: 50).

Wide distribution across the Saami languages.

- 18) *šallat* ‘shiny and smooth (esp. of a bad whetstone)’ < PS **šeļe-* < PFi **sileδä* (> Fi *sileä* ‘smooth’) (SSA 3: 180).

Wide distribution across the Saami languages.

The Proto-Finnic loanwords (examples 16–18) have a wide distribution in the Saami languages and they can be reconstructed to Proto-Saami. However, there are some phonological features that distinguish these loanwords from the common Finno-Saamic words. In *ráhpat* (example 17), for example, the PFi first syllable *a* has been substituted with *á*, although the Proto Finno-Saamic first syllable *a* has changed into *uo* in Saami.¹¹ If the phonological substitution does not reveal a loanword, we may still expect a word to be borrowed if it is semantically abstract and the basic meaning can be found in Finnish along with the more abstract ones (e. g. *girkat*, example 44).

Finnish loanwords

- 19) *váigat* ‘difficult’ < Fi *vaikea* ‘id.’ (SSA 3: 394).
= SaaIn *vajgad* ‘difficult, shrilling noise’, SaaSk *vaiggåd* ‘id.’, SaaKld *vaigød* ‘shrilling noise’ (Álgu).

- 20) *girrat* ‘heavy (of weather); harsh, sharp (of a voice)’ < Fi *kireä* (SSA 1: 369).

No cognates. (Álgu.)

- 21) *hilbat* ‘wild; unmanageable, shy, roving (of reindeer); careless; cheeky’ < Fi *hilpeä* ‘happy’ or *ylpeä* ‘proud’ (SSA 1: 164).

= SaaIn *ilbad* ‘mischievous’, SaaSk *ilbbad* ‘mean, cruel’ (Álgu).

- 22) *jolgat* ‘self-confident, frank’ < Fi *julkea* ‘shameless; open; valuable’ (SSA 1: 246).

= SaaS *julgedh* ‘to dare’, SaaIn *julga* ‘openly’ (Álgu).

- 23) *leambat* ‘warm’ < Finnish *lempeä* ‘warm, gentle’ (SSA 2: 62).

No other cognates in Saami. The SaaLu *libbes* ‘warm, gentle’ (SSA 2: 62) does not belong here, as it is more probably a derivation from *libba* ‘sheep’.

- 24) *roahkkat* ‘daring, fearless’ < Fi *rohkea* ‘id.’ (SSA 3: 86).

= SaaLu *råhkat* ‘brave’, SaaIn *ruokkad* ‘id.’, SaaSk *ruokkåd* ‘id.’ (Álgu).

- 25) *goargat* ‘particular, swell; fine, magnificent’ < Fi *korkea* ‘high’ (SSA 1: 403).
 = SaaIn *korgad* ‘proud’ (Álgu).
- 26) *surgat* ‘terrible; sad’ < Fi *surkea* ‘sad; terrible’ (SSA 3: 221).
 = SaaS *surgedh* ‘be sad; worry’; SaaPi *surukat* ‘id.’; SaaLu *surkat* ‘sorry’;
 SaaIn *surgad* ‘terrible, sad’ (Álgu).
- 27) *gáfat* ‘terrible; peculiar’ < Fi *kauhea* ‘terrible’ (SSA 1: 330).
 No cognates.
- 28) *sáhkát* ‘thick’ < Fi *sakea* ‘id.’ – New etymology.
 = SaaIn *saahad* ‘thick’ (Álgu).
- 29) *gággat* ‘stiff’ < Fi *kankea* ‘id.’ (SSA 1: 299).
 = SaaIn *kaggad* ‘id.’ (Álgu).
- 30) *sitkat* ‘tough; enduring, persevering; even-tempered’ < Fi *sitkeä* ‘chewy; resilient’ (SSA 3: 189).
 = SaaIn *siðhes* ‘id.’ (Álgu).

The Finnish loanwords have been adapted to the same suffix type as the older Proto-Finnic loanwords. The distributions of the later borrowings from Finnish are more restricted than those of the Proto-Finnic ones. The later loanwords tend to have an eastern distribution, usually restricted to languages that are spoken within the Finnish borders: North Saami, Inari Saami and Skolt Saami. They may also sometimes occur a bit more west in Lule Saami, a close relative and western neighbour to North Saami. Some loanwords can also be found further east, but some of these loans may also have come via Karelian (see e. g. Rießler 2009 on Karelian loanwords in Kildin Saami). The only distributional exception in the data here is *surgat* (example 26), which has wide distribution extending as far as South Saami. It has been suggested as a cognate of Scandinavian *sorg* ‘sadness, worrying’ (Lagercrantz 1939: 822), but e. g. Korhonen (1981: 38) gives it a Finnish loan etymology. Korhonen’s suggestion seems more correct because the first vowel is *u*, not *o*. Friis’s old Saami dictionary (1887: 659) seems to include a word *soarga* ‘grief’, which (if the word *soarga* is a separate word from *surgat*) would be the phonologically correct form to have been borrowed from *sorg*. When such semantically and formally close word groups have been borrowed, it is possible that they will mingle together. Such word groups could be analysed with the methods used by Jarva (2003), as he has studied the relation between Russian loanwords and expressivity in the eastern dialects of Finnish.

4.2.3. Analogical adaptation

Analogy plays a significant role in morphology, also in assigning loanwords. Some borrowing patterns may lead to an analogical model being followed, something like etymological nativization in 4.2.2. (e. g. model-word derivation and correlational derivation, Räsänen 1978). Analogical adaptation is a term that I use to refer to adaptation in which the words are adapted by using the knowledge of older loanwords and how they have been adapted to the language. Analogical adaptation is practically the same as the etymological nativization process presented in 4.2.2., but the donor and recipient languages are not necessarily related to one another. As is the case for etymological nativization, long, intensive contacts and bilingualism are the reasons for analogical adaptation. We could also refer to this using Räsänen's (1978: 339) term "model-word derivation", which emphasizes the cognitive aspect of the word formation process.

Analogical adaptation in Finnish

Germanic loanwords

- 31) *navea* 'hard, strong', *navakka*, *napakka* < PGerm **snawwja-z* (> ON *snöggr* 'swift') (NSES 2004: 776; LÄGLOS 2: 296).
= Kar *ńavakka*, *ńavakko* 'swift, hard (of wind); shrilling (of a voice)'.
32) *makea*, *maajas* 'sweet' < PFi **makjas* < PGerm **smakjaz* (> PHGerm *smak*, *smake* 'taste').
Both *makea* and *maajas* have a wide distribution in Finnic. (Itkonen 1982: 321–322; SSA 2: 134, 141.)
33) *huokea*, *huojas* 'cheap, affordable' < PGerm **hōgiz* (> ON *hægr* 'easy; adaptive; nice').
= Ing *hōkia* 'cheap, affordable'; Kar *huovis* 'cheap'; Lud *huogis* 'cheap, affordable'; Vot *ōkeā* 'id.' (SSA 1: 185).
34) *lausea* 'shallow, low, even', *lausas* 'soft (of wood); gentle (of an animal, person); mild (of weather)' ? < PGerm. **lausaz* 'loose; empty; false' (SSA 1: 55).
The *-eTA form does not occur elsewhere in Finnic.

In the Finnic branch (examples 31–34), we see an analogical pattern in which the forms ending in *-jas* alternate with forms ending *-eTA. This variation occurs with Germanic loanwords. Itkonen (1982: 125) assumes that the different stem types that have occurred in Proto-Germanic have caused this formal variation. It is noteworthy that North Saami has used

exactly the same suffix in adapting loanwords from Proto-Germanic and Proto-Scandinavian.

The form *navea* (31) is different from examples 32–34 as there is no form ***naujas*. Still, we may assume that it is analogically adapted to the same derivative type as other Germanic loanword adjectives. As the forms *huo-jas*, *lausas* and *laaja* occur only sporadically, it is perhaps not surprising that form ***naujas* has not been attested anywhere.

Whether the formal variation has been caused by different forms, dialectal borrowing or borrowing from different stages of language, the fact is that there is rather regular formal variation which we can see in examples 9–11, and apparently also in 35 and 36. It is plausible that analogy has taken place at some point and new formal variants have been created regardless of the original form or etymological source. Such patterns may have offered a correlation or model by which to derive new patterns (Räisänen 1978: 339). Formal variation is typical of especially Finnish adjectives, and variation is created by using different derivational methods, such as the ones Räisänen suggests.

Scandinavian loanwords

35) *lakea* (southw. dial. *lavia*) ‘even, open; sweet, docile’ < PGerm **lāgijaz* (> ON *lægr* ‘calm, on one’s side’; MLG *lêch*, *lege* ‘low’) or < PScand **flakja-* (does not occur as an adj., but noun ON *fleki* ‘fence, shelter; plaited station-roof’ (SSA 2: 40).

= Ing *lakkia*, Kar *lakie*, Lud, Vep *laged*, Vot *lakea* ‘smooth, even’, Est *lage*, Liv *la`gdā*.

36) *laakea* ‘even, open, low, shallow’? < PScand **lāgija-* (> ON *lægr* ‘calm’, Icel *lægur* ‘even’), unless *laakea* is derived from *laaka* ‘shallow, low; (stone) plate’ < PScand **lāga-* (SSA 2: 31). No cognates in other Finnic languages (? > Vot *lākia* ‘low’).

The Proto-Scandinavian **flakja-* looks phonologically similar to *lakea* or *laaja*. The suggested form in Proto-Finnic is **lakja* (Itkonen 1982: 129). The form *laaja* can be nicely traced back to **lakja*, but the word *lakea* should be reconstructed to the form **lakeda*, and it has wider distribution in Finnic than *laaja*. Itkonen (ibid.) assumes that *lakea* is an older form than *laaja*, and that it has been adapted to the **-eda* adjective type soon after borrowing. Itkonen explains its adaptation to this type through some sort of analogy with such pairs as *maajas*, *makea* ‘sweet’ (32) and *huojas*, *huokea* ‘cheap, af-

fordable' (33). The Finnic *-eða formations have been assumed to have been loans from the Proto-Germanic feminine ending *-iǫ (Itkonen 1982: 126). The connection between the PGerm forms with *-kja and the Finnic *-eða definitely do not show a phonological correspondence. It is also noteworthy that the *-eða formations *huokeða, *lakeða have a wider distribution in Finnic than *lakja and *hōkjas (Rapola 1966: 206). Thus, it is plausible that the adjectives have been marked with the adjective suffix *-eða.

If the words *maajas*, *makea* (32) and *huojas*, *huokea* (33) have been borrowed from Proto-Germanic and *laaja*, *lakea* from Proto-Scandinavian, it means that the speakers already had a parallel by which to form the word pair, as also Itkonen (1982: 130) suggests. It is possible that both formations were made more or less simultaneously, and that the *-eða formation was made using the suffixal rules in Proto-Finnic, not via phonological substitution rules. The form with *-eða has perhaps been preserved better due to its clear adjectival content. The *-ja(s) formation, on the other hand, has perhaps been unclear and thus not so usable, and it has therefore survived only sporadically.

The word *laakea* (example 36) also looks similar to its suggested donor word *lāgija- in Proto-Scandinavian. However, LÄGLOS (2: 145) suggests that it is a contamination from *lakea* and *laaka* 'flat; (stone) plate', which, according to the semantics and distribution, seems more likely. The word *laakea* could also be a derivation of *laaka*, as SKES (2: 158) and Hakulinen (1979: 361) suggest. The possibility of derivation has been discarded based on the rarity of -eA derivations from *a* stems. This, however, is not such a good reason to discard the possibility, as such derivation is not impossible. The adjective *sokea* 'blind' is a derivation of *soka* 'dirt, garbage; fish bone' (SSA 3: 194), and the word *vaikea* may be a derivation from *vaiva* (example 10).

The forms *laakea* (36) and *lakea* (35) could also be allophonic, as the form *lakea* occurs especially in western dialects of Finnish and *laakea* has a more eastern distribution. The same type of distribution is found for the forms *halea* and *haalea* 'lukewarm' (SSA 1: 125). Thus, we would not need to assume a different source for the close forms *lakea* and *laakea*.

Analogical adaptation in North Saami

Germanic loanwords

37) *ruoksat* 'red', SaaLu *ruopsat* < PS *rōpsetē < PGerm *raudas 'id.' (Álgu; Sammallahti 1998: 128).

Wide distribution in Saami.

- 38) *deavkat* ‘dim’ < PS **teamkketē* < PGerm **þemaz-* (> OHG *demar* ‘twilight, dusk’) (Aikio 2006: 36).
Wide distribution in Saami.

Scandinavian loanwords

- 39) *ruotnat* ‘green’ < PS **rōnetē* < PScand *grōniz* (Álgu).
Wide distribution in Saami (Álgu).
- 40) *luovvat* ‘which goes, works easily (of an implement); which does not hang back, drag (of a boat); easy to strip off (of skin); easy to smoke (of a pipe); which milks easily, is easy to milk (of a cow); loose (of the skin of a living animal); easy to mow (of hayfields)’ < PS **lōves* < PScand **lausā-* cf. Swe *lös* (Sammallahti 1998: 129; Álgu).
= SaaPi *lu-ovvad* ‘loose, free’ SaaLu *luovvat* ‘id.’ SaaIn *luouvad* ‘easy to milk; easy to pluck (bird); easy to scale (fish)’.
- 41) *snávgat* ‘limp, sulky’ < Old Norse *snøggr* ‘short-haired; swift’ (Bergsland 1968: 145; Álgu).
= SaaS *snavkie* ‘short-haired’; SaaLu *snau’kat* ‘short-haired (of animal)’
- 42) *njavgat* ‘smooth (of hair)’ < ON *snøggr* ‘short-haired; swift’ (> Swe *njugg*).
= SaaT *ńávghsta* ‘to streak’.

The forms *ruotnat* (39) and especially *luovvat* (40) are not the most commonly used forms derived from these stems. The more common forms are *ruonas* (mod. *ruoná* ‘green’) and *luovas* ‘easy to milk’, which are phonologically more exact cognates to the loanword origin. These forms also have the widest distribution in Saami (Álgu). This variation is of the same kind as can be seen in the Germanic and Scandinavian loanwords in the Finnic languages, although in Saami the *-as* forms are more common than *-at* forms. In the Finnic branch, the distribution is the other way round. Regarding *luovvat*, it is noteworthy that this is an independent loanword from the same word as Finnish *lauha*, *lauhkea* (example 11). This emphasizes the fact that the loanwords have been adapted by the same means in both the Finnic and Saami branches.

The forms *snávgat* (41) and *njavgat* (42) belong to the same word group, although Lagercrantz (1939: 542) does not provide the exact origin from which *njavgat* would have been borrowed. Another possibility is that *njavgat* is a contamination of *snávgat* and *njuvgat*. However, the Ter Saami verb *ńávghsta* ‘to streak’ seems to be a cognate of *njavgat*. It is the most eastern

example, and it suggests that the form *njavgat* is the oldest of these forms. The crucial feature of these words (41–42) is that they all have been formed with the adjective suffix *-eTA in Saami.

This word group needs to be investigated more closely in order to understand the relationships between the forms, and one must remember that the occurrence of the consonant cluster *sn-* is not necessarily the mark of a young loanword (cf. e. g. *snuolga* ‘snot’ < PFU **ńolki* ‘id’). One must keep in mind that the initial consonant cluster *sn-* is much more common in western than eastern Saami languages. Thus, we may treat *snáv gat* and *njavgat* as alloforms, although they show a difference in the first vowel as well.

Finnish loanwords

- 43) *livkat* ‘quick’ < Finnish or Karelian, cf. Fi *liukas* ‘slippery; quick’, Kar *liukie*, *liykie* ‘gentle (slope); slippery; mild; talkative’. – New etymology. = SaaLu *liuhkētit* ‘go quickly by’; SaaIn *livkeđ* ‘teem’; SaaSk *leu’kķed* ‘twinkle (star), wink (eye)’; SaaKld *līved* ‘id.’ (Álgu).
- 44) *girkat* ‘bright (of eyes)’ < Fi *kirkas* ‘bright’ (SSA 1: 370). = SaaIn *kirkkad* ‘bright’.
- 45) *suivat* ‘boring, dull’ < Finnish, cf. Fi *suivautua* ‘get bored; get mad’ (Álgu). No cognates in other Saami languages.

The Finnish loanwords ending in *-as* (43–44) in Saami seem to be treated the same way as Germanic and Scandinavian loanwords (37–42). The reason for this is probably analogy, whereby all phonologically similar endings are assigned to the same suffix type. A more complicated loanword is *suivat* (example 45) which may have been borrowed as a derived verb, *suivastuvvat* ‘be bored; feel dull’, from the Finnish *suivautua* ‘get bored; get mad’. Thus, the form *suivat* may be a domestic derivation from the verb, especially as there does not seem to be a form ***suivea* attested in Finnish. In 4.1.2., I presented two adjectives in North Saami that may be derived from verbs. Another possible example can be seen here in 45. It is possible that the suffix has had not only a denominal but also a deverbal function in Saami.

Based on Aikio’s (2007) observations, I have treated the Finnic *-eTA loanwords in North Saami under the heading “etymological nativization”. However, the same analogical pattern can also be seen with Germanic, Scandinavian and Finnish loanwords ending in *-as* (43–44). Thus, it is perhaps unnecessary to separate etymological nativization from analogical adaptation.

4.3. Affixation

Affixation falls somewhere between regular derivation and morphological adaptation. The suffix is added to the borrowed stem, but in the recipient language the stem itself cannot occur alone; it occurs only as derivation. Some loanwords were adjectives in the donor language as well. In the borrowing process, however, the words gained an adjective suffix, probably to emphasize their adjectival function. This is not part of derivation in the sense that there would be a base form to derive from, nor does the suffix change the word class of the original word. Aronoff and Fudeman (2005) call this affixation, and this is the term I use here. Another term could be pseudo-affixation (McQueen & Cutler 1998), which emphasizes the non-word stem and the role of analogy in the loanword adaptation process.

North Saami

46) *roaffat* ‘coarse’ < Scand cf. Swe *grov* ‘id.’ (Álgu).

No cognates.

47) *njuvgat* ‘very short-haired’ < Scand cf. Swe *njugg* < PScand. *snöggr* (Bergsland 1964: 145).

= SaaLu *njuu’kat* ‘short and smooth-haired’; SaaIn *njuvgâd* ‘smooth-haired’.

48) *riektat* ‘which can be cut straight through with the grain’ < PScand **reht-* (> Swe *rätt*) (Álgu).

Wide distribution in Saami languages.

Affixation seems to be a typical way for Saami to nativize recent Scandinavian loanwords whose second syllables have disappeared. The North Saami *njuvgat* (47) has either been borrowed from Proto-Scandinavian or, as the first-syllable vowel *u* suggests, from Swedish. If it is from Swedish, then we could say that the form was produced by affixation, by adding a suffix to the Swedish stem. The same also concerns the word *roaffat* (46). Both *njuvgat* and *roaffat* have a rather restricted distribution, which suggests that the loanwords are more recent than Proto-Scandinavian. Either the suffix has been added by affixation or this phenomenon is intertwined with analogical adaptation. Namely, it is possible that, due to the long contacts between Scandinavian and Saami, some loanwords acquired after the Proto-Scandinavian phase have also been adapted to the *-at* adjective type.

The words *snávgat*, *njavgat*, and *njuvgat* are borrowings from the same Scandinavian word group. They have probably been borrowed at different periods, or they are result of internal variation. Nevertheless, they represent a word group that varies formally but not much semantically. The study of expressive and sound-symbolic vocabulary and its variation mechanisms in Saami is almost absent (however, see Aikio 2007). It is therefore impossible, in this article, to answer the question, of whether the forms *snávgat*, *njavgat* and *njuvgat* are separate loanwords or internal constructions based on correlates or model-word parallels.

5. Conclusions

5.1. Semantics of the loanwords

R. M. W. Dixon (2004) suggests that all languages have some kind of a category of adjectives, and divides adjectives into the following semantic categories: *dimension*, *age*, *value*, *colour*, *physical properties*, *human propensities*, *speed*, *difficulty*, *similarity*, *qualification*, *quantification*, and *position*. Of this list, he suggests that the four first are universally adjectives.

The Finnish *-eA* adjectives denote particularly physical properties and human propensities. A large amount of the adjectives have an inherent value; mostly negative, but sometimes also positive. Usually the positive affect is used in words denoting speed, or sometimes human propensities. Adjectives denoting physical properties tend to be neutral or negative. If we compare the borrowed *-eA* adjectives' semantic properties to those of all *-eA* adjectives in Finnish, the most notable difference that only two loanwords, *lakea* 'even, open' and *laakea* 'even, open, shallow' refer to dimension and only one loanword refers to a human propensity (*apea* 'depressed, unhappy; rueful'). The other loanwords denote mainly physical properties.

The *-at* adjectives in North Saami also mostly denote physical properties and human propensities. However, the number of colour terms is striking. Of the approximately 110 *at*-adjectives, over 10 are more or less colour terms. Thus, it seems that *-at* has a function especially in forming colour terms. Among these colour terms there are both native and borrowed words. A large number of loanwords in the North Saami suffix type *-at* refer to physical properties (15 of 34 loanwords). The human propensities group includes six loanwords (e. g. *roahkkat* 'brave'). All of these loans are from Proto-Finnic or Finnish.

5.2. The age and type of loanwords

The oldest loanwords among the Finnish and Saami **-eTA* adjectives are Proto-Baltic and Proto-Aryan. Interestingly, these old loanwords have been taken into the **-eTA* adjective type by means of derivation. The youngest loanwords in Finnish come from Russian and Swedish. The Russian loanwords have been assigned to the **-eTA* type through morphophonological adaptation. This includes phonological adaptation and structural reinterpretation, which has given the borrowed nouns an adjective function. The Swedish loanword *pramea* ‘handsome; pretentious’ has been assigned by means of regular derivation. According to literary texts, it seems rather young. In literature, it has occurred since the 18th century (NSES 2004: 954) and thus strengthens the assumption that the suffix *-eA* has been productive until recently. Nowadays its productivity has shifted toward model-word derivation and has produced such words as *pähee* ‘cool, neat’, *kähee* ‘id’, etc. Additionally, the word *kolea* (colloquially *kolee*) ‘cool, chilling’ has gained a new meaning, ‘cool, nice’, probably based on the polysemy of the English word *cool*. All in all, the methods producing **-eTA* derivatives are more related to the change in word-internal structure than a purely agglutinative method.

North Saami has gained its latest loanwords from Finnish, and probably also from Swedish. New loanwords are assigned to the language by means of morphological adaptation. North Saami has adapted the Finnish words by means of etymological nativization. Thus, the loanwords look surprisingly similar to the old common PFS words. The same system has been used with late Scandinavian loanwords: the long and intensive contacts, as well as bilingualism, have made it possible to use the same adaptation method for both old and new Scandinavian loanwords.

The majority of the loanwords in current Finnish and North Saami data are Germanic and Scandinavian. It is noteworthy that there are no loanwords that would occur in form **-eTA* both in Finnic and Saami, although they do have eleven common **-eTA* adjectives (e. g. Fi *virkeä* ‘bright, alert’ SaaN *fargat* ‘quick, agile’)¹². Some of the loanwords presented in this data exist both in Finnish and in Saami, but they are not **-eTA* derivations in both. This suggests that the **-eTA*-adjectives were derived more or less independently, probably after the Proto-Finno-Saamic phase.

Only one loanword in this data is Slavic (Russian), and it has been assigned in Finnish. In any event, it is not very common to assume Russian

loanwords in North Saami. The data from eastern Saami languages might reveal other results. We may assume that in Finnic, the suffix **-eTA* has been used especially for adapting Germanic and Scandinavian loanwords, rather than Slavic loanwords. From the data, we can also see that Finnish and North Saami have used the same patterns when adapting Germanic and Scandinavian loanwords in their adjective systems. They have even used the same suffix. Both languages have also made independent derivatives from the borrowed stems, and thus we may assume that the suffix **-eTA* continued to be productive even after the common Finno-Saamic protolanguage. In fact, its productivity may have actually increased after PFS, as no common PFS loanwords exist in this data.

The results here for the Finno-Saamic data are preliminary because there are plausibly many etymologies yet to be found and the data consists of only one formal type. In this article, I have worked with comparative datings. However, in section 2.2., I have presented the absolute dates of e. g. Finnic and Saami contacts with Proto-Germanic, and here I try to compare the loanword data with the absolute dating. The dates are in the form “no earlier than” and “no later than”. The first dating concerns all the loanwords for which we know the source, or the language stage the loanword has come from. The last dating is for estimating such loanwords that are borrowed from contemporary languages and occur in some literature (as shown in examples from Finnish). The languages from which the words are borrowed are mostly Proto-Germanic and Proto-Scandinavian. Based on loanword study, we may give a precautionous estimate that the Finnic suffix **-eδa* has been at its most productive state in the Iron Age, during the contacts with the Proto-Germans and Proto-Scandinavians (Aikio 2006: 42). The **-eTA* type, at least, has been popular for assigning Proto-Germanic and Proto-Scandinavian loanwords. Some loanwords have also been adapted to the formal type **-eδA* later on, but these borrowings have been scarce.

As presented earlier, the category of adjectives in Proto-Saami has undergone morphological developments whereby the attributive form has become marked. This means that new words have to be adapted to some existing adjective category, and at least some Germanic and Scandinavian loanwords have been adapted to the formal type PS **-etē*. This same suffix has also been easy to use for loanwords from Proto-Finnic and Finnish.

The suffix **-eTA* has had a significant role, especially in nativizing Germanic loanwords to the both Finnic and Saami adjective systems. The nativization of Germanic loanwords to Finnic and Saami has been surpris-

ingly similar, and thus one could assume that the suffix was quite widely used around the time when the Finno-Saamic protolanguage started to disintegrate. However, according to the data, the common loanwords for Saami and Finnic were not borrowed as **-eTA* derivations. Instead, the **-eTA* derivations seem to have been formed later, after borrowing. We might suspect that the **-eTA* suffix was not productive or an important suffix in loanword adaptation in the common Finno-Saamic protolanguage, but its importance increased after the languages had separated.

Haspelmath (2009: 42) suggests that if a large number of loanwords have come from a single donor language, there is less need for adaptation. I would rather say that if one word class, e. g. adjectives, gains a large amount of loanwords from a single donor language, there are two options for how to treat these words: either to adapt them to the existing adjective inflection type or adopt a new inflection type along with the loanwords.

5.3. The productivity of **-eTA*

Germanic and Proto-Scandinavian loanwords have come to the suffix type **-eTA* through derivation and adaptation. It seems that the regular derivations have been made either at the same time as the loanwords have been adapted or later. Thus, we may assume that the derivative suffix must be productive at some level in order to receive loanwords by morphological adaptation as well. An exception to this assumption is the Russian loanword *apea* in Finnish. It has been assigned to language by phonological adaptation, and due to the ending similar to the **-eTA* formations it has been reanalysed as an **-eTA* adjective, even though in the donor language the word is a noun.

From the data, we can see that the loanwords have not been assigned to the suffix type **-eTA* only at the stages of the protolanguages but also, or even especially, later on. In North Saami, the suffix type *-at* still seems to be productive enough to assign Finnish *-eA* loanwords to the North Saami *-at* suffix type. Finnish has also assigned a rather new loanword to the **-eTA* type, *pramea* ‘handsome; pretentious’, and even by means of regular derivation.

Morphological adaptation uses the models in the language, and for the speaker, **-eTA* words seem to be rather a derivative type than a stem type. This means that the suffix can be replaced with another one and variation parallels of the type **-eTA*, **-keTA*, **-kkV* and in some cases **-ja(s)* (as *huo-ja-s*, *huokea*, *laaja*, *lakea*, *laakea*) have been used as models of adaptation.

According to the loanword material presented in section 4, the derivative type must accept new derivations in order to accept morphological adaptations. Etymological nativization may be the exception, as there do not seem to be words derived from Finnish loanwords.

In light of what we have found regarding the loanwords assigned to Finnish and Saami, I believe that loanword study may have potential for the study of suffixal productivity in languages that do not have a long written history. It also may give us information on how word-form adaptation affects the productivity of a suffix. In this case, the data sample was too small to make such estimates, but with a larger amount of data and more suffixes, we could find answers regarding the effects of word-form adaptation on suffixal productivity.

Ilona Rauhala

Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies

P.O. Box 24, FI-00014 University of Helsinki

<ilona.rauhala@helsinki.fi>

Notes

1. Based on a poster presented at the conference Synchrony and Diachrony: Variation and Change in Language History, Oxford in March 2012. My warmest thanks to the Department of Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies of the University of Helsinki and to the Philological Society for funding my presentation and travel to the conference. In addition, I wish to thank the Finnish Cultural Foundation for funding my studies in 2011–2012.
2. This term is used by Haspelmath (2009: 42).
3. Osmo Nikkilä's (1981) Germanic etymologies for *ripeä*, *rapea*, *nopea* 'swift' and *vikeä* have not been widely accepted in etymological dictionaries. I have therefore left them out of this article. The word *näpeä* is, in my opinion, probably derived from *näppi* 'finger', and is thus not included in this article, although it does require a closer look, e. g. in the case of homonymy.
4. The suggested cognates in Samoyedic (Janhunen 1981) do not have the common suffix *-TA (Rauhala 2011a: 77).
5. There are about 20 common Uralic adjectives, according to Sammallahti (1988: 536–554).
6. Interestingly, VISK (ibid.) adds the word *vaalea* 'light (of colour)' to the list of opaque formations (in the list called "non-derivation"). The short vowel form *valkea* 'white' has apparently been left out as a correlate in the synchronic description, although the form ***vaalkea* would be impossible to form due to phonotactic rules in the language. This means that the *-keTA alloform would be *valkea* even if it were formed by the basis of *vaalea*.
7. The word *hopea* is also of Germanic origin (Kallio 2000: 87).

8. The Finno-Saamic protolanguage reconstruction *šopeḍa shows the irregular (?) form *suohpē* in SaLu, where the form **suohpat* would be expected.
9. This is not actually a loanword. It has cognates in Mordvin and Mari and no loanword etymology (SSA 1: 237–8).
10. The word *sáhppi* ‘bladder’ has cognates widely in the Uralic languages, e. g. Finnish *sappi* ‘bladder’ and Hungarian *epe* ‘id.’ (SSA 3: 156–157).
11. For more on substitution rules in native words and loanwords see Aikio 2007.
12. Unless the Germanic etymology for Finno-Saamic **vike-* (Finn. *vikeä*, *vikevä*, SaaN *vahkat*) presented by Nikkilä (1981: 75–76) is correct. This etymology has been discarded both by Sammallahti (1998: 124) and by SSA (3: 447).

Abbreviations and symbols

Languages and dialects

Eng	English	PGerm	Proto-Germanic
Est	Estonian	PreGerm	Pre-Proto-Germanic
Fi	Finnish	PS	Proto-Saami
Germ	German	PScand	Proto-Scandinavian
Icel	Icelandic	PU	Proto-Uralic
Ing	Ingrian	Rus	Russian
Kar	Karelian	SaaIn	Inari Saami
Ko	Komi	SaaKld	Kildin Saami
Lit	Lithuanian	SaaLu	Lule Saami
Liv	Livonian	SaaN	North Saami
Lud	Lude	SaaS	South Saami
Nor	Norwegian	SaaSk	Skolt Saami
OHG	Old High German	SaaTe	Ter Saami
ON	Old Norse	Scand	Scandinavian
PBalt	Proto-Baltic	Swe	Swedish
PFi	Proto-Finnic	Vot	Votyian
PFP	Proto-Finno-Permic	Vep	Veps
PFS	Proto-Finno-Saamic	VepN	North dialect of Veps
PFU	Proto-Finno-Ugric		

Grammatical terms and symbols

adj.	adjective	part.	partitive
inf.	infinitive	perf.	perfect
mod.	modifier	part.	participle
n.	noun	*	reconstruction
nom.	nominative	**	non-existing form

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The Western Spread of Permic Hydronyms

The present study describes ancient Permian settlement history in the light of onomastics. The principal aim of this onomastic survey is to determine the westernmost boundary of Permic hydronyms. A secondary aim is to distinguish different ancient Permian groups from one another, since the hydronyms suggest that there have possibly been four different kinds of Permian groups during the Middle Ages: Udmurt, Komi, north-western (?Komi dialect) and Meščëra. To some extent, folklore, historical data and the history of different linguistic contacts have also been taken into account. The onomastic exploration has concentrated on the most usual Permic stems and Udmurt formants. In addition, the generic form *-jug(a)* has been examined.

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|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Introduction | 4. Generics <i>-ju</i> , <i>-(j)uk</i> and <i>-(j)ug</i> |
| 2. Methods and sources of research | 5. Conclusions |
| 3. Permic stems of hydronyms | Appendix |
| 3.1. Presentation of old Permic stems | |
| 3.2. Some special questions | |
| 3.3. Discussion | |

I. Introduction

The stimulus for this present article has been the critique of my article *The Linguistic Background of the Ancient Meshchera Tribe and Principal Areas of Settlement* (2009: 162–202), presented by such scholars as Ante Aikio (2012: 69) and even an unknown writer of Wikipedia (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Volga_Finns>). In the article, I suggest that the Meščëra tribe spoke a Permic language. I admit that the study was not thorough enough. However, one should remember that the article was accepted and recommended for publication by three referees.

The question of a Permic layer of hydronyms west of Udmurtia and the Komi Republic (in Russia) is much wider than merely determining the language spoken by the Meščëra tribe, who lived by the banks of the Middle and to some extent Lower Oka (Rahkonen 2009: 160–200). Permian

cultural influence towards the west has been discussed and proved for a long time by many scholars. Archaeological evidence shows many cultural waves from east to west originating especially from the rivers Kama and Čepca. The most prominent has been the spread of the *Anan'ino* Culture [800–300 BC] (Chalikow 1992: 53–64; Patrushev 2000: 89–99). Later, the *Pjanobor-Čeganda* [300 BC–400 AD] and *Lomovatova* Cultures [400–900 AD] brought new cultural waves over western territories from the Kama and Vyatka catchment areas (ibid. 2000: 162–171).

I am aware that archaeological material culture does not necessarily unambiguously reflect the ethnic or linguistic backgrounds of the people who manufactured and used the ancient objects found by archaeologists (see Rahkonen 2013: 33–37 and attached literature). However, cultural impacts may offer good opportunities to provide a hint at migrations, at least to some degree, and certainly at commercial contacts between different ethnic populations. Archaeological finds alone can seldom independently provide fully reliable proof of migrations, but when they are connected with corresponding toponyms – especially hydronyms – or historical literary sources, the evidence becomes much stronger.

Some toponymists, such as A. K. Matveev (1965; 1999), L. N. Žerebcov (1982: 26–40), N. D. Kabinina (2011) and A. Turkin (1971: 277–283) have noted ancient Permian toponymic layers in the Russian North west of the Komi Republic (see also Rjabinin 1997: 118, Map 33 based on Matveev 1964). Mikhail Atamanov (2010: 127) has presented a map wherein the ancient Udmurt population (dating back to the first centuries before and the first millennium after the common era) extends into the eastern boundaries of Vologda and Kostroma oblasts, the entire Kirov oblast, most of Marij El, the northern parts of Čuvassia and the Kazan district in Tatarstan. Voronceva and Galkin (TRM 2002) have presented several etymologies of Permian origin in Marij El (the Republic of Mari in Russia) as well. Many of these have been criticized by O. V. Smirnov (2013). However, he also presents a Permian background for several toponyms in the Kirov oblast and Marij El (see Smirnov 2014: 11). Arja Ahlqvist (2001a: 240) has collected folk stories from the basin of the river Unža in Kostroma oblast. For instance, she has found a song that mentions Votyaks who lived in earlier times in the Unža region.¹

According to many of the above-mentioned scholars, both archaeological data and toponyms suggest that in earlier times, the Permian population lived considerably further into the west than it does today. The important question is: Where is the westernmost boundary of Permian

hydronyms? Does this boundary cover, for instance, the territory of the Anan'ino Culture, which spread westwards from the Lower Kama area (see Chalikow 1992: 58–59; Patrushev 2000: 90, Fig. 31)? In the following, I endeavour to struggle with this problem.

The structure of the present article is as follows. The methods and the sources of the study are presented in section 2. In section 3, I introduce 29 common Permic stems of hydronyms and 19 common Udmurt formants, as well as my explanations and interpretations thereof with comments. The aim is to introduce an overall picture of the western spread of Permic hydronyms in general and especially of the possible Permic layer of hydronyms in the Oka catchment area. In section 4, the usual Permic generic *-ju*, *-juk*, *jug(a)* ‘river’ is discussed. The aim has been to study particularly the hydronyms with the generic *-jug(a)* in the area located in the western parts of Kirov and the eastern parts of the Vologda and Kostroma oblasts. The specialized target of this part of the research work is the reason this topic is presented in a separate section. Finally, in section 5, I present the summary.

The scientific transliteration of Cyrillic is used with some exceptions, i. e. when presenting widely known names of cities or rivers, such as Moscow, Yaroslavl, Arkhangelsk, Sukhona, Vyatka and Ryazan, or scientifically established expressions of the ethnoses ‘Votyak’ and ‘Merya’.

2. Methods and sources of research

I have chosen to study hydronyms because they remain unchanged better than other toponyms. It is not always easy to point out which hydronyms are Permic. A hydronym may look exactly like a real Permic name, but still it may be derived from Russian, another Finno-Ugric language, or even from some unknown Paleo-European language. Where possible, I have tried, in the first place, to select names which have a Permic or at least a Finno-Ugric formant.² This could be called a *structural method*, and this type of method is often used, by e. g. Matveev (2001) and Mullonen (2002). In some cases it regrettably has not been possible, especially if a hydronym consists only of the stem of the name.

Further, I have tried to ensure that there are no suitable Russian or non-Permic Finno-Ugric words behind the selected stems of hydronyms. I would like to emphasize that if someone wishes to criticize my solutions to the linguistic origin of the hydronyms, he or she should ask: If the back-

ground of a hydronym is not Permic, what else could it be? If no other alternative can be found, the Permic origin should be considered most likely if it is lexically, phonetically and structurally possible and the motif of naming is reasonable. This could be called an *exclusive method*. Sometimes it is possible that both a good Russian and a Permic etymological alternative exist. For instance, hydronyms with the stem *vil-* may be derived from Permic *vjl-* ‘upper’ (through a Russian adaptation) or Russian *вил-* [*vil-*] ‘fork’. In such an occasion, I have approved only those hydronyms which have a Finno-Ugrian formant. Often it is also possible to check whether the geographical position of the object is reasonable grounds for it being called an ‘upper’ river or lake.

One may ask why I suppose, for instance, that *toj(ma)* hydronyms are Permic. Why not Meryan, as this type of hydronym also occurs in the area which is considered to be Meryan (*Tojmiga* GBO228; *Tojmiga* AVLO73A1, *Tojmina* AJO66A2)? A very important principle is to *analyse the distributions* of hydronyms. In the Permian area, there is a large river called *Tojma*, a tributary, flowing mostly parallel to the Kama. Further, the river *Tojme|nka* < **Tojma* is a tributary of the Vyatka. In the Komi area, a hydronym *Tojma* is found as well. The rivers *Verh.* and *Niž. Tojma* flow close to Komi in the catchment area of the river Dvina (north). In the areas of the Lower Kama, Vyatka and the Republic of Komi there is no considerable amount of names which could have connections with the Meryan type of hydronyms. In the Meryan area, however, there are plenty of Permic-type names (Map 1). Thus, the conclusion is that the origin of the name *Tojma* is most probably Permic – not Meryan – especially because of the possible Permic etymological and phonetic characteristics of the name (see hydronym number 24 below).

Every language has its own typical vocabulary and structure for naming geographical sites. Firstly, I have collected 29 common stems of macro-hydronyms based on Permic languages occurring both in the Republic of Udmurtia and in Komi, where Permic languages are still widely spoken. It is known from historical sources that these territories have been populated by people who have spoken Permic languages for a long time – practically at least since the oldest available historical literary sources, but most probably for a much longer time (e. g. Atamanov 2010: 23–24). Secondly, I have examined Permic formants, especially Udmurt ones, compared with those of the Oka catchment area, as well as the distribution of the generic *-ju*, *-juk*, *-jug(a)* ‘river’.

In the following, I present 29 common stems and 19 Udmurt formants. The dictionaries *Краткий этимологический словарь коми языка* [LG] (Lytkin–Guljaev 1970), *Udmurttalais-suomalainen sanakirja* (Maksimov–Danilov–Saarinen 2008) and *Удмуртская ономастика* (Atamanov 1988), as well as the etymological list from *Die Rekonstruktion der permischen Grundsprache* [Cs] (Csúcs 2005: 320–400) are utilized here.

‘glade, meadow’	Ko. <i>až</i> [Cs] ‘glade, meadow’; Udm. <i>až</i> id. < PPerm. * <i>až</i> id. [Cs]
‘little’	Ko. <i>icēt</i> [Cs] ‘little’; Udm. <i>iči</i> id. < PPerm. * <i>ič</i> ‘little’ [LG], * <i>iče</i> [Cs]
‘deep point in a river’	Ko. <i>jir</i> , <i>ir</i> ‘deep point in a river’ < Old Komi * <i>jir</i> ; Udm. <i>jer</i> [Cs] < PPerm. * <i>jir</i> [Cs]
‘stone, rock’	Ko. <i>iz</i> ‘stone, rock’; Udm. id. < PPerm. * <i>iz-</i> id. [LG], * <i>iz(j)</i> [Cs].
‘meadow, grass’	Ko. <i>eža</i> , Ko.Dial. <i>iža</i> ‘meadow’; Udm. <i>ožo</i> < PPerm. * <i>ęža</i>
‘meadow, grass’ [LG]	Ko. <i>viž</i> ‘meadow’; Udm. <i>vož</i> id. < PPerm. * <i>vež</i> id. [Cs]
or ‘broad, massive’	Ko. <i>eža</i> ‘broad, massive’ < PPerm. <i>ęž</i> or <i>ež</i> id. [LG]
‘pine forest’	Ko. <i>jağ</i> ‘pine forest’; Udm. id. < PPerm. id. [LG/Cs]
‘head, upper course’	Ko. <i>jur</i> ‘head, upper course’; Udm. <i>jir</i> id. < PPerm. * <i>jur</i> [LG/Cs]
‘town, fortress’	Ko. <i>kar</i> ‘town, fortress, house, bird’s nest’; Udm. id. < PPerm. * <i>kar</i> id. [LG/Cs]
‘hare’	Ko. <i>keč</i> ‘hare’; Udm. <i>keč</i> id. < PPerm. * <i>keč</i> id. [LG], * <i>keč</i> [Cs]
‘log’	Ko. <i>ker</i> ; Udm. id. < PPerm. * <i>ker</i> ‘log’ [LG]
‘woodpecker’ or ‘open place’	Ko. <i>kjr</i> [Cs] ‘woodpecker’; Udm. <i>kjr</i> or ‘woodpecker’ < PPerm. * <i>kjr</i> [Cs] Udm. <i>kjr</i> ‘steep (bank)’, ‘open place’ [LG]
‘granary, storehouse’	Ko. <i>kum</i> ‘farmer’s storehouse’ [LG]
‘Komi’	Udm. <i>viži-kum</i> , <i>sara-kum</i> ‘Komi’ < ? PPerm. * <i>komi</i> ‘man’ [Cs]
or ‘deep water’	Ko. <i>kuma va</i> ‘deep water’, in which <i>va</i> ‘water’ [LG]
‘long’	Ko. <i>kuž</i> ‘long’; Udm. id. < PPerm. * <i>kuž</i> id. [LG/Cs]
‘bird cherry (tree)’	Ko. <i>lēm</i> ‘bird cherry’; Udm. id. < PPerm. * <i>lēm</i> [LG], * <i>lôm</i> [Cs] id.
‘deep’	Udm. <i>mur</i> ‘deep’ [LG]

‘nose, beak, cape’	Ko. <i>njr</i> ‘nose, beak, ? cape (in topon.)’; Udm. id. < PPerm. * <i>nür</i> [LG], * <i>njr</i> id. [Cs] id.
‘marsh, bog’	Ko. <i>ńur</i> ‘marsh, bog’; Udm. id. < PPerm. * <i>ńŕr</i> [LG], * <i>ńur</i> [Cs] id.
‘(row)boat’	Ko. <i>piž</i> ‘(row)boat’; Udm. id. < PPerm. * <i>piž</i> [LG], * <i>piž(i)</i> [Cs] id.
‘black’	Ko. <i>śed</i> ‘black’; Udm. id. < PPerm. * <i>śöd</i> [LG], * <i>śöd</i> [Cs] id.
‘rusty, dark’	Ko. <i>sim</i> ‘rusty, dark’ < PPerm. * <i>sim(V)</i>
‘spring (of water)’	Ko. <i>šin</i> ‘spring’; Udm. <i>ošmes-šin</i> ‘(eye of) spring’ < PPerm. * <i>šinm-</i> [LG]
‘horn, watershed’	Ko. <i>śur</i> ‘horn’, <i>-śur</i> ‘watershed’; Udm. <i>śur</i> ‘horn’, <i>śures</i> ‘way, pathway’, <i>śur-lj</i> ‘spine’ < PPerm. <i>śur</i> ‘horn’ [LG/Cs]
‘fire, burned area in forest’	Ko. <i>tjv</i> : <i>tjl-</i> ‘fire’, <i>tjla</i> ‘slash-and-burn area’; Udm. <i>tjl</i> ‘fire’, <i>tjlo</i> ‘(small) leaf-tree forest (growing after slash-and-burn cultivation)’ < PPerm. * <i>tul</i> ‘fire’ [LG], * <i>tjla</i> ‘slash-and-burn area’ [Cs]
‘isthmus, neck of land’	in Komi and Udmurt hydronyms * <i>tojma</i> ; Ko. <i>tuj</i> ‘pathway, track, road’ < PPerm. * <i>tšj</i> < ? * <i>tej</i> or * <i>tøj</i> < * <i>taj-</i> , Udm. hydronym <i>Tujmi</i> ~ [official] <i>Tojma</i> < * <i>tøjma</i> < ? Finno-Permic * <i>tajma</i> [track + suff. <i>-ma</i>] or < * <i>tajpa-</i> ‘bend’; cf. Fi. <i>taipale</i> ‘track over an isthmus’
‘night, north’	Ko. <i>voj</i> ‘night, north’; Udm. <i>uj</i> id. < PPerm. * <i>öj</i> [LG], * <i>oj</i> [Cs]
‘lower’	Ko. <i>uv-</i> : <i>ul-</i> ‘lower’; Udm. <i>ul-</i> id. < PPerm. * <i>ul-</i> id. [LG/Cs]
‘big’	Ko. <i>una</i> ‘much’; Udm. <i>uno</i> id. < PPerm. * <i>ňna</i> [LG], * <i>una</i> [Cs] id.
‘upper’	Ko. <i>vjv-</i> : <i>vjl-</i> ‘upper’; Udm. <i>vjl-</i> ‘upper’ < PPerm. * <i>vül</i> [LG], * <i>vjl</i> [Cs]
‘branch, tributary’	Ko. <i>vož</i> ‘branch, tributary’ < PPerm. * <i>vž</i> [Cs] < * <i>voša</i> id.

Abbreviations: Ko. = Komi language, Udm. = Udmurt language, PPerm. = Proto-Permic

Many motifs of the stems mentioned above correspond with the most common Finnish and Saami stems in Finland (Kiviniemi 1990: 184–185; Saarikivi 2004: 186–187). It is obvious that if in a territory under investigation only very few of most common stems are found, this casts uncertainty upon the interpretation. But if most or several of these stems are found, the result is much more reliable. It is noteworthy that my solutions for the original meanings of the hydronyms which I have presented independently correspond rather well with the interpretations of Afanas'ev (1996).

There are certain formants in Udmurt hydronyms that are widely found in the Oka territory as well. The most common Udmurt formants according to the definition of Atamanov (1988: 60–61, 74–81) are as follows:

-mes ~ meś ~ mas ~ mos – ? ‘spring’ (Atamanov 1988: 60); *-oj ~ -uj ~ -aj* – ? ‘brook’ (ibid. 1988: 61); *-zi* (in official names *-zu, -зя*) – unclear (ibid. 1988: 76); *-čĭ* (in official names *-чу, -ча*) – unclear (ibid.); *-si* – unclear (ibid.); *-ma ~ -mo* – unclear (ibid.); *-man* – ‘wet’ (ibid. 1988: 77); *-mak* – unclear (ibid.); *-mĭž ~ -mĭš* – unclear, possibly < Udm. dial. *mĭž* ‘unclean’ (ibid.); *-iž ~ -jž* – possibly not derived from any independent word (ibid. 1988: 78); *-inga ~ -jnga* – unclear (ibid.); *-iċ ~ -jċ* – unclear (ibid.); *-let ~ -leċ* – unclear (ibid.); *-jĭm ~ -um* – ? < Mans. formant *-um*. Note the river *Um* in the catchment area of the *Čepca* (ibid. 1988: 79); *-ur ~ -jĭr* – ? < Mans. appellative *ur* ‘back, shoulder, neck’ (ibid. 1988: 80); *-pa ~ -ba* – unclear (ibid.); *-baš* – in Turkic languages *baš* ‘head, upper part, source of river’ (ibid. 1988: 80); *-ganda ~ -gĭnda* – < Old Hindi **kanta* ‘town’ (ibid.); *-tan ~ -dan* – IE **danu* ‘river’ (ibid.).

It is noteworthy that the linguistic origin of a considerable amount of the Udmurt formants is unclear. Even many of those which Atamanov explained are not certain, and some of them are completely unconvincing. This hints at their early origin. Most of these formants are not found in the hydronyms of the Komi Republic. Some of the Udmurt formants might have correspondences in other Finno-Ugric languages: *-oj ~ Finnic -oja* (NA; Matveev 2001: 256–261); *-zi, -si ~ Finnic -si*, later *-nen* : *-sen*, Meryan *-ś/-z(a)* (NA/toponyms of Ingria; Ahlqvist 2001b: 443–444); *-čĭ ~ Northern Russian substrate -č ~ Proto-Finnic diminutive *-čċu* (Saarikivi 2006: 32); *-ma ~ -ma ~ Finnic, Meryan -m(V)* (NA; Saarikivi 2006: 31; Ahlqvist 2001b: 440); *-inga ~ -jnga ~ -nga ~ -n'ga* in the Russian North (Matveev 2001: 261–275); *-ga|nda ~ -gĭ|nda ~ Finnic -nto*, Meryan *-nda* (Ahlqvist 2001b: 439–440), in which the element *-ga/-gĭ-* may be derived from the word **jug(a/i)* ‘river’.

In the Komi onomasticon, pure formants are relatively rare. Such pure formants as e. g. *-la*, *-ra*, *-ĕb*, *-jm* and *-in* are found (Afanas'ev 1996). Usually generics are used.³ Such generics can be found as: *-va* 'water', *-ju* 'river', *-vož* 'tributary', *-jol* 'brook', *-šor* 'brook', *-čer/-ser* 'tributary', *-jĭl* 'upper source', *-tj* 'lake', *-vad* 'lake (in forest)', *-kur'ja* 'bay in river', *-bež* 'tail, end', *-pom* 'end', *-vom* 'mouth', and *-vis* 'connecting river between a river and a lake' (ibid. 1996). Many of these, in turn, are not found in the Udmurt onomasticon. This proves that independent development has taken place after the split of these languages from the proto-language, especially in Komi. The transparency of the Komi hydronyms compared with those of Udmurtia gives proof of their later age. The amount of generics in the Komi lexicon is higher than in Udmurtia. This is usual among any populations which have a close relation to nature, for example for fishermen-hunters compared with farmers, and especially with urban populations. This is notable in Komi and even to a much greater extent in the Saami, Hanti and Mansi lexicon.

It should be understood that specifics usually survive for longer than generics in substrate names. This is because of the very usual occurrence of semi-calques in bilingual situations. This phenomenon is well attested, for instance, in modern Russian Karelia and Veps territories (Mullonen 2002: 105–106; Rahkonen 2010: 66–67).⁴ In the Oka catchment area, such Udmurt formants have been productive as *-mes/-mas*, *-ur*, *-jm*, *-pa/-ba*, *-iĉ*, *-man*, **-si* > *-sa*, **-ĉi* > *ĉa*, *-ma* and *-uj*.

The hydronyms presented below are collected from the regional maps AUR, ARK, AKiO, NN, AKO and AVO and from the onomastic dictionaries GBO, *Топонимия республики Коми* (Afanas'ev 1996) and TRM (see References). The research area consists of the Republics of Udmurtia, Komi and Marij El; the oblasts of Kirov, Kostroma and Vologda; and the catchment area of the river Oka. Possible Permic hydronyms in the Arkhangel, Yaroslavl, Ivanov and Vladimir oblasts are discussed occasionally. Unfortunately I did not have the possibility to use the archive of the Urals State University in Ekaterinburg or L. E. Kirillova's *Микротопонимия бассейна Кильмези* (2002). However, for our purposes, the sources that have been utilized provide a sufficient overall picture.

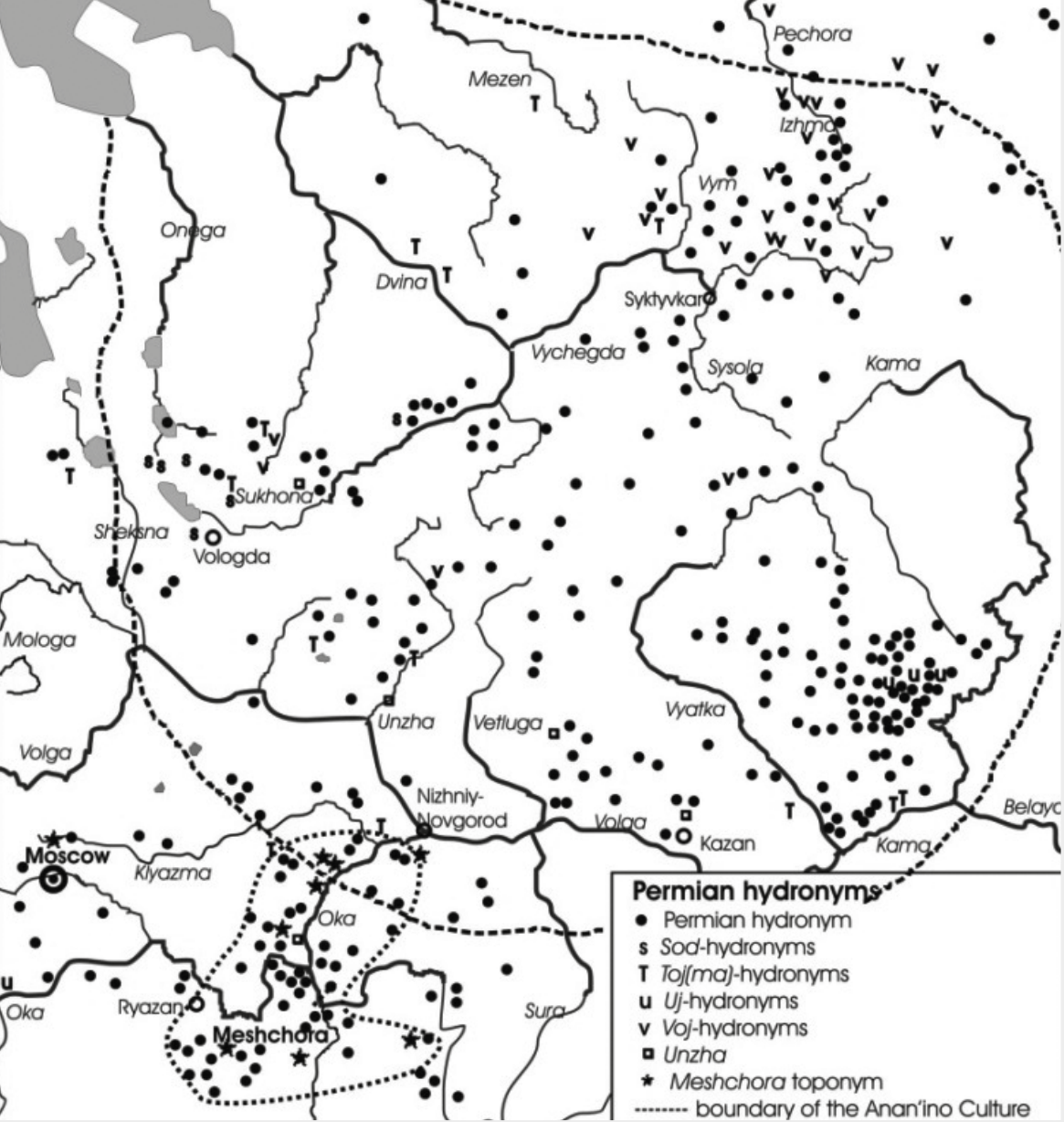
In the following, the Russian dictionary used has been Dal's *Толковой словарь живого велико-русского языка* 1880–82 and the Mordvin dictionary Paasonen's *Mordwinisches Wörterbuch* 1990–96. Additional sources are presented separately.

3. Permic stems of hydronyms

The distribution of the most common Permic stems of hydronyms is presented in Map 1. The aim has been to clarify the western boundary of these names. For this reason, the picture is limited in the east and south. Hydronyms that occur in Perm oblast and in the Republics of Tatarstan and Chuvashia are not investigated, although it is clear that a huge amount of Permic hydronyms exists in these territories.

In the distribution map, the hydronyms are marked with certain signs (black circles). Usually in the Permic word for 'black' Ko. and Udm. *śed* the vowel *ɛ* is substituted in Russian with *e* > Ru. Adapt. *ced-* [*sed*] (see hydronym 19 in the list below). However, in the northern Russian lakeland, stems with *cod-* [*sod-*] are found (ibid.). One may suspect that the latter one reflects the Proto-Permic **śōd* (Lytkin–Guljaev 1970 s. v. *cbōd*). Therefore, these hydronyms are marked on the map with **S**. It seems obvious that stems with *toj-* or *toj* 'neck of land' + a formant reflect an older stratum of Permic. The modern Udmurt version of the official name *Tojma* is *Tujmi* (Atamanov 1988: 80). Because it is possible that this stem is also very old, it is marked separately with **T**. The Proto-Permic word **ōj* 'north, night' (Lytkin–Guljaev 1970 s. v. *θōj*) occurs in Komi > *voj* and in Udmurt > *uj*. Occurrences of these forms are marked separately with **V** and **U** in order to see from which of them the more western forms of the stems originate. *Unža* hydronyms are marked separately with black and white squares (see Map 1), because it is not known for sure whether the hydronym consists of two components, *un* 'big' + *-ža* formant (as suggested by Ahlqvist 2001a: 228), or if there has once existed an appellative **unža* or **unža* with an unknown meaning and in an unknown language.⁵ Personally, I tend to accept the explanation presented by Ahlqvist.

Some of the solutions concerning the original meaning of the stems presented below are not fully certain. A major problem arises from the characteristics of the Permic languages. In Permic languages, words are usually shortened, consisting often of only one syllable with such types as CV, VC, CVC and VCC. The type with two syllables, CVCV, is rarer (see Bartens 2000: 66). Among the 29 stems studied in the present work, words of the type VC are: *až-*, *ir-*, *iz-*, *uj-* and *ul-*; VCV are *iči-*, *eliža-* and *uno-*; CVC are *jag-*, *jur-*, *kar-*, *keč-*, *ker-*, *kjir-*, *kum-*, *kuž-*, *ļem-*, *mur-*, *njir-*, *ńur-*, *piž-*, *śed-*, *sim-*, *šin-*, *śur-*, *vjl-* and *vož-*; and the one CVCV example is *tjlo-*. In addition, there is the word *tojma*, which is here suggested to have been a Proto-Permic word.



Map 1: Distribution of Permian stems of hydronyms

- Permian hydronym || T *Toj(ma)* hydronym || U *Uj* hydronym 'night, north' || V *Voj* hydronym 'id.'

3.1. Presentation of old Permic stems

In the following, after the presented Komi hydronyms, I have added the meanings of the words from which the stems are derived as presented by A. P. Afanas'ev (1996) with Af. and the page number. Etymological suggestions are adopted from *Lytkin–Guljaev* (1970) [LG] and/or *Csúcs* (2005) [Cs]. Variation occurring in Komi is presented according to Afanas'ev (1996), but unfortunately several of the names presented here occurring on the maps are not found in his rather short list of toponyms.

1. Az- 'glade, meadow'

Ko. *až* 'glade, meadow'; Udm. *až* id. < PPerm. **až* [LG], **až* [Cs] id.

UDMURTIA: *Az|evka* (AUR42B2), a small tributary of the Kama, slightly in Tatarstan, close to Krasnyj Bor.

KOMI: *Adz|va* ~ *Adz|va* (ARK17G6), a large tributary of the Usa in the catchment area of the Pečora in northern Komi.

– Af. (20) 'meadow'.

KIROV: *Az|važ* (AKiO33V3), a small tributary of the Sjusjum in the catchment area of the Pižma in the western part of the oblast.

VOLOGDA: *Az|en'ga* (AVO19V4), a small tributary of the Pežma in the catchment area of the Vaga south of Vel'sk.

MARIJ EL: *Az|ejer* (TRM25), a tributary of the Kazanka.

NIŽNIJ-NOVGOROD: *Aza* Buturlino || *Aza|nka* Bol. Boldino.⁶

OKA: *Aza* GBO249, a middle-sized tributary of the lower Cna close to the estuary of the Mokša.

- No possible Russian, Mari or Mordvin origins are found.

2. Ič- 'little'

Ko. *ičet* 'little'; Udm. *iči* id. < PPerm. **ič*- [LG], **iče* [Cs] 'little'

UDMURTIA: ?? *Itč|ej|ka* (AUR26B2), a middle-sized tributary in the catchment area of the Vala in Central Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Ičet|vad oz.* (ARK95V4), a small lake in the upper course of the Mala-ja Vizinga in the Sysola catchment area close to Syktyvkar || *Ičet'|jol'* (ARK60A4), a small tributary of the Lem'ju in Pečora catchment area in Central Komi || *Ičet'|ju* (ARK100B1), a small tributary of the Piv"ju in the Vyčegda catchment area. – Af. (69) 'little'.

KOSTROMA: *Ič|ež* (AKO35A1), a small tributary in the upper course of the Unža.

VOLOGDA: *Ič|ma* (AVO49B4), a small tributary of the Jug in the eastern-most corner of Vologda oblast.

OKA: *Iča* (GBO94), close to Moscow || *Iča||ka* (GBO264), close to Murom || *Iče|nka* (GBO133), close to Murom || *Iče|ža* (ARO40B1), a small upper course of the Jermiš' in the Lower Mokša || *Ič|ka* (GBO108), close to Moscow || *Ič|erhi oz.* (GBO232), close to the estuary of the Mokša.

- No possible Russian or Mordvin etymologies are found. The stems of names in the Oka catchment area often seem to reflect Proto-Permic **iče* (Csúcs 2005), with the preserved final vowel *e*.

3. *Ir-* 'deep point in river'

Ko *jir*, *ir* 'deep point in a river' < Old Komi **jir*; Udmurt *jer* [Cs] < ? PPerm. **jir* [Cs]

UDMURTIA: *Ir|ej|ka* (AUR26B2), a small tributary of the Uva in the Vala catchment area in Central Udmurtia || *Ir|in'ga* (AUR29B4), a small tributary of the Votka in the Siva catchment area in eastern Udmurtia || *Ir|im|ka* (AUR21A5), a small tributary of the Čepca.

KOMI: *Ir|vož* (ARK77B4), a small upper course of the Kyltovka in the Vym' catchment area in Central Komi || *Ira|jol'* (ARK40G3), a small upper course of the Čikšina in the Pečora catchment area in northern Komi || *Jir* (ARK106G1), an upper branch of the Sysola in southern Komi. Afanas'ev (1996): *Ir|va~Jir|va* Udorskij rajon, *Ir''|ju~Jir''|ju* Knjažpogostskij rajon *Jira|jol'* Sosnogorskij rajon – Af. (69) 'deep point in a river'

KIROV: *Ire|ka* (AKiO64A3), a middle-sized tributary of the Uržumka in south-eastern Kirov oblast (mostly flowing in Marij El) || *Ire|kša* (AKiO62B1), *Ir|ka* (AKiO55A4), a small upper course of the Suda in the Pižma catchment area in southern Kirov oblast || *Ir|kš* (AKiO53V4), a small upper course of Mamokša in the Bol. Kokšaga catchment area in south-western Kirov oblast || *Ir|juk* (AKiO66V1), a small tributary of the Šošma in the Vyatka catchment area in south-eastern Kirov oblast.

MARIJ EL: *Ire|kša* (TRM93), a tributary of the Bol. Kokšaga.

NIŽNIJ-NOVGOROD: *Ire|st'* Počinki || *Ir|ža* Ardatov.

OKA: *Ira* (GBO231) close to the estuary of the Mokša || *Ir|ža* (GBO261) in the Lower Mokša || *Ir|mes* ~ *Ir|mis* (GBO216) in the Nerl' area in the Kljaz'ma catchment area.

- In Russian, no possible original source is found. Mordvin *ir* ‘hailstone’ is unsuitable as a motif for naming. In the Oka catchment area, an Udmurt formant *-mes* is found, as in *Ir|mes* (GBO216). It seems that in some cases, the second vowel *e* has survived < **jir(e)*.

4. *Iz-* ‘stone, rock’

‘stone, rock’ Ko. *iz* ‘stone, rock’; Udm. id. < PPerm. **iz-* [LG], **iz(i)* [Cs] id.

UDMURTIA: *Iz|ej|ka* (AUR26B1), a middle-sized upper course of the Uva in the Vala catchment area in Central Udmurtia || *Izo|šur* (AUR10V1), a middle-sized tributary of the Pyzep in the Čepca catchment area in the vicinity of Glazov || *Izo|šur* (AUR16B1), an upper course of the Lyp in the Čepca catchment area in north-eastern Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Iz|šor* (ARK28A5), a small river in the Urals slightly in Tjumen oblast || *Iz''|jol'* (ARK45V5), a small tributary of the Belaja Kedva in Ižma catchment area in Central Komi close to Uhta || *Iz''|jol'* (ARK85A5), a small tributary of the Madža in the Vyčegda catchment area close to Syktyvkar. Afanas'ev (1996): *Iz''|ja|šor* Prijužkij rajon, *Iz''|ja|ju* Pečorskij rajon (2 rivers) – Af. (68) ‘stone’.

OKA: *Iz|gor* (GBO254) || *Iz|ur|ka* (GBO189) close to Ryazan.

- In Russian, no suitable etymological source is found. Mordvin *iza|ms* ‘to harrow’ is unlikely for a motif used in naming. In the Oka catchment area, an Udmurt formant *-ur* (*Iz|ur|ka*) is found. In the name *Iz|gor*, one finds the latter element *gor* < **kur* ‘lake’ (Rahkonen 2012: 30 and attached literature).

5. *Iž-* ‘meadow’ or ‘broad, massive’

Ko. *eža*, Ko.Dial. *iža* ‘meadow’; Udm. *ožo* < PPerm. **eža* ‘meadow, grass’ [LG] Ko. *eža* ‘broad, massive’ < PPerm. *ež* or *ež* [LG] id.

UDMURTIA: *Iž* (AUR28B3), a massive tributary of the Kama in southern Udmurtia || *Iž; Bol.* (AUR28B3), the western upper course of the Iž || *Iž; Mal.* (AUR28A3), the eastern upper course of the Iž.

KOMI: *Iž|ma~Iž|va* (ARK33V6), a large tributary of the Pečora in northern Komi. – Af. (67) ‘meadow-’

KIROV: *Iž* (AKiO45V4), a large tributary of the Pižma in the Vyatka catchment area in southern Kirov oblast

MARIJ EL: *Iž|ovko|ejer* ~ *Iž|ovka* (TRM74), close to Joškar-Ola.

NIŽNIJ-NOVGOROD: *Ižma* Voskresenskoe, a middle-sized tributary of the Vetluga.

ARKHANGEL: *Iž|ma*, close to the city of Arkhangelsk.

OKA: *Iž|evskoe* (GBO128) in the Mešččera area || *Iž|ič|enka* (GBO88) in the Kaluga-Serpuhov area

- The origin of the stem is unclear. On the one hand, the motif of PPerm. **ęža* ‘meadow’ [LG] is suitable. On the other hand, some of these rivers are very large, and therefore the motif ‘broad’ PPerm. **ęž-* [LG] seems more suitable. No possible Russian or Mordvin origins are found for these stems. In the Oka catchment area, an Udmurt formant *-ič* (*Iž|ič|enka*) is found.

6. *Jag-* ‘pine forest’

Ko. *jag* ‘pine forest’; Udm. id. < PPerm. **jag* [LG/Cs] id.

UDMURTTIA: *Jaga* (AUR39A5), in the headwaters of the Umjak, a large tributary of the Vyatka || *Jag|vaj|ka* (AUR23A4), an upper course of the Itinka and Ita in the catchment area of the Čepca in north-eastern Udmurtia || *Jago|šur* (AUR10V2), headwaters of the Čepca in northern Udmurtia || *Jago|šur* (AUR14B1), a small tributary of the Junda in the catchment area of the Čepca in northern Udmurtia || *Jago|šur* (AUR13B5), a small river in the headwaters of the Sepyc-Parzi in the catchment area of the Čepca in northern Udmurtia || *Jago|šur* (AUR13A4), a small tributary of the Ubyt' in the catchment area of the Čepca || *Jago|šur* (AUR10B1), a small river in the headwaters of the Sypec-Mučan in the Čepca catchment area || *Jago|šur* (AUR14V1), a small tributary of the Kep in the Čepca catchment area in northern Udmurtia || *Jag|ul|ka* (AUR28V2), a small tributary in the Iž catchment area in Iževsk || *Jag|ul|ka* (AUR32V1), a small upper course of the Ljuga in Vyatka catchment area in south-western Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Jaga* (ARK107aB1), a small upper course in southern Komi || *Jaga|jol'* (ARK100B2) a small upper course in the headwaters of the Vyčegda in southern Komi || *Jag|vož* (ARK72B2), a small upper course of the Post'-Sed"ju in the Ižma catchment area in Central Komi || *Jag|ul* (ARK95V4), a small tributary of the Malaja Vizinga in the Sysola catchment area in southern Komi || *Jag'|jol'* (ARK80A1), a small tributary of the Nivšera in the Vyčegda catchment area in Central Komi || *Jag'ju* (ARK85B5), a small tributary of the Madža in the Vyčegda catchment area close to Syktyvkar. – Af. (164) ‘pine forest’

OKA: *Jago|ma* (GBO218) close to the city of Ivanovo || *Jagu|b|ovskoj* (GBO219) close to the city of Ivanovo.

- The Udmurt formants *-ma* (*Jago|ma*) and *-b < *-ba* (*Jagu|b|ovskoj*) are found in the Oka catchment area. In Russian, *яга* [*jaga*]; cf. *баба яга* [*baba jaga*] ‘witch’ is not very suitable as a motif for naming.

7. *Jur-* ‘headwaters, head’

Ko. *jur* ‘head, upper course’; Udm. *jjr* id. < PPerm. **jur* [LG/Cs] id.

UDMURTIA: *Jur|aš|ka* (AUR39V3), a middle-sized tributary of the Umjak in the Vyatka catchment area partly in Tatarstan || *Jur|aš* (AUR39V4), the upper course of the Juraška (see above) || *Jur|aš|ka* (AUR40V1), a middle-size tributary of the Tojma partly in Tatarstan || *Jur|ka* (AUR8G2), a small upper course of the Sada-Lekma in the Čepca catchment area in north-western Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Jur|om|ka~Jurum* (ARK76G2), a middle-sized tributary of the Vyčegda in Central Komi || *Jur|šor* (ARK19B9), a small river in Vorkuta, north-eastern Komi. *Jur'ja* (id. Kirov) – Af. (164) ‘deep point in a river’ or ‘head’.

KIROV: ?? *Jur'|ja* (AKiO16G2).

KOSTROMA: *Jur|ma|nga* (AKO31B1), a large upper course of the Sundoba close to Čuhloma in north-western Kostroma oblast || *Jur|man|ka* (AKO57A2), headwaters of the Viga close to Čuhloma in north-western Kostroma oblast || *Jur|m|ovka* (AKO111A3) headwaters of the Kus' in the Nel'sma catchment area in Central Kostroma oblast || *Jur|ong|aš* (AKO156A1), a large tributary of the Šuja in south-eastern Kostroma oblast || *Jur|iš* (AKO171A3), a small tributary of the Nodoga in southern Kostroma oblast.

VOLOGDA: *Jur|ma|nga* (AVO63B6), a small tributary of the Leden'ga in the Sukhona catchment area in eastern Vologda oblast || *Jur|ma|nga* (AVO63V4), a small tributary of the Tol'sma in the catchment area of the Sukhona || *Jur|ma|n'ga* (AVO41A5), a small tributary of the Kuloj in the Vaga catchment area || *Jur|me|n'ga* (AVO46B2), a middle-size tributary of the Sukhona in eastern Vologda oblast.

MARIJ EL: *Jur|əngə ~ Jər|əng* (TRM400), a tributary of the Vetluga.

NIŽNIJ-NOVGOROD: *Jur|iika* (AKiO43A3), a tributary of the Pižma.

OKA: *Jur* (GBO252) in the Lower Cna || *Jura* (GBO195) close to Meščerskij Gorodec || *Jura* (GBO270), close to the city of Murom.

- The Russian dialectal form *юра, юрага* [*jura, juraga*] e. g. ‘churning’ is not suitable for naming. A personal name *Юруй* [*Jurij*] may be the source of *Jur’ja* in Kirov oblast. However, if this name can be derived from the anthroponym it should be usual everywhere in Russia, but e. g. in the Oka catchment area, Kostroma, Vologda, Yaroslavl or Tver oblasts no *Jur’ja* rivers are found. The ending *-ja* might reflect Permic *-ju* with the Russian influence *u > a* as the feminine marker. Mordvin *jur* ‘stump’ is not a very probable element in naming. Both Voronceva–Galkin (TRM400 s. v. *Юрченка*) and Afanas’ev (1996 s. v. *Юромка*) derive this stem in some cases from *jir* ‘deep’. At least the *Jurma|nga* rivers (AVO41A5, 63B6, 63V3, 82B2) and the river *Jurme|n’ga* (AVO46B2) in Vologda oblast have no upper courses; i. e. they are the last ones in their water systems. The *Jur(m)*-rivers in Kostroma oblast (AKO31B1, 57A2, 111A3) are also headwaters. Thus the origin of the stem *jur* ‘upper course’ is most suitable.

8. *Kar*- ‘fortified site, town, house’

Ko. *kar* ‘town, fortress, house, bird’s nest’; Udm. id. < PPerm. **kar* [LG/Cs]

UDMURTIA: *Kara|vaj|ka* (AUR20B2), *Karavajka*–*Ušnet* is a tributary of the *Kil’mез’* in Central Udmurtia || *Kara|šur* (AUR34B2), a very small river in southern Udmurtia close to the border with Tatarstan || *Kar|šur* (AUR10G2), a small upper course of the *Pysep* in the *Čepca* catchment area.

KOMI: ? *Kara* (ARK13G7), a large river in northern Komi. – Af. (70) *Kara* < Nenets *Hara*.

KIROV: *Kara* (AKiO39V5), a narrow tributary of the *Kosa* in the catchment area of the *Čepca*.

KOSTROMA: *Kar|jug* (AKiO14V3), an upper course of the *Vohma* in the north-eastern corner of Kostroma oblast.

MARIJ EL: *Kara|kša* (TRM108), a tributary of the *Ošla* || *Kara|mas|ka* TRM108, a tributary of the *Serdjažka*.

- In Kostroma oblast and in Marij El, the Permic formants *-jug* (*Kara|jug*) and *-mas* (*Kara|mas|ka*) are found. The distribution strongly suggests a Permic origin for the stem. One should note that the word *kar* also has the meaning ‘house’ (Csúcs 2005 s. v. *kar*). At least in the Finnish onomasticon, stems that are based on buildings, i. e. *aitta* ‘granary’; *riihi* ‘kiln’; *kota* ‘hut’; and *maja* ‘cabin’, but also *linna* ‘fortified site’, are usual (NA; Kivi-

niemi 1990: 184–185). So-called hill forts were very usual among Udmurts during the Viking period (Atamanov 2010: 160) and already in the early Iron Age among Finno-Ugric tribes in the Lower Kama, Oka and Upper Volga area (e. g. Tret'jakov 1966: 145–156; Bartens 2000: 10). This proves that the meaning 'fortification' is very suitable. In the area where the Tatar language has been spoken, the word *kara* 'black' could be possible. Among the above-mentioned Udmurt stems it is not probable, because of the attached Udmurt generics *-vaj* 'brook' and *-šur* 'river'.

9. Keč- 'hare'

Ko. *keč* 'hare'; Udm. *keč* id. < PPerm. **keč* [LG], **keć* [Cs] id.

UDMURZIA: *Keč|šur* (AUR21V5), an upper course of the Bol'soj Iž in Central Udmurtia || *Keč|evka* (AUR35B4) a middle-sized tributary of the Iž in southern Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Keč|peł* (ARK19V7), a tributary of the Usa close to Vorkuta in north-eastern Komi. – Af. (74) 'hare'.

OKA: *Keč|ka* (GBO169), close to Ryazan || *Keč|kura* (GBO201), in the headwaters of the Kljaz'ma close to Moscow || *Keč|uga* GBO215 in the headwaters of the Nerl' [Kljaz'ma] || *Keč* (GBO237), in the Lower Mokša.

- No suitable Russian origin is found for this stem. In Mordvin, MdM *kačä* 'gull' as a naming motif could be possible in the Oka catchment area. Mordvin *keče* ~ *kečä* 'scoop' is also a rather usual motif for naming, but the formants do not refer to a Mordvinic origin. It is possible that the word **keč(V)* 'sun, day, circle' existed in Meryan or Muroma; cf. Mari *keče* ~ Fi. *kehä* 'circle'. However, this is not a usual motif for naming. It is probable only if *keč(V)* would have had the meaning 'south'.

10. Ker- 'log'

Ko. *ker* 'log'; Udm. *kor* id. < PPerm. **ker* 'log' [LG]

UDMURZIA: *Ker|njur* (AUR14V1), an upper course of the Kep in the Čepca catchment area in northern Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Ker''ju* (ARK50B1), a small tributary of the Mezen' in western Komi. – Af. (73) 'log'.

KIROV: *Ker|ec* (AKiO16G6), an upper course of the Černaja Holunica in the catchment area of the Vyatka in northern Kirov oblast || *Ker|z|ja*

(AKiO49G5), a large tributary of the Loban' in the catchment area of the Vyatka in eastern Kirov oblast || *Ker|mež* (AKiO45V4), a small tributary of the Pižanka in the catchment area of the Pižma
 KOSTROMA: *Kera* (AKO182A2), a middle-sized tributary of the Volga close to Kostroma || *Ker|baš* (AKO138A2), a tributary of the Vetluga.
 OKA: *Kera* (GBO234) in the Upper Mokša || *Ker|mis* (GBO252) in the Lower Cna.

- In the Russian dialect of Ryazan, the word *кeрѣ* [*ker'*] 'village' is found (Dal' II s. v. *кeрѣ*). This word could be a substrate word of Permic origin < Proto-Permic **ker* 'log' [LG], i. e. referring to houses made of logs; cf. Komi *ker|ka* 'hut, house' < *ker* 'log'. If so, this is strong evidence of a Permic substrate in the Ryazan area. In the Oka catchment area and in Kostroma oblast, the Udmurt formants *-mis* < **-mes* [*Ker|mis*] and *-baš* [*Ker|baš*] are found.

11. *Kj̄r*- 'woodpecker', 'steep bank' or 'open place'

KO. *kj̄r* 1. 'steep (bank)' 2. 'woodpecker'; UDM. *kj̄r* 'open place' or 'woodpecker'

UDMURTIA: *Kj̄r|baš|ka* (AUR38B1), an upper course of the *Šija* in the catchment area of the Vyatka, slightly in Tatarstan.

KOMI: *Kj̄r|jol'* (ARK98V1), an upper course of the *Čed* in the catchment area of the Lokčim-Vyčegda in southern Komi || *Kj̄r|ju* (AUR71V6), an upper course of the Nivšera in the catchment area of the Višera-Vyčegda in Central Komi || *Kj̄r|juga* (ARK25G4), a small tributary of the Pečora in northern Komi. – Af. (85) 'slope'.

KIROV: *Kj̄r|mž|ka* (AKiO38B2), a tributary of the Bystrica in the catchment area of the Vyatka in Central Kirov oblast || *Kj̄r|pa* (AKiO29B4), an upper course of the Belaja Holunica in the catchment area of the Vyatka in eastern Kirov oblast || *Kj̄r|ča|nka* (AKiO48V2), a small tributary of the Voja in the Vyatka in eastern Kirov oblast.

VOLOGDA: ? *kj̄r* > *kir*, *Kir|č|uga* (AVO46V3), a tributary of the Kičmen'ga in the catchment area of the Jug.

MARIJ EL: *Kər|məž* (TRM172), a tributary of the Laž in north-eastern Marij El.

OKA: ? *kj̄r* > *kir*, *Kir|ka* (GBO176), in the catchment area of the Pronja || *Kir|man|skoj* (GBO264), close to Murom || *Kir|č|ka* (GBO176), in the catchment area of the Pronja.

- Through Russian adaptation, the shift **kjr > kir* is possible; cf. the official name *Vili|šur < *Vilj|šur* (AUR20A2) in Udmurtia. No suitable Russian origin is found for the stem. An Udmurt formant *-man* (*Kir|man|skoj < Kir|man*) and a possible formant *-č* (*Kir|č|ka*) are found, possibly reflecting the original **-č̣i*, in the Oka catchment area.

12. *Kum-* ‘(farmer’s) store house, granary’ or ‘deep water’ or ‘Komi’

Ko. *kum* ‘farmer’s storehouse’, *kuma|va* ‘deep water’; Udm. *vjžj-kum* ‘Komi’ (Csucs 2005) < PPerm. **kum* ‘granary’ [Cs]

UDMURTIA: ? *Kuma|za|nka* (AUR38V2), a small tributary of the Vyatka slightly in Tatarstan.

KOMI: *Kuma* (ARK101V3), a tributary of the Prupt in the catchment area of the Vyčegda in southern Komi. – Af. does not mention.

KIROV: *Kume|na* (AKiO37V5), *Kumena*, *Bol. & Mal.* (AKiO37B-V5), a middle-sized tributary of the Bystrica in the catchment area of the Vyatka

VOLOGDA: *Kum|baš* (AVO45B5), an upper course of the Kondas in the catchment area of the Uftjuga in north-eastern Vologda oblast || *Kume|n'ga* (AVO47G4), an upper course of the Kičmen'ga in north-eastern Vologda oblast.

MARIJ EL: *Kuma* (TRM155), a tributary of the Juronga in the catchment area of the Vetluga || *Kum|už* (TRM155), a tributary of the Ilet' || *Kum|əž"jer* (TRM156), a lake close to Jaramor village, in Morki rajon.

OKA: *Kume|nka* (GBO180) in the Pronja catchment area.

- No suitable Russian or Mordvinic origin is found for the stem. The formant *-na* (*Kume|na*) is mysterious; cf. *Kumena*, *Kubena*, *Sukhona*. One possibility is an old Russian shift **m > n*, especially because of the regular previous labials *b* and *m* e.g. in *Kume|na ? < *Kume|ma* and *Kube|na < *Kube|ma*.

13. *Kuž-* ‘long’

Ko. *kuž* ‘long’; Udm. id. < PPerm. **kuž* id. [LG/Cs].

UDMURTIA: *Kuzi* (AUR11G3), a relatively long and narrow upper course of the Pyzep in the catchment area of the Čepca in north-eastern Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Kuz'jol'* (ARK106V1), an upper course of the Koj in the Sysola catchment area in southern Komi. – Af. (82) ‘long’.

KIROV: *Kuzo|voš|ka* (AKiO57G5), a tributary of the Uržumka in the catchment area of the Vyatka in southern Kirov oblast || *Kuz|jug* (AKiO15V6), a long tributary of the Moloma in northern Kirov oblast.

KOSTROMA: *Kuz|jug* (AKO43B2), a long tributary of the Voč'–Vohma in the Vetluga catchment area in north-eastern Kostroma oblast.

VOLOGDA: *Kuz|en'ga* (AVO21V5), headwaters of the Uftjuga–Kokšen'ga in the catchment area of the Vaga in northern Vologda oblast || *Kuzi|ma* (AVO25V5) a small tributary of the Verhnjaja Jerga in the Sukhona catchment area in north-eastern Vologda oblast.

JAROSLAVL: *Kuza* (AJO23B3), a long tributary of the Obnora in the Kostroma catchment area in north-eastern Kostroma oblast.

OKA: *Kuz|ma* (GBO253), in the Lower Cna || *Kuzo|ma* (GBO270), close to Murom || *Kuzo|va* (GBO105), close to Moscow.

- In Russian, there is an anthroponym *Kuzьma* ~ *Kozьma* (Dal' II s. v. *Кузьма*). However, the “soft mark” *ь* does not occur in the hydronyms presented here. There are such hydronyms as e. g. *Kuzьmin* (GBO61, 157, 268) and *Kuzьmiščevskoj* (GBO163) which can certainly be derived from the above-mentioned anthroponym. Atamanov (1988: 60) has pointed that the original Udm. **kuž* ‘long’ becomes > *Kuz-* in toponyms through a Russian adaptation. The Permic formants *-ma* (*Kuzo|ma*) and *-va* (*Kuzo|va*) ‘water’ are found in the Oka catchment area.

14. *Lem-* ‘bird cherry’

Ko. *ļem* ‘bird cherry’; Udm. id. < PPerm. **l̥əm* id. [LG], **l̥òm* [Cs]

UDMURTIA: *Lem* (AUR16G2), a small tributary in the headwaters of the Čepca in north-eastern Udmurtia || *Lema* (AUR12A3), a large tributary of the Lekma in the Čepca catchment area in north-western Udmurtia || *Lem|ka* (AUR17V2), a small tributary of the Lumpun in the Vyatka catchment area in western Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Lem* (ARK80G1), an upper course of the Lym|va in the Vyčegda catchment area in Central Komi || *Lem|va~L̥em|va* (ARK27G6), a large tributary of the Usa in north-eastern Komi || *Lem''|ju~L̥em|ju* (ARK60A2), (ARK61B6), a large tributary of the Pečora in Central Komi || *Lem''|ju~L̥em|ju* (ARK77B5), a middle-sized tributary of the Višera in the Vyčegda catchment area in Central Komi || *Lem''|ju~L̥em|ju* (ARK85V4), a large tributary of the Vyčegda close to Syktyvkar. – Af. (88) ‘bird cherry’

KIROV: *Lema* (AKiO39V5), an upper course of the Kosa in the Čepca catchment area in eastern Kirov oblast.

VOLOGDA: ?? *Lema* (AVO12V3), a tributary of the Megra.

ARKHANGEL: *Lema* (ARK64G2), a tributary of the Dvina north of Kotlas.

NIŽNIJ-NOVGOROD: *Lem|ša* Gorodec, a tributary of the Uzola in the Volga catchment area in western Nižnij-Novgorod oblast

OKA: *Lemet'* (GBO267), a tributary of the Těša close to Ardatov.

- No suitable origin for the stem exists in Russian. The Mordvin word *lem* ‘soup’ is very unlikely to be the source. In Russian adaptation, Permic *ɛ* is usually substituted with Russian *e*; cf. Perm. *šed* ~ Ru. Adapt. *ced* ‘black’ (see below). Thus the Permic *lem* ‘bird cherry’ is the most probable origin in all cases presented here with the exception of *Lema* in Vologda oblast (AVO12V3), which can more probably be compared with Fi. and Ka. *lemi* ‘marsh’ > Ru. Dial. *лема* [*lema*] id. (SSA II s. v. *lemi*).

15. *Mur*- ‘deep’

Udm. *mur* ‘deep’

UDMURTIA: *Mur|a* (AUR20A3), a long tributary of the Loza in the Čepca catchment area in Central Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Mur|ju* (ARK67V6), a tributary of the Čub in the catchment area of the Vym' in western Komi. – Af. does not mention.

KIROV: *Mur|is* (AKiO18V2), an upper course of the Poryš in the catchment area of the Kama in north-eastern Kirov oblast || *Mur|it|ka* (AKiO55A4), an upper course of the Iž in the Pižma catchment area in southern Kirov oblast.

KOSTROMA: *Mur|ža* (AKO41B1), an upper course of the Jug in the Sukhona catchment area in northern Kostroma oblast.

OKA: *Mur* GBO232, an upper course of the Tašenka in the Oka catchment area close to Kasimov ~ Meščerskij Gorodec || *Mur|ka* (GBO240) in the Lower Mokša || *Mur|ka* (ARO38A4) a small river in the estuary of the Mokša.

- In Russian dialect (Arkhangelsk), there is a word *мырѣ* denoting a certain grass (Dal' II s. v. *мырѣ*). This is a possible but here unlikely motif for naming. In Mordvin, there is a form *mur* ‘needlework’, but this is also a very unsuitable source.

16. *Nj̄r*- ‘nose, beak, cape’

Ko. *nj̄r* ‘nose, beak’; Udm. id., ‘cape’ < PPerm. **nür* [LG], **nj̄r* [Cs] id.

UDMURTIA: *Nj̄ro|šur* (AUR21V5), an upper course of the Iž in Central Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Nj̄r|os* (ARK39G5), a large tributary of the Sebys' in the Ižma catchment area in northern Komi. – Af. (115) *Ныроч ~ Нӧрыс* < Ko. *nerj̄s* ‘river with sharp bends’.

KIROV: *Nj̄r* (AKiO44V3), a narrow tributary of the Jaran' in the Pižma catchment area in western Kirov oblast.

ARKHANGEL: *Nj̄r|za* an upper course of the Pokšen'ga in the Pinega catchment area || *Nj̄r|za|n'ga* a small river in the Kuloj (North) catchment area

OKA: *Nj̄r|sa* (GBO238), in the Lower Mokša.

- In the Oka catchment area, a possible Udmurt formant *-sa* is found, reflecting the original **-si*. The shift **-i* > *-a* is caused by the Russian influence; i. e. the feminine marker *-a* in the names of rivers.

17. *Njur*- ‘bog, marsh’

Ko. *ńur* ‘marsh, bog’; Udm. id. < PPerm. **ńür* [LG], **ńur* [Cs] id.

UDMURTIA: *Ñur|ta* (AUR16B3), an upper course of the Čepca slightly in Perm oblast.

KOMI: *Ñur|ju* (ARK93D4), a small tributary of the Luza in the south-western corner of Komi Rep. – Af. (116) ‘marsh’.

KIROV: *Ñur|jug; Bol. & Mal.* (AKO96B3), a large tributary of the Paozer in the Vetluga catchment area in western Kirov oblast.

KOSTROMA: *Ñur|jug* (AKO93A2), a large tributary of the Vetluga in eastern Kostroma oblast || *Ñur|jug* (AVO67G7), a middle-sized upper course of the Vohma in the north-eastern corner of Kostroma oblast.

VOLOGDA: *Ñurenga* (AKO38B1), an upper course of the Unža in south-eastern Vologda oblast.

- Obviously derived from Permic *ńur* ‘bog, marsh’.

18. Pjž- ‘rowboat’

Ko. *pjž* ‘(row)boat’; Udm. id. < PPerm. **püž* [LG], **pjž(i)* id.

UDMURTIA: *Pjž|man|ka* (AUR31B3), a long tributary of the Vyatka in southwestern Udmurtia || *Pjž’|ja* (AUR18B1), an upper course of the *Kjřčma* in the Kilmez’ catchment area.

KOMI: *Pjž* (ARK65V5), an upper course of the Vaška in western Komi || ? *Pižma* (ARK32B3). – Af. (129) *Pjž* < ‘boat’, *Pižma* < Ko. *pižma* ‘a plant with composite flower’

KIROV: *Pjž|a* & *Pjž|nka* (AKiO39A4–5) small tributaries of the Filippovka in Čepca catchment area in eastern Kirov oblast || ? *Pižma* (AKiO46V1), a large tributary of the Vyatka || ? several hydronyms with *Piž-*: *Piž oz.*, *Piž*, *Pižanka* (3), *Pižan’ja*, *Piž|il*, most of them are located in the Lower Vyatka.

VOLOGDA: *Pjž|ug* (AVO47G6), a large tributary of the Kičmen’ga in the Jug catchment area.

MARIJ EL: TRM264–265: ? *Pižaj vüd*, a tributary of the Laž || ? *Pižan* (1), a tributary of the Ošla || (2) a tributary of the Petjalka || *Pižan’ja*, a tributary of the Rutka.

OKA: *Pjž|v|ka* < **Pjž|va* (GBO236) in the Upper Mokša || *Pjž|evskoj* (GBO205), in the Upper Kljaz’ma close to Moscow || *Pjž|ik* (GBO172), in the Pronja catchment area || *Pjž|ik* (GBO233) close to the estuary of the Mokša || *Pjž|ovskoj* (GBO216), in the catchment area of the Nerl’ [Kljaz’ma].

- No good Russian etymology is found. In the Oka catchment area, a possible Permic formant *-va* < PPerm. **va* ‘water’ (*Pjž|v|ka* < **Pjž|va*) is found. According to Atamanov (1988: 76) **pjž* > *piž-* ‘(row) boat’ is possible in hydronyms (see hydronyms in Kirov oblast and in Marij El). This is possible and there are analogues; cf. *Vili|šur* in which **j* > *i* as a result of Russian adaptation. Galkin (TRM s. v. *Пижаў вьд*) thinks that the origin of the stem is Komi *pež* > *piž* (PPerm. *pež* ‘dirty, muddy’). Because of the frequency of this stem, Galkin’s explanation is not very believable. Instead, the etymology based on PFP **püşä* > ? Pre-Perm. **piž(ä)* ~ **pjž(ä)* ‘holy, boundary’ is possible (see Saarikivi 2006: 53), even though the word is not found in the modern Permic languages. This motif for naming is very usual in Finnic hydronyms. Other, at least phonetically possible, but not very probable, alternatives could be **puč(ki)* > **puž-* [theoretic deriva-

tion] ‘hollow stem’ or **peče* > **püž-* > Udm. *pužym* ‘pine’; cf. vocalization according to Bartens 2000: 61, PFP **keski* > PPerm. *küsk* > Udm. *kus(k-)* and Ko. *kos(k-)*.

19. *Sed-* ‘black’

Ko. *śed* ‘black’; Udm. id. < PPerm. **śōd* [LG], **śōd* [Cs] id.

UDMURTIA: *Sed|mič|ka* (AUR9B4), an upper course of the Vyatka close to Glazov, northern Udmurtia || *Sed|mur|ča* (AUR25G3), a large tributary of the Vala in western Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Sed* (ARK105A4), an upper course of the Bol. Vizinga in the Sysola catchment area || *Sed|ka~Śed|ka* (ARK 110G2), a small tributary of the Luza || *Sed|mes~Śed|mes* (ARK39B6), a large tributary of the Sebys' in the Ižma catchment area || *Sed''|jol'* (ARK73B5), an upper course of the Vol' in the Vyčegda catchment area || *Sed''|jol'* (ARK59B5), a tributary of the Ižma || *Sed''|jol'* (ARK89A4), an upper course of the Požeg in the Vyčegda catchment area || *Sed''|ju~Śed''|ju* (ARK90V2), an upper course of the Vyčegda || *Sed''|ju* (ARK59B5), a large tributary of the Ižma || *Sed''|ju* (ARK98B3), an upper course of the Lokčim in the Vyčegda catchment area || *Sed''|ju* (ARK25V7), a small tributary of the Usa in the Pečora catchment area || *Sed''|ju* (ARK42V3), a small tributary of the Bol. Patok-Šuger in the catchment area of the Pečora || *Sed''|vož~Śed''|vož* (ARK72A2), headwaters of the *Sed''|ju* [Ižma]. – Af. (135) ‘black’.

VOLOGDA: ? *Sod|enga* (AVO22A2), an upper course of the Vaga || ? *Sodi|ma* (AVO77V4), a tributary of the river Vologda || ? *Sodi|ma* (AVO59G4), a small tributary of the Pelšma in the Sukhona catchment area || ? *Sodo|š|ka* (AVO35V5), an upper course of the Perešnaja close to the Lake Vože || ? *Sodo|š|ka* (AVO36B2), a tributary of the Uftjuga [Kubena] || ? *Sodo|š|noe oz.* (AVO35V5), a lake between lakes Beloe and Vože.

OKA: *Sed|ka* (GBO146), close to Serpuhov || *Sed|ma* (GBO253), close to the estuary of the Cna.

- No suitable Russian origin for the stem is found. In Mordvin there are such words as *śed* ‘coal’, *sed* ‘bridge’. These are not very suitable motifs for naming. The *Sod* stem in Vologda oblast in the vicinity of lake Kubena and by the river Sukhona could possibly be derived from PPerm. **śōd* [LG].

20. *Sim-* ‘rusty’

Udm. *šinj* ‘rust’ [Cs], Ko. *sim* ‘rusty, dark’ < PPerm. **sim(V)* [LG], **sim(i)* [Cs] ‘rust’

UDMURTIA: *Sima|šur* (AUR9V5), a small tributary of the Pyzep in the catchment area of the Čepca in northern Udmurtia close to Glazov.

KOMI: *Sim|va* (ARK70B2), a tributary of the Vis close to the Lake Sindor|skoe in the Vym' catchment area in Central Komi. – Af. does not mention.

KOSTROMA: *Sima|t|ovo oz. ?* < **Sima|tj* (AKO135B2), a lake by the Middle Unža in Central Kostroma oblast.

VOLOGDA: *Sima* (AVO38V2), a large tributary of the Kubena.

OKA: *Sima|nga* (GBO196), close to the estuary of the Kljaz'ma.

- No suitable Russian origin for the stem is found. The Mordvin derivations of the word *šime|ms* ‘drink’ are not probable in the Oka catchment area. It seems that in Merya-Muroma language there was such a word as **sim* ‘black’ (Ahlqvist 2001b: 457–458; Rahkonen 2009: 177). It is difficult to determine whether *Simanga* (GBO196) in the Oka catchment area should be derived from a Permic or Muroma origin.

21. *Sin-* ‘spring (of water)’

Ko. *šin* ‘spring’; Udm. *ošmes-šin* ‘(eye of) spring’ < PPerm. **šinm-* [LG], **šin* (*šinm*) [Cs] ‘eye’

UDMURTIA: *Sine|pur|ka* (AUR19B3), a small tributary of the Ut' in the Kil'mez' catchment area in Central Udmurtia || *Sin|jar|ka* (AKiO69B5), a small tributary of the Ljuga in the Vyatka catchment area in the south-western corner of Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Sin|dor|skoe oz.* (ARK70V2), a large lake in Central Komi. – Af. (137) *Sindorskoje ozero* < ugr. *seng|tor* ‘misty lake’.

KOSTROMA: *Sin'|ga* (AKO163A1), a small river close to Kostroma

VOLOGDA: *Šin|d|juk* (AKO19A2), a small upper course in the Jug catchment area.

OKA: *Sina|bor|ja* (GBO226) || *Sine|bor|ka* (GBO226; AVLO58A1), a tributary of the Kljaz'ma close to Vladimir.

- The names *Sina|bor|ja* (GBO226) and *Sine|bor|ka* (GBO226) in the Oka-Kljaz'ma region have an obvious analogue *Sinepur|ka* (AUR19B3) in Udmurtia. Afanas'ev has derived *Sindorskoe oz.* from Ugric languages. I suppose that the first component should be interpreted as *sin* < Ko. *šin* 'spring' and the second component *dor* has the meaning 'by' > i. e. 'lake close to spring(s)'; cf. Ko. *va|dor* lit. 'edge of water', i. e. 'shore' (Afnas'ev 1996: 191).

22. *Sjur*- 'horn, watershed'

Ko. *śur* 'horn', *-śur* 'watershed'; Udm. *śur* 'horn', *śures* 'way, pathway', *śur-lj* 'spine' < PPerm. *śur* 'horn' [LG/Cs]

UDMURTIA: *Śur|zi*; *Verh.* (AUR13V4), an upper course of the Lekma in the Čepca catchment area in northern Udmurtia || *Śur|ek* (AUR24V3), a tributary of the Vala in the Kilmez' catchment area in western Udmurtia || *Śur|zja* (AUR22B3), a tributary of the Ita in the Čepca catchment area in eastern Udmurtia || *Śur|zja* (AUR13G5), an upper course of the Salja-Loza in the Čepca catchment area in northern Udmurtia || *Śuro|vaj* (AUR25B5), a small upper course of the Kejšurka-Kakmož in the Kil'mez' catchment area in western Udmurtia || *Śuro|vaj* (AUR20V3), an upper course of the Čur in the Iž catchment area in Central Udmurtia || *Śuro|mo|śur* (AUR19V3), an small upper course of the Arlet' in the Kilmez' catchment area in western Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Śur|sa* (ARK96B1), a tributary of the Sop' in the Sysola catchment area in southern Komi. – Af. does not mention.

OKA: *Śur* (GBO261), close to the estuary of the Mokša || *Śur|zero oz.* (ARO73A1), a lake in the confluence of the Cna and Mokša.

- No suitable Russian origin for the stem is found. A Mordvin etymology < *śuro* ~ *śura* 'horn' is possible in the Oka catchment area.

23. *Tjil*- 'fire, slash-and-burn area'

Ko *tjv* : *tjil*- 'fire', *tjila* 'slash-and-burn area' ; Udm. *tjil* 'fire', *tjilo* '(small) leaf-tree forest (growing after slash-and-burn cultivation)' < PPerm. **tjil* 'fire' [LG], **tjila* 'slash-and-burn area' [Cs]

UDMURTIA: *Tjilo|vaj|ka* (AUR22A3), a tributary of the Ita in the Čepca catchment area in eastern Udmurtia || *Tjil|oj* (AUR21B4), a long trib-

utary of the Njaz'-Loza in the Čepca catchment area in Central Udmurtia || *Tj|oj|ka* (AUR22B2), a long tributary of the Ita in the Čepca catchment area in eastern Udmurtia || *Tj|o|šur* (AUR15B3), an upper course of the Syga-Pyze in the Čepca catchment area in north-eastern Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Tj|la* (ARK105A5), an upper course of the Poinga in the Sysola catchment area in southern Komi || *Tj|la|jol'* (ARK68G3), a tributary of the Vym' in Central Komi || *Tj|aj* (ARK112B2), a large tributary of the Luza in the catchment area of the Jug in south-western Komi || *Tj|la|ju* (ARK96A1), a small tributary of the Sysola in Central Komi. – Af. (146) 'land after slash-and-burn cultivation'.

OKA: *Tj|ka* (GBO184), in the catchment area of the Pronja || *Tj|ma* (GBO130), in the catchment area of the Pra.

- The Russian origin < *тыл* [*tj|*] 'backside' might be possible in the Oka catchment area in the name *Tj|ka* GBO184. The Finno-Ugrian (Udmurt as well) formant *-ma* occurs in the name *Tj|ma* GBO130.

24. *Tojma, Toj-* '(track over) neck of land, isthmus'

Ko. *tuj* 'pathway, track, road' < PPerm.**tšj* [LG] + formant *-ma* or **tojma* 'neck of land' ~ Fi. *taipale* 'neck of land' < **taje(pa-w)* 'bend' (see SSA III s. v. *taipua*)

UDMURTIA: *Tojma* (AUR40A2), a large tributary of the Kama in southern Udmurtia || *Tojma; Mal.*(AUR40A2) a tributary of the Tojma in southern Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Tojma* (ARK49A5), by the Vaška in western Komi || *Tuj* (ARK80V2), an upper course of the Nivšera in the Vyčegda catchment area in Central Komi || *Tojem ~ Tojəm* (ARK67A6), a tributary of the Požva in the Vym' catchment area. – Af. (144) < Veps. *toina* 'second, another'.

KIROV: *Tojme|nka* (AKiO68B3), a middle-sized tributary of the Vyatka in southern Kirov oblast.

KOSTROMA: *Toj|ga* (AKO78B3), a tributary of the Veksa [Galič] || *Toje|hta* (AKO135A3), a tributary of the Unža in the eastern Kostroma oblast.

VOLOGDA: *Tojme|n'ga* (AVO19A4), an upper course of the Semžen'ga in the Vaga catchment area || *Toj|ca* (AVO32V1), a tributary of the Megra west of the lake Beloe || *Toj|a* (AVO38V1), a tributary of the Kubena.

ARKHANGEL: *Tojma; Verh. & Niž.* large tributaries of the middle Dvina.

OKA: *Tojmi|ga* (GBO228), in the estuary of the Kljaz'ma || *Tojmi|ga* (AVLO73A1), a small tributary of the Kljaz'ma, south-west of the town of Vladimir.

- No suitable Russian origin of the stem is found. In the background possibly is the Proto-Permic word **tšj* > Komi *tuj* 'road' (Lytkin–Guljaev 1970: 22) + suffix *-ma*. Lytkin–Guljaev have apparently assumed that the Komi word is related with the Finnic **tee* > Fi. *tie* 'road'. However, it should be considered whether the *Tojma*-hydronyms should be connected to the Finnish *taiva-l*, *taipa-le* 'track over neck of land' < **taje(pa-w)* (see SSA III s. v. *taipua* 'bend') originating from a lost Permic word **tojma* id. *Tojma* hydronyms are regularly attested to be rivers or lakes which are located geographically in necks of land or being one of closely flowing parallel rivers. In that case, **Tojma* > Udm. *tujmi* (id. the official *Tojma* in Udmurtia) could be derived from the earlier > PPerm. **tujma* (**a* > PPerm. **u* according to Sammallahti 1988: 530) or, in the light of hydronyms, more likely PPerm. **tojma* (as constructed **a* > PPerm. **q* according to E. Itkonen [1954] and V. Lytkin [1970]; see Sammallahti 1988: 530). The *toj* hydronyms seem to me to represent an early Permic layer of names, possibly from the Early Proto-Permic era (cf. Anan'ino Culture 800–300 BC). Afanas'ev's (1996: 144) explanation of the Finnic origin of the river *Tojëm* (see above) cannot be correct because of the wide eastern distribution of *tojma* hydronyms. It may reflect older **tojema* < **tajepa*, so that the second vowel has remained.

25. *Uj-*, *Voj-* 'night, north'

Ko. *voj* 'night, north'; Udm. *uj* id. < PPerm. **öj* [LG], **oj* [Cs]

UDMURTIA: *Uj* (AUR21A5), a tributary of the Ita in the Čepca catchment area in Central Udmurtia || *Uj|vaj|ka* (AUR22A3), a tributary of the Ita in the Čepca catchment area in eastern Udmurtia || *Uj|vaj|ka* (AUR20V2), an upper course of the Uva in the Kil'mez' catchment area.

KOMI: *Voj|vož* (ARK24V1, 34A2, 71B6, 78V4, 44G3, 78G3, 81V4, 88A2, 90V3, 38G1, 39B6, 53B6, 91G7, 80A3, 77G5, 25D7, 41V7, 61A7, 67B4, 89A4, 67G5, 54V1, 14V3, 66V3). – Af. (44) 'northern'.

KIROV: *Voj|č|iha* (AKiO17V4), an upper course of the Kobra close to the border of Komi.

KOSTROMA: *Voj|mas* (AKO62B3), a tributary of the Upper Unža in northern Kostroma oblast.

VOLOGDA: *Voj|ga* (AVO19G5), an upper course of the Kovda in the Vaga catchment area || *Voj|duš* (AVO40V1), an upper course of the Šičenga in the Kubena catchment area.

OKA: *?Uj|ka* (GBO38), close to Kaluga.

- No good Russian origin is found for this stem. It seems that the Komi type of the word *voj* < PFU **üji* (Sammallahti 1988: 542) belonged to the Permic languages in Vologda, Kostroma and northern Kirov oblasts. The hydronym *Uj|ka* close to Kaluga is obscure. The etymology could be derived from Mordvin *uj* ‘head-, front-’, Finno-Ugric **vōji* ‘butter, fat’ (Sammallahti 1988: 551) or **woja* ‘brook’ (Matveev 2001: 256–261; Saarikivi 2006: 31), as well. The latter is not preferable as a specific of hydronyms.

26. *Ul-* ‘lower-’

Ko. *uv-* : *ul-* ‘lower-’; Udm. *ul-* id. < PPerm. **ul-* id. [LG/Cs]

UDMURTIA: *Ul|juš|ka* (AUR38B2), a small river by the Vyatka in the south-western corner of Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Uv'|ju~Uv''|ju* (ARK51A5), an upper course of the Mezen' in western Komi || *Ula* (ARK108G3), a large tributary of the Luza in the Jug catchment area in south-western Komi || *Ulo|m*, *Ulom*; *Bol. & Mal.* (ARK93V4), headwaters of the Vilëd' in the Lower Vyčegda catchment area in western Komi || *Ul'|vož* (ARK23G8), an upper course of the Verh. Dvojniki in the Pečora catchment area in northern Komi || *Ul'|ju* (ARK41B5), an upper course of the Lyža in the Pečora catchment area in Central Komi. – Af. (147–148) ‘lower’.

KIROV: *Ula* (AKiO15B7), a tributary of the Luza, partly in Komi (see Komi), *Ul|uj* (AKiO17G6), a tributary of the Verh. Holunica in the Upper Vyatka catchment area in northern Kirov oblast.

KOSTROMA: *Ul'|šma* (AKO61B2), an upper course of the Knjažaja in the Unža catchment area in Kostroma oblast.

VOLOGDA: *Ul|ozero* (AVO32A1), a small lake west of lake Beloe in western Vologda oblast || *Ulo|ma* (AVO74A3), a tributary of the Šeksna in Central Vologda oblast || *Ulom|skoe oz.* (AVO72V2), the source lake of the river *Ulom|ka* (AVO72G3) in western Vologda oblast || *Ulo|š|ka*

(AVO22G2), an upper course of the Kokšen'ga in the catchment area of Vaga in north-eastern Vologda oblast.

ARKHANGEL: *Ule|ša* (ARK64A3), in the (Upper) Pinega catchment area.

OKA: *Ule|m|ka* (GBO118), in the catchment area of the Moskva || *Ul|untus* (GBO187), in the Para catchment area || *Ul|us* (GBO184) in the Pronja catchment area || *Ul|b|jš* (ARO94A1) a large tributary of the Pronja.

- Permic formants, such as *-m-* < **-ma* (*Ulem|ka* < **Ule|ma*) and *-b|ž* (*Ul|b|ž*) < **bež* 'tail' (ARO94A1); i. e. 'upper course', are found in the Oka catchment area. In the name *Ul|untus*, the latter part *-untus* apparently appears in such hydronyms as *Unt|us* (GBO187), *Unto|kor* (GBO254) and in Udmurtia *Unt|em|ka* (AUR20B3) and *Unt|em|ka* (AUR9V5) < **Unte|ma*. This proves that *Ul|untus* has the meaning 'Lower Untus'. Because of the impossible combination *-nt-* already in Proto-Permic (Bartens 2000: 37–38; Sammallahti 1988: 532), the etymology of **unt(V)* must be derived from a non-Permic language or it is a relic from the Pre-Permic or possibly early Proto-Permic era. In the Belozero area, also the Finnic origin *ul-* < **ülä-* 'upper' is possible, even more probable. *Ulozero* (AVO32A1), close to Belozero, has no outlet. Therefore it is difficult to determine its position in the water system. But a village called *Verhov'e* ('upper one') is located close to the lake. However, a river called *Il'meza* (AVO73V4) flows in the vicinity of the lake *Ulomskoe oz.* and the river *Ulom|ka* (AVO72V2). *Ulomka* (located in the lower course) and *Il'meza* (located in the upper course) are both tributaries of the river *Šeksna*. This seems to suggest that the stems of names originate from the words *il-* 'upper' and *ul-* 'lower'.

27. Un- 'big'

Ko. *una* 'much'; Udm. *uno* id. < PPerm. **šna* [LG], **una* [Cs] id.

UDMURTIA: *Uni* (AUR12V3), an upper course of the Lekma in the Čepca catchment area in north-western Udmurtia || *Un|ja* (AUR26G2), a tributary of the Nylga in the Kil'mez' catchment area.

KOMI: *Un|ja* (ARK92G1), a large tributary of the Pečora. – Af. (148) Ugr. *un jā* 'big river'.

KOSTROMA: *Un|ža* (AKO158A1), a very large tributary of the Volga.

VOLOGDA: *Un|ža* (AVO60B2), a tributary of the Sjamžena in Central Vologda oblast || *Une|nga* (AVO37V4), a tributary of the Sit' in the Kubena catchment area.

MARIJ EL: *Un|ža* ~ *Un|čo* < probably **Un|žo* (TRM337); 1. a tributary of the Šora in the catchment area of the Ilet, 2. a tributary of the Kukša in the Vyatka catchment area.

NIŽNIJ-NOVGOROD: *Un|ev* Arzamas, an upper course of the Serėža close to Arza|mas || *Un|ža* (AkiO43A5), a tributary of the Pižma.

OKA: *Un|ar* (GBO228), close to the estuary of the Kljaz'ma || *Un|gar* (GBO221), close to Ivanovo || *Un|gor* (GBO187; ARO103B2), in the Para catchment area || *Un|goř* (GBO190), ? ~ *Un|kura* (ARO13B4) in the catchment area of the Gus' or Unža || *Un|ža* (GBO191), close to the estuary of the Mokša || *Un|kar* (GBO191), close to the estuary of the Mokša || *Un|kor* (GBO232,233,262), close to the estuary of the Mokša || *Un|oga* (GBO198), an upper course of the Kljaz'ma close to Moscow || *Un|orka* (GBO193), close to the estuary of the Mokša || *Un|uj* (GBO256) in the catchment area of the Upper Mokša || *Un|ur* (GBO256) in the catchment area of the Upper Mokša || *Un|ca* (GBO160), close to the city of Ryazan.

- Such Udmurt formants as *-uj* (*Un|uj*), *-ur* (*Un|ur*) and probably *-ći* > *-ca* (*Un|ca*) are found in the Oka catchment area. The Russian “cokanje” dialect in which **u* > *u* [**č* > *c*] is represented in the Meščera area and therefore *Un|ca* might be derived from **Un|ći* (Požarickaja 2005: 94, Map 4). The hydronym *Un|ža* is problematic. In Marij El the variants *Unža* ~ *Unčo* are found. This may hint at the possibility of the original **Unž(V)*. The possible latter element *-ž(V)* may be a formant or belong to the stem and in such a case *un-* cannot mean ‘big’. In southern Nižnij-Novgorod oblast a possible generic *-va* *Un|ev* ? < **Un|va*; * PPerm. **va* ‘water’ is found. Afanas'ev's interpretation of the component *-ja* (Ugr. *jā* ‘river’) is not necessarily correct, because in western Udmurtia the river *Unja* flows as well. The location of this river seems too western for Ugric names (see Smirnov 2012: 48). Smirnov (2012: 44–45 and attached literature) points out that the formant *-ja* cannot always be derived from Mansi *jā* ‘river’, but can possibly be connected with Permic *ju* ‘river’ where the Russian feminine marker *-a* has replaced *-u* in the end of the name.

28. *Vil-*, *Vil-* ‘upper’

Ko. *vjv-*: *vil-* ‘upper’; Udm. *vil-* ‘upper’ < PPerm. **vül* [LG], **vil* [Cs] ‘upper’

UDMURTIA: *Vili|šur* (AUR20A2), an upper course of the Kil'mez' in Central Udmurtia.

KOMI: *Vil|kjša* (ARK98B2), an upper course of the Lokčim in the Vyčegda catchment area in southern Komi || *Vil'|ju* (ARK42A2), a tributary of the Synja in the Pečora catchment area in eastern Komi. – Af. (51) ‘upper’.

OKA: *Vile|ma* (GBO262), close to the estuary of the Mokša || *Vili|š|ka* (GBO171), in the Pronja catchment area || *Vili|š|ka*; *Mal.* (GBO207), in the headwaters of the Kljaz'ma.

- Without a doubt, *Vile|ma* in the Oka catchment area seem to be a Permic name with the usual Udmurt formant *-ma*. The *Vili|š* names are more dubious. The formant *-š* is more preferably of Meryan origin. The stem, however, is not Meryan, because ‘upper’ in Meryan has been **il-* or **ver-* (Rahkonen 2012: 38).

29. *Vož-* ‘tributary, branch’

Ko. *vož* ‘branch, tributary’; Udm. *vož* ‘estuary, junction’ < PPerm. **vož* [LG], **vož* [Cs] ‘branch’

UDMURTIA: *Vož* (AUR16B2), an upper course of the Lysva in north-eastern Udmurtia || *Vožoj|ka* (AUR28B3), a large tributary of the Pozim in the Iž catchment area close to Iževsk.

KOMI: *Voža|jol'* (ARK69B5), a small tributary of the Vesljana in the Vym' catchment area in Central Komi. – Af. (45–46) ‘tributary’.

KOSTROMA: *Vož|ega* (AKO78B3), a tributary of the Nolja in the catchment area of the Kostroma close to Galič in western Kostroma oblast || *Vože|ra* (AKO86A1), a large tributary of the Monza in the catchment area of the Neja in Central Kostroma oblast || *Vož|na* (AKO52B2), a tributary of the Solda in the Kostroma catchment area in north-western Kostroma oblast || *Vožo|ra* (AKO133A2), a tributary of the Neja in Central Kostroma oblast.

VOLOGDA: *Vož|bal* (AVO62A1) and its upper course *Vož|bal|ec* (AVO41V4), the left branch of the Careva in the Sukhona catchment area in Central Vologda oblast || *Vož|duga* (AVO41V5), a tributary of the *Vož|bal*, see

above || *Vože oz.* (AVO_{14B3}), the source lake of the River Onega-Sujda in northern Vologda oblast || *Vože|ga* (AVO_{15V4}), a large branch from the lake *Vože* to the east || *Vože|m|ka* (AVO_{45V5}), a tributary of the *Sel'men'ga* in the catchment area of the *Sukhona* in eastern Vologda oblast.

OKA: *Voža* (GBO₁₆₁; ARO_{30A4}), a large tributary of the Oka close to Ryazan || *Voža|tel'* (GBO₂₆₈), in the catchment area of the *Těza* || *Vož|gora* (GBO₁₇₀) close to Ryazan || *Vože|nka* (GBO₂₁₁) close to Vladimir || *Vož|n|oe* (GBO₁₃₀ ? ~ *Voža* AVLO_{94B4}), empties into lake *Velikoe* in the *Pra* catchment area || *Vož|nja* (AVIO_{59A4}), an upper course of the *Sudogda-Jada* close to *Sudogda*.

- It is obvious that the stem *vož-* can be derived from the PFP-level word **voša* ‘fork, branch’ (Sammallahti 1988: 554). The problem is that the word **vož(V)* may appear in Meryan rather similarly to the Permic word *vož* ‘branch’. At least the hydronyms *Voža* (GBO₁₆₁) and *Vož|gora* (GBO₁₇₀) seem to be too far from the Meryan core area and could be Permic. On the other hand, at least the hydronyms *Vož|bal* (AVO_{62A1}), *Vož|bal|ec* (AVO_{41V4}) in Vologda oblast and *Vože|ra* (AKO_{86A1}) and *Vožo|ra* (AKO_{133A2}) in Kostroma oblast, with their non-Permic formants *-bal* and *-ra* (see Rahkonen 2012: 23–24, 32–34), seem to be of Meryan-Muroma – not Permic – origin.

3.2. Some special questions

Considerable evidence of the relatively western location of ancient Permic speakers can be found in the Finnic layer of borrowings in the Proto-Permic language (Bartens 2000: 16–17; Saarikivi 2006: 52). The contact area has most probably been somewhere in the Russian North. According to Atamanov (2001: 119–127), some of the Udmurt clans (being connected with the cult of *voršuds*), e. g. *Čudna* and *Čud'za*, seem to originate from the same area as well. However, these families may have their origin in the Volhov area, belonging to a non-Finnic Čudian population (Rahkonen 2011). Within the boundaries of the Kirov and Vologda oblasts, there are such villages as *Čegado|evskij* (cf. Čagoda rivers in Volhov and Svir' regions) and *Čudal|ovo* (cf. Čud toponyms in the Volhov, Tihvinka and Msta catchment areas) (see Rahkonen 2011: 247–248). The language of these Čuds may still have been close to Middle Proto-Finnic, having the

sibilant *š* and the affricate *č*. The *voršudic* clans mostly originate from three regions: east of Kazan [Arsk], between Vjatka and Iževsk [Kalmez], from the Čepca [Vatka] catchment area and some of them from the Russian North (Atamanov 2001).

Another question is the boundary between stems and formants. Mullonen (personal communication) has found some of the cases problematic: e. g. *Ičal|ka* (GBO264), *Irel|ka* (AKiO64A3), *Ker|ec* (AKiO16G6), *Sin'|d|juk* (AKO19A2), *Šur|sa* (ARK96B1), *Voj|č|iha* (AKiO17V4), *Voža|tel'* (GBO268). Some of them could be explained differently as *Ireka* < **Ir|jeka*, but in Kirov oblast **jeka* 'river' is not probable and definitely not of Permic or Mari origin. Mullonen (personal communication) notes that the Russian suffix *-ka* is regularly connected with the stem directly after a consonant, not after a vowel. However, one should note that *-ka* may have been linked to originally Permic names during a bilingual period by originally Permian people. In that case, the regular rules of the Russian language may not always have worked. The origin of *Šursa* might be < Udm. **šures* 'way, pathway', wherein the second vowel disappeared and the Russian feminine *-a* was added to the end of the name. In any event, I prefer the Udmurt development *šur* 'watershed' + formant *-sa*, because it requires less explanation. If there is no good reason to think otherwise, I have followed the rule of thumb that "the easiest is the most probable". In some Mari and Udmurt dialects *j* ~ *d'* (e. g. Bartens 2000: 46) and in regular Udmurt and Komi, Fi *paju* ~ Udm./Ko. *bad'* (ibid. 2000:39). Accordingly, *Sin'djuk* could be explained as *šin|d'uk* 'spring river'. *Voža|tel'* can be interpreted as **Voža|tj|läj* 'branch lake river' (with Mordvin *läj* 'river') or *Vožat|jel* < **Vožat|jil*; **jil* 'upper source' (Atamanov 1988: 80). But one should remember that there is an Udmurt word *tël'* '(young) forest' (ibid. 1988: 66) that in my opinion seems more probable. One of my principles has been: If a hydronym cannot be interpreted to be of Russian, Mordvin, Meryan or Mari origin and the distribution together with the lexicon and the formant allow interpreting it as Permic, these factors determine the boundary between the stem and the formant.

3.3. Discussion

Stems of Permic hydronyms can be found in the eastern parts of the Vologda and Kostroma oblasts, as pointed out above. The westernmost boundary runs through the Vologda oblast, slightly east of the lakes Vože and Kubena to the south-east (Map 1). In fact, the names of both of these lakes are possibly, but not necessarily, of Proto-Permic origin, cf. Ko. *gībad* ‘marsh’ (Lytkin–Guljaev 1970 s. v. *звѣбад*) < PPerm. **gūb-* < **kump-* and PPerm. **vož* [LG] or *vož* [Cs] ‘branch’. The lake Kubena is surrounded by marshes and the Vože is one of the main crossroads to the north, south and east. However, it is possible to find other alternatives as well: for example < **kuβ(V)* ‘long’, ? originating from the language of *Veš* or some unknown Finno-Ugric *x*-language (see Rahkonen 2013: 35) spoken in ancient times in the northern Russian lakeland; cf. Mord. *kuva|ka* ‘long’. The origin of **vož(V)* can be Meryan or some local ancient Finno-Ugrian language which was spoken in the northern Russian lakeland. In Kostroma oblast, the boundary runs through the upper course of the river Kostroma to the south-east ending in the estuary of the Unža (Map 1). There are folk stories supporting the idea of a Permian population having lived by the river Unža (Ahlqvist 2001a: 240).

Almost all of the 29 stems of hydronyms that are presented above can be found in the Oka catchment area as well. Their location follows rather identically the boundary of the ethnonym *Meščëra* (see Map 1 above according to the data of GBO). Not only are plenty of Permic stems found in the Oka catchment area, but several Udmurt formants connected to the above-mentioned stems, too, such as: *-mes* ~ *-mas* > *-mis*, *-ur*, *-j̄m*, *-pa* ~ *-ba*, *-iĉ*, *-man*, **-si* > *-sa*, *-ĉi*, *-ma*, *-uj*, *-ma* and *-baš*. Thus, my claim (2009) that a Permic language was spoken in the Oka catchment area is very justified and by no means speculative.

According to Atamanov (1988: 80), the formant *-baš* originates from the Tatar language, which means that at least some of the Permic hydronyms are quite recent. However, it is possible that the formant *-baš* may sometimes have developed through a Meryan-Muroma adaptation from the Permic word ‘tail, upper course’: PPerm. **bōž* [LG] > Komi *bęž* ~ Udmurt *bjž*. In Yaroslavl oblast, such formants with irregular vocalization as *Vorgo|baš* (AJO106B1), *Im|buš|ka* (AJO76B4), *Ino|paš* (AJO47B3), *Ki|boža* (AJO71B4), *Ni|bož|ka* (AJO97B1), *Ule|pjš* (AJO87A1) are found. This irregularity may hint at a substrate origin.

There are stems which refer to a very early origin, probably to the era of the Anan'ino Culture in the early Iron Age. Such stems are e. g. *tojma-*, *iž-* and *sod-* which seem to be derived from Proto-Permic forms **tojma* 'neck of land' (Rahkonen according to the vocalization of E. Itkonen 1954) and **śōd* 'black' (Lytkin–Guljaev 1970 s. v. *cbōð*). *Tojma* and *Sod* hydronyms deviate from their modern descendants Udm. *tujmĭ* and Udm./Ko. *śed* 'black', which, through the Russian adaptation, usually has the form *ced-* [*sed-*]. The westernmost location of the *toj(ma)* and *sod* hydronyms is slightly west of most of the other Permic stems (Map 1). It is probable that *Iž(ma)* hydronyms < PPerm. **ęža* 'meadow' or **ęž* 'massive, broad', are very old as well.

4. Generics *-ju*, *-(j)uk* and *-(j)ug*

Matveev (1965: 211) has presented a hypothesis that the hydronyms with the generic *-juk* or *-jug(a)* in the eastern Vologda and Kostroma oblast and in Kirov oblast are of old Permic origin from the era of the Anan'ino Culture (ca. 800–300 BC). It seems that later he abandoned this hypothesis and presents that the origin of the formant is unsolved (ibid. 2001: 254). The basic problem is that usually the word **juka* or **joka* 'river' is reconstructed in Proto-Permic as **ju* (e. g. Lytkin–Guljaev 1970 s. v. **jo*). This suggests that the latter syllable already disappeared from the common proto-language. However, Matveev has pointed out that even in the Komi territory, some modern hydronyms with *-ju*, according to old documents, still had the form *-juga* in the 15th–17th centuries (Matveev 2001: 255).

The generic *-ju* is rare, practically non-existent, in Udmurt hydronyms. Instead, *-šur* 'river' is most often used in names of rivers (AUR). In Komi hydronyms the generic *-ju* is very usual (see Appendix). Noteworthy is that west of Komi Republic and Udmurtia the generic *-jug(a)* is found in a continuous and compact area in the eastern Vologda and Kostroma area and in the western Kirov oblast (Map 2).⁷ Below I call this area the "West Permian Territory" [WPT]. It is obvious that in European Russia the generic *-jug(a)* originates as judged by the stems and areal distribution at least from three different linguistic backgrounds: 1) Permic of WPT (see below), 2) Muroma (Rahkonen 2012: 38) and 3) northern unknown language especially in Arkhangelsk oblast (Saarikivi 2006: 30). All of them have been Uralic languages, but not very close relatives. These all can be derived from Proto-Uralic **jukā* 'river' as reconstructed by Sammallahti (1988: 537).

The generic *-jug(a)* is found to some extent in the peripheral areas of Komi [mostly in the western rajons, *Priluzkij*, *Udorskij*, *Ust'-Cilemskij* and *Ižemskij*] (Afanas'ev 1996, ARK) and Udmurtia [mostly in the *Kil'mez'* region] (AUR), and continuously in the hydronyms of the WPT area (Map 2). In the Komi Republic most of the official *-jug(a)* hydronyms also have a Komi form with *-jug(a)* (Afanas'ev 1996). There are some exceptions, such as *Loptjuga* (official) ~ *Lopi ju* (Komi) and *Južnaja Cep"juga* (official) ~ *Lun Čeb"ju* (Komi), both in Udorskij rajon. In some cases, old but later disappeared courses of rivers have provided names for villages, such as *Muft|juga* (official) < **Muk|tj|jug* ~ *Muk|tj* (Komi) [first mentioned in the year 1608 as being located in Udorskij rajon] (ibid.) even though nowadays no such river exists.

In WPT, the specifics of the *-jug* hydronyms can usually be derived from Permic languages. There are also several specifics whose etymological origin is opaque, as noted by Matveev (2001: 254), but this situation should be normal for toponyms everywhere. If the Permians were newcomers in WPT, they most probably used semi-calques to change several generics based on the previous language, but left many of the stems in use. This happens everywhere in such an occasion (e. g. Mullonen 2002: 105–139). For instance, the following specifics, probably of Permic origin, are found in WPT connected with the generic *-jug* (PPerm. reconstructions are Lytkin–Guljaev's from 1970):

An- < Ko./Udm. *an* < **an* 'jawbone' (Afanas'ev 1996: 21) || *Pol-* < Ko. *pol'* < **pól* 'old man'⁸ or Ko. *poloj* 'sound, intermediating river' (ibid. 1996: 126) || *Vož-* Ko. *vož* 'tributary', Udm. 'estuary' || *Voz-* < Udm. *vož* 'meadow' || *Je-* < Udm. *je*, Ko. *ji* 'ice' || *Ki* < Ko. *-ki* (ibid. 1996: 71), Udm. *ke* 'stone' || *Kort-* < Ko. *kert* (ibid. 1996: 79), Udm. *kort* 'iron' || *Kost-* < Ko. *kost* < PPerm. **kost* 'gap, middle' || *Kuz-* < Ko./Udm. *kuž* 'long' || *Pič-* < Udm. *piči* 'little' (ibid. 1996: 124) || *Paž-* < Udm. *pož*, Ko. *pež* 'dirty' || *Port-* < Ko. *pert* 'pot' || *Siv-* < unknown origin, but in Udmurtia one of the main rivers is called *Siva* || *Pun-* < Ko. *pun* 'fat' || *Pjž-* < Ko./Udm. *pjž* '(row)boat' || *Jur-* < Ko. *jur* 'upper source' || *Ver-* < Ko. *ver* 'forest' || *Kar-* < Ko./Udm. *kar* '(ancient) fortress' || *Koč-* < Udm. *kočo* 'magpie' or Ko. *keđž* 'bend of river' (ibid. 1996: 193) || *Lupt-* < Ko. *lep* : *lept* 'rubbish from woods' || *Mat-* < Ko. *mate* 'close, near' || *Mič-* < Ko. *mič* 'beautiful' (ibid. 1996: 105) || *Njur-* < Ko./Udm. *ňur* 'marsh' || *Puč-* < Udm. *puč* 'pole' || *Už-* < Ko./Udm. *už* 'stallion' || *Ač-* < PPerm. **ač* 'meadow' || *Murd-* < Udm. *murdo* 'fish trap' || *Vaz-* < Udm. *važ* 'spelt (wheat)' || *Sord-* < Ko. *šord* 'forest' || *Čir-* < Ko. *čir* 'species of fish'.⁹

Why in Komi and Udmurt was the development Proto-Finno-Permic [PFP] **juki* > ?Pre-Perm. **jug* > PPerm. and Komi/Udmurt *ju*, but in WPT **juki* > **jug*?¹⁰ Two different explanations may be suggested. It is possible that in Proto-Permic the word still was *jug* ‘river’ and *ju* was developed later simultaneously in Komi and in Udmurt. Actually the Proto-Permic reconstruction PFP **juki* > PPerm. **ju* do not lay on a firm ground, because the word *ju* in Udmurt occurs only in a compound word *ju-šur*, but not independently (Lytkin–Guljaev 1970 s. v. *ю*).

The previous idea of Matveev that these hydronyms originate from the Anan'ino period seems unlikely, because the specifics connected with the generic *-jug* seem to be in many cases too recent – not Proto-Permic. It is reasonable to think that a Permic language was spoken at least still in the late Middle Ages in WPT. In my opinion, there was a separate Permic linguistic group that could be called “West Permic”. It is probable that this population was called *зырян* [*zyryan*] by Russians, along with the Komi people. Matveev (2001: 69–70) has presented that in the Vaga catchment area, north of the river Sukhona, there is an area where the inhabitants of 30 villages are called *зырь* [*zyr*']. Permic hydronyms are found in that area as well (see Maps 1 and 2).

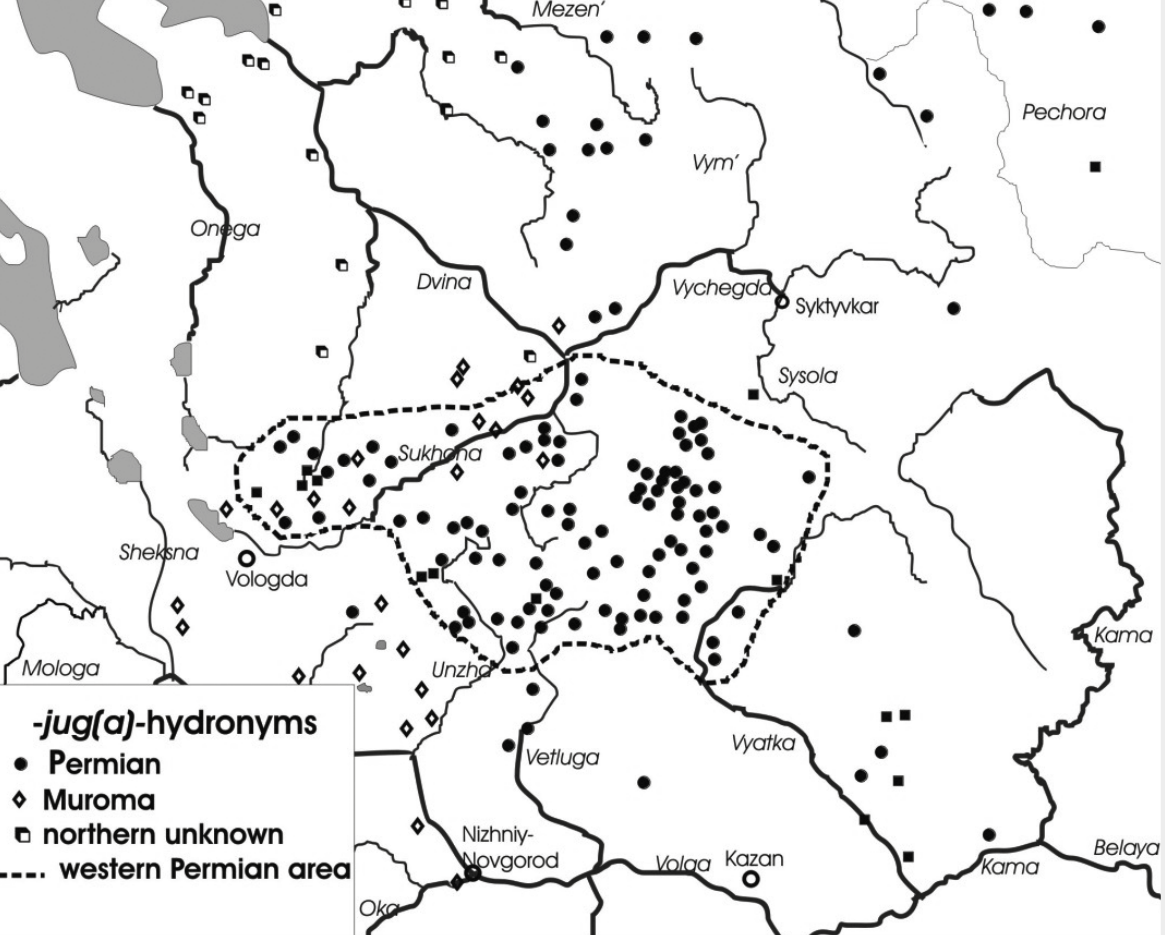
Sjögren (1861: 61) collected folk stories from the Kotlas area, which mention an ancient people known as *Gam* in WPT. Nowadays, there are villages called *Gam* located in the Ižemskij [1763] and Ust'-Vymskij [1586] rajons in the Republic of Komi (Afanas'ev 1996 s. v. *Гам*). The ethnonym *gam* could be derived from **kam* ~ *Komi*; cf. Csúcs' (2005) suggestion of PPerm. **komi* ‘man’. In that case, the ethnonym *gam* ~ ? *kam* was used as an endonym, but Slavs and Finnic tribes (Veps and Karelian) used the name *zyryan* ~ *syrjäni* equally with Komi ~ Zyryan. But at the same time, one should remember that the Permians living by the upper course of the river Unža were called Votyak, i. e. Udmurt (Ahlqvist 2001a: 240).

One should note that the “apostle” of the Komi people, Stefan Permskij (circa 1340–1396), was born in WPT in Velikij Ustjug (see here and below Fedotov 1991). He – or he along with his students – translated sacred texts into Permic and created the old Permic alphabet. In order to do all this he must have known the language very well. It has been suggested that his mother was Permian, coming from Velikij-Ustjug. As presented by Fedotov, it is most probable that Stefan learned the language in his childhood in Ustjug, having been bilingual. It is noteworthy that later he moved to Rostov and then to Moscow to study theology and

Greek language and created the *abur* alphabet when he was already in the monastery in the year 1372, at the age of around 32 years (Bartens 2000: 20)! On these grounds, it seems that Stefan would have been a native Permic speaker and that a Permic language was still spoken in the territory of Velikij-Ustjug at least in the late Middle Ages. Speakers of this West Permic language, or of a western Komi dialect spoken in WPT, seem to have preserved the archaic form **jug* in their speech or at least in their toponyms.

The question of the Permic origin of the *-jug* generics of the Oka catchment area is difficult to solve, because it is obvious that the Muroma language had a similar (in appearance) word *jug(a)* ‘river’ as well (Rahkonen 2012: 38). I did not analyse these any further, because the risk of making mistakes is too high. As stated above, several Permic stems of hydronyms are found in the Oka catchment area (most of the 29 common Permic stems presented above). It seems that the Permic language here was closer to Udmurt than Komi. There are some hydronyms which may reflect the ethnonym *Ud(-murt)*. These include *Ud* (GBO270), *Uda* (GBO187), and especially *Ud|va* (GBO241); cf. PPerm. **va* ‘water’, *Ud|evskoj* (GBO193), *Ud|ovo* (GBO233), and *Ud|ovskoj* (GBO105). I am aware that there is a Russian word *yda* [*uda*] ‘hook and line’, which is a very suitable motif for naming as well. However, in Marij El and in the eastern corners of Kostroma and Vologda oblasts, the ethnonym *odo* ‘Udmurt’ is found without the latter element of the ethnonym *murt* (Atamanov 1988: 10–11; 2010: 65, Map). This fact makes it very possible that the ethnonym *Ud(-murt)* < Proto-Udmurt **od* (SSA III s. v. *votjakk*) was known in the Oka catchment area, too.

It should be noted that a number of hydronyms with the Permic generic *-va* ‘water’ are found in the Oka catchment area; e. g. *Kalja|va* (GBO219) ‘gull water’, *Kuzo|va* (GBO105) ‘long water’, *Mura|va* (GBO236) ‘deep water’, *Piža|v|ka* < **Piža|va* ‘rowboat water’ (GBO236), *Pož|va* (GBO186) ‘muddy water’, *Ud|va* (GBO241) ‘ud-murt water’ and *Ur|va* (GBO191) ‘squirrel water’. Also possible is a Permic adaptation *Mosk|va* (GBO102) < from Meryan-Muroma **Moksa*; cf. Permic development **-ks* > *sk* (Lytkin–Guljaev 1970: 21). Corresponding *Moksa* hydronyms are found on the border of Vologda and Yaroslavl oblast (AJO22B2), and *Moksa* (AKO109B2) is also found in the Kostroma oblast in the traditional Meryan territory. It is possible that both *Moksa* and *Mokša* are composed of two elements **mo* ‘land’ and the formant *-ksa* or *-kša*. The



Map 2: Distribution of hydronyms with the ending *-jug(a)*

fact that in the Meryan-Muroma language historical **a > *o* (Rahkonen 2012: 17) makes this hypothesis phonetically possible [**ma > *mo*]. Both the Mokša and the Mosk|va < ? **Moksa-va* were important transition rivers between the Oka-Sura and Oka-Volga systems, and the transition ran over a neck of land. Therefore, the motif “Land River” is most suitable.

5. Conclusions

The more western spread of ancient Permic hydronyms compared with earlier studies (A. K. Matveev 1965; 1999; L. N. Žerebcov 1982: 26–40, N. D. Kabinina 2011 and A. Turkin 1971: 277–283; Atamanov 2010) seems obvious in the light of hydronyms. Most probably, Permian groups were living in the past in almost all of the catchment areas of the Sukhona and Unža. This can be seen in the spread of the 29 selected stems of hydronyms (Map 1) and the hydronyms with a Permic stem attached with the generic *-jug(a)* (Map 2). The word *jug* ‘river’ seems to have still been in use in the north-western Permic language (or Komi dialect) during the Middle Ages. This fact also makes us reconsider whether the word **ju* already existed in every dialect of Proto-Permic, as has usually been presented (Lytkin–Guljaev 1970; Sammallahti 1988; Csúcs 2005), or if the more archaic form **jug* survived in the north-western dialects. In addition, the ethnomym *zyr*’ (< **Zyrjan*) is used to refer to inhabitants of approximately 30 villages in the Vaga catchment area slightly north of the river Sukhona. The biography of Stefan Permskij, the founder of the old Permic alphabet, who was born in Velikij Ust-Jug, shows that a Permic language was most probably still spoken by the river Sukhona in the late Middle Ages. The folk stories from the Kotlas area (in the Lower Sukhona), which were collected by Sjögren in the 19th century and which mention an ancient ethnos *gam* that can be interpreted as **komi*, may provide proof of an ancient Komi inhabitation in the lower course of the Sukhona. The more western location of Permic speakers makes the linguistic contacts and borrowings with Finnic speakers even more understandable than what has been assumed until now.

The question of whether the language of the Meščëra tribe by the lower and middle course of the river Oka was Permic is rather clear in the light of the presented material of 29 common Permic stems of hydronyms and several Udmurt formants. In addition, there are some hydronyms which seem to be based on the ethnonym *ud-*; cf. *Ud-(murt)*. Critics should point out what else, if not Permic, the linguistic background of the Meščëra tribe could be and not only present their doubts. The Permic alternative based on hydronyms is better justified than any other suggestion posited up until now.

Pauli Rahkonen

<pauli.rahkonen@gmail.com>

Notes

1. The words of the song translated into English are: “Čeremises (i. e. Maris) and Vot-yaks (Udmurts) were fishing in the river, in the river and the mother (i. e. the river Unža), they were good-looking young men”.
2. A formant is a final element in a name which may be derived from a derivational suffix or in many cases modified generic of a toponym. For instance the formant *-ga* in the names of rivers often represent the word (generic) **joga* or **juga* ‘river’ (Matveev 2001: 249–256; Saarikivi 2006: 30). The final element *-m-*, in turn, is a common suffix in Finno-Ugrian languages often occurring in an aspect of a formant.
3. Finno-Ugrian hydronyms usually consist of two elements, for instance *Valkeajärvi* ‘White Lake’ in Finnish, where *valkea* (white) is a specific and *järvi* (lake) is a generic.
4. In a bilingual situation, a new prestige language tends to replace the former generic of the receding language with its own word (e. g. *ozero* in Russian), see e. g. Mülönd 2002: 105–139.
5. Voronceva and Galkin (2002: 337) present an idea that the hydronym *Unčo~Unža~Unžinka* is derived from Selkup *undža* ‘brook’. A Selkup origin is impossible to accept, but it is possible that there has been a corresponding word in some ancient Uralic language. The word has possibly been lost in other languages, according to the distribution most probably in the Permian languages.
6. In Nižnij-Novgorod oblast, the names after hydronyms refer to the closest center of an administrative district.
7. Usually, after a sibilant and affricate *-jug(a) > -ug(a)*.
8. In Finnish toponyms, the corresponding specific *äijä(n)-* ‘old man(s)’ is rather usual (NA).
9. There are such possibilities as PFP **pečä* > **püž(em)* > Udm. *pužim* and Ko. *požem* ~ Fi. *petäjä* (see Sammallahti 1988: 553) ‘pine’ > *pž* in toponyms and PFP **puč-ki* ~ Fi. *putki* ‘hollow stem’ (ibid. 1988: 539) > *puč-*.
10. The final *a* is probably a later Russian feminine marker.

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Appendix

-ju

Udmurtia: V'ju AUR19A3, Ju|šur AUR13G5

Komi: An"ju ARK81B4, Anjblju 88B1, An'ju 81B4, Bad'ju ARK55V6, 25B6, 98B3, Balban"ju ARK43B6, Bol. Vežalju ARK52V2, Bol. Kejn"ju ARK25V7, Bol. Kozlalju ARK41B8, Bol. Lem"ju ARK85G4, Bol. Mičalju ARK41G5, Bol. Niedz'ju 19D7, Bol. Pjatombojju ARK19V6, Bol. Sed'ju ARK51B7, Bol. Sojlju ARK61B6, Bol. Hojla|ju 19G8, Bol. Čiv'ju ARK75G5, Bol. Jarzilju ARK18B4, Vangir"ju ARK42G3, Van'ju ARK17G4, Ved'ju ARK71A5, Vežalju ARK49V8, 31G7, 90V2, 56V1, Vež"ju ARK80G2, Vez"ju ARK71G4, Vel'ju ARK60G4, Ven'ju ARK49V8, Verh. Vidz'ju ARK44V1, Verh. Kır"ju ARK71V5, Verh. Mjrt'ju ARK96A2, Verh. Džëljalju ARK28G2, Verh. Kus'ju ARK94V2, Verh. Lèn"ju ARK46B1, Verh. Moš"ju ARK38B3, Verh. Sejlju ARK47V6, Verh. Sjuz'ju ARK45G6, Verh. Turun"ju ARK106V3, Ver'ju ARK90V2, 85A5, Vet'ju ARK68B2, Vidz'ju ARK104B2, 38V2, 106B2, Vlasejlju ARK40A2, Vozejlju ARK16G2, Von"ju ARK55G6, Vor'ju ARK96G3, Vjliš-Kojlju ARK46V3, Vj'l'ju ARK42A2, 33V6, V'ju ARK79B6, Véralju ARK42G4, Vër"ju ARK98V1, Gaz'ju ARK68V3, Gerd'ju ARK62A2, Glaz'ju ARK69B4, Gnet'ju ARK13V7, Gnilaja Uv'ju ARK51A5, Grubelju ARK27V7, 28G1, 19D7, Gudir"ju ARK40G2, Gèrd"ju ARK42G3, Džëlja-Kos'ju ARK46G2, Džëlja-Tj|ju ARK54B3, Din"ju ARK61A6, Dod"ju ARK68B3, Jengalju ARK20V4, Jën"ju ARK77V5, Jës"ju ARK73A4, Žežim"ju ARK89G5, Zulëb"ju ARK79V4, Zër"ju ARK38V3, Idzjas"ju ARK51B5, Izpjred'ju ARK92B2, Iz"jakır"ju ARK20V2, Iz"ja|ju ARK26G2, Izjas"ju ARK67V6, Isak-Ju ARK17V8, Ičet'ju ARK100B1, Jovs'ju ARK48A4, Jr"ju 67B5, Kart'ju ARK93V4, Kebila|ju ARK19G7, Kerkalju ARK93D4, Ker"ju ARK50B1, Kizes'ju ARK84V3, Kipievalju ARK24G1, Kijalju ARK85V5, Kožimlju ARK62G3, Kozlalju ARK61A7, Kol'ju ARK110G2, Komalju ARK26V3, Kos'ju ARK49B7, 51V5, 81V5, 62G2, 51A5, 60A4, 26B4, Kuž"ju ARK89V3, Kuzob"ju ARK88B2, Kuk"ju ARK103B4, Kulom"ju ARK89G4, Kunes"ju ARK82A2, Kïdz'ras"ju ARK24G3, 42B2, Kïdrim"ju ARK40V3, Kjleg"ju ARK84B2, Kjn'bož"ju ARK26V2, Kjrnış'ju ARK47B6, Kır"ju ARK71V6, Kjčan'ju ARK70V2, Këstuglju ARK40A2, Lagortalju ARK20G1, Levaja Kjrnış'ju ARK47B6, Levaja Sjuz'ju ARK54A1, Levij Vožkos'ju ARK42B4, Levij Grubelju ARK27V8, Lëk-Vez"ju ARK78A4, Lëk"ju ARK24G4, 27A6, Lem"ju ARK77B5, 85V4, 61B6, Lenalju ARK61A5, Limbehalju ARK27G5, Lop"ju ARK102A2, 92A3, 98G2, 79B6, Malaja Vežalju ARK52V3, Malaja Kos'ju ARK62G2, Malaja Niedz'ju ARK19D4, Malaja Pjvsjan"ju ARK51B5, Malaja Pjatombojju ARK19V5, Malaja Sojlju ARK61V5, Malaja Hal'mer"ju ARK13V5, Malaja Hojla|ju ARK19G8, Malaja Čiv'ju ARK75G5, Malaja

Zarzlju ARK18B4, Malvalju ARK17G6, Malij Kejn'lju ARK25B7, Mart'lju ARK96A2, Matkin'lju ARK61B7, Mes'lju ARK57V4, Mikit'lju ARK18G4, Mičalju ARK60B4. Moš'lju ARK38B3, Mur'lju ARK67V6, Mjrti'lju ARK96B3, Nalimalju ARK43G8, Nėb'lju ARK86B2, Nerim'lju ARK92A4, Nerkalju ARK43B8, Ner'lju ARK27A7, Nialju ARK34V3, Niv'lju ARK51V6, Nižnij Vidz'lju ARK44V1, Nižnij Kjr'lju ARK71V6, Nižnjaja Vidz'ėlju ARK38V1, Nižnjaja Kuz'lju ARK94B2, Nižnjaja Lėn'lju ARK46B1, Nižnjaja Sejlju ARK47B5, Nijhabar'lju ARK15V5, Nikita-Sotčem'lju ARK47A4, Nikon'lju ARK26A6, Nijalju ARK20A3, Nov'lju ARK65A6, Njv'lju 1–2 ARK56G3, Njur'lju ARK93D4, Njan'vorgalju ARK28G3, Njar'lju ARK55A5, Od'lju ARK79B6, Ordalju ARK25D5, Oč'lju ARK46B2, Pal'nik-Ju ARK19D6, 18V4, Pal'lju ARK91V6, Parnokalju ARK27G7, Parč'lju ARK102B2, Pev'lju ARK75B4, Pernijlju ARK35B5, Peris'lju ARK60A2, Peš'lju ARK106G3, Piv'lju ARK99A4, Pok'lju ARK51A8, Ponan'lju ARK87B3, Pon'lju ARK40A1, Pon'lju ARK55G4, Pon'lju ARK25V4, Poskalju ARK24D1, Pot'lju ARK72V2, Pot'jalju ARK85V6, Potėm'lju ARK42G4, Pravaja Oč'lju ARK46B1, Kjn'božlju ARK26V2, Puris'lju ARK69B4, Pivsjan'lju ARK51B5, Pjł'lju ARK50G3, Pitjr'lju ARK51G6, Ras'lju ARK71V6, 72V1, 91V5, Ruč'lju ARK88V1, 18G4, 19G5, Saljukulju ARK17G6, Sar'lju ARK31G8, 92A1, Severnaja Pes'lju ARK50A4, Sev'lju ARK86G1, Sed'lju ARK90V2, 59B5, 98B3, 25V7, 42V3, Semėm'lju ARK43B8, Sert'lju ARK104B2, Ser'lju ARK104B2, Sop'lju ARK75G4, Sord'lju 68G2, Srednjaja Kuz'jug ARK94B2, Srednjaja Moš'lju ARK38B2, Srednjaja Sejlju ARK47V5, Staraja Piv'ju ARK100B1, Sjv'lju ARK26G4, 79A6, Sjđbar'lju ARK84B3, Sjs'lju ARK103B4, Sjuz'lju ARK54V3, Tablikalju ARK26V1, Tab'lju ARK6A11, Tal'malju ARK12V4, Tan'lju ARK20G1, Tar'lju ARK17G7, Taš'lju ARK85V5, Tes'lju ARK52B1, Tojlju ARK56V2, Turun'lju ARK107V4, Tjbad'lju ARK84B3, Tjėb'lju ARK70G2, 105G4, Tjłalju ARK96A1, Tjrbjł'lju ARK42B3, Tjłju ARK60B2, 40B3, Uvlju ARK51A5, Uip'lju ARK50A2, Uk'lju ARK63a1, Ułis-Kojlju ARK47V3, Ul'lju ARK41B5, Hajmalju ARK28G2, Hal'mer'lju ARK12B3, 13V5, 43V7, Hambod'lju ARK27G5, Hambol'lju ARK43A5, Harutalju ARK17G7, Hasejlju ARK15G8, Hinovejlju ARK19B6, Hobelju ARK43V6, Hosedalju ARK17G7, Hjł'čulju ARK6A6, Čaž'lju ARK50B3, Čarkalju ARK24G1, Čeb'lju ARK85G4, Čev'lju ARK87B5, 83G6, Čed'lju ARK50A4, Čib'lju ARK54G3, Čilju ARK51V5, Čub'lju ARK79G5, Čud'lju ARK90G2, Šad'lju ARK80V3, Šar'lju ARK26B1, Šežim'lju ARK92B3, Šer'lju ARK35B6, Idzid An'lju ARK92B2, Idzid Tjłju ARK54B3, Ėž'jes'lju ARK87V5, Ėndjju ARK84A3, Ėntjuš'lju ARK41V6, Južnaja Pes'lju ARK50A4, Južnaja Jag'lju ARK85B4, Jukov'lju ARK29V4, Jag'lju ARK85B5, Jajljju ARK20V2, Jan'lju ARK26G1, Jarakutalju ARK25B7, Jaraš'lju ARK90G1

-juk

Alla|uk AUR38B1, V|juk AUR18B1, Sjurs|juk AUR17B2, Uz|juk AUR32V1
Parn|uk ARK43V5, Juk ARK105B5
Kil|juk; Bol. & Mal. AVO40B2, Jers|juk AVO65G5, Ki|juk AVO40B2, Moll|juk AVO38G2
Verh. Miln|juk AKO35A2, Niž. Mil'n|juk AKO35B2
Ir|juk AKiO66V1, Mell|juk|ova AKiO27B5, Uz|juk AKiO67G5

-jug(a)

Udmurtia: V|jug AUR24G2, Novaja Bond|juga AUR40B1

Komi: Aš|juga ARK30B4, Bol. Lopt|juga ARK 50G3, Bol. Sar"|juga 26V3, Vad|juga ARK64A2, Važ|juga ARK65V5, Vaz|jug ARK112B2, Jež|juga 29V1, Zīrjanskaja Jet|juga 48A3, Kuz|jug ARK112G1, Kīr"|juga ARK25G4, Lap"|juga ARK35B6, Lat"|juga ARK30D2, Lel|jug ARK109A4, Lopt|jug ARK65A7, Lopt|juga ARK49G6, Malaja Sar"|juga ARK26V4, Moš"|juga 39B3, Muft|juga ARK49A5, Pav"|juga ARK31G6, Reml|juga ARK48G3, Severnaja Cep|juga ARK49A5, Čir|jug ARK108B1, Šarl|jug ARK112V1, Šell|jug 108B1, Jug ARK102D2, Južnaja Ceb|juga ARK49B5, Sokskij Vaz|jug AKiO16B1

Vologda: Anjug AVO66G1, Bol. & Mal. Pol|jug AVO64A1, Jug; Bol. AVO74V2, Boht|juga AVO39V5, Vožduga AVO41V5, Voz|jug AVO 66B2, Vonž|juga AVO25B4, Jel|jug AVO65B6, Imz|jug AVO67B5, Kalč|jug AVO27A6, Kamč|juga AVO42V3, Kač|jug AVO47G5, Kirč|juga AVO46V3, Kič|juga AVO25G5, Kič|juga AVO23G5, Kič|juga AVO47B4, Kič|juga AVO61B5, Kil|juga AVO17A6, Kol'duga AVO75V5, Kont|jug AVO47V5, Kort|juga AVO23V5, Kost|juga AVO40A2, Kuz|jug AVO67B5, Lant|jug AVO66B2, Levaja Kič|juga AVO45V5, Miz|juga AVO80A3, Mit|jug AVO65G4, Mit|jug AVO84A3, Nimč|jug AVO46V2, Paž|juga AVO63B6, Pajdug AVO47G4, Pert|juga AVO60G3, Pič|jug 67B4, Pojduga AVO40V2, Polevoj Siv|jug 83B4, Punduga AVO37V5, Piž|jug AVO47G6, Severnij Kalč|jug AVO28A3, Sivč|juga 20A2, Užunduk AVO37V4, Uft|juga AVO44A2, Uft|juga AVO21G4, Uft|juga 57A4, Šenč|juga AVO18A2, Šefč|juga AVO40B3, Jurl|juga 21V5

Kostroma: Bol. Kort|jug AKO20B3, Bol. Kuzjug AKO43A2, Bol. Par|jug AKO8A3, Bol. & Mal. Pert|jug AKO7B2, Bol. Šort|jug AKO95A2, Verč|juga AKO105B1, Vett|juga 141A2, Kal|jug AKO47B3, Kar|jug AKO7B2, Kas|jug AKO113A1, Kon|jug AKO39A2, Kort|jug 21A3, Koč|juga AKO157A2, Kuz|jug AKO43B2, Lavd|jug AKO62A3, Lupt|jug AKO71B3, Mal. Kort|jug AKO44B1, Mal. Par|jug AKO22A2, Mal. Sol|jug AKO60B1, Mat|jug AKO8B3, Mič|jug AKO40A1, Nor|jug AKO47A1, Nočnoj Port|jug AKO64A2, Njurl|jug AKO22A3,

The Western Spread of Permic Hydronyms

Njur|jug AKO91B2, *Peč|uga* AKO99B3, *Pič|uga* AKO78A1, *Port|jug* AKO63B1, *Puč|uga* AKO60B2, *Pjšč|ug* AKO, *Rjund|jug* AKO70B2, *Sond|juga* AKO109A3, *Suh. Kall|jug* AKO71A2, *Tolšč|uga* AKO33B2, *Už|uga* AKO61A1, *Šort|jug* AKO70A3, *Jug* AKO173A1.

Kirov: *Ač|ug* AKiO23B5, *Bol. Murd|jug* AKiO35B5, *Bol. Nor|jug* AKiO22V3, *Bol. & Mal. Njur|jug* AKO96B2–3, *Bol. Šel|jug* AKiO15A5, *Bol. Šil|jug* AKiO13V5, *Vaz|jug* AKiO15B7, *Verl|jug* AKiO15B5, *Sev. Par|jug* AKO9A2, *Kič|ug* AKiO13D5, *Kuz|jug* AKiO15V6, *Lapt|jug* AKiO22V3, *Lond|jug* AKiO26B2, *Mat|jug* AKiO24V1, *Mat|jug* AKiO24G1, *Mat|juga* AKiO53V5, *Murd|jug* AKiO35V5, *Nor|jug* AKiO14G4, *Par|jug* AKiO24V2, *Pin|jug* AKiO13D5, *Sord|uk* AKiOV4, *Sorm|uk* AKiO59B4, *Staraja Pin|juga* AKiO16G2, *Han|jug* AKiO13V4, *Čir|jug* AKiO13D6, *Čurm|ug* AKiO40G1, *Šel|jug* AKiO13G5, *Šubr|jug Severnij* AKiO15V6, *Šubr|jug* AKiO15G6

Nižnij-Novgorod: *Koll|juga* AKO121A2, *Piž|ug* N12, *Setč|uga* N4, *Jug* N45

Arkhangel: *Jell|juga* V6, *Kid|juga* V9, *Puht|juga* B6, *Sivčuga* G7, *Uft|juga* G7, *Uft|juga* V11, *Vajm|uga* A5, *Ver|juga* V8, *Voll|juga* V8, *Jel|juga* G5, *Jer|juga* V4, *Jež|uga* G5, *Jež|juga* V4, *Jež|juga Zirjanskaja* G6, *Loft|juga* V5, *Mud|juga* G3, *Nemn|juga* V4, *Ner|juga* V5, *Oš|uga* V5, *Ot|juga* V4, *Urz|uga*; *Bol. & Mal. G2.*

The varieties of the modern Udmurt language

The present paper classifies and describes the main linguistic varieties of the modern Udmurt language across the community of speakers and gives some examples of their linguistic specificities. The study takes a particular look at the vernacular and standard language varieties. The first section defines the main terms and notions that are employed in the article. In the second part, the sources of the study including the empirical data are briefly described. The third section is devoted to the description of the linguistic features of the main varieties. The last part consists of a conclusion.

1. Introduction
2. Research material
3. Language varieties and general styles
 - 3.1. Vernacular varieties
 - 3.1.1. Local vernaculars
 - 3.1.2. Cross-local vernaculars
 - 3.2. The standard variety
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 - 3.2.3. Spoken language approximated to standard language
4. Conclusions

I. Introduction

Languages are constantly in a state of change and, in the contemporary environment, many of them face serious challenges to survival. To understand language change, maintenance and loss, we must seek further knowledge regarding the functioning of languages in modern societies. This study of language variation in Udmurt offers a contribution to such an investigation.

Today there are a vast number of studies on dialect variation in the Udmurt language. Since not all local language varieties have been studied thus far, this remains a leading focus of research in traditional linguistics. Most of the modern descriptive studies are made based on material representing the standard form or “high language”, particularly literary texts. There are also a very few surveys of mass-media language style. Furthermore, one rarely comes across studies examining the usage and vari-

ation of these language forms, cases of shifting from one style or dialect to another, etc. When describing Udmurt, it is clear that some grammatical constructions or words appear only in the “high language” and exist mainly in the written form. At the same time, real-world colloquial language forms no longer represent pure dialects, but there is a rich mixture of dialect and standard forms, and an enormous number of loans from Russian, including code mixing. The investigation of language varieties is an especially timely enterprise, since language varieties of Udmurt differ in a great sense in linguistic expression, communicative functions and social significance. A similar linguistic situation can be observed among other minorities with a similar sociocultural environment and linguistic tradition, in particular among the minority Finno-Ugrian languages. Most of the speakers of these languages are bilinguals under the domination of the Russian language; most of them have fairly recently formed literary standards and use a dialect as their vernacular variety, while the standard language exists only in written form. Most of these languages are in danger of disappearing.

The chief objective of the present paper is to define the main social language varieties used by the Udmurts in everyday life, and to describe the main linguistic features of these varieties. The study also tries to answer questions such as what kind of language the Udmurt people use in real-world contexts and what kind of conditions influence such language use.

Some linguists call any kind of language variety a *dialect* and define it as “any variety of a language which is shared by a group of speakers” (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998: 2; Myers-Scotton 2006, etc.). Other researchers call such variation a language difference, language variety or language variation; sometimes it can be also defined as a style (Patrick 2011). Thus, they distinguish between, for example, standard and vernacular dialects. However, in the present study, I use the term *dialect* in its traditional sense and refer to a language variety of a group from a concrete linguistic area. In the paper, I define standard and vernacular as two main language varieties and call them *language varieties* or *languages*. These language varieties can be investigated from the perspective of stylistics, domains of language usage or registers and forms used, e. g. written and spoken forms. The present study focuses mostly on the stylistic aspect and language form, namely what kind of general styles appear in standard and vernacular varieties, in oral and written forms, and what linguistic specificities they have.

The present article is a part of a more comprehensive research venture on language change and maintenance of the Udmurt language being carried out in the framework of the research project “Empowerment and revitalization trends among the linguistic minorities in the European Union and the Russian Federation” (University of Helsinki, Finno-Ugrian languages).

All examples are given according to the traditional transcription (e. g. as presented by Kel'makov & Hännikäinen 1999: 13).

2. Research material

The study is based on an analysis of written and spoken language material. Some examples of the vernacular variety come from data collected by the author during fieldwork in the Udmurt Republic in March 2011. Most of the dialectal text collections that exist today represent narrations by elderly people. Older informants are traditionally considered a source capable of reproducing the “purest” dialect features. However, this kind of material alone does not accurately reflect real language use, because also younger generations use the language. Furthermore, the genre of narratives demands specific linguistic and discourse structures, and differs, for example, from the structure of dialogues. Therefore, the purpose of this study is primarily to define the properties of “living” or real spoken language.

Examples from the magazine *Invožo* and the newspaper *Udmurt Duńne*, and transcripts from the television and radio channel *Moja Udmurtia* illustrate the standard language variety.

3. Language varieties and general styles

The most significant linguistic difference may be observed between standard and vernacular varieties of the modern Udmurt language. This can be explained by diglossia between standard and vernacular forms. Such diglossia is connected with the written and spoken traditions of the language. Such dimensions in Udmurt are conditioned by the historical maturation of these forms. A standard variety for Udmurt arose only a short time ago, and in fact, this appeared as a written form, which was not finally established until the beginning of the 20th century. Even today, the standard variety exists mainly in written form. Since the distribution and usage of the standard form have been and continue to be limited, it significantly

differs from spoken styles, and knowledge of it among the Udmurts varies a great deal.

Furthermore, the empirical data demonstrates that the vernacular spoken nowadays by the Udmurts may be used in two main dimensions which differ linguistically from one another: as a local or dialect vernacular and as a cross-local vernacular. In the former case, features of a particular dialect appear, while in the latter case, features of mixed dialect and standard forms are typical. The standard form varies as well. An analysis of existing written material leads to the conclusion that carefully composed texts, including literary works, can be distinguished from the texts produced by the mass media. Of course, different genres require different styles or different language, but Udmurt has a recently established literary tradition, and knowledge of the language varies from one author to another, while the quality of written texts also varies greatly. Therefore, from this perspective the main factor in classifying a language variety or style classification is not the text genre, but the conditions under which the text was produced. In particular, when an author produces his or her own text, he or she has more linguistic freedom, but in mass-media discourse, a writer is influenced by linguistic clichés and models, especially if using original sources in Russian. Finally, the standard language remains an acquired language, not a native one, and therefore it is more difficult to use it in a spoken form. Therefore, spoken standard language also has its own linguistic specificities.

1. Vernacular variety
 - a. local vernaculars
 - b. cross-local vernaculars
2. Standard variety
 - a. carefully composed texts
 - b. texts produced by mass-media sources
 - c. spoken language that approximates the standard form

This classification may be seen as universal, applying also to languages whose situation is similar to that of Udmurt, i. e. minority languages spoken by bilingual populations with more recent literary traditions. In particular, it can be applied to Finno-Ugrian minority languages from Russia and Europe.

3.1. Vernacular varieties

3.1.1. Local vernaculars

Most vernacular varieties are based on the dialects acquired by the Udmurts as a native language. Udmurt dialects show great variation, conditioned by contact-induced change and internal developments. In particular, the Northern dialects have been influenced by Russian from an earlier date than Southern dialects. The Southern dialects were formed under the influence of Tatar. The Middle dialects combine the features of the Northern and the Southern dialects but also have their own peculiarities. The Periphery dialects are spoken by Udmurts living in the diaspora outside of the Udmurt Republic, and vary according to the languages with which they are in contact. The Besserman language that is spoken in some villages in Northern and to a lesser degree in Middle Udmurtia is also treated as an Udmurt dialect, although the Bessermans have recently been recognized as an independent ethnicity with their own language.

The dialects exhibit an extremely rich linguistic diversity, especially on the lexical level. For instance, according to the Atlas of Udmurt Dialects (Nasibuľ'ın 2009: 205), the expression *ladybug* is encoded using 124 lexemes across the area in which the language is spoken. The dialects vary at all levels. On the phonetic level, some Periphery dialects possess more vowels than other dialects, but some of them lack affricates common in other dialects. There is quite a large variation in the lexicon, e.g. Southern *ukšo* and Northern, Mid. *końdon* 'money'; Southern *kisj* and Northern *žep*, Mid. *korman* 'pocket'; Southern *izini* and Northern, Mid. *keľini* 'to sleep'; Southern *kiriń* and Mid. *pedlon* 'outside', etc. Different suffixes can mark the same grammatical categories across different dialects. For example, the plural accusative is expressed by the marker *-iz* in the Southern dialects as in (1a), while in the Middle and North dialects the variant *-tj* is used, cf. (1b).

- (1) a. *ažži-ško* *korka-os-iz*
 b. *ažži-ško* *korka-os-tj*
 see-PRS-1SG house-PL-ACC
 'I see houses.'

Probably the most common variation in the morphology involves phonetic nuances in suffixes, e. g. usage of different vowels, and other modifications. For example, in the Southern and Northern dialects, as well as in the standard language, the present tense marker of some verbs in the 1st and 2nd persons is *-(i)ško-* (as in 2a), but in the Middle dialects it is common to use the short form *-ko-* (2b).

- (2) a. *mīni-ško-d*
 b. *mīn-ko-d*
 GO-PRS-2PL
 'You go.'

The dialects also differ on the level of morphosyntax. They may use different morphosyntactic constructions, e. g. in the Southern variant the synthetic method is employed for the negative form of the second preterite, as in (3a), while in the Northern variant an analytic method is used, cf. (3b).

- (3) a. *so vera-mte-jez*
 (s)he say-2PRT.NEG-3SG
 b. *so evel vera-m*
 (s)he NEG say-2PRT
 'Apparently (s)he didn't say.'

The Udmurt dialects are currently undergoing changes and taking on new features. They are particularly influenced by the standard language, while each particular small community shows different processes of change caused e. g. by interference from Russian or other motivations. Thus, the language of younger speakers in local communities may represent different features than that of the older generation. As a rule, the specific phonetic qualities of a dialect yield more easily to changes than morphological qualities. For example, the Middle dialect shows a distinctive phonetic phenomenon of affrication (the presence of extra affricates in medial and word-final positions), e. g. *žažeg* for standard *žažeg* 'goose', *žužit* for standard *žužit* 'high; tall'. However, the younger people and even older generations among my informants from the village of Porozovo, under the influence of standard forms, use the common or standard variant without an additional affricate in these cases, while in the vernacular of their grandparents the dialectal variant remains sporadically attested. However, all

generations in this village continue to regularly use the short variant of the present tense marker *ko*, while the standard long form appears more rarely. My fieldwork data also demonstrates that some people in Porozovo use the lexeme *kil* for ‘tongue (body part)’, but when they are speaking of language as an abstract notion, they use the Russian loan *jazik*.

In example (4), I (indicated by A) speak with a 24-year-old male informant (B) from Porozovo village about his military service. He studied Udmurt in school until the 9th year and has an intermediate or even poor knowledge of the standard language.

- (4) A. *iževsk-ijn se keřna vož-i-zj?*
 Iževsk-INE then how.much keep-1PRT-3PL
 ‘How long did they keep you in Izhevsk?’
- B. *iževsk-ijn mi-ľemdjs vož-i-zj sbor-ijn kuin nunal*
 Iževsk-INE 1PL-ACC keep-1PRT-3PL muster-INE three day
kin-e kičči nuni šusa. obrazovańi-z-es
 who-ACC where bring.INF CONJ education-3-ACC.PL
jua-zj, fižičeski podgotovlennost-ez esker-i-zj
 ask-1PRT.3PL physical readiness-ACC exam-1PRT-3PL
i oži raspređelit kar-i-zj, kin-e kičči nuni.
 and this.way assign.INF do-1PRT-3PL who-ACC where bring.INF
 ‘They kept us mustered for three days in Izhevsk to assign us places. They asked about education; they examined **physical readiness**, and this way they **assigned** who to send where.’
- A. *to jeř ačid ton ud-a vibratfi-šk-i,*
 that.it yourself 2SG NEG.PRS.2-INTR choose-PRS-SG
kičči mjin-ono?
 where go-PRTC
 ‘**That means** you don’t **choose** where to go yourself?’
- B. *vibratfi-ško-d, no, naprimer, pot-e val*
 choose-PRS-2SG but for.example go.out-PRS.3SG AUX.1PRT
specnaz-e, no mjin-am rost-e ug
 special.forces-ILL but 1SG-GEN height-1SG NEG.PRS.3
okm-i val. meńše šu tamjston-leš iči,
 suffice-SG AUX.1PRT few.CMP hundred eighty-ABL few
pe, ađami lunj evel kule.
 they.say human be.INF NEG need
 ‘You do **choose**, **but**, **for example**, I wanted to go to a **special forces unit**, **but** I did not have enough **height**. A person [human] should be no shorter **than** ... one hundred eighty, they say.’

- A. *a tɨn-ad kɨče rost-ed?*
 and 2SG-GEN what height-2SG
 ‘And what is your **height**?’
- B. *a mɨn-am sto šemšat evel-ges. celij*
 and 1SG-GEN hundred seventy NEG-CMP whole
das sańtimetra ug okmɨ val.
 ten centimeter NEG.PRS.3 suffice.SG AUX.1PRT.
 ‘And my [height] is less than one **hundred seventy**. I missed
 it by **around** ten **centimeters**.’ (Fieldwork data)

In this example, the informant exhibits typical dialect features, e. g. dialectal words such as *iči* ‘few’ versus standard *ežit*; *okmɨni* ‘to suffice’ versus standard *tɨrmɨni*; *se* ‘than’ versus standard *sobere*. He drops the vowel *-i* in verbs, cf. dial. *nunɨ* versus standard *nunɨni* ‘to bring’. The informant borrows many Russian words (marked in bold in the example), and mixes Russian and Udmurt morphosyntax, e. g. the construction in *menše ... šu tamɨston-leś iči* ‘few ... few[er] than one hundred eighty’, where the speaker mixes the Udmurt construction noun-ABL + few with the Russian pattern few + noun. The informant uses Udmurt words when expressing simple numerals, e. g. *kuɨn nunal* ‘three days’, *das sańtimetra* ‘ten centimeters’; but he expresses compound numerals in Russian, e. g. *sto šemšat evel-ges* ‘less than one hundred seventy’. In this example, the numeral is phonetically adapted to the Udmurt language, namely in the word ‘seventy’, where he replaces the Russian palatal sibilant *ś* with the alveolopalatal sibilant *š*, which is considered a typical feature of the Udmurt accent in Russian. However, during the interview the informant also uses *ś* correctly when borrowing from Russian. The informant also knows the Udmurt names of compound numerals. Since the interview was to some degree an official situation (the voice recorder was switched on in front of him), he consciously tried to express compound numerals in Udmurt, cf. *šu tamɨston-leś iči* ‘less than one hundred eighty’, but he had to pause to remember them. However later the informant unconsciously uses compound numerals in Russian, cf. *sto šemšat evel-ges* ‘less than one hundred seventy’. In the same way, at the beginning of the interview he attempted to speak of the month of October in Udmurt, but erred and said *šurkɨnmon*, which means ‘November’.

Since the standard language combines features of the Northern and the Southern dialects, those Udmurts who have studied the language in school and who read in Udmurt are able to understand other dialects quite eas-

ily. However, the differences between the varieties remain large, especially between dialects spoken in Tatarstan and Baškortostan.

The local vernacular is acquired as a mother tongue and transmitted orally within the family. Such speech dominates in local communities, e. g. among people from the same village and among family members. It may be the only Udmurt language style that non-mobile representatives of such communities possess. However, it may also count as one of multiple Udmurt styles in a speaker's linguistic repertoire. People from urban communities who have Udmurt-speaking social circles, as a rule, keep this style in their networks with relatives and fellow villagers, while in other Udmurt networks other styles can be applied, e. g. a cross-local style. If a person was born in the city and his or her parents hail from different dialect areas, then he or she probably acquires dialect features from the parent or grandparent who played a greater role in his or her language acquisition.

3.1.2. Cross-local vernaculars

The colloquial language that is used among the Udmurts from different dialect groups has not yet been the subject of investigation. Except in writing, the Udmurt intelligentsia uses a colloquial language among themselves; young people who move to the city for work or study adopt new conversation styles to communicate with each other. Cross-local vernaculars appear primarily in urban communities in Udmurt-speaking networks where conversation in Udmurt is possible. The best example comes from the faculty of Udmurt philology at the university, where young people from different places and representing different dialects come together each year to study. Students from different dialect backgrounds may initially communicate with each other in their native dialects. However, such conversations may be uncomfortable because they involve extra mental effort. Furthermore, students may also become the target of ridicule because they use different linguistic forms from other speakers. These factors may cause them to switch into Russian, especially when communicating in a non-Udmurt environment.

Within the faculty of Udmurt philology, after some time has passed, everyone is eventually able to communicate in some kind of common language and no one is mocked any more. The students tend to refer to this colloquial form as the "literary language", but this spoken language differs a great deal from written standard language. These students, as profes-

sional users of the Udmurt language, are able to master and reproduce standard forms and easily manipulate different styles, e. g. write articles and scientific texts, give a speech, etc. However, this requires deliberate mental effort and standard language never appears as a spontaneous spoken language. As soon as it appears as non-controlled speech, it is no longer the “literary language” but a language that approximates the standard variety (see section 3.2.3.).

The cross-local colloquial style, on the other hand, is a mix of local vernaculars with the standard style and Russian. Linguistic features here are conditioned by the setting of the conversation, including the linguistic background of the interlocutors. For example, I am a native speaker of a dialect that uses the short variant of the present tense marker *ko*, the plural accusative form *tj*, and the lexemes *końdon* ‘money’, *keļinj* ‘to sleep’, *pedlon* ‘outside’, etc. As someone with a good knowledge of the standard language, I am familiar with the standard and dialect variants of these words and grammatical forms. I have noticed that if my interlocutor regularly uses the long variant of the present tense marker, I unconsciously emulate him and also use this form, as well as the lexemes *ukšo* ‘money’, *iżinj* ‘to sleep’, *kjrin* ‘outside’, etc. Nonetheless, they do not appear regularly and alternate with the forms of my dialect. On the other hand, if my interlocutor is a native speaker of a dialect with the long form of the present tense marker *-sko-*, he or she is less motivated to use the short form, since it is not recognized in the standard language and therefore has a restricted distribution. Similarly, he or she will probably prefer not to use nonnative dialect words, e. g. *pedlon* ‘outside’, or use it only to make a joke and imitate the dialect style of an interlocutor. However, specific dialect features that are not known in the standard language can pass into the language repertoire of speakers from a different dialect area if they have a close relationship, e. g. among friends, lovers or roommates.

Another significant feature of the cross-local vernacular is an abundance of borrowings from Russian and often language switching and language mixing. While cross-dialect communication in most cases happens in an urban environment and could also appear in formal situations (conversation with a teacher, literary figure, etc.), it involves such expressions and notions that are not often used in conversation between members of a local community or families. Most of these expressions and notions have an Udmurt variant only in the standard style or do not have an Udmurt equivalent at all (e. g. expressions that belong to Russian slang). When

speaking with family, friends, acquaintances or higher-ranking people, one would prefer to use the expressions *meroprijatije* ‘an event (Rus.)’ and *dokument-jos* [document-PL (Rus.)] ‘documents’, but in texts she or he would write *užrad* ‘event (Udm.)’, *užkagaz-jos* [document-PL (Udm.)]. In non-official situations it is possible to use the Russian slang expression *prikoľno* ‘cool, funny’, which can be expressed in Udmurt by the neutral term *tunsjiko* [interesting (Udm.)] or by words *tumošo* [funny (Udm.)] and *šeremes* [funny (Udm.)] ‘funny, amusing’; however Udmurt terms thus do not have the same emotional and stylistic character.

It should be pointed out that all of the vernacular styles described above exist mostly in spoken form, but they may appear in written form as well. They may be used in personal letters and notes, on the internet (in social networks, Udmurt forums, blogs or e-mails), in SMS messages, etc.

3.2. The standard variety

Unlike many other Finno-Ugrian languages, the Udmurt language has only one literary language. The birth of the literary language is thought to date back to 1775, when the first grammar was written by the missionary Pucek Grigorovič. The late 18th century and the 19th century saw the appearance of further dialect-based grammar descriptions (Mogil’ in 1786, Wiedemann 1851, Aminoff 1896), and translations were made of the Gospel and other religious literature. Nevertheless, the intensive process of creating the literary language was not started until the 1930s. Until the end of the 19th century, the language existed only in spoken form as dialect vernaculars. The language was used only in rural and traditional life until the beginning of the 1920s.

The function of a standard language is different from that of a vernacular one – it serves formal domains of language use, including writing. Since the Udmurt language had not been used in this domain, the Udmurt intelligentsia had to create a new language style that was, above all, appropriate for writing. According to G. Sampson, “official” versions of languages in all parts of the world show isomorphism and have been heavily remodeled under European influence, e. g. formal Indonesian shares many features of European languages, but colloquial Riau Indonesian does not (2009: 15–16). Something similar has happened with the Udmurt standard language, as it was modeled after the Russian standard language. Thus, a vast amount of new borrowed expressions, notions, cultural clichés

and grammatical constructions that were adopted into Udmurt formed the basis of the Udmurt standard language. Vahrušev assumes that purist tendencies that were in place among the Udmurt intelligentsia of the 1920s favoured the adoption of a large number of grammatical and expressional calques from Russian. As a result, the new style of the Udmurt language – the standard style – took on a completely artificial character. However, subsequent decades saw a counterweight, as the purist tendency retreated and original Russian loans were favoured between the 1950s and the 1980s (Vahrušev 1975). Indeed, as Kreindler (1989) notes, the language policy of the Soviet Union after the 1950s did not allow creation of neologisms but preferred to borrow or “enrich” minority languages with loans from Russian. Thus, before perestroika standard Udmurt (especially the language that was used at the official level and in education and sciences) contained many Russian loans. This language was taught in schools and widely transmitted by mass media (mostly newspapers and radio). This type of standard language became well known to the speakers.

The next wave of language standardization or remodeling appeared in the period following perestroika. Sociocultural changes and the fall of the embargo on language purism brought changes to the language. In particular, the same purist attitudes arose anew at this time and have continued until the present day. A vast amount of new terms appear every day that vary from author to author, from individual speaker to speaker, and from publication to publication. This process is especially current in mass media, since many readers and spectators complain of misunderstanding of new words. There are also many discussions among the Udmurt intellectuals about language strategies. In particular, there are two tendencies of language ideology today: those who want to translate everything into Udmurt, and those who follow the soviet traditions and insist on using Russian terms that were already established and used during the long soviet period, e. g. for the names of the days, months and holidays.

Earlier inventions of the standard language include such lexemes as *veros* ‘a story; novel’, *kjľbur* ‘a poem’, *kjľburći* ‘a poet, a poetess’; conventionalization of the conjunction *malj ke řu-ono* [why if say-PRTC/NES] ‘because’; a new function of the adverbial (see below) and functional expansion of the genitive and other case markers. Today these are used and recognized by most Udmurts or at least by those who have learned the standard language in school. Among recently coined terms are *emjařkońńi* ‘hospital’, *uźbergatiř* ‘businessman’, etc. Some of them have already be-

come popular and are understandable at least to the intelligentsia. However, many of them exist only in listings of neologisms, created by the terminological committee e. g. *vižužaś* ‘intelligentsia’, *užmag* ‘paradise’ (Bul’eten’ 2008).

There is great interference from dialects into the standard language as well. When the Udmurt intelligentsia began to standardize the language in the beginning of the 20th century, some of them proposed the Northern dialect as a basis for the standard form, while others proposed the Southern variant. In the end, however, diverse lexical, morphological and morphosyntactic variation in the standard language has been accepted as a compromise between supporters of the Southern and Northern dialects (Vahrušev 1975: 52; Luutonen 2000: 28). For instance, for the terms *money* and *pocket*, lexemes from both dialects are accepted as standard. Both plural accusative markers and both morphosyntactic patterns of negation in the second preterite can be used in the literary language. However, the short variant of the present tense marker *ko* and certain lexemes, e. g. the Middle variant *pedlon* ‘outside’ and *korman* ‘pocket’, are not permitted in standard-language discourse or in written form. The norms of the standard language have nonetheless not yet been well established. In most cases, it is possible to trace the authors of literary texts to a particular dialect, because the producers of texts refer habitually to forms in their dialect, even when they try to enrich their texts by employing different dialect variants.

The Udmurt standard language is an acquired literary style, not a native language for Udmurts. The standard form is spread by teaching in the schools, the mass media and literary works. Through these channels, the artificial standard language has reached rural Udmurt communities. It becomes natural to those who deal often with the standard language – those who read and write frequently in Udmurt and deal with the language on a professional level. Therefore, knowledge of the standard language varies among the speakers. On one hand, those with a good command of the standard language can produce and use standard forms and most neologisms in their language repertoire. On the other hand, speakers with a low level of knowledge can recognize standard forms such as the Udmurt names of days and months, expressions like *malj ke šu-ono* ‘because’, and accept expanded usage of case markers, but they do not employ them in their speech. For example, the informant in (5) was unable to refer to the month of October in Udmurt. Finally, some people may consider the standard style to be a foreign language.

The standard language can also vary. As mentioned above, the linguistic features of standard varieties depend primarily on the conditions in which they are utilized. In particular, carefully composed texts differ from news texts as well as from spoken standard forms.

3.2.1. Carefully composed texts

A specific property of carefully composed texts is that writers are supposed to pay more attention to the language they employ and they have greater linguistic freedom. They are also free to choose a strategy when composing the text. That is, if the author upholds purist tendencies, he or she may use udmurtized words and patterns, but if not, Russian loans may be employed. The quality of the language in scientific and other published texts depends on the skills of the writer in the language. While some authors are able to write in beautiful prose about any topic, e. g. economics or chemistry, others end up producing artificial language forms. The tendency to use udmurtized words, if the writer lacks a good command of the language, does not help to make the text aesthetically pleasing, but rather the opposite. The text in (5) is a passage from a scientific article. The author explains in good language what an epic is. The author is an Udmurt linguist who is used to writing in the language and who has good standard language skills.

- (5) *epos – so, tunne kil-ın vera-sa, biđes kaliđ-ıen ogađeja-m*
 epic it today language-INS say-GER whole nation-GEN unite-PRTC
pasport-ez, kiđin gođt-emın so-len řurs ar-jos in
 passport-3SG where write-PRTC.PSV (s)he-GEN thousand year-PL-INS
kiđtiřk-iř ul-on-vil-on řures-ez, epos – so kaliđ-ıen
 continue-PRTC live-PRTC-be-PRTC road-3SG epic it nation-GEN
vańmıđ-lı ađđıni luđ-mon, řeber kari-sa vođmatıni
 everybody-DAT see-INF be.able-PRTC beautiful make-GER show-INF
pukt-em tusbuđ-ez, so kaliđ-ıen uđa-s řulm-ıđ, malpařk-iř
 put-PRTC look-3SG it nation-GER work-PRTC heart think-PRTC
viđm-ıđ, so-len řam-ıđ, viđi-kumı-os-ıđ, murt
 intellect-3SG it-GEN character-3SG relative-PL-3SG stranger
kaliđ-jos-ın kuřıp-jos-ıđ no muđet.
 nation-PL-INS relation-PL-2SG and other

‘The epic, according to the modern interpretation [lit. saying by today’s language], is a common passport for a whole nation, where its journey is written, which has taken over a thousand years, the epic is the face of a nation visible to everyone and embellished, it is a nation’s beating heart, its thinking intellect, its character, relatives, relationships with foreign peoples and so on.’ (Invožo 2008, № 5, 6: 37)

Example (5) is a complex text. However, there are not many Russian loans. One borrowed construction is present – a dependent clause with a conjunction (cf. *kijtjn gožt-emjn...* ‘where it is written...’) – but this seems quite natural in the scientific genre and in such a complex text. The fragment contains many participial constructions, cf. *ažžjini luj-mon* ‘visible (lit. that which is possible to see)’, *kjstišk-iš šures-ez* ‘lit. lasting road’, etc. This is the Udmurt means of incorporating several relative clauses into one, which helps to avoid using borrowed patterns with conjunctions. There are also a number of metaphors, e. g. *epos so kalik-len pasportez, tusbuj-ez, šulm-iz* ‘the epic is a passport, the look, the heart of a nation’, etc. I have noticed that Udmurt texts, even ones written in this scientific style, as well as texts from the mass media, employ a high number of metaphors. This may help to avoid using neologisms and Russian loans. It also seems that this metaphoric way of thinking is very typical of Udmurt traditional thinking. It is probably a matter of style that has not yet been completely remodeled under the influence of Russian and European literary traditions. Therefore, this metaphoric technique facilitates the process of reading for native speakers.

Example (6) is a passage from an essay, and it can be considered as an example of low-quality text. The author is a scientist in culture who is not used to writing and speaking in Udmurt.

- (6) *učki-ško tijmet vij-e, čakla-ško vu vadšj-ti*
 look-1PRS.1SG pond on-ILL guard-1PRS.1SG water surface-PRL
loba-ś čarlan-ez, kud-iz intj-z-e voštj-tek šamen
 fly-PRTC mew-ACC which-DET place-3SG-ACC change-ABS like
og.intj-ja-z porja.
 one.place-INE-3SG soar.PRS.3SG
 ‘I am looking at a pond, and watching a mew which is flying over the water,
 and which is soaring as if it remains motionless.’ (Invožo 2004, № 10: 34)

It seems as though the author originally wrote the sentence in Russian and then translated it into Udmurt, or was thinking in Russian when writing in Udmurt. Thus, all the words are translated into Udmurt, but some cognitive strategies remain in Russian. In particular, in the construction *tijmet vjle* ‘at a pond’, the pattern with postposition *šorj* would be preferable. In the Russian expressions *smotret na stol* ‘to look at a table’ and *položit na stol* ‘to put on a table’, the same preposition is used with non-locative and locative cases. Udmurt, however, employs two different postpositions:

učkinj žek šorj ‘to look at a table’ and *ponijnj žek vile* ‘to put on a table’. Furthermore, the verb *čaklanj* does not fit here semantically: the verb has a semantic nuance and means ‘to guard smth. or smb., to take care of smth. or smb.’ which is not likely to occur in the context. This kind of style disrupts the aesthetics of the text and does not allow readers the enjoyment of reading in their native language.

Literary works can also be considered in this section. Literary texts can be seen as works of art. Here, the language forms, means of expression and choice of words have a sense greater than the information they express. Writers pay special attention to language use and spend more time choosing constructions. In the case of Udmurt, the literary tradition was completely formed in the 1920s and 1930s. Classical Udmurt texts (especially from writers of the older generation) generally depict rural life in a realistic fashion and represent a high form of the standard language, which masterly combines loans from Russian. If loanwords are employed, they are integrated quite naturally. The syntactic constructions here remain natural. However, modern literature is dominated by descriptions of urban life and contemporary subjects that require adopting additional terms, constructions and expressions in the Udmurt language. Following post-perestroika purist traditions, some writers try to impose these new patterns into Udmurt. Writers from the older generation have greater experience and are still capable of balancing the integration of new forms with traditional ones, but beginners or inexperienced writers often go too far in creating new forms. Thus, their texts often resemble a completely artificial language that is no longer connected with the natural language, as can be seen in the text in (6). Regarding these writers, some Udmurt philologists say that they do not have “the sense of the language”, that they use “dead language”. This phenomenon signifies that the Udmurt language has become more endangered compared with the 1980s: new writers do not have enough experience with the language, and at the same time, they lack teachers and effective critics who would help them to develop their literary skills. Furthermore, the younger generation is influenced much more by Russian and other languages, which can have an influence on their “language sense”.

Even more recently, a new wave of young writers has appeared in Udmurt literature. Some young beginning authors try to adopt natural vernacular styles in their literary texts. For instance, they use an abundant mix of Udmurt and Russian (and sometimes other foreign languages), including Russian slang expressions, dialect style, etc. as is demonstrated in (7).

- (7) *kjče* *vań* ***razińtsa:*** *kęńa* *tjn-ıd* *ares?*
 what EX *difference* how.many 2SG-DAT age
- puskaj*** *ton* *mjn-eštım tače* *pinal.*
let 2SG 1SG-ABL that.way young
- mon* *todi-ško,* ***nužna mńe*** ***pozarez***
 1SG know-PRS.1SG need 1SG.DAT very.much
- ton,* ***škońnica...***
 2SG schoolgirl
- ‘What is the ***difference***: how old are you?
It doesn’t matter that you’re so much younger than me,
 I know, ***I need you so much***
 You, ***schoolgirl*** ...’ (Udmurt Duńie (Dart): 16.02.11: 5)

The text in the example approximates the vernacular style. For example, the author typically mixes Russian and Udmurt codes (the Russian loans in the text are marked in bold) and uses expressions that belong to Russian slang, cf. *pozarez* ‘very much’. These writers are considered by conservative figures and supporters of purism to be linguistic hooligans who are demolishing literary traditions. Such phenomena can be explained as a challenge to the purism movement in literature and an attempt to bring the standard and real-world language usage closer together.

3.2.2. Texts produced by mass-media sources

The specific nature of mass-media language is that it is used to describe all manner of topics in a very short amount of time. The news that appears today in any mass-media channel in general comes from another centralized source of information. This means that most news and information in Udmurt mass media is quickly translated from Russian, and this naturally brings with it lexical loans and leads to the imposition of cultural clichés, calques, etc. In this case, even professionals with a lot of experience with the language are unable to avoid such influences. At the same time, the editorial boards of mass-media channels may have agreed on their own strategies, e. g. to use Russian or Udmurt names for days and months. If newspapers use too many neologisms and udmurtized expressions, they are criticized by their readership, because the texts become difficult to understand.

Example (8) presents an extract from a news text, namely from the newspaper *Udmurt Duńie*, and it is written by a professional journalist.

- (8) *udmurt kun univěrsitet-iś iskusstvo-ja no dizajn-ja*
 Udmurt state university-ELA art-ADV and design-ADV
insitit-len muzej-a-z uśtiśk-i-z udmurt respublĭka-iś
 institute-GEN museum-INE-3SG open-1PRT-3SG Udmurt republic-ELA
dano uzaś-len, suredaś-len vjačeslav mihajlov-len
 honoured worker-GEN painter-GEN Vjačeslav Mihailov-GEN
ažžiton-ez, 55 ar tĭrm-on-ez-lĭ sižĭ-sa.
 exhibition-3SG 55 year be.fulfilled-PRTC-3SG-DAT devote-GER
 'In the *museum* of the *Institute* of *Arts* and *Design* of the Udmurt
 State *University*, an exhibition of the Honoured Art Worker of the
 Udmurt *Republic*, the artist Vjačeslav Mihailov, was opened to
 honour his 55th birthday.' (Udmurt Duńie, № 182, 5.12.2006: 4)

Example (8) is typical of the newspaper style: there are many titles of organizations, events and people. Most of these words are borrowed from Russian (e. g. *univěrsitet* 'university', *iskusstvo* 'arts', etc.). However, some neologisms well known to readers appear as well, cf. *kun* 'state', *ažžiton* 'exhibition' and in the same newspaper (*Udmurt Duńie*) the word *republĭka* can also be encoded as *elkun*. Russian semantic clichés are also typical, cf. Udmurt *dano uzaś* and Russian *zaslužennij rabotnik* 'Honoured Worker'. The morphosyntax of constructions that are used to code titles is Udmurt, but in the standard style, they appear with categories unusual for dialect style. For example, in nominal phrases where the dependent component expresses a purpose (e. g. *iskusstvo-ja no dizajn-ja insitit* 'the Institute of Arts and Design'), the dependent is marked by the adverbial *ja*. An adverbial can join nouns also in dialects, but this happens when a noun functions as an adverbial modifier, e. g. *kuar tĕl-ja kośk-i-z* [leaf wind-ADV go.away-1PRT-3SG] 'A leaf blew around in the wind'. Furthermore, in this style the genitive typically joins an inanimate possessor or non-prototypical possessor, while in vernaculars it tends to mark mostly a prototypical possessor – an animate entity. Nonetheless, the new functions of the adverbial and genitive have also spread through the speech of local community members.

3.2.3. Spoken language approximated to standard language

The standard language can function also in spoken form, e. g. lectures in the university and schools, public presentations and speeches, television and radio programs. It is important to note that prepared and non-prepared (non-prewritten) discourse will differ linguistically. For example, in television and radio, it is possible to observe situations when a program presenter begins by smoothly retelling a prepared text using Udmurt terms and complicated constructions. However, as soon as he or she moves on to a spontaneous discussion, the presenter's language immediately becomes irregular and is marked by pauses to search for Udmurt equivalents (neologisms that are used more rarely are difficult to remember, while in written style it is always possible to refer to dictionaries). This results in the reformulation of expressions, correction of word endings, etc. Speakers do not have enough time to think over the expressions and recall Udmurt variants, so as a result, Russian words come together with Udmurt neologisms and frequent code switching is a typical property of this style. In situations of spontaneous speech, there is also a high probability of local or dialect vernacular interference. However, a speaker still endeavors to approximate the standard language in his or her speech and prefers to use standard patterns and neologisms if he or she is able to reproduce them.

Example (9) comes from the transcript of a television program.

- (9) a. *piči purga joros-iś pugačovo čerkogurt-in intijašk-em*
 Piči.Purga district-ELA Pugačovo central.village-INE situate-PRTC
ožgar čast-iś šu kij-eti aršenal-in tiľpu porom-i-z.
 military unit-ELA hundred two-ORD arsenal-INE fire flare.up-1PRT-3SG
pugačovo-iś no kotir-išti-z daskik gurt-jos-in kij
 Pugačovo-ELA and around-ELA-3SG twelve village-PL-INE twenty
tamjs šurs uliš-jos evakuirovat kar-emjn val.
 eight thousand inhabitant-PL evacuate-INF do-PRTC.PSV AUX.1PRT
požar-ez vorminji lu-i-z keśnunal-e gine.
 fire-ACC win-INF be.able-1PRT-3SG Saturday-ILL only
 'The 102nd **arsenal** of the **military unit** situated in the central
village of Pugačovo in Piči Purga region has caught fire. 28,000
 inhabitants of Pugačovo and twelve neighbouring villages were
evacuated. The **fire** was extinguished only on Saturday'.

- b. *mon todi-ško, ti-lad čukaže ekzamen-dj lu-o-z*
 SG know-PRS.1SG 2PL-DAT tomorrow exam-2PL be-FUT-3SG
obššestvoznañije predmet-ja. kin-jos sdaťt-o, daš-a?
 social.science subject-ADV who-PL take.exam-PRS.3PL ready-INTR
možet, soos šumpot-o, što ber-ges sdaťtñj kule?
 maybe they be.happy-PRS.3PL CONJ late-CMP take.exam-INF need
 ‘I know, tomorrow you will have an **exam** on the **subject of social sciences**. Who will **take the exam**, are they prepared? **Maybe** they are happy **that** they have to **take** it later?’ (Moja Udmurtia: 9.6.2011)

In the beginning of (9a), the presenter (middle-age woman, a professional journalist who has graduated from the faculty of Udmurt philology) recites a prewritten text and uses the typical udmurtized words underlined in the example, which in vernacular style would appear in Russian instead. She also expresses all compound numerals and conjunctions in Udmurt, but in colloquial style, these often appear in Russian. In this type of speech, only terms without Udmurt equivalents remain in Russian, cf. *časť* ‘unit’, *arsenal* ‘arsenal’ and *evakuirovať karinj* ‘to evacuate’. Interestingly, in the beginning the notion *fire* is coded using the Udmurt variant *tjľpu* and later with Russian loan *požar*. The style of the presenter changes when she carries on a free dialog in (9b) with guests on the program. For instance, she uses the Russian conjunction *što* and the word *možet* ‘maybe’. This is not permitted in standard style and does not appear in her prewritten speech in (9a). For example, in (9a) she uses the Udmurt variant to say *and: pugačovojs no kotjrištjz daskjk gurtjosjn* ‘of Pugačovo and twelve neighboring villages’. Furthermore, in (9a), when she borrows Russian verbs, she uses a construction with *karinj* ‘to do’, cf. *evakuirovať karinj* ‘to evacuate’. This construction is characteristic of the standard language. However, in (9b) she unconsciously applies a construction with the marker *-tjñj*, cf. *(ekzamen) sdaťtñj* ‘to take (an exam)’. The latter construction is typical of Middle dialects and is considered vernacular style. Nevertheless, in the conversation following (9b) the presenter consciously continues to express numerals in Udmurt and uses constructions typical of the standard language, cf. patterns with an adverbial *ekzamen obššestvoznañije predmet-ja* ‘a social sciences exam’, etc.

4. Conclusions

The present paper is a general survey of the main varieties of the modern language as they exist among and are used by the Udmurts. In the descriptive linguistic literature produced so far, as a rule, one may find only observations on “high” language, corresponding to the literary form, or only pure dialect examples provided by old people, which are considered a spoken or vernacular form. The present study, however, demonstrates that these language varieties obtain a number of additional linguistic features in real-world usage. In particular, younger speakers of dialect groups may not display some typical dialect features, but may use standard forms and replace dialect forms with Russian loans. Furthermore, when people from different dialect areas with proficiency in the standard variety communicate with each other, they may use a mixed variety containing features of their own dialect and the other dialect, as well as standard forms and many Russian loans. Finally, the “high” or literary style may have an artificial character and exist only in written form. However, even the quality of carefully written texts may vary according to the writer’s skills and knowledge of the language. It may happen that all words in an expression are in Udmurt, but the means of combining them are unnatural. As soon as a person wants to reproduce literary language in his or her speech, he or she has to exert a great deal of mental effort. Otherwise, in less controlled speech, a wide variety of dialect forms (which are not accepted as standard forms) and Russian loans may appear.

This kind of linguistic specificity is conditioned by the sociocultural environment of the speakers – the Udmurts are a minority surrounded by a dominating language and have a fairly young literary tradition. Changing the speakers’ situation may improve language use and language development. One of the main ideas in the field of language revitalization is the investigation of social language styles and the use of those styles. It is evident that, in order to develop the language and adapt it to the modern environment, it is not enough to invent new word combinations (which is the main trend in the language development strategy at the moment), but new linguistic discourse structures should be adopted as well.

Svetlana Edygarova
University of Helsinki
<svetlana.jedygarova@helsinki.fi>

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	GEN	genitive
ABS	abessive	GER	gerund
ADV	adverbial	INTR	interrogative
AUX	auxiliary	ORD	ordinal number
CONJ	conjunction	PL	plural
CMP	comparative	PRL	prolative
DAT	dative	PRTC	participle
DET	determinative	PSP	postposition
EX	existential verb	PSV	passive
FUT	future		

Example sources

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Moja Udmurtia, TV and radio channel
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Fieldwork data (March 2011)

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Deficiencies of Official Bilingualism in the Finno-Ugric Republics of Post-Soviet Russia: A Legal Perspective

As a part of the “parade of sovereignties” during the disintegration of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, the national republics of Russia designated both Russian and local languages as their state languages. The co-official status of the dominant Russian language by default prevented full-fledged official bilingualism, and serious steps were needed to promote non-dominant local languages in the public sphere. Beyond a mere formal recognition of their official status, the republican authorities passed regulations in order to provide institutional support for the local languages, the amount of which varied across republics. However, the extent of such regulations remains understudied and the best way to evaluate it would be a comparative analysis. What was the level of institutionalization of the official status in the case of titular languages in Russia’s republics? This study examines various solutions for framing the official status of titular languages in regional language legislations in order to understand the patterns of institutionalization. The republics titled after the Finno-Ugric peoples were chosen as case studies for the comparison. The study reveals that language legislation contains serious deficiencies in institutionalization of the official status of titular languages, which impede possibilities for their practical use in office.

Introduction

1. Working languages of authorities
2. The languages in communications of authorities with citizens
3. The languages of public services and other public communications
4. The official languages in the work environment and language preferences
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6. Deficiencies of the laws that undermine official bilingualism

Conclusion

Introduction

The collapse of the USSR marked the beginning of a period of intensive government planning in post-Soviet countries for the change in functioning of languages in society. Acquisition planning, status planning and prestige planning are traditionally distinguished as the three types of language

planning that correspond, accordingly, to the actions directed at creating capacity, opportunity and desire to use languages (see Cooper 1990: 100–103). It was status planning that became the cornerstone of the language policies not only in the newly independent states but also in the national republics of Russia (see Zamyatin 2013a: 125–126). Status planning means that a certain language or languages are designated with an official status in order to ensure exclusive use of said language(s) in the public sphere.

In their declarations of state sovereignty in 1990, Russia's national republics proclaimed state languages as one more symbol of their national statehood: almost without exceptions, the status of state language was given to both the titular and Russian languages (see Zamyatin 2013a: 134–136). Russia's language law (25 October 1991) and the Russian constitution (12 December 1993) established Russian as the state language of the whole country and retroactively recognized the right of the republics to establish their state languages (article 68). By the mid-1990s, most republics had established state languages in their constitutions. The constitutional designation amounted to symbolic recognition and had not resolved the problem of the lack of practical use of the titular languages, which had to be dealt with in language laws (see Zamyatin 2013b, 2013c).

This situation of the use of two or more languages in the public sphere of the republics was sometimes described as official or legal bilingualism. In the strict sense, in the case of the republics, one can only speak of the official status of the languages, because official bilingualism was not considered a policy goal or a result, but rather a policy tool. The relation between Russian and the titular languages in their official status was not clarified. The legislation does not use the term “co-official languages”, and their co-existence in the public sphere is rather a sociolinguistic and political fact than a solution for the potential problems stemming from their competition. Will Kymlicka (2001: 78–79) witnesses that for the survival of a minority language, an exclusive official status might be necessary in the region where its speakers are predominant (see also Ruíz Vieyetz 2004). However, language survival is not the only reason for the official designation of a minority language (see Zamyatin 2014a: 97–103). Furthermore, what happens if both majority and minority languages are designated as official, while the minority language is not predominant in that territory?

Russian remains the language that regional authorities predominantly and often exclusively use, whereas the titular languages were introduced in only a few elements of the public domains. This situation is sometimes

characterized as that of “limited officiality” (see Ruíz Vieytez 2004). The federal design limited the extent to which titular languages could be institutionalized. Among branches of power, the judicial sector is in federal competence and so are the regional representations of federal authorities among the executive authorities. For example, law enforcement agencies are typically monolingual: a policeman will speak in the dominant language. Among regional executive authorities, the financial block will be typically monolingual and only in some republics, e. g. Tatarstan (RT), a local language might also be used to some extent. An important issue is language requirements for the republic’s chief executive official, which is discussed at length elsewhere (see Zamyatin 2013b). Regional legislatures, some regional executive authorities (notably those in human resources) and municipalities can be bilingual. Most instances of bilingualism can be found in public institutions, such as public schools, mass media and cultural centres (see Zamyatin 2015: 123–125).

Furthermore, despite equation of Russian and the titular languages in their status of the state languages of the republic, the higher status of Russian as the state language of the whole country works as the mechanism that has allowed policy-makers and implementers to restrict the use of titular languages to a symbolic function and to impede the expansion of their practical use (Zamyatin 2015: 126–127). The ethnic elites identified the gap between the symbolic and practical use of titular languages as the problem and the “revival” of titular languages as its solution. Responding to their claims, the republican authorities recognized the expansion of the use of titular languages in the public sphere through the adoption of language laws as the goal of language policy. Within the scope available for the expansion, i. e., limited by the federal design, the amount of elements institutionalized in language legislation varied across the republics and depended, first of all, on the strength of national movements and the ability of ethnic elites to bargain among the ruling elites (see Zamyatin 2013c: 140–143, Zamyatin 2014a: 103–104).

Difficulties in reaching a compromise resulted in the vague character of the republican language legislations and insufficient support for the promotion of titular languages. The problem of all republican language laws, written in the Soviet legislative tradition, is that they basically remained declarative documents. The republican language laws, instead of formulating clear mandatory rules and institutionalizing elements of domains for the usage of the state languages in the republics, merely replicated the permis-

sive style of the provisions of Russia's language law. The language laws put forward norms that are not directly applicable and do not reflect the actual steps taken by authorities for language promotion. The crucial point is that the laws are typically not directly enforceable on the republican authorities, and in many respects merely allow the use of the state languages. Their permissive legal norms created the gap that many republican authorities use for inaction and to escape from engaging practices of language use for titular languages in many elements of the domains of the public sphere. The greater part of norms concerning the functioning of the titular languages as the state languages is there only on paper (see Zamyatin 2013c: 143).

From the perspective of sociolinguistic theory, the larger the number of domains where a minority language is used, the safer its sociolinguistic situation will be. The opposite correlation might be also true: the stronger ethno-linguistic vitality of a group and the better maintained a language, the better the language will be also institutionalized in the public sphere. The purpose of this study is to explore what elements of the official status were institutionalized in relation to titular languages, in order to look for the patterns of institutionalization. Institutionalization of languages can be defined here as the enactment of language use in certain institutional contexts. The approach of the study is a comparative analysis along both qualitative and quantitative criteria. There are some comparative studies that have investigated the languages laws from a legal perspective in the Volga Turkic Republics, the Republics of Siberia and the North Caucasus (see e. g. Gorenburg 2003, Katunin 2009 and Gučigov 2013), but, with some partial exceptions (see Janush 2013), there has been no such study for the Finno-Ugric Republics. The case studies in the Republics of Komi (KR), Mari El (RME), Udmurtia (UR), Mordovia (RM) and Karelia (RK) provide the analysis with a variety of configurations, ranging from the absence of the status of state language for the titular language (Karelia) up to an "equated" official status (Komi). At the same time, the context of the officialization is similar, as in all these republics the titular group is in the minority (see Zamyatin 2014a: 29–30). One of the tasks of the article is to provide the catalogue of such elements in the public domains of language use in each of the republics under consideration (for an analogous catalogue in the case of late-Soviet Tatarstan see Isxakova 2002: 9–10).

The study is not restricted to the analysis of institutionalization of titular languages in language laws, but follows the change through the analysis of amendments to laws. While the expansion of titular languages in the

republics through the adoption of regional language laws was a policy priority in the 1990s, it began to face obstacles after the overall policy shift in Russia towards recentralization and re-establishment of the “power vertical” in the late 1990s and early 2000s (see Zamyatin 2015: 138–140). Marking a shift in language policy, Russia’s language law was amended twice and resulted in deterioration of the position of non-Russian languages, e. g. by making the use of Cyrillic script compulsory for the state languages (Federal Laws, 24 July 1998 and 11 December 2002; see Zamyatin 2015: 136–137). However, even the 1998 revision had not solved the problem of the declaratory character of its legal provisions. Instead, the list of public domains and public services where the use of Russian is compulsory was enacted in a separate law (Federal Law, 1 June 2005) that reinforced the dominant position of the Russian language. There are no such new laws and respective lists in republican language legislations, except in Tatarstan (RT Law, 12 January 2013). The revivalist agenda in the republics has fallen by the wayside since the late 2000s. Accordingly, there have been two waves of amendments to the regional language laws: one in the early 2000s and the other in the late 2000s (the amendments are studied in more detail in Zamyatin 2013c: 144–146).

The structure of the study is organized along the domains of language use in the public sphere. Joshua Fishman famously developed the Gradual Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (Fishman 1991: 87–109). According to his scale, the part that is aimed at transcending diglossia and normalizing language use in the public sphere consists of four stages (Fishman 1991: 400). The four domains that constitute the public sphere of language use are: 1) languages in office of authorities and organization, 2) language in the work environment, 3) languages in mass media, and 4) languages in education (for a more detailed description, see Zamyatin 2014a: 47–53). For the purpose of the comparison, the elements of the first domain in Fishman’s taxonomy were further divided, depending on whether the languages are used by public authorities internally in office or externally in communications with citizens. Furthermore, public services as communications taking place on a regular basis were separated into a third group. This distinction is conditional, *inter alia*, because languages in the work environment, mass media and education are also public services. However, these are the most important domains in functioning of non-dominant languages, which justifies their detachment into separate categories.

The structure of the study follows the sequence of the domains and their elements according to how they appear in the language legislation: (1) the working languages of authorities, (2) the languages in communications of authorities with citizens, (3) the languages of public services and other public communications, and the particular public services of (4) the official languages in the work environment and language preferences, (5) the official languages in mass media, and (6) the official languages in education. The analysis demonstrates that among the elements of the state languages of republics, those conveying a symbolic message were more institutionalized in the case of titular languages than those demanding their communicative use.

I. Working languages of authorities

This domain represents the functioning of the official languages as the working languages of the republican authorities, but also of the municipal authorities. Official language use in this domain includes the following main elements: (a) the working languages in the activities of the republican and municipal authorities and legal entities, (b) the languages of drafts and legislative procedure, (c) language-use management of public businesses, (d) language use in official correspondence.

(a) Russia's language law states that the work of the federal and regional authorities as well as the bodies of the local self-government is carried out in the state language of the Russian Federation (RSFSR Law, 25 October 1991, article 11). The law also allows the use of state languages of the republics and other languages of the peoples of the Russian Federation in activities of regional authorities and organizations (article 15). In the relations between the federal and regional authorities, Russian is used (article 27). The bilateral treaties between the federal and regional authorities on the distribution of powers are made in Russian (Federal Law, 6 October 1999, article 27).

According to the original version of the language law of the Komi Republic, sessions of state authorities and legal entities had to be held in Komi and Russian (Law KR, 28 May 1992, article 7). Unlike in the other republics, the titular Komi language was and is not only on paper but indeed the working language at least among the authorities of remote municipalities. According to the 2002 amendment, the sessions are held in Russian, and the Komi language only can be used (Law KR, 16 July 2002). This amend-

ment came unexpectedly for the national organization. Now, according to the law, Russian has to be used (Cypanov 2003: 37–38). However, the sessions of the State Council continue to be held in Komi and Russian and are provided with synchronized translation (Rules of the Procedure, 7 February 1995, article 40 (new Rules of the Procedure, 18 December 2002).

In Mari El, the republican state languages “are” the official and working languages of the state authorities (Law RME, 26 October 1995, article 15), as well as of state and other public organizations (article 22). But these provisions remain declarative, too. The language law of Mari El in the original text formulated analogical provisions not as the deputy’s right, but as the obligation of official and civil servants to be proficient in one of the republican state languages in the amount needed for work (article 14). With the 2001 amendment, the scope of the obligation was narrowed: the officials are obliged to know the state language of the Russian Federation and “one of the republican state languages”, that is, the Russian or Mari languages (Law RME, 19 September 2001). Thus, there is no longer any obligation to know the titular languages. There is the right to use the other languages at the sessions and in the committees and presidium sessions of the State Assembly, too. This right is ensured by providing translations (article 16). There is no according provision of the deputies’ right of language use in the Rules of the Procedure of the State Assembly; it only copies the provision of the republican Constitution on taking an oath by republican President in the Mari and (or) Russian languages (Rules of the Procedure, 24 September 2009, article 131). However, the officials never use the titular languages in Mari El, although the usage of the republican state languages by authorities and legal entities is stipulated by the law (article 15, 22).

According to the law in Udmurtia “the working language of the state authorities is Russian; Udmurt can be used side by side with Russian” (Law UR, 27 November 2001, article 9). The state languages of the republic “are used” in activities of the republican authorities and legal entities in Udmurtia, according to the order defined by the federal and republican legislation (article 16). However, this order of was never defined, and the Udmurt language is hardly ever used in the work of authorities. In Udmurtia, the deputies and officials have the right to use at their will one of the republican state languages or other languages at the State Council and Government sessions, as well as their presidiums’ and commissions’ sessions (article 9). This is the only provision that is further elaborated. It is stated in the Rules of the Procedure of the State Council that, in order to use this right, the deputy must

inform the secretariat of his intention to make his speech in the Udmurt language. The secretariat is responsible for providing translations (Rules of the Procedure, 26 April 1995, article 22 (new Rules of the Procedure, 17 April 2001, article 9; new Rules of the Procedure, 25 November 2008, article 36). The secretariat is called the apparatus in the later Rules of the Procedure). In practice, the deputies never use this right. Furthermore, the Rules of the Procedure do not include a provision on the obligation of the President to take an oath in the state languages, as do the Rules of the Procedure of the Mari parliament. In practice, however, the President did “take” an oath in both state languages, the last time in January 2010, but despite the sequence of languages in the constitution, did it first in Russian and then in Mari. The court acknowledged the lawfulness of this action (RME Yoshkar-Ola Town Court Judgment, 16 March 2011).

According to the language law of Mordovia, the state languages of the republic “are used” in the activities of the republican authorities and legal entities (Law RM, 26 May 1998, article 16). In Mordovia the deputies wishing to speak in the Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya) language at a session of the State Assembly, its Council, committees or commissions must inform the secretary of the Council in advance. The secretariat is responsible for providing translations (article 12). The same provision is restated in the Rules of the Procedure of the State Assembly of the Republic of Mordovia. It is proclaimed that the work of the State Assembly is carried out in the Russian and Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya) languages (Law RM, 10 March 1995, article 16 (new Law, 14 February 2002). There is no provision on the obligation of the President to take an oath in the state languages.

In Karelia, state and municipal authorities as well as legal entities can use the Karelian, Veps and (or) Finnish languages in their work, along with Russian (Law RK, 19 March 2004, article 8). However, there is no elaboration of this provision. The Legislative Assembly of the republic works in Russian and speeches in other languages are translated to Russian (RK Legislative Assembly Decree, 17 May 1994, article 15).

The laws of Komi and Mordovia regulate only official language use by state authorities, not by municipal authorities. Furthermore, there was no separate provision on language use by municipal authorities in the Komi language law, because at the time it was adopted there was no local self-government, but instead local state authorities. The 2002 amendment included the provision that the sessions of municipal authorities are held in Russian, and the Komi language can be used (article 7). The activities of municipal

authorities and legal entities in Udmurtia “are performed” in the republican state languages or other languages, according to the order defined by the federal and republican legislation (article 17). This order of functioning was not further defined either. In Mari El, municipal authorities previously had to use “equally one of the republican state languages” or other local languages (article 18). With the 2001 amendment, this provision was reformulated in such way that “municipal authorities use the state language of the Russian Federation for document circulation, whereas the republican state languages can also be used”.

(b) Legislative procedure includes the language(s) of drafts, the language(s) of draft discussions in parliament and its committees, which assumes also the right of deputies to speak in the language of their choice, and the language(s) of publication of laws. Russia’s language law in its original text stated that it is an obligation of the republican state authorities to provide the official publication of the federal laws in the state languages of the republics, but since the 1998 amendment this is only formulated as a possibility (Federal Law, 24 July 1998, article 12; see Gubaeva & Malkov 1999: 6). The Russian language must always be used by the official publication as it is the state language of the Russian Federation, whereas the official publication of all documents in the titular languages in the republics is not compulsory, and in practice, only the most important laws, constitutions and laws on languages are translated (Vasil’eva 2008: 31). The main obstacle for translation is a lack of qualified translators (Semënov 2008: 23). In addition, there is the problem of authenticity of translation (Vasil’eva 2007: 24–26).

In Komi, drafts of laws and other acts of the authorities previously had to be discussed and published in Komi and Russian, and both would have equal juridical force (article 7). The 2002 amendment excluded the demand for these documents to be discussed also in Komi. According to the Law, which defined the order of publication and enforcement of laws and other legal acts, laws, legal acts of the Head of the Republic, State Council, Constitutional Court, Government, Ministries and other executive authorities, as well as the Treaties of the Republic, are published in the state languages in the official periodical “Gazette of the Normative Acts of the Authorities of the Komi Republic” (Para 2, 4, 6, 8, KR Government Decree, 5 February 2008). The monthly issues of this periodical must be identical in both languages. Additionally, the issue in the Komi language contains information on the authority that translated the document. The translations are made

by the Ministry for Nationalities Policy (Law KR, 16 October 2002, article 11). In Komi, unlike in the other republics, translations of all legal acts are indeed arranged.

In Mari El, law drafts could initially be presented in one of the republican state languages (article 17). With the 2001 amendment, law drafts must be presented in the state language of the Russian Federation, whereas the republican state language can be used. It is implied that the laws are discussed in the republican state languages, because “activities of the supreme authorities are performed in the state languages of the Republic of Mari El”, but this never happens. Texts of laws are published in the state languages (RME Law, 26 January 1996, article 4). Texts of published documents are official in the state languages of the republic (article 17). In Udmurtia, law drafts and drafts of other acts of the authorities are presented and discussed, and laws are officially published in Russian; laws and other official documents can be officially published also in Udmurt (article 10). The respective state or municipal authority takes the decision on official publication in Udmurt (Law UR, 21 June 2010, article 10). For many years there was a plan to adopt a government decree, which was supposed to approve the order of official publication of laws and other legal acts of the authorities of the Udmurt Republic, as well as and acts of local self-government, in both state languages of the Udmurt Republic. In Mordovia, laws and other legal acts had to be drafted and discussed in Russian. Legal acts of municipal authorities could be issued in the Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya) languages (Law RM, 21 February 2002, article 17; Law RM, 1 June 2000, article 9). Texts of laws and other legal acts had to be officially published in the state languages and would have equal juridical force (article 13). With the 2010 amendment, this provision was excluded (Law RM, 12 March 2010). In Karelia, state and municipal authorities can publish laws and legal acts containing provision on human rights and citizens’ obligations in the Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages in mass media. The decision on publication is taken by the authority in question (article 6) (Law KASSR, 6 May 1990; Law RK, 24 May 2000).

(c) According to Russia’s language law, the official business documentation of government bodies, organizations, enterprises and institutions is produced in Russian, while in the republics, their state languages can be used (article 16). In Komi, management of public affairs and circulation of official documents among the republican authorities previously had to be

carried out in Komi and Russian (article 7). After the 2002 amendment, it is carried out in Russian, while the Komi language can be used. Similarly, the official document circulation and texts of documents in Mari El “are conducted” in the republican state languages (article 25), or also in local languages according to the order defined in the republican legislation (article 27). However, the document circulation order does not regulate the official language used. The language use in the management of public businesses, in official document circulation and public notices “is performed” by the republican authorities, municipalities and legal entities in Udmurtia in the republican state languages according to the order defined in the legislation (article 18). The order, however, was not defined. This demand was one of those strongly opposed at the time of adoption of the language laws (Bannikova 2001). There has never been any tradition of using Udmurt in this field. Management of public affairs and official document circulation in Mordovia is performed in Russian and, “if necessary”, can also be performed in Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya) (article 11). In Karelia, municipal authorities and legal entities can use the Karelian, Veps and (or) Finnish languages, along with Russian, in official document circulation where speakers of these languages live compactly (article 8).

(d) According to Russia’s language law, Russian, as the state language of the whole country, is the sole language of official correspondence and other forms of official relations between the authorities and organizations on the level of the federation, while inside the regions other languages can be used (article 17). Any of the state languages can be used in official correspondence between authorities and legal entities within the Komi Republic (articles 8). Within Mari El, it is implied that official correspondence is performed in the republican state languages (article 49). The republican authorities “use” any of the republican state languages outside the republic depending on the recipient (article 19). In 2001, article 19 was excluded. Russian is being used in official correspondence outside the republic (article 29). The language of official correspondence between authorities and legal entities within Udmurtia is Russian, but can also be Udmurt; the language of official correspondence with authorities and organizations outside Udmurtia is Russian only (article 19). There is no respective separate provision on official correspondence either in the language law of Mordovia or in the law of Karelia.

The joint data on language use in office are presented in Table 1. Altogether, in the republics, neither the laws on the Parliament or on the

Republic	Komi	Mari El
Language law	1992, amended 2002, 2009	1995, amended 2001, 2008, 2009, 2011
(a) Working languages of authorities and legal entities	1992: Komi and Russian; 2002: Russian, Komi can be used.	State languages.
Rights and obligations of officials	Deputies have the right to speak in Komi or Russian.	1995: obligation of official and civil servants to know one of the republican state languages in the amount required for work 2001: officials are obliged to know the state language of the Russian Federation and “one of the republican state languages”.
Working languages in activities of municipal authorities	2002: Russian, Komi can be used.	1995: “equally one of the republican state languages” or other local languages. 2001: “the state language of the Russian Federation for document circulation, whereas the republican state languages can also be used”.
(b) Language use in the legislative procedure	1992: drafts of laws and other acts of authorities discussed, published in Komi and Russian and have equal juridical force. 2002: drafts of laws and other acts of authorities discussed in Russian, published in Komi and Russian and have equal juridical force.	1995: law drafts could be presented in one of the republican state languages, discussed in the republican state languages. 2001: law drafts have to be presented in the state language of the Russian Federation, whereas the republican state language can be used.
(c) Language use in official document circulation and public notices	1992: Komi and Russian; 2002: Russian, Komi can be used.	The republican state languages, or also in local languages. The order is not defined.
(d) Language use in official correspondence	Any of the state languages within the republic.	The republican state languages within the republic.

Table 1: Working languages of authorities

Mordovia	Udmurtia	Karelia
1998, amended 2010	2001, amended 2010	2004
Russian; Mordvin (Moksha and Erzya) can be used.	Russian; Udmurt can be used.	Russian; the Karelian, Veps and (or) Finnish languages can be used.
Deputies have the right to speak in the Mordvin (Moksha and Erzya) language at sessions; the deputy has to inform about his intention, translation provided.	Deputies and officials have the right to use at their will one of the republican state languages or other languages at sessions; the deputy has to inform about his intention, translation provided.	No separate provision.
No separate provision.	Activities of municipal authorities “are performed” in the republican state languages or other languages, according to the order defined by the federal and republican legislation. This order is not defined.	Russian; the Karelian, Veps and (or) Finnish languages can be used.
1998: Laws and other legal acts are prepared and discussed in Russian, officially published in the state languages and have equal juridical force. 2010: provision excluded.	Law drafts are presented and discussed, and laws are officially published in Russian; laws can be officially published also in Udmurt.	Russian; the Karelian, Veps and (or) Finnish languages can be used in publication of laws and legal acts containing provisions on human rights and citizens’ obligations.
Russian; Mordvin (Moksha and Erzya) if necessary.	The republican state languages. The order is not defined.	Russian; the Karelian, Veps and (or) Finnish languages can be used, where speakers of these languages live compactly.
No separate provision.	Russian within the republic, but can be Udmurt, too.	No separate provision.

Government, nor the other respective laws on public activities have any further language provisions that would have clarified official language use (Law KR, 24 October 1994 (19 December 2006); KR Government Decree, 23 May 2002; Law RME, 7 December 2001; Law RME, 28 June 2005; Law RME, 15 February 1994; Law RME, 18 September 2001; RME Government Decree, 10 April 2001 (2 October 2006); Law UR, 14 December 1994 (6 March 2001 and 5 December 2007); Law UR, 30 May 1995; Law UR, 26 February 2008; Law UR, 16 May 1995 (2 March 2001); UR Government Decree, 24 January 2003; Law RM, 19 March 2004; Law RM, 10 March 1995; Law RM, 28 February 1997; Law RM, 16 April 1996 (12 November 2001); RM Government Decree, 10 June 1998. Law RK, 19 April 1991; RK Legislative Assembly Decree, 17 May 1994; Law RK, 17 January 1994; RK Legislative Assembly Decree, 22 February 2007; Law RK, 14 September 1994; RK Legislative Assembly Decree, 24 May 2007; Law RK, 27 April 1999).

An exception to this is the addition in the new laws of the principle of prohibition of discrimination based on language. Despite the existence of general entitling provisions, a legal mechanism for their execution has not been created. It is no surprise, then, that the titular languages are practically never used within the walls of the buildings of the authorities. The only exception is that sometimes the titular languages are used in the legal translations by official publication of the most important laws, such as the republican constitution and the language law. Additionally, some official news articles and press releases of the authorities are published in the titular languages.

In part, the poor official bilingualism in the office of the state authorities can be explained, *inter alia*, by insufficient development of public vocabulary in non-dominant languages. This problem is being addressed by activities of the republican termino-orthography commissions (language boards) and activities of research institutes in education and other scientific institutions (the time of creation of the language boards differed: KR Council of Ministers Decree, 25 April 1994; UR Government Decree, 13 November 1995, 5 December 2005; UR President Decree, 8 December 2005; RK Government Chairman Decree, 25 May 1998; RK Head Decree, 29 May 2003; RME Government Decree, 8 July 2000, 29 March 2001; RM Government Decree, 25 October 2010). However, there is a further problem of standardization when the population refuses to accept the new vocabulary. Even those rare politicians who are otherwise fluent in the titu-

lar language are reluctant to use it in formal contexts. For example, they would refuse to give speeches or interviews in it and switch to Russian, because of the lack of suitable vocabulary (see Zamyatin 2014a: 116–117). A systemic reason for the poor language knowledge would be the unavailability of higher professional education in the titular languages. Due to political under-representation of minorities, as discussed above, bilingual politicians are rare. Nowadays it is still easier to spread new political and legal vocabulary within the state authorities in written form. A lack of vocabulary leads to low language prestige and provokes another, deeper reason for the absence of bilingualism, which is the attitudes of Russian-speaking legislators towards the titular languages as stigmatized minority languages.

2. The languages in communications of authorities with citizens

Communications of authorities with citizens are another aspect of the functioning of the republican state languages in the public sphere. Communications include language use in: (a) legal proceedings, (b) elections and referenda, (c) requests of citizens, and (d) documents issued by authorities.

(a) The courts and the whole judicial system are, on the one hand, a part of the state apparatus, but on the other hand, they form a sphere of communications of authorities with citizens. Courts and law enforcement agencies in Russian are in federal competence and, thus, unilingual, although the original text of the language law allowed also the use of the state languages of republics in proceedings and documentation in the courts and paperwork in the law enforcement bodies (article 18). The rules of judicial proceedings apply also to the notarial paperwork (article 19; also Fundamentals of the Legislation on Notariate, 11 February 1993, article 10).

Court proceedings in the Komi Republic and state notarial management had to be performed in Komi and Russian (articles 9, 10). This provision was used in practice in 1995 during a trial, in which one of the parties spoke Komi. The judge interpreted this provision narrowly. The Komi language was not used as the language of the court process, but translation was allowed, although the party itself had to pay for the interpreter. The man accepted the interpreter, but refused to pay. The court paid the costs

(Taagepera 1999: 332). In 2002, these provisions were amended in such a way that the issues of court proceedings and notarial management would be regulated by federal legislation.

In Mari El, administration of justice and legal proceedings by courts and law enforcement authorities had to be carried out in the state languages or other languages (article 30). The 2001 amendment reformulated this provision in such a way that the administration of justice and court proceedings in the Constitutional Court and other courts in the republic would be carried out in the Mari and Russian languages. Every participant in the legal process has the right to speak in the court in one's own language. Those not having command of the language of the legal proceedings enjoy the possibility of using the services of an interpreter (article 31). The acts of the Public Prosecutor's Office previously had to be in the Mari and Russian languages (article 33), but this provision was excluded with the 2001 amendment. The order of language use in the administration of justice and by law enforcement is defined by federal legislation (article 32). The language law of Udmurtia contains no provisions in this sphere except for notarial management, where the documents can be issued in either of the state languages, depending on the wish of a citizen (article 20). In Mordovia, legal proceedings and notarial management are conducted in Russian and, if needed, in Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya) (article 11). With the 2010 amendment, this provision was excluded.

(b) Elections and referenda are one of the core elements of a democratic society. They are arranged by authorities for ensuring political participation of citizens in societal life. Authorities pay attention to ensure minority political participation. The importance of this element of the political system forces also the legislation to provide clear rules on the use of minority languages. Russia's language law states that, along with Russian, the republics have the right to use the state languages of the republics and other local languages in preparing and holding elections and referenda; the same rule applies also to ballot papers (article 14).

In the original version of the Komi language law, Komi and Russian had to be used in the arrangement and holding of elections and referenda at all levels (KR Election Law, 15 June 1995, article 12). The 2002 amendment added the possibility to print bulletins in Komi and Russian by decision of election or referendum committee according to federal and repub-

lican legislation (KR Election Code, 16 June 1998, article 62; Law KR, 7 July 2006, article 22).

In the original version of the Mari El language law, the Mari (Hill, Meadow) and Russian languages, but also other local languages, “are used” in the arrangement and holding of the republican and municipal elections as well as referenda (article 20). The latter additionally contains the provision of the previous article 21, excluded by the 2009 amendment (RME Law, 16 March 2009), on the bulletins, which are published in Russian with a translation into the Mari languages and, if necessary, into other local languages by decision of the election or referendum commission (according provisions in the RME Election Law, 10 November 1993, article 71 (new Law, 11 June 2003); RME Referendum Law, 11 June 2003, articles 7, 52).

In Udmurtia, the republican state languages “are used” in the arrangement and holding of federal, republican and municipal elections and referenda, whereas other local languages can be used. However, the bulletins are published in Russian, although they can be published in Russian and Udmurt and, if necessary, in other local languages by decision of the election or referendum commission (article 15). A similar provision is given in article 52 of the new law on referendum (Law UR, 29 March 2007). According to the original law, the bulletins had to be published in the languages of the majority of the election district (Law UR, 23 January 1994, article 32 (new Laws, 1 June 2003 and 13 April 2007, article 52)). It is interesting that, in addition to the according provision of the Language Law, the texts of draft laws and decisions have to be in the republican state languages according to the referendum law (Law UR, 18 December 2002, article 4). Article 44 on the bulletins replicates the provision of the Language Law (new Law, 29 March 2007, article 43).

In Mordovia, the Russian and Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya) languages “are used” in the arrangement and holding of republican elections and referenda (article 14, 15). The bulletins are published in Russian, but some bulletins can be published by decision of the election or referendum commission in both the Russian and Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya) languages (Law RM, 17 February 1994, article 69 (new Law, 27 June 2003); Law RM, 27 July 1995, article 48 (new Law, 23 January 2004).

In Karelia, the Karelian, Veps and (or) Finnish languages can be used along with Russian in the territories where speakers of these languages live in the arrangement and holding of republican elections and referenda on

issues involving human rights and citizens' obligations as well as in bulletins by decision of the election or referendum commission (article 7) (Law RK, 17 January 1994; Law KASSR, 24 April 1991; Law RK, 10 November 1993 (28 November 1997).

(c) Transparency of public authorities and their accountability to citizens is another important element of a democratic society, which also has a language component. According to Russia's language law (article 15), citizens have the right to address authorities in the language of their choice and to receive a response from the authorities in the same language "except in cases when it is impossible". The law does not specify the conditions of impossibility (see Ulasiuk 2011: 79).

In Komi, citizens have the right to make requests to authorities and legal entities in the Komi and (or) Russian languages (article 4). Authorities address citizens in Komi or Russian, depending on citizen's wish (article 14). The 2002 amendment gave the right to make requests to authorities also in other languages of the peoples of Russia. The answers are given in the language of request or in the state languages. A law on requests of citizens was adopted, however it was annulled in the same year.

According to the language law of Mari El, in the public spheres, a citizen has the right to choose for oral information to be provided and documents to be issued in one of the state languages of the Republic of Mari El, or in other local languages (article 8). In order to execute this right, the original version of the law stated that: "state and municipal authorities, organizations, and their officials, respond to written requests of citizens in the language in which the request was made" (article 9). With the 2001 amendment, the obligation of authorities to respond in the language requested was replaced with the obligation to respond in the republican state languages or in Russian. With the 2008 amendment, the responses are given in the language of request, "unless it is impossible" (RME Law, 2 December 2008).

According to the language law of Udmurtia, citizens have the right to make requests to the republican and municipal authorities and legal entities in the republican state languages (article 16). Responses are given in the language of request or, "in case of impossibility", in Russian.

According to the language law of Mordovia, Russian or Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya) previously had to be used in the relations of authorities and legal entities with citizens (article 7). However, the 2010 amendment

states that citizens are free to choose the language of communication with authorities and municipalities.

The formula “the responses are given in the language of the request, unless it is impossible” is incorporated in the republican language laws of the provisions of the federal laws on information (Federal Law, 27 July 2006, 9 February 2009). The Federal Law on Information recognized the right of citizens to have access to information, including the right to receive information from state authorities and public organizations. In order to ensure this right, the authorities and organizations have the obligation to provide access to information about their activities in Russian and in the republican state language according to the legislation (article 8). According to the federal law, the state authorities and municipalities create information systems and provide access to their information in Russian and the republican state languages (article 12). The information systems are databases as well as information technologies and technical means used in their creation.

Some spheres of official language use were relatively new at the time of adoption of language laws and developed later. First of all, this concerns the sphere of new information technologies, which is regulated now by the above-cited Federal Law on Information. In the republican language laws, language use in internet technologies is still not regulated. The language law in Mari El has a rather undefined provision that “in the Republic of Mari El informatics is performed on the basis of the republican state languages” (article 40). Consequently, until the late 2000s the official republican servers and web-pages in Komi, Mari El, Udmurtia, Mordovia and Karelia were almost exclusively in Russian, which was breach of the right of access to information. At the same time, for instance, the official server of the Republic of Tatarstan was already fully in Russian, Tatar and English in the early 2000s. Only after the adoption of the federal law on information did the web pages start to be translated with modest progress.

(d) Russia’s law states that the texts of the documents and signboards with the names of government bodies and organizations are drawn up in the state language of the Russian Federation, the state languages of the republics and other local languages (article 15).

Names of legal entities, texts of official seals, stamps, document forms and advertisements are written in Komi and Russian (article 25). Official

documents testifying the identity of a citizen and other information, including passports, work identification cards, education certificates and diplomas, birth, marriage, death certificates and other documents are issued in Komi and Russian (article 11). The 2002 amendment added the condition that the documents must be issued according to federal legislation. The order of the Ministry for Nationalities Affairs approved the rules for making the design of signboards of legal entities, letterheads, texts of seals, stamps and document forms in the state languages (Order, 15 August 1997, 13 May 2004). Notably, text in Russian must be situated on the left side of a signboard or document.

In Mari El, the texts of documents, namely, document forms, seals, stamps and signboards with the names of authorities and organizations are written in the state languages, but it is also permitted to provide additional translations into local languages (article 26). This is one of the few provisions that are really used in practice. Short official texts, such as the names of authorities, are given in two languages. This could be explained as a remnant of the Soviet-era practices of “transparent” recognition of the multinational character of the state with the domination of a “façade” of cultural traditions. In Mari El, documents testifying the identity of a citizen and other information such as passports, birth, marriage, death and education certificates, diplomas, and other documents “can be issued in both state languages” (article 28). Military cards are not mentioned.

In Udmurtia, the texts of documents, namely, document forms, seals, stamps and signboards with names of authorities and organizations are written in the state languages (article 18). It is stated in the language law of Udmurtia that documents testifying the identity of a citizen and other information such as passports, birth, marriage, death and education certificates, diplomas, military cards and other documents are issued in Russian and can be issued also in Udmurt in the order defined by the legislation (article 18). In Mordovia, texts of seals, stamps and document forms of state authorities are written in the state languages of the Republic of Mordovia (article 19). Official documents testifying the identity of a citizen and other information, including birth, marriage, death and education certificates (except from federal education institutions), are being issued in the state languages (article 18). In Karelia, texts documents (document forms, seals, stamps) of executive and municipal authorities, legal entities, according to their regulations or statutes, can be written in the Karelian, Veps and (or) Finnish languages alongside Russian (article 8).

The joint data on language use in communication with citizens are presented in Table 2. Titular languages are used in communication with citizens to a somewhat larger extent than in office. However, the issue of identity documents is an example of how problematic the enactment of a provision can be, and how this depends on further actions of the authorities. One of the layers of the new Russian nationalities policy was the strife to exclude the Soviet practice of ascribing ethnicity to individuals, indicating person's ethnicity in documents testifying personal identity. The federal law on the acts of civil status demanded the use of Russian and the state languages of the republics (Federal Law, 15 November 1997). According to this federal law, authorities mark the ethnicity (nationality – in Russian) of a citizen in identity documents only if s/he wishes so. Recently it was reported by media that only about ten percent of Russia's population has a passport in the proper sense, that is, a document which among other things allows its holder to travel abroad, referred in Russian as a “foreign passport”. Instead, citizens have a domestic identity document, which is called a “passport” or “civil passport”, and which is discussed further here. According to the regulation on issuing passports (RF Government Decree, 8 July 1997), an additional leaf can be issued in the passport in the republics in the republican state languages. Issuing of this leaf began in 2001, but only in Bashkortostan and Tatarstan (Sokolov 2002: 215–216).

In 2004, the President of Mari El addressed the republican state authorities with the demand to start issuing an additional leaf in passports in the state languages of the republic. The republican Department of the Federal Migration Service (FMS), which is authorized to issue passports, responded that it is not a republican but a federal authority and that issuing the additional leaf was not within its competence. The republican Ministry of Internal Affairs gave a similar justification for the rejection. As there was no positive response, a citizen went to court against the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs. The court acknowledged the lawfulness of his demand and pointed out that it is an obligation of the republican executive authorities to develop the form of the additional leaf (Yoshkar-Ola Court Judgment, 23 March 2004). Both authorities involved readdressed the matter to the republican President, who is simultaneously the head of the republican government (RME Ministry Communication, 12 November 2004, FMS Department Communication 10 October 2007). The republican government admitted in its response to the FMS Depart-

Republic	Komi	Mari El
Language law	1992, amended 2002, 2009	1995, amended 2001, 2008, 2009, 2011
(a) Administration of justice, legal proceedings, notarial management	1992: court proceedings and state notarial management had to be performed in Komi and Russian. 2002: it is regulated by federal legislation.	Administration of justice and court proceedings in the Constitutional Court and other courts in the republic are carried out in the Mari and Russian languages.
(b) Languages of elections and referenda	1992: Komi and Russian had to be used in arrangement and completion of elections and referenda at all levels. 2002: bulletins printed in Komi and Russian by decision of election or referendum committee according to federal and republican legislation.	1995: Mari (Hill, Meadow) and Russian, but also other local languages “are used” in arrangement and completion of the republican and municipal elections and referenda. Bulletins are published in Russian with translation into the Mari languages and, if necessary, into other local languages by decision of the election or referendum commission. 2009: the republican state languages and other local languages.
(c) Language of citizens’ requests	1992: citizens have the right to make requests to authorities and legal entities in the Komi and (or) Russian languages. Authorities address citizens in Komi or Russian, depending on the citizen’ wishes. 2002: right to make requests to authorities also in other languages of the peoples of Russia. Answers are provided in the language of the request or in the state languages.	A citizen has the right to choose for oral information to be provided and documents issued in one of the state languages of the Republic of Mari El, or also other local languages. 1995: “state and municipal authorities, organizations, and their officials, respond to written request of citizens in the language of the request”. 2001: the obligation to provide a response in the republican state languages or in Russian. 2008: the responses are given in the language of the request, “unless it is impossible”.
(d) Documents of authorities	Names of legal entities, texts of official seals, stamps, document forms and advertisements are written in Komi and Russian.	Texts of documents are written in the republican state languages; it is also permitted to provide additional translation into local languages.
Official documents testifying identity of a citizen and other information	1992: in Komi and Russian. 2002: in Komi and Russian according to federal legislation.	Documents “can be issued in both state languages”.

Table 2: Language use in communications of authorities with citizens

Mordovia	Udmurtia	Karelia
1998, amended 2010	2001, amended 2010	2004
1998: legal proceedings and notarial management are in Russian and, if needed, in Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya). 2010: provision excluded.	No provision in this sphere except for notarial management, where documents can be issued in either of the state languages.	No provision.
The Russian and Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya) languages “are used” in the arrangement and completion of republican elections and referenda. Bulletins are published in Russian, but some bulletins can be published by decision of the election or referendum commission in both the Russian and Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya) languages.	The republican state languages “are used” in the arrangement and completion of federal, republican and municipal elections and referenda, whereas other local languages can be used. Bulletins are published in Russian, although they can be published in Russian and Udmurt and, if necessary, in other local languages by decision of the election or referendum commission.	Russian; the Karelian, Veps and (or) Finnish languages can be used in the territories the speakers of these languages live in arrangement and completion of republican elections and referenda on the issues touching human rights and citizens’ obligations as well as in bulletins by decision of the election or referendum commission.
1998: Russian or Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya) are used in the relations of authorities and legal entities with citizens. 2010: citizens are free to choose the language of communication with authorities and municipalities.	Citizens have the right to make requests to republican and municipal authorities and legal entities in the republican state languages. Responses are given in the language of the request or, “in case of impossibility”, in Russian.	No separate provision.
Texts of seals, stamps and document forms of state authorities are written in the state languages.	Texts of documents are written in the republican state languages.	Texts documents (document forms, seals, stamps) of executive and municipal authorities, legal entities can be written in the Karelian, Veps and (or) Finnish languages.
In the state languages.	Documents are issued in Russian and can be issued also in Udmurt in the order defined by the legislation.	No separate provision.

ment that the republics indeed have the right to introduce the additional leaf in passports in the republican state languages, but stated without further clarification that currently “the matter is not under the government’s consideration” (RME Government Communication, 16 November 2007). In 2008 the FMS Department filed an action with the court for suspension of the 2004 court judgment and in 2010 for reversal of the 2004 court judgment with the argument that in 2004, it was not the FMS Department but the Passports and Visas Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs that was authorized to issue passports. The court, in its rulings, satisfied in 2007 the FMS Department request to change the plaintiff, suspended in the 2008 implementation of its 2004 judgment and refused in 2010 to satisfy the demand of the citizen to stop suspension of issuing an additional leaf (RME Yoshkar-Ola Town Court Rulings, 27 April 2007, 14 January 2008, 15 April 2010; see Ivanova 2010).

3. The languages of public services and other public communications

Activities of legal entities providing public services constitute another important domain of official language use. In line with federal legislation, the according provisions in the republican language laws prescribe the compulsory usage of the state languages of the republics in the activities of legal entities that provide (a) general public services, (b) consumer services and commercial activities, (c) audio-visual information and advertisements, and (d) geographical objects.

(a) According to Russia’s language law, Russian and on certain occasions other languages are used in the sphere of industry, communication, transport and power engineering, while state languages of republics can be used on account of interests of the local population (article 21). In Komi, there has been no separate provision on language use in public services. Document circulation within legal entities previously had to be performed in one of the state languages (article 15). However, after an amendment made in 2002, it is performed in the order defined by federal legislation. In Mari El, the republican state languages “are used” in all of these spheres of public communications (article 35). The republican state languages and other languages were to be used in the document circulation of legal entities (article 37), but this provision was excluded in the 2001 amendment. In Udmurtia, communications of legal entities are regulated only by a gen-

eral statement that Russian “is used” in industry, agriculture, communications, transport and power engineering; Udmurt is used if there is a need for it (article 22). In Mordovia, there is no separate provision on language use in public services. The document circulation of legal entities is performed in Russian. The Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya) language can also be used, if necessary (article 17).

(b) According to Russia’s language law, Russian and other languages are used in the sphere of services and commercial activity (article 22). In Komi, citizens have the right to choose the state language in providing consumer services and pursuing commercial activity (article 5). With the 2002 amendment, this right was expanded to any language. However, if communication in the chosen language is impossible, the state languages are used. Concerning language use in consumer services and commercial activity in Mari El, it “is defined” by the order in the legislation. Refusal to providing consumer services in any republican state language because of a lack of their knowledge is counted as illegal and “is to be” punished according to the federal and republican legislations (article 36). For this concrete provision, responsibility is measured by Russia’s law (Law RF, 7 February 1992, article 12). In Udmurtia, the republican state languages “are used” in consumer services and commercial activity (article 23). In Mordovia, there is no separate provision on language use in consumer services and commercial activity, but it is noted that information such as labels, standards, nomenclature and instructions on goods manufactured in Mordovia are provided in Russian and, if needed, in Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya) (article 20).

(c) Russia’s language law contained no separate regulation on audio-visual information and advertising. In Komi, advertisements are carried out in Komi and Russian; public information is given in the state languages (article 25). Square and street names are given in Komi and Russian (article 23). The instruction letter of the Ministry for Nationalities Affairs approved the rules on making the design of signboards with street names and square names in towns and settlements of the Komi Republic. In Mari El, street names are given in the republican state languages (article 52); this provision had to be implemented within one year (article 60). Marking of goods, labels, standards, nomenclatures, instructions of goods manufactured in the republic (article 54); texts of official announcements,

information, visual and auditory advertisements, and other information, such as timetables, auditory and visual announcements in airports, railway stations, river ports and bus stations, are duplicated in the republican state languages (article 53). A government decree is being drafted, which would approve the regulation on language use in the publication of socially significant information and advertisements in the Republic of Mari El. In the language laws of Udmurtia and Mordovia, there is no separate provision on audio-visual information and advertisements. The Mordovian law states in addition that “traditional square and street names are maintained” (article 23).

From the perspective of language landscapes, in Syktyvkar, the capital of Komi, and Yoshkar-Ola, the capital of Mari El, street names are normally written in two languages. Izhevsk, the capital city of Udmurtia, Saransk, the capital of Mordovia and Petrozavodsk, the capital of Karelia, bear only few visual and auditory marks that they are not the capital cities of ordinary oblasts, but in fact of ethnic republics. These are signs indicating the names of the republican authorities and announcements at a few tram stops. Generally, in towns, one can only rarely hear auditory information or people speaking other languages than Russian.

(d) Regarding the language of titles of geographical objects, inscriptions, road and other signs, they are installed in Russian, but the state languages of republics and other local languages can be used (article 23). What is remarkable is that the setting up of the road signs is the only duty put on the federal and regional authorities by Russia’s language law (article 24). A separate regulation was passed that demanded the use of the state language of the whole country or state languages of the republics in marking objects of cultural heritage (Federal Law, 25 June 2002, article 27).

In Komi, measures for the maintenance of traditional geographical names are being taken. Road and other public signs are installed in Komi and Russian (article 23). In 2002, a provision was added that ensures installation and maintenance of public signs according to the order defined in federal and republican legislation. The government approved the rules for writing geographical names in the Komi language and created a commission for this purpose (KR Government Decree, 18 October 2004, 24 February 2009). Information signs on objects of cultural heritage have to be written in the Komi and Russian languages (Law LR, 21 May 2004, article 8). In Mari El, traditional local geographic names of historical and cul-

tural value “are maintained” (article 50). A corresponding regulation on information signs on objects of cultural heritage was passed demanding the use of the Russian and Mari languages (RME Government Decree, 14 December 2008). In Udmurtia, “names of geographical objects and installation of bilingual road signs, street signs and other public signs have to be given in the republican state languages according to the order defined by the legislation”. Symptomatically for language attitudes, “the text in Russian has to be written on the left and above, in Udmurt on the right and below” (article 26). The government decree approved the order for making the design of the names of geographical objects and installation of bilingual road signs, street signs and other public signs (UR Government Decree, 7 November 2005). In Mordovia, the government defines the list of geographical objects for which names and signs have to be provided in two or three state languages of the republic or in other local languages (article 23). This is the only provision in the law in which Moksha and Erzya are recognized as the separate languages. The republican executive authorities are responsible for the installation and maintenance of public signs according to federal and republican legislation (article 24). In Karelia, measures are being taken for the maintenance of names of geographical objects of historical and ethno-cultural heritage. Road and other public signs can be installed in the Karelian, Veps and (or) Finnish languages along with Russian in the territories where speakers of these languages live compactly (article 11).

The joint data on language use in public services are presented in Table 3. Public communications and public services are closer to citizens than the working language of authorities; they contribute to the formation of language landscapes. It is often only the civil initiative of citizens that can set in motion many legal provisions concerning services and communication. For instance, in the Republic of Mari El, citizens addressed authorities on the issue concerning passports, but also with other demands, such as addresses to the Russian railways company with the demand to transmit music in the Mari language in the trains with circulation Moscow–Yoshkar-Ola and an address to support the printing of postcards in the state languages. Notably, there is no general citizen’s right to use the state languages before authority. The right to receive information from the state authorities and public organizations is not ensured by the language laws, but by the federal law.

Republic	Komi	Mari El
Language law	1992, amended 2002, 2009	1995, amended 2001, 2008, 2009, 2011
(a) Language of public services	<p>No separate provision on language use in public services.</p> <p>1992: the document circulation of legal entities performed in one of the state languages.</p> <p>2002: it is performed in the order defined by federal legislation.</p>	<p>The republican state languages “are used” in industry, communications, transport, and power engineering, agriculture and consumer services.</p> <p>1995: the republican state languages and other languages “are used” in the document circulation of legal entities.</p> <p>2001: latter excluded.</p>
(b) Languages in consumer services and commercial activities	<p>1992: the right of citizens to choose the state languages in enjoying consumer services and commercial activities.</p> <p>Individuals, who create obstacles for the choice of the state languages for communications, bear responsibility according to defined order.</p> <p>2002: this right and responsibility expanded to any language. However, if communication in the chosen language is impossible, the state languages are used.</p>	<p>Marking of goods, labels, standards, nomenclatures, instructions of manufactured goods.</p> <p>2008: the order of language use in consumer services and commercial activities “is defined” by the legislation. Refusal to provide consumer services in any republican state language because of lack of their knowledge was counted as illegal and “is to be punished” according to the federal and republican legislations.</p>
(c) Languages of audio-visual information and advertisements	<p>Advertisements are produced in Komi and Russian; public information is provided in the state languages. Square and street names are written in Komi and Russian.</p>	<p>Names of streets are written in the republican state languages; texts of official announcements, information, visual and auditory advertisements, as well as other information, timetables and announcements are duplicated in the republican state languages.</p>
(d) Names of geographical objects	<p>Measures for the maintenance of traditional geographical names are being taken. Road and other public signs are installed in Komi and Russian.</p>	<p>Traditional local geographic names of historical and cultural value are maintained.</p>

Table 3: Language use in public services and other public communications

Mordovia	Udmurtia	Karelia
1998, amended 2010	2001, amended 2010	2004
No separate provision on language use in public services. The document circulation of legal entities is performed in Russian. The Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya) language can also be used, if necessary.	Russian “is used” in industry, agriculture, communications, transport, and power engineering; Udmurt is used if there is need for it.	No separate provision.
No separate provision on language use in consumer services and commercial activities. Labels, standards, nomenclature of goods manufactured in Mordovia and instructions are provided in Russian and, if needed, in Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya).	The republican state languages “are used” in consumer services and commercial activities.	No separate provision.
No separate provision. Traditional square and street names are maintained.	No separate provision.	Texts of documents (document forms, seals, stamps) of executive and municipal authorities as well as legal entities can be accomplished the Karelian, Veps and (or) Finnish languages.
The government defines the list of geographical objects for which the names and signs have to be provided in two or three state languages of the republic or in other local languages.	Names of geographical objects and installation of public signs in the republican state languages. The government decree approved the order.	Measures for the maintenance of names of geographical objects are being taken. Road and other public signs can be installed in the Karelian, Veps and (or) Finnish languages.

4. The official languages in the work environment and language preferences

Some public services are so important that they are divided in separate domains of language use in this study: official languages in the work environment, official mass media and public education. The first of these domains is considered in this section and two others in the next section.

The term “language preferences” refers to an obligation for workers of some professions to know the language, for example those in the spheres of sale, transport, culture, education and other spheres of communication with the population. The list of professions requiring knowledge of the state languages to ensure the proportional representation of main ethnic groups among civil servants and the list of language command qualifications are sometimes adopted by the state authorities. Russia’s language law allowed certain restrictions and norms for the use of languages in the sphere of professional communication envisaged by the introduction of language qualification requirements (article 15). The language command by officials and civil servants is needed for ensuring the right of citizens to address the state authorities in the state languages, as well as to provide public services, including mass media and public education.

The domain of language use in office of enterprises, organizations and other legal entities lies on the border of the private and public sphere. Will Kymlicka considers this domain to be even more important than the domain of communication of citizens with state authorities, because “people only interact with the state on the episodic basis. The real key to the reproduction of the societal culture is the ability to use one’s language in one’s day-to-day employment”. Language use in the work environment is important both in the private and public sector, because “the government is a very large employer” (2001: 156–157). The official status serves as a tool for promoting the use of a certain language in work environments in the public sector. This is done, among other means, through the introduction of language preferences. There is also a general principle of non-discrimination of the basis of language. This is why the introduction of language preferences has to be justified by the need to provide public services in a language that is comprehensible to the population.

Because state authorities are also employers, labour relations should be considered an important part of the work environment. An important type of language preference is the demand for the knowledge of the state languages by officials in all branches of power: the head of the republic,

members of republican parliaments, government officials and civil servants. This element of the domain is conjoined with the domain of working languages of authorities and the domain of public communications for the part of elections. The peculiarity of language preferences in the work environment is that language requirements are presented as a prerequisite for the establishment of labour relations.

As was noted, Russia's Constitutional Court found unconstitutional language requirements for head of republic (RF Constitutional Court Judgment, 27 April 1998). All state servants in Russia (civil, law enforcement and military servants) are obliged to know the state language of the Russian Federation (Federal Law, 31 July 1995, article 21; article 12, Federal Law, 27 May 2003; Federal Law, 27 July 2004, article 21; Federal Law, 2 March 2007, article 4).

In Komi, the absence of knowledge of one of the state languages cannot be a reason for denial of work. It is further stated that language knowledge does not create preferences in any activities, including administration. However, the list of professions demanding the knowledge of both state languages and other languages had to be defined in the state authorities by the republican Supreme Council and in legal entities by the professional instruction (article 18). The 2002 amendment excluded the provision demanding language knowledge. Heads of state authorities were obliged to create conditions for acquiring the minimum knowledge needed for work by all civil servants (article 13). With the 2002 amendment, municipalities were charged with this obligation, too. However, with the 2009 amendment, the obligation of municipalities was excluded from the provision (Law KR, 6 July 2009). There are no language requirements among the general qualification requirements for civil servants in the republican administrative and labour legislation (Law KR, 25 March 1996, 5 March 2005, 21 December 2007).

In Mari El, the language law has a provision that state officials and civil servants must have command of Russian and also of one of the republican state languages, that is, Meadow Mari or Hill Mari, to the extent needed to carry out their professional duties (article 14). There is also a specific language preference in the language law stating that "heads and employees of education institutions are chosen taking into account knowledge of the languages of the institution" (article 39). Otherwise, in the Mari El legislation, there are no language requirements among the general qualification requirements for civil servants (Law RME, 23 February 1995, 7 April 1998).

In Udmurtia, there are no provisions on language preferences in the language law. There used to be a provision that citizens with knowledge of one or two state languages of the Udmurt Republic could enter the civil service (Law UR, 26 November 1997, Article 24). However, the new law does not contain a corresponding provision (Law UR, 5 July 2005, 25 February 1999).

In Mordovia, there are no language preferences either in the language law or in other pieces of legislation (Law RM, 26 January 1996, 28 May 1999). In Karelia there are no language preferences either in the language law or in other pieces of legislation (Law RK, 5 December 1996, 10 January 1997). The culture law established bonuses for the usage of the Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages by workers in libraries, museums, archives, radio, TV, printing houses and other institutions (Law RK, 24 January 1995, article 44). The education departments of municipalities received the right to introduce bonuses for teachers of native languages up to 50%, not by the law, but by the department act (RK State Committee Communication, 17 February 1993).

Therefore, in the republics there are no additional language preferences either for parliament members or for civil servants in the constitutional, administrative and labour legislations of the republics. This is justified by the federal legal provision on the prohibition of discrimination based on language. Financial bonuses for the knowledge of the state languages are provided by Chuvashia's language law (article 3). In Tatarstan, there is still a plan to introduce language preferences and to adopt language qualification minimums as well as financial bonuses to salaries for practical usage of the state languages at work.

5. The official languages in mass media and education

Official mass media are the central channel for communication of the state authorities with citizens. At the same time, national movements use mass media for reinforcement of collective identities (Cormack 2000: 383). This is why the use of minority languages by mass media is an important element of the ethno-political balance. On the level of language ideology, the multinational character of the federal state and the federation units had to be emphasized. Russia's language law states that publication of all-Russian print mass media as well as TV and radio broadcasting are conducted in Russian, while other languages can also be used according to the will of the founders (article 20).

In Komi, the publication of periodicals as well as TV and radio broadcasting are carried out in Komi and Russian (article 22). The 2002 amendment weakened this provision in such a manner that the publication of periodicals, TV and radio broadcasting are carried out in Komi “and (or)” Russian. The provision was added that the republican mass media have the right to use other languages of the peoples living in the Komi Republic. In Mari El, distribution of information for the public in the republic must be provided in the republican state languages (article 47), and the republican TV and radio broadcasting is performed in the republican state languages (article 48). Additionally, the republic ensures priority to the publication of periodicals in the “languages, which demand the state support for their development”, that is in the Mari languages (article 44), and to the translation of movies, audio and video materials into the Mari languages (article 45). The language law of Udmurtia states only that in mass media, the republican state languages and other languages are used, including in translations and dubbing of TV and radio programs (article 21). According to the language law of Mordovia, mass media (radio, TV, print) ensure the usage of the state languages and take into account the needs of individuals of other nationalities (article 21). In Karelia, state and municipal authorities create conditions for the functioning of mass media in the Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages (article 9). These languages can be used through translation and dubbing of TV and other visual production (article 10).

Since the Soviet time, education has probably been the only domain where the use of titular languages was relatively well maintained (see Zamyatin 2014a: 104). Russia’s language law establishes three modes of language teaching: as the language of instruction, as the native language as a subject, and as the state language as a subject (article 9; see Zamyatin 2012a for a comprehensive study on minority language education in Russia).

In Komi, Komi and Russian must be taught as the state languages of the republic in all primary and secondary schools (article 19). At the same time, Komi is not used as the language of instruction and is taught in its capacity of native language only as a subject. In Mari El, Mari and Russian were made to be studied as the state languages are in all republican education institutions (article 11). In addition, Mari was both taught as native language and also functioned as the language of instruction until the 2001 amendment. In Udmurtia, Udmurt was not made compulsory for study by all students as the state language and is taught only as a subject in the

capacity of native language (article 7). In Mordovia, the study of the state languages was introduced as optional (article 10). Erzya and Moksha are used as the languages of instruction in rural primary schools. In Karelia, the Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages can be studied as native language subjects (article 5; see Zamyatin 2012b and 2012c for a comprehensive study on the position of titular languages in the school systems of the Finno-Ugric republics).

The joint data on language use in work environment, mass media and education are presented in Table 4. Regarding mass media, the legal provisions did not change much in the real situation because of their vague character. At the same time, many periodicals have internet versions, often also translated into the titular languages. However, as was stated above, there are still not many regulations for this sphere in the republican legislations. Regarding education, since the entering into force of a new Federal Education Law, the expansion of compulsory teaching of titular languages as the state languages of the republic is no longer on the agenda, and teaching of native languages is on the retreat (Federal Law, 29 December 2012).

6. Deficiencies of the laws that undermine official bilingualism

The formal justification for the language laws was the need to create a legal basis for the republican authorities to implement the language policies and to ensure protection of individual language rights in the new conditions of a democratic society. However, the original idea behind the status planning in the republics, backed by ethnic elites, was to create a foundation for the expansion of titular languages. However, ethnic elites had to negotiate and compromise their claims with regional Russian elites, who saw their interest in symbolic recognition of languages as a way to support their claim for more regionalism but were unwilling to support the expansion. The reluctance of the Russian elites was grounded in their majority language ideologies, including the assumption of “efficiency”, that one language best serves the functionality of the state apparatus, the assumption that the state’s “integrity” is best served on a precondition of one language, and the assumption that “progress” inevitably leads to language loss (see Blommaert 1996: 210–212, Patrick 2010: 181–183). The findings of the current study contribute to the conclusion of the previous study that found a correlation between the relative strength of ethnic elites and the level of institutionalization of titular languages (Zamyatin 2013c: 140–143).

Already the fact that the language law of Mari El is twice as thick as the other language laws demonstrates an exceptional attitude of the legislator towards the promotion of the titular language in this republic.

Regarding their scope, the language laws in Komi and Mordovia are focused on their state languages. Concerning other languages, it was noted that, according to Russia's language law, languages of compactly living minorities can perform some official functions in municipalities according to regional legislations. This possibility was provided for other languages from the beginning, e. g. in the republics of Bashkortostan and Sakha, but not in the republics under consideration. Yet, also in the laws of the latter ones, some elements of the official status were introduced for other languages, e. g. local languages can be used in the arrangement and holding of elections and referenda. The language laws in Udmurtia and Mari El have a wider scope of application, which includes not only the state languages of the republics, but also the other "languages of the peoples of the republic". Nevertheless, also in these laws most provisions regulate exclusively the official status of their state languages. The laws provide the state languages with some important possibilities concerning their use in administrative issues, in education, and in other domains. The scope and configuration of the public domains can be traced back to the common framework for the republican language laws, which was Russia's language law (see Zamyatin 2013: 143). Similarly, regarding the content, there are only few provisions on corpus planning and prestige planning for the titular languages in the laws, as these aspects of language planning are practically absent in Russia's law.

Karelia is an interesting case, as the titular language was not designated as the state languages of the republic. However, the analysis demonstrated that the actual domains of language use are not so different from those in the other republics. As in the other republics, the Karelian Law recognizes the right of free choice of the language of instruction, the right to learn the Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages and to receive education in these languages (article 5). These languages can be used in publication of laws and other legal acts in the Republic of Karelia (article 6), in arranging and holding of elections and referenda on the territory of Karelia (article 7), can be used by state and municipal authorities, public institutions (article 8) and mass media (article 9), in the fields of culture, arts and education (article 10), in names of geographical objects, road and other signs (article 11). Therefore, the absence of the status of state language did not automati-

Republic	Komi	Mari El
Language law	1992, amended 2002, 2009	1995, amended 2001, 2008, 2009, 2011
The official languages in work environment and language preferences	<p>1992: the list of professions requiring the knowledge of both state languages and other languages in the state authorities had to be defined.</p> <p>2002: no list provided.</p> <p>An obligation for the heads of authorities and municipalities to create conditions for acquiring the minimum knowledge required for work by all servants.</p> <p>2009: no obligation for municipalities.</p>	<p>State officials and civil servants must have command of Russian and also of one of the republican state languages, that is, Meadow Mari or Hill Mari, to the extent required to carry out their professional duties. “Heads and employees of education institutions are chosen taking into account knowledge of the languages of the institution”.</p>
The official languages in mass media	<p>1992: publication of periodicals, TV and radio broadcasting are carried out in Komi and Russian.</p> <p>2002: publication of periodicals, TV and radio broadcasting are carried out in Komi “and (or)” Russian. The republican mass media have the right to use other languages of the peoples living in the Komi Republic.</p>	<p>Distribution of public information in the republic must be carried out in the republican state languages; the republican TV and radio broadcasting is performed in the republican state languages. Additionally, the republic ensures priority to the publication of periodicals in the “languages, which demand the state support for their development” and the translation of movies, audio and video materials into the Mari languages.</p>
The official languages in education	<p>The right to choose the language of upbringing and instruction. The state languages, Komi and Russian, are studied in all schools.</p> <p>1992: the right to choose Komi or Russian for entering high professional, higher education institutions and accomplishing research.</p> <p>2009: languages of upbringing and instruction are defined by the founder of the educational institution.</p>	<p>The right to choose freely the language of upbringing and instruction; the equal right to receive education in one’s chosen native language. Free choice of education institution, but also by the demand that Mari and Russian as the state languages are studied in all republican education institutions. The right to “pass exams in one of the state languages”.</p>

Table 4: The official languages in work environment, official mass media and public education

Mordovia	Udmurtia	Karelia
1998, amended 2010	2001, amended 2010	2004
No language preferences.	No language preferences.	No language preferences.
Mass media (radio, TV, print) ensure the usage of the state languages and take into account the needs of individuals of other nationalities.	In mass media, the republican state languages and other languages are used, including translations and dubbing of TV and radio programs.	State and municipal authorities create conditions for the functioning of mass media in the Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages. These languages can be used by translation and dubbing of TV and other visual production.
<p>Parents have the right to choose the language of instruction according to federal legislation.</p> <p>1998: the right to pass the entrance exams of high professional and higher education institutions in Mordvin (Moksha or Erzya).</p> <p>2010: the republic creates the conditions for citizens to learn the state languages and other languages of compactly living groups within the potentialities provided by the education system.</p>	<p>The right of citizens to choose freely the language of upbringing and instruction. This right and the right to receive pre-school, primary and secondary school education in one's native language are restricted to the potentialities provided by the education system. Creation and support of national schools, classes and groups. Russian and Udmurt as the state languages are studied as subjects "according to the legislation".</p>	<p>The Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages can be studied as subjects in educational institutions according to federal and republican legislation. Citizens have the right to choose freely the language of education and upbringing, to learn the Karelian, Veps and Finnish languages and to receive general education in these languages. The republic ensures these rights by creating the required number of classes, groups.</p>

cally amount to a lower level of institutionalization of the titular language. The difference is that the Karelian Law defines that the languages “can be used”, whereas the language laws of the other republics define that the state languages of the republics “are used” and “have to be used”. The problem is that the formulas like “are used” and “have to be used” are interpreted by implementers not as rules but almost as recommendations.

Therefore, one should bear in mind that even a relatively high level of institutionalization in some republics does not guarantee a similarly high level of implementation of the provisions (see Zamyatin 2014b for the study on policy implementation through governmental executive programs in the Finno-Ugric republics). Of the list of measures prescribed by the language laws, only few are actually implemented and the rest remains on paper. The language laws have neither direct enforcement, nor funding, because financial resources are assigned via separate administrative regulations. In this situation, much is left at the discretion of government officials. Further formulas opening the corridor for non-implementation and, thus, amounting to the deficiencies of laws in terms of their efficiency in pursuing the policy goals are: “can be used”, “if possible”, “if there is need for it”, “according to the order defined in legislation” or “according to the legislation”. The inclusion of these restrictive qualifications is more characteristic of the language laws in republics with weaker ethnic elites, but also e. g. of the Mari El language law after the 2001 amendment.

Legal provisions typically are not formulated as individual language rights. For example, there are only two citizens’ rights in the Udmurtian language law – the restricted right to receive education in one’s own language and the restricted right to make requests to the authorities in one’s own language. In the Mari El language law, the second right is formulated more broadly as the right to communicate with authorities in one’s own language, also at their sessions, as well as the right to receive oral information and documents in the state languages of the republic. Additionally, there is the individual right to choose personal names according to national traditions (article 51). Thus, the republican laws do not add anything new to the short list of rights provided by Russia’s language law. The only extension of federal legislation was the establishment in the Mari El language law of the right to receive oral information and documents from authorities in the republican state languages. Implementation of rare language rights depends on the initiative of citizens, on their activeness in demanding their rights. However, a further deficiency is that even those

few rights are not self-executing, that is, they cannot be invoked directly in court. A striking example is the right of parliamentarians and executive officials to speak in the language of their choice on authorities' sessions, which, however, is never used in practice. Furthermore, in court practice, the citizens' demands are typically refused.

Finally, one more deficiency is that language legislations in the republics under consideration do not create concrete mechanisms of responsibility for breaches of language legislation. The Komi language law is interesting, because it is noted there that individuals who create obstacles to citizens' ability to enjoy their choice of the state languages for communications bear responsibility according to defined order (article 6). The 2002 amendment broadened the possibility of the choice not just to the state languages, but to any language. The problem is that this responsibility is not further defined. Thus, the Komi provision is weaker than, for example, the provision of the infringement of the language legislation of the Kabardin-Balkarian Republic, where the Code "On Administrative Offences" contains concrete sanctions (Code KBR, 22 July 2003, Article 3.1; Vasil'eva 2007: 37–38).

Conclusion

The study shows that the expansion of titular languages became the policy goal in all the republics, but far from all domains were institutionalized for titular languages. It was only a certain range of regional authorities and a certain degree of institutionalization of titular languages, because the scope of their expansion was restricted both by the federal design and the parallel official status of Russian as the default setting effectively prevented this expansion by not requiring the use of the titular language (see Zamyatin 2014a: 103).

The data demonstrate that (1) the titular languages had not become the working languages of authorities, (2) but were partly institutionalized for the purpose of interaction with citizens, especially in providing visual and sometimes auditory information and (3) also partly but somewhat better institutionalized in the provision of public services. (4) The position of the titular languages as the language in office remains weak; (5) the languages are relatively better institutionalized in mass media and education. In institutionalized domains, mainly those elements of the official status that convey symbolic message of recognition were introduced in the case of

titular languages. In its symbolic function, the official status works mostly as a symbol of national identity, and one might infer that exactly for that reason, the visual elements are central. However, symbolic use only indirectly promotes communicative use. The inclusion of restricting qualifications in relation to the institutionalized communicative elements might reveal the intention not to implement these conditioned provisions of the laws. As Alexandr Osipov (2012: 425) points out, the decouplement of the symbolic policies of recognition from instrumental policies is a characteristic of Russia's system of diversity management. This could also be a remnant of the Soviet-era practices of seeming recognition of the multinational character of the state along with the folklorization of cultures.

These results of the study on the situation of the languages in the public domains in Russia's national republics witness that this is a case of functional distribution of diglossia, when it is nearly impossible to expand the use in the public domains of a language with a lower status (Fishman 1967; the author is indebted to Tove Skutnabb-Kangas for this point, see Zamyatin 2015: 127). In a perceived "zero-sum" game, significant efforts might be needed in order to expand minority language use, which, however, could still fall short of the goals in conditions when the titular group and its ethnic elite are in the minority (see Zamyatin 2014a: 124–127). Therefore, the implication of the study is that a top-down approach through the expansion of official language use alone can hardly reverse language shift. Official status might be not of special help for revival, because it deals with auxiliary fields and does not influence language practices directly, although it might promote language prestige and, thus, indirectly change language attitudes and language practices. Further sociological and sociolinguistic research could concentrate on evaluating the impact of policy in order to test the link between official policy and language practices.

Konstantin Zamyatin

*Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies,
P.O. Box 3, FI-00014 University of Helsinki, Finland
<konstazam@hotmail.com>*

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- Federal Law, 27 July 2004 = Федеральный Закон от 27.07.2004 г. № 79 “О государственной гражданской службе Российской Федерации”.
- Federal Law, 1 June 2005 = Федеральный Закон от 1.06.2005 г. № 53 “О государственном языке Российской Федерации”.
- Federal Law, 27 July 2006 = Федеральный Закон от 27.07.2006 г. № 149 “Об информации, информационных технологиях и о защите информации”.

- Federal Law, 2 March 2007 = Федеральный Закон от 2.03.2007 г. № 25 “О муниципальной службе в Российской Федерации”.
- Federal Law, 9 February 2009 = Федеральный Закон от 9.02.2009 г. № 8 “Об обеспечении доступа к информации о деятельности государственных органов и органов местного самоуправления”.
- Federal Law, 29 December 2012 = Федеральный Закон от 29.12.2012 г. № 273 “Об образовании в Российской Федерации”.

Komi Republic

- KR Law, 28 May 1992 (amended by the KR Laws, 16 July 2002 and 6 July 2009) = Закон Республики Коми от 28.05.1992 г. № 58 “О государственных языках Республики Коми” (с изменениями и дополнениями, внесенными Законами Республики Коми от 16.07.2002 № 76 и 6.07.2009 № 63).
- KR Council of Ministers, 25 April 1994 = Постановление Совета Министров Республики Коми от 25.04.1994 г. № 167 “О Республиканской термино-орфографической комиссии при Совете Министров Республике Коми”.
- KR Law, 24 October 1994 (new Law, 19 December 2006) = Закон Республики Коми от 24.10.1994 г. № 2 “О статусе депутата Государственного Совета Республики Коми” (новый Закон от 19.12.2006 № 140).
- Rules of the Procedure, 7 February 1995 (new Rules of the Procedure, 18 December 2002) = Регламент Государственного Совета Республики Коми, утвержден Постановлением Государственного Совета Республики Коми от 7.02.1995 г. (новый Регламент от 18.12.2002).
- KR Law, 15 June 1995 = Закон Республики Коми от 15.06.1995 г. № 14 “О выборах в органы государственной власти в Республике Коми”.
- KR Law, 25 March 1996 = Закон Республики Коми от 25.03.1996 г. № 12 “О государственной службе Республики Коми”.
- KR Ministry for Nationalities Affairs Order, 15 August 1997 (new Order 13 May 2004) = Приказ Министерства по делам национальностей Республики Коми от 15.08.1997 № 119 (новый Приказ от 13.05.2004).
- KR Election, 16 June 1998 = Кодекс Республики Коми о выборах и референдумах в Республике Коми от 16.06.1998 г. № 26.
- KR Government Decree, 23 May 2002 = Постановление Правительства Республики Коми от 23.05.2002 г. № 63 “Об утверждении Регламента Правительства Республики Коми”.
- KR Law, 16 October 2002 = Закон Республики Коми от 16.10.2002 г. № 101 “О порядке опубликования и вступления в силу законов Республики Коми”.
- KR Government Decree, 18 October 2004 = Постановление Правительства Республики Коми от 18.10.2004 г. № 178 “О Правилах написания географических названий на коми языке”.
- KR Law, 21 May 2004 = Закон Республики Коми от 21.05.2004 г. № 30 “О некоторых вопросах в области сохранения, использования, популяризации и государственной охраны объектов культурного наследия (памятников истории и культуры) на территории Республики Коми”.

Deficiencies of Official Bilingualism in the Finno-Ugric Republics of Post-Soviet Russia

- KR Law, 5 March 2005 = Закон Республики Коми от 5.03.2005 г. № 10 “О некоторых вопросах государственной гражданской службы Республики Коми”.
- KR Law, 7 July 2006 = Закон Республики Коми от 7.07.2006 г. № 65 “О выборах, референдумах и опросе в Республике Коми”.
- KR Law, 21 December 2007 = Закон Республики Коми от 21.12.2007 г. № 133 “О некоторых вопросах муниципальной службы в Республике Коми”.
- KR Government Decree, 5 February 2008 = Постановление Правительства Республики Коми от 5.02.2008 г. № 20.
- KR Government Decree, 24 February 2009 = Постановление Правительства Республики Коми от 24.02.2009 г. № 35.

Republic of Mari El

- RME Law, 10 November 1993 (new Law, 11 June 2003) = Закон Республики Марий Эл от 10.11.1993 г. “О выборах депутатов Государственного Собрания Республики Марий Эл” (новый Закон от 11.06.2003).
- RME Law, 15 February 1994 = Закон Республики Марий Эл от 15.02.1994 г. № 43 “О статусе депутата Государственного Собрания Республики Марий Эл”.
- RME Law, 23 February 1995 = Закон Республики Марий Эл от 23.02.1995 г. № 194 “О государственной службе в Республике Марий Эл”.
- RME Law, 26 October 1995 (amended by the Laws of the Republic of Mari El, 19 September 2001, 2 December 2008, 16 March 2009, 10 March 2011) = Закон Республики Марий Эл от 26.10.1995 г. № 290 “О языках в Республике Марий Эл” (в редакции Закона от 19.09.2001 г. № 33 и с изменениями и дополнениями, внесенными Законами от 2.12.2008 № 68, 16.03.2009 № 13, 10.03.2011 № 9).
- RME Law, 7 April 1998 = Закон Республики Марий Эл от 7.04.1998 г. № 73 “О муниципальной службе в Республике Марий Эл”.
- RME Government Decree, 8 July 2000 = Постановление Правительства Республики Марий Эл от 8.07.2000 г.
- RME Government Decree, 29 March 2001 = Постановление Правительства Республики Марий Эл от 29.03.2001 г.
- RME Government Decree, 10 April 2001 (new Rules of the Procedure, 2 October 2006) = Постановление Правительства Республики Марий Эл от 10.04.2001 г. № 120 “О Регламенте Правительства Республики Марий Эл” (новое Постановление от 2.10.2006 № 204).
- RME Law, 18 September 2001 = Закон Республики Марий Эл от 18.09.2001 г. № 23 “О Правительстве Республики Марий Эл”.
- RME Law, 7 December 2001 = Закон Республики Марий Эл от 7.12.2001 г. № 45 “О Государственном Собрании Республики Марий Эл”.
- RME Law, 11 June 2003 = Закон Республики Марий Эл от 11.06.2003 г. № 21 “О референдуме Республики Марий Эл”.
- Yoshkar-Ola Court Judgment, 23 March 2004 = Постановление суда города Йошкар-Ола от 23.03.2004.

- RME Ministry, 12 November 2004 = Письмо Министерства внутренних дел Республики Марий Эл от 12.11.2004 г.
- RME Law, 28 June 2005 = Закон Республики Марий Эл от 28.06.2005 г. № 133 “О постоянных комитетах Государственного Собрания Республики Марий Эл”.
- RME FMS Department Communication, 10 October 2007 = Письмо Департамента Федеральной миграционной службы по Республике Марий Эл от 10.10.2007 г.
- RME Government Communication, 16 November 2007 = Письмо Правительства Республики Марий Эл от 16.11.2007 г.
- RME Government Decree, 14 December 2008 = Постановление Правительства Республики Марий Эл от 14.12.2008 г.
- Rules of the Procedure of the State Assembly of the Republic of Mari El, 24 September 2009 = Регламент Государственного Собрания Республики Марий Эл, утвержден Постановлением Государственного Собрания Республики Марий Эл от 24.09.2009 г. № 770.

Udmurt Republic

- UR Law, 23 January 1994 (new Laws, 1 June 2003 and 13 April 2007) = Закон Удмуртской Республики от 23.01.1994 г. “О выборах депутатов Государственного Совета Удмуртской Республики” (новый Закон от 1.06.2003 № 27 и 13.04.2007 г. № 803).
- UR Law, 14 December 1994 (new Laws, 20 February 2001 and 5 December 2007) = Закон Удмуртской Республики от 14.12.1994 г. № 669 “О Государственном Совете Удмуртской Республики” (новые Законы от 6.03.2001 № 7 и 5.12.2007 № 65).
- UR State Council Rules of the Procedure, 26 April 1995 (new Rules of the Procedure, 17 April 2001, 25 November 2008) = Постановление Правительства Республики от 26.04.1995 г. № 120 “О Регламенте Правительства Удмуртской Республики” (новые Постановления от 17.04.2001 г. № 390 и 25 ноября 2008 г. № 183).
- UR Law, 16 May 1995 (new Law, 2 March 2001) = Закон Удмуртской Республики от 16.05.1995 г. № 30 “О Правительстве Удмуртской Республики” (новый Закон от 2.03.2001 № 6).
- UR Law, 30 May 1995 = Закон Удмуртской Республики от 30.05.1995 г. № 50 “О постоянных комиссиях Государственного Совета Удмуртской Республики”.
- UR Government Decree, 13 November 1995 = Постановление Правительства Удмуртской Республики от 13.11.1995 г. № 316 “О республиканской термино-орфографической комиссии по удмуртскому языку”.
- UR Law, 26 November 1997 = Закон Удмуртской Республики от 26.11.1997 г. № 523 “О государственной службе Удмуртской Республики”.
- UR Law, 25 February 1999 (new Law, 20 March 2008) = Закон Удмуртской Республики от 25.02.1999 г. № 746 “О муниципальной службе в Удмуртской Республике” (новый Закон от 20.03.2008 № 10).
- UR Law, 27 November 2001 (amended by the UR Law, 21 June 2010) = Закон Удмуртской Республики от 27.11.2001 г. № 60 “О государственных языках Удмуртской Республики и иных языках народов Удмуртской Республики (с изменениями и дополнениями, внесенными Законом Удмуртской Республики от 21.06.2010 № 26).

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- UR Law, 18 December 2002 (new Law, 29 March 2007) = Закон Удмуртской Республики от 18.12.2002 г. № 73 “О референдуме Удмуртской Республики” (новый Закон от 29.03.2007 № 10).
- UR Government Decree, 24 January 2003 = Постановление Правительства Удмуртской Республики от 24.01.2003 г. № 100 “О регламенте Правительства Удмуртской Республики”.
- UR Law, 5 July 2005 = Закон Удмуртской Республики от 5.07.2005 г. № 38 “О государственной гражданской службе Удмуртской Республики”.
- UR Government Decree, 7 November 2005 = Постановление Правительства Удмуртской Республики от 7.11.2005 г. № 159 “Об утверждении порядка оформления наименований географических объектов и установки дорожных обозначений и указателей на государственных языках Удмуртской Республики”.
- UR Government Decree, 5 December 2005 = Постановление Правительства Удмуртской Республики от 5.12.2005 г. № 1164 “О признании утратившим силу постановления Правительства Удмуртской Республики от 13 ноября 1995 года № 316 «О республиканской термино-орфографической комиссии по удмуртскому языку»”.
- UR President Decree, 8 December 2005 = Указ Президента Удмуртской Республики от 8.12.2005 г. № 148 “О Республиканской термино-орфографической комиссии по удмуртскому языку”.
- UR Law, 26 February 2008 = Закон Удмуртской Республики от 26.02.2008 г. № 1 “О статусе депутата Государственного Совета Удмуртской Республики”.

Republic of Mordovia

- RM Law, 17 February 1994 (new Law 27 June 2006) = Закон Республики Мордовия от 17.02.1994 г. № “О выборах депутатов Государственного Собрания Республики Мордовия” (новый Закон от 27.06.2006 г. № 41).
- RM State Assembly Rules of the Procedure, 10 March 1995 (new Rules of the Procedure, 14 February 2002) = Регламент Государственного Собрания Республики Мордовия, утвержден Законом Республики Мордовия от 10.03.1995 г. № 61 (новый Регламент от 14.02.2002 № 602).
- RM Law, 10 March 1995 = Закон Республики Мордовия от 10.03.1995 г. № 62 “О комитетах и комиссиях Государственного Собрания Республики Мордовия”.
- RM Law, 27 July 1995 (new Law, 23 January 2004) = Закон Республики Мордовия от 27.07.1995 г. № 267 “О референдуме Республики Мордовия” (новый Закон от 23.01.2004 № 19).
- RM Law, 26 January 1996 = Закон Республики Мордовия от 26.01.1996 г. № 10 “О государственной службе Республики Мордовия”.
- RM Law, 16 April 1996 (new Law, 12 November 2001) = Закон Республики Мордовия от 16.04.1996 г. “О Правительстве Республики Мордовия” (новый Закон от 12.11.2001 № 42).
- RM Law of the Republic of Mordovia “On the Status of the Deputy of the State Assembly of the Republic of Mordovia”, 28 February 1997 = Закон Республики Мордовия от 20.02.1997 г. № 17 “О статусе депутата Государственного Собрания Республики Мордовия”.

- RM Law, 26 May 1998 (amended by the Law of the Republic of Mordovia, 12 March 2010) = Закон Республики Мордовия от 26.05.1998 г. № 19 “О государственных языках в Республике Мордовия” (с изменениями и дополнениями, внесенными Законом Республики Мордовия от 12.03.2010 № 4).
- RM Government Decree, 10 June 1998 = Постановление Правительства Республики Мордовия от 10.06.1998 г. № 226 “О Регламенте Правительства Республики Мордовия”.
- RM Law, 28 May 1999 = Закон Республики Мордовия от 28.05.1999 г. № 30 “О муниципальной службе в Республике Мордовия”.
- RM Law, 1 June 2000 = Закон Республики Мордовия от 1.06.2000 г. “О правовых актах муниципальных органов и муниципальных служащих Республики Мордовия”.
- RM Law, 21 February 2002 = Закон Республики Мордовия от 21.02.2002 г. № 10 “О правовых актах Республики Мордовия”.
- RM Law, 19 March 2004 = Закон Республики Мордовия от 19.03.2004 г. № 34 “О Государственном Собрании Республики Мордовия”.
- RM Government Decree, 25 October 2010 = Постановление Правительства Республики Мордовия от 25.10.2010 г. № 405 “О Республиканской термино-орфографической комиссии по мордовскому (мокшанскому и эрзянскому) языку”.

Republic of Karelia

- KASSR Law, 6 May 1990 = Закон Карельской АССР от 6.05.1990 г. “О порядке опубликования и вступления в силу Законов Карельской АССР и других нормативно-правовых актов Верховного Совета Карельской АССР”.
- RK Law, 19 April 1991 = Закон Республики Карелия от 19.04.1991 г. “О статусе народного депутата Верховного Совета Республики Карелия”.
- KASSR Law, 24 April 1991 = Закон Карельской АССР от 24.04.1991 г. “О референдуме в Карельской АССР”.
- RK State Committee Communication, 17 February 1993 = Письмо Государственного комитета Республики Карелия по труду и социальным вопросам от 17.03.1993 г.
- RK Law, 10 November 1993 (new Law 28 November 1997) 1991 = Закон Республики Карелия от 10.11.1993 г. “О референдуме в Республике Карелия” (новый Закон от 28.11.1997).
- RK Law, 17 January 1994 = Закон Республики Карелия от 17.01.1994 г. № XII-23/611 “О выборах депутатов Законодательного Собрания Республики Карелия”.
- RK Legislative Assembly Rules of the Procedure, 17 May 1994 (new Rules of the Procedure, 22 February 2007) = Регламент Законодательного Собрания Республики Карелия, утвержден Постановлением Правительства Республики Карелия от 17.05.1994 г. (новый Регламент от 28.11.1997).
- RK Legislative Assembly Decree, 17 May 1994 = Постановление Законодательного Собрания Республики Карелия от 17.05.1994 г. № 1 “О вступлении в права Законодательного Собрания Республики Карелия”.
- RK Law, 14 September 1994 = Закон Республики Карелия от 14.09.1994 г. № 6 “О комитете Законодательного Собрания Республики Карелия”.

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- RK Law, 24 January 1995 = Закон Республики Карелия от 24.01.1995 г. № 31 “О культуре”.
- RK Law, 5 December 1996 = Закон Республики Карелия от 5.12.1996 г. № 160 “О муниципальной службе в Республике Карелия”.
- RK Law, 10 January 1997 = Закон Республики Карелия от 10.01.1997 г. № 167 “О государственной службе Республики Карелия”.
- RK Government Chairman Decree, 25 May 1998 = Постановление Председателя Правительства Республики Карелия от 25.05.1998 г. № 340 “О термино-орфографической комиссии”.
- RK Law, 27 April 1999 = Закон Республики Карелия от 27.04.1999 г. № 348 “О Правительстве Республики Карелия”.
- RK Law, 24 May 2000 = Закон Республики Карелия от 24.05.2000 г. № 410 “О нормативно-правовых актах Республики Карелия”.
- RK Head Decree, 29 May 2003 = Указ Главы Республики Карелия от 29.05.2003 г. № 94 “О термино-орфографической комиссии при Главе Республики Карелия”.
- RK Law, 19 March 2004 = Закон Республики Карелия от 19.03.2004 г. № 759 “О государственной поддержке карельского, вепсского и финского языков в Республике Карелия”.
- RK Legislative Assembly Decree, 24 May 2007 = Постановление Законодательного Собрания Республики Карелия от 24.05.2007 г. № 439 “О комитете Законодательного Собрания Республики Карелия”.

Republic of Tatarstan

- RT Law, 12 January 2013 = Закон Республики Татарстан от 12.01.2013 г. № 1 “Об использовании татарского языка как государственного языка Республики Татарстан”.

Kabardin-Balkarian Republic

- KBR Code, 22 July 2003 = Кодекс Кабардино-Балкарской Республики от 22.07.2003 г. № 66 “Об административных нарушениях”.

Northern European Prehistory, From Below

CHARLOTTE DAMM & JANNE SAARIKIVI (eds): *Networks, Interaction and Emerging Identities in Fennoscandia and Beyond. Papers from the conference held in Tromsø, Norway, October 13–16, 2009*. Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seuran Toimituksia 265. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura 2012.

The bulk of the articles contained in the present volume are ethnographical and archaeological case studies which base themselves on theoretical notions such as social networks and interaction, rather than fixed concepts of ethnicity and identity. In terms of geographical scope, the articles range from Alaska to Japan, but a large number of them focus on various aspects of Saami history. In terms of time depth, many of the articles concern themselves with the time of colonialization and contacts between hunter-gatherer populations and emerging states. This collection of articles is based on the 2009 conference in Tromsø mentioned in the title, which itself was the conclusion of a research project, *Early network-*

ing in Northern Fennoscandia, based at the Centre for Advanced Studies in Oslo in 2008–2009. The articles are divided into two parts: the first, *...and beyond*, focusing on wider contexts than that of northern Fennoscandia, the second, *Northern Fennoscandia*, focusing on the area defined by the research project.

In the introductory chapter (VII–XIII), Charlotte Damm and Janne Saarikivi introduce the research project that lay at the basis of this collection, defining its focus as lying on hunter-fisher-gatherer societies of the north and their interaction with farmer societies and emerging states to the south. In terms of theoretical orientation, they express criticism towards projecting established ethnic and linguistic identities back to prehistoric times, and instead propose orienting towards a more basic level of analysis in terms of social networks. This theoretical framework is worked out in more detail in Damm's as well as Saarikivi and Lavento's articles later in the volume, and is indeed manifest in the vast majority of the articles.

The first paper, *Alaskan analogues and eastern uncertainties: Reconstructing Thule Inuit interaction networks in the Eastern North American Arctic* by T. Max Friesen (3–26), deals with the society of the Classic Thule Period (approx. 1300–1500) in the far northeast of North America. This society was characterized by a coastal economy based on the hunting of large marine mammals such as bowhead whales, a “delayed-return” economy which means that resources (such as the aforementioned large marine mammals) were acquired in large quantities at the same time and then stored for later use, and a great deal of complexity and variety in settlement types, means of transport, etc. (4–5). What we don’t know about the Classic Thule society are issues such as the extent of social differentiation, conflict and warfare (both within Classic Thule society and with outside groups), demographics and size of settlements, etc. (5–6). To find an answer to such questions, Max Friesen proposes looking for an analogical model among contemporary societies of the North American Arctic, and settles on that of the Inupiat of North-western Alaska, which is described in detail (8–10). An important contrast between NW Alaskan society and that of the Classic Thule period is that NW Alaskan society

is the product of centuries of development, in which boundaries and territorial divisions were highly consolidated, whereas Classic Thule society was the result of the settlement of “new lands”. This could mean that in Classic Thule, regional boundaries were more unstable, interregional interaction and partnerships more intense, and relations with outsider groups (Dorset culture Palaeo-Eskimos, Norse settlers, Algonquians) more unsettled (13–14). Whereas Max Friesen finds that evidence for trade in high-status goods suggests that Classic Thule society was socially differentiated like that of NW Alaska (17), we cannot say anything about the location of specific regional groups (15), the role of warfare (18), or indeed trade in bulk goods and the presence of trade fairs (18). It is furthermore not only so that evidence for trade in bulk goods, trade fairs, and warfare is missing, but that the archaeological record indicates that these phenomena were absent (20). This leads Max Friesen to caution about the role of analogical reasoning in ethnography (21).

In the second paper, *From hunter to herder? Investigating the spread of transport innovations in Northwest Siberia* (27–48), Peter Jordan investigates the adoption of reindeer among the Khanty of the upper

tributaries of the Ob River, specifically those of the Iugan basin. Jordan sketches the contrast between reindeer herding in the northern tundra, with vast herds used for meat and other materials, and that of the boreal forests, with smaller-scale herding for transportation purposes (28). The integration of reindeer into the hunting and fishing economies of the forest zones, such as that of the Iugan basin Khanty, raises questions: in order to protect reindeer against mosquitoes, for example, the location of summer sites needs to be adapted to the needs of the reindeer, meaning that reindeer bring significant costs as well as potential benefits (40). Why, then, did the Iugan basin Khanty import reindeer? Notably, they were imported from the northern tundra, rather than bred locally (31). One possible answer is that pressure from Russian colonialization and more intense taxation forced the Khanty to change their lifestyle, either by developing a more settled culture based on commercial fishing, or by intensifying fur-hunting with a greater geographical range, with the help of reindeer for transportation. Jordan rejects this explanation: the tendency towards more dispersed settlement among the Iugan basin Khanty and the intensification of fur-hunting long preceded the in-

roduction of reindeer in the 19th century (33–34). Instead, a spate of forest fires and a shortage of local woodland and game in the 19th century may have forced the Khanty to adopt the reindeer in order to increase mobility and hunting range (35). However, this adoption was only partially successful: in some smaller communities, the labour costs associated with reindeer herding proved too great, and reindeer herding was subsequently abandoned. With this idea, the article exemplifies how the adoption of new technology is not always advantageous: it may bring along a range of practical problems that may prove unsurmountable (40).

The third paper, *Navigating hunter-gatherer resilience: networks and insularity in the prehistory of the Ryukyu Islands* (49–66) by Mark J. Hudson, Mami Aoyama and Kara C. Hoover, differs from the previous both in scope (which ranges over several millennia) and geographical location – the Ryukyu islands are subtropical rather than subarctic. The authors base themselves on the concept of resilience: the amount of stress a system such as a society can undergo from outside influences (such as natural catastrophes or climate change) and still remain intact (50–51). Their research question is to what extent the specific circum-

stances of small islands, with, for example, generally low biodiversity but the presence of endemic species found nowhere else, affected the resilience of local hunter-gatherer societies (50–52). The islands studied fall into two groups: the Amami and Okinawa islands in the north, and the Sakishima islands to the south. The Amami and Okinawa islands show a pottery culture from about 9000 BP, with apparent links to the Jōmon culture of Kyushu to the north – though in little else than pottery (53–54). The Sakishima islands, on the other hand, bear no evidence of any northern links and may well have been first settled from Taiwan or Southeast Asia (55). An important difference is that while settlement on the Amami and Okinawa islands endured constantly, human settlements on the Sakishima islands died out twice – first in approx. 3500 BP with new settlement arriving from possibly the Philippines after a hiatus of about 800 years, and for the second time at the end of the first millennium AD (56–57). To answer the question of why human society on the Sakishima islands collapsed twice, but that of Okinawa and Amami remained, the authors argue that the role of trade networks such as that in shell trade needs to be more thoroughly researched. Isolation in the absence of trade networks leaves

an island society more vulnerable to social collapse, but the presence of trade networks may bring along epidemic diseases and the possibility of exploitative social relations (57). Furthermore, periodic tsunamis may have contributed to the collapse of the earliest prehistoric culture in Sakishima (58). The relevance of studies such as these for the challenges posed to hunter-gatherer populations by environmental change is obvious and made explicit by the authors (49–50).

Robert Jarvenpa's and Hetty Jo Brumback's paper *The Chipewyan-Cree-Métis Interaction Sphere and the Fur Trade Political Economy: Archaeological, Ethnohistorical and Ethnographic Approaches* (67–92) studies the interrelationship of Chipewyan, Cree and Métis Cree, and Euro-Canadian groups during the expansion of the fur trade in central subarctic Canada in the late 19th century. During this time, some Chipewyan groups moved southwards in the lower Churchill River basin and came under the dominance of local Cree groups (67–70), while a Métis Cree labourer class emerged with the expansion and commercialization of the fur trade (74). The result was a tripartite economic system based on Chipewyan and Cree hunters (as well as, to some extent, white trap-

pers), a Métis labourer class whose life revolved around trade posts, and a Euro-Canadian managerial class (74). The authors hypothesize that during this period, the biogeographical niches available to Chipewyan and Cree hunter-gatherer groups expanded, and that economic specialization, integration into the main political economy and contacts with the Euro-Canadian community are indexed by a greater intake of imported, rather than local food. Furthermore, they postulate that interethnic relationships, traditionally rather hostile between the Chipewyan and Cree, became gradually more cooperative, and that a kind of socioeconomic stratification emerged (74). These hypotheses are investigated through historical archaeology (e.g. studying the remains of canned, rather than locally produced food), archival ethnohistory and ethnography (77). The results are that some expansion of biogeographical niches is evident for Chipewyan groups, but not Cree (84–85), and that in terms of food consumption, a strong contrast emerged between Chipewyan hunters on the one hand, who remained reliant on locally produced food, and Métis labourers as well as white trappers on the other, who were dependent on imported food (79, 85). In terms of dwelling size, a contrast emerged

between relatively large Chipewyan dwellings, smaller Cree dwellings, and the smallest dwellings for Euro-Canadian trappers: this is related to familial relationships. With the Chipewyan, a recently married daughter would, with her husband, live for a while with her parents. Furthermore, Cree and Métis Cree may have had more external storage space, making for smaller dwelling houses. The dwellings of white trappers were the smallest, as these were usually bachelors only living in the area for some years. (80). Whereas the authors find that a kind of socioeconomic stratification definitely emerged, with Cree and Métis Cree dominant over the Chipewyan hunters, relationships did not necessarily become less adversarial: while some cooperation between Chipewyan and Cree emerged in terms of shared festivals and the like, the Chipewyan remained notably leery of the perceived magico-medical powers of the Cree (85). Jarvenpa and Brumback's study is a good example of the complex and changing relations between various indigenous groups under the influence of colonialization and western settlement.

Pekka Sammallahti's article, *Bottle-necks and contacts in the linguistic prehistory of the Saami* (93–104) stands out in two ways. For the

first, the prehistory of the Saami is sketched with a very, very broad brush – starting with the development of modern man. Second, the connection to theoretical models of networks and interactivity apparent in the other articles is absent here. Sammallahti starts out by considering the development of human language, and the presence of language-like capabilities among animals such as the African Grey Parrot and hominid species such as the Neanderthals (93–94). On the basis of what Sammallahti considers to be a very slow pace of cultural evolution among the Neanderthals, he argues that their linguistic capabilities were restricted in comparison to those of modern man, more specifically, the Neanderthals are argued to have lacked the capabilities to express epistemic modalities (93–95). As for possible linguistic contacts between Neanderthals and modern man, Sammallahti believes their respective linguistic capabilities to have been too far apart to allow for the transfer of linguistic elements.

There are two problems with this reasoning. First of all, work on Neanderthal genetics by researchers such as Svante Pääbo appears indicate that interbreeding occurred between Neanderthals and modern humans, as well as between modern humans and the slightly more dis-

tant Denisovan sub-species. These results are tentative but have been widely reported, and should have been mentioned in this context. Adding to this the earlier discovery of what may be intermediary or hybrid Neanderthal-modern forms, e. g. the Lagar Velho child (Owens 2006), there is a *prima facie* case for assuming that modern humans and Neanderthals were able to communicate with each other and therefore had broadly similar linguistic capabilities. More speculatively, there have been suggestions that modern man interbred with remnant populations of *homo erectus* as well (Whitfield 2008), presupposing, of course, that there was an temporal overlap of modern man and *homo erectus* in, for example, Southeast Asia. This is, of course, highly uncertain, but there is a possibility that future views of the ancestry of modern humans may resemble a bush with intertwined branches rather than a straightforward family tree, in other words, that the linear Out-of-Africa model and the older multiregional model of human origins may be reconciled in some manner. In this light, to argue that no linguistic contact between Neanderthals and modern humans was possible, or that Neanderthals lacked the capabilities to express epistemic modalities, seems extremely rash.

The second problem lies with the notion of slow Neanderthal cultural evolution vs. quick evolution of modern man. The main cultural “revolution” in the history of early man is the Aurignacian period of approx. 47–41,000 BP, usually associated with the advent of Cro-Magnon man in Europe. The Aurignacian introduced finer tools, figurative art in the form of Venus figurines and others, spectacular cave paintings, and traces of spiritual life and religion. Though there are earlier indications of the use of decorative art among early modern humans, such as the use of shells for necklaces in Southern Africa (Cartmill and Smith 2009: 415), art of this kind is present among Neanderthals too (Choi 2010). The Aurignacian revolution, however, cannot be coterminous with the emergence of modern language. In light of the fact that modern humans settled Australia at the latest in Aurignacian times and possibly much earlier, and that there is no evidence for more primitive linguistic states in Australia or indeed anywhere else, modern language must have developed earlier, and quite possibly at the same time as the origin of anatomically modern humans at 200k BP, thus very long before the Aurignacian.

I have addressed these two points at length in order to indicate

that of the time between the origin of human language, which has a reasonable *terminus ante quem* at the spread of modern humans out of Africa around 100k BP, but may well lie much further back during archaic *homo sapiens* or even *homo erectus* periods, and the last six millennia or so which are within reach of historical linguistics, there is very little we can say. Certainly, there is no basis for such notions as that the Neanderthals lacked the capabilities for epistemic modalities – the very little we actually can, tentatively, say, speaks against this.

This note of caution also applies to part of the remainder of Sammallahti’s article. After describing a “bottleneck” in the prehistory of European populations in the shape of the last Ice Age, when human habitation was confined to a small number of habitable zones or refugia (95–96), Sammallahti pinpoints the Swiderian culture of modern-day Poland as the point of origin of Pre-Uralic languages, which then spread to the broad zone between the Baltics and the Ural mountains (98). The Swiderian culture, however, is dated at the end of the Palaeolithic, some 10k years BP; Proto-Uralic is, in Kallio’s hypothesis (2006: 16–17), associated with the archaeological culture of the Sejma-Turbino phenomenon approx. 4000 years

BP. This leaves six thousand years of possible diffusions and migrations, which may or may not be reflected in the archaeological record (which, like the linguistic records, degrades over time). The warnings levelled by Damm and Saarikivi later in this volume against identifying archaeological cultures and ethnolinguistic groups apply all the more strongly here. It should be noted that the Sejma-Turbino phenomenon is given an eastern origin by E. N. Chernykh in the next article of this volume (117), and that this position is indeed widely held, though not uncontroversial (Kallio 2006: 17, footnote).

Sammallahti provides an interesting discussion of the later linguistic contacts of Saami, including the unknown substratum convincingly demonstrated by Aikio (2004, 2013). Sammallahti argues that some lexical items belonging to this substratum are shared with Western Indo-European languages, and that they may represent a pre-Indo-European language (99). That is entirely possible, though the possibility that they instead represent some form of Indo-European or perhaps a later intrusive non-Indo-European speech should be taken into consideration as well. The language in question may well have still been spoken in northern Scandinavia in the middle of the first millennium

AD, and the expansion of Indo-European languages into north-western Europe took place as much as three to four millennia earlier.

At the end of the article, Sammallahti makes the interesting point that the poor quality of the Saami language in the first printed Saami books, from 1619, may represent a pidgin language, and that it may represent the oldest documentation of a pidgin (103). But surely that honour should go to the Romance-based *lingua franca* pidgin of the Mediterranean, which has been documented since late medieval times.

The following paper, *The northern hunters, fishers and gatherers and their southern neighbours in Eurasia in the Early Metal Age* (105–122) by E. N. Chernykh, concludes the first part of the volume, ...*and beyond*. It provides a broad overview of the cultural development of nomadic pastoralism in the Eurasian steppe region, and its role in the spread of metallurgy. The time periods of relevance are the Proto-Metal Age, when rare and primitive copper artefacts make their appearance but no real metallurgy yet exists, and the Early Metal Age, when copper mining and copper metallurgy take off in the Danube area and the Carpathian basin around the 5th millennium BC. This is also

the time when nomadic pastoral cultures emerge in the steppe area. (105). Notably, copper metallurgy appears to have developed independently among the hunter-fisher-gatherer cultures living north of the Eurasian Steppe Belt (ESB) in the 4th millennium BC (107–108). The ESB and the nomadic pastoralists inhabiting it must have played a great role in the transition to the Late Bronze Age at the turn of the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC, when metal-working was spread to the east of Asia. Chernykh argues that all subsequent innovations, from the development of iron to that of firearms, remained broadly within the zone defined by this expansion, up until the emergence of modern states and colonialization. (110). Chernykh's discussion of the Sejma-Turbino phenomenon – a network of armed traders which spread excellent-quality bronze artefacts across Northern Eurasia which Chernykh argues had an eastern origin, is of particular interest to Uralists because of the hypothesis that the Sejma-Turbino phenomenon may be connected with the spread of Uralic languages. (114–117).

The second part of the collection, *Northern Fennoscandia*, opens with Charlotte Damm's article *Interaction within and between col-*

lectives: networking in Northern Fennoscandia (125–138), which sets out some of the theoretical considerations at the basis of the papers included in this volume. Cautioning that a critical stance towards established identities should not be confused with holding such identities to be illusory and non-existent (125), Damm describes her theoretical notions as *collectives*, based on shared social or cultural elements or on technological and economic practices, *identities*, collectives of people who are aware of their shared position in society, *communities of practice*, which are collectives based on shared technological or economic practice which may or may not share a particular identity, and *networks* as the set of relations within any of the three aforementioned (125). Damm mentions that hitherto, archaeological cultures have been all too often defined as assemblages of tools such as pottery with specific decorations, and that instead, one should look at the usage and production of tools such as pottery and see to what extent various kinds of collectives may be based thereupon (127). Thus, the theoretical terms introduced by Damm serve as an intermediary between the material remains of an archaeological culture and the people (with an assumed specific language and ethnicity) be-

hind them. As an example, Damm takes up Early Northern Comb Ware pottery. Pottery production cannot simply be copied: it must be learned. Assuming that women were the main producers of pottery, Damm hypothesizes that the spread of this pottery style through Finland could have been the work of women migrating north to settle there, or by women from the north who would travel south to learn the pottery craft before returning home. (132–133). Pottery is contrasted with amber artefacts, which may be transmitted between collectives without the knowledge of their production. The spread of amber artefacts is thought to be based on gift-giving or partnership rituals between collectives or individuals holding a special position within their collective (133–135). Damm's article is of great interest to researchers of prehistoric times as it introduces theoretical concepts that may help us avoid all too simplistic identifications of archaeological cultures and ethnolinguistic entities.

Fredrik Hallgren's article, *A permeable border – long-distance contacts between hunters and farmers in the Early Neolithic of Scandinavia* (139–154) deals with contacts between the Funnel Beaker Culture of Early Neolithic Scandinavia (4000–

3300 BC) and their hunter-fisher-gatherer neighbours to the north, named the Slate Culture (139). Both cultures are characterized by Hallgren as “locally performed practices of non-local repertoires” (142); the Funnel Beaker Culture, for instance, shared some features, such as battle axes, with wider regions, but Funnel Beaker battle axes nonetheless showed specific regional designs, and the same goes for the slate tools of the Slate Culture (140–142). A point of departure for describing interaction between the two cultures is the find of a slate knife in a site for ritual depositions at the Funnel Beaker site of Skogsmossen in Central Sweden (140). The knife has a design which suggests an origin from western Scandinavia or the modern-day Norwegian coast, but the specific type of slate is thought to originate from the eastern side of the Scandinavian mountain range (143–145), suggesting interesting regional links in the production and distribution of slate tools. More items of this kind are found on both sides of the divide – Funnel Beaker axes can be found in Slate Culture areas, and flint axes from Scania have been found at Skogsmossen (146–149). All of this indicates wide-ranging social networks across the whole of Scandinavia, and furthermore, bidirectional relations between

early farmers and hunter-gatherers which were not, as previously often thought, asymmetrical, with the hunter-gatherers as the passive, submissive party (151).

In the following article, *Change and recollection: house structures and social identification in Finnmark, Arctic Norway 2400 BC – AD 300* (155–176), Marianne Skandfer deals with the role of memory and remembered history in the formation of Saami identity as expressed through the reuse of a dwelling type called the Gressbakken house in Finnmark. These semi-subterranean houses have an appearance of being highly organized and symmetric, and it has therefore been suggested that their first appearance in the third millennium BC was a result of managing social stress in the Saami community caused by the development of new technology, expansion of trade networks and resulting social stratification (157–158). However, the symmetry and uniformity of Gressbakken dwellings may have been overestimated in earlier literature (160–161). Interestingly, after having been vacated for about a millennium, Gressbakken sites were taken into use again at around 300 BC (161–162). Skandfer argues that this reuse was a way for the emergent Saami to reconnect with a, perhaps mythologized, past at a

time of change and discontinuity, and of the emergence of a specific Saami identity (167–170). This thesis is inherently plausible and interesting, as it pays proper due to the more ideal motivations that may have guided the behaviour of prehistoric populations, instead of confining explanations to economic, technological or social change. This said, the explanation as presented in this article remains abductive in nature, and would need further argument.

Janne Saarikivi's and Mika Lavento's paper, *Linguistics and Archaeology: a critical view of an interdisciplinary approach with reference to the prehistory of northern Scandinavia* (177–216) is one of the longer in this volume and of great interest to historical linguists. Synthetic views of human prehistory, which combine the results of historical linguistics (reconstructed proto-languages) and those of archaeology (archaeological cultures), have often been based on one-to-one correspondences between presumed ethnolinguistic entities and archaeological cultures, such as the identification between the Battle Axe culture and a north-western branch of Proto-Indo-European, that between Proto-Uralic and the Sejma-Turbino phenomenon, etc. Saarikivi and Lavento express scepticism towards the validity of such synthetic

views, and instead argue for a more detailed, bottom-up approach in which the spread of particular artefacts or the toponymy of a given area is explained with the help of both archaeology and linguistics. (178–179). After a detailed report on the methodology of historical linguistics, Saarikivi and Lavento remark that there is a basic lack of correspondence between the research objects of linguistics and archaeology: “(...) historical linguistics is mainly about the history of languages and the units that they contain (words, phonemes, etc.), not about the history of speech communities. Archaeology, in turn, is about artefacts, technologies, raw materials, communities and networks, not about historical sociolinguistics.” (181).

A remark should be made here: this is true, in practice, but it need not necessarily be so. There is a lack of metascientific precision, so to speak, in historical linguistics, as the discipline encompasses both abstract objects (phonemes, grammars) and concrete, historical events which embody such abstract objects (the linguistic behaviour of speech communities throughout history), and these are not always precisely distinguished. Strictly speaking, phonemes and grammars have no history. The speech events in which these are imma-

nent, however, do. There have been recent attempts to orient historical linguistics towards a kind of history of speech events, by, for example, Croft (2000) and Mufwene (2001). These attempts are very much open to criticism (De Smit 2010: 3–5) but they do indicate that it may be possible to work out a model in which the research object of historical linguistics is a spatiotemporally extended network of speech events. Such a model would orient historical linguistics closer to the history of speech communities and at least solve part of the lack of equivalence that Saarikivi and Lavento point out.

Saarikivi and Lavento outline some areas in which linguistic and archaeological results may nonetheless converge: evidence from reconstructed vocabulary, toponymic evidence, and the circumstance that the borders of linguistic areas may often coincide with ecologically defined areas (181–184). A serious problem, nonetheless, is that speech communities may often have been multilingual in prehistoric times (as they are in historic times), and that this multilingualism is not necessarily reflected in the archaeological record (neither are language contact phenomena or language shifts) (182, 190–191). As examples, Saarikivi and Lavento mention that the ancestors of

the Saami at some point shifted towards Saami from a hitherto unknown language, but that their cultural traditions continued unbroken (191–192). Ethnicity itself does not correspond with language in a predictable and uniform fashion (193), and markers of ethnicity such as specific dress are often poorly reflected in the archaeological record (197). Basically, speech communities show internal diversity and internal dynamics that are not necessarily reflected in the archaeological record at all, which makes one-to-one identifications between ethnolinguistic entities and archaeological cultures an extremely hazardous affair.

I find myself in broad agreement with these points, with two caveats. For the first, Saarikivi and Lavento stress that “Both migrations and language shifts cause the expansions and relocations of language areas and it seems to be the case that the latter process is, most likely, the more important one, at least in the Eurasian context.” (191). This I find to be a hazardous assumption. True, the romantic notion of prehistoric peoples as roving and conquering bands of warriors already containing within themselves the seeds of the Germans, Englishmen and Finns they would later become is, of course, simplistic. At the same time, our

earliest historical records are full of what appear to be migrating tribes of people displacing and sometimes exterminating other tribes on their way – from the Dorian Greeks and the Sea Peoples in the chaotic twilight of the Bronze Age to the great migrations at the end of the Roman empire, with many examples in between as well. The Anglo-Saxon settlement of eastern England, for example, shows little traces of continuity: Celtic influence on Old English appears to be very restricted (Schrijver 2014: 18–22), but there is also discontinuity in cultural domains such as religion, architecture, etc. One may of course argue that the migration period is highly historically specific. However, great civilizations had been emerging and collapsing in the Mediterranean and Near East for millennia.

Second, speech communities may well have been often multilingual, but not necessarily in a symmetric way. Usually, one language (which is not necessarily the language of local élites) would be used for intergroup communication, and the more coherent an archaeological culture – the more likely that the artefacts, technology, economy which characterize that archaeological culture necessitates social networks of communication – the more likely the assump-

tion of at least a common *lingua franca*. The Battle Axe culture, for instance, may have represented a variety of more or less closely related Indo-European languages or dialects, and perhaps even have involved some non-Indo-European ones, but this does not mean that the notion that it spread a language that could be characterized, in broad terms, as Northwest Indo-European is thereby invalid.

Saarikivi and Lavento work out an alternative model on which correlations between archaeology and language can be made on three levels: *location* (a site in archaeological terms, a toponym or cluster of toponyms in linguistic terms), *community* (a cluster of sites or an ecological zone in archaeological terms, a speech community in linguistic terms) and *network* (a type of material technology in archaeological terms, the spread of vocabulary in linguistic terms) (201). This entails that the equivalent of an archaeological culture in terms of technology would be the trajectories of borrowed vocabulary, rather than linguistic areas. In other words, what corresponds to archaeological cultures would be *Sprachbunds* of languages in mutual contact. (202).

As testified by my comments above, I agree with the basic thrust but not necessarily the extent of

Saarikivi and Lavento's criticism. Their efforts not to satisfy themselves with mere criticism but to work out a specific alternative model are nothing less than laudable, however. The article should be compulsory reading for anyone with an interest in prehistoric languages and cultures.

In his article *Networks, diversity and mobility among the Northern Sámi in the 16th century* (217–239), Lars Ivar Hansen asks to what extent various Saami networks in northern Finnmark were dependent on imported goods, and to what extent they paid their taxes with self-produced goods, and inquires about the role of mobility among these Saami groups (217). His source material consists of taxation records, which have been well-preserved particularly on the Swedish side (221). Notably, Swedish taxation was individual and not based on households, which makes these records uninformative in establishing household numbers, but very useful in tracking the movements of individual Saami men (224). His results with regard to the first question is that the Saami society of the Varanger fjord appears to have been heavily commercialized: almost all taxes were paid with imported goods. The products of hunting, fishing and trapping must

have been locally consumed or traded, and are not at all reflected in taxation records (226). A counterposed situation is visible with the Saami of Anár, who paid their taxes almost wholly with locally produced furs and dried pike, with only some money, and then only Swedish money (suggesting trade contacts with Sweden only) emerging late in the records. Altafjord and the inland sites show a mixed picture, and evidence of trade with the Norwegian and Danish side as well. (228). Trade networks thus appear to have been strongest in coastal areas (229). Mobility is studied in the Altafjord area only. In more eastern areas, the methods of tax collection, focusing on specific sites during specific gatherings such as markets, mean that they are useless for tracing mobility patterns (229–230). Ivar Hansen distinguishes three kinds of mobility: seasonal mobility, permanent resettling, and intermittent settling at various places for intervals of, for example, a few years. Seasonal mobility is found to occur in a direction from inland areas to the coast in summer, obviously connected with work at salmon fisheries (230). Permanent resettling happened mainly along rivers and between adjacent fords (231–232), whereas interval stays are most common in the earlier periods covered by

the records, less later – which Ivar Hansen argues to be related to a recession in trade contacts with the Danish and Norwegian side, and a development of sedentary lifestyles revolving around animal husbandry (233–236). Ivar Hansen's article provides a nice example of the volume's orientation towards networks and detailed case studies, and the discussion of the usefulness of tax records in pinpointing historical trade networks and mobility patterns is especially interesting.

Jukka Korpela's paper *Migratory Lapps and the population explosion of eastern Finns: the early modern colonization of Eastern Finland reconsidered* (241–261) likewise includes interesting discussions of the reliability – or, in this case, unreliability – of source material. According to the traditional account of medieval Eastern Finland, it was inhabited by some migratory Lapps (signifying Saami but also other Finno-Ugric hunter-fisher-gatherers), while agriculturalists from the south and west would visit the area for hunting, fishing and small-scale cultivation during the summer. After the beginning of the 16th century, however, a population boom occurred in the area. (241–242). Korpela raises a series of issues with this account. For

example, connections through waterways between Eastern Finland and the south and the west would be very difficult, and population estimates from medieval times unreliable. (242–245.) Instead, Korpela suggests, “Lapps” as forest hunter-fisher-gatherers would be largely invisible to medieval records, which focused on settled farmers under the control of local lords (247–248). The reformation, and the turn towards the vernacular, enabled a much more effective local administration, and the “population explosion” is rather the result of a large number of forest dwellers previously unaccounted for suddenly becoming of interest to local authorities (252–253). The integration of forest hunter-fisher-gatherers into the administration of the emerging state is sketched on the basis of Russian records: Lapps first come to the attention of record-keepers when they settle and start paying taxes; next, they receive Christian names but are still recorded as “Lapps”; finally, they are wholly integrated into the main economy and the moniker “Lapp” is no longer used. (251.)

Dikka Storm’s article *A network of missionaries and the establishment of knowledge: Creating space* (263–283) applies Doreen Massey’s conception of space to the research

of missionary activities among the Saami of Northern Norway in the 18th century. Massey’s conception of space is that it is relational – it is the result of interrelations through interactions between subjects; that it is processual rather than ready-made; and that it is inherently heterogenous and pluralistic (265). This conception is then applied to a detailed study of missionary activities among the Saami, focusing on key figures such as the missionaries Thomas von Westen (1687–1727), Isak Olsen (1680–1730), Jens Kildahl (1683–1767) and Kildahl’s wife, the native Saami Karen Arnesdatter, as well as their professional and personal relationships. Attention is given to the organization and transmission of knowledge through missionary activities (271–), the role of missionaries in addressing social injustices and developing education (268–270) and, notably, the role of missionaries’ wives such as Karen Arnesdatter, who is argued to have played an important role in disseminating information about Saami culture, the old Saami religion, etc. (278–). The study is highly interesting, rich in detail, and, like other articles in this volume, focuses on the encounter of indigenous populations and emerging states during the period of colonialism. It is not entirely clear to me, however,

to what extent Massey's theoretical framework contributes to the high-quality historical research exhibited here.

Finally, Lars-Gunnar Larsson's article *Variation in Ume Saami: the role of vocabulary in dialect descriptions* (285–298) is linguistic in scope, though it fits well with the theoretical framework of this volume in focusing on internal variation and internal relationships of the Ume Saami speech community. Research on this variation and these relationships has been impeded, as Larsson (289–290) remarks, by the fact that the main handbook on Ume Saami, Schlachter's (1958) grammar and dictionary, excellent as it is, focuses on a single idiolect. By taking into account archival material as well, Larsson analyses aspects of the dialect subgrouping and borders of Ume Saami with special reference to lexical criteria in addition to the phonological and morphological criteria which have hitherto been mainly used in Saami dialectology (288–289). Larsson finds a high degree of lexical convergence in the forest zones of the Ume Saami area, which meshes well with phonological evidence and suggests a forest dialect in Ume Saami (293–294). Interestingly, lexical statistics show some lexical convergence between this

forest dialect and the mountain Saami of Northern Tärna as well, which may be attributed to the fact that the winter grazing grounds of the Northern Tärna mountain Saami lie in the vicinity of Ume Saami forest villages (294–295). In this way, the volume's focus on the relations that underlie identities rather than those identities themselves shows itself to be relevant to linguistic research as well.

As a whole, the volume contains a collection of excellent case studies characterized by a focus on the social networks and relations that constitute ethnic and linguistic identities, instead of taking the latter type of identities for granted. The ideas advanced in, for example, Saarikivi and Lavento's as well as Damm's more theoretical articles, but also in case studies such as Skandfer's focus on "ideal" categories such as memory and the construction of socially shared memory, are of great interest to archaeologists and historical linguists alike. For Uralists specifically, this volume is valuable in at least the following three ways. Many of the individual studies focus on aspects of Saami history and prehistory. Second, the subtle, somewhat deconstructionist but by no means reductionist approach to ethnicity and language adopted

here is of great interest to future attempts to synthesize the results of archaeology and linguistics in pre-historical research on the Uralic and Indo-European languages and their speakers. Third, many articles, such as Jarvenpa's and Brumbach's, Korpela's and Storm's focus on the encounter between hunter-fisher-gatherer peoples and emerging states during the period of early modernity and colonialism, the ways in which hunters-fisher-gatherers were either adopted into the expanding economy or marginalized by it, and the ways in which new social relations and social stratifications emerged between various ethnic groups. This knowledge is of obvious relevance to the research of, and protection of, circumpolar minority languages and peoples today.

Merlijn de Smit

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Northern European Prehistory, from above

RIHO GRÜNTHAL & PETRI KALLIO (eds): *A linguistic map of prehistoric Northern Europe*. Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia 266. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura 2012.

The present volume, which contains a series of articles synthesizing linguistic and archaeological results on the prehistory of North-eastern Europe and is based on a symposium with the same title as the book held in Rakvere, Estonia, in 2008, is the latest in a series of such works, for example Fogelberg 1999 and Carpelan, Parpola and Koskikallio 2001. This latest addition is very welcome indeed, as the past decade has seen great developments in the prehistory of Uralic languages and peoples. Whereas throughout the 1980s and 1990s, comparatively great time depths for the presence of Uralic languages around the Baltic were in vogue, Petri Kallio (2006) has argued for a much later dating for the Uralic proto-language. Arguments such as the clear presence of Indo-Iranian loans in Proto-Uralic mean that it significantly postdates Proto-Indo-European, and Proto-Uralic is connected by Kallio to the Sejma-Turbino phenomenon, an archaeo-

logical culture thought to represent a network of armed traders around 2000 BC. Ante Aikio (2004, this volume) has convincingly demonstrated the presence of a substratum of unknown origin in the Saami languages, signifying a language shift towards Saami in the far north in comparatively recent times – perhaps around halfway through the first millennium AD. Jaakko Häkkinen (2009) has argued that the Ugric languages should be grouped with Samoyedic into a primary East Uralic branch, which means that the old bifurcation between Proto-Finno-Ugric and Proto-Samoyedic needs to be abandoned. In their focus on detailed linguistic argumentation, shallow rather than very large time depths, and in some cases the rehabilitation of old ideas such as Wiklund's notion of a language shift among the Saami, these developments represent what Janhunen (2001) dubs the 'counterrevolutionary' paradigm in Uralistics coming into maturity. Many of the articles in this volume base themselves specifically on these new results.

In the *Introduction* (XI–XXVIII), Riho Grünthal sets out the scope of this volume, focusing as it does on

the area around the Baltic Sea (XV) and on the Early Metal and Iron Age (XVIII); introduces the individual articles (XX–XXIII) and describes some of the problems that haunt attempts to synthesize archaeological and linguistic results, such as those that arise when trying to correlate archaeological cultures and linguistic areas (XIV–XV) and the opposition of models which are predicated on such notions as continuity and diffusion versus those based on migration and discontinuity (XIX–XX). Grünthal covers a lot of ground in the introductory chapter, but the style of writing is sometimes overly concise and a bit gnomic. Thus, for example, the statement that “Our perception of time is, in principle, clockwise, whereas the description of prehistoric processes demands an anticlockwise perspective” (XVIII) is not really explained or expanded upon.

On the problem of correlating archaeological cultures and ethnolinguistic entities, it should be noted that, while criticism towards correlating ethnolinguistic and archaeological entities is expressed in this volume by Charlotte Damm, and it has elsewhere has been subjected to a detailed methodological critique by Saarikivi and Lavento (2012), many of the articles in this volume, particularly Asko Parpola's, are based on a very traditional

one-to-one correspondence between archaeological cultures and ethnolinguistic entities, and this is explicitly defended by Kallio in a footnote (225). I find this acceptable, at least when the archaeological cultures are well-defined and based on a conglomeration of artefact types, technological features, etc. – suggesting social cohesion and thereby the use of a specific language, or perhaps a *lingua franca* used for intergroup communication in the case of multilingual speech communities. This said, in the face of the critique of authors such as Saarikivi and Lavento (2012), a more detailed theoretical and methodological defence of such correlations would have been welcome.

Secondly, it seems to me that many of the articles in the volume tend towards the migrationist side of the spectrum, which seems to me justified. After all, ancient history is full of recorded migrations, some of which (such as that of the Celts from Central Europe all the way to Asia Minor) seem *a priori* almost implausible. Furthermore, the problem of correlating archaeological cultures and ethnolinguistic groups seems to be compounded in radically “continuist” theories such as Wiik's (2002), wherein the whole of European ethnolinguistic history after the Palaeolithic is cast in terms of interactions between

the Uralic, Indo-European and Vasconic groups, and this combined with an eccentric view on linguistic change. A compromise position, allowing for periods of long-term continuity and linguistic convergence as well as for periods of migration and language spread, has been proposed by Dixon (1997). The downside of Dixon's view is that periods of continuity and convergence are periods which are not within the reach of the comparative method: it would (as Dixon argues it does with Australian languages) simply fail to turn up anything useful. Periods when this equilibrium is 'punctuated', however, by rapidly spreading languages and language families, are periods where the comparative method and its methodologically inbuilt family tree model do apply. As Parpola notes in this volume (127–128, 156), both the Indo-European and the Uralic languages spread quickly – breaking up swiftly into a number of daughter branches rather than diversifying in a slow, binary manner over a very long period of time. This suggests that for Indo-European and Uralic at least, it is the punctuation phase, not the equilibrium phase, that is relevant, and hence a more or less migrationist view is appropriate.

A third, emerging, scientific discipline relevant to prehistory –

namely human population genetics – is not represented in this volume (though results from genetics are referred to by, for instance, Kroonen (241)). This absence is understandable: reconciling archaeological and linguistic results already presents formidable methodological and theoretical challenges. With genetics, there is a further hindrance in that the genetic mode of transmission is individual, whereas that of language and culture is social and collective.

The first two papers of the collection, Mika Lavento's and Charlotte Damm's, deal with purely archaeological issues. Mika Lavento's *Cultivation among hunter-gatherers in Finland – evidence of activated connections?* (1–40) deals with the introduction of agriculture in Finland. Noting that the introduction of agriculture has often been depicted as a revolution, allowing for larger population sizes, greater social stratification, and the emergence of civilizations such as those of the ancient Near East (1), Lavento deconstructs this view when applied to Finland: the introduction of agriculture in Finland is regarded as a piecemeal process, with agriculture being incorporated for a long time into a lifestyle based on hunting and fishing (31–33). The evidence Lavento deploys re-

lies on, for example, dwelling sites and house type (5–6, 10–11), fossil evidence of, for example, pollen and cereals (7–9, 16–17), as well as loanword evidence (18–19). Animal husbandry possibly has its roots in the Battle Axe culture (7), whereas the coastal Kiukainen culture shows clearer evidence for agriculture in terms of fossils and stone tools (7–9), and in the inland, the later Bronze Age brings evidence for crops (11, 17). However, there is a very long term of transition from the first introduction of agriculture to agriculture becoming a dominant way of life, with a long-term degradation of climate conditions from approx. 3000 BC being a possible reason, though hardly the only one (31).

In her article *From entities to interaction: replacing pots and people with networks of transmission* (41–62), Charlotte Damm casts a sceptical look on the whole enterprise of correlating archaeological cultures with ethnolinguistic groups. Damm argues that such a correlation between pottery-based archaeological cultures and presumed ethnolinguistic groups presupposes a migrationist model, in which large-scale cultural change is connected with the migration of a new group of people, bringing along their culture, language,

etc. (44–45). She believes that this neglects the fact that archaeological cultures are not discrete entities: various features may overlap and spread without any concomitant ethnolinguistic diffusion (45). In this light, it is problematic that some of the features traditionally used in defining archaeological cultures, such as decoration patterns, are precisely the ones which may diffuse without any great need for communication and the transmission of knowledge (52). As an alternative, Damm suggests taking up a *chaîne opératoire* approach, in which the whole production process of an artefact type such as pottery is taken into account (46). Some features of this production process, such as the usage of e.g. asbestos in tempering, are dependent on the local availability of resources (49–50). Others, such as firing techniques, require direct transmission of knowledge between potters: unlike decorative patterns, they leave no overt traces which can be “read off” the pot and then imitated (51–52). Features such as these are thus more suggestive of the existence of social networks of communication, and thereby a common language and perhaps a common ethnic identity, than superficial features such as decorative patterns. Damm’s article pinpoints an important intermediary step

that must be made when correlating archaeological cultures and ethnolinguistic groups: it must be made plausible that the archaeological culture in question represents a cohesive network of people communicating with each other.

Ante Aikio's article, *An essay on Saami ethnolinguistic prehistory* (63–117), is a synthesis on our current knowledge on Saami prehistory, notably involving the traces of a non-Uralic linguistic substrate in Saami. Traditionally, the Saami and Finnic languages have been regarded as forming a distinct node in the Uralic language tree, but recently, this has been regarded as increasingly doubtful. Aikio regards the question as insoluble: the lexical correspondences between Finnic and Saami are an unreliable guide due to the possibility of borrowing; there are some shared morphological innovations, but little in terms of shared phonology (68–69). One could add here shared syntactic features such as the grammaticization of the Uralic ablative **-tA* as an object marker, or similarities in the periphrastic perfect tense of Finnic and Saami. These features, however, would be very much open to contact-induced change.

Aikio reviews the loanword layers of Saami both during its Pre-Saami stage, that is, before a series

of radical vowel changes common to all Saami languages, and during its later Proto-Saami stage. Whereas Pre-Saami sports a number of Proto-Germanic loanwords that are not shared with Finnic, suggesting independent contacts, Proto-Baltic loans are largely shared with Finnic, which Aikio suggests indicates that Pre-Saami was never in direct contact with Baltic and that vocabulary of Baltic origin was transmitted through Finnic (73–74). Proto-Scandinavian loans, importantly, show regional differences in sound substitutions: initial consonants such as *f-* are preserved better in the south and west of the Saami linguistic area. This suggests that Proto-Saami was already diversifying into its daughter languages during contacts with Proto-Scandinavian and, with Proto-Scandinavian sound changes datable in an absolute sense due to the presence of runic inscriptions, suggests a *terminus ante quem* for the break-up of Proto-Saami: this must have happened before the end of Proto-Scandinavian around 500–700 AD. (76–79.) The contrast between these rather modest time depths argued for with sound linguistic argumentation, and the prospects of various kinds of Proto-Saami spoken in the far north since the late Palaeolithic advanced in some of the wilder proposals in

the 1990s, is very great and exemplifies the ‘counterrevolutionary’ thrust of the papers in this volume.

The notion that, at some point, part of the ancestors of the Saami shifted from a non-Uralic language (or a different Uralic language, such as Samoyed) to Saami is very old, and goes back to K. B. Wiklund’s notion of *Protolappisch* as the non-Uralic language of these ancestors (81). It is also, as Aikio mentions, very reasonable, as the far north of Scandinavia has indeed been inhabited since the last Ice Age, and Uralic languages cannot have made their appearance until many millennia later. This goes, of course, for other language groups as well. An unknown substrate in western Indo-European languages is later dealt with by Guus Kroonen in this volume, and there have long been attempts to connect Finnic lexical items such as those denoting geographical features and toponyms for large bodies of water to a vanished substrate language as well (Rahkonen 2013: 6–8). The problem has always been, of course, that demonstrating the existence of a substrate is already difficult enough when the presumed substrate language is known: substrates tend to feature most largely in the structural domains of language, where internal and contact-induced change are

most difficult to distinguish, and least in the lexicon. When, furthermore, the presumed substrate language is not known, distinguishing substrate lexical items from inherited items which, through lexical loss, have survived only in a geographically definable subgroup of a language family becomes almost unsurmountable.

Aikio tackles this problem by setting stringent criteria for the identification of an unknown substrate in Saami: for example, a quantitative criterion (is there enough vocabulary of unknown origin?), a structural criterion (does vocabulary of unknown origin exhibit specific phonological or morphological features?), etc. The result is a convincing pattern explanation: possible substrate vocabulary does indeed show phonological results such as vowel combinations not found in native lexical material and a high degree of semantic coherence (denotations for native species of birds, etc.), and is very well represented in toponymy. (83–87.) Importantly, it appears that this substrate, dubbed Palaeo-Laplandic, is contemporaneous with Proto-Scandinavian contacts (87). This would mean that an unknown language, perhaps belonging to an extinct language family, was spoken in the far north past the Roman Iron Age. The signifi-

cance of this result, both in and of itself and in the methodology applied by Aikio to attain it, is hard to overstate. Interestingly, a large part of the vocabulary that was borrowed into Finnish from currently extinct Saami languages of central (Lakeland) Finland may ultimately belong to this substratum as well, leading Aikio to posit the existence of a Palaeo-Lakelandic language in addition to Palaeo-Laplandic (92).

Asko Parpola's article, *Formation of the Indo-European and Uralic (Finno-Ugric) language families in the light of archaeology: Revised and integrated 'total' correlations* (119–184) is an attempt at a grand synthesis between archaeological cultures and Indo-European and Uralic linguistic stages. These are presented in great detail: in the following, I will report on just some of the correlations advanced by Parpola. Parpola adopts the common position that the earliest stage of Proto-Indo-European is to be identified with the horse-breeding Sredny Stog II culture of the Pontic-Caspian steppes from 4700–3400 BC, and that the ancestral stage of the Anatolian languages represents its first branching (122–124). This Anatolian stage moved into Asia Minor through the Balkans; left behind was Late PIE, which Parpola identifies with the

Late Tripolye culture (4000–3400 BC) rather than with the later Yamnaya Pit Grave culture (3300–2500 BC) (125–127), which in turn allows him to identify the Battle Axe culture (3100–2000 BC) with a North-western Indo-European expansion, which would otherwise run into chronological trouble (130). This north-western branch is ancestral to Germanic, Balto-Slavic, Italic and Celtic: on the Celtic languages, Parpola argues that their earliest branching should be identified with the Bell Beaker culture of the Low Countries (2800–1400 BC), representing an adoption of maritime culture allowing the early Celts to spread through the coastal areas of Western Europe. The later Hallstatt and La Tène cultures would represent an eastward expansion of the Celts. (130.)

As for the Uralic languages, Parpola rejects the various versions of continuity theories advanced in recent decades (148–149). The post-glacial Komsa culture (10000–6000 BC) is obviously of too great a time depth, and must represent some vanished Palaeo-European language (143–144), though Parpola holds it possible that some of the various archaeological waves reaching Finland from 5000 to 1700 BC may represent Proto-, Pre- or Para-Uralic languages (145). However, the correlation Parpola settles

upon is that between West Uralic and the Netted Ware culture of the Upper Volga region from approx. 1900 BC (150), with Proto-Finnic represented in the Akozino-Mälär axe culture (800–500 BC) which spread to Southwest Finland, but also Åland and the Mälardalen region in Central Sweden (153) – an interesting point which raises the question of how old the Sweden-Finnic varieties really are. As for the original expansion of Proto-Uralic, Parpola notes that the virtual identity between PU and its western sub-branch would suggest it happened fast, and, like Kallio, associates it with the Sejma-Turbino network of warrior traders (1900–1600 BC) (156).

Parpola's synthesis thus notably bases itself on the relatively late dating of Proto-Uralic advanced in recent years. By fitting these new results in a big picture of the archaeo-linguistic prehistory of Europe, it is of great importance. This said, a large number of very detailed correlations are made in short succession (the depiction of the Celtic branch, referred to above, takes up a bit over half a page), which leaves the synthesis as a whole open to criticism of the kind advanced by Saarikivi and Lavento (2012): how sure can we really be of all these correlations between successive archaeological

cultures and reconstructed linguistic stages?

Tiit Rein Viitso's *Early metallurgy in language: The history of metal names in Finnic* (185–200) is an overview of the (mostly borrowed) origins of metal names in Finnic and other Western Uralic languages, dealing with, for example, words for 'gold', which have a Germanic origin in Finnic and Saami but an Iranian origin in more central Uralic languages (187), and the Finnic word for 'iron', *rauta*, for which a Germanic origin is restated and Slavic loan etymologies rejected (189) – words denoting iron in the central Uralic languages appear to be, again, Iranian loans (189–190). Viitso rejects proposed Baltic origins for an etymologically enigmatic term for 'copper' in Mari and Permic, **iryene*, despite the superficial similarities with a term for 'copper' in Old Prussian (192). On the origin of the widely attested Uralic term for copper **wäškä*, Viitso advances the interesting theory that the final element **-kä* which is present in Western Uralic but absent elsewhere, is a withered remnant of **-kive* 'stone'. The first element would then be an Indo-European or Indo-Iranian borrowing **vaša* 'bronze', originally rather 'axe'. (195.) According to Viitso, the absence of **kive-* 'stone'

in Saami would suggest that the Saami cognate is a borrowing from Finnic. I am not sure this supposition is really necessary. It is possible for words to survive only in compounds, for example the first element of English *werewolf*, Dutch *weerwolf*, though here, of course, *were* for ‘man’ is attested in older literary stages of Germanic. For Saami, the presence of **kive-* in other compounds would, of course, strengthen this possibility.

In his paper *Phonological innovations of the Southern Finnic languages* (201–224), Karl Pajusalu deals with the phonological features that characterize the South Finnic languages Livonian, North and South Estonian, and Votic. These are, for example, the development of long geminates in Livonian and Estonian (204), tonal distinctions in the same pair of languages, which Pajusalu argues might be related to Scandinavian influence (205–206), foot isochrony – that is, the phenomenon where the longer the first syllable, the shorter the second – in Estonian, Livonian, and to some extent in Votic (206–207), and grade alternation, which, despite its absence in Livonian (as well as in Veps), Pajusalu argues to have a Proto-Finnic origin. Notably, there are traces of grade alternation in Salats Livonian (207–208). Some

of the features Pajusalu deals with have contact-induced origins, such as the palatalization of consonants in (particularly South) Estonian and Livonian with Baltic and Slavic influence (210–211), and the presence of affricates, which are an archaism in S. Estonian but a recent development in Votic (**k-* > *č-* for front vowels): both these retentions and innovations may have been conditioned by influence from Baltic and Slavic (211–212). Interestingly, Pajusalu argues that for some of the South Finnic phonological isoglosses, influence from extinct West Uralic languages such as Merya and Muroma should also be taken into consideration; notably, there are some features shared by South Finnic and Mordvin which distinguish South Finnic from North Finnic (219–220).

Petri Kallio’s article *The Prehistoric Germanic Loanword Strata in Finnic* (225–238) is a state-of-the-art report on the loanword layer in question. As Kallio reports, there were already contacts between some Pre-Finnic language and the north-western Indo-European language associated with the Corded Ware/Battle Axe culture, as testified by such archaic Indo-European loans such as *lehti* ‘leaf’ (227). Kallio considers it possible that these loans were transmitted indirectly

through some Uralic or Para-Uralic language of the East Baltic, as the linguistic ancestor of Finnic was still located in the Volga area at that time (228). More intense contacts occurred in the Baltic between an early Palaeo-Germanic language, still retaining an archaic \bar{a} which shifted to \bar{o} in Proto-Germanic, and an ancestral stage common to Finnic and Saami during the Nordic Bronze Age (1800–500 BC) (229). For Proto-Germanic loanwords proper, Kallio distinguishes a Middle Proto-Finnic preceding Late Proto-Finnic, as the latter (400–800 AD on the basis of shared Christian terminology) is not contemporary with the former (500–0 BC) (230). These contacts place both Proto-Germanic and Proto-Finnic in Scandinavia and the Baltics during the Bronze Age. Notably, onomastic material of Germanic origin from north of the Gulf of Finland indicates that these contacts took place on both sides of that Gulf (234).

In his article *Non Indo-European root nouns in Germanic: evidence in support of the Agricultural Substrate Hypothesis* (239–260), which is one of two linguistic articles in the volume without a Uralic connection (Willem Vermeer's being the other), Guus Kroonen presents a number of possible substrate lexical items

from the Western Indo-European languages. This substratum is identified on the basis of some apparently non-IE phonological features, such as the appearance of an unexplained alternation between a - and \emptyset - in anlaut (239–241). According to Kroonen, the origin of the substratum lies in the language of Neolithic Europe prior to the arrival of the Indo-Europeans. Neolithic Europe is argued to have been linguistically and culturally homogenous (241). Whereas the supposition of intrusive Indo-Europeans seems sound enough – as Kroonen mentions, the genetic differences between European Neolithic farmers and Modern Europeans suggests migration rather than mere cultural/linguistic diffusion – that of a linguistically homogenous Neolithic Europe seems very risky indeed. It would be virtually incredible for such a vast area to have remained linguistically homogenous in the absence of roads, and, for most of its history, wheeled vehicles, until the arrival of the Indo-Europeans – and features such as a -prefigation are widespread in Celtic, Germanic and Latin (241). One could even argue that the wide spread of a -prefigation in Western Indo-European speaks *against* a common substrate origin, rather than for it.

The lexical items Kroonen examines are so-called root nouns:

nouns which have a root and an ending, but no intervening suffix. This type of nouns is widespread in languages such as Greek, Latin and Sanskrit but archaic and restricted in Germanic, which makes it an appropriate place to look for substrate vocabulary (242). The items under examination are **arwīt* ‘pea’ and cognates in Greek, Latin, possibly Celtic; **gait-* ‘goat’ and its single Latin cognate; **hnit-* ‘nit’ and its cognates in European IE languages; **hnut-* ‘nut’ and its cognates in Western IE languages; the Germanic item **edis*, *dīsi* ‘lady’; and **wisund-* ‘bison’ (242–252). The latter is especially interesting: it is connected with Balto-Slavic items such as *wissamb*s in Old Prussian, *stumbras* in Lithuanian and *sumbrs* in Latvian. Kroonen reconstructs a form **tsombr* underlying the Balto-Slavic forms, but **widzombr* for Old Prussian, and **witsond* for Germanic, and argues these are shared substrate items sporting a prefix *wi-*. This seems speculative, as the only thing the three reconstructed items have in common are the dental consonant cluster *ts/dz*, and a notion that Kroonen rejects, namely that the Old Prussian is a contamination between Germanic and Baltic words for ‘bison’ does strongly suggest itself. Kroonen, however, adduces two circumstances which support his

case. For the first, a possible *w-* prefix occurs with another etymon, namely that for ‘boar’: *eofor* in Old English, Dutch *ever-zwijn*, but Latvian *vepris*. Furthermore, Kroonen adds supporting examples for alternation between the labial consonant cluster *mb* and dental *nd*. This makes the suggestion for the Germanic and Balto-Slavic forms to have its roots in a common substrate item convincing, although we are dealing with etymology on the edge of a knife here!

Santeri Junttila, in *The prehistoric context of the oldest contacts between Baltic and Finnic languages* (261–296) provides a detailed presentation of Baltic loanwords in Finnic. As for the archaeological context of those loans, Junttila contrasts the traditional migration theory, according to which the Finnic languages would have arrived to the Baltic in the Iron Age, with the recently popular continuity theory which places Uralic languages around the Baltic with the Comb Ceramic culture (4000–2000 BC), which would come into contact with an intrusive Battle Axe culture (261–263). Junttila argues for a middle way in the shape of Bronze Age contacts between Finnic and Baltic, a model which he reconciles with Kallio’s proposal that the expansion of Uralic languages is to be

identified with the Sejma-Turbino phenomenon (264–265). According to Junttila, Baltic loanwords in Saami not represented in Finnic are very few, and lexical loss on the Finnic side may well have occurred here (266), which is compatible with Aikio's view that Baltic loanwords in Saami were transmitted indirectly through Finnic. Finally, Junttila provides a detailed treatment of 73 proposed Baltic etymologies grouped according to semantics (e. g. hunting, fishing, etc.) (268–). The etymologies themselves are classified as 'relatively clear', 'dubious' and 'erroneous'.

Riho Grünthal likewise deals with Baltic loanwords, but this time in Mordvin (*Baltic loanwords in Mordvin*, 297–343). There are more than thirty such loanwords: they testify of contacts that were both less intensive than those between Baltic and Finnic, and separate: the loanwords are, mostly, not shared with Finnic (297). Rejecting the hypothesis that these loanwords were transferred eastwards from Finnic through such extinct, intermediary languages such as Merya, Muroma, etc., Grünthal argues that contacts happened far to the east, at the eastern rim of the prehistorical spread of Baltic languages, that is, in the area of the Oka river, and that they happened very early, beginning

during a Pre-Mordvinic stage that preceded Proto-Mordvinic and succeeded the final linguistic stages that were shared with other Western Uralic languages, such as Finnic (299–305). There do not appear to be any Baltic borrowings in Mari, and of those in Mordvin, about half of the borrowings are not shared at all with Finnic. Of those which do occur on the Finnic side, most show discrepancies in phonology, etc., which suggests separate borrowing (310–311). The individual loanword etymologies are then presented in great detail (312–).

Both of the preceding articles on Baltic loanwords are complete, up-to-date reports on the current state of research. The collection as a whole, however, would have benefited from a treatment of possible syntactic influence from the Baltic languages as well, such as the usage of the partitive case as an object marker (Larsson 1983). The issue of possible Baltic influence on argument case-marking in Finnic and Saami presents some problems which would have been interesting to see dealt with in light of some of the hypotheses advanced here – such as that of lack of direct borrowing between Baltic and Proto-Saami. Notably, Saami shares with Finnic the usage of the original *-tA ablative as an object marker,

though not partiality-based object marking itself. This is problematic if we hold to both the plausible view that this usage was conditioned by Baltic influence and the plausible view that Baltic and Proto-Saami were not in direct contact.

The final paper in the collection, Willem Vermeer's *Why Baba-Yaga? Substratal phonetics and restoration of velars subject to the Progressive Palatalization in Russian/Belorussian and adjacent areas (appr. 600–900 CE)* (345–370) is the second one not directly related to Uralic. Its starting point is the way in which words such as *Baba-Yaga*, the witch from fairy tales, exemplify what appears to be a reversal of progressive palatalization, e. g. Polish *jędza* 'witch', which is a common Slavic innovation. Unmodified velars, on the other hand, are restricted to the Russian/Belorussian dialect area (345). Progressive palatalization in common Slavic and the controversies surrounding it are described in great detail (347–350), as are, subsequently, the restructuring of paradigms which may involve the extension of both palatals and unmodified velars (350–353) and subsequent palatalizations (355–360). For non-Slavicists, however, this description (and the explanation of the presence of unmodified velars in Russian/Belorussian) is not very

accessible due to the fact that a second sound change, Second Regressive Palatalization, is alluded to, but not defined.

As a whole, the collection represents up-to-date views on the synthesis of archaeological and linguistic evidence in the prehistory of the North, exemplified by Aikio's and Parpola's papers, detailed research on loanword evidence and substratal lexicon (Viitso's, Kallio's, Junttila's, Grünthal's and Kroonen's papers) and interesting case studies in archaeology and historical phonology (Lavento's, Damm's, Pajusalu's and Vermeer's papers). For people who wish to refresh or update their knowledge on the linguistic and archaeological prehistory of northern Europe, this volume, which takes into account some of the most important research results of the last decade, is indispensable. Two points of criticism remain: the first minor, the other, perhaps, medium-sized. Both deal with what is missing from the collection as a whole rather than with the individual articles (which are, uniformly, sound). The first is that a consideration of structural contacts between Baltic and Finnic/Saami, and perhaps also between Germanic and Finnic/Saami, would have been very welcome as, as mentioned before, some of the

hypotheses regarding those contacts made in the research literature appear to conflict with the place and date of borrowing contacts as reported in the articles here. Particularly, the development of the Uralic ablative *-tA into an object marker in Finnic and Saami, and the possibility of Indo-European and specifically Baltic influence on this development, presents chronological problems. The second is that the kinds of correlations between archaeological cultures and ethno-linguistic groups most prominent in Parpola's article but present in others as well, are in need of a theoretical and methodological defence against criticism forwarded by Saarikivi and Lavento (2012) as well as, in this volume, Damm. I should add that I believe such a defense to be possible: the results presented in this volume represent (in contrast to some of the heated discussions on prehistory in the 90s and early 00s) solid progress in the field.

Merlijn de Smit

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Noch einmal über die Verwandten der ungarischen Sprache

LÁSZLÓ HONTI: *Anyanyelvünk atyafiságáról és a nyelvrokonság ismérveiről. Tények és vágyak.* [Über die Verwandtschaft unserer Muttersprache und die Merkmale der Sprachverwandtschaft. Fakten und Hoffnungen.] Budapest: Tinta könyvkiadó 2012.

Die Diskussion über die uralischen Wurzeln der ungarischen Sprache dauert in Ungarn weiterhin an. 2010 erschien in Budapest ein von László Honti, Sándor Csúcs und László Keresztes herausgegebenes Buch¹, das die Schriften behandelt, in denen die Verwandtschaft des Ungarischen mit den anderen uralischen Sprachen bestritten wird und alternative Theorien über die Herkunft des Ungarischen vorgestellt werden. Diese Publikation wurde auch in Band 61 (2012) der Finnisch-Ugrischen Forschungen besprochen. Nun hat László Honti das Thema erneut aufgegriffen und ein Werk verfasst, das eigehender über die verschiedenen unwissenschaftlichen Alternativtheorien berichtet. Es handelt sich jedoch nicht nur um eine Wiederholung des Bisherigen; Honti hebt neue Perspektiven hervor und bietet

zugleich eine aktuelle Zusammenfassung der Diskussion über das Thema.

Das Buch gliedert sich in zwei Teile. Im ersten Teil (Kapitel 1–4) geht es um die Grundlagen der historisch-vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft, und die Verwandtschaft des Ungarischen mit dem Chantischen und Mansischen wird gründlicher als bisher dargestellt. Honti präsentiert anhand der Belege des Uralischen Etymologischen Wörterbuchs die Quantität des gemeinsamen Wortschatzes dieser Sprachen, die gemeinsamen Lautveränderungen und morphologischen Elemente. So führt er Lesern, die nicht mit der Finnougristik vertraut sind, die Verwandtschaft zwischen dem Ungarischen, Chantischen und Mansischen vor Augen.

Im ersten Teil schreibt Honti auch über die Verwandtschaft der indogermanischen Sprachen. Er zieht einige Stammworte als Beispiele heran, vergleicht ihre Entsprechungen in den germanischen und slavischen Sprachen und erwähnt einige wichtige Lautveränderungen, die während der Sonderentwicklung dieser Sprachen

eingetreten sind. Honti verwendet das indogermanische Beispiel als Parallele, mit der sich die uralische Sprachfamilie vergleichen lässt. Als nächstes führt er beispielhaft einige uralische Grundwörter an und erläutert die in ihnen auftretenden regelmäßigen Lautentsprechungen. Als Beispielsprachen dienen Finnisch und Ungarisch, und vorgestellt werden z. B. die regelmäßige Entsprechung der finnisch-ugrischen wortanlautenden Klusile, die Entsprechung des *t* zwischen Vokalen im Wortinlaut und die Denasalisierung im Ungarischen.

Im ersten Teil seines Buches stellt Honti die Grundlagen der Finnougristik klar verständlich dar und kann einen Leser, der sich dem Thema vorurteilslos und ohne Fanatismus nähert, sicherlich überzeugen. Der Text ist recht wissenschaftlich, setzt also beim Leser ein gewisses Bildungsniveau voraus. Er wird vermutlich nicht alle Dilettanten erreichen, die sich mit der Frage befassen. Es kann auch sein, dass die Anhänger der alternativen Theorien ohnehin schwer zu überzeugen sind, weil ihre Motive nicht im Studium der Grundlagen der historischen Sprachforschung liegen, wie im zweiten Teil deutlich wird. Im Epilog seines Buches vergleicht Honti denn auch den Konflikt zwischen der wissenschaftlichen Finnougristik und

den alternativen Theorien mit dem unvereinbaren Widerspruch zwischen der Evolutionstheorie und dem Kreationismus.

Der zweite Teil (Kapitel 5 und 6) ist umfangreicher; hier stellt der Verfasser alternative Theorien vor und führt einen Diskurs zwischen ihnen und den wissenschaftlichen Quellen. Die Absicht ist, dem kritischen Leser Instrumente zu geben, anhand derer er sich eine Auffassung davon bilden kann, was bei der Argumentation zugunsten einer Sprachverwandtschaft glaubwürdig ist und was nicht. Mehrmals kommt zur Sprache, dass in weiten Kreisen immer noch Unklarheit darüber besteht, dass sprachliche und genetische Verwandtschaft sich nicht bedingen. Die sprachliche und genetische Herkunft des Volkes ist in Ungarn auch Teil der tagespolitischen Diskussion. Honti berichtet zum Beispiel von dem Julianus barát-Projekt, das Staatssekretär Géza Szócs vorgeschlagen hat und das rege Diskussionen auslöste. Dieses Projekt hatte das Ziel, die finnisch-ugrische Sprachverwandtschaft mit den Mitteln der Genetik anzufechten oder sogar zu widerlegen.

Unter denjenigen, die alternative Theorien vorlegen, sind zahlreiche hoch gebildete Wissenschaftler. Daher kann man sich nur wundern über die fantasievol-

len Behauptungen, denen zufolge das Ungarische bereits vor 40 000 Jahren in Afrika gesprochen wurde oder mit bestimmten indianischen Sprachen verwandt sei. Einige dieser Autoren sind auch Kenner der historisch-vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft, aber dennoch finden sich in ihren Werken erhebliche Fehler. Ein Kapitel für sich sind natürlich die Dilettanten, die aus den Erzählungen der Bibel Verbindungen zur uralischen Vergangenheit herstellen. Honti korrigiert diese Auffassungen in ausgesprochen unverblümtem Ton.

Das Buch bietet stellenweise eine äußerst unterhaltsame Lektüre. Den finnischen Leser amüsieren vor allem die Passagen, in denen die Verfechter alternativer Theorien die finnische Sprache, die Finnen und die Geschichte Finnlands kommentieren. Honti zitiert zum Beispiel die Auffassungen von Maria Die(t)rich (der Name wird schon in den Originalquellen auf zweierlei Weise geschrieben), denen zufolge im Jahre 1831 Satakunta, Suomi und Varsinais (sic!) gemeinsam ein Gebiet namens Turku-Pori bildeten, dessen zwölf Ortschaften sich 1997 auf sechs verringerten. Das Alte Finnland wiederum ist nach Ansicht der Autorin das Gebiet, in dem die Menschen (die Finnen?) während der schwedischen Herrschaft wohnten

und das jetzt in Russisch- und Finnisch-Karelien geteilt ist. Finnland trennte sich bereit 1634 von Schweden, wurde aber erst 1809 an Russland angegliedert. Welchen Status hatte das Land in der dazwischen liegenden Zeit? Die Finnen als Volk sind ein Hunnenstamm, und schließlich kommt sogar der Wichtel aus der Burg zu Turku ins Spiel! Die Angaben stammen aus dem Buch *A szumér-magyar kérdésmegoldása*, das im Verlag Fríg Kiadó erschienen ist. Dieser Verlag hat mehrere alternative Werke über die Vorzeit der Ungarn und des Ungarischen herausgebracht.

Einen Grund für den Vormarsch der alternativen Auffassungen sieht Honti im Zusammenbruch der Sowjetunion und der darauf folgenden Meinungs- und Redefreiheit. Die Nation muss nach dem Kommunismus ihre Identität und ihre Herkunft neu konstruieren. Man glaubt, die Sprache gebe unmittelbar Auskunft über den genetischen und kulturellen Ursprung des Volkes. Aus diesem Grund fällt es vielen schwer, die Verwandtschaft des Ungarischen mit den anderen uralischen Sprachen zu akzeptieren. Die heldenhaften Eroberer des Heimatlandes (*fonfoglalók*) waren europäischer Herkunft und keine Verwandten der Uralier, denn dann wären sie ja nur eine „lallende Affenhorde“

gewesen, wie ein zitierter Vertreter der alternativen Theorie schreibt. Der Fischtran stinkt immer noch!

Harri Mantila

Anmerkung

1. Honti László (Chefred.) – Csúcs Sándor – Keresztes László (Red.), A nyelvrokonságról. Az török, sumer és egyéb áfium ellen való orvosság. Budapest: Tinta könyvkiadó 2010.

Kannistos wogulische Sprachsammlung endlich vollständig publiziert!

ARTTURI KANNISTO – VUOKKO EIRAS – ARTO MOISIO: *Wogulisches Wörterbuch. Gesammelt und geordnet von A. K., bearbeitet von V. E., herausgegeben von A. M.* Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae XXXV. Kotimaisten kielten keskuksen julkaisuja 173. Helsinki: Societé Finno-Ougrienne – Kotimaisten kielten keskus 2013. 961 S.

o. Die uralische Sprachwissenschaft hat eine sehr alte Schuld getilgt: Endlich ist auch der Wörterbuchteil des von Artturi Kannisto gesammelten wogulischen Sprachmaterials erschienen. Dieses erfreuliche Ereignis ist auch ein Grund, sehr kurz auf den wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der Veröffentlichung der bedeutendsten wogulischen Sprachmaterialien hinzuweisen.

Artturi Kannisto hatte keine Möglichkeit, seine unglaublich reiche Sammlung zum Druck vorzubereiten; die Texte, zum überwiegenden Teil Volksdichtungsmaterial, hat sein Schüler, Professor Matti Liimola, in sehr genauer und gewissenhafter Arbeit in sechs Bänden herausgegeben (WV 1, WV 2, WV 3, WV 4, WV 5, WV 6). Ebenfalls Liimola war es, der – unter Mitarbeit seiner Schülerin Vuokko Eiras – die Liste der in den Kommentaren der Texte interpretierten Lexeme und Ausdrücke zusammengestellt hat, die leider erst nach Liimolas Tod erschien (WV 7). Liimola ist auch zu verdanken, dass aus der Sammlung Kannistos die deskriptive und historische Morphologie des Nomens vorliegt (Liimola 1963), aber zur Abfassung der Morphologie des Verbs ist er leider nicht mehr gekommen.

Im Vorwort des zu besprechenden Bandes (Vorwort, S. V–XI) wird kurz über Kannistos wogulistisches Werk, über die Tätigkeit Liimolas und die Arbeit der das Wörterbuch beendenden Eiras gesprochen; die technische Ausführung des Werkes war Moisisos Aufgabe. Den wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund schließt eine kleine Bibliographie ab.

Danach folgen die technischen Informationen: das Prinzip der alphabetischen Reihenfolge des Wörterbuchmaterials, die Struktur der Wortartikel, dann die Dialekte, die grammatischen Qualifizierungen und die Auflösung der Abkürzungen der in den Wortartikeln hinweisartig genannten Sprachen. Vielleicht ist es sinnvoll, einige von diesen auch zu nennen.

Die Uralisten wissen sehr gut, dass um die Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert die finnischen Obugristen (K. F. Karjalainen, H. Paasonen und A. Kannisto) bei ihrer Materialsammlung der sibirischen Sprachen die ostjakisch- und wogulischsprachigen Angaben mit Verwendung einer sehr feinen, um maximale phonetische Treue bemühten Transkription festhielten und damit die Bestimmung des Phonemsystems der einzelnen Dialekte nach Jahrzehnten ermöglichten. Das Notierungssystem mit vielen und vielfältigen Bezeichnen-

buchstaben wurde von manchen zuweilen als Weihnachtsbaumtranskription qualifiziert, die sich dann als besonders kompliziert erwies, wenn die Lexeme verschiedener Dialekte in einer Ausgabe zusammengedrängt zum Druck gegeben wurden. Dafür fand man schließlich das entsprechende und inzwischen seit langem verwendete Verfahren, das ich hier mit dem entsprechenden Passus aus dem zu rezensierenden Band vorstelle: „Bei der Alphabetisierung der Stichwörter wurden zunächst nur die in den Wörtern vorkommenden Konsonanten berücksichtigt. Sekundär wurde nach den Vokalen alphabetisiert. Anders ausgedrückt stehen also die Wörter, in denen dieselben Konsonanten in übereinstimmender Reihenfolge vorkommen, nacheinander, und zwar geordnet nach den in ihnen vorkommenden Vokalen“ (S. VIII).

Bezüglich des Aufbaus der Wörterbuchartikel (S. IX) ist das Folgende am wichtigsten: (a) ein Wortartikel enthält alle Lexeme, die Derivate des Stichwortes und mit ihm gebildete Zusammensetzungen sind, (b) als Stichwort stehen der Nominativ der Substantive und die Stammform der Verben, (c) die Bedeutung ist deutsch angegeben, daneben findet sich – bei Stichwörtern – sehr selten auch eine russischsprachige Interpretation, (d) bei Lehnwörtern steht ein

Hinweis, aus welcher Sprache das betreffende Wort ins Wogulische kam. Dieses Wörterbuch hat die von Kannisto eingeführte Dialektreihenordnung (südliche, östliche, westliche und nördliche Dialekte; s. z. B. Kannisto 1919), so kann der Benutzer des Wörterbuches in der bekannten und gewohnten Weise die gesuchten Dialektangaben finden. Diesen Passus empfinde ich jedoch als mangelhaft und das Verfahren als völlig unverständlich, denn die mit dem Stichwort gebildeten Wortzusammensetzungen finden sich auf zweierlei Weise: bei den Zusammensetzungen ist die Bedeutung nicht angegeben, wenn das Stichwort das Hinterglied der Zusammensetzung ist, wenn es dagegen als Vorderglied vorkommt, teilt das Wörterbuch auch die Bedeutung mit. Die fehlende Mitteilung der Bedeutung ist ein sehr schwerwiegender Nachteil, damit entspricht das Buch eigentlich nicht einer der wichtigsten an Wörterbücher gestellten Grundforderungen.

Bei der Auflösung der Abkürzungen einzelner Dialekte teilt das Wörterbuch auch mit, wer die Sprachmeister waren, was schon deshalb nützlich ist, damit der Benutzer des Wörterbuches versteht, womit es zu erklären ist, wenn sich die Angaben eines Dialektes eventuell etwas voneinander unterscheiden.

Über die Auflösung der grammatischen und sprachlichen Abkürzungen, mit der die kurze Einleitung schließt, ist kaum etwas zu sagen.

1. Um auch über den eigentlichen Inhalt des Wörterbuches eine gewisse Orientierung geben zu können, habe ich einige Wortartikel untersucht. Mit reichlichem Beispielmateriale veranschauliche ich den Inhalt der Wortartikel, damit meine Wahrnehmungen leichter verständlich werden.

Mit aus einem Wortartikel entnommenen Beispielen veranschauliche ich die eben genannten zweierlei Verfahren.

Das Stichwort ist das Hinterglied der Zusammensetzung ohne Bedeutungsmitteilung, dessen Bedeutungen mir nur durch mühsame Arbeit mit Hilfe anderer Wortartikel aufzuspüren gelang:

Unter *äβ* usw. ‚Mädchen, Tochter‘ (S. 2–3): (1) KU *äköä* ‚Tochter des älteren Bruders des Vaters‘ (S. 22b¹); (2) P *anhkä* ‚Tochter der Schwester‘, vgl. *anh* ‚Mutter‘ (S. 77); (3) VS *äpi'òä* ‚Nichte (Brudertochter)‘, vgl. *äpi* ‚Neffe (Brudersohn)‘ (S. 81); (4) LO *öpäyi* ‚Schwester des Vaters‘, vgl. VNZ *öpä* usw. ‚Bär‘ (S. 82); (5) So *äps'iäyi'kβe* ‚jünger Schwester, Schwesterchen‘, vgl. *äps'i* ‚jüngerer Bruder‘ (S. 84); (6) KU *äsöä* ‚jüngere Schwester des Vaters‘, vgl. *öäś* ‚Vater des Vates‘ (S. 118); (7) P *iśä* ‚Tochter,

Mädchen, vgl. *is̄* ‚klein‘ (S. 118); (8) KU *βiśōā* ‚kleines Mädchen, vgl. *βiś* ‚klein‘ (S. 174); (9) TJ *iū•āβ* ‚Schwester, vgl. *iū* ‚Vater‘ (S. 188); (10) LO *ᵏχalāmpāyi* ‚verfluchte junge Hündin‘ (S. 280), vgl. *ᵏχal* ‚Riss, Spalt‘ (S. 279), *āmp* ‚Hund‘ (S. 61); (11) KU *kēlpōā* ‚„rotes Mädchen“, rote Kuh, vgl. *kēlp* ‚Blut‘ (S. 282); (12) So *χansānāyi* ‚(Kuhname) (bunt)‘; (13) KM *kuśōā* ‚Buben (im Kartenspiel) (? , L. H.)‘; vgl. *kuś* ‚Buben (im Kartenspiel)‘ (S. 383); (14) LO *kūtāyi* ‚Hündin, vgl. *kūtūβ* ‚Hund‘ (S. 398); (15) So *kōt̄fl̄āyi* ‚die mittlere Tochter (von dreien)‘, vgl. *kōt̄fl̄* ‚Mitte, mittel‘ (S. 265); (16) So *ᵀlōβñūrᵐm(ne)āyi* ‚Tochter der Pferdesumpffrau, *lᵐw* ‚Pferd‘ (S. 401), LO *nūrᵐm* ‚Wiese‘ (S. 551), *nē* ‚(Ehe)frau‘ (S. 494); (17) KU *lōptōā* ‚Hundename, *lōptā* ‚Blatt‘ (S. 429); (18) So *mānāyi* ‚das jüngste de Geschwister, vgl. *mān* ‚klein, jung‘; (19) P ‚*miśšōā* s. *mis*, LO“ ‚eine Art Waldjungfrau, vgl. *mis* ‚Glück, Jagdglück‘ (S. 483); (20) So *nāitāyi* ‚Schamanenmädchen, vgl. *nāit* ‚Zauberer, Schamanen‘ (S. 498); (21) P *nērīyōā* ‚Knorpelmädchen, vgl. KO *nērī* ‚Knorpel‘ (S. 550); (22) KU *nχsā* ‚Hundename, vgl. *nχs* ‚Zobel‘ (S. 527); (23) TJ *nūpāβ* ‚Mutter des Schwiegersohnes, vgl. *nōp* ‚Schwager‘ (S. 542); (24) KM *pōβōā* ‚Sohnestochter, vgl. *pōβ* ‚Knabe, Sohn‘ (S. 556); (25) KM *poītχnēeγōā* ‚Frauentochter der (weiten) Welt, vgl. *poītχ* ‚breit, lang, weit‘ (S. 568); (26) LO *pilβātnāāyi*

‚Beerenpflückenmädchen, vgl. *pil* ‚Beere‘ (S. 580), *βāt* ‚pflücken, sammeln‘ (S. 177) > *βātnā* participium praesentis; (27) TJ *pē•rnāβ* ‚(weibliches) Patenkind, vgl. *pē•rnā* ‚Kreuz‘ (S. 631); (28) So *pērnānāyi* ‚(weibliches) Patenkind, vgl. ‚Kreuz- (Adjektiv)‘ (S. 632); (29) So *sōβrāyi* ‚(Benennung einer weißen Kuh) „Hasentochter“, vgl. *sōβr* ‚Hase‘ (S. 709); (30) KM *sēlōā* ‚? (L. H.)‘, vgl. (L. H.) *?sēl̄t* ‚Lindenbast‘ (S. 748); (31) KU *sēm̄lōā* ‚Hundename, vgl. *sēm̄l* ‚schwarz‘ (S. 756); (32) LO *sōprāyi* ‚sōpr-Mädchen, vgl. *sōp̄r* Name irgendeines Volkes (S. 776); (34) KM *śōārnēeγōā* ‚Frauentochter der Welt, vgl. *śōār* ‚Bezirk, Umgebung‘ (S. 842); (35) KU *śiśβōā* ‚Kuhname, vgl. *śiśβ* ‚Hase‘ (S. 721); (36) KU *tūrōā* ‚? (L. H.)‘, *tūr-* ‚? (L. H.)‘. Das Wörterbuch teilt also die Bedeutung von 36 Angaben nicht mit, nur bei Nr. 19 gibt es so viel Hilfe, dass es auf einen anderen Wortartikel verweist ...

Wenn das Stichwort das Vorderglied der Zusammensetzung ist, findet man also auch die Bedeutung, z. B. KM *ōāγōā*, LO So *āyiāyi* ‚Enkelin‘ usw. usf. (S. 3).

Wenn das Wörterbuch die einzelnen Glieder dieser Zusammensetzungen durch einen Bindestrich getrennt mitgeteilt hätte, könnte man leichter feststellen, in welchem Wortartikel die dem Hinterglied vorangehenden Lexeme zu suchen

sind, besonders dann, wenn die Zusammensetzung aus mehr als zwei Gliedern besteht, obwohl ich auch akzeptieren muss, dass der Bearbeiter des Wörterbuchmaterials Kannistos Bezeichnungsweise nicht modifizieren wollte.

2. Im Weiteren mache ich Anmerkungen zu einzelnen Wortartikeln, die ich aus irgendeinem Grund für beachtenswert hielt, oder ich versehe sie mit Kommentaren.

2.1. Verneinungs- und Verbotspartikel

2.1.1. Neben der Verneinungspartikel mi der Bedeutung ‚nein, nicht‘ TJ TČ *āk* fungiert auch die Form TČ *āχ* im Wortartikel mit nur Tawda-Angaben (S. 22), was ungewöhnlich erscheint in dem die palato-velare Vokalharmonie bewahrenden südlichen Dialekt. Diese Angabe findet sich in Beispielen folgender Art: *āχ kōnā•il* ‚auf keine Weise‘, *āχ kōtā•il*, *āχkōtā•il* ‚nirgendwohin‘, *āχ nōkō•r*, *āχnōkō•r* ‚nichts‘: *āχ nōkō•rnel ā pilā•nt* ‚er fürchtet sich vor nichts (niemandem)‘, *em āχnōkō•rām ī•kām* ‚ich habe nichts‘. Die mit *ā-*, *i-* usw. beginnenden wogulischen Verneinungspartikeln sind die Nachfolger des mit den Formen **e* und **ä* rekonstruierten Verneinungsverbs und der Verneinungspartikel, wie unter anderem auch ostj. V Vj Trj

ěnt(ə) usw. ‚nicht‘ (DEWOS 121). Der Vokal von TČ *āχ* ist etwas weiter vorn gebildet als das *a* (Kannisto 1919: X–XI), aber zweifellos velar, das ursprünglich palatal hätte sein müssen. In allen genannten Beispielen findet es sich vor velaren Vokalharmonieelementen, so dass also an umlautartige Lautverschiebung zu denken ist, welche Hypothese aufgrund der Schreibweise auch dadurch begründet sein kann, dass es auch fast zum Vorderglied von Zusammensetzungen geworden ist. Meines Wissens rechnet von den etymologischen Wörterbüchern nur das *Uralische etymologische Wörterbuch* in den uralischen grundsprachlichen Grundformen auch mit palatalen und velaren Stammvarianten: **e ~ *ä ~ *a* (UEW 1: 68). Ähnlich hat sich auch Bereczki geäußert: „Für die finnougri-sche Grundsprache können zwei verneinende Verbstämme erschlossen werden, **a* und **e*“, als Vorgänger des tscheremissischen Verbstammes *o-* setzt er **a* voraus (Bereczki 1988: 345, 1996: 55), und auch das mordwinische Verneinungsverb mit dem Element *a(-)* erklärt er als Fortsetzung von **a* (Bereczki 1988: 326). Keresztes (2011: 88) betrachtet dagegen das letztere als „wahrscheinliche“ Ableitung von grundsprachlichem **e*. Da die Mehrheit der verwandten Sprachen (darunter auch die Gruppe der als relativ ar-

chaisch zu betrachtenden ostseefinnischen Sprachen) eindeutig die palatale Variante wahrscheinlich sein lässt, können die den velaren vokalharmonischen Vorgänger suggerierenden mordwinischen und tscheremissischen Angaben auf ähnliche Weise entstanden sein wie TČ $\bar{a}\chi$, das so sehr eingewurzelt ist, dass es auch vor einem palatalen Lexem belegt ist: $\bar{a}\chi$ *níèr àk* ‚(es) gibt nichts‘ (S. 22), vgl. TJ TČ *nër* ‚was?, wer?, warum?‘ (S. 546).

Die als solche Umgebungswirkung entstandene Tawda-Velarisierung tauchte auch beim Zahlwort ‚eins‘ auf: TJ TČ $\acute{o}\chi\acute{k}\acute{o}r$, vgl. z. B. KU $\acute{a}\chi\chi\acute{a}r$ ‚(nicht Attr.) ein‘ (S. 28), welche Zusammensetzung mit Verknüpfung der Elemente TJ TČ $\acute{u}\chi$, KU $\acute{a}k_u$ ‚ein‘ (S. 23) und N $\chi\acute{a}r$, LM $k\acute{h}ar \sim kh\acute{a}r$, LU $k\acute{h}ar$, P $kh\acute{a}r \sim kar$, K $kh\acute{a}r \sim \chi\acute{a}r$, T $kh\acute{o}r \sim kh\acute{a}r \sim kur$ ‚etwas, Wesen, Mensch (Ergänzungswort)‘ (MK 80) entstand; das letztere Element fand ich nicht im zu besprechenden Wörterbuch, stieß aber in den Texten der *Wogulischen Volksdichtung* darauf: TJ $\acute{u}\acute{s}k\acute{a}r$ ‚jemand, etwas‘ (WV 1: 129, 3: 155) (vgl. $\acute{u}\acute{s}$ ‚klein‘), TČ $\acute{o}\chi\acute{k}\acute{o}r\acute{a}n$ ‚ihre Eine‘ (WV 3: 198), TJ $ne\acute{u}\acute{k}\acute{a}rn \sim n\acute{u}\acute{k}\acute{o}rn$ ‚dein‘ (WV 1: 162, 3: 182) (vgl. $ne\acute{u}$, $n\acute{u}$ ‚du‘, $-\acute{a}n$ PxPl3, $-n$ PxSg2), KU $t\acute{e}n\acute{a}\chi\acute{a}r_l$, KM $t\acute{e}n\acute{a}\chi\acute{a}r_l$ ‚Speise (Instr.)‘, $t\acute{e}n\acute{a}\chi\acute{a}r$ ‚id. (Nom.)‘ (WV 3: 90, 91, 232) (vgl. $t\acute{e}n\acute{a}$, $t\acute{e}n\acute{a}$ ‚essend(e) [participium praesentis]‘, $-l$, $-l$ CxInstr.), $i\acute{s}k\acute{a}rt$ ‚die Jungen

(WV 3: 118) (vgl. $i\acute{s}$ ‚klein‘, $-t$ NxPl). Über dieses Element kann dasselbe gesagt werden wie oben über die Verneinungspartikel $\acute{a}\chi$: Durch Einfluss der Umgebung velarisierte $\acute{o}\chi$ aus TJ TČ $\acute{u}\chi$ und sein sekundärer Vokal assimilierte sich den Vokal des Wortes $k\acute{a}r$, und auch diese neue Variante konnte sich ebenfalls mit Wörtern verbinden, die einen alternativen Palatalvokal enthielten, also: $\acute{u}\chi$ ‚ein‘ + $k\acute{a}r$ ‚etwas‘ > $\acute{o}\chi\text{-}k\acute{o}r$ ‚ein (nicht Attr.)‘: $ne\acute{u}\text{-}k\acute{a}rn \sim n\acute{u}\text{-}k\acute{o}rn$ ‚dein‘. — Eine TJ TČ $\acute{o}\chi\acute{k}\acute{o}r$ ähnelnde Formation ist TJ TČ $\acute{n}\acute{o}\acute{k}\acute{o}r$ ‚was?, was für?‘ (S. 526), in deren Vorderglied $\acute{n}\acute{o}$ - ich die TJ TČ-Entsprechung des Wortes Tš $n\acute{e}$: $n\acute{e}k\acute{a}r$ ‚wie?‘ (S. 520) erahne; und $-k\acute{o}r$ - habe ich zuvor im Zusammenhang mit $\acute{o}\chi\acute{k}\acute{o}r$ bereits behandelt. Eine ebensolche ist auch die Zusammensetzung TJ $p\acute{o}n\acute{a}t$, TČ $p\acute{o}n\acute{a}t$ ‚Haar‘ (S. 611), die die Zusammensetzung von TJ TČ $p\acute{e}n$ ‚Kopf, Haupt‘ (S. 611) und TJ TČ $\acute{a}t$ ‚Haarflechte‘ (S. 125) ist.

Die Partikel TJ TČ $\acute{a}k$ ‚nein, nicht‘ hängt zweifelsohne mit der Verneinungspartikel TJ TČ \acute{a} , \acute{a} (S. 1) zusammen, auf die auch der Wortartikel $\acute{a}k$ verweist. Ebenso zweifellos hängen mit diesen auch die Partikeln TJ $i\acute{k}\acute{a}m$, TČ $i\acute{k}\acute{a}m$ ‚(es gibt) nicht, ist nicht, ist kein(e)‘ (S. 29), KU $\acute{a}t$, $\acute{o}\acute{a}t$, KM $\acute{a}t$, P at , $\acute{a}t$, $a't$, VNK $\acute{a}t$, LU $\acute{a}t$, $\acute{a}t$, LO So at ‚nicht‘ (S. 126) und KU $\acute{o}\acute{a}t_i$, KM $\acute{o}\acute{a}t_i$, KO $\acute{o}\acute{a}t_i$, P $\acute{a}t^s$, $\acute{a}t^s\acute{a}$, VNK $\acute{a}t_i$, $\acute{u}t\acute{o}$, VS $\acute{o}\acute{a}t$, LU

oʒt, LO *āt, at, āti, atī*, So *ātī, atī* ‚nein, nicht; ist nicht‘ (S. 133), KU *ōq̄tām*, KM *ōq̄tām*, KO *ōātām*, P *q̄āt^šim*, VNK *üöťim*, VS *ōq̄t^šim*, LU *oʒt^šm*, LM *oʒt^em*, LO So *ātīm* ‚ist nicht, es gibt nicht, nicht‘ (S. 135) zusammen, aber bei diesen gibt es keinen Verweis auf die obigen Tawda-Formen. Das alle diese zusammengehören, bestätigen auch unsere etymologischen Wörterbücher, s. SKES 1: 33, UEW 1: 68, SSA 1: 99, EES 59.

Ein meines Erachtens besonderes konsonantenhistorisches Problem bedeuten die folgenden Angaben: KU *āt, q̄q̄t*, KM *āq̄t*, P *at, àt, a^t*, VNK *āt*, LU *āt, àt*, LO So *at* ‚nicht‘ (S. 126) und KU *ōq̄tī*, KM *ōātī*, KO *ōātī*, P *q̄āt^š, q̄āt^šá*, VNK *ātī, ütō*, VS *ōq̄t*, LU *oʒt*, LO *āt, at, āti, atī*, So *ātī, atī* ‚nein, nicht; ist nicht‘ (S. 133) – TJ *ī•kām*, TČ *ikā•m* ‚(es gibt) nicht, ist nicht, ist kein(e)‘ (S. 29), KU *ōq̄tām*, KM *ōq̄tām*, KO *ōātām*, P *q̄āt^šim*, VNK *üöťim*, VS *ōq̄t^šim*, LU *oʒt^šm*, LM *oʒt^em*, LO So *ātīm* ‚ist nicht, es gibt nicht, nicht‘ (S. 135). Vielleicht kann man, weil es kein ernstes lautgeschichtliches Problem ist, davon absehen, dass die zitierten Tawda-Angaben auf *ī verweisen, wogegen sämtliche übrigen auf *ā. Eine viel auffälligere und weit eher eine Erklärung verlangende Frage ist, woher die Entsprechung „TJ TČ -k- ~ sämtliche übrigen Dialekte -t- ~ sämtliche übrigen Dialekte -t̄- (= -t̄- ~ -t̄^š-)“ kommt. Dazu sollten wir

einerseits vielleicht wissen, dass in einem Teil der uralischen Sprachen der Lautwandel „*k > *t“ nicht völlig unüblich ist, z. B. wotj. *tamiš* ‚acht‘, vgl. syrj. *kikjamiš* ‚id.‘ (dazu vgl. noch Serebrennikov 1963: 222), und andererseits – wenn ich die UEW-Stellungnahme richtig verstehe – wogulisch *t̄* aus uralisch **t* stammen würde, was meiner Meinung nach zu einem unlösbaren lautgeschichtlichen Problem führen würde, da die nach diesen zu erwartende Lautverschiebung **t* > *k* überaus unwahrscheinlich ist. Ich meine also, dass das urwogulische „*āk > *āk ~ *āt > *āt ≈ *āt“ und „*ikām ~ *ākām > *ikām ≈ *ātām“ als sporadische Lautverschiebung geschehen sein kann. Eine Verschiebung solchen Typs erlitt *k* vor Palatalvokalen in einem Teil des nördlichen Dialektgebietes, im Sygva-Dialekt (darüber s. Rombandeeva 1973: 29), z. B. Sy *tēnt* ~ So *kēnt* ‚Mütze‘ (Kálmán 1976: 252), Sy *fit* ~ So *kit* ‚zwei‘ (Kálmán 1976: 253), Sy *amfi* ~ Ob *amki* [‚ich selbst‘] (Kálmán 1976: 34), Sy *minitem* [‚ich gehe gern‘] (Kálmán 1976: 43) ~ nördlich *totikem* ‚ich bringe gern‘ (Kálmán 1989: 61), Sy *xāp-suptem* ~ So Ob LO *xāp-supkem* ‚mein Kähnen‘ (Kálmán 1989: 13).

2.1.2. Im Gegensatz zu den genannten finnischen, estnischen und ungarischen etymologischen Wörterbüchern zweifle ich seit neuerem

stark daran, dass das Verbotssverb (fi. *älä*, wog. TJ TČ *el*, KU KM KO *βäl*, P *ul*, *βул*, VNK *ул*, LO So *ул* ‚nicht; wohl, wohl nicht, denn nicht‘ [S. 41] usw. usf.) etymologisch mit dem Verneinungsverb zusammenhänge, deshalb vermissem ich hier auch nicht den Hinweis. Das prohibitive Verb erinnert aber insofern an das Verneinungsverb, als auch dieses velarisierte Varianten in den verwandten Sprachen hat, vgl. fi. *älä*, lüdisch *älä* ~ *ала*, estnisch *ära*, (dial.) *äla* ~ *ala* (SKES 1: 33, SSA 1: 99, EES 59 [aber dieses Wörterbuch erwähnt weder die ostjakischen noch die wogulischen Verneinungs- und Verbotspartikeln...]); das UEW (1: 68) nennt außer den eben erwähnten ostseefinnischen Verbotsverben mit liquidem Element Verbotsverben mit liquidem Element folgender verwandter Sprachen: mord. E *ilä*, ostj. V *äl*, DN *ät*, DT *ot*, O *äl*, wog. T *äl*, K *wil*, LU So *ul*. Also sind ähnlich wie beim Verneinungsverb in einzelnen Sprachen auch velarisierte Varianten des Verbotsverbs entstanden, und zwar im Lüdischen (*älä* ~ *ала*), Estnischen (*äla* ~ *ala*), Ostjakischen (V *äl*, DN *ät*, O *äl* ~ DT *ot*) und Wogulischen (TJ TČ *el*, KU KM KO *βäl* ~ P *ul*, *βул*, VNK *ул*, LO So *ул*).

Ich glaube, in beiden Fällen konnte deshalb die Velarisierung des ursprünglich palatal vokalharmonischen Hilfsverbs in einzelnen Sprachen eintreten, weil das lexi-

kale Verb semantisch dominierte und das in Einzelfällen phonetische Konsequenzen hatte. Im Sinne meiner Erklärung ist es als unbegründet zu betrachten, im alle beider Hilfsverbe mit grundsprachlichem palatalen und velaren vokalharmonischen Verneinungs- und Verbotsverbstamm zu rechnen.

2.2. Den zweisprachigen uralistischen Wörterbüchern entsprechend weist der jetzt zu besprechende Band bei den Lehnwörtern darauf hin, aus welcher Sprache das betreffende Wort ins Wogulische gelangte. Dabei geht das Wörterbuch jedoch nicht konsequent vor, z. B. fehlt beim Wort TJ *βāt*, *βāt* ‚Wind‘, dass es sich um ein Element aus dem Iranischen handelt (s. Korenchy 1972: 84).

2.3. Bei einigen Stichwörtern fehlt die Bedeutung, z. B. P *ieγs* (S. 201), LO *iak_uti* (S. 202); KU *ieγ*, KM *iäγ* (S. 196), und das gehört unter TJ *iü* usw. ‚Vater‘ (S. 188), wo sich auch die hier genannten KU KM-Angaben finden, mir ist also nicht klar, warum dieses Konda-Wort und mehrere mit ihm gebildete Zusammensetzungen in einem eigenen Wortartikel vorkommen; KU *küla*, das Wörterbuch teilt Angaben aus allen östlichen und westlichen Dialekten mit, es gibt auch ziemlich viele Zusammensetzungen im Wortartikel, aber alle ohne Bedeutungsangabe (S. 292).

2.4. „In jedem Artikel sind gemäß dem etymologischen Prinzip neben dem jeweiligen Lemma die etymologisch dazugehörenden Ableitungen und präfigierten Verben aufgeführt“ (S. IX). Wenn aus irgendeinem Grund Angaben solchen Typs dennoch nicht in einen Wortartikel gelangten, wird die Aufmerksamkeit des Lesers meist (aber nicht immer!) mit dem Hinweis „vgl.“ auf vermutlich zusammengehörige Angaben gelenkt.

Als recht seltsam empfinde ich, dass ein auch als Adverb und Verbprefix dienendes Wort und seine Familie auf drei Wortartikel zerschnitten ist (aber zumindest bei einem gibt es einen Hinweis auf einen der beiden anderen...): TJ *il* ‚vorwärts‘ (S. 43), TJ *īl* ‚(als Verbalpräfix) s. *il* TJ‘ (S. 204), TJ *īl* ‚hinab‘ (S. 204).

„*iaš*, VN *īāš*, VS LM *īaš* LU *īāš*, *īaš* ‚Zeichenweg« (durch Zeichen an Bäumen markierter Weg“ (S. 240) gehört ganz offensichtlich mit dem Wortartikel TJ TČ *ieš*- KU *īāš*-, *īōāš*-, KM *īōās*- KO *īōās*- P *īa*-, *īōāš*-, VNZ *īāš*-, *īūōš*-, LU *īāš*-, *īōš*-, LO So *īās*-, ‚zeichnen, ritzen‘ (S. 240) zusammen, aber bei ihnen gibt es keinen Hinweis aufeinander, doch beim ersten weist das Wörterbuch auf einen dritten hin: „Vgl. *īuš* KU“, der wiederum die Bedeutung hat: ‚Pfad, den ein Wanderer an Bäumen bezeichnet hat‘ (S. 242); wegen des Vokals *u* des Wortes zweifle ich

daran, dass er mit den beiden anderen zusammengehört.

TJ *kalà* ‚Tot(er), Leiche, Leichnam; Aas‘ (S. 281) ist offensichtlich die Ableitung von TJ *kal-* ‚sterben‘ (S. 280), ebenso wie TJ *kalà•s* ‚Mensch; fremd; jemand‘ (S. 296).

TJ TČ *nī*, KU *nēy nē*, KM *nēe*, KO *nē*, P *nē̄*, VN *nē*, LU *nē*, LM *nēy*, LO So *nē̄* ‚(Ehe)frau, Weibchen‘ (S. 494) und TJ TČ *nīβ*, KM *nē̄βa*, P *nē̄β*, *nē̄βa*, *nē̄β°*, VNZ VS *nē̄β*, VNK *nē̄β*, LU *nē̄β*, *nē̄βi*, *nē̄βā*, LM *nē̄βi*, LO So *nē̄βi* ‚(Tier)weibchen‘ (S. 495) gehören meiner Ansicht nach zusammen, obwohl bei keinem ein Hinweis auf das andere steht. Diese beiden Wörter sind auch in Munkácsis Wörterbuch getrennt zu finden und selbst Kálmán weist nicht auf die eventuelle Zusammengehörigkeit beider Wörter hin (MK 333, 338). Als wogulische Entsprechung von ung. *nő* ‚Frau, Weib‘ wird üblicherweise nur das kürzere wogulische Wort mitgeteilt (SzófSz 215–216, FUV¹ 41–42, FUV² 60, KESK¹ 192, MSzFE 3: 472, TESz 2: 1026, UEW 1: 305, EWUng 2: 1031–1032, KESK² 192), an den Anfängen gab es allerdings eine Ausnahme, und zwar im Wörterbuch von Budenz: neben dem kondawogulischen *ne* ‚Weib‘ teilt er solche nördlichen Angaben mit: *nē*, *ne*, *neu*(!) ‚Weib, Weibchen‘ (MUSz 401). Für mich ist die Zusammengehörigkeit beider wogulischer Wörter völlig ein-

deutig, deshalb verstehe ich nicht, warum die von Budenz in diesem Zusammenhang mitgeteilte Variante *neu* in Vergessenheit geraten ist ...

2.5. Sonstige Wahrnehmungen

Das Wort TČ *ixə•m* ‚Kälte‘ muss einen Druckfehler enthalten, vgl. unter TJ *ixə•m* ‚id.‘, TJ *ixmə•η*, TČ *ixəm•η* ‚kalt, kühl‘, s. P *ix* ‚Lüftchen‘ (S. 197–198).

VNZ *kūlpneyetōs* und VS *kūlpneyetōs* ‚Netzadel (VNZ); Brettchen zum Netzknüpfen‘ (S. 295b) bestehen aus völlig identischen Buchstaben. Kann es sein, dass irgendeine Angabe einen kleineren Fehler enthält?

Zuweilen ist die Bedeutungsangabe falsch, z. B. So *βāssiy βōrtōlnuyt at χōntəη_uk_u patēym* ‚du wirst keinen Bären mehr finden‘ (S. 660), richtig: ‚ich werde...‘.

Ich habe den Verdacht, dass das Wortmaterial der Texte nicht vollständig aufgearbeitet wurde, z. B. fehlt im Wortartikel TJ TČ *ijūkā•* ‚Frau‘ (S. 198) die Angabe Š *ij kβā•* ‚Frau‘ (WV 1: 127 3: 175).

„*χui̇p* KU ... in den Zahlwörtern (VN: 11–17) vorkommende Partikel. – S. KU *äχχui̇pləβ* s. *iẋ* TJ TČ; KU *kitχui̇pləβṫ* (S. 272), ä. ‚elf‘ (S. 24b), k. ‚zwölfte(r/s)‘ (S. 396a). Es ist wahr, dass es bis heute vielleicht tatsächlich zur Partikel degradiert ist, in Wirklichkeit aber ist „*kōj̇*– TJ TČ, KU *χōj̇*–, *χβōj̇*–, KM *kōj̇*–, KO *k_uu̇j̇*–, P VN

VS *kui̇*–, LU LM *kui̇*–, LO *ᵏχui̇*–, So *χui̇*– ‚liegen, schlafen‘“ (S. 268) eine mit *-p* suffigierte Ableitung, und die ursprüngliche Bedeutung dieser Zahlwörter ist: ‚eins [und] liegende zehn‘ (s. Honti 1993: 181). Das Element *χui̇p* hat im Laufe der Grammatikalisierung die semantische Verbindung mit dem Verb ‚liegen‘ verloren, wie es z. B. auch bei ungarisch *tizenegy* im Element *tizen*– dem Sprecher nicht mehr bewusst ist, dass *tíz* mit der Form des Superessiv *tízen* identisch ist (s. Honti 1993: 193); ich könnte für noch eine Reihe von anderen Fällen Beispiele von den Zahlwörtern der Sprachfamilie beibringen.

Gut wäre ein Bedeutungsregister gewesen, auch nachträglich wäre es sinnvoll, es als gesonderten Band zusammenzustellen, wie für das etymologische Wörterbuch der Türkssprachen Räsänens (Räsänen 1969) Kecskeméti nachträglich das Wortregister verfertigte (Räsänen 1971); vorerst muss ich MK benutzen, obwohl das auch nicht immer hilft. Wenn es z. B. statt „*kēlij̇* P s. *kēli* KU“ (S. 292) ‚Morast‘ (S. 282) „*kβāl̇ij̇* LO So s. *kβel̇ij̇*• TJ“ (S. 257), „*kāṙij̇*• TČ... s. *kβel̇ij̇*• TJ“ (S. 281), „*kuà̇nij̇* P s. *kβel̇ij̇*• TJ“ (S. 292) und „*kβėlkət* TČ s. *kβel̇ij̇*• TJ“ (S. 293) ‚Seil, Strick, Riemens‘ (S. 256) ein Bedeutungsregister gäbe, könnte man die Bedeutung dieser Wörter leichter enträtseln.

Wir müssen uns freuen, dass reichlich hundert Jahre nach Kan-

nistos Sammlung nun auch das Wörterbuchmaterial erschienen ist. Das ist offensichtlich um den Preis sehr schwieriger, große Aufmerksamkeit verlangender, opfervoller Arbeit gelungen. Als Wörterbuch können vielleicht in erster Linie die sich mit Etymologie beschäftigenden Forscher von diesem Band profitieren. Wichtig ist, dass er den Traditionen entsprechend auf die Sprache der Lehnwortquelle hinweist. Die reichhaltigen Beispiele ermöglichen auch die weitere Untersuchung der Morphologie und Syntax der wogulischen Dialekte. Solche sind die Wortzusammensetzungen und die Verben mit Verbalpräfix. Ein Positivum ist weiter, dass auch Personennamen ins Material aufgenommen wurden. Bedauerlich ist dagegen, dass der Wörterbuchredakteur sehr sparsam bei den Bedeutungsmitteilungen verfahren ist, vielmals kann man die Bedeutungen nur sehr mühsam ermitteln, wobei natürlich das Bedeutungsregister eine große Hilfe wäre; ohne dieses muss ich aber – leider – diese Arbeit als Torso betrachten. Viel-

leicht könnte man sich etwas leichter in den Wortartikeln zurechtfinden, wenn das Wörterbuch mit Zeilenausgleich gedruckt worden wäre.

3. Es hat den Anschein, als sei das Schicksal stiefmütterlich mit den reichsten wogulischsprachigen Sammlungen umgegangen. Nicht nur auf Kannistos Material musste die Fachwelt lange warten, sondern auch auf das von Bernát Munkácsi, obwohl er seine Texte noch herausgeben (VNGy 1, VNGy 2/1, VNGy 2/2, VNGy 3) und sogar seine ursprünglich in der Zeitschrift *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* publizierten grammatischen Skizzen der Dialekte (Munkácsi 1887–1890, 1890–1891, 1893, 1894) auch als selbstständigen Band (Munkácsi 1894) redigieren konnte. Die Verfertigung und Herausgabe der Erklärungen zu Band 3 und 4 der Texte blieb aber bereits Béla Kálmán überlassen (Munkácsi – Kálmán VNGy 3/2, VNGy 4/2), ebenso wie die Redigierung und Publizierung des Wörterbuches (MK).

László Honti

Anmerkung

1. Die Bedeutung der von S. 2–3 ohne Bedeutung mitgeteilten Angaben fand ich in anderen Wortartikeln, nach dem betreffenden Stichwort gebe ich in Klammern deren Seitenzahl an. Wenn

dagegen die Zusammensetzung, deren Bedeutung ich aufgespürt habe, in einem längeren, laufenden Text „versteckt“ vorkommt, gebe ich außer der Seitenzahl der Erreichbarkeit der mitgeteilten Angabe auch die Spalte (a/b) an.

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Das lange erwartete etymologische Wörterbuch des Mari

GÁBOR BEREZCKI: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Tscheremisschen (Mari): Der einheimische Wortschatz*. Nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Klára Agyagási und Eberhard Winkler. Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 86. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013. 332 S.

Gábor Bereczki, der sein Lebenswerk im Bereich des Mari (Tscheremisschen) leistete, widmete sich nach seiner Pensionierung der Arbeit an einem etymologischen Wörterbuch des Mari. Das posthum erschienene Wörterbuch ist das letzte wissenschaftliche Erbe, das der 2012 verstorbene Bereczki der wissenschaftlichen Gemein-

schaft hinterließ. Seine ersten Beiträge zur Etymologie des Mari erschienen bereits in den 1950er Jahren, und in seinen Untersuchungen aus verschiedenen Jahrzehnten präsentierte er zahlreiche neue Erkenntnisse u. a. über den Einfluss der türkischen Sprachen, insbesondere des Tschuwaschischen, auf das Mari. Auch die Beobachtung der Kontakte zwischen den permischen Sprachen, vor allem zwischen dem Udmurtischen und dem Mari eröffnete eine wichtige neue Perspektive auf die mari-sche Sprachgeschichte.

Ungeachtet seines Obertitels bietet das Buch keine erschöpfende Synthese des etymologischen Hintergrundes des marischen Wortschatzes; vielmehr hat der Untertitel *Der einheimische Wortschatz* eine erhebliche Bedeutung für den Inhalt. Es handelt sich folglich um eine wesentlich erweiterte und überarbeitete Fortsetzung des etymologischen Verzeichnisses in Bereczkis zweibändigem Werk *Grundzüge der tscheremissischen Sprachgeschichte I–II* (Bereczki 1992–1994).

Das Wesen des posthum veröffentlichten und bei der Herausgabe in den Kommentarteilen ergänzten etymologischen Wörterbuches tritt bereits im Vorwort zu Tage. Gábor Bereczki arbeitete jahrelang mit der Turkologin Klára Agyagási zusammen, die das Buch gemeinsam

mit Eberhard Winkler druckfertig gemacht hat. Das Grundkorpus der etymologischen Untersuchung des Mari bildeten ursprünglich etwa 5000 Wörter, von denen rund 2500 tschuwaschischer oder tatarischer Herkunft sind und nur etwa 500 zum alten finnisch-ugrischen Wortschatz zählen oder diesem früher zugeordnet wurden. Zum Wortschatz finnisch-ugrischer Herkunft werden im vorliegenden Werk auch die aus den permischen Sprachen ins Mari gelangten Wörter gezählt, eines der wichtigsten Ergebnisse von Bereczkis Lebenswerk. Viele wertvolle Beobachtungen auch in dem nun erschienenen Buch betreffen gerade den über das Permische ins Mari gelangten Wortschatz. Dazu zählen z. B. *čak* ‚voll, dichtgedrängt‘, *kaške* ‚Schimmel‘, *kaškem* ‚schimmelig werden, verschimmeln‘, *lüs* ‚Tannennadel‘, *lüš* ‚Vogelfalle‘, *ođar* ‚Spross, Trieb‘, *ter-*, *tor-* usw. ‚bei, zu, nach; mit‘, *tušto* ‚Rätselfrage‘ und mehrere andere. Dagegen handelt es sich zum Beispiel bei *šürem* ‚(ein) schmieren‘ und seinen vermutlichen permischen Entsprechungen um voneinander unabhängige türkische Lehnwörter.

Entgegen seinem Obertitel deckt das hier zu besprechende Wörterbuch nur einen kleinen Teil des marischen Wortschatzes ab. Auch aus dem Grundwortschatz bleibt vieles unberücksichtigt, da

der Einfluss der türkischen Sprachen so stark ist. Am zweiten, die wolgabilgarischen, tschuwaschischen und russischen Lehnwörter im Mari behandelnden Teil arbeitet Agyagási weiterhin; er wird hoffentlich bald erscheinen und den vorliegenden Band ergänzen.

Technische Lösungen

Für die Lemmata wurde die in der Praxis der wiesenmarischen Schriftsprache entsprechende Variante gewählt, die in lateinischer Schrift transkribiert wurde, gemäß der dem Mari angepassten finnisch-ugrischen Transkription. Die alphabetische Ordnung beruht auf dem angewandten lateinischen Modell, aber unmittelbar nach dem Hauptlemma wird auch die Form angegeben, die der Orthografie der beiden marischen Schriftsprachen, Wiesen- und Bergmari, entspricht. Die Entsprechungen in den verwandten Sprachen wurden aufgrund der Angaben in dem als Hauptquelle verwendeten *Uralischen etymologischen Wörterbuch* (1988, im Folgenden UEW) zusammengestellt, und auch die Rekonstruktion des gemeinsamen Wortschatzes der uralischen Sprachen wurde dem UEW entnommen. Das Buch enthält insgesamt 585 Lemmata, davon sind etwa 100 Lehnwörter oder Ableitungen.

Während der Abfassung des Wörterbuchs (2008) erschien das an der Universität Turku erstellte, von der Finnisch-Ugrischen Gesellschaft herausgegebene *Tschere-missische Wörterbuch* (TschWb), dessen Erklärungen deutschsprachig sind. Im vorliegenden etymologischen Wörterbuch wird in Einzelfällen auch darauf verwiesen, doch wurden beispielsweise die Wortbedeutungen unabhängig verfasst. Dies wird vor allem bei polysyemen Wörtern deutlich.

Eine der problematischsten Grundentscheidungen ist die Verwendung des 1988 erschienenen UEW als Hauptquelle für die Rekonstruktion der ursprachlichen Ebene der anderen uralischen Sprachen und Wörter, mit der die vorliegende Monografie einen Dialog führt. Ein entsprechender Dialog mit anderen Untersuchungen fehlt. So wird das vorliegende Buch an die Forschungssituation der 1970er und 1980er Jahre gebunden. Grundlage dieser Entscheidung war praktisches Denken: Es ist effektiver, das Material aus dem UEW zusammenzustellen, als zu versuchen, zahlreiche Primärquellen in verschiedenen Sprachen zu benutzen. Allerdings konstatiert auch Bereczki in der von ihm selbst verfassten Einleitung, dass sich der Forschungsstand verändert hat: „Seit dem Erscheinen des [UEW]

ist im Laufe des vergangenen Vierteljahrhunderts eine Unzahl an Wörterbüchern erschienen.“ Er fügt hinzu, dass er diese Wörterbücher auch bei der Überprüfung der Etymologie mehrerer marischer Wörter genutzt habe.

Die Nachteile der Anlehnung an das UEW werden weniger im Wortschatzmaterial sichtbar als vielmehr in der eigentlichen etymologischen Analyse und in den Rekonstruktionen, die das Fundament der sprachgeschichtlichen Interpretationen bilden. Leider wurde das UEW bei seinem Erscheinen nicht kritisch beurteilt. Wichtig für die Forschungskonstellation ist, dass zum Beispiel die auf einzelne uralische Sprachen gerichtete Perspektive und diejenige der Lehnwortforschung zu einer Gesamtheit verbunden werden. Die größte Schwäche des UEW ist die Unsicherheit der Rekonstruktion, insbesondere hinsichtlich der Vokalgeschichte. Es nahm nicht Stellung zu der von Juha Janhunen 1981 in SUSA vorgeschlagenen Vokalrekonstruktion der uralischen Sprachen (Janhunen 1981). Im selben Jahr wie das UEW erschienen der Beitrag von Mikko Korhonen über die Phonetik des Vokalismus der nichtersten Silben (Korhonen 1988) und der Beitrag von Pekka Sammallahti, der die Gesamtent-

wicklung des Vokalismus behandelte (Sammallahti 1988), wodurch ein großer Teil des auch im UEW behandelten Materials in ein neues Licht gerückt wurde. Seither sind neue Untersuchungen erschienen, so etwa der an Janhunen und Sammallahti anknüpfende Beitrag von Ante Aikio (Aikio 2012). Aus zeitlichen Gründen wäre es natürlich unangemessen, zu erwarten, dass der letztgenannte Beitrag im etymologischen Wörterbuch des Mari berücksichtigt worden wäre, doch insgesamt haben die Neueinschätzung der Vokalgeschichte und die Fortschritte der Lehnwortforschung im Bereich der alten uralisch-indogermanischen Sprachkontakte eine wesentliche Veränderung der Forschungssituation herbeigeführt.

Der Vokalismus, der in den früheren Modellen unlogisch erschien und sporadische Lautentwicklungen voraussetzte, findet in den genannten Beiträgen eine haltbare Erklärung, allerdings größtenteils erst zu einem Zeitpunkt, als das UEW bereits druckfertig war. Zuzugeben ist auch, dass zum Beispiel in Sammallahtis Beitrag der schwächste Punkt vielleicht gerade die Behandlung des marischen Materials ist, weshalb er nicht unmittelbar auf die Untersuchung der marischen Wörter angewandt werden kann.

Der etymologische Hintergrund des Wortschatzes des Mari

Von entscheidender Wichtigkeit hinsichtlich der Herkunft des marischen Wortschatzes dürfte die Unterscheidung der türkischen, d. h. der bulgarischen, tschuwaschischen und tatarischen Schicht sein. Dies ist das Spezialgebiet von Klára Agyagási, die das posthume Werk redigiert hat. Aus der Sicht des Lesers ist es jedoch bedauerlich, dass das etymologische Wörterbuch des Mari nun, da es endlich erscheint, wegen der vorgenommenen Begrenzung zwangsläufig unvollständig ist. Im Fokus des hier zu besprechenden Werkes steht also der auf das Uralische zurückgehende Wortschatz des Mari; hinzu kommen auch einige alte indogermanische Entlehnungen, die freilich nicht systematisch gesammelt wurden. Das Grundkonzept erinnert an das in Ungarn (1967–78) erschienene Werk *Magyar szókészlet finn-ugor elemei* (MSzFE). Wie bereits erwähnt, misst es sich auch mit der 20 Jahre zuvor erschienenen Geschichte der marischen Sprache von Bereczki, gegenüber der das nun vorliegende Werk wesentlich umfangreicher ist. Der Behandlung des Materials und den Begründungen wird erheblich mehr Platz eingeräumt, und den wissenschaftlichen Gepflogenheiten entspre-

chend werden auch Etymologien einbezogen, die Bereczki als falsch erklärt. Besonderes Gewicht legt er auf die Kommentierung der lautlichen Entwicklung.

Bereits die ersten Lemmata veranschaulichen die Struktur der Untersuchung. Das UEW stellt wiesenmari *aŋ*, bergmari *äŋ* ‚Öffnung, Spalt; Eingang; Mündung; Ende oder Anfang‘ (S. 1) unter Vorbehalt neben Worte aus dem Saamischen, dem Mordwinischen, den permischen und ugrischen Sprachen. Dass das Wort im Mari mit den Worten der anderen uralischen Sprachen in Verbindung zu bringen sei, ist Bereczki zufolge schon wegen der Vokalvertretung *a ~ ä* fraglich, da im marischen Wortschatz uralischer Herkunft keine entsprechenden Fälle begegnen. Nach sorgfältiger Argumentation wird festgestellt, dass das Wort mit tschuwaschisch *ana* ‚отверстие, проем‘ zu verbinden ist.

Berichtigungen zu den Etymologien des UEW

Die Strategie bei der Abfassung des vorliegenden Buches ist es, die Behauptungen des UEW zu kommentieren. Mehrfach weist Bereczkis etymologisches Wörterbuch nach, dass die im UEW angeführte Etymologie eines marischen Wortes falsch ist. Beispielsweise ist *elte*,

eltem ‚Schoß, Bündel‘ ein tschuwaschisches Lehnwort, wie bereits Martti Räsänen 1920 postulierte. Um tschuwaschische Lehnwörter, nicht um wahrscheinliche oder mögliche Entsprechungen zu Wörtern der anderen finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen handelt es sich auch bei *eŋam* ‚ohne Flamme brennen, glühen, schwelen‘.

Auch bei mehreren anderen Wörtern weist Berezcki nach, dass die im UEW vorgebrachte Analyse falsch ist. Das Wort *kaške* ‚Schimmel‘, *kaškem* ‚schimmelig werden, verschimmeln‘ wurde ungenau aus Ramstedts Wörterbuch zitiert und ist nach Berezckis Ansicht höchstwahrscheinlich eine permische Entlehnung. Mari *lođo* ‚Einkerbung, Markierung, Radspur etc.‘, *lođam* ‚einkerben, markieren‘ hat keine Verbindung zu dem finnischen Wort *latu* ‚Spur, Skispur‘, die auch SSA für möglich hält, sondern es könnte sich Berezcki zufolge um ein iranisches Lehnwort handeln. Allerdings wird die Entlehnungsquelle nicht näher genannt. Das Wort *lop* ‚Niederung‘ ist nicht aus dem ururalischen **lampi* ‚Pfütze, Teich, Moor‘ abzuleiten, sondern eher aus der Form **lappa* ~ **lappi*. Mari *omaš* ‚Hütte, Zelt‘ lässt sich problemlos als Entsprechung des finnischen Wortes *uudin* ‚Vorhang, Gardine‘ und der mit ihm verbundenen ugrischen Wörter

betrachten, obwohl UEW und SSA es nicht anführen. Die Rekonstruktion lässt in Übereinstimmung mit der Linie des UEW den Vokalismus der nichtersten Silben offen: **uδε-me* ‚Schlafzelt, Mückenzelt‘. Auch *oñāš* ‚weiter‘ und die von Berezcki damit verbundenen *umbal* ‚entfernt‘ und *una* ‚sieh, da‘ fehlen in der Liste des UEW, obwohl sie dasselbe pronominale Element enthalten wie zum Beispiel mordw. E *ombo* : *omboće*, M *omba* : *omboćä* ‚anderer, zweiter‘, udm. *otjn* ‚dort‘, ko. *ata* ‚hier‘, ung. *az, a* ‚jener, der‘ etc. Das hierzu gehörende deiktische Proadverb *ott* ‚dort‘ erwähnt Berezcki aus irgendeinem Grund nicht, obwohl die etymologische Beziehung zum Beispiel im etymologischen Wörterbuch des Ungarischen konstatiert wird (EWU 1075–1076). Mari *šuršo* ‚Floh‘ kann auch aus lautlichen Gründen nicht fi. *sonsar* ‚Floh‘, mordw. E *čičav* und den damit verbundenen ugrischen Wörtern entsprechen und ist eher eine Ableitung aus dem Verb *šurem* ‚stechen‘. Die Wörter *šärt* ‚böser Geist, Teufel‘ und *waja* ‚Besatz, Saumnaht, Verbrämung‘ sind türkische Lehnwörter, im UEW ungenau dargestellt. Der Gleichsetzung des im Ostseefinnischen fi. *kerta* ‚Mal, Schicht‘, Saamischen und Mordwinischen begegnenden baltischen Lehnworts mit der zweiten Komponente des marischen

Kompositums *šukerte* ‚schon lange, schon längst‘, die in der etymologischen Literatur wiederholt erwähnt wird, steht Bereczki äußerst kritisch gegenüber. Dafür gibt es einen gewichtigen Grund, der in der Literatur allerdings nicht erwähnt wird. Mari *šukerte* wurde in den Analysen falsch segmentiert, obwohl die Zweimorphemigkeit bei synchronischer Betrachtung transparent ist: *šuko* ‚viel‘ + *ertam* ‚gehen, kommen, wandern usw.‘ – dies erwähnt freilich auch das vorliegende Werk nicht.

Bereczki korrigiert auch zahlreiche andere Gleichsetzungen des UEW, wie z. B. *kajem* ‚gehen, reisen‘, *kinde* ‚Brot; Getreide‘, für das das UEW eine auch lautlich ungeeignete zufällige Entsprechung aus Agricolas Götterverzeichnis anführt, *luk* ‚Ecke, Hausecke, Biegung‘, *maća* ‚Netsack in der Mitte des Fischernetzes‘, *malâš* ‚Holzdeckel der Öffnung eines Bienenstockes in einem Baumstumpf‘, *šu* ‚Gesundheit, gesund‘, *taće* ‚heute‘, *tić* ‚voll‘, *ueštam* ‚gähnen‘, *tušto* ‚Rätselfrage‘ ~ *tuštem* ‚eine Rätselfrage stellen‘, *üpš* ‚Geruch‘ ~ *üpšem* ‚einen Geruch haben, stinken‘.

Die Neueinschätzung der einzelnen Etymologien ist konsequent. Präzisierungen können bei lautlich ungenauen oder fehlerhaften Analysen erforderlich sein. Bei mehreren Wörtern, die im Kontext des

uralischen Wortschatzes behandelt werden, handelt es sich tatsächlich um tschuwaschische oder permische Lehnwörter. Gelegentlich zeigt sich auch, dass das marische Wort eher zu einer anderen Wortfamilie gehört. Wiederholt erweist sich zudem, dass es für die mit dem Mari verglichenen ostseefinnischen Wörter ein plausibleres Lehnoriginal gibt. In dieser Hinsicht stützt sich das Wörterbuch auf das Werk *Suomen sanojen alkuperä* [Die Herkunft der Wörter des Finnischen] (SSA). Im UEW ist diese Perspektive durchgängig sehr schwach vertreten, und auch seit dem Erscheinen des SSA hat die Forschung erhebliche Fortschritte gemacht.

Problematische Interpretationen

Es gibt vieles zu korrigieren und zu präzisieren, weshalb der Leser daran zu zweifeln beginnt, ob die strukturelle Lösung, die Lemmata in der unmittelbar dem UEW entnommenen Form zu präsentieren, gelungen ist. Bei dieser Ausgangskonstellation tritt nicht das Thema des Buches – der Wortschatz finnisch-ugrischer Herkunft im Mari – in den Vordergrund, sondern die Art der Behandlung des Themas im UEW.

Bei mehreren Etymologien ist es angebracht, sie aus einem anderen Blickwinkel zu betrachten und alternative Erklärungen zu erörtern.

Mari *kočo* ‚bitter‘ (S. 66–67) wird in der etymologischen Literatur dem finnischen Wort *katkera* ‚bitter, verbittert‘ zur Seite gestellt, das Entsprechungen im Kareli-schen und Ingrischen hat. Das SSA postuliert hierfür keine Entsprechungen in den anderen uralischen Sprachen außer dem Mari. Das UEW (113) und Bereczki in Anlehnung daran schlagen Entsprechungen im Saamischen, Udmurtischen und in den ugrischen Sprachen vor, die SSA lautlich nicht für möglich hält. Da das nur im nördlichen Ostseefinnischen begegnende *katkera* eine Ableitung ist, wäre es begründet, bei dem marischen Wort zu überlegen, ob es nicht doch zu demselben Stamm gehört, den fin-nisch *katku* ‚stechender Gestank von Angebranntem od. Rauch‘, wepsisch *kačk* ‚Rauch etc.‘, mordwinisch E *kačamo* ‚Rauch‘ < **kača* repräsentieren.

Olli Nuutinen schlug bereits 1989 für das Wort SaaN *jávri*, fi. *järvi*, MdE *erke*, Ma. *jer* ‚See‘ (S. 29) eine beachtenswerte baltische Etymologie vor, die im UEW nicht kommentiert und im SSA nur im Kommentar zur Bibliografie erwähnt wird; auch in dem hier zu besprechenden Buch wird diese alternative Erklärung nicht näher kommentiert.

Das Verb *jükšem* ‚kalt werden‘ (S. 39) und das Adjektiv *jüštö* ‚kalt‘

(S. 40) werden als separate Lemmata ohne Querverweis angeführt, obwohl sie aus rein marischer Perspektive ganz offensichtlich etymologisch von gleicher Herkunft sind. Die als Quellen verwendeten Werke SSA und UEW nehmen an, dass es sich so verhält, doch wegen der in den westlichen uralischen Sprachen zu beobachtenden Doppelre-präsentation müssen zwei parallele Stämme **jakša* ja **jäkšä* rekonstruiert werden.

Für die marischen Wörter *kârem* ‚schlagen, hauen; dreschen‘ (S. 60), *purem* ‚hineingehen, eintreten, eingehen‘ (S. 202) und ihre mordwinischen und permischen Entsprechungen habe ich eine indoiranische Lehnety-mologie vorgeschlagen (Grünthal 2001, 2002), zu der im vorliegenden Buch nicht Stellung genommen wird. Dagegen werden hier und an zahlreichen anderen Stellen als Lehnübersetzungen Konverbkonstruktionen angeführt, die eine Parallele im Tschuwaschischen haben. Die indogermanische Herkunft wird auch bei dem seit mehr als hundert Jahren bekannten Lehnwort mari *šur* ‚Horn; Schopf (am Kopf eines Vogels)‘ (S. 257) und seinen etymologischen Entsprechungen fi. *sarvi* ‚Horn, Waldhorn‘, ung. *szarv* ‚Horn, Gehörn‘ usw. nicht erwähnt. Dagegen wird die indoiranische Herkunft für das Wort *šüdü* ‚100‘

(S. 262) und das weniger verbreitete *urdem* ‚halten (Tiere), auf-, großziehen (Kinder)‘ (S. 297) festgestellt. Für das letztere sind Entsprechungen in den permischen Sprachen bekannt.

Bei dem Verb *kojam* ‚sichtbar sein, erscheinen‘ (S. 68) folgt das Werk der Linie des UEW und lässt die problemlos als Entsprechung in Frage kommende, auch im SSA angeführte ostseefinnische Wortfamilie, fi. *kajastaa* ‚schimmern, dämmern, hell werden etc.‘ unerwähnt.

Das als einzige ostseefinnische Entsprechung des Wortes *kowâ* ‚Welle‘ (S. 78) erwähnte wepsische *kobe* : *kopken* ‚Schaum‘ gehört nicht zu den genannten marischen und permischen Wörtern, sondern seine Entsprechungen sind saamisch *guohpa* : *guohppaga* ‚Schimmel‘, südestnisch *kope* : *koppe* ‚Muffigkeit, Schimmel‘, ein von Koivulehto (1999 (1992): 323) vorgeschlagenes germanisches Lehnwort. Allerdings erwähnt auch Koivulehto das wepsische Wort in diesem Zusammenhang nicht. Die Lehnety-mologie schließt die Möglichkeit aus, dass das marische Verb *kupem* ‚schimmeln‘ mit dem erwähnten Substantiv im Saamischen zu verbinden wäre (S. 90).

Aufgrund dessen, was hinsichtlich der Entwicklung der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen in der Bronze- und Eisenzeit angenommen

wird, kann die Metallbezeichnung *kürtñö* ‚Eisen‘ (S. 102) nicht auf die gemeinsame Ursprache des Mordwinischen, des Mari und des Permischen zurückgeführt werden. Die iranische Herkunft der Wörter mit der Bedeutung Eisen hat bereits Joki angenommen (1973: 273), was in keiner Weise kommentiert wird.

Bereczki weist nach, dass das Wort *omaš* ‚Hütte, Zelt‘ (S. 172) in denselben Kontext gehört wie fi. *uudin* ‚Vorhang, Gardine‘, udm. *in* ‚Bettvorhang‘, komi *von*, *en* id., chant. *olaw* ‚Schlafzelt‘ usw., obgleich zum Beispiel SSA und UEW das marische Wort nicht erwähnen. Das vorliegende Buch beschränkt sich darauf, die Rekonstruktion **uð3-m3* anzuführen und für das Mari eine gleichartige Entwicklung festzustellen wie bei dem Wort *omo* ‚Schlaf, Traum‘ < **oðā-m3*, das etymologische Entsprechungen im Saamischen, Mordwinischen und Mansischen hat. Die Verbreitungsgebiete beider Etymologien decken sich vollständig, was Anlass zu weitergehenden Analysen geben sollte.

Das Verb *pörtam* ‚sich drehen, rotieren‘ im Mari (S. 197), bei dem es sich nebenbei bemerkt um eine offensichtliche Kausativableitung handelt, steht unverkennbar in Verbindung mit den ostseefinnischen Wörtern mit der Bedeutung ‚Rad‘ und ‚Drehen‘, vgl. fi. *pyörä* ‚Rad‘, *pyöriä* ‚sich drehen, sich winden‘,

pyörittää ‚drehen‘, auch wenn Bercezkis Quellen SSA und UEW diese nicht erwähnen. Der Kommentar des SSA über die Deskriptivität des Wortes beispielsweise ist ein für dieses Werk leider typisches, schlecht begründetes Erklärungsmotiv.

Bei dem Wort *šāngə* ‚Reisig‘ (S. 222) beschränkt sich das hier zu besprechende Buch auf den im UEW vorgenommenen Vergleich mit dem finnischen Wort *sänki* ‚Stoppeln‘, kommentiert dagegen nicht die im SSA erwähnten Entsprechungen im Saamischen, Mordwinischen, den permischen und ugrischen Sprachen – SSA wiederum erwähnt das Mari nicht.

Saamisch *suovdi* ‚Kieme, Rachen‘ (S. 238) ist, im Gegensatz zu dem, was auch das UEW postuliert, nicht die etymologische Entsprechung des marischen Wortes *šodo* ‚Lunge‘. Vielmehr gehört es zu einem im Ostseefinnischen begegnenden Wort, vgl. fi. *hauta* ‚Graben, Grube etc.‘ und ist eine sehr frühe germanische Entlehnung (LÄGLOS I (1991): 89–90).

Bei dem Wort *šoj* ‚Schaum‘ (S. 244) wird darauf hingewiesen, dass das ostseefinnische, vgl. fi. *hiiva* ‚Hefe‘ vom Vokalismus her nicht recht mit ihm in Verbindung zu bringen ist. In diesem Zusammenhang wäre es angebracht gewesen, dazu Stellung zu nehmen, dass das ostseefinnische Wort, wie auch SSA

anführt, vermutlich ein baltisches Lehnwort ist, weshalb die Zusammenstellung mit dem Mari nicht korrekt ist.

Baltischer Herkunft ist auch das ostseefinnische Wort fi. *hara* ‚Egge; Draggen‘ < *šara < PB *žarā, vgl. lett. *zars* ‚Zweig‘, lit. *žarà*, eine Feststellung, die Jorma Koivulehto auch dem Rezensenten gegenüber mündlich geäußert hat und die Aikio (2009: 149) zitiert. Mari *šor-wondo* ‚Rechen‘ (S. 247) hat trotz der lautlichen und semantischen Ähnlichkeit keine Verbindung zu diesem Wort, sondern ist ein transparentes Kompositum *šor* ‚Morast, Dreck, Schmutz etc.‘ + *wondo* ‚Stiel‘, dessen Komponenten gemeinsam ein Wort mit der gleichen Bedeutung wie finnisch *harava* bilden. Auch wegen der sehr begrenzten Verbreitung besteht Grund, an der Zusammengehörigkeit dieser Wörter zu zweifeln.

Im Vergleich zu vielen anderen finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen erscheint der Wortschatz des Mari häufig intransparenter, weil dem Mari nahe verwandte Sprachen fehlen.

Die Verweise auf das Tschuwassische

Der Verfasser und die Herausgeber haben sich dafür entschieden, mehreren Artikeln einen Kommentar anzufügen, der die Beziehung des marischen Wortschatzes

zum Tschuwaschischen und zu ungefähr gleichbedeutenden, gleich aussehenden Wörtern im Tschuwaschischen behandelt. Tatsächlich ist eine etymologische Darstellung des marischen Wortschatzes sehr lückenhaft, wenn man den intensiven Einfluss der türkischen Sprachen, d. h. des Wolgabulgarischen, Tschuwaschischen und Tatarischen nicht berücksichtigt. Ein diesen Einfluss zusammenfassendes, aktuelles etymologisches Wörterbuch ist unbedingt zu begrüßen, denn die Veröffentlichung von Monografien zu diesem Thema liegt bereits weit zurück. Von den Mitwirkenden an dem hier zu besprechenden Buch hat Klára Agyagási selbst zahlreiche Beiträge zu dem Themenkreis publiziert.

Bei einem dem finnisch-ugrischen Wortschatz gewidmeten etymologischen Wörterbuch des Mari ist die Entscheidung, reichlich Platz für die Behandlung tschuwaschischer Parallelen zu opfern, widersprüchlich. Als Ausgangspunkt dient wiederholt der Gedanke, dass es sich um tschuwaschischen Einfluss handle, wenn ein Wort im Mari und im Tschuwaschischen die gleiche Grundbedeutung und Bedeutungserweiterung aufweist oder in Komposita und Ableitungen auftritt. Diese Annahme ist von ihren Ausgangspunkten her problematisch, weil sie die Konvergenz, die

innersprachliche Bedeutungserweiterung und die natürliche Polysemie der Wörter nicht berücksichtigt. Die durch Sprachkontakt verursachte Entwicklung wird zu einseitig auf den etymologischen Vergleich beschränkt. So hatte zum Beispiel der Kontakt mit den türkischen Sprachen zweifellos Einfluss auf die Entstehung der für das Mari charakteristischen Konverbkonstruktionen. Doch das bedeutet wohl nicht, dass jede Konverbkonstruktion, also sowohl das finite als auch das infinite Verb, wie *kâlmén kólem* ‚erfrieren (eig. ‚erfrierend sterben‘)‘, dem Wörterbuch zufolge eine Lehnübersetzung aus der tschuwaschischen Verbverbindung *šansa vil-* id., auf lexikalischer Ebene eine Entsprechung im Tschuwaschischen hat, die die Entstehung der jeweiligen Konstruktion erklären würde. Beispielsweise gehören beide Bestandteile der marischen Verbverbindung *kâlmén kólem* zum alten Grundwortschatz finnisch-ugrischer Herkunft. Eine grammatikalische Kategorie kann entstehen und sich erweitern, ohne dass einzelne Wörter die Entwicklung steuern.

Eine ähnliche Hypothese vom Einfluss des Tschuwaschischen im Hintergrund der Polysemie und Bedeutungserweiterung wiederholt sich bei zahlreichen Wörtern, z. B. *kijem* ‚liegen‘, *kit* ‚Hand‘, *kućem* ‚halten, fassen, besitzen‘, *lektam* ‚hinaus-

gehen, weggehen', *lijam* ‚sein, werden', *moyâr* ‚Seite, Richtung', *müškâr* ‚Bauch, Wanst', *penğâde* ‚hart, stark, haltbar', *pâstem* ‚setzen, stellen, legen', *poktem* ‚verfolgen, jagen, treiben', *pot-koyolo* ‚Fleischklößchen', *ter-, tor-, tör-* etc. ‚bei; zu, nach, mit', *üdem* ‚säen, pflanzen', *waštareš* ‚gegenüber, entgegen'. In allen diesen Fällen wird die Erklärung dadurch ergänzt, dass die Bedeutungserweiterung auf tschuwaschischen Einfluss zurückgeführt wird oder beispielsweise die Verbverbindungen als Lehnübersetzungen dargestellt werden. Die Verwendung anthropomorpher Wörter, wie *mel* ‚besticktes Bruststück des Hemdes; Brust' als Adposition zum Beispiel ist in den Sprachen der Welt weit verbreitet, sie ist einer der typischsten Grammatikalisierungspfade, die keine Erklärung durch Kontakte erfordern.

Die Beobachtungen sind zweifellos wichtig für die Ausweitung der Diskussion über den Einfluss der türkischen Sprachen auf das Mari, doch sie entsprechen im Grunde nicht dem Titel des Buches. Zudem wäre es angebrachter, sie in einem umfassenderen Kontext zu behandeln, in dem die Möglichkeit der Konvergenz, die Grammatikalisierung, die Erneuerung der Kategorien berücksichtigt, d. h. verschiedene Erklärungsalternativen beurteilt und verglichen werden. Ohne die Bedeutung des tschuwa-

schischen Einflusses geringschätzen zu wollen, ist die Annahme, dass er sich entscheidend auf die Entwicklung Dutzender Wörter finnisch-ugrischer Herkunft im Mari ausgewirkt hätte, dennoch nicht begründet; anders verhält es sich mit der Veränderung der grammatikalischen Umgebung.

Zum Schluss

Im Vergleich zu vielen anderen finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen wirkt der Wortschatz des Mari häufig undurchsichtig, weil dem Mari eine als Vergleichsobjekt geeignete nahe verwandte Sprache fehlt. Die Dialekte des Mari wiederum stehen einander so nah, dass sie nur in Einzelfällen zusätzliches Licht auf die Geschichte der Wörter werfen. Das *Etymologische Wörterbuch des Tscheremissischen (Mari)* ist bestrebt, diesen Mangel zu beheben. Es ist die erste umfassende Gesamtdarstellung der finnisch-ugrischen oder als finnisch-ugrisch postulierten Wörter im Mari. Das posthume Werk von Gábor Bereczki zeigt, wie wichtig die Diskussion und die kritische Beurteilung wiederholt zitierter Etymologien sind.

Die ergänzenden Kommentare der Herausgeber zum Einfluss der türkischen Sprachen und besonders des Tschuwaschischen weisen den Weg in die Zukunft. Die ety-

mologische Bestandsaufnahme des Wortschatzes des Mari ist so lange unvollständig, bis auch der aus dem Tatarischen und Tschuwaschischen entlehnte Wortschatz und die darin zum Ausdruck kommende Entwicklung der Sprache in das Gesamtbild einbezogen wird.

Besser geordnete und redigierete Wörterbücher schaffen hervorragende Voraussetzungen für die nachfolgenden Generationen, auf dem von Gábor Bereczki aufgezeigten Weg der etymologischen Erforschung des Mari voranzuschreiten. Die Perspektive, die die gemeinsame Frühgeschichte der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen eröffnet, kann unter vielen aktualisierten Aspekten auf das Mari angewandt werden. Auch im Hinblick auf die Kontakte zwischen den indogermanischen und den finnisch-ugri-

schen Sprachen ist eine vom Mari ausgehende Betrachtung fruchtbar.

Gábor Bereczki konnte sein Lebenswerk im Bereich des Mari zum Abschluss führen, doch das Erscheinen des gedruckten Buches durfte er nicht mehr erleben. Das *Etymologische Wörterbuch des Tscheremissischen (Mari)* ist ein wesentlicher Bestandteil des lebenslänglichen Engagements des Verfassers für die Erforschung der marischen Sprache und Kultur. Vervollständigt wird die Gesamtheit durch seine anderen Untersuchungen, wie die historische Morphologie des Mari *A cseremisiz nyelv történeti alaktana* (2002). Sie bilden weiterhin das Fundament der Erforschung des Mari und sind ein wertvoller Führer in die sprachliche Frühgeschichte des Wolgagebiets.

Riho Grünthal

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Ein neues Hilfsmittel des Udmurtischen für Übersetzer, Studenten und Forscher

SERGEJ MAKSIMOV, SIRKKA SAARINEN, VADIM DANILOV & EKATERINA SELIVERSTOVA, *Suomalais-udmurttilainen sanakirja*. Финн-удмурт кыллюкам. [Finnisch-udmurtisches Wörterbuch]. Apuneuvoja suomalais-ugrilaisten kielten opintoja varten XVI. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura 2013.

Das finnisch-udmurtische Wörterbuch schließt logisch an das 2008 erschienene udmurtisch-finnische Wörterbuch an. Von der invertierten Auflistung des letzteren ausgehend, wurde 2009 am Institut für Finnougristik der Universität Turku mit der Erstellung des nun vorliegenden Wörterbuchs begonnen. Die Ausarbeitung ist im Wesentlichen überaus

sorgfältig und überzeugend. Die Beispiele für die Verwendung der Wörter sind anschaulich. Sie geben echte Verwendungssituationen im Finnischen wieder, und bei ihrer Übersetzung in authentisches Udmurtisch wurden keine Mühen gescheut. Besonders deutlich ist dies bei den Redewendungen zu erkennen. Das gleiche lässt sich über die Markierung des Wortakzents sagen. Für finnische Lernende ist es höchst wichtig, zu wissen, wo der Akzent liegt, wenn nicht der Grundregel entsprechend die letzte Silbe betont ist.

Neologismen sind systematisch mit Asteriskus markiert. Wie beim udmurtisch-finnischen Wörterbuch wurde auch hier besonders darauf geachtet, authentische udmurtische Entsprechungen zu finden. Eigensprachliche Äquivalente erhalten den Vorrang vor Entlehnungen aus dem Russischen. Die große Zahl der Neologismen erklärt sich zum Teil auch daraus, dass ein solches Wörterbuch, dessen Ausgangssprache das Finnische ist, viele Begriffe des heutigen Sprachgebrauchs aufweist, für die im Udmurtischen ein entsprechendes etabliertes Wort noch fehlt. Die Sprache entwickelt sich in Wechselwirkung mit anderen Sprachen, sowohl durch Wörterbücher als auch durch übersetzte Literatur.

Die als Neologismen markierten Wörter bilden jedoch eine ausgesprochen heterogene Gruppe.

Zu ihnen gehören bereits etablierte Neubildungen, in den sozialen Medien verwendete Wörter und sogar solche, die sich nur in diesem Wörterbuch finden und von Sergej Maksimov gebildet wurden. Bei einem Teil der Neologismen handelt es sich nicht um neue Wörter im eigentlichen Sinne, sondern um Ausdrücke, die in der Volkssprache in anderer Bedeutung verwendet werden; z. B. entstand die Entsprechung für das Verb *agitoida* (,agitieren'), indem ein zusammengesetztes Verb aus zwei gebräuchlichen udmurtischen Verben mit der Bedeutung ,rufen; einladen' und ,aufstacheln, begeistern' gebildet wurde. Der Benutzer des Wörterbuchs erfährt nicht, ob er bei der Verwendung eines Neologismus davon ausgehen kann, dass der Hörer das Wort versteht. Natürlich wäre es in der Praxis unmöglich gewesen, zwischen ausreichend verbreiteten und noch nicht etablierten Neologismen zu unterscheiden, da es sich um ein Kontinuum handelt.

Die Heterogenität der Neologismen lässt den Entwicklungsbedarf im Bereich der Sprachpflege und der Untersuchung der Neubildungen deutlich erkennen. Ist z. B. ein Terminus wie *коньдэт* ,Budget', der bereits in den 90er Jahren empfohlen wurde, noch ein Neologismus? Sind die eigensprachlichen sprachwissenschaftlichen Grundbegriffe,

die seit zwanzig Jahren in Grammatiken und Lehrbüchern verwendet werden, immer noch Neologismen? Und andererseits: Wann ist es sinnvoll, eine Neubildung, die sich nicht durchsetzt, auch aus dem Wörterbuch zu tilgen?

Die Verwendung des Plurals im Finnischen unterscheidet sich deutlich vom udmurtischen Pluralgebrauch. Der Hauptunterschied besteht darin, dass im Finnischen viele Wörter im Plural auftreten, deren udmurtische Entsprechung im Singular verwendet wird. Im vorliegenden Wörterbuch werden diese finnischen Wörter zusätzlich in zwei Gruppen gegliedert: solche, die gewöhnlich im Plural auftreten, und solche, die nur im Plural verwendet werden. Diese Gliederung wirkt nicht sinnvoll. Nur bei überaus wenigen Wörtern wird der Singular gar nicht verwendet, und auch dann begegnet er als erster Teil von Komposita (wie *hää́t*, *hää́-* ‚Hochzeit‘). Als Beispiel für nur im Plural auftretende Wörter wird in dem Abschnitt über den Aufbau des Wörterbuchs *maltaat* ‚Malz‘ angeführt. Auf Malzbreipackungen und Bierflaschen wird als Inhaltsstoff jedoch in aller Regel *mallas* im Singular genannt.

Bei solchen Wörtern (*mallas/ maltaat* ‚Malz‘, *alusvaate/alusvaatteet* ‚Unterwäsche‘) wäre ein Beispiel für die Verwendung im Sin-

gular angebracht gewesen. Es ist ja nicht so, dass man sie im Singular nicht verwenden kann, sondern es geht um Bedeutungsunterschiede und Kontextgebundenheit. Ferner gibt es Wörter, die zwar im Allgemeinen im Singular stehen, in einigen wesentlichen Verwendungstexten jedoch im Plural, während es im Udmurtischen auch dann beim Singular bleibt. Wenn man aus der Sauna kommt, sagt man z. B. üblicherweise: *Oli hyvät löylyt* (wörtl. ‚es waren gute Saunadämpfe‘). Unter dem Lemma *löyly* wäre demnach ein Beispiel für die pluralische Verwendung angebracht.

Im Vorwort wird erwähnt, dass internationale Lehnwörter, die in beiden Sprachen die gleiche Gestalt haben, und solche, die im Udmurtischen mit dem entsprechenden russischen Wort wiedergegeben werden, nicht in das Wörterbuch aufgenommen wurden, sofern kein Neologismus zur Verfügung stehe. Dennoch finden sich Wörter wie *firma*, *federaatio* und *foneemi*, für die nur die aus dem Russischen übernommenen internationalen Entsprechungen gegeben werden.

Das finnisch-udmurtische Wörterbuch ist ein hervorragendes und unentbehrliches Werkzeug für alle, die das Finnische beherrschen und sich mit dem Udmurtischen beschäftigen oder umgekehrt udmurtisch sprechen und Finnisch lernen,

sowie für Übersetzer der beiden Sprachen. Darüber hinaus ist es ein verdienstvoller Beitrag zur Entwicklung und Normierung der udmurtischen Sprache. Hoffentlich finden

die zahlreichen Neologismen, die es präsentiert, auch in weiteren Kreisen Beachtung.

Esa-Jussi Salminen

Neues über die Varietäten des Saamischen

LARS-GUNNAR LARSSON 2012: *Grenzen und Gruppierungen im Umesamischen*. Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica Band 83. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag. 198 S.

HÅKAN RYDVIING 2013: *Words and Varieties. Lexical Variation in Saami*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 269. Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne. 218 S.

Die Dialektforschung ist aus der Hauptströmung der westlichen Linguistik herausgefallen, als wären die Dialekte bereits gründlich erforscht. Die Varietäten der kleineren uralischen Sprachen bieten jedoch weiterhin ungelöste Rätsel und neue Erkenntnisse. Innerhalb von zwei Jahren sind zwei Werke erschienen, in denen die Dialektgrenzen des Saamischen vor allem anhand der Lexik beleuchtet werden, Lars-Gunnar Larssons *Grenzen und Gruppierungen im Umesamischen* und Håkan Rydving

Words and Varieties. Lexical Variation in Saami. Das erstere konzentriert sich auf einen Dialekt/eine Sprache, während das letztere das gesamte saamische Sprachgebiet einbezieht.

Die Grenzen des Umesaamischen

Lars-Gunnar Larsson zufolge ist das Grundproblem der Erforschung des Umesaamischen der geringe Umfang des verwendeten Materials: Alles, was wir über das Umesaamische wissen, basiert auf einem einzigen Werk, dem von Wolfgang Schlachter 1958 veröffentlichten *Wörterbuch des Waldlappendialekts von Malå und Texte zur Ethnographie*. Dieses Werk wiederum beruht auf der 1940 aufgezeichneten Sprache eines einzigen Informanten, des aus Setsele stammenden Lars Sjulsson. Durch den Vergleich dieses Idiolekts mit dem Material der Nachbardialekte (oder -sprachen) wurden die wesentlichs-

ten Besonderheiten des Umesaamischen und die Isoglossen, die es von anderen Sprachformen unterscheiden, definiert.

Das Gebiet, in dem Umesaamisch gesprochen wird, ist durch die kulturelle Aufteilung in Gebirgs- und Waldsaamen gekennzeichnet, denn bei einem Teil der Bevölkerung dieses Gebiets handelte es sich um mit ihren Rentierherden nomadisierende Saamen, bei einem Teil wiederum um ortsgewundene, in Hütten wohnende Fischersaamen. Im 16. Jahrhundert waren beide Gruppen etwa gleich groß. Das Sprachgebiet grenzt im Norden an das Arjeplogsaamische (oder Pitesaamische), im Süden an das Südsaamische. Die Zuordnung der Saamen zu den verschiedenen Gruppen orientierte sich in Schweden lange an der administrativen Gliederung in Lappmarken. Wie Larsson bereits am Anfang seines Werkes feststellt, hält sich das Verbreitungsgebiet des Umesaamischen nicht an die Grenzen der Ume-Lappmark. Er beschreibt die Geschichte der Kolonisation des Gebiets, an der auch die finnischen Siedler beteiligt waren, die von der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts an die Waldsaamen in die Enge trieben, sodass die Saamen bereits von den 1820er Jahren an in ihrem ursprünglichen Siedlungsgebiet in der Minderheit waren. Die Gebirgs-

saamen waren von der Besiedlung des Gebiets und von der Assimilierung der Saamen nicht betroffen, doch die waldsaamische Bevölkerung verringerte sich rasch und war in den 1950er Jahren fast völlig verschwunden. Dieser Prozess wurde auch durch die auf Assimilation abzielende staatliche Politik gefördert, die jedoch die Gebirgsaamen nicht betraf. Am längsten blieb das Waldsaamentum gerade in der Ume-Lappmark erhalten.

Larssons Ziel ist es, einerseits die Grenzen des Verbreitungsgebiets des Umesaamischen festzustellen, andererseits eventuelle Dialektunterschiede innerhalb des Gebiets aufzuzeigen. Da es kaum noch Sprecher gibt, muss er auf altes Material zurückgreifen. Larsson hat in Uppsala und Umeå im Institut für Sprache und Folklore (SOFI) und im Handschriftenarchiv der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala Sprachmaterial aus neun Ortschaften des Gebiets gefunden, das in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts gesammelt wurde. Dieses Material wurde vor allem von K. B. Wiklunds Schülern Nils Moosberg und Axel Calleberg gesammelt. Larsson stellt sie und ihre Informanten vor.

Larssons Untersuchung verfolgt das Ziel, vor allem anhand der lexikalischen Variation die Dialektgrenzen des Umesaamischen und

die Gruppierungen der Dialekte aufzuzeigen, denn die phonologischen oder morphologischen Isoglossen sind in dieser Hinsicht nicht so beweiskräftig wie die Lexik und ihre Variation. Diese lassen die Kommunikationswege und die darauf gründenden Unterdialekte erkennen. Larsson hat u. a. auch die Dialekte von Ullisjaure und Süd-Tärna einbezogen, obwohl sie keinen Stufenwechsel aufweisen und deshalb allgemein zum Südsaamischen Dialekt gezählt wurden – zumal beide südlich des Flusses Umeälven angesiedelt sind. Nach Larssons Ansicht genügt ein einziges lautliches Kriterium nicht für die Bestimmung eines Dialekts, und unter den geografischen Barrieren, die Dialekte trennen, sind die Wasserscheiden wichtiger als die Flüsse.

Obwohl Larsson den Fokus auf die lexikalische Variation richtet, behandelt er auf der Basis seines Materials auch die phonologischen Isoglossen und weist nach, dass der Stufenwechsel je nach dem Unterdialekt variiert und in vielen Dialekten schwankend ist. Er betrachtet auch morphologische Isoglossen (u. a. die Formen des Genitivs und Akkusativs, die Distribution der Illativvarianten, die Bildung von Potential und Konditional) sowie einige syntaktische Eigenschaften.

Nachdem Larsson aus dem verwendeten Wortschatzmaterial u. a.

Spezialtermini (z. B. Rentierzucht), Namen, unklare oder schriftsprachliche Wörter ausgeschieden hat, verbleiben ca. 800 Wörter, in denen eine Variation zwischen mindestens zwei Dialekten auftritt. Die Anzahl der an allen neun Belegorten begegnenden gemeinsamen Wörter beträgt ca. 140. Unter Wort wird hier eine Form und ihre Bedeutung verstanden. Es handelt sich um eine statistische Methode, d. h. wenn die Unterschiede und Übereinstimmungen der Wörter erfasst sind, lässt sich auf dieser Basis die Distanz der Dialekte voneinander berechnen. Die Distanzen beschreibt Larsson mithilfe von Radardiagrammen, die gleichzeitig die Gruppierungen der Dialekte sichtbar machen. Die Untersuchung der Lexik zeigt also die Zusammengehörigkeit der Dialekte auf, anders als die Isoglossen, die die Dialekte voneinander trennen.

Aufgrund seiner Analyse gliedert Larsson das Umesaamische in zwei klare Hauptdialekte, den West- und den Ostdialekt. Der Westdialekt wiederum gliedert sich in zwei Teile: zu dem einen gehören Süd-Tärna, Nord-Tärna und der Gebirgsdialekt von Sorsele und zu dem anderen Ullisjaure, der sich von den anderen unterscheidet. Die Unterschiede sind jedoch nicht durch das Südsaamische zu erklären, sondern sind Larsson zufolge

möglicherweise ein Ausdruck der Archaik des Dialekts: Ullisjaure ist ein altes waldsaamisches Dorf. Den Ostdialekt repräsentieren Malå, Maskaure, Arvidsjaur, Malmesjaure und der Walddialekt von Sorsele. Zum Kerngebiet der Waldsaamen gehören gerade Malå, Malmesjaure und der Walddialekt von Sorsele. Im wald- und gebirgssaamischen Material finden sich auch Unterschiede. Als Rentierzüchter haben die Gebirgssaamen mehr Einflüsse aus anderen Dialekten übernommen, weil sie sich zwischen verschiedenen Gruppen bewegten.

Ich habe hier nur die wichtigsten Ergebnisse des Buches angeführt. Alles in allem enthält Larssons Untersuchung eine immense Menge an detaillierten Informationen u. a. über das Umesaamische, über die verwendeten Archivmaterialien und ihre Sammlung, allgemeine Überlegungen zu Dialektunterschieden, zur semantischen Entwicklung der Wörter, wie zum Beispiel dem Wandel von Synonymen zu Hyponymen und dem Einfluss von Lehnwörtern auf diesen Prozess sowie zur Entstehung semantischer Distinktionen. Der Text ist präzise und reflektierend und bietet dem Gehirn des Lesers zahlreiche Anregungen. *Grenzen und Gruppierungen im Umesamischen* ist schöne Philologie, deren Lektüre erfrischt wie klares Wasser.

Das saamische Material des *Atlas Linguarum Europae* als Ausdruck der Dialektunterschiede

Håkan Rydving arbeitete vor rund dreißig Jahren, Ende der 1970er Jahre, als Sammler und Redakteur des saamischen Wortschatzes des *Atlas Linguarum Europae* (ALE) mit Lars-Gunnar Larsson zusammen. Für den gesamteuropäischen Sprachatlas wurde Material aus allen Sprachen und Hauptdialekten Europas gesammelt. Bei diesem Projekt wurden 546 Begriffe betrachtet. Es handelt sich vorwiegend um onomasiologische Fragen, aber einige beschreiben auch die semantische Motivation der Wörter. Im saamischen Sprachgebiet gibt es insgesamt 34 Belegorten, die sich in Norwegen, Schweden, Finnland und Russland befinden. Rydving betont – wie Larsson – die Bedeutung des Wortschatzes bei der Untersuchung von Dialektunterschieden und -übereinstimmungen.

Bei der Skizzierung seiner Untersuchung referiert Rydving die Geschichte der Erforschung der saamischen Dialekte komprimiert, aber effektiv auf weniger als 60 Seiten (Kap. 2, S. 27–82). Diese Darstellung nimmt mehr als ein Viertel des Buches in Anspruch und würde sich als prägnante Einführung für alle eignen, die sich für die Dialek-

te des Saamischen und ihre Erforschung interessieren.

Ein kurzes Kapitel widmet Rydving der Erörterung terminologischer Begriffe: Geht es um nur eine saamische Sprache, die sich in Hauptdialekte gliedert, oder um mehrere saamische Sprachen? Viele Wissenschaftler saamischer Herkunft sprechen von einer saamischen Sprache ebenso wie von einem Saamenland und einem saamischen Volk, um die Einheit des Volkes und der Kultur hervorzuheben. (Die Tendenz ist also konträr zu derjenigen in vielen finnisch-ugrischen Völkern in Russland, die eher Dialekte in den Rang eigenständiger Sprachen erheben – allerdings ist in Russland dieses *divide et impera* -Prinzip Teil der auf die Schwächung der Minderheitsvölker abzielenden Machtpolitik.) Rydving selbst gelangt zu einer sechsstufigen Definition: 1. Sprache > 2. Dialektgruppe > 3. Hauptdialekt > 4. Dialekt > 5. Unterdialekt > 6. Regionaldialekt.

Rydving hebt in seiner Untersuchung zwei verschiedene Arten der Analyse hervor: Die eine (Kap. 6) beschreibt die Wortgeografie mithilfe von drei semantischen Feldern (*verba dicendi*, Bezeichnungen für Donner, Blitz und Regenbogen sowie die Namen der Wochentage). Dieses Kapitel dient dazu, anhand der Beispiele die Komplexität und

Diversität des saamischen Materials des ALE aufzuzeigen und so das Fundament für eine umfassendere Analyse der Dialekte zu legen. In Kapitel 7 wiederum betrachtet Rydving die lexikalischen Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten der Dialekte des Saamischen aus etymologischer Perspektive und nimmt dabei dialektometrische Methoden zu Hilfe. Rydvings sechs Untersuchungsfragen sind konkret und zielen auf die Klärung des Status bestimmter Dialekte ab (zum Beispiel: Sollte das Umesaamische aufgrund seines Wortschatzes als Südsaamisch klassifiziert werden, gehört das Inarisaamische zu den westlichen oder östlichen saamischen Sprachen, und ist das Akkalasaamische ein Dialekt des Skolt- oder des Kildinsaamischen oder ein von diesen getrennter Hauptdialekt?). In diesem Kapitel betrachtet Rydving neun Sammelstellen, die für seine Fragestellung relevant sind, da ihr Dialektstatus unklar ist.

Rydving erläutert seine dialektometrischen quantitativen Methoden, die sich dem Durchschnittshumanisten nur mühsam erschließen. Die Ergebnisse, die sie erbringen, sind umso interessanter. Rydving zeigt anhand seines Materials die innere Homogenität der westlichen und der östlichen Gebiete auf; sie bilden zwei Hauptdialektgruppen, die sich in ihrer Lexik deutlich

voneinander unterscheiden. Das Inarisaamische ist enger mit den westlichen als mit den östlichen Sprachformen verbunden. Rydving definiert es als östlichste Varietät des Westsaamischen oder als zwischen Ost und West angesiedelten eigenständigen Dialekt. Die Dialekte des Skoltsaamischen in Finnland bilden seiner Ansicht nach ein Übergangsgebiet zwischen den westlichen und den östlichen Dialekten, denn sie unterscheiden sich augenfällig vom Skoltsaamischen in Russland. Hier wird der Einfluss der Staatsgrenze auf die Differenzierung der Dialekte deutlich sichtbar. Das Akkalasaamische wiederum steht den skoltsaamischen Dialekten in Russland etwas näher als dem Kildinsaamischen.

Aus den Tiefen der Archive ans Licht der Forschung

Die beiden hier vorgestellten Werke sind aus der Wiederverwertung von Archivmaterial hervorgegangen. Larsson geht in seiner Untersuchung alle Quellen durch, die umesaamisches Material enthalten; zeitlich decken sie Hunderte von Jahren ab. Rydving gründet seine Untersuchung auf Material, das vor mehr als dreißig Jahren für einen

anderen Zweck, den europäischen Sprachatlas, gesammelt wurde. Mithilfe ihres Materials eröffnen beide Verfasser neue Perspektiven auf die Beziehungen zwischen den Dialekten des Saamischen. Obwohl die Methoden quantitativ sind, betreffen die mit ihrer Hilfe erzielten Ergebnisse die Qualität der Dialekte und ihre Beziehungen zu anderen Dialekten. Der Finnougristik steht eine nahezu grenzenlose Menge entsprechender Materialien zur Verfügung. So bieten zum Beispiel die umfangreichen Dialektwörterverzeichnisse, die von den Stipendiaten der Finnisch-Ugrischen Gesellschaft vor und nach der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert gesammelt wurden und später als Wörterbücher erschienen, Möglichkeiten für entsprechende Untersuchungen der lexikalischen Variation. Die innovativen Werke von Larsson und Rydving haben unsere Vorstellung von den Dialekten des Saamischen und deren Beziehungen zueinander auf vielfache Art präzisiert. Hoffentlich inspirieren sie auch Dialektforscher anderer Sprachen, alte Materialien in neuen Untersuchungen mit neuen Methoden zu nutzen.

Sirkka Saarinen

Ein elementares Werk zu den Numeralien des Udmurtischen

О. Б. Стрелкова: *Имена числительные удмуртского языка. История и типология: монография* [Die Numeralien der udmurtischen Sprache. Geschichte und Typologie: Monografie]. Ижевск 2013. 238 S.

Olga Strelkovas Monografie ist eine fundierte Arbeit über die Numeralien im Udmurtischen. Sie behandelt das System der Zahlwörter ebenso wie ihre Flexion, Ableitung und Etymologie. Das vorliegende Werk vertritt den gleichen Typ wie einige andere in letzter Zeit verfasste Abhandlungen über das Udmurtische, die offenkundig den Zweck verfolgen, eine grundlegende deskriptive Darstellung der Sprache zu liefern und sie so zu normieren, dass sie den heutigen Anforderungen des Sprachgebrauchs gerecht wird.

Das Buch vermittelt ein klares Bild vom Charakter der udmurtischen Zahlwörter im Sprachsystem. Sowohl die Kardinal- als auch die Ordnungszahlen gehören zu den Wörtern, bei denen die Verwendung des Determinativsuffixes möglich ist. Interessant ist in dieser Hinsicht auch, dass im

Udmurtischen die Possessivsuffixe aller Personen bei den Zahlwörtern ebenfalls verwendet werden können. (S. 13–14, 17, 74, 121.) Die Verbindung zwischen Possessiv- und Determinativsuffix sowie die Grenzziehung zwischen ihnen ist ein weiterhin aktuelles Problem der udmurtischen Sprachforschung.

Strelkova muss auch zu eher trivial erscheinenden Fragen Stellung nehmen; sie muss z. B. begründen, weshalb Wörter, die eine unbestimmte Menge bezeichnen, keine Zahlwörter sind. Diese wurden nämlich in einigen früheren udmurtischen Grammatiken als Numeralien klassifiziert. (S. 126–135.) Hier beruft sich die Verfasserin vor allem darauf, dass Wörter, die eine unbestimmte Menge bezeichnen, nicht zum Wesen des Zahlwortsystems passen, auch wenn sie semantisch als nahestehend betrachtet werden können.

Der Plural des Zahlwortes bedeutet oft Approximativität. Im Udmurtischen ist dies eine von vielen Mitteln, Approximativität auszudrücken. Andere gebräuchliche Mittel sind Postpositionen mit der Bedeutung ‚ungefähr‘ sowie das spezielle, eine annähernde Menge

bezeichnende Suffix *-o*. Zudem kann man mehrere Mittel kombinieren. Strelkova stellt die verschiedenen Mittel und ihre Kombinationen übersichtlich dar. Dabei erhebt sich die Frage, warum die Sprache über so viele unterschiedliche, synonyme Ausdrucksmittel verfügt. Auch die Kurzform *oz* des Zahlworts ‚eins‘ hat im Udmurtischen im Allgemeinen die Bedeutung ‚ungefähr‘. Eine ähnliche Verwendung des Zahlworts eins ist auch im Mari sowie in den türkischen und iranischen Sprachen verbreitet. (S. 81–82.) Auch an einigen anderen Stellen wird auf türkischen und iranischen Einfluss hingewiesen; dies ergibt ein gutes Gesamtbild von der Richtung vieler sprachlicher Einflüsse, was für Erforscher des Udmurtischen von Nutzen ist, deren Arbeit einen historischen oder etymologischen Aspekt einschließt.

Dargestellt wird auch, welche Substantive mit Ableitungssuffix von den Zahlwörtern gebildet werden können (S. 136–139). Mit diesen Ableitungssuffixen wurden in letzter Zeit im Udmurtischen neue wissenschaftliche Termini gebildet. Im Udmurtischen sind die Zahlwörter relativ vital, d. h. auch in der gesprochenen Sprache werden eigensprachliche Zahlwörter erheblich häufiger verwendet als z. B. im nahe verwandten Komi-permjakischen, wo man weitaus

häufiger zu russischen Zahlwörtern greift. Ein ungenutztes Potenzial findet sich im Udmurtischen auch bei den denumeralen Ableitungen. Im Prinzip könnte man mit dem Ableitungssuffix *-чи* beispielsweise von allen üblichen Zeugnisnoten Substantive bilden, die eine Person bezeichnen: *куиньчи* ‚Studierender mit der Note 3‘, *ньыльчи* ‚Studierender mit der Note 4‘, *витьчи* ‚Studierender mit der Note 5‘. Stattdessen werden die entsprechenden russischen Wörter *троечник*, *хорошист*, *отличник* verwendet. Nur der eigensprachliche Ausdruck *кыкчи* ‚Studierender mit der Note 2‘ ist heute tatsächlich in Gebrauch. (S. 139.) Die Zahlwörter sind einer der speziellen Segmente der Sprache, die bei starkem Sprachkontakt und Zweisprachigkeit oft leiden, wenn höhere Bildung nur in einer Sprache zugänglich ist. Auch deshalb sind sowohl Strelkovas Thema generell als auch die Berücksichtigung der Rolle der Zahlwörter bei der Entwicklung der Sprache ausgesprochen aktuell und wichtig.

Mit großer Sorgfalt behandelt Strelkova auch das Suffix der Bezeichnungen für Bruchzahlen, das in der heutigen Sprache wie ein spezielles Bruchzahlsuffix erscheint, im Gegensatz zu vielen anderen uralischen Sprachen, wo die Bruchzahl mit Hilfe der Ordnungszahl ausgedrückt wird. Bei genauerer

Betrachtung zeigt sich, dass das betreffende udmurtische Suffix eine Entlehnung aus dem Tschuwaschischen ist und ursprünglich die Ordnungszahl markierte. (S. 96.)

Das Werk befasst sich auch mit der Frage der Relikte des Duals in den uralischen Sprachen. In einigen uralischen Sprachen gibt es weiterhin einen numerischen Dual, wie in der uralischen Ursprache. Im Udmurtischen gibt es keinen Dual. Zu diesem Themenkreis gehört die Tatsache, dass man im Udmurtischen weiterhin bei ihrem Wesen nach paarweise auftretenden Designaten im Allgemeinen den Singular für das Paar verwendet. So war es offenbar auch in der uralischen Ursprache. Man vermutet, dass solche Paarwörter der Grund für die Entstehung des Duals z. B. in der indogermanischen Sprachfamilie waren. (S. 156–157.) Nicht wirklich begründet ist jedoch Strelkovas These, wonach die Tatsache, dass in einigen heutigen Sprachen, wie im Ungarischen und Udmurtischen, der eine Bestandteil paarweise auftretender Gegenstände mit dem Wort ‚halb‘ bezeichnet wird, während der Singular auf das Paar verweist, ein Relikt des Duals sei (S. 158): Ist die Wahrnehmung paarweiser Begriffe als Singular nicht schon an sich ein hinreichender Grund für die Verwendung des Wortes ‚halb‘ in diesem Kontext?

Strelkova erwähnt ein interessantes Phänomen im Udmurtischen: Die Verwendung des Wortes *нал* in der Bedeutung ‚halb / einer, der eine der beiden Teile eines Paares‘ hat sich auch auf Wörter erweitert, die nicht von Natur aus paarweise Dinge bezeichnen. So haben z. B. die Ausdrücke *нал кыл* („halbes Wort“) und *нал кисыри* („halbe Falte“) die Bedeutung ‚ein Wort‘ und ‚eine Falte‘. (S. 159.) Solche Erscheinungen müssen z. B. bei Übersetzungen von einer Sprache in die andere beachtet werden. Auch im Finnischen könnte man im Prinzip entsprechende Ausdrücke bilden: *sanaapuoli*, *ryppuapuoli*, aber eine solche Verwendung dürfte im Finnischen nur möglich sein, wenn es sich um konkret paarweise auftretende Designate handelt.

Der Numerus des Substantivs in Verbindung mit einem Zahlwort als nähere Bestimmung ist im Udmurtischen insofern eine interessante Frage, als sowohl der Singular wie auch der Plural möglich ist. Strelkova stützt sich bei ihrer Analyse auch auf quantitative Erhebungen aus schriftlichen Texten. Aufgrund der gegenwärtigen Erkenntnisse sind drei Umstände festzustellen, die die Wahl des Numerus beeinflussen: 1. Früher war der Singular häufiger als heute. Die Verbreitung des Pluralgebrauchs geschah offenbar unter dem Einfluss des Russischen. 2.

Wenn zwischen dem Zahlwort und dem Bezugswort noch eine zweite Bestimmung des Substantivs steht, ist der Plural wahrscheinlicher. Eine solche Konstruktion ist den Substantivphrasen vergleichbar, die kein Zahlwort enthalten und bei denen folglich immer das Pluralkennzeichen verwendet wird, wenn es sich um einen Plural handelt. 3. Ist das Bezugswort eine Maßeinheit, ein sog. Numerativ, wird der Singular verwendet, in allen anderen Fällen ist auch der Plural möglich. Auch an dieser Stelle verweist Strelkova auf die iranischen Sprachen, in denen die Numerative die gleiche Eigenschaft besitzen. (S. 177–187.) Der Numerus des Substantivs in Verbindung mit einem Zahlwort als Bestimmung ist eine Grundfrage des Sprachgebrauchs, die bisher nicht in dieser Deutlichkeit beschrieben wurde.

Regeln und Praxis der Zusammen- und Getrennschreibung waren im Udmurtischen teils unklar, und dieses Thema hat bisher wenig Beachtung gefunden. In Übereinstimmung mit anderen heutigen Udmurtologen empfiehlt Strelkova, Adjektive, die ein Zahlwort enthalten, wie *куиньваресъем* ‚dreijährig‘, zusammenzuschreiben, da andernfalls Interpretationsunklarheiten entstehen können. (S. 14, 176.)

Auf eine sehr interessante Erscheinung weist Strelkova auf

S. 122–123 hin: Die häufiger werdende Verwendung von Kardinalzahlen anstelle von Ordnungszahlen z. B. bei Datumsangaben sowohl in der gesprochenen als auch in der geschriebenen Sprache, entgegen den Regeln der Grammatik. Zur Erklärung dieses Phänomens weist sie vorsichtig darauf hin, dass das Datum häufig mit arabischen Ziffern geschrieben wird, bei denen nicht unmittelbar zu sehen ist, dass es sich um Ordnungszahlen handelt. Kann die schriftliche Form die Sprache so stark beeinflussen? Das erscheint nicht unbedingt glaubhaft. Sonst müsste man ja annehmen, dass man z. B. im Finnischen das Datum 12.6.2000 als *kaksitoista kuusi kaksituhatta* ‚zwölf sechs zweitausend‘ (pro *kahdestoista / kahdententoista kuudetta kaksituhatta* ‚zwölfter / am zwölften sechsten zweitausend‘) lesen würde. Die Kardinalzahl begegnet in diesem Kontext schon von alters her sowohl in der Literatur als auch in den südlichen Dialekten, wie Strelkovas Beispiele zeigen. Es geht hier eher darum, dass die Regel der Grammatik zu streng ist. Die Verwendung der Ordnungszahl beim Datum ist keineswegs ein universales Muss. Im Rumänischen z. B. wird die Kardinalzahl verwendet.

Im Jahr 2009 legte Strelkova ihre Kandidatendissertation über die udmurtischen Zahlwörter vor.

Die hier besprochene Monografie ist auf der Grundlage dieser Arbeit entstanden. Sie wird ihrem Ziel bestens gerecht: Grundwissen über die Numeralien zu vermitteln. Das Buch bietet ein zuverlässiges Fundament, auf das sich alle Wissenschaftler stützen können, deren Untersuchungen die Numeralien des Udmurtischen tangieren. Strelkova, die an der Staatlichen Universität von Udmurtien u. a.

Morphologie lehrt, hat auch bei der Abfassung eines umfangreichen akademischen Lehrbuchs über Morphologie sowie an der Erstellung von Lehrbüchern des Udmurtischen für Ausländer und andere Sprachkundige mitgewirkt. Man wird von ihr auch künftig Beiträge auf dem Gebiet der udmurtischen Sprache erwarten dürfen.

Esa-Jussi Salminen

Die Lokalkasus im Komi aus der Perspektive der kognitiven Grammatik

Николай Кузнецов: *Пространственная семантика местных падежей коми языка (когнитивный анализ)* [Räumliche Semantik der Lokalkasus im Komi (kognitive Analyse)]. Dissertationes philologiae uralicae Universitatis tartuensis 12. Tartu 2012. 245 S.

Nikolai Kuznecov analysiert in seiner Dissertation die Lokalkasus des Komi im Referenzrahmen der kognitiven Grammatik. Die Arbeit lässt die gründliche Vertrautheit des Verfassers mit der kognitiven Linguistik und seine guten muttersprachlichen Kenntnisse deutlich erkennen. Das Lokalkasussy-

stem des Komi ist reichhaltig: es umfasst 12–13 Kasusformen, die in innere Lokalkasus (Inessiv *-ын*, Elativ *-ысь* und Illativ *-ö*), äußere Lokalkasus (Approximativ *-лань*, Egressiv *-сянь* und Terminativ *-öдз*), Prolativ (Prolativ I oder Prosekutiv *-öд* und Prolativ II oder Transitiv *-ти*) sowie in die approximativen Lokalkasus (Approximativ-Inessiv *-ланьын*, Approximativ-Elativ *-ланьысь*, Approximativ II *-ланьö*, Approximativ-Egressiv *-ланьсянь*, Approximativ-Prolativ *-ланьöд*, *-ланьти* und Approximativ-Terminativ *-ланьöдз*) gegliedert werden. (S. 88–89). Die letztgenannten, die approximativen Kasus, wurden erst in der großen

komisprachigen Grammatik des Komi aus dem Jahr 2000 erstmals als Kasus klassifiziert. Sie werden äußerst selten verwendet und sind insofern marginal. (S. 165).

In seinem Überblick über die frühen Grammatiken des Komi schließt sich Kuznecov der heftigen Kritik an, die später an der ersten gedruckten Grammatik des Komi geübt wurde. Diese 1813 erschienene Grammatik von A. Fljorov überträgt u. a. das Kasussystem des Lateinischen unmittelbar auf das Komi (S. 34). Eine stärker kontextgebundene Perspektive wäre hier angebracht. Die frühen Grammatiken vieler Sprachen wurden nach dem Modell des Lateinischen verfasst und hatten offenkundig den Zweck, Menschen, die das Lateinische beherrschten, als Lehrmittel zu dienen. Das Lateinische stellte eine Art allgemeine Grammatiktheorie dar.

Kuznecov skizziert die grundlegende Gliederung der Lokalkasus sorgfältig. Die äußeren Lokalkasus bilden eigentlich keine Reihe und keine Entsprechung zu den inneren Lokalkasus, wie z. B. in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen die *l*-Kasus zu den *s*-Kasus. Die alten *l*-Kasus der permischen Sprachen haben keine spatiale Bedeutung mehr, sondern an ihrer Stelle werden in erster Linie Postpositionen verwendet. Interessanterweise hat sich aus den

postpositionalen Ausdrücken in den Dialekten des Komipermjakschen eine neue Reihe von äußeren Lokalkasus mit *l*- gebildet, da die Postpositionen lautlich abgeschliffen wurden und als Suffixe an die Wörter traten (S. 89–92). Obwohl die eigentliche Perspektive der vorliegenden Arbeit weder historisch noch vergleichend ist, bietet sie für weiterführende Untersuchungen viele Aspekte, die die synchronische und die diachronische Forschung verbinden. Auch bei der Erforschung des Komi ist die geringe Zahl der Korpusuntersuchungen offenkundig, worauf Kuznecov mehrfach hinweist. In dieser kognitiven Basisanalyse beschränkt Kuznecov sich auf ungefähre Berechnungen und auf seine Intuition z. B. hinsichtlich der Gebräuchlichkeit der verschiedenen Kasus in einer bestimmten Bedeutung. Eine tiefere Analyse würde zweifellos von statistischen Methoden profitieren.

Die Einführung in die kognitive Sprachforschung ist gründlich. Stellenweise werden recht triviale und in der Sprachwissenschaft (wie auch in anderen Bereichen) weithin verwendete Theorien mit Beispielen illustriert. An anderen Stellen werden auf höchst abstrakter Ebene angesiedelte Erklärungen eines Spezialbereichs der kognitiven Linguistik in keiner Weise veranschau-

licht (z. B. S. 80 und 81). Zudem hätte die theoretische Grundlage sich stärker auf diejenigen Instrumente konzentrieren sollen, die bei der Behandlung der Lokalkasus des Komi in den späteren Kapiteln verwendet werden.

Der Text auf den Seiten 125–126, der die Lokalisation *DOMUS* behandelt, deckt sich weitgehend mit den Seiten 101–102. Solche Überlappungen hätten gestrichen werden sollen, ebenso die Wiederholung der Beispiele. Auch die Nummerierung der Beispiele wirkt befremdlich. Es wäre leserfreundlicher gewesen, sie für die Dissertation zu systematisieren. Man gewinnt den Eindruck, dass die ursprüngliche Nummerierung eines größeren Korpus unverändert beibehalten wurde.

Die Analyse der Kasus ist ein wenig uneinheitlich: Einige werden erkennbar gründlicher behandelt als andere. Kuznecov hatte zuvor in wissenschaftlichen Zeitschriften drei Beiträge über den Approximativ publiziert. Die Analyse dieses Kasus zählt denn auch zu den besten Teilen der Dissertation. Das dazu präsentierte Netzwerkmodell ist unverkennbar das Ergebnis langer Erwägung (S. 150). Ein wesentlicher Bestandteil der Bedeutung des Approximativs ist die Bewegung auf etwas zu, das jedoch nicht erreicht wird. Dennoch wird mit dem Approximativ manchmal auch das

Erreichen des Ziels ausgedrückt. Ein derartiger Widerspruch wäre aus der Sicht der traditionellen Grammatik schwer beschreibbar, doch die Methoden der kognitiven Grammatik erleichtern diese Aufgabe. Im Komi kann man den Ausdruck „auf das Zuhause zu“ oder „auf die Stadt zu“ verwenden, auch wenn aus dem Kontext hervorgeht, dass man tatsächlich nach Hause oder in die Stadt gelangt. Kuznecov liefert hierzu die vortreffliche Beobachtung, dass es sich in diesen Fällen um ein bewohntes Ziel handelt, das relative, unbestimmte Grenzen hat. (S. 147–148). Diese Unbestimmtheit ermöglicht die Deutung, dass das Ziel erreicht wird.

Auch die Darstellung des Prolativs ist gelungen. Der Prolativ wird in den permischen Sprachen häufig verwendet, und so ist auch seine zahlreiche periphere Verwendung erwartungsgemäß. Im Komi wird er nicht nur zum Ausdruck der Strecke und des Durchschreitens benutzt, sondern u. a. auch für den Schauplatz eines Ereignisses und für die Verbindungsstelle. (S. 136–138). Im Komi wird der Prolativ oft in Verbindung mit Bewegungsverben verwendet, um den Ort des Geschehens zu bezeichnen, worauf mit dem Terminus dynamische Lokalisation verwiesen wird (S. 140). Im Komi sagt man also

eher **šöp-mi** (-PROL) *мунӧ* „er/sie geht durch den Wald“ als „er/sie geht im Wald“, auch wenn sich das Gehen ausschließlich im Wald abspielt (S. 136). Gemeinsamkeiten der Grundbedeutungen des Prolativs sind die Fortbewegung und der Ort. Es wäre eine interessante Frage für eine weiterführende Untersuchung, welcher Bedeutungsunterschied im Komi entstünde, wenn anstelle des Prolativs in solchen Fällen der Inessiv verwendet würde. Auf der Basis der kognitiven Linguistik ist die Bedeutung der Verbindungs-

stelle (z. B. **ку-ӧд-ыс** (-PROL-PX3SG) *босьmic* ‚er/sie nahm (ihn/sie) bei der Hand‘) von der Bedeutung ‚Durchgang‘ ausgehend ausgesprochen leicht zu erklären. (S. 138).

Kuznecovs Dissertation ist ein willkommener und gelungener Neubeginn. Die kognitive Linguistik ist bei der Erforschung der östlichen finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen bisher nur selten angewandt worden. Künftig kommt sie hoffentlich häufiger zur Anwendung.

Esa-Jussi Salminen

Germanic Loanwords in Proto-Slavic

SASKIA PRONK-TIETHOFF: *The Germanic Loanwords in Proto-Slavic*. (Leiden Studies in Indo-European 20.) Amsterdam – New York: Editions Rodopi B. V. 2013. X, 316 pp.

It has been 80 years since the Finnish Slavist Valentin Kiparsky defended his classic PhD thesis, *Die gemeinslavischen Lehnwörter aus dem Germanischen* (1934), which has thereafter been the standard reference work on the topic. Therefore, the book under review could hardly have been more welcome.

The Germanic Loanwords in Proto-Slavic by Saskia Pronk-Tiet-

hoff (henceforth *GLPS* and *SPT*, respectively) is similarly based on her PhD thesis, *The Germanic Loanwords in Proto-Slavic: Origin and Accentuation*, defended in Leiden in November 2012. Although accentuation still plays a major role in *GLPS*, my review concentrates on Germanic-Slavic contacts in general, since Slavic accentology is beyond my scholarly expertise.

Chapter 1, called “Introduction” (pp. 5–29), already reveals that *GLPS* is a 21st century work unlike any of its predecessors, because *SPT* relies on the most up-to-date etymological dictionaries around, such as Rick Derksen’s *Etymological Dictionary*

of the *Slavic Inherited Lexicon* (2008) as well as Guus Kroonen's then still unpublished *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic* (2013). Incidentally, both Derksen and Kroonen used to be her Leiden colleagues together with many other outstanding etymologists, which is always an advantage for any beginning scholar.

As a matter of fact, Kiparsky's situation was similar, because his supervisors in Helsinki were no less than the Slavist J. J. Mikkola and the Germanicist T. E. Karsten, whose great achievements in loanword studies can in no way be denied in spite of both of their later close relations with Nazi Germany. In general, the fact that Finnish has so many loanword strata of different ages had already made Finland a superpower of loanword studies back in the 19th century. Hence, it is no wonder that Kiparsky was methodologically superior to his contemporaries, basing his opinions on "sichere Lautgesetze" rather than "semasiologische und kulturhistorische Momente", the latter of which can too easily lead to circular reasoning.

As Chapters 2 and 3 are aptly described by their titles, "The Proto-Slavic prosodic system" (pp. 31–38) and "Research history on the accentuation of Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic" (pp. 39–49), I may move on to Chapter 4, called "Language contact between Proto-Slavic

and Germanic tribes" (pp. 51–76), which is no doubt the most interesting chapter for non-linguistic readers, pithily discussing the extralinguistic background of Germanic-Slavic contacts. As far as the Germanic and Slavic homelands are concerned, SPT frequently cites the onomastic studies by Jürgen Udolph, who, however, has more recently been under attack for his ultra-conservative views on Indo-European linguistics (e. g. Harald Bichlmeier in *Acta Linguistica Lithuanica* 66 [2012], 68 [2013]), something that SPT could not have known at the time when she wrote her thesis. Anyway, any linguistic homeland stands and falls with the linguistic evidence backing it.

As SPT correctly points out, the fact that Proto-Slavic has no maritime terminology suggests that the Slavic homeland was nowhere near the coast (pp. 60–61). As the Proto-Germanic maritime terminology in turn could hardly be more extensive, Udolph's Germanic homeland in Thuringia and the adjacent areas in Lower Saxony and Saxony-Anhalt is too far inland, not to mention that it also fails to explain the hundreds of Germanic loanwords in both Proto-Finnic and Proto-Saami, especially considering that Proto-Germanic has only a few borrowings from Celtic, which was spoken much closer to his pro-

posed homeland. Incidentally, there are many more Celtic loanwords in Gothic, suggesting that Gothic was the southernmost Germanic branch rather than the easternmost (p. 56). At least if the traditional idea of the Gothic homeland in the Lower Vistula area were correct, one would expect considerably more Gothic loanwords in Baltic, for instance.

In my view, the core area of the Germanic proto-language was more likely Denmark, which as early as the Nordic Bronze Age (ca. 1700–500 BC) had archaeologically demonstrable nautical connections as far as the Finnic and Saami homelands in Estonia and Finland (respectively?). As a matter of fact, the Germanic migrations might even, at least in part, have been caused by the rising sea level, which even today causes problems in the North Sea area. Still, an even more important reason was evidently the fact that global climate conditions became both cooler and dryer during the Migration Period (ca. 300–700 AD), something that made the Roman and Byzantine empires even more tempting than they would have been otherwise. In any case, the Germanic migrations finally led to the earliest Germanic-Slavic contacts somewhere in Eastern Europe.

Chapter 5 titled “The main corpus: Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic” (pp. 77–167) can be consid-

ered the core of *GLPS*, extensively discussing “76 words that can be regarded as Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic”. Interestingly, quite a number of these were also borrowed into Finnic either directly or through Slavic. Below I first list all of the Germanic loanwords parallelly borrowed into Slavic (*GLPS*) and Finnic (A. D. Kylstra & al., *Lexikon der älteren germanischen Lehnwörter in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen* [1991, 1996, 2012]):

- Germanic **arkō*- ‘box, chest, ark’ → Slavic **orky* ‘box’; Finnic **arkku* ‘box, chest, coffin’.
- Germanic **beuda*- ‘plate, table’ → Slavic **bljudo* ‘plate, dish’; Finnic **peütä* ‘table’.
- Germanic **dōm(j)a*- ‘judgment, verdict’ → Slavic **duma* ‘advice, thought, opinion’; Finnic **toomijo* ‘judgment, verdict’.
- Germanic **hansō*- ‘band of warriors, cohort’ → Slavic **xqsa* ‘robbery, trap’; Finnic **kansa* ‘people, nation’.
- Germanic **hlaiba*- ‘loaf, bread’ → Slavic **xlěvb* ‘loaf, bread’; Finnic **laipa* ‘loaf, bread’ (N. B. the vocalism of Finnish *leipä* is secondary, as shown by Leivu South Estonian *laib* and Salaca Livonian *laibe*).
- Germanic **hlewa*- ‘cover (against the weather)’ → Slavic **xlěvb* ‘cattle shed, stable’; Finnic **lěvo* ‘roof, loft’.
- Germanic **katila*- ‘kettle’ → Slavic **kotǔb* ‘kettle’; Finnic **kattila* ‘kettle’.

- Germanic **kaupjan-* ‘to buy, trade’ → Slavic **kupiti* ‘to buy’; Finnic **kaup-pV-* ‘to trade’.
- Germanic **kuninga-* ‘king, ruler’ → Slavic **kōnedžb* ‘prince, ruler’; Finnic **kuningas* ‘king’.
- Germanic **laugō-* ‘bath, lye’ → Slavic **lugō* ‘lye, caustic soda’; Finnic **lau(k)ka* ‘brine, pickle’, **lauko(vesi)* ‘washing (water)’.
- Germanic **lauka-* ‘*Allium*, onion’ → Slavic **lukō* ‘chive, onion’; Finnic **laukka* ‘*Allium*, onion’.
- Germanic **naba-gaiza-* ‘auger, drill’ → Slavic **nebožězō/*nabozězō* ‘wood drill’; Finnic **napakaira* ‘large drill’.
- Germanic **nauta-* ‘cattle’ → Slavic **nuta* ‘cow, cattle’; Finnic **nauta* ‘cattle’.
- Germanic **skauta-* ‘(hem of a) skirt, coat-tail’ → Slavic **skutō* ‘hem, clothing covering the legs’; Finnic **kauta* ‘footlet (of a sock)’.
- Germanic **wīnan-* ‘wine’ → Slavic **vino* ‘wine’; Finnic **viina* ‘spirits, liquor’.
- Germanic **hlewa-* ‘cover (against the weather)’ → Slavic **xlěvō* ‘cattle shed, stable’ → Finnic **läävä* ‘cattle shed’ (cf. Finnic **lěvo* above).
- Germanic **papa-* ‘clergyman, priest’ → Slavic **popō* ‘clergyman, (Orthodox) priest’ → Finnic **pappi* ‘clergyman, priest’.
- Gothic *Xristus*, Old High German *Christ*, etc. ‘Christ’ → Slavic **xrbstō/*krbstō* ‘cross, Christ, baptism’ → Finnic **risti* ‘cross’.

As we can see, some words seem to be more expansive than others, especially because many of the Germanic sources above were already borrowings from Latin or Greek. In fact, it is not always easy to distinguish the direct Latin loanwords in Slavic from those mediated by Germanic, as discussed in detail in Chapter 6, titled “Words that cannot be regarded as certain Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic” (pp. 169–215). For instance, Slavic **jbstōba* ‘(heated) room’ is one of those cases in which SPT leaves the question open as to whether its ultimate source was Vulgar Latin **extūfa* ‘steam bath’ or Germanic **stubō-* ‘heated room’, the latter of which was at least the source of Finnic **tupa* ‘(heated) room’.

Chapter 6 also gives other reasons why certain earlier suggested cases “cannot be regarded as certain Germanic loanwords in Proto-

Note that the list above would have been even more extensive if I had included all of the more recent borrowings into Finnic from Old East Norse, Old Swedish, Old Gutnish, Middle Low German, etc. In addition to all of these direct Germanic loanwords in Finnic, there are also those mediated by Slavic (see Jalo Kalima, *Slaavilaisperäinen sanastomme* [1952], translated into German as *Die slavischen Lehnwörter im Ostseefinnischen* [1956]):

Slavic”. First of all, some words simply do not go back to Proto-Slavic, although there is nothing wrong with their Germanic loan etymologies. On the other hand, there are also cases where borrowing from Germanic seems less likely than inheritance from Indo-European. For instance, both Germanic **leuda-* ‘people’ and Slavic **ljudъ* ‘people’ evidently go back to Indo-European **h₁leud-o-*, even though Finnic **liuta* ‘crowd’ must still be considered a (North) Germanic loanword. Similarly, both Germanic **barda-* ‘beard’ and Slavic **borda* ‘beard, chin, throat’ are of Northwest Indo-European inheritance, whereas this time Finnic **parta* ‘beard’ could in theory have been borrowed from Germanic, Slavic or even Baltic.

The most interesting example is, after all, Slavic **mečъ*/**mьčъ* ‘sword’. As SPT convincingly argues, it could be neither a borrowing from nor a cognate of Germanic **mē₁kja-* ‘sword’, and while the latter was indeed the source of Finnic **määkka* ‘sword’, the Slavic and Germanic words have no further etymologies apart from some similar words in Iranian and Caucasian, suggesting that we are dealing with a relatively recent *Wanderwort* (pp. 210–211). As far as Finnic **määkka* is concerned, it cannot be connected with the earliest Bronze-Age swords, because as I recently argued elsewhere (“The

Prehistoric Germanic Loanword Strata in Finnic” in Riho Grünthal & Petri Kallio (eds): *A Linguistic Map of Prehistoric Northern Europe* [2012]), no Finnic word with a long vowel followed by a geminate consonant and an *a*-stem can date back beyond the Late Proto-Finnic stage roughly coinciding with the Early Runic period (ca. 200–500 AD). Thus, Finnic **määkka* as well as Slavic **mečъ*/**mьčъ* and Germanic **mē₁kja-* much more likely referred to some newer Iron-Age sword type.

Chapter 7, called “The origin of the loanwords” (pp. 217–255), draws conclusions based on the data in Chapter 5. SPT essentially follows the footsteps of Kiparsky by using phonology as the basis of her stratification. Still, she also concludes that all the Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic are either Gothic or West Germanic, thus rejecting Kiparsky’s idea of the Proto-Germanic loanword *stratum*, something that was in fact a misnomer from the beginning, since even he himself dated this *stratum* to the first few centuries AD, when Proto-Germanic was no longer spoken, as confirmed by runic evidence, for instance. On the other hand, SPT simultaneously rehabilitates Kiparsky’s idea of the West Germanic loanword *stratum* which has repeatedly been questioned for being too late to go back to the Proto-Slavic stage.

In addition to phonology, Chapter 7 also deals with morphology and semantics. As far as the former is concerned, it is interesting that the Germanic verbal prefix *ga- was sometimes borrowed into Slavic (cf. Germanic *ga-nazjan- ‘to save, guard’ → Slavic *gonoziti ‘to save’), because it was never borrowed into Finnic in spite of its many more Germanic loanwords. Yet in my opinion, it is even more interesting to compare the semantic categories of the Germanic loanwords in Slavic to those in Finnic. Most of the categories listed by SPT are well represented in Slavic and Finnic, such as “power and warfare”, “skills and mental concepts”, “technical terminology”, “trade” and “yard and home grown/made products” (pp. 251–255). However, there is one striking exception, namely “Christian terminology”, which was not borrowed into Finnic directly from Germanic but through Slavic (cf.

Finnic *pappi and *risti above).

As I noted earlier, I am not familiar enough with Slavic accentology to be in a position to evaluate Chapter 8, titled “Accentological analysis of the material” (pp. 257–273), which is also the last actual chapter of *GLPS*, followed only by “Bibliography” (pp. 275–290) as well as “Index” (pp. 291–316). As someone who is more familiar with loanword studies, I can say that *GLPS* will finally supplant Kiparsky’s 80-year-old PhD thesis as the standard reference work on Germanic-Slavic contacts, not that there would be no room for further studies. On the contrary, I sincerely hope that *GLPS* is only the start of a more loanword-friendly atmosphere among Indo-Europeanists, many of whom have so far favoured language-internal explanations whenever possible.

Petri Kallio

Some thoughts on Tungusic ethnolinguistics

MICHAEL KNÜPPEL: *Sprachtabus in tungusischen Sprachen und Dialekten. Am Beispiel von S. M. Širokogorovs “Tungus Dictionary”*. Tunguso-Sibirica, Band 33. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2012. 131 pp.

We should trace the basis of this work to the *Nachlaß* of the late professor Gerhard Doerfer (1920–2003), a well-known figure among specialists of Tungusic languages and cultures. Similar precedents

characterize the publication of various volumes, some of which have already appeared in the *Tunguso-Sibirica* series (e. g. Band 31.I–II: Gerhard Doerfer, 2011, *Lamutische Märchen und Erzählungen*. Teil I: *Kategorisierte Märchen und Erzählungen*. Teil II: *Nicht-kategorisierte Märchen und Erzählungen*). As a matter of fact, this work grows out of the linguistic materials collected, in the form of notes, by Gerhard Doerfer during the drawing-up of his *Etymologisch-Ethnologisches Wörterbuch tungusischer Dialekte* (posthumously published, with the collaboration of Michael Knüppel [= MK], in 2004) and the theoretical formulations on taboo and language by M. Crombach, among others. Unlike other cases in which G. Doerfer is fully acknowledged as the author, with the eventual (but crucial) participation of MK as editor, collaborator or even co-author, this time the original form of Doerfer's notes was such that a complete reworking was required, hence MK as the sole author.

The main goal of this book is to present the Tungusic words contained in the famous dictionary of the late Russian ethnologist S. M. Shirokogoroff (1889–1939), which bear witness to different taboo traits. Their etymological and comparative background is presented. The scholarly discussion of

linguistic materials is contained in the second chapter (pp. 29–76), which is divided thematically into body parts, diseases, animals, misfortunes, shamanhood, cosmology, death and others. Each subsection deals with an individual concept, e. g. menstruation (pp. 28–29), smallpox (pp. 36–40), the tiger (pp. 54–56) or the echo (pp. 75–76), to mention just a few. Each subsection may contain between one and a dozen different, allegedly taboo terms. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 (pp. 77–90) cover the interpretation and classification of the words analyzed in chapter two, and the conclusions. The rest of the book is distributed as follows: table of contents (pp. 5–6); prologue (pp. 7–9); a reproduction *verbatim* of a fragment by Shirokogoroff on bears and taboo, originally published in 1935 and included here for illustrative purposes (for further remarks on this issue, see pp. 46–54); abbreviations (pp. 93–98); a very extensive bibliography (pp. 99–112); and the *index verborum* (pp. 113–131). The latter is organized according to languages; sometimes it can be difficult to locate a given item unless one knows beforehand that, for example, Kumare-Manegir are indexed *sub* Ewenki, and not *sub* Solon, etc.).

The problems surrounding the use of taboo in the domain of

etymology have been extensively discussed in the specialist literature (MK presents a brief survey in pp. 11–20; I believe that the best piece on the topic remains Meillet’s masterful article “Comment les mots changent de sens”, first published in *L’Année Sociologique* 9, 1906, pp. 1–39, and later included in his *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, Paris / Genève 1982, pp. 230–271). It is enough to say that the field of Tungusic historical linguistics has not been immune to its dangers. The “just-because-it-is-so” argument of the so-called “taboo conspiracy” (anything goes when taboo comes in) has been regrettably invoked more than once.

A recent instance of this practice involves Manchu *helmeku* ~ *hemehen* ‘spider’ which is now linked to Common Tungusic **kömkä* ‘louse’ (see materials in V.I. Cincius [ed.], *Sravnitel’nij slovar’ tunguso-man’čžurskix jazыkov*, 2 vols., Leningrad 1975–1977 [= SSMTJa] 1.430a. Note that Literary Udihe *kumugä* [> Amurian Udihe *kumuä*] has a secondary epenthetic vowel; unless otherwise stated, reconstructions come from G. Doerfer [unter Mitwirkung von Michael Knüppel], *Etymologisch-Ethnologisches Wörterbuch tungusischer Dialekte*, Hildesheim / Zürich / New York 2004). Accord-

ing to the authors of this proposal (S. Starostin / O. Mudrak / A. Dybo, *Etymological Dictionary of the Altaic Languages*, Leiden 2003, vol. 2, pp. 738–739), the intrusive *-l-* in Manchu is secondary, with its origin traceable back to *helme* ‘shadow’ after contamination (see SSTMJa 2.481a, where both words have been subsumed under the same heading, i. e. ‘shadow’). Unfortunately, the same authors do not comment on the fact that the resulting forms ***heme.ku* ~ ***heme.hen* (note that *-ku* and *-hen* are derivative suffixes), i. e. the hypothetical forms previous to the insertion of the secondary *-l-*, still present serious discrepancies with CT **kömkä*. Nor do they mention that the semantic association between ‘shadow/darkness’ and ‘spider’ is cross-linguistically very common, as spiders and many other insects dwell or look for shelter in the darkness of holes (cf. *helmen gabtakû* ‘„Schattenschießer“ im Yangtze und Huai lebendes, der Weichschildkröte ähnliches Reptil mit drei Füßen, das wenn menschliche Schattenbilder aufs Wasser fallen, nach den Menschen Sand spuckt, der schmerzhaft Entzündungen hervorrufft’, in E. Hauer, *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache*, Wiesbaden 2007², p. 225b s. v. *helmen*, and O. Corff [ed.], *Auf kaiserlichen Befehl erstelltes Wörterbuch des Manjurischen in*

fünf Sprachen, Wiesbaden 2013, vol. 2, p. 985 [4508-2]). Therefore, ‘shadow’ > ‘spider’ is a semantic specialization that does not require the involvement of a third word or taboo assumptions.

If something, one could claim that there is a strange relationship between Manchu *helmen* ‘shadow’ (isolated in Tungusic) and *silmen* ‘shady, sunless’ which could be very tentatively related to CT **simgön* id. (see SSMTJa 2.87–88; this connection is deliberately ignored in J. A. Alonso de la Fuente, “Written Manchu *talman* ‘mist’”, *Zentralasiatische Studien* 41, 2012, pp. 107–135, see pp. 120–121). Now, one could speculate that ***hemeku* (or even ***hemen* ‘shadow’!) got its -l- from *silmen*, or that the origin of the irregular developments accounting for the evolution *silmen* < **simgön* (cf. Literary Nanay *siŋmu* < **simŋön*, with metathesis) should be sought in *helmen*. We could even bring **kulya*+ ‘beetle, worm; snake’ (no Manchuric cognates, see SST-MJa 1.428b, discussed by MK in p. 63) into the picture. Regardless of which option one prefers, there is no need to resort to the “taboo conspiracy”, but rather to simply assume that the most common case of contamination, based on semantic and formal similarity, has taken place, as in classical instances such as Spanish *vagabundo* ‘vagrant,

tramp’ > *vagamundo* after *vagar* ‘to wander’ + *mundo* ‘world’.

As is clear from the preceding discussion, this kind of reasoning is intolerable, especially when it is not accompanied by a solid body of cultural and folkloristic knowledge to back it up. The book under review contains a few such cases. For instance, Manchu *uju* ‘head’ has, in theory, no cognates in other Tungusic languages (p. 76). Since body parts tend to be an important cultural phenomenon, it comes as no surprise that we find certain taboos attached to them. This general appreciation (which has a grain of truth to it), and the apparent “abnormality” of the etymological status of Manchu *uju*, is enough to classify it as a taboo word. I agree with MK that this is dubious to say the least (it has been argued elsewhere that this word could actually be inherited, see J. A. Alonso de la Fuente, “Written Manchu *uju* ‘head’”, *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* NF 24, 2011, pp. 204–226).

It goes without saying that the immense majority of instances presented by MK in this book are far less polemic. In this regard, MK’s discussion is always balanced and very informative. Furthermore, there are cases that could actually be accounted for as genuine instances of taboo. The most telling example is the word for the sun,

discussed by MK in pp. 70–71, for which there are two terms in Tungusic, namely *sĩgoon and *dĩlaca. These are apparently in complementary distribution, and therefore they are commonly used as a lexical isogloss to distinguish between Northern and Southern Tungusic languages (see *i. a.* J. Benzing, *Die tungusischen Sprachen. Versuch einer vergleichenden Grammatik*, Wiesbaden 1956, p. 11).

This work mainly deals with the lexicon of the Northern Tungusic languages, leaving aside the taboo vocabulary of Southern Tungusic and Manchu (as for the latter, there are copious references on the topic in Chinese and Japanese; note that it traditionally is assumed that the Southern Tungusic populations borrowed many cultural traits involving taboo from the Chinese). A direct consequence of this limitation is that many interesting words have been left out, even those which could have shed some light on certain Northern Tungusic items. For the sake of illustration, I will mention the enigmatic Eastern Ewenki word *sorki* ‘sash, girdle (made of musk-deer leather and used during the menstrual cycle to protect against evil spirits)’. It is documented only in the Bitim dialect by E. I. Titov (see his *Tungusko-russkij slovar*, Irkutsk 1926, p. 133b <copki>). The Ewenki form could be the re-

sult of a very recent lexical dispersion whose point of departure must be Southern Tungusic. As a matter of fact, this term is well attested across all dialects of Udihe, Nanay and also Manchu (Literary Udihe *soondo* ‘sin’ = Kilen *soronda-* ‘to consider as sinful’, Manchu *soroki* = Ewenki *sorki*, see SSTMJa 2.113), where it is the common word for sin (and taboo!). The ritualistic origin of this word is preserved in the Manchu expression *sorokũ futa* ‘multicolored strings hung on a child’s neck during a shamanistic rite’ (J. Norman, *A Concise Manchu-English Lexicon*, Seattle / London 1978, p. 249a, and Corff, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 164 [660–3]; cf. *futa* ‘rope, line, string’).

Another very interesting word is Ulcha <eniú> ~ <yniú> ‘sin’ (cf. O. P. Sunik, *Ul’čskij jazyk. Issledovanija i materialy*, Leningrad 1985, p. 262a s. v. *ãñäwu id.*, note that *-wu* is a derivative element, cf. SSTMJa 2.456b where we find Ulcha *ãñä-* ‘to sin’), related to Orok <ynnúri> = *ãnäuri* ~ *ãnnäwri* ‘sin’ and <ynnáuri kuci-há> = †*ãnnäwri kucigã* ‘a knife to the handle of which the hair of the bear’s sex organ is glued [a taboo knife]’ (see *i. a.* SSTMJa 456b; for both Ulcha and Orok, see new materials in A. Majewicz *et al.* [eds.], *The Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski*, vol. IV: *Materials for the Study of Tungusic Languages and*

Folklore, Berlin 2011, pp. 524–525, 808, 938). If we assume that there is no coincidence in that *ännäwri* belongs in a noun phrase with *kucigä* ‘knife’, then it is very tempting to link these words with Northern Tungusic *änä+kii ‘sheath, scabbard’ (> East Ewenki *änäkii*(*ptun*) and *änä-lää-* ‘to put in the sheath’, Hailar Solon *änixii*, Literary Ewen & Arman *änki*, Negidal *änäxii* ~ *änäkii* id., see SSMTJa 2.455a). The connection, however, sounds admittedly rather cumbersome, as the *rationale* behind it, or put another way, the cultural explanation for the taboo, remains obscure (it is clear here that the ritualistic nature of the knife plays an important role).

The inclusion of these and other words could have easily doubled the scope of the book. It could also have been very interesting to inspect original texts in order to check whether difficult items could actually be accounted for as the result of, or at least linked to, the phenomenon of taboo. However, there is always time for this kind of desiderata to be accomplished in the future.

In the theoretical section, MK seeks to reconcile the traditional position, supported by W. Havers and others, with more recent approaches, such as those defended in the unpublished dissertation of M. Crombach. MK convincingly argues that both trends pay too

much attention to internal processes (metaphor, litotes, paraphrase, imitative words, etc.), whereas they ignore altogether the role played by external factors, such as lexical borrowing, e.g. Kxingan Ewenki *nukun* ‘vulva’ ← Mongolic *nüken* ‘hole’ (p. 33) or Manegir Solon *lavu* ‘tiger’ ← Chinese *lǎo[dà]* ‘old [in a reverential way]’ (p. 55). It is legitimate to wonder how many similar cases may be identified in the materials collected by K. A. Novikova (“Inojazyčnye elementy v tungusoman’čžurskoj leksike, odnosjaščej k životnomu miru”, in V. I. Cincius [ed.], *Očerki sravnitel’noj leksikologii altajskix jazykov*, Leningrad 1972, pp. 104–150).

All in all, this is a very valuable contribution to the study of Tungusic linguistics and culture. It makes available the personal thoughts of two important figures, namely Doerfer and Shirokogoroff, to which otherwise it would be very difficult to gain access. There is little doubt that the book will stimulate further discussion on the specifics of various items. There are some minor questions which in other circumstances would deserve further comment (e.g. vowel length in Manchu, internal classification of certain “dialects”, etc.), but these contribute nothing to the topic of the book. Last but not least, note that the work has been recently up-

dated with the publication of additional materials mainly referring to animal taboos (M. Knüppel, "Nachschrift zu der Arbeit *Sprachtabus in tungusischen Sprachen un Dialek-*

ten", *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Jagellonicae Cracoviensis* 130, 2013, pp. 187–190).

José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente

Dies und das über die Sprachen der Welt

ERNST KAUSEN: *Die Sprachfamilien der Welt. Teil I: Europa und Asien*. Hamburg: Buske 2013. XXXV + 1052 S.

In diesem massiven, schon wegen seiner physischen Größe kaum handhabbaren Werk versucht Ernst Kausen, Professor für Mathematik und Theoretische Informatik an der Technischen Hochschule Mittelhessen, aber nebenbei auch Altorientalist und Ägyptologe, das (fast) Unmögliche. Er will sowohl die große, gefährdete und dem breiten Publikum leider sehr wenig bekannte Sprachendiversität der Welt vorstellen als auch die Strukturen und Grammatiken aller Sprachfamilien zumindest ansatzweise beschreiben. Das Buch richtet sich an das große Publikum, vor allem an sogenannte „sprachinteressierte Laien“. Vom Zielpublikum wird offensichtlich ein geradezu leidenschaftliches Interesse verlangt, denn die Leserschaft wird nicht

nur vom gewaltigen Umfang des Buches herausgefordert, auch der Stil ist etwas schulmeisterhaft, sehr sachlich und trocken.

Nach der kurzen Einführung in das Phänomen Sprachverwandtschaft (Stammbäume, Rekonstruktion usw.), Sprachtypologie und Sprachareale folgt einer der besten Abschnitte des Buches: eine globale Sprachenstatistik mit einer detaillierten Einführung in die Problematik von Statistiken dieser Art, v. a. die Frage der Identifizierung von Sprachen. Es gibt ja bekanntlich Sprachvarietäten, deren Status (Sprache oder Dialekt?) sogar unter den Sprechern selbst umstritten ist. In diesem Abschnitt werden auch die soziolinguistischen Mechanismen der Sprachgefährdung und des Sprachtodes behandelt, wieder sachlich und überzeugend. Leider hat der Verfasser eine typische Gefahr nicht ganz vermeiden können: Wie so oft, kann auch hier der Eindruck entstehen (auch wenn

der Verfasser nichts Solches explizit behauptet), der Sprachtod sei keine Folge von komplexen politischen und individuellen Entscheidungen, sondern quasi ein natürlicher, unvermeidlicher Prozess.

Nach einem kurzen Überblick über die Sprachfamilien Eurasiens folgen dann die Kapitel zu den einzelnen Sprachfamilien oder Sprachgruppen von Indogermanisch bis zu den Tai-Kadai-Sprachen, auch inklusive Isolatsprachen (Baskisch, Buruschaski) sowie Zusammenbündelungen von (oft nur schwach dokumentierten) Sprachen wie z. B. die altmediterranen, paläosibirischen und altorientalischen Sprachen. In ein einziges Kapitel sind auch „Altäische Sprachen, Koreanisch und Japanisch“ zusammengebündelt; der Autor hegt große Sympathien für die makrophyletischen Ideen von Joseph Greenberg und seinen Schülern, auch wenn er korrekterweise zugibt, dass die genetische Verwandtschaft dieser Sprachen nicht endgültig bewiesen oder von der wissenschaftlichen Community einstimmig angenommen worden ist.

Die Kapitel zu den einzelnen Sprachfamilien sind nach dem üblichen Handbuchformat aufgebaut (vielleicht mit Ausnahme des Indogermanischen, denn zu dieser Familie gibt es schon ein ähnliches massives Handbuch vom gleichen

Autor, so dass hier auf eine ausführliche grammatische Darstellung verzichtet worden ist). Das heißt: Nach einer Einführung in die Geschichte, geographische Verbreitung und dialektale Einteilung der betreffenden Sprache(n) folgt eine grammatische Skizze: Phonologie, Morphologie und Syntax, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der charakteristischen Merkmale (so wie beim Baskischen die Ergativität).

Im Folgenden werde ich mich auf die Kritik des uralischen Teiles beschränken, wobei sich natürlich die Frage ergibt, ob die Darstellung aller anderen Sprachfamilien und Gruppen auch unter ähnlichen Problemen leidet. Der Verfasser hat einen ehrlichen Versuch gemacht, sich in die Literatur einzuarbeiten. Falls er auch FinnougristInnen konsultiert hat, werden ihre Namen nicht erwähnt; auf die „zahlreichen Wissenschaftler“, die den Verfasser in Einzelfragen beraten haben, wird in der Einführung nur kurz hingewiesen. Trotzdem hat er sich zumindest in der Uralistik nicht ganz auf den neuesten Wissensstand bringen können.

Schon bei der Einführung muss ein/e finnougristisch ausgebildete/r LeserIn ein paar Mal die Stirn runzeln: Saamisch wird zu den ostseefinnischen Sprachen eingeordnet (S. 6), und Mansisch soll (Harald Haarmann zufolge) den Wortstel-

lungstyp OSV vertreten (S. 21). Die grundlegende Zweiteilung der uralischen Sprachfamilie in Samoje-disch und Finnougrisch wird nicht bezweifelt, dagegen aber soll die „genetische Einheit“ des finnougri-schen Zweiges „in jüngster Zeit be-stritten werden“ (S. 49). Der Inhalt dieser kryptischen Aussage wird dann im uralischen Kapitel (S. 341–370) erläutert. Teilweise handelt es sich um das „hyperkritische“ Werk von Angela Marcantonio (2002), wobei der Verfasser gleich anmerkt, dass ihre Ergebnisse wegen massi- ver methodischer Fehler zurück- gewiesen werden, teilweise darum, dass der Verfasser dem Diskurs innerhalb der Uralistik nicht ganz folgen kann.

In seinem Vergleich verschie- dener Stammbaummodelle wirft Kausen mehr und weniger seriöse Taxonomien, völlig veraltete (Aus- terlitz und Sauvageot in den 1960er- 70er Jahren postulierten noch einen mordwinisch-marischen Zweig) und etwas jüngere (das hyperkri- tische Kamm- oder Buschmodell von Salminen 2002) in einen Topf. Dabei will er vermutlich seine Lieblingsthese von eurasischen makro- oder interphyletischen An- knüpfungen (die ja auch von Mar- cantonio hervorgehoben werden) dadurch untermauern, dass er die „genetische Einheit“ des Finnoug- rischen bezweifelt. Ob unter „ge-

netischer Einheit“ die Verwandt- schaft, die Abstammung aus einer gemeinsamen Grundsprache oder das Vorhandensein einer allgemein angenommenen Taxonomie ge- meint wird, bleibt (absichtlich?) un- klar. Dass „ein präzises, konsensfä- higes Bild der internen Gliederung des Uralischen ferner denn je“ sei, kann nur jemand behaupten, der die neuesten Publikationen zu die- sem Thema (s. z. B. Häkkinen 2009, Parpola 2012) nicht kennt.

In seinem Überblick über die uralischen Sprachen gibt der Ver- fasser ein sehr pessimistisches Bild von der Lage der kleinsten Min- derheiten: wieder wird als quasi wissenschaftliche Tatsache darge- stellt, dass sich „die heute noch vor- handene Vielfalt des Uralischen in wenigen Jahrzehnten auf die Groß- sprachen Ungarisch, Finnisch, Est- nisch, Mordwinisch, Mari, Udmur- tisch und Komi reduzieren“ wird. Auch Nordsaamisch und Tundra- nenzisch wären demgemäß zum Tode verurteilt, so wie Karelich, von welchem „etliche Dialekte [wel- che?] schon ausgestorben“ sind?

Die Darstellung der Geschich- te und Gegenwart der uralischen Sprachen ist leider nicht frei von ärgerlichen Sachfehlern. Z. B. be- hauptet der Verfasser, dass die estnische Sprache schon Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts als Amts- und Schulsprache mit Russisch und

Deutsch gleichgestellt wurde – in Wirklichkeit war eben das Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts die Zeit einer gewaltsamen Russifizierung vieler Institutionen. Auch glaubt er, dass Wepsisch, Chantisch und Mansisch (!) sowie Karelisch – in kyrillischer (!) Schrift – heute in Grundschulen als Unterrichtssprachen verwendet werden. Dies ist leider nicht einmal bei größeren fin. Sprachen Russlands der Fall. Ebenso ist die Behauptung, dass die großen fin. Minderheitssprachen im europäischen Russland „als Amtssprache“ verwendet werden, leider eher Wunschdenken als Wirklichkeit, auch wenn Sprachgesetze in den fin. Republiken die offizielle Verwendung der Nationalsprachen im Prinzip ermöglichen. Den Unterschied zwischen „Karelisch“ als Sprache/Ethnizität und „karelisch“ als regionale Identität innerhalb des finnischen Linguo-Ethnikums hat der Verfasser nicht ganz verstanden: von den 300.000 „Kareliern“, die „nach dem Krieg nach Finnland emigrierten“ (d. h.: vor der sowjetischen Invasion systematisch evakuiert wurden), sprach in Wirklichkeit nur ein kleiner Bruchteil die karelische *Sprache*.

Unter den sprachlichen Charakteristika werden zuerst lexikalische Gemeinsamkeiten dargestellt, veranschaulicht mit einigen etymologischen Entsprechungen im

Grundwortschatz – mit Hinweis auf das *Uralische Etymologische Wörterbuch*, obwohl die Rekonstruktion der uralischen Protoformen (z. B. mit „Laryngal“ **x*) eher der von Janhunen und Sammallahti vertretenen Tradition entspricht. Von den kurz erwähnten lexikalischen Kontakten zwischen Uralisch und Indogermanisch hat der Verfasser eine seltsame Auffassung: laut ihm stellen die uralischen **kala* ‚Fisch‘ und **sexni* [sic] ‚Ader, Sehne‘ Lehnwörter aus dem Germanischen (!) dar.

Nach den Wortbeispielen folgen kurze Reflexionen über das Uralische. Hier nimmt der Verfasser die Kritik von Marcantonio für bare Münze: für die uralische Grundsprache sei keine umfassende Morphologie rekonstruierbar, und deshalb stelle sich die Frage, ob die in der Indogermanistik entwickelte komparativ-historische Methode in der Uralistik überhaupt anwendbar sei. (Wenn nicht, wie kann man überhaupt die uralische Sprachgeschichte erforschen?) Dabei ist ja ein großer Teil der Suffixe uralt und wirklich für das Protouralische rekonstruierbar, obwohl die Rekonstruktion von ganzen Subsystemen der Nominal- und Verbalmorphologie immer noch viele offene Fragen enthält.

Im darauffolgenden Abschnitt werden phonologische Merkmale

kurz dargestellt: Die Konsonantensysteme des Uralischen, Finnischen (hier wird wieder der Mythos vom phonematischen Glottalklusil weitergegeben) und Ungarischen in Tabellen, sowie die Vokalinventare des Finnischen, Ungarischen, Nenzischen und „Chantischen“ (ohne Angabe des Dialekts) einfach aufgelistet. Die Vokalharmonie sei kein proto-uralisches Merkmal, „eher liegt ein altaischer Einfluss vor“ (auch im Ostseefinnischen?!), und auch die „Konsonantenstufung“ (Stufenwechsel) sei eher eine saamisch-finnische Innovation, weil es umstritten sei (!), ob in den samojedischen Sprachen „Spuren der Konsonantenstufung zu finden sind“.

Von der Morphologie werden zuerst die Nominalflexion (Numerus, Kasus und Possessivsuffixe), dann die Deklination der Personalpronomina und zuletzt die Verbalmorphologie mit Tabellen von Paradigmen illustriert und kurz kommentiert. Die Beispiele stammen zumeist aus dem Finnischen und Ungarischen, für einige Kategorien auch aus dem Nenzischen. Der Versuch, auf 10 Seiten ein kohärentes Gesamtbild der uralischen Morphologie zu geben, ist selbstverständlich zum Scheitern verurteilt, zumal sehr viel Platz für Flexionstabellen und etwas auch für Erörterungen von makrophyleti-

schen eurasischen Anknüpfungen (ein Steckenpferd des Verfassers) verwendet wird.

Die meisten Tabellen und Auskünfte werden direkt aus Handbüchern zitiert, mitunter begegnen aber etwas seltsame Kommentare und Interpretationen. Z.B. wird unter „sekundärer Kasusbildung“ auch die Grammatikalisierung von Postpositionen im Ungarischen kurz erwähnt (was nur indirekt dazugehört und das nichteingeweihte Publikum wahrscheinlich nur verblüffen kann), und unter „komplexer Nominalphrase“ wird die Reihenfolge von Suffixen behandelt. Von den Tempora (hier seltsamerweise „Tempus-Aspekt“ genannt) werden die Kategorien Präsens(-Futur), Imperfekt, Perfekt, Plusquamperfekt erwähnt; unwissende LeserInnen werden in dem Glauben bleiben, dass diese Kategorien überall im Uralischen vorhanden sind (und eventuell, dass „Imperfekt“ und „Perfekt“ auch aspektuale Kategorien darstellen). Für die Objektkonjugation werden nur ungarische Beispiele gegeben, mit den irreführenden Termini „definite“ und „indefinite Konjugation“ und ohne Hinweis auf die komplexen Objektmarkierungssysteme in anderen uralischen Sprachen. Zuletzt werden von der Syntax des Uralischen nur „Negation und Besitz“ in einem

minimal kurzen Abschnitt geschildert. Der (prädikative?) Besitz soll „meist durch ‚sein‘ mit dem Dativ und Adessiv“ ausgedrückt werden; vom Gebrauch der Possessivsuffixe also kein Wort (geschweige denn von den *habeo*-Verben des Obugrischen), und auch das ungarische Beispiel ohne Possessivsuffix (*Jánosnak van egy ház* (sic) ‚János hat ein Haus‘) wirkt sehr seltsam.

Fazit: Der Verfasser hat mit lobenswerter Mühe aus teilweise veraltetem, dubiösem oder missverstandenen Handbuchwissen eine Sammlung von Fakten und Beispielen zusammengebastelt, um die interne Diversität der Sprachfamilie, vor allem die großen Unterschiede zwischen Finnisch und Ungarisch, zu illustrieren. Als Nichtfachmann kann er aber die genetischen und arealen Beziehungen – mit Ausnahme von vagen Vermutungen über inter- oder makrophyletische eurasische Verbindungen – nicht ordentlich erläutern, es entsteht kein zusammenhängendes Bild. Die nichteingeweihten LeserInnen stehen hilflos vor diesem sehr lückenhaften Mosaik und müssen einfach alles für bare Münze nehmen – die Auskünfte überprüfen können sie nicht, denn obwohl ab und zu auf das Handbuch von Abondolo (Hg. 1998) sowie auf das schon ziemlich veraltete Hajdú & Domokos (deutsche Auflage 1987) hingewiesen

wird, bleiben eben die seltsamsten Behauptungen (so wie die über Karelisch mit kyrillischer Schrift als Schulsprache oder die germanischen Lehnwörter im Uralischen) ohne Quellenangabe. Aus den ambitiösen Zielen des Buches ergibt sich das vielleicht größte Problem: Der Verfasser kann sich keine unterhaltenden Ausschweifungen erlauben, alles muss extrem kurz, *ex cathedra*, festgestellt werden, und für das nichteingeweihte Publikum entsteht ein Trugbild von absoluter Expertise und wissenschaftlicher Zuverlässigkeit.

Zumindest das uralische Kapitel enthält so viel Missverstandenes, Verzerrtes oder Veraltetes, dass man es einem Laien als „Einführung in die uralischen Sprachen“ nicht in die Hand geben kann. Falls sich, wie zu befürchten ist, die gleichen Probleme auch in den anderen Kapiteln wiederholen, muss man den Sinn dieses kühnen Publikationsvorhabens ernsthaft hinterfragen. Lohnt es sich wirklich, eine auch für Laien verständliche Darstellung der weltweiten Sprachendiversität mit einem „Handbuch aller Sprachen der Welt“ zu kombinieren – wäre es nicht besser gewesen, die extrem aktuellen und wichtigen Fragen der Sprachenvielfalt und Sprachgefährdung, und warum nicht auch der Sprachverwandtschaft und Sprachgeschichte,

in einem kompakteren und handlicheren Werk zu behandeln, mit ausgewählten Beispielen und ohne den Anspruch, alle Sprachfamilien der Welt abzudecken? Und warum hat der Verlag, dem der Verfasser „für das große Vertrauen“ dankt und der sich schon stark in der Uralistik profiliert hat, die Auskünfte über die uralischen Sprachen nicht von ExpertInnen überprüfen lassen?

Johanna Laakso

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Einführung in die Pseudolinguistik

MARK NEWBROOK (with JANE CURTAIN and ALAN LIBERT): *Strange Linguistics. A skeptical linguist looks at non-mainstream ideas about language*. München: Lincom Europa 2013. 388 S.

Unter „Mythbusters“ und Popularisierern des wissenschaftlichen Skeptizismus versteht man meistens Experten der Naturwissen-

schaften und der Technik. Die „skeptische Linguistik“ ist dem großen Publikum fast unbekannt – und doch ist die Welt voll von verschiedensten esoterischen und pseudowissenschaftlichen Lehren, in denen das Phänomen Sprache eine zentrale Rolle spielt. Mark Newbrook, ein Aktivist der britischen ASKE (Association for Skeptical Enquiry), versucht in seinem

Buch, einen Überblick über diese seltsamen Randbereiche der Linguistik zu geben. Das Buch beginnt mit einer kurzen Einführung in die Grundbegriffe der Sprachwissenschaft; dann werden pseudowissenschaftliche Auffassungen über die Herkunft und Verwandtschaft von Sprachen und Schriften sowie andere Aspekte der Pseudolinguistik vorgestellt, bis zur skeptischen Kritik an der theoretischen Mainstream-Sprachwissenschaft.

Viele Finnougristen dürften, aus wohlbekannten Gründen, mit dem Genre der pseudowissenschaftlichen Sprachgeschichte vertraut sein und können sich auch vorstellen, wie endlos weit und tief dieses Feld ist, das zahllose national(istische) Traditionen umfasst. Newbrooks Beispiele kommen vorwiegend aus der englischsprachigen Literatur, und er hat deshalb nur den Gipfel des Eisbergs sehen können. (Z. B. werden aus Finnland die seltsamen Lehren des selbsternannten Gurus Ior Bock über die sogenannte *Rot-Sprache* und die Ursprünge des Finnlandschwedischen ausführlich zitiert, unerwähnt bleibt aber Paula Wilsons heftig umstrittenes Buch *Forntidens röster*.) Nichtsdestotrotz decken diese Beispiele fast die ganze Welt ab, von Afrika („Afrozentrism“, die etwa die chinesische Sprache oder griechische Kulturwörter aus einer afrikani-

schen „Ursprache“ herleiten) bis Australien (angebliche ägyptische Hieroglyphen) und Amerika, wo zahllose Spuren von verschiedensten asiatischen und europäischen Zivilisationen und Sprachen „entdeckt“ worden sind.

Eigentlich hat die Bandbreite der Pseudosprachgeschichte den Verfasser deutlich überfordert. Neben der großen und dennoch willkürlich wirkenden Vielfalt von Beispielen kann er keine wirklich systematische Analyse der üblichsten Argumentationsfehler und Missverständnisse anbieten. Auf die Mechanismen der wissenschaftlichen Evaluation wird immer wieder hingewiesen, aber systematisch erklärt werden sie nicht. Dabei enthält das Buch auch zumindest ein erschütterndes Beispiel dafür, wie die Qualitätskontrolle versagen kann. Auf S. 66 hält der Verfasser die finnisch-ugrische Verwandtschaft der ungarischen Sprache für „unsicher“ (the matter is not certain), mit Hinweis auf Angela Marcantonios Buch *The Uralic language family: Facts, myths, and statistics*. Das Buch, das aus schwer fasslichen Gründen in einer renommierten Schriftenreihe eines namhaften Verlags hat erscheinen können, wird also für bare Münze genommen – sogar von einem „skeptischen“ Linguisten, der sich in der Substanz des Werkes nicht

auskennt und von der vernichtenden Kritik nichts mitbekommen hat.

Sehr interessant dagegen sind die letzten Kapitel des Buches, wo nichthistorische Aspekte von Randbereichen der Linguistik vorgestellt werden, z. B. Xenoglossie (unerklärbare Fähigkeit, fremde Sprachen zu verstehen oder zu sprechen), angebliche Sprachen von außerirdischen intelligenten Wesen, esoterische (kabbalistische, numerologische usw.) Deutungen von Texten, sowie Therapien und psychologische Theorien, so wie *Neuro-Linguistic Programming*, deren linguistische Grundlagen teilweise sehr dubiös sind. Und besonders bemerkenswert die allerletzten Kapitel mit skeptischer Kritik an der anerkannten Mainstream-Wissenschaft. Newbrook stellt fest, dass postmoderne PhilosophInnen (Derrida, Lacan, Kristeva u. a.), die sich manchmal sogar als LinguistInnen definieren, auch „eccentric focuses“ sowie sehr mangelhafte Kenntnisse von Grundlagen der Linguistik aufweisen können, und berichtet ausführlich über verschiedene Debatten um die *Universal grammar* und den „Sprachinstinkt“ herum – Dogmen der einflussreichen Chomsky-Paradigmen, deren empirische Grundlagen umstritten sind.

Alle Dimensionen der Pseudolinguistik systematisch darzustellen wäre vielleicht ein hoffnungslos kompliziertes Vorhaben. Schon die Vielfalt der (oft nationalistisch oder religiös motivierten) Pseudosprachgeschichte kann in diesem Buch nur gestreift werden. Mehr Aufmerksamkeit hätte auch das Grenzgebiet zwischen der institutionalisierten und der Pseudowissenschaft verdient – auf diesem Gebiet bewegen sich oft akademisch ausgebildete Linguisten, die die Grenzen ihrer eigentlichen Expertise überschritten haben und sich manchmal als „Popularisierer“ vermarkten, nachdem sie in der wissenschaftlichen Community nicht mehr rezipiert werden. Der Verfasser lanciert den Begriff *maverick linguist* (darunter fallen z. B. Morris Swadesh und Merritt Ruhlen), geht aber auf dieses wissenschaftsoziologische Phänomen nicht näher ein.

Trotz all dieser Kritik stellt Newbrooks Buch eine interessante und wichtige Pionierarbeit dar, die auch eine noch größere Frage aufwirft: Ist das große Publikum in Sachen Sprachwissenschaft noch ungebildeter und unwissender als etwa in Fragen zur Evolution, Genetik oder Struktur des Sonnensystems?

István Futaky 1926–2013

István Futaky wurde am 12.5.1926 als erstes von vier Kindern des Verwaltungsbeamten István Futaky (des Älteren) in Nordostungarn in einen Zeitabschnitt des 20. Jahrhunderts hineingeboren, der bekanntlich alles andere als ruhig und friedlich war. Seine Kindheit und seine Jugend – erst in Mátészalka, dann Jászapáti – scheinen glücklich gewesen zu sein, bis sich der Schatten der 2. Weltkrieges auch auf Ungarn legte und die Familie 1944 nach Österreich evakuiert wurde, kurz nachdem er das Abitur bestanden hatte. 1946 in die Heimat nach Mátészalka zurückgekehrt, begann zwei Jahre später die Zeit des stalinistischen Terrors, der ihn, der inmitten dieser Zeit (1952) ein Studium an der Römisch-Katholischen Theologischen Hochschule in Budapest aufzunehmen gewagt hatte, 1953 zu einem ersten Fluchtversuch in den Westen veranlasste. Dieser scheiterte und brachte ihn ins Gefängnis und ins Arbeitslager. Nach dem Aufstand 1956 und dessen Niederwerfung gelang es ihm Anfang 1957, nach Österreich zu entkommen, von wo aus er nach Göttingen übersiedelte, das seine zweite Heimat wurde. An diesen ungarischen Teil seines Lebens hat sich István Futaky in zwei kleinen Büchern sehr eingehend erinnert.¹

Der Göttinger Teil seines Lebens, wenigstens dessen äußerer Rahmen, verlief in ruhigeren Bahnen. Das Studium der finnisch-ugrischen Philologie bei Julius von Farkas und nach dessen Tod bei Wolfgang Schlachter schloss er 1963 mit der Promotion ab; das Thema seiner Dissertation hieß: *Untersuchungen über die Akzentmerkmale des Ungarischen. Dargestellt an der Mundart der Sprachinsel Oberwart*. Hatte er ab 1959 als außerplanmäßiger Lektor für Ungarisch gearbeitet, so wurde er nun als promovierter Schlachters Assistent. Zehn Jahre später, 1973, wurde er mit der Arbeit *Tungusische Lehnwörter des Ostjakischen* (erschien 1975) habilitiert und 1974 zum Dozenten ernannt. Nachdem Wolfgang Schlachter 1976 emeritiert worden war, fungierte er als Geschäftsführender Direktor des Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminars in der Interimszeit, aber seine Hoffnungen, die Nachfolge Schlachters antreten zu dürfen, zerstoben sich mit der Ernennung János Gulyas zum ordentlichen Professor Anfang 1978. Zwar wurde

er zwei Jahre später zum außerplanmäßigen Professor ernannt, aber die unbeschwertere erste Hälfte seines Lebens am Göttinger Seminar war damit zu Ende gegangen und eine schwierige zweite Hälfte, für die es keine Lösung gab und die bis zu seiner Pensionierung im Jahre 1991 dauerte, begann. Dem Seminar blieb er aber auch nach 1991 noch eng verbunden, betreute zahlreiche Abschlussarbeiten und nahm z. B. regelmäßig und aktiv an Gastveranstaltungen teil.

Sein Leben in zwei Welten hat er als Verpflichtung angesehen, den historischen und kulturellen Kontakten zwischen Ungarn und Deutschland, besonders seiner neuen Heimatstadt Göttingen, in seiner wissenschaftlichen Betätigung einen vorderen Platz einzuräumen. Bekanntlich war ja die 1734 gegründete und 1737 offiziell eingeweihte Georg-August-Universität schon im 18. Jahrhundert, aber auch noch im 19. Jahrhundert ein unter ungarischen und siebenbürgischen (protestantischen) Studenten beliebter Studienort. Der Aufdeckung dieser Beziehungen hat er zahlreiche Artikel² und drei Monographien ([zusammen mit Bodo Fehlig und Michael Katzschmann] *Hungarica Gottingensia. Verzeichnis der Ungarn betreffenden Archivbestände in Göttingen (1734–1945)*, München 1978; [zusammen mit Kristin Schwamm] *Die Ungarn betreffenden Beiträge in den Göttingischen Gelehrten Anzeigen 1739–1839*, Budapest 1987; “*Selige Tage im Musensitz Göttingen*” – *Stadt und Universität in ungarischen Berichten aus dem 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1991)³ gewidmet.

Im Rahmen der Finnougristik im engeren Sinn hat er sich vor allem mit den uralisch-tungusischen Sprachkontakten und mit dem sibirischen Sprach- und Kulturraum beschäftigt. Den ersten Bereich beackerte er bereits mit der Habilitation; ihm ist neben mehreren einschlägigen Überblicksartikeln (u. a. der Beitrag *Uralisch und Tungusisch* in dem von D. Sinor herausgegebenen Handbuch *The Uralic Languages. Description, History and Foreign Influences*, Leiden 1988) auch seine letzte Monographie *Nyelvtörténeti vizsgálatok a kárpát-medencei avar–magyar kapcsolatok kérdéséhez. Mongol és mandzsu-tunguz elemek nyelvünkben* [Sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zu den awarisch-ungarischen Verbindungen im Karpatenbecken. Mongolische und mandzsu-tungusische Elemente in unserer Sprache] (Budapest 2001) zuzurechnen; hier greift er auch auf das Mongolische aus, in einem früheren Artikel sogar auf das Japanische (*Uralisch und Japanisch – zur Lage der Erforschung ihres Verhältnisses*, 1994). Den Sinn wissenschaftlichen Treibens sah er nicht darin, ausgetretene Pfade nochmals zu begehen, sondern jenseits von ihnen

neue Horizonte zu eröffnen. Die Akzeptanz seiner neuen "scharfsinnigen Ideen" (Helimski) blieb ihm jedoch insbesondere in seiner Heimat Ungarn weitgehend versagt.

Wie schon die Habilitation zeigt, hat ihn unter den Sprachen Sibiriens besonders das Ostjakische interessiert, zu dem er sich in mehreren Artikeln äußerte: So weitete er mit *Zur Frage der tatarischen Lehnwörter des Ostjakischen* (1979) die ihn zeit seines Lebens interessierende Lehnwortproblematik auf die Turksprachen aus oder griff mit *Zum Vokalismus des Vach-Ostjakischen* (1967) in die damals sehr kontrovers verlaufende Debatte zwischen Erkki Itkonen und Wolfgang Steinitz um den finnougri-schen Vokalismus der ersten Silbe ein (zugunsten Itkonens). Der Artikel *Zum Wortfeld 'Abgabe, Steuer' im Ostjakischen* (1983) gehört zugleich in ein Forschungsgebiet, die Wortfeldstudien, dem er einige lehrreiche Arbeiten widmete, z. B. *Zur Geschichte des Tabaks in Westsibirien* (1976), *Zur Herausbildung des Farbfeldes im Finnougrischen* (1981), *Ausdrücke für 'Gewissen' im Finnisch-ugrischen* (1982), *Zur Verbreitung sibirischer Kulturwörter im 17.–18. Jahrhundert* (1987) oder *Zum Wortfeld 'Fortbewegungsmittel' im nordeurasischen Areal* (1990).

Angrenzende Gebiete wie die Literaturwissenschaft oder Literaturvermittlung hat er ebenfalls beackert und eine beträchtliche Ernte eingefahren, so z. B. mit *Der Bartók-Kult in der ungarischen Dichtung* (1995) oder *Imagologische Aspekte der Rezeption der ungarischen Literatur im deutschsprachigen Raum* (1996). Gerne bezog er Stellung, sei es im wissenschaftlichen Bereich – so mit dem Artikel *Der Donau-Sprachbund – Gibt es ihn?* (1978), in dem er zusammen mit Kollegen zu Recht damals vorgelegte areallinguistische Konzeptionen kritisiert – oder auch politisch mit dem von ihm herausgegebenem Band *Ungarn – ein kommunistisches Wunderland* (1983). Im Wissenschaftsbetrieb der deutschen Finnougristik war er überaus aktiv – man denke nur an seine Gründung der einzigen deutschen rein finnougri-stischen Zeitschrift, den *Finnisch-ugrischen Mitteilungen*, oder an seine Tätigkeit in der Societas Uralo-Altaica, in der er sich im Vorstand und als Herausgeber ihrer Veröffentlichungen engagierte und die ihn für seine Verdienste im Jahre 2000 zum Ehrenmitglied wählte. Die Anerkennung blieb ihm auch in seiner ungarischen Heimat nicht versagt, in der man sein wissenschaftliches Wirken mit der Einwahl z. B. in die Magyar Filológiai Társaság (1977) oder in die Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság (1990) honorierte. Die ungarische Regierung verlieh ihm 1994 die Gedenkplakette "Pro Cultura Hungarica" und 2011 das "Magyar

Köztársasági Érdemrend Tisztikeresztje” (‘Offizierskreuz des Verdienstordens der Republik Ungarn’). In Finnland wurde er zum Mitglied der Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura und der Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura gewählt. Unter den Kollegen, aber auch den Studierenden genoss er hohe Wertschätzung, was die zwei ihm gewidmeten Festschriften (FUM 10 und FUM 24/25) anschaulich verdeutlichen. István Futaky starb am 21.1.2013 in Göttingen.

Eberhard Winkler

Anmerkungen

1. *Szalka, Szalka Egy göttingeni magyar professzor önéletrajzi regénye.* Budapest: Noran 2003. – *Utam a Dossziéhoz. Emlékezések 1950 – 1956.* Budapest: Noran 2006. – Beide zusammen auf Deutsch: *Rückblicke.* Göttingen – Bovenden: Selbstverlag 2006.
2. Ein fast vollständiges Literaturverzeichnis findet sich für die Zeit von 1961–1986 in FUM 10, 1986, 11–15 [von Tibor Keszyús] und für die Zeit von 1987–2001 in FUM 24/25, 2002, 1–4.
3. Eine ungarische Synthese seiner diesbezüglichen Monographien und Artikel stellt sein Buch *Göttinga : a göttingeni Georg-August-Egyetem magyarországi és erdélyi kapcsolatai a felvilágosodás idején és a reformkor kezdetén* (Budapest 2007) dar.

István Nyirkos 1933–2013

István Nyirkos, Professor Emeritus of the Department of Hungarian Linguistics at the University of Debrecen, passed away on 2 May 2013 at the age of 80. Nyirkos began his university career in 1955 as an assistant lecturer in Hungarian linguistics at what was then the Lajos Kossuth University in Debrecen. In 1962, he was appointed Senior Lecturer at the Department of Hungarian Linguistics and in 1977 was made Assistant Professor. Following his term as a cultural diplomat, István Nyirkos worked as a Professor and as Director of the Department of Finno-Ugric Studies from 1995 to 1998, after which he became Professor of the Department of Hungarian Linguistics. He held a distinguished and active emeritus position until his death. Over the course of his career, István Nyirkos authored over two hundred publications.

Nyirkos began his linguistic career as a researcher of Hungarian dialects. His 1961 university dissertation examined the vowel system of the Abaúj dialect spoken in northeastern Hungary. István Nyirkos remained interested in dialects throughout his life. He continued to be active in organizing field trips for students to collect dialectal material up until his last years.

In the 1970s, the focus of István Nyirkos' research and publications shifted to Hungarian historical phonology. His candidate dissertation (1984, published in 1987) dealt with non-etymological consonants in Hungarian, while his academic doctoral dissertation (1993, published in 1995) focused on non-etymological vowels. Nyirkos has also studied a wide range of other linguistic phenomena, including onomastics, compounding, contamination, pleonastic phrases and lexical differentiation. He has even written about rhyming styles.

Finland came into István Nyirkos' life at an early stage, when he held a position between 1962 and 1967 as a lecturer of Hungarian language at the University of Helsinki. He returned to Finland for a longer period from 1987 to 1993, working as Director of the Hungarian Cultural Centre in Helsinki. István Hoffmann, current Director of the Department of Hungarian Linguistics at the University of Debrecen, had the following to say in his speech at Nyirkos' 70th birthday celebration in 2003: "I visited Finland for the first time when I was a student in 1973. What comes to mind from

that trip is that all of the Finns seemed to know him. When they found out I was Hungarian, they immediately asked if I knew István Nyirkos” (Magyar Nyelvjárások 41: 9). Nyirkos continues to be “the Hungarian” that many Finns know.

During his time as a lecturer, Nyirkos published his first textbook, *Unkarin lukemisto sanastoineen* [A Hungarian Reader with Vocabulary] (SKS 1965). As an appendix, the reader includes a broad, 142-page vocabulary list, which foreshadowed Nyirkos’ later lexicography work. A second publication written by Nyirkos in the Tietolipas series (number 71) of the Finnish Literature Society is *Nykykunkarin oppikirja* [A Textbook of Modern Hungarian] (1972, revised edition 1979), which held its position for a long time as an up-to-date Hungarian textbook.

While working as a lecturer, Nyirkos noticed that an adequate Hungarian–Finnish dictionary was lacking. Gyula Weöres’ dictionary from 1934 was obsolete, much too narrow in scope, and on top of all that, difficult to obtain. István Nyirkos’ Hungarian–Finnish dictionary *Unkarilais-suomalainen sanakirja. Magyar-finn szótár* was published in Helsinki in 1969 (second edition, 1977). The 380-page dictionary was based on the vocabulary lists from the above-mentioned textbooks. The dictionary was very modern and excellent in many ways, however it soon stopped being used when Nyirkos published his pocket dictionary, *Suomi-unkari-suomi taskusanakirja* (WSOY 1979, 1986, 1988, 1991). Nyirkos’ pocket dictionary can be found on the bookshelves of every learner of Hungarian and of many travellers. The popularity of the dictionary among tourists can be explained by its small size and separate, broad section of vocabulary related to food and drink. The revised edition of the dictionary first appeared in 1996 (2000, 2009) under the title *Uusi suomi-unkari-suomi taskusanakirja* [The New Finnish–Hungarian–Finnish Pocket Dictionary]. Thanks to these dictionaries, István Nyirkos’ name will continue to be known in Finland for a long time.

Regarding Nyirkos’ work in Finnish Studies, his research on the Kalevala must absolutely be mentioned. Nyirkos dealt with Lönnrot and Hungarian translations of the Kalevala in many of his writings. He was the editor of the central treatise on the subject (1985): *Utunk Pohjolába. Kalevala-kutatók Magyarországon* [Our Road to Pohjola: Kalevala Studies in Hungary]. Nyirkos also played an important role in Finnish–Hungarian contrastive research. In this subject, along with Alho Alhoniemi

and Heikki Paunonen, he co-edited a work entitled *Suomi ja unkarin rinnakkain. Suomalais-unkarilaisia kontrastiivisia tutkielmia* [Finnish and Hungarian side-by-side. Contrastive research on Finnish and Hungarian]. Nyirkos was also very familiar with Finnish onomastics and made it known in Hungary. He worked as editor-in-chief of the *Onomastica Uralica*, a joint series of the Hungarian Linguistics Institute of the University of Debrecen and the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland.

István Nyirkos worked actively to make the Hungarian language and culture known in Finland, and played at least as important a role in bringing the Finnish language and culture to Hungary. He was involved in organizing twin town activities and participated actively in events and activities of the Hungarian–Finnish Society until the end of his life. He held numerous lectures and organized meetings and events in both countries.

István Nyirkos has received many acknowledgements for his academic work and his activities as a cultural diplomat. He was invited to join the Finno-Ugrian Society in 1972. The following year, the Finnish Literature Society and the Kalevala Society granted Nyirkos membership. He was elected to the Committee of the International Congress of Finno-Ugric Studies in 1985. István Nyirkos was also a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' working groups on the Uralic languages and the Hungarian language. He was Chairman of the Reguly Society. The Order of the White Rose of Finland granted Nyirkos a Knight's cross of honour in 1969. At the end of his career as a diplomat, the Order of the Lion of Finland granted him a Commander's class cross in 1993, as well as a medal of the Academy of Finland and a small cross of honour of the Republic of Hungary.

István Nyirkos' list of merits is impressive both from a scientific perspective and from that of cultural exchange. However, his significance extends far beyond even these achievements. Nyirkos was always friendly and prepared to help and guide his juniors. His smiling character, his story and his exemplary approach to life and science will never be forgotten.

Sándor Maticsák & Petteri Laihonen

Valdek Pall 1927–2013

Valdek Pall, der angesehene Experte für die estnischen Dialekte und Ortsnamen, verstarb am 17. April 2013. Er war am 30. Juni 1927 in der Gemeinde Laius-Tähkvere im Kreis Tartu geboren.

Pall studierte zunächst am Lehrerseminar in Tartu und schrieb sich nach dem Abschluss im Jahre 1947 an der Abteilung für estnische Philologie der historisch-sprachwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Tartu ein. Nachdem er dort 1952 das Diplomexamen abgelegt hatte, setzte er sein Studium als Aspirant im Bereich der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen fort und legte 1955 die Prüfung zum Kandidaten der Philologie ab; seine Kandidatendissertation behandelte die Tempora und Modi des Mordwinischen. Zum Doktor der Philologie promovierte Pall 1975 über das Thema der Ortsnamen im Landkreis Põhja-Tartumaa: aus der Dissertation ging die zweibändige Monografie *Põhja-Tartumaa kohanimed* (1969, 1977) hervor.

Seine berufliche Laufbahn begann Valdek Pall 1955 als Lehrer am Pädagogischen Institut in Tallinn, von wo er jedoch nach einigen Jahren als Forscher der Sektion Dialekte an das Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituut (KKI) übergang und 1976 zum Leiter dieser Sektion ernannt wurde; in dieser Funktion war er bis 1990 tätig. Danach war er bis 1993 leitender Forscher des KKI. Pall war 1978–92 als Teilzeitprofessor am Pädagogischen Institut in Tallinn tätig; nach der Umwandlung des Instituts in die Pädagogische Universität Tallinn war er dort 1993–96 ordentlicher Professor und ab 1997 Emeritus der Fakultät für nordische Philologie. Von 1998–2002 kehrte Pall als Chefredakteur des finnisch-estnischen Großwörterbuchs (*Suomalais-virolainen suursanakirja*) an das Eesti Keele Instituut (EKI, ehem. KKI) zurück.

Als er sein Studium in der Abteilung für estnische Philologie der Universität Tartu aufnahm, gelangte Valdek Pall in die anregende Gruppe von Paul Ariste. Aristes Plänen zufolge sollte für jede der entfernt verwandten Sprachen und der Nachbarsprachen des Estnischen je ein Student zum Spezialisten ausgebildet werden, damit in Tartu eine gute finnougriistische Forschergruppe entstand, die auch die Sprachkontakte mit den Nachbarn abdeckte. Pall wählte das Mordwinische als Forschungsgegenstand, und seine ersten Beiträge behandelten die Konjugation im Mordwinischen, mit der sich auch seine Kandidatendissertation befasste. Rund vierzig Jahre später kehrte Pall zum Mordwinischen, das er als seine Jugendliebe be-

zeichnete, zurück und lehrte an der Pädagogischen Universität Tallinn Erzanisch; auf der Basis seiner Vorlesungen veröffentlichte er das kleine, Grammatik und Wörterverzeichnis enthaltende Lehrbuch *Ersa keel* ([Die Erzanische Sprache] 1996). Er behandelte auch die mordwinischen Ortsnamen in einem Beitrag seines unter erzanischem Titel erschienenen Werks *Lemfne* ([Namen] 1997); die anderen Beiträge in dem Band beleuchteten estnische Ortsnamen. Pall redigierte ferner die Dissertation von Valmen Hallap über die Verbalableitung in den mordwinischen Sprachen aus dem Jahr 1955 (*Verbaaltuletussufiksid mordva keeltes* 2000).

Am KKI wurden die Dialekte des Estnischen und speziell die Ortsnamenforschung, die erst in den Anfängen steckte, Palls Arbeitsgebiet. Pall gilt denn auch als Pionier der systematischen Ortsnamenforschung in Estland. Er betonte die Wichtigkeit der arealen Bestandsaufnahme: erst wenn alle Ortsnamen eines bestimmten Gebiets gesammelt und auch mit dem Namenschatz der benachbarten Gebiete verglichen wurden, kann man das verwendete Namensgebungssystem und seinen Aufbau verstehen. Häufig untersuchte er in seinen Beiträgen auch die Etymologie und Struktur einzelner estnischer Ortsnamen. Pall wurde Leiter der 1972 am KKI gegründeten Ortsnamen-Arbeitsgruppe.

Nach seiner Promotion wurde Pall Leiter der Dialektabteilung des KKI, und er konzentrierte sich auf die Erarbeitung eines akademischen Wörterbuchs der estnischen Dialekte. Als Chefredakteur erstellte er einen Plan für das Wörterbuch, mit dessen Verwirklichung begonnen wurde, doch aufgrund technischer Schwierigkeiten konnte die 1983 fertiggestellte erste Lieferung erst 1994 veröffentlicht werden (*Eesti murrete sõnastik*), als sich die Informationstechnik weiterentwickelt hatte. Seither sind regelmäßig weitere Lieferungen erschienen. Während der Arbeit an dem umfangreichen Wörterbuch verfasste Pall ein zweibändiges kleines Wörterbuch der estnischen Dialekte (*Väike murdesõnastik* 1982, 1989). Später veröffentlichte er noch das Wörterbuch des Ostdialekts des Estnischen *Idamurde sõnastik* (1994), das auch ein rückläufiges Stichwörterverzeichnis enthält. – Seine lexikografischen Fähigkeiten und seine hervorragenden Finnischkenntnisse führten Pall 1998–2002 noch einmal zurück an das EKI: Er wurde als Chefredakteur des großen finnisch-estnischen Wörterbuchs gebraucht. Das zweibändige Wörterbuch erschien 2003.

Valdek Palls Publikationen über die estnischen Dialekte und Ortsnamen sind zahlreich und reichen zeitlich von den 1950er Jahren bis ins 21. Jahrhundert. Er war ein fleißiger Forscher, leistete aber auch in Sachverstän-

digenfunktionen eine immense Arbeit. Pall gehörte u. a. der Redaktion der Zeitschriften *Keel ja Kirjandus* [Sprache und Literatur], *SFU/Linguistica Uralica* und *Emakeele Seltsi aastaraamat* [Jahrbücher der Gesellschaft für Muttersprache] an. Er war assoziiertes Mitglied der Finnisch-Ugrischen Gesellschaft und der Kalevala-Gesellschaft, korrespondierendes Mitglied der Finnischen Literaturgesellschaft und assoziiertes Mitglied der Finnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Pall erhielt zahlreiche Auszeichnungen: Er war Ehrenmitglied der Emakeele Selts (Gesellschaft für Muttersprache). 2001 wurde er in Estland mit dem Verdienstabzeichen Weißer Stern der IV. Klasse und 2002 mit dem Ferdinand-Johann-Wiedemann-Sprachpreis ausgezeichnet. Finnland verlieh Pall 2010 den Komturorden des Löwen von Finnland.

Die estnische Wissenschaft hat einen großen und jovialen Sprachwissenschaftler verloren, der die Dialekt- und Ortsnamenforschung sowie die estnische Lexikografie fast fünfzig Jahre lang zuverlässig und zielstrebig lenkte.

Sirkka Saarinen

Ulrich Groenke 1924–2013

Ulrich Groenke, Prof. em. für Nordische Philologie an der Universität Köln, verstarb am 9. Dezember 2013. Damit endeten 89 Jahre eines bewegten Lebens in der Stadt, wo er seit 1967 tätig war.

In Danzig war Ulrich Groenke am 9. Juni 1924 zur Welt gekommen. Die weltoffene Atmosphäre dieser Stadt und ihre vielfältigen Kontakte zum Norden waren auch für ihn von prägender Bedeutung. Sein früh erwachtes Interesse für Skandinavien zeigte sich darin, daß er neben der Schule die norwegische Sprache erlernte und bereits 1942 beim Reichsverband deutscher Juristen in Berlin das Übersetzerexamen für Norwegisch ablegte. Nach kriegsbedingtem Wehrdienst begann Groenke 1946 an der Universität Göttingen mit dem Studium der Nordischen, Slavischen und Finnisch-Ugrischen Philologie. Es folgten Studienreisen nach Norwegen (1949) und Finnland (1950). Zu jener Zeit war an Studentenaustausch im heutigen Sinn noch nicht zu denken; Groenke erkundete Finnland mit dem Fahrrad, arbeitete in Kemi als Flößer und in Helsinki in einer Fabrik, wodurch er seine Finnischkenntnisse in der Praxis anwenden und beträchtlich erweitern konnte. Bibliotheken und Universität lernte er ebenfalls kennen. Im Januar 1951 reiste er dann für drei Jahre nach Island, wo er zunächst als Hauslehrer und Gehilfe auf einem Pfarrhof tätig war und dann Isländische Philologie an der Universität Reykjavík studierte. Hier begann er seine Dissertation zu schreiben.

Auch Groenkes Amerika-Zeit begann auf Island: beim Overseas Program der University of Maryland, die weltweit wehrdienstleistende Studenten der US Streitkräfte betreute, in Island auf dem Militärstützpunkt Keflavík, erhielt er einen Lehrauftrag für Fremdsprachen. Nach seiner Rückkehr nach Deutschland setzte er diese Tätigkeit 1953–1956 in Kaiserslautern fort.

Er beendete seine Dissertation (*Die Diminutiva des Isländischen. Ein Beitrag zur isländischen Wortkunde*); 1954 schloß er sein Studium mit der Promotion zum Dr.phil. in den Fächern Nordische, Slavische und Finnisch-Ugrische Philologie in Göttingen ab. Groenke zog nun nach Heidelberg, wo er bei der University of Maryland als Koordinator des Sprachunterrichts auf den Stützpunkten in Europa tätig war.

Sodann folgten acht Jahre in Amerika, denn 1959 wurde er an die Ohio State University in Columbus/Ohio berufen, bis 1963 als *Assistant professor*

und bis 1967 als *Associate professor* für Deutsch und (zeitweilig) Russisch. Diese Positionen brachten vielfältige Aufgaben an der Universität mit sich, vor allem aber die Bekanntschaft mit der modernen amerikanischen Linguistik.

Groenkes amerikanische Zeit endete 1967 mit dem Ruf auf den Lehrstuhl für Nordische Philologie an der Universität Köln. Das von ihm nun geleitete „Institut für Nordische Philologie mit Finnischer Abteilung“ bildete den Grundstein für eines der heute größten skandinavistischen Institute im deutschsprachigen Raum für Skandinavistik/Fennistik, das derzeit einen innovativen gemeinsamen Bachelorstudiengang anbietet, dem sich zwei Magisterstudiengänge anschließen. Mit Groenkes Berufung begann eine Entwicklung, die man getrost als Glücksfall der Fennistik bezeichnen kann, zunächst in Köln. Groenke selbst sprach bescheiden von einem Zufall.¹

Zufälle gibt es bekanntlich nicht und von einem Glücksfall kann man insofern sprechen, als es in Köln gelungen ist, Fennistik als Beschäftigung mit finnischer Sprache, Kultur und Literatur und Skandinavistik in einem Institut zu integrieren, was beiden Disziplinen zugute kommt und den Interessen vieler Studierenden entspricht. Eine eigene Professur für Fennistik existiert in Köln seit 1999.

Es bleibt abzuwarten, ob die Fennistik im akademischen Bereich wie bisher im deutschsprachigen Raum weiterhin ein Teilbereich der Finnougristik/Uralistik bleibt oder aber, wie derzeit in Greifswald und Köln, ein erfolgreiches, gut vernetztes Eigenleben führt.

Es ist das große Verdienst von Ulrich Groenke, die an der Kölner Universität vorhandenen Voraussetzungen (finnisches Lektorat, fennistische Bibliothek) geschickt genutzt zu haben. Mit äußerst knapper Institutsbesetzung konnten dank seiner Kompetenz und seines Engagements alle nordischen Sprachen auf wissenschaftlicher Basis gelehrt werden.

Seine Aktivitäten außerhalb der Universität erstreckten sich auf einschlägige Wissenschaftsorganisationen ebenso wie auf die Deutsch-Finnische Gesellschaft und die Deutsch-Isländische Gesellschaft, seine Fachkenntnisse und Leistungen waren geachtet und geschätzt, wovon auch die zahlreichen in- und ausländischen Auszeichnungen zeugen, die ihm in Anerkennung seiner Verdienste um die nordeuropäisch-deutschen Beziehungen verliehen wurden. Als er 1989 emeritiert wurde, widmeten ihm seine Fachkollegen eine Festschrift mit dem treffenden Titel *Über-Brücken* (Hamburg 1989).

Groenkes Publikationsliste zeichnet sich vor allem durch zahlreiche Beiträge in einschlägigen Sammelbänden und Zeitschriften aus. Thematisch kommen darin seine weitgespannten Interessen zum Ausdruck. Mit dem Kalevala und Fragen der Übersetzung und des Metrums beschäftigte er sich in mehreren Arbeiten, z. B. *Kalevala Kanteletar* (Hamburg 1974), *Kalewaland* (Hamburg 1991), *Finnisches und Lateinisches – Stabreim und Endreim in der Dichtung des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Groningen 2002), *Kalevala – Stabreim. Zur Verisländischung des Kalevala* (Hamburg 2005); *Stabreim – Hemmschuh und Rollschuh des Übersetzers* (Lüdenscheid 2005). Kontrastive Betrachtungen und Sprachvergleiche interessierten ihn in seinen Arbeiten ebenso wie Fragen der Neologismen. Seine *Grundzüge der Struktur des Finnischen* (Hamburg 1983) bildeten eine didaktisch sinnvolle Einführung für manchen Interessenten. – In vielen kenntnisreichen Rezensionen hat er nordistische und fennistische Publikationen besprochen.

Auch im Ruhestand hat Groenke noch lange Zeit an „seinem“ Institut unterrichtet und geprüft sowie sich eingesetzt für die von ihm vertretenen Sprachen und Kulturen.

Ulrich Groenke wird allen, die ihn kannten, im Gedächtnis bleiben als kenntnisreicher und stets hilfsbereiter Kollege und als besonders lebenswürdige und unterhaltsame Persönlichkeit.

Ingrid Schellbach

Anmerkung

1. Vgl. seinen lesenswerten Aufsatz *Manchmal hilft der Zufall. Zur Entstehung eines Lehrstuhls für Fennistik in Köln* in der Festschrift für Kaija Menger *Zwischen zwei Sprachwelten*, 2009

Čuner Michajlovič Taksami 1931–2014

Wann immer ein geschätzter Kollege verscheidet, pflegen die Verfasser von Nachrufen die Nekrologe mit Verweisen darauf zu eröffnen, dass dies ein „schwerer“ oder „großer Verlust“ sei. Natürlich ist der Tod eines Jeden, nicht nur eines Kollegen stets ein Verlust. Für die Wissenschaft jedoch vermag der Heimgang des Vertreters einer Disziplin einen unersetzlichen Verlust darzustellen, dessen Folgen weit über das Individuelle oder das von den hinterbliebenen Kollegen Gefühle hinausreichen, – ein Verlust, der die betreffende (oder vielmehr betroffene) Forschungsrichtung als Ganze trifft und mitunter für immer verändert. Ein solcher Verlust hat die Paläosibiristik und Anthropologie/ Ethnologie Sibiriens mit dem Verscheiden des Altmeisters der nivchischen Studien, Čuner Michajlovič Taksami am 27.2.2014 getroffen. Ein Verlust, dessen Folgen noch gar nicht abgeschätzt werden können.

Čuner Michajlovič Taksami, der selbst Angehöriger der Ethnie der Nivchen war, ist am 23. Februar 1931 in Kal'ma im Rajon Tachtinsk im Gebiet von Chabarovsk geboren worden. Im Jahre 1950 schloss er die Schule Nr. 5 des Pädagogischen Instituts in Chabarovsk ab. Im Anschluss daran nahm er ein Studium (bis 1955) an der Historischen Fakultät der Universität Leningrad auf. Im Anschluss wurde Taksami als befristeter Mitarbeiter am Ethnographischen Institut Miklucho-Maklaja in Moskau (Институт Этнологии и Антропологии имени Н. Н. Миклухо-Маклая), dessen damaliger Leiter L. P. Potapov (1905–2000) war, eingestellt und schon bald als Anwärter auf eine feste Anstellung am Institut gehandelt. Im November 1958 folgte schließlich seine Einstellung als wissenschaftlicher Leiter der Sibirien-Abteilung. Zwei Jahre später schloss Taksami seine Studien mit der Kandidaten-Dissertation *Жилые и хозяйственные постройки нивхов Амура и Амурского лимана* [Die Wohn- und Wirtschaftsgebäude der Nivchen am Amur und am Golf des Amurs] ab. Im März 1967 wurde er auf die Stelle eines wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeiters berufen und erhielt schließlich 1978 die Position eines Leiters der ethnographischen Abteilung für Sibirien.

Im Jahre 1977 wurde Taksami mit seiner Doktor-Dissertation *Нивхи. Проблемы хозяйства, общественного строя и этнической истории (середина XIX–начало XX вв.)* [Die Nivchen. Fragen der Wirtschaft, der Gesellschaftsstruktur und der ethnischen Geschichte (von der Mitte des

19. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts)] promoviert und arbeitete von 1995–1998 als Stellvertretender Direktor des Peter-der-Große-Museums (Kunstkammer) für Anthropologie und Ethnographie der Russischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Am 12.5.1998 wurde Taksami schließlich als Nachfolger so bedeutender Gelehrter und Sibiristen wie P. S. Pallas, A. Sjögren, F. A. Schiefner, L. v. Schrenck und W. Radloff zum Direktor des Museums (Kunstkammer) gewählt, eine Position, die er bis 2000/2001 innehatte. Nach dem Ende seiner Zeit als Museumsdirektor arbeitete Taksami mit Forschern der japanischen Universität von Chiba und organisierte Expeditionen und Feldforschungen in die Siedlungsgebiete der Nivchen am Amur und auf Sachalin.

Im Verlaufe seiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit verfasste Čuner Michajlovič Taksami ein Œuvre, das mehr als 300 Arbeiten, darunter zahlreiche Monographien, Aufsätze und Beiträge zu Sammelwerken und Forschungsberichte umfasste. Daneben wirkte der große nivchische Gelehrte, dessen Interesse vor allem der Sprache und Kultur der Nivchen galt, als Herausgeber verschiedener Aufsatzsammlungen (beispielsweise des Ausstellungskatalogs *Wunderwelt Arktis. Aus der Kunstkammer St. Petersburg, vom 11.5.–3.11.1996 im Deutschen Elfenbeinmuseum Erbach*, Erbach 1996, den Taksami zusammen mit G. Bucher herausgab, oder des Sammelbandes *285 лет Петербургской Кунсткамере. Материалы Итоговой Научной Конференции МАЭ РАН, посвященной 285-летию Кунсткамеры* [285 Jahre St. Petersburger Kunstkammer. Material der wissenschaftlichen Konferenz aus Anlass des 285. Jubiläums der St. Petersburger Kunstkammer, des Museums für Anthropologie und Ethnographie der Russischen Akademie der Wissenschaften], Sankt-Peterburg 2000). Mag sein Name für die Meisten heute vor allem für das (gemeinsam mit Valentina Nikolaevna Savel'eva) erarbeitete nivchische Wörterbuch (*Нивхско-Русский словарь: свыше 13.000 слов* [Nivchisch-russisches Wörterbuch: über 13.000 Wörter], Moskva 1970; ein russ.-nivch. Wörterbuch war – ebenfalls unter Mitarbeit V.N. Savel'evas – bereits 1965 erschienen) stehen, werden seine zahlreichen übrigen Arbeiten – nicht nur zur nivchischen Lexikographie, sondern vielmehr auch zur Ethnographie und Folklore verschiedener anderer „Kleiner Völker des Nordens“ (so etwa der von Taksami zusammen mit G.N. Garčeva herausgegebene Band zum Weltbild der nganasanischen Jäger im 19. und frühen 20. Jh. – *Традиционное мировоззрение охотников Таймыра: на материалах нганасан XIX – начала XX в.*, Leningrad 1983 oder der

gemeinsam mit V. D. Kosarev publizierte Überblick zur Geschichte und Kultur der Ainu – *Кто вы, Айны? Очерк истории и культуры*, Moskva 1990) – häufig vergessen. Eine besondere Bedeutung jedoch kommt seiner Überblicksdarstellung über die Nivchen und ihre Gegenwartslage (*Нивхи. Современное хозяйство, культура и быт*, Leningrad 1967), in der er bereits auch als Fürsprecher seiner Ethnie auftrat, zu. In verschiedener Hinsicht knüpfte Taksami an diese Arbeit mit seiner kurze Zeit später erschienen Monographie *Основные проблемы этнографии и истории Нивхов: середина XIX – начало XX в* [Grundprobleme der Ethnographie und Geschichte der Nivchen: von der Mitte des 19. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts] (Leningrad 1975) an, die zugleich Darstellungen aus seiner folgenden Doktor-Dissertation vorwegnahm.

Zweifelsohne stellt Čuner Michajlovič Taksami einen besonderen Typus des Gelehrten, wie es ihn so nur in Russland geben konnte, dar: er war der Vertreter eben eines der erwähnten „Kleinen Völker des Nordens“, der zugleich ein außergewöhnlicher Kenner der Dialekte und der Kultur der Ethnie, der er selbst entstammte war, aber auch ein brillanter Gelehrter und exzellenter Anthropologe und Ethnologe, dessen Blick weit über den Horizont der nivchischen Studien hinausreichte, sodass mit seinem Verscheiden nicht nur die nivchischen Studien oder die Paläosibiristik, sondern die russische Anthropologie und Ethnologie sowie die Sibiristik ganz allgemein einen unersetzlichen Verlust – ganz im eingangs gemeinten Sinne – zu beklagen haben.

Michael Knüppel

Péter Domokos 1936–2014

Der bedeutendste Komparatist der finnougri-schen Literaturen, eine wichtige Person im Kampf für die kulturellen und politischen Rechte der finnougri-schen Völker, eine Schlüsselfigur der multidisziplinären Finnougristik, der Erweiterer des Horizonts der ungarischen Kultur, Péter Domokos, starb am 27. Mai 2014 im Alter von 78 Jahren. Wir nehmen Abschied von einem beispielhaften Hochschullehrer, für den die Arbeit bis zum Ende seines Lebens eine Berufung war, der seine Schüler und Schülerinnen stets von ganzem Herzen unterstützt hat. Wovon er überzeugt war, wofür er mit seinem wissenschaftlichen Engagement kämpfte, hat er nicht nur als Forscher erkundet, sondern mit voller menschlicher Hingabe. Seine Beziehungen und sein Wissen hat er auch außerhalb des universitären Kreises zu einer Zeit zur Verfügung gestellt, als finnougri-sche Wörterbücher, Fachbücher und literarische Werke schwer zu bekommen waren und die Nachrichten nur selten die Grenzen der Sowjetunion überwandten.

Mehr als dreißig Einzelbände, Sammlungen und rund dreihundert Aufsätze sind auf Ungarisch, Finnisch, Russisch, Deutsch und Englisch erschienen, die in der internationalen Finno-Ugristik immer noch häufig zitiert werden. Es gibt kaum ein Institut für Finnougristik in Europa, wo er nicht mehrfach vorgetragen hätte. Seine Arbeiten werden auch in den kommenden Jahrzehnten die Entwicklung der Finnougristik sowie einiger Nachbardisziplinen (Folkloristik, Komparatistik) wesentlich beeinflussen. Er erhielt zahlreiche Preise und Ehrungen: u. a. das Komturkreuz des ungarischen Staates, den estnischen Orden Pro Terra Mariana, den finnischen Orden der weißen Rose und die Puschkin-Medaille. Die Universität von Sankt Petersburg hat ihm die Ehrendoktorwürde verliehen.

Neben seiner Forschung war er auch bei der Gründung und Leitung von Gremien sehr aktiv. Seit 1960 war Péter Domokos ständiger Teilnehmer des Internationalen Kongresses für Finnougristik (CIFU). Er war verantwortlich dafür, dass seit dem CIFU 1975 in Budapest die Literatur eine eigene Abteilung im wissenschaftlichen Programm erhielt. In der 1975 entstandenen (und bis 1990 existierenden) uralischen Sektion (*Uralisztikai Komplex Bizottság*) der Ungarischen Akademie förderte er sowohl als Sekretär wie auch als Vorsitzender die heimische Finnougristik. Er war Mitglied, später Sekretär und ab 1997 Leiter der Sektion für moderne Philologie der Ungarischen Akademie (*Modern Filológiai Bizottság*). Seit den

1980er Jahren war er Teil des Redaktionsausschusses der Zeitschrift *Filológiai Közlöny*, später sogar dessen Vorsitzender. Seit 1985 war er ordentliches Mitglied des ständigen Komitees für den Internationalen Kongress für Finnougristik (ICFUC), seit 2010 Ehrenmitglied. Im Jahre 1989 war er einer der Gründer der Internationalen Gesellschaft der finnougrischen Schriftsteller, in der er jahrelang als Vizepräsident, später als Präsident arbeitete.

Von 1970 an war Domokos Mitarbeiter am Lehrstuhl für Finnougristik an der Attila József Universität, ab 1980 Assistent, später Professor (ab 1986) am Lehrstuhl für Finnougristik der Loránd Eötvös Universität. Im Jahre 1973 wurde er promoviert, und 1984 habilitierte er sich in Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaften. Seit 1992 leitete er für ein Jahrzehnt der Lehrstuhl für Finnougristik in Budapest. Er verjüngte den Lehrstuhl an der Universität, modernisierte das Programm, initiierte eine Abteilung für Estnisch, stellte einen Lektor für Estnisch ein, und lud beständig Dozenten aus den Kreisen der russischen finno-ugrischen Minderheiten ein. In dieser Zeit initiierte er die wissenschaftliche Reihe *Budapesti Finnugor Füzetek* (Budapester Finnougrische Hefte) und gab zahlreiche neue Bänder der *Uralisztikai Tanulmányoknak* (Uralische Studien) heraus. Auf wissenschaftlichem Gebiet befasste er sich mit der Forschungsgeschichte der Finnougristik und der Rezeption der finnougrischen Sprachverwandschaft innerhalb Ungarns. Davon kündeten seine Monographien über ältere ungarische Wissenschaftler, wie Pál Hunfalvy, Ferenc Kállay und Ferdinánd Barna, sowie das in zwei Auflagen erschienene *Szkitiától Lappóniáig. A nyelvrokonság és az őstörténet kérdéskörének visszhangja irodalmunkban* (Von Skythien bis nach Lapponia. Fragen der Sprachverwandschaft und Frühgeschichte in der ungarischen Literatur, 1990, verbesserte Auflage 1998).

Seine Entscheidungen haben die Entwicklung der multidisziplinären Finnougristik sehr gefördert. Unter Einbeziehung zahlreicher internationaler Fachleute hat er 1997 an der Loránd Eötvös Universität eine Graduiertenschule mit zwei Unterprogrammen (Sprachwissenschaft und Literatur) ins Leben gerufen, die bis heute eine für ihren breiten Horizont beispielhafte Einrichtung ist. Anfang 2006 wurde er in den Ruhestand versetzt, nahm aber weiterhin Teil an der Doktorandenausbildung sowie an den finnougrischen Veranstaltungen und hielt die Verbindung mit vielen Schülern und Forschern aufrecht.

Seine Dissertation von 1973 sowie seine Habilitationsschrift aus dem Jahre 1984 wurden zu Lehrbüchern. Beide erschienen 1993 sogar in russi-

scher Übersetzung. Seine 1975 für die ungarische Öffentlichkeit publizierte Doktorarbeit *Az udmurt irodalom története* (Die Geschichte der udmurtischen Literatur) erschien unter dem Titel *Istorija udmurtskoj literatury* in Iževsk, in der Udmurtischen Republik; und seine 1985 veröffentlichte Habilitationsschrift *A kisebb uráli népek irodalmának kialakulása* (Die Entstehung der Literaturen der kleinen uralischen Völker) wiederum erschien in Joschkar-Ola, der Hauptstadt der Marischen Republik unter dem Titel *Formirovanije literatur malyh uralskih narodov*.

Die Geschichte der udmurtischen Literatur schrieb Péter Domokos nach zahlreichen Vorarbeiten. Dank seiner ausgezeichneten Kenntnisse der udmurtischen Sprache las und sammelte er die Schriftsteller und Dichter auch im Original. Die Monographie besteht aus zwei Teilen: Der erste Teil behandelt die wichtigsten Ereignisse in der udmurtischen Geschichte und umreißt die zentrale Rolle der Folklore in der Entwicklung der Schriftlichkeit. Der zweite Teil stellt die Literatur in fünf wesentlichen Epochen dar.

Sein Buch über die Entstehung der kleinen uralischen Literaturen besteht aus drei Teilen: I. Einleitung, II. Analyse der Literaturen der kleinen uralischen Völker, III. Literaturen der kleinen uralischen Völker und Weltliteratur. In der Einleitung skizziert er die Situation der uralischen Völker in Bezug auf ihre Sprache und Literatur, mit Ausnahme der Finnen, Ungarn und Esten. Im zweiten Teil stellt er die wesentlichen geschichtlichen Ereignisse dieser Völker dar und behandelt dann die Bedeutung der Folklore und die Neigung zur Gattung des Epos. Im Hinblick auf das Jahr 1917 zeigt er Parallelen und Unterschiede in der Anschauung, den Thematiken und den Gattungen dieser Literaturen auf. Im dritten Teil des Werkes behandelt er die Beziehung zwischen den uralischen Literaturen und der Weltliteratur, die im Wesentlichen in den drei „großen“ Literaturen (also die ungarische, finnische und estnische) verortet ist.

Im Hintergrund dieser zwei monumentalen Werke und auch der späteren steht seine fünfjährige Zeit als Gastdozent in Leningrad (1965–1970), in welcher Zeit er nach Syktyvkar, Joškar-Ola, Petrozavodsk, Tartu und in verschiedene finnougriische Orte kam. Gleichzeitig, wie er über diese Zeit berichtet: „Zu mir kamen und bei mir wohnten zahlreiche Schriftsteller, Philologen – Abgesandte unserer Sprachverwandten. Und immer verlangte ich nur eines von ihnen: Bücher oder irgendeine Information.“ Bis zu seinem Lebensende verfolgte der Autor die Entwicklung dieser Literaturen ganz nah.

Zurück aus Leningrad, verbrachte er fünf Jahre als Mitarbeiter der ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften am Lehrstuhl der Attila József Universität (1970–1975). In dieser Zeit erschien sein erstes Buch, *A finn irodalom fogadtatása Magyarországon* (Die Rezeption der finnischen Literatur in Ungarn, 1972). Dieses Werk ist bis heute der Pfeiler der Rezeptionsforschung in der finnougri-schen Literaturwissenschaft.

Dank der bahnbrechenden Arbeit von Péter Domokos haben sich zahlreiche Forscher und Schriftsteller, Übersetzer und ein großes Publikum den finnougri-schen Literaturen zugewandt. In mehreren ungarischen Zeitschriften hat er literarische Sammlungen veröffentlicht (vgl. die finnougri-schen Ausgaben von *Tiszatáj* 1972/2, *Neohelikon* 1978/1, *Szovjet Irodalom* 1985/6, 1990/6, *Magyar Napló* 2003/4, 2008/7). Ebenso hat er Ausgaben von Volksdichtungen herausgegeben und mit Einleitungen versehen, von denen einige auch auf Französisch, Englisch, Deutsch und Finnisch erschienen sind, vgl. *Vatka meg Kalmez. Votják mondák és mesék.* (Vatka und Kalmez. Votjakische Sagen und Märchen, 1974), *Medveének. A keleti finnugor népek irodalmának kistükre* (Bären-gesang. Lesebuch der Literaturen der östlichen finnougri-schen Völker, 1975), *Le pouvoir du chant. Anthologie de la poésie populaire ouralienne* (Die Macht des Gesangs. Anthologie der uralischen Volksdichtung, 1980), *Finnugor–szamojéd (uráli) regék és mondák.* Bd. I–II. (Finnougri-sche und samojedische Erzählungen und Legenden, 1984, 2002). Zur Verwirklichung seiner Vorstellungen gewann er zahlreiche bedeutende Dichter und Übersetzer zur Mitarbeit, darunter István Ágh, Anna Bede, Sándor Csoóri, István Bella, Ferenc Buda, Gyula Illyés, Sándor Kányádi, István Kormos, Aladár Lászlóffy, Jean-Luc Moreau, László Nagy und Zsuzsa Rab. In diesen Büchern durften wir die Lebensumstände dieser Völker kennenlernen, ihre biologische und geografische Umgebung, ihre älteren Gebräuche und Geschichten, die bis dahin nirgendwo dokumentiert waren.

Dadurch, dass er uns die Folklore und die literarischen Welten der finnougri-schen Völker nahegebracht hat, können wir verstehen, über welche eine reiche Erfahrungswelt diese Völker verfügen. Ihre mündliche wie schriftliche Literatur ist um nichts weniger bedeutsam als die der großen Völker.

Péter Domokos hat seiner universitären Ausbildung viel zu verdanken, er durfte von den großen Finnougri-ken lernen: Ödön Beke, György Lakó, und in der Blütezeit der Finnougri-ken mit anderen großen Zeitgenossen zusammenarbeiten. Sein Diplom in Hungarologie erhielt er 1959. Schon

während seiner Studienzeit war er von der wissenschaftlichen Laufbahn angezogen, schrieb studentische Arbeiten und gewann mit ihnen Preise. Er begann als Linguist, seine erste Veröffentlichung erschien in *Magyar Nyelv*. Seine Aufmerksamkeit wandte er sehr bald der finnougri-schen Volksdichtung zu. Unter dem Namen Pál Péter Domokos Junior (Ifj. Domokos Pál Péter) veröffentlichte er 1960 einen Aufsatz über die udmur-tische Literatur in *Világirodalmi Figyelő* (1960, 3).

Der berühmte Vater der Tschangoforschung – eine herausragende Fi-gur des ungarischen kulturellen Lebens der vorangegangenen Generati-on – gab seinen Namen (Pál) Péter Domokos an seinen ersten Sohn weiter. Dieser musste schon von Kindesbeinen an das Leben der Ausgestoßenen und der kleinen Völker sehen und (leider auch) erleben. Er wurde am 15. Januar 1936 in Gyergyószentmiklós (Rumänien, Siebenbürgen) geboren, von wo aus die Familie nach dem Wiener Diktat nach Kolozsvár (Klausen-burg) zog. 1944 floh die Familie nach Ungarn. Nach vielen Ortswech-seln gelangte die Familie schließlich nach Budapest, und Péter Domokos er-langte am Attila József Gymnasium 1954 die Hochschulreife. In einer Zeit voll von vielfältigen Herausforderungen ist es ihm gelungen, ein großarti-ges Lebenskunstwerk zu schaffen. In seinem Werk sowie in seinen Schü-lern und wissenschaftlichen Beziehungen wird man seinem weiterleben-den Geist stets begegnen können.

Wir nehmen Anteil an der Trauer seiner Familie und werden ihn als große Persönlichkeit in Erinnerung behalten.

Johanna Domokos

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Jorma Koivulehto 1934–2014

Jorma Koivulehto, Emeritusprofessor für Germanische Philologie an der Universität Helsinki, verstarb am 23. August 2014 in Helsinki. Er hinterlässt seine Frau Marja-Liisa, geb. Pakarinen, mit der er mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert verheiratet war, zwei Kinder, vier Enkelkinder sowie etwa 500 Lehnetymologien.

Jorma Juhani Björklund wurde am 12. Oktober 1934 in Tampere geboren, stammte also aus der Region Pirkanmaa wie die meisten der großen finnischen Lehnwortforscher (vgl. J. J. Mikkola, geb. in Ylöjärvi, T. E. Karsten, geb. in Orivesi, Osmo Nikkilä, geb. in Kangasala, Sirkka-Liisa Hahmo, geb. in Pirkkala usw.). Seine Eltern waren die Geschäftsinhaber Jenny Karoliina, geb. Harju, und Joonas Björklund, die bereits im folgenden Jahr die finnische Form des Familiennamens, Koivulehto, annahmen. Es handelte sich nicht um den ersten Namenswandel in der Familie, denn schon Jormas Urururgroßvater Samuel Björklund (1752–1802) hatte nach seiner Ausbildung zum Tuchweber in Turku anstelle seines Pfarrernamens Bir(c)klenius den bürgerlicheren Familiennamen angenommen. Der Stammvater des Pfarrergeschlechts Birklenius wiederum war der zweite Pfarrer von Salo bei Uskela, Sigfridus Laurentii Birklenius (gest. 1691), ursprünglich Sipi Laurinpoika vom Sattelgut Pirkkula im Dorf Hyvelä der Kapellengemeinde Nummi. Wenn Jorma persönlich eine Region besonders am Herzen lag, so war dies dessen ungeachtet Satakunta, woher die Familie seiner Mutter stammte.

Da Osmo Nikkilä bereits mehrmals eine ausführliche Biografie seines Freundes veröffentlicht hat (z. B. *Virittäjä* 99, S. 270–274; SUST 237, S. XVII–XXV), werde ich an dieser Stelle Koivulehtos beruflichen Stationen weniger Aufmerksamkeit schenken und mich stattdessen auf die Einschätzung seines damals noch unvollständigen Lebenswerks konzentrieren. Als Koivulehto in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren sein Grund- und Aufbaustudium absolvierte, befand sich die germanisch-ostseefinnische Lehnwortforschung bekanntlich in einer jahrzehntelangen Stagnation, da mit Ausnahme von T. E. Karsten niemand wagte, die wichtigsten Ergebnisse der Dissertation von Vilhelm Thomsen, *Den gotiske sprogklasses indflydelse på den finske* (1869) in Frage zu stellen, und auch Karstens Auffassungen wurden von Björn Collinder, Hans Fromm und A. D. Kylstra übereinstimmend verrissen (s. Mikko Bentlin, SUST 259, 151–168). Kylstra

hatte in seiner *Geschichte der germanisch-finnischen Lehnwortforschung* (1961) sogar die Auffassung vertreten, dass in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen kaum mehr neue germanische Lehnetymologien gefunden werden würden.

In dieser Situation veröffentlichte Koivulehto 1970 seine erste Lehnwortuntersuchung „Suomen *laiva*-sanasta“ (Über das finnische Wort *laiva* ‘Schiff’) (*Virittäjä* 74, S. 178–183). Er war bereits Mitte dreißig, also kein ganz junger Debütant mehr; als Lehnwortforscher war er entsprechend reif. Genaugenommen finden sich schon in seinem Debüt alle seine späteren Warenzeichen, nämlich eine neue Lehnwortsubstitution, die er mit möglichst vielen Beispielen umfassend begründete. Gleichzeitig führte er die indogermanisch-uralische Lehnwortforschung von der junggrammatischen Ausrichtung zum Strukturalismus, denn während sein großer Vorgänger Thomsen sich atomistisch auf einzelne Lautsubstitutionen konzentriert hatte (z. B. germ. **d* → osfi. **t*, weil im Osfi. **d* fehlte), berücksichtigte Koivulehto als erster die Phonem- und Morphemanalyse sowie vor allem die Phonotaktik (z. B. germ. **VujV* → osfi. **VivV*, weil im Osfi. **VujV* fehlte).

In der germanisch-ostseefinnischen Lehnwortforschung war Koivulehto zudem seit E. N. Setälä der erste bedeutende Wissenschaftler, dessen Muttersprache nicht zu den germanischen, sondern zu den ostseefinnischen Sprachen gehörte (vgl. den Dänen Thomsen, den Finnlandschweden Karsten, den Schweden Collinder, den Deutschen Fromm, den Friesen Kylstra usw.). So war sein Ansatzpunkt denn auch häufig die Zielsprache und nicht die Ausgangssprache. Vor allem spürte er Lehnwörtern planmäßiger nach als seine Vorgänger, indem er sich nicht auf einzelne Wörter konzentrierte, sondern auf lautliche und/oder wortbildende Strukturen fremder Herkunft, die also auch ohne indogermanische Lehnetymologie deutlich auf fremden Ursprung hinwiesen. Erst Jahre später begannen auch viele Indogermanisten, mit entsprechenden Kriterien Substrat- und andere Lehnwörter in ihren Sprachen aufzuspüren, und es ist kein Zufall, dass diese Indogermanisten auch Koivulehtos Arbeiten gut kannten (vgl. z. B. die in der 2004 veröffentlichten Festschrift zu seinem 70. Geburtstag, *Etymologie, Entlehnungen und Entwicklungen*, vertretenen Wissenschaftler Theo Vennemann, Joe Salmons und Peter Schrijver).

Trotz seiner methodologischen Neuerungen errang Koivulehto vor allem durch seine Rehabilitation der ur- und vorgermanischen Lehnwortschichten Karstens Bekanntheit, die er bereits in seiner zweiten Lehnwort-

untersuchung „Vanhimmista germaanis-suomalaisista lainakosketuksista: sm. *karsia* ~ germ. **skardian*“ (Über die ältesten germanisch-finnischen Lehnberührungen: fi. *karsia* ~ germ. **skardian*) (*Virittäjä* 75, S. 380–388). Während Karsten jedoch nur germanistische Kriterien für das Alter der germanischen Lehnwörter herangezogen hatte, wies Koivulehto nun nach, dass die ältesten germanischen Lehnwörter vor dem Wandel **ti* > **si* im Urfinnischen entlehnt worden und folglich ebenso alt waren wie die baltischen Lehnwörter. Hier wie häufig auch später wurde er von dem Archäologen Unto Salo inspiriert, der bereits in den 1960er Jahren die ältesten germanischen Lehnwörter auf die Bronzezeit datiert hatte. Generell berücksichtigte Koivulehto bei seinen Lehnwortuntersuchungen auch außersprachliches Beweismaterial, was Kustaa Vilkkuna bereits 1973 zu der Erklärung veranlasste, man habe es mit einem klugen Mann zu tun (Janne Vilkkuna, *Kustaa Vilkkuna -seminaari*, 2.10.2003).

Im Lauf der Zeit erweiterte sich Koivulehtos Interesse von den germanischen Lehnwörtern auch auf andere Lehnwortschichten, weshalb die vor allem von dem Baltologen Kari Liukkonen erhobenen Vorwürfe des Germanozentrismus (SUST 235, S. 3–5) eindeutig zurückzuweisen sind – umso mehr, als Koivulehto nach den Berechnungen in der in Vorbereitung befindlichen Dissertation von Santeri Junttila mehr zutreffende baltische Lehnetymologien veröffentlicht hat als Liukkonen selbst. Was die slavischen Lehnwörter betrifft, rehabilitierte Koivulehto die frühe Arbeit von J. J. Mikkola, *Berührungen zwischen den westfinnischen und slavischen Sprachen* (1894), dessen Wert der Verfasser selbst in seinem Alterswerk *Die älteren Berührungen zwischen Ostseefinnisch und Russisch* (1938) bestritten hatte. Auch indoiranische Lehnwörter behandelte Koivulehto mehrmals; die Monografie zu diesem Thema, die er geplant hatte, wurde jedoch leider nicht verwirklicht.

Die größte internationale Bekanntheit dürften jedoch Koivulehtos Untersuchungen über die frühesten indogermanisch-uralischen Kontakte erlangt haben. Erstens entdeckte er eine ganz neue vorbaltisch-vorgermanische Lehnwortschicht, die er auf meinen Rat hin später als nordwestindogermanisch bezeichnete. Zweitens wies er nach, dass die urindogermanischen Laryngale sowohl in ur- als auch in nordwestindogermanischen Lehnwörtern zu erkennen sind. Obwohl er in der Frage der indogermanisch-uralischen Urverwandtschaft bis an sein Lebensende Agnostiker blieb, zog er den Hass der Nostratiker und anderer Omnikomparatisten auf sich, da er es wagte, sich für die Hypothese von Kontakten zwischen

den Ursprachen auszusprechen – als würden Sprachverwandtschaft und Sprachkontakte einander ausschließen. Wenn man die Kritik der Nostratiker an Koivulehto liest, sollte man an die Worte des großen Altaisten Gerhard Doerfer denken, wonach „the relation of Nostratism to serious linguistics ist he same as that of astrology to astronomy“ (*Indogermanische Forschungen* 100, S. 266).

Zu Gegnern machte Koivulehto sich neben den Nostratikern auch einige Fennisten und Uralisten, die anstelle von Lehnwörtern ihre eigenen deskriptiven Wurzeln sowie Ableitungsetymologien vorzogen, bei denen die anerkannten Wortbildungslehren außer Acht gelassen wurden. Andererseits wurden seine germanischen Lehnetymologien in Deutschland abgelehnt, weil sie zeigten, dass die Urheimat der Germanen eher in Skandinavien als in Deutschland zu vermuten ist. Einer der dortigen Wissenschaftler widmete ein Vierteljahrhundert seiner Laufbahn der Bemühung, Koivulehto in wissenschaftlicher wie in menschlicher Hinsicht als Jammergestalt darzustellen, und erwarb sich damit schließlich einen Ruf, den er mit seinen eigenen fennistischen und uralischen Kontributionen nie erreicht hätte. Im Vergleich zur Quantität der Kritik machte Koivulehto sich äußerst selten die Mühe, sein Lebenswerk zu verteidigen, und angesichts des Niveaus dieser Kritik hätte er es meiner Ansicht nach sogar noch seltener tun sollen, denn die meisten Kritiker fanden an seinen Lehnetymologien nichts anderes auszusetzen, als dass es zu viele waren.

Trotz allem fand Koivulehto auch Unterstützung, und die in jüngster Zeit zu beobachtende Renaissance der indogermanisch-uralischen Lehnwortforschung ist vor allem ihm zu verdanken. Zur ersten Generation seiner Nachfolger in Finnland zählten Raimo Anttila und Sirkka-Liisa Hahmo sowie die bereits verstorbenen Terho Itkonen, Osmo Nikkilä, Olli Nuutinen und Eeva Uotila. Sein prominentester Anhänger dürfte jedoch der Niederländer Tette Hofstra sein, dessen Geschichte der neueren Forschung, *Ostseefinnisch und Germanisch: Frühe Lehnbeziehungen im nördlichen Ostseeraum im Lichte der Forschung seit 1961* (1985), sich fast völlig auf Koivulehtos Ergebnisse konzentrierte. Schließlich kulminierte all dies in dem *Lexikon der älteren germanischen Lehnwörter in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen* (1991, 1996, 2012), das in Zusammenarbeit von Kylstra, Hahmo, Hofstra und Nikkilä entstand und zweifellos als Kraftprobe der Koivulehto-Schule gelten darf, obwohl er selbst nicht daran beteiligt war.

Gestützt auf das Buch *Johdatus lapin kielen historiaan* [Einführung in die Geschichte der lappischen Sprache] (1981) von Mikko Korhonen

widmete sich Koivulehto später dem Selbststudium des Saamischen und richtete gleichzeitig sein Interesse über das Ostseefinnische hinaus auch auf die indogermanischen Lehnwortschichten im Saamischen. Vom hohen Niveau auch seiner lappologischen Arbeiten zeugt die Tatsache, dass sie den größten Lappologen unserer Zeit, Pekka Sammallahti und Ante Aikio, als Ausgangspunkt ihrer eigenen Lehnwortforschungen dienten. Auch auf indogermanischer Seite eroberte Koivulehto bis zum Schluss neues Terrain; so erinnerte er z. B. in seinem 2002 veröffentlichten Beitrag „Häät“ (Hochzeit) (*Virittäjä* 106, S. 490–507) an bereits fast vergessene niederdeutsche Lehnwörter, die Mikko Bentlin in seiner Dissertation *Niederdeutsch-finnische Sprachkontakte* (2008) dann wieder in den Mittelpunkt der Lehnwortforschung rückte. Die Teilbereiche der indogermanisch-uralischen Lehnwortforschung, auf die sich Koivulehtos Einfluss nicht erstreckte, wären schnell aufgezählt.

Koivulehto war in den Jahren 1983–1997 Professor für Germanische Philologie an der Universität Helsinki und in den Jahren 1988–1993 Forschungsstipendiat der Akademie Finnlands. Er war Mitglied der Finnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und korrespondierendes Mitglied der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen und der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1995 wurde ihm der Ehrenpreis der Alfred Kordelin-Stiftung und 1997 die Ehrenmitgliedschaft der Finnisch-Ugrischen Gesellschaft verliehen. Er veröffentlichte zwei Monografien – seine Dissertation *‘Jäten’ in deutschen Mundarten* (1971) und sein international bekanntestes Werk *Uralische Evidenz für die Laryngaltheorie* (1991) –, doch die überwiegende Mehrheit seiner Untersuchungen publizierte er in fast hundert Artikeln, von denen die wichtigsten in den Sammelbänden *Verba mutuata* (1999) und *Verba vagantur* (2014) vorliegen.

Koivulehtos letzter Artikel war der 2009 veröffentlichte Beitrag „Ety-mologisesti hämäriä *-(is)tA*-johdosverbejä, lainoja ja omapohjaisia“ (Ety-mologisch ungeklärte Ableitungsverben auf *-(is)tA*, Entlehnungen und eigenständige Formen) (*SUSA* 92, S. 79–102), bei dem nichts darauf hinwies, dass dieser Beitrag sein Schwanengesang sein würde; im Gegenteil, er bewahrte bis zum Schluss das hohe Niveau, das er bereits fast vier Jahrzehnte zuvor mit seinem Debüt erreicht hatte. Der Schreibprozess war jedoch zunehmend belastend für ihn; zudem empfand er es als demütigend, dass er weiterhin dem Peer-Review durch alles andere als ebenbürtige Gutachter unterworfen wurde. Als er um die gleiche Zeit infolge von Einsparungen sein Arbeitszimmer an der Universität Helsinki verlor, war seine wissen-

schaftliche Laufbahn praktisch beendet, denn er war nicht mehr motiviert genug, um sich an eine neue Arbeitsumgebung zu Hause zu gewöhnen.

In seinen letzten Lebensjahren hatte Koivulehto kaum noch Kontakt zur wissenschaftlichen Gemeinschaft. Seine körperliche Verfassung verschlechterte sich rasch, doch geistig blieb er noch lange rege, und wenn es ihm besonders gut ging, schickte er mir immer noch per SMS Lehnety-mologien, die er gerade entdeckt hatte. Lange vor seinem Tod übergab er mir auch einen dicken Stapel unveröffentlicher Etymologien mit genauen Anweisungen, wie diese posthum zu publizieren seien. Das Tröstliche bei seinem Ableben ist denn auch das Wissen, dass er selbst sich bereits seit Langem mit seinem Los ausgesöhnt hatte.

Petri Kallio

Ljudmila Hristoljubova 1939–2014

Ljudmila Stepanovna Hristoljubova, Kandidatin der Geschichtswissenschaften und angesehene Expertin für die Ethnografie der Udmurten, verstarb am 29.10.2014 in Iževsk. Sie wurde am 26.3.1939 im Dorf Volkovo (udmurtisch Kiongurt) im Bezirk Zavjalov in Udmurtien als Kind einer udmurtischen Familie geboren. Dieses Dorf war ein sog. Mischdorf, in dem sowohl Udmurten als auch Russen wohnten. Daher wuchs sie von Anfang an zweisprachig auf. Später erinnerte sie sich, dass der Schuleintritt ihr, im Gegensatz zu vielen nur udmurtisch sprechenden Kindern, keine besonderen sprachlichen Schwierigkeiten bereitete. Die udmurtischen Kinder verwechselten allerdings gelegentlich das grammatische Geschlecht russischer Wörter.

Nach dem Schulabschluss absolvierte Hristoljubova ein kurzes Studium an der pädagogischen Fachschule in Možga und arbeitete anschließend eine Zeitlang als Elementarschullehrerin. Da sie sich für gesellschaftliche Fragen interessierte, beteiligte sie sich an der Tätigkeit der Jugendorganisation der kommunistischen Partei. Ihr wurde mehrfach eine Laufbahn in den Parteiorganen vorgeschlagen, doch sie erklärte, sie interessiere sich letztlich mehr für die Wissenschaft, insbesondere für Geschichte und Sprachwissenschaft. Diese Wahl hat sie nie bereut, obwohl eine Parteikarriere damals hohes Ansehen genoss. Hristoljubova wurde an das Staatliche Pädagogische Institut von Udmurtien (die heutige Udmurtische Staatliche Universität) aufgenommen, wo sie erfolgreich ein fünfjähriges Studium an der Historisch-Philologischen Fakultät absolvierte (1958–63).

Hristoljubovas Laufbahn ist ein sprechendes Beispiel dafür, wie eigene Bestrebungen, Ermutigung von anderen und der Zufall gemeinsam den Weg weisen können. In ihrem vierten Studienjahr fuhr Hristoljubova zufällig im selben Bus wie der Sprachwissenschaftler Ivan Tarakanov. Der Bus hatte eine Panne, und Hristoljubova ging mit Tarakanov am Straßenrand auf und ab. Die lange Wartezeit gab ihnen Gelegenheit, über vieles zu sprechen. Tarakanov sagte, er habe von Hristoljubovas hervorragenden Studienleistungen gehört. Daher empfahl er ihr ein weiterführendes Studium der Ethnografie, weil es in Udmurtien keinen einzigen Ethnografen gab. Obwohl Hristoljubova bis dahin kaum das Wort Ethnografie gehört hatte, ließ der Gedanke sie nicht mehr los.

Als Hristoljubova ihr Studium beendet hatte, erhielt sie eine Stelle am Seminar für Marxismus-Leninismus des Pädagogischen Instituts. Einmal fragte sie in der Bibliothek nach Büchern aus dem Bereich der Ethnografie. Man zeigte ihr ein Regal mit weniger als fünfzig Werken. Hristoljubova machte sich mit ihnen bekannt und bewarb sich auf Tarakanovs Rat um einen Aufbaustudienplatz am Institut für Ethnografie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Sowjetunion in Moskau, den sie 1967 erhielt. Im Sommer 1968 nahm sie an einer ethnografischen Feldforschung in Udmurtien teil. 1971 wurde ihre Kandidatendissertation über die Familienfeiern der Udmurten, *Семейные обряды удмуртов: свадьба, родины, похороны (Опыт количественной характеристики)* [Die Familienrituale der Udmurten: Hochzeit, Geburt, Beerdigung (Ein Versuch quantitativen Typs)] angenommen.

Nach dem Studienabschluss in Moskau kehrte Hristoljubova nach Iževsk zurück, wo sie mehr als 40 Jahre lang am Udmurtischen Forschungsinstitut der Russischen Akademie der Wissenschaften arbeitete. Im Fokus ihrer Tätigkeit stand stets die Bereitstellung von Grundkenntnissen über das udmurtische Volk. Sie betreute auch einige Examensarbeiten und hielt an der Udmurtischen Staatlichen Universität Vorlesungen über die Ethnografie der Völker des Wolgagebiets. Es war charakteristisch für sie, arbeitsintensive Forschungsthemen zu wählen. Hierzu gehörte ihre Biografie udmurtischer Wissenschaftler (*Ученые-удмурты* 1997). Für viele war die große Zahl der in verschiedenen Wissenschaftsdisziplinen tätigen Udmurten eine Überraschung. Hristoljubova empfand die Recherche und das Auffinden weiterer udmurtischer Wissenschaftler als besonders bereichernd. Neben in Russland entstandenen Enzyklopädien beteiligte sie sich auch an einer in Finnland erstellten Enzyklopädie (*Marit, mordvalaiset ja udmurtit. Perinteisen kulttuurin tietosanakirja* [Mari, Mordwinen und Udmurten. Lexikon der traditionellen Kultur] 2005).

Den Bräuchen, Festen und Ritualen der Udmurten galt ihr Interesse auch nach der Arbeit an der Dissertation. In vielen Publikationen untersuchte sie auch die materielle Kultur, etwa die Kleidung und die Speisekultur der Udmurten. Ihr Interesse richtete sich immer auf den Wandel der alten und ursprünglichen Kultur in der Gegenwart. Hristoljubova organisierte zahlreiche grundlegende ethnosozilogische und ethnopolitische demografische Untersuchungen, die ihr Interesse für Gesellschaftspolitik erkennen ließen. Sie untersuchte auch die nationale Bewegung der Udmurten.

Hristoljubova veröffentlichte häufig in udmurtischer Sprache: sowohl elementare Sachbücher als auch Beiträge für Literaturzeitschriften und andere Periodika in Udmurtien. Für den Schulgebrauch verfasste sie Lehrbücher über die Regionalgeschichte und Kultur Udmurtiens. Gegenstand ihrer Untersuchungen waren auch die außerhalb Udmurtiens, in Tatarstan und Bashkortostan lebenden Udmurten.

Ab 1996 veröffentlichte Hristoljubova Beiträge zur Frauenforschung. Sie schrieb über die Stellung der udmurtischen Frau in den ersten Jahren des Kommunismus, in der Kriegszeit und in der heutigen Gesellschaft. Sie ist zweifellos eine der Pionierinnen der udmurtischen Genderforschung. Auch in der udmurtischen Literaturwissenschaft hat sich die Genderforschung in letzter Zeit etabliert. Hristoljubova war in Udmurtien allgemein geschätzt. Sie erhielt zahlreiche regionale Orden und Auszeichnungen, darunter den nach Ašalči Oki benannten Nationalpreis.

Esa-Jussi Salminen

Tapani Lehtinen (1944–2014)

In der dunklen Vorweihnachtszeit erreichte die fennistischen und finno-ugristischen Fachkreise eine traurige Nachricht, die auch das Redaktionskollegium der FUF betraf. Unser Freund und Kollege Tapani Lehtinen, Professor für Finnisch an der Universität Helsinki, Mitglied der Finnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und langjähriger Mitherausgeber der *Finnisch-Ugrischen Forschungen*, war nach langer und schwerer Krankheit am 29. November 2014 verstorben.

Tapani Lehtinen wurde am 8. Juli 1944 in Porvoo geboren. Seine Familie gehörte eher zur unteren Mittelklasse als zur akademischen Kultur-elite, aber schon während seiner Schulzeit begann der intelligente junge Mann, sich für viele Aspekte der „hohen“ Kultur zu interessieren: Musik, Literatur und selbstverständlich Sprachen. Nach dem Lyzeum von Porvoo begann er sein Studium der Fennistik an der Universität Helsinki im Jahre 1962. Außer Finnisch beschäftigte er sich auch mit anderen finnisch-ugrischen, vor allem ostseefinnischen Sprachen; von seinen damaligen akademischen Lehrern hatte vielleicht Lauri Posti, Professor für ostseefinnische Sprachen, den tiefsten Einfluss auf seine künftige Karriere.

Das Magisterium absolvierte Tapani Lehtinen 1969, also „erst“ nach sieben Jahren – während deren er nicht nur in verschiedenen Studentenorganisationen aktiv tätig war, sondern auch in der Redaktion des Karelischen Wörterbuches und im Archiv der Morphologie der finnischen Dialekte (*Muoto-opin arkisto*) arbeitete. Das Archiv stellte von Anfang an ein epochales, ambitiöses Vorhaben dar, und neben seinem Begründer Terho Itkonen leisteten seine damaligen jungen Assistenten Tapani Lehtinen und Heikki Paunonen von Anfang an einen wesentlichen Beitrag zur Gestaltung des Archivs und zur Organisation der dem Archiv zu Grunde liegenden Feldforschung. In den Jahren 1973–1975 arbeitete Tapani Lehtinen als Universitätslektor für Finnisch in Petrosawodsk, wo er sich mit der Erforschung der östlichen ostseefinnischen Sprachen vertraut machen konnte und außerdem hervorragende Russischkenntnisse erwarb. Sonst blieb er der Universität Helsinki treu, wo er nach seiner Rückkehr zuerst als Universitätslektor, ab 1985 als Professor für finnische Sprache arbeitete. Aus dem Kreis der Fennistik fand er auch seine Ehegattin. Ihm und Marja Lehtinen, zuletzt als Chefredakteurin des Wörterbuches *Suomen kielen perussanakirja* bekannt, wurden zwei Söhne

geboren; die glückliche Ehe endete tragisch, als Marja Lehtinen 2003 an Krebs starb.

Als Forscher interessierte sich Tapani Lehtinen vor allem für Morphologie, Semantik und Wortbildung aus diachroner Perspektive, was selbstverständlich einen breiteren, allgemeinstseefinnischen Fokus bedingte. Seine Doktorarbeit über die Geschichte des Verbtyps *avajaa, karkajaa* im Finnischen und anderen osfi. Sprachen (1979) ist eine beeindruckend sorgfältige und einsichtsvolle Studie in der historischen Derivationslehre. Auch in einigen anderen Arbeiten erforschte er die Geschichte der ostseefinnischen Verbalmorphologie, z. B. die Reflexivkonjugation des Ingrischen (1978) oder die sog. kontrahierten Verben im Karelischen (1982). Seine kompakte Studie über den Ursprung des sogenannten Passivs (Impersonals) im Ostseefinnischen (1984) war und bleibt ein Klassiker, und seine Gedanken über den Einfluss des russischen Aspekts auf die Wortbildung in den östlichen osfi. Sprachen (1990) haben mehrere spätere Studien inspiriert. Tapani Lehtinen war kein "Vielschreiber": seine Publikationsliste ist nicht außerordentlich umfangreich, aber jede Publikation ist von hoher Qualität und bleibendem Wert, beeindruckt durch ihren souveränen Umgang mit Daten und durch ihre präzise Argumentation.

In den 1980er und 1990er Jahren investierte Tapani Lehtinen viel Zeit und Mühe in Lehrmaterialien der finnischen und ostseefinnischen Sprachgeschichte, die in vielen Versionen in seinem Unterricht verwendet wurden und aus denen sich letztendlich sein Buch *Kielen vuosituhannet* (2007) entwickelte, eine Einführung in die finnische und finnisch-ugrische Sprachgeschichte besonders für Studierende der Fennistik, denen keine zeitgemäße und brauchbare Einführung in die Geschichte der finnischen Sprache zur Verfügung stand. Am Institut für Finnisch der Universität Helsinki wurden zu dieser Zeit viele Inhalte der traditionellen Fennistik – Dialektologie, Sprachgeschichte, verwandte Sprachen – allmählich fast zur Gänze aus dem Studienplan ausradiert, und im Laufe des großen Paradigmenwechsels kam es auch zu einigen sehr unangenehmen interpersonellen Konflikten. Tapani Lehtinen, stets offen und kollegial nach allen Seiten, mischte sich in diese Konflikte nicht ein. Für uns Finno-ugristInnen, die wir diese Situation von außerhalb beobachteten, war er ein Alltagsheld, ein unermüdlicher Pfleger einer weniger "trendigen", aber wichtigen und wertvollen Tradition.

In seinen Studienjahren hatte Tapani Lehtinen im Christlichen Studentenverein mitgewirkt. Unter Bekannten wurde später oft eine Anekdo-

te über diese Zeiten erzählt: Als junger Radikaler hatte er gemeinsam mit einigen Gleichgesinnten auf die Felsenwände an der Baustelle der neuen Tempeliaukio-Kirche den damals aktuellen Namen BIAFRA gesprüht – als Protest an die evangelische Kirche, die ihr Geld in teure und schicke Architektur investierte, statt den Hungernden der Welt zu helfen. Beliebt war diese Geschichte offensichtlich deshalb, weil viele jüngere KollegInnen und Studierende es schwierig fanden, im stets korrekten Professor Lehtinen einen jungen Graffitimaler zu sehen. Tapani Lehtinen war ein freundlicher, aber strenger Lehrer, der auch von seinen StudentInnen präzise und korrekte Argumentation verlangte. Er glaubte daran, dass wahre wissenschaftliche Begabung immer zu erkennen ist, und obwohl er in seinem Umgang mit KollegInnen immer höflich und freundlich blieb, machte er aus seinen kritischen Meinungen keinen Hehl.

Es wäre aber grundfalsch, Tapani Lehtinen nur als Verteidiger von traditionellen Werten in der Wissenschaft darzustellen. Er war als Forscher, neben all seiner methodischen Strenge, immer neugierig und frei von Vorurteilen. Er interessierte sich für Pragmatik und sah, auf eine zugleich klassische und moderne Weise, die Verwendungen der Sprache als einen natürlichen Teil der Mechanismen des Sprachwandels. Die Grammatikalisationsforschung gehörte auch zu seinen Interessensgebieten; gemeinsam mit Lea Laitinen gab er eine Sammlung von fennistischen Fallstudien heraus (1997). An seinem Institut war er ein Pionier im Umgang mit dem damals noch neuen Werkzeug Computer. Er war auch einer der ersten Lehrer der Fennistik, der seine Lehrmaterialien den Studierenden online zur Verfügung stellte. Und schließlich, das soll vielleicht noch einmal gesagt werden: Tapani Lehtinen war ein beliebter Kollege, Lehrer und Mentor, wegen seiner Aufrichtigkeit und Freundlichkeit auch als Mensch hoch geschätzt, für viele von uns ein lieber Freund, der uns sehr fehlen wird.

Johanna Laakso

Tamara Tepljašina 1924–2014

Tamara Ivanovna Tepljašina, die Pionierin der modernen Udmurtologie, verstarb am 24.12.2014. Sie war am 9.3.1924 in Udmurtien, in dem zum Bezirk Debjos gehörenden Dorf Malaja Kiznja (udm. Piči Kižna) als Tochter einer einfachen Bauernfamilie geboren. Eine Hochschulausbildung war also keine Selbstverständlichkeit. Nach der siebenjährigen Grundschule musste sie aufgrund der wirtschaftlichen Lage ihrer Familie nach Iževsk ziehen und Arbeit annehmen, besuchte aber gleichzeitig eine Schule für die arbeitende Jugend in Iževsk.

1941 erhielt Tepljašina einen Studienplatz an der Fakultät für Literatur des Pädagogischen Instituts von Udmurtien. Der Krieg führte jedoch zu einer dreijährigen Unterbrechung ihrer Ausbildung; im Dezember 1942 ging die 18jährige Tepljašina als Luftabwehrsoldatin an die Front. In dieser Funktion diente sie in Karelien und im Fernen Osten bis zum Kriegsende. Ihre gewaltige Lernbegierde führte sie im September 1946 an die finnisch-ugrische Abteilung der Fakultät für orientalische Sprachen der Universität Leningrad. Dort wuchs ihr Interesse für Sprachen. 1949 schrieb sie ihre Abschlussarbeit über die Konjugation in den permischen Sprachen, beendete das Studium an der Universität Leningrad und kehrte nach Iževsk zurück.

Ihre Laufbahn begann Tepljašina als Lexikografin; sie arbeitete für kurze Zeit in der Redaktionsgruppe des russisch-udmurtischen Wörterbuchs (1956) am Forschungsinstitut von Udmurtien. Danach wurde sie zum Aufbaustudium an der finnisch-ugrischen Abteilung des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Sowjetunion in Moskau zugelassen. Unter Anleitung des bekannten Komi-Finnougristen Vasili Lytkin schrieb sie ihre Kandidatendissertation über den Tylovaj-Dialekt des Udmurtischen. In dieser Arbeit wendete sie Methoden der experimentellen Phonetik an und wies damit künftigen Erforschern der Phonetik des Udmurtischen den Weg. Die Dissertation wurde 1955 angenommen; danach arbeitete Tepljašina einige Jahre als Assistentin am Russischen Seminar des Pädagogischen Instituts von Rjazan. 1959 kehrte sie an das Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Sowjetunion in Moskau zurück, wo sie bis zu ihrer Pensionierung in der Abteilung für finnisch-ugrische Sprachen tätig war.

Mit der Dialektologie des Udmurtischen befasste Tepljašina sich auch nach ihrer Dissertation. Diese diente zahlreichen, von anderen Forschern später veröffentlichten Monografien über verschiedene Dialekte des Udmurtischen als methodologisches Modell. Außerdem verfasste Tepljašina 1966 einen Leitfaden für das Sammeln und die Untersuchung von Dialektmaterial, *Краткая программа-вопросник по собиранию сведений об удмуртских диалектах*. Dieses Werk leitet dazu an, den Dialekt als Ganzes, auf allen sprachlichen Ebenen, aus historisch-vergleichender und sprachwissenschaftlicher Perspektive zu untersuchen. Es ist weiterhin das vorrangige methodologische Handbuch der Dialektforscher. Auch Tepljašina selbst arbeitete weiter auf dem von ihr gewiesenen Weg und veröffentlichte nach ihrer Dissertation Darstellungen mehrere Dialekte des Udmurtischen. Auf mehreren Dutzend Feldforschungsreisen in udmurtische Dörfer sammelte sie Material. Die bekannteste unter diesen Dialektuntersuchungen ist die Darstellung des bessermanischen Dialekts (*Язык бесермян 1970*). Diese gründliche Abhandlung beruht sowohl auf alten Sprachdenkmälern als auch auf den eigenen Sammlungen der Verfasserin im Siedlungsgebiet der Bessermanen. Tepljašina erklärt die Besonderheiten des bessermanischen Dialekts als Substrateinfluss der türkischen Sprachen. Heute wird diese Erklärung jedoch nicht mehr allgemein anerkannt, sondern man betrachtet die Bessermanen als Gruppe, die sich von den Südmurten getrennt hat; in ihrer Sprache ist zwar ein starker Einfluss der türkischen Sprachen festzustellen, doch lassen sich viele der dialektalen Besonderheiten mit der inneren Entwicklung der Sprache erklären.

Die Onomastik ist ein zweiter von Tepljašina vertretener Forschungsbereich, was nur natürlich ist; zu einer ganzheitlichen Dialektsammlung gehört als wesentlicher Bestandteil der Namenschatz. Ein offensichtlicher Grund, weshalb Tepljašina diesem Bereich der Sprachwissenschaft so große Aufmerksamkeit schenkte, war der erhebliche Aufschwung der Onomastik in der Sowjetunion in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren. Ihr bedeutendstes Werk in diesem Bereich, *Антропонимические модели пермских языков* [Die anthroponymen Modelle der permischen Sprachen] aus dem Jahr 1978 behandelt das System der Personennamen in den permischen Sprachen aus vielen Perspektiven. Ihre Untersuchung zeigt, dass bei den Südmurten vielerorts die eigensprachigen Personennamen als inoffizielle, alltägliche Rufnamen neben den offiziellen russischen Namen bewahrt blieben.

Als drittes Forschungsgebiet Tepljašinas ist die Untersuchung und Veröffentlichung von Sprachdenkmälern zu erwähnen. Sie fertigte Kopien von seltenen schriftlichen Dokumenten zur udmurtischen Sprache an und brachte sie in das Archiv des Forschungsinstitutes von Udmurtien, was die Bekanntheit dieser Dokumente in der Wissenschaftswelt erheblich förderte und Publikationsprojekte erleichterte. Der vierte Bereich der Sprachwissenschaft, die lautgeschichtliche Forschung, ergab sich logisch aus den bereits erwähnten. Der Vergleich der frühen Formen der Schriftsprache und der verschiedenen Dialekte ermöglichte die Untersuchung der Entwicklung des Udmurtischen.

Gemeinsam mit ihrem Ehemann Vasili Lytkin veröffentlichte Tepljašina zahlreiche Untersuchungen. Dass sie bei Bedarf immer einen Informanten und Korrekturleser zur Hand hatte, dessen Muttersprache das Komi war, war auch sonst äußerst hilfreich, insbesondere bei vergleichenden Untersuchungen zu den permischen Sprachen. In den letzten Jahrzehnten veröffentlichte Tepljašina nur vereinzelte Schriften. Sie konzentrierte sich auf weitreichendere gesellschaftliche und nationale Fragen. Udmurtien behielt immer einen besonderen Platz in ihrem Herzen; sie besuchte es u. a. 2004 aus Anlass des X. Symposiums der Permistik, das ihrem 80. Geburtstag gewidmet war.

Die Sprachwissenschaft in Udmurtien hat in letzter Zeit bedeutende Erfolge vor allem in den Bereichen erzielt, in denen Tepljašina die Sendebotin einer neuen Zeit war: Dialektologie, Onomastik, Untersuchung von Sprachdenkmälern und lautgeschichtliche Forschung. Tepljašina war ein inspirierendes Vorbild für die folgenden Generationen.

Esa-Jussi Salminen

Kontakt Daten der Autoren und Autorinnen

Rigina Ajanki
University of Helsinki
<rigina.ajanki@helsinki.fi>

José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente
<ocitartson@hotmail.com>

Johanna Domokos
Universität Bielefeld
<johanna.domokos@uni-bielefeld.de>

Svetlana Edygarova
University of Helsinki
<svetlana.jedygarova@helsinki.fi>

Riho Grünthal
Universität Helsinki
<riho.grunthal@helsinki.fi>

Cornelius Hasselblatt
Zuidhorn
<cornelius@hasselblatt.com>

László Honti
<hontilas@t-online.hu>

Lotta Jalava
University of Helsinki
<lotta.jalava@helsinki.fi>

Petri Kallio
Universität Helsinki
<petri.kallio@helsinki.fi>

Michael Knüppel
<MichaelKnueppel@gmx.net>

Johanna Laakso
Universität Wien
<johanna.laakso@univie.ac.at>

Petteri Laihonen
Zentrum für angewandte
Sprachforschung
Universität Jyväskylä
<petteri.laihonen@jyu.fi>

Luobbal Sámmol Sámmol Ánte
(Ante Aikio)
Sámi allaskuvla
(Saami University College)
<ante.aikio@oulu.fi>

Harri Mantila
Oulun yliopisto
<harri.mantila@oulu.fi>

Sándor Maticsák
Institut für Finno-Ugristik der
Universität Debrecen
<maticsaksandor@digikabel.hu>

Pauli Rahkonen
<pauli.rahkonen@gmail.com>

Ilona Rauhala
University of Helsinki
<ilona.rauhala@helsinki.fi>

Sirkka Saarinen
Universität Turku
<sirkka.saarinen@utu.fi>

Esa-Jussi Salminen
<ejsalminen@gmail.com>

Ingrid Schellbach
<i.schellbach@lrz.uni-muenchen.de>

Florian Siegl
University of Helsinki
<florian.siegl@helsinki.fi>

Merlijn de Smit
Stockholms universitet
<merlijn77@gmail.com>

Eberhard Winkler
<ewinkle@gwdg.de>

Konstantin Zamyatin
University of Helsinki
<konstazam@hotmail.com>

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PÄÄTOIMITTAJA Sirkka Saarinen
sirkka.saarinen@utu.fi,
puh. (02) 333 6372, Fennicum,
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